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The manumission inscriptions from Lemnos: some news¹

Lemnos and its manumission inscriptions have been the very center of my interest for many years now. As we know, Athens has tried to keep its control on Lemnos, Imbros and Skyros, from the second half of the 6th century BC onwards. For a long time, these three islands represented an extension of Athens beyond its own borders. In other words, they were cleruchies, *i. e.* parts of Attica out of Attica².

Already during my graduate studies, I had the opportunity of being part of a project promoted by the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens (SAIA), under the direction of Emanuele Greco, concerning the cleruchy of Lemnos. The University of Turin was involved in the research, together with other Italian Athenaeums. The aim of the teams was (and still is) a thorough analysis of the Athenian settlement during the centuries of its existence, considering the main documentary series, that is to say the epigraphical evidence, the archaeological data and the literary sources³. In particular, the team of the University of Turin,

¹ I would like to thank the Association Internationale d'Epigraphie Grecque et Latine (AIEGL) for the Géza-Alföldy aid grant. This scholarship gave me the opportunity to visit Lemnos in October 2014, to check my previous reading of the stones and to study the new fragments. I would like to use the occasion to thank also the K' Ephoreia and all the people working at the Museum of Lemnos that welcomed me, once more, in such a friendly way. I would like to thank the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens, where I could accomplish the study on the inscriptions. My gratitude goes to the scholars and the staff of the School, for the stimulating suggestions and the warm welcome.

² Culasso Gastaldi 2010 [2012], 347.

³ Many contributes about Lemnos and the results of the excavations on the island have been published during the years, mainly on the Annual of the Italian School of Archaeology at Athens. The bibliography is huge and mostly quoted in the following books, that aimed to assess the progress of the study. The first volume published by the joint team is about Hephaistia and it is available from 2008 (see Greco - Papi 2008). The second book was published in 2012 and combined the acts of two congresses about the Athenian settlements out of Attica, one organised in Turin by E. Culasso Gastaldi and D. Marchiandi and one in Naples by E. Greco (*ASAtene* 88, 2010

lead by Enrica Culasso Gastaldi, has been dealing with the inscriptions coming from Lemnos. The epigraphs I was asked to study were the manumission documents. The texts were not unknown, since Silvio Accame and Luigi Beschi, at the time of their discovery, published them⁴. A new autopsy and a fresh insight into the inscriptions, after several years from the *editio princeps*, anyway, has been useful and well received.

The initial research has revealed good reasons for interest. Therefore, I have repeatedly come on the island to see the stones and to check the new findings. In particular, in 2011 we were able to identify in the storage rooms of the Museum of Myrina some more fragments that join the *stelai* known as emancipation acts. Some of these documents are still unpublished, whereas some were not recognised as manumissions by the original editors. In other words, they surely deserve more attention and a proper classification.

The archaeological context

The Lemnian manumission inscriptions all come from the major sanctuary of the island, *i. e.* the *Kabirion*, which is on the northern coast, on the eastern side of the Bay of Pourniá⁵. The Italian School of Archaeology at Athens (SAIA) has been excavating this archeological site since 1937. The surveys have showed a complex that consists of two *telesteria*, placed on two different terraces. The archeological area was already populated in the eighth century BC, as the pottery proves, but it is only a century later that the first structures were built on the southern platform, which attest a continuity of presence and rituals until the sixth century BC. The sanctuary was in use throughout the classical

[2012]). The third book about Lemnos is Ficuciello 2013, who presents an archaeological and historical panorama of the island from the Archaic period until Byzantine era. See also the book of Danile 2011, dealing with Hephaistia and mainly with the grey pottery found in the excavations. Another volume is forthcoming and concerns Poliochni.

⁴ I have already published the study on the steles in a quite recent article, “Le iscrizioni di manomissione dal Cabirio di Lemno”, which was presented for the first time in the international congress organised in Turin in 2010 (Rocca 2010 [2012], 289-308). In 2012 I had the chance even to display a poster about “Manumission Inscriptions as a source: the case of Lemnos” in the Poster section at the XIV Epigraphic International Congress of Berlin. The acts have been published very recently (October 2014). See Funke - Eck 2014.

⁵ The results of the excavation are now summarized in Ficuciello 2013, 36 ff., with previous bibliography. In details: for the Archaic *telesterion* see 116-118 and 164-168; for the sanctuary in the Classical period, 242-249; for the Hellenistic period, 322-330 for the Roman and Byzantine period, 352-355.

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age, which is well documented by the pottery and the inscriptions. On the northern terrace in the late Hellenistic period a large *telesterion* (never completed) was built. The imposing late Hellenistic shrine remained in use until 200 AD, when was destroyed by a fire, probably in connection with an earthquake. The *telesterion* on the southern terrace, which imitates the plan of the Hellenistic one, was built during the later Roman period (3rd century AD), with an extensive reuse of the materials taken from the old building, that was partially dismantled.

The known corpus

The inscriptions found in Lemnos originally constitute a *corpus* of four *stelai* plus a little fragment now lost, dating from the late Hellenistic period to the beginning of the Roman era. All of them were found in the Thirties of the last century. Silvio Accame first published three of those inscriptions (with photos) in his article: "Iscrizioni del Cabirio di Lemno"⁶.

The first stele (Accame nr.14 = MMyrina X18) is an opisthographic document, which was known from just one fragment. It is on display at the Museum of Myrina (Lemnos), with one side, the *recto*, walled up. Therefore, it is possible to read just the *verso*, the right and left sides; these texts were already known and read by Accame. As we will see further, by the way, they still deserve more attention.

The second document (Accame nr.15 = MMyrina X19) is kept in the storerooms of the Museum and consists, at present, of two gray marble fragments, which match but are not rejoined. They preserve two different manumission texts, engraved by two different letter cutters.

The third inscription was also published by Accame (Accame nr.16 = MMyrina X20); it still preserves the triangular pediment, some traces of the *acroteria* and is now on display at the Museum. On its surface there is only one text, a decree, which was meant to publicize the manumission deeds, engraved below⁷.

The last document is a stele of great size, published by Luigi Beschi (Beschi nr.25 = MMyrina 2202); it presents many difficulties, for both the autopsy and the interpretation, since there are thirty inscriptions which

⁶ Accame 1941/3 [1948], 75-105.

⁷ For a new reading of the stele see also Rocca 2010 [2012], 296.

completely cover every inch of the surface⁸.

The new fragments

Two fragments surely belong to the first manumission stele published by Accame in the abovementioned article (Accame nr.14 = MMyrina X18) - which is now on display at the Archaeological Museum of Myrina. The two documents are not completely new, since they are both already published. Nevertheless, none of the editors recognized these fragments as manumission inscriptions and part of a single stele, an idea ventured to me by Enrica Culasso Gastaldi, to whom I am very grateful.

Document 1 = MMyrina X 375β + MMyrina X18 + MMyrina X46

Opisthographic stele composed of three fragments in white marble with grey spots (fig. 1-3). Fragment *a* (= MMyrina X 375β; fig. 1 a-b) is not complete; it preserves only part of the front and of the left side. The *verso* is not original. Inscriptions run on the main and on the left sides. It is the upper part of the stele and it joins fragment *b* (= MMyrina X18) along its upper fracture line (fig. 3). Fragment *b* (= MMyrina X18) has the left and the right sides preserved; the *verso* is original, too. It is incomplete on its right-upper corner and in the lowest side. Here we may place fragment *c* (= MMyrina X46; fig. 2), that I believe could be part of the left corner of the document. Unfortunately I have not been able to prove my hypothesis so far, since, as I have said, the stele is walled up and there has been no way to move it. The inscriptions run on the *recto*, *verso* and on the left and right sides. Fragment *c* (= MMyrina X46) has only the left side preserved, it is broken on the other three sides. It bears part of an inscription on the front. The letters were carved by the same letter cutter of the second inscription on fragment *b*. The three fragments were found in the sanctuary of the gods Kabeiroi. *a* was found by Frova in 1939; *b* was found by Prosdocimi in 1938, walled up in a byzantine structure. Fragment *c* was found in the North-East area of the terrace which is in front of the Roman building, in the *Kabirion*. Fragments *a* and *c* are now in the storeroom of the Museum of Myrina; *b* is on display in the Museum.

Measures: *a* 0,08 x 0,137 x 0,35 m; *b* 0,25 x 0,31 x 0,12 m; *c* 0,08 x 0,085 x 0,068 m.

Fr. *a*: seven inscribed lines on the main side; five lines on the left side. Fr.

⁸ Beschi 1996/7 [2000], 46-66.

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b: the *recto* is walled up; two inscriptions on the main side (*verso*), two on the left side, one on the right side. Fr. *c*: five inscribed lines on the main side. It is possible to recognize five different letter cutters who worked on the stele. The characteristics of the letters and their measures will therefore be given text by text.

Edd. *a*. Beschi 1996/7 [2000], nr. 31; *b*. Accame 1941/3 [1948], nr. 14; *c*. Susini 1952/54 [1955], nr. 8. Autopsy: May 2007, February 2008 (fr. *b*); June 2011, October 2014 (fr. *a*, *b*, *c*).

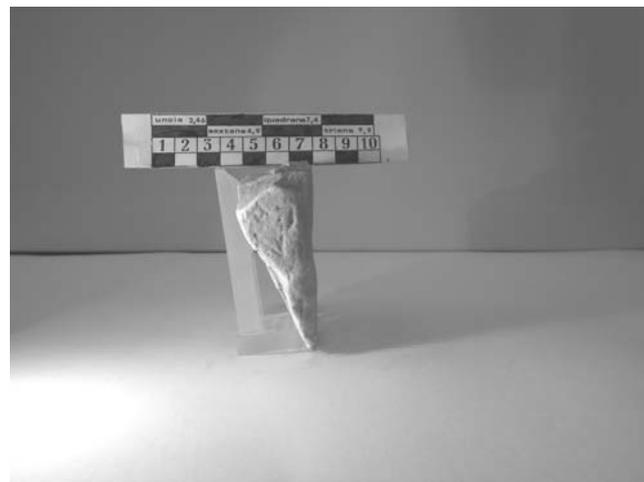


Figure 1 a-b. Fragment a = MMyrina X375 β (main and left side).

Picture taken by E. Culasso Gastaldi.

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Figure 2. Fragment c = MMyrina X46.
Picture taken by E. Culasso Gastaldi.



Figure 3. Fragments *a* (= MMyrina X375 β) and *b*
(= MMyrina X18) rejoined. Picture taken by E. Culasso Gastaldi.

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Recto

It is not possible to read it, since it is walled up.

Verso

Inscription 1 = *a* + *b* (ll. 1-17). Letters are different and the writing is confused.
Measures: 0,08-0,013 m, but *omicron* 0, 005-0,007. Lunate *omega*; lunate but squared *sigma* and *epsilon*; *alpha* with sharply broken crossbar.

a 1 [- - -]++ [- - -]
ΤΩ ΤΟΥ [- - -]
[- τ]ὸν δοῦλον [- - -]
+ ΝΙΕΜ ++ [- - -]
5 δρα(χμὰς) + Η
[- - -]Λ + Ε + ΧΕ + Γ [- - -]
[- - -] + [- - -]
b [- - -]Ω [- - -]
[- - γε] γραμμεινο [- - -]
10 ΘΕΟΝ καὶ τοὺς λοι[- - -]
αὐτο[-] μηδ[έν] καὶ μη[δενὶ μηδέν]
προσῆκειν μηδὲ ἀπολ[εῖ]-
πεσθαι μήτε ἀντίληψιν μή[τε]
ἀντίρρησιν αὐτῶι μηδεμί[αν]
15 ἀντιδιᾶλξιν εἰς ἑαυτόν
τῶι Π[- -]ΤΗ [- - -]ΝΙ ἔτη δέ[κα]
ἀπ[ιέναι] γ[ῆς].

1. It is possible to recognize two traces of letters, maybe the lowest part of two vertical strokes.
2. - - ON.OY - - Beschi.
3. - - ΔΟΥΜ - - Beschi.
4. - - ΝΕΜ - - Beschi. Before the *ny* it is possible to recognize just a stroke. The last letter could be a *omicron*, but it is too damaged to be restored.
5. - - ΔΙΑ - - Beschi.
6. - - ΙΕ..ΤΙ - - Beschi.
7. Maybe a *omicron*.
10. λοι[- - -] Accame. A possible restoration could be λοι[πούς].
11. αὐτο... Accame.
16. ..ω. τ γετηδε Accame.
17.π..... Accame.

Inscription 2 = *b* (ll. 18-22). Measures: 0,012 m, but *omicron* 0,01. *Alpha* with broken bar.

18 Καλλισθένης Φύλονος Μαρα-
θώνιος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρα Στύ[ρα]-
κος Ἀλεξανδρείτις ἀφειᾶσ[ι]
[τ]ᾶς ἑαυτοῦ θρεπτᾶς ΤΩΙ [- - -]
[- - -]ΙΑΝ Ε[- - -]

c 1 Α+[- - -]
ΣΑ+[- - -]
ΑΛΕ+[- - -]
ΔΑΦ[- - -]
+ΤΥ+[- - -]

*b*21. [τ]ᾶς ἑαυτοῦ [θρ]επτᾶς το *Accame*

22. σῆαν ἔ..... *Accame*.

*c*1. It is visible a little part of a vertical stroke.

2. ΣΑΣ ο ΣΑΔ. σαδ *Susini*.

4. δαφ *Susini*.

5. [.]τυ - - - *Susini*.

Left side

Inscription 3 = *a+b* (ll. 1-11). Measures: 0,06-0,09 m. Lunate *epsilon*, *sigma*, *omicron*; *alpha* with broken bar.

a [- - - - -]
1 [- - -]+[- - -]
[- - -] ΑΠ
[- - -] ΝΥ
5 [- - -]Ε

a+b [ᾶ]π[ιένα]ι

b ἄν ἀὺ[τοῖ π]-
ροαιρῶ[ντ]-
αι μηθεγ[ι]
μηθὲν πρ-

10 οσήκον-
τας *vacat*

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1. Vertical stroke. 2. - - AT Beschi

Inscription 4= *b* (ll. 12-16). Measures: 0,01-0, 014 m. Lunate but squared *sigma*. The inscription runs perpendicularly to the previous one.

b 1 Κλεοπάτ[ρα - - - Μα]-
ραθωνίου [μετὰ κυρίου]
Ἀπολλοδ[ώρου - - -]
ἀφίησ[ι]ν ἐλ[ευθερ - -]
5 +

5. δ . Accame.

Right side

Inscription 5 = *b* (ll. 1-9) The letters are deeply carved and adorned with serifs. *Alpha* with broken bar. Measures: 0, 007-0, 014 m.

b 1 Ἰσιδικη
Ποσειδ-
ωνίου
Σουνιέ-
ως θυγ-
άτηρ μ-
5 ετὰ κυ-
ρίου Εὐ-
δήμ[ου].

Commentary

Inscription 1

The surface of the stone is pretty shabby and damaged and the letters almost do not emerge, even with an oblique light onto the surface. Moreover, the inscription does not follow a scheme. Finally, what is more, even where it is possible to get a proper understanding, the formulas are unattested and unique among the manumission inscriptions⁹.

⁹ The main book on manumission inscriptions are: Drachmann 1878; Calderini 1908; Rädle 1969; Albrecht 1978; Klees 1998 and Id. 2000; Darmezín 1999 (mainly dealing with sacral manumission; see also Bömer 1960); Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005 and now also Ead. 2013, with a special attention to the manumission acts from Thessaly; see also Kamen 2005 (unpublished) and Kamen 2013, 32-42 (chap. 3). Cf. also Kranzlein 1983; Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 343 ss. One might also note an interesting online *corpus* of manumission inscriptions: www.lemnosinscriptions.com

The first lines are in an extremely poor condition; one should note the mention of the word δούλον, at line 3 and the presence of the *drachmai* at line 5. Arguably the slave could give his master an amount of money, probably to get released before the ending of the *paramone*. The sum is not clear, but it is surely more than one hundred (H on the stone), which is the only recognisable letter. The most plausible amount of money is three hundred drachmas, which is already attested in three other manumissions found in Lemnos¹⁰.

At line 9 we can see the word γε]γραμμενο[- - -]. I guess that this is the allusion to a written record, possibly another copy of the stele, kept somewhere else.

The letters ΘΕΟΝ at line 10 cannot refer to the word *theos*, since there is no intelligible meaning in the presence of the word “god” here, in the accusative case. Moreover, none of the inscriptions found in Lemnos mention a deity. Probably the letters ΘΕΟΝ are the final part of a word in the accusative. The meaning would be maybe comprehensible if the sentence that follows, and that we cannot understand at the moment, was better preserved (ΘΕΟΝ καὶ τοὺς λοι[- - -]).

The formula μη[δενὶ μηδέν] προσήκειν (ll. 11-12) is well attested in Lemnos and abroad. The meaning is “n’appartenat à personne en rien”¹¹. The slave, therefore, was free, since he bore no more restrictions imposed by anyone, including his master.

The expressions that follow, *i.e.* μη[δενὶ μηδέν] / προσήκειν μηδὲ ἀπολ[εῖ]/πεσθαι μήτε ἀντίληψιν μή[τε] / ἀντίρρησιν αὐτῷ μηδεμί[αν] / ἀντιδιόλξιν εἰς ἑαυτόν, are not attested anywhere else. I could not find even one comparison in other manumission inscriptions. The translation which I could propose is: “do not leave behind any contradiction, nor controversy and no-one can make any opposition to him”. I am aware that this interpretation may sound plain. I think that the aim of this remark was, once more, to protect the slave’s freedom against any attempt to infringe it.

The lines 16 and 17 would arguably contain the *paramone* clause, which is the obligation imposed to the slaves to remain with their ancient ex-owners for a precise period of time after the manumission. Usually the freedman was forced

iath.virginia.edu/meyer. The leader of the research team, Elisabeth Meyer, has recently published also a book about inscriptions (mainly manumissions) in Dodona (see Meyer 2013).

¹⁰ The inscriptions are numbered as XX *a, b, c* in Rocca 2010 [2012], 296-297, where there is a new edition of the stele first published by Beschi 1996/7 [2000], nr. 25.

¹¹ Darmezil 1999, 153 and 225. A slightly different interpretation can be found in Beschi 1996/7 [2000], 47, who translated the formula as “senza dovere nulla a nessuno”.

to work and serve the master throughout his life.¹² Here the obligation does not cover the entire life of the master. In fact, I could recognize on the stele the word ἔτη, followed by the number δέκα, which is expressed in letters and not with a figure in the acrophonic or alphabetic numeral system. This represents the duration of the *paramone*. After the *paramone* clause we frequently find a sequence of words that allow the freedman to go wherever he wants. So, I would interpret in this way the letters ΑΠ at the beginning of the last line and the gamma recognisable beyond, about five spaces further. They possibly will be part of the formula ἀπιέναι γῆς, which is surely well attested in Lemnos¹³.

We have no prosopographical details that can help us with the chronology. Paleography is the only way we have to suggest a date for the text. Accame placed the document in the 2nd/1st century BC and I can see no reason to disagree¹⁴.

Inscription 2

The second inscription on the main side is on a lower surface. It preserves the manumission of some slaves accomplished by a couple. The verb of manumission is well attested; it is *aphiemi*, followed by the adjective *eleutheros*, in the accusative, which is the formula always used on the island of Lemnos to assure freedom to manumitted slaves¹⁵. The names of the slaves (all girls) are not preserved. The letters ΤΩΙ at the end of line 21 should be the beginning of one slave's name. Unfortunately I have not found any comparison to endeavour an integration or at least a suggestion.

The manumittors' names surely deserves a proper attention. The man is an Athenian citizen, Kallisthenes, son of Philon of the deme of Marathon¹⁶. His wife, on the other hand, is a foreign woman - she comes from Alexandria of Egypt¹⁷. Her ethnic is written in a peculiar way, since we can see the use of εἰ

¹² On the *paramone* clause in manumission inscriptions see Calderini 1908, 227; Westermann 1948, 9 ff.; Samuel 1965, 221 ff.; Marinovich 1971, 27-46 (in Russian, but with English abstract, 46); Waldstein 1986, 143-147; Darnezin 1999, 211 ff.; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, 222 ff.; Velissaropoulos-Karakostas 2011, 432 ff.; Gallo 2012; Kamen 2013. See also LSJ s. v. παραμονή ("obligation to continue in service of a slave whose manumission is deferred"). Cf. now Rocca 2015, *forthcoming*, with previous bibliography.

¹³ Many examples can be found in the stele published by Beschi 1996/7 [2000], nr. 25.

¹⁴ Accame 1941/3 [1948], 94.

¹⁵ The verb ἀφιημι has a peculiar spelling in the inscription *de quo*, since we have εἰ instead of ι. The ethnic of the girl, Alexandra, shows the same writing. See Threatte 1980, 190 ff.

¹⁶ PAA 559962.

¹⁷ LGPN I, 24; LGPN II, 18.

instead of ι . Two epitaphs, in Athens, have the same peculiar writing¹⁸. The chronology of the funerary inscriptions ranges between the 1st century BC and the Imperial period. The pronunciation of ι as $\epsilon\iota$ is not attested before the 400 BC, when it appears in just one inscription. After the 2nd century BC it is more frequent, but it is only in the Imperial period that it becomes widespread¹⁹. Therefore, the ethnic of the girl is essential for us to establish a chronology. It is also one proof of the presence of a group of Egyptians, namely *metoikoi*, on the island in the late Hellenistic period²⁰. Another noteworthy document is a funerary inscription, which is on display in the Museum of Myrina, Lemnos. It bears an epigraph with the name of a girl, Magnesia, son of Zotichos. The ethnic of the lady, once more, is Alexandritis, *i. e.* from Alexandria of Egypt²¹. The first editors, Picard and Reinach proposed a different reading (Ἀλεξάνδρου γυνή) and a very high chronology, since they placed the inscription in the fourth century BC. Already Cargill, who aimed to refresh the old reading of this stone - he got squeezes and pictures - modified both the date and the text. First he argued that the funerary epigraph belonged to the late Hellenistic period, or the Imperial one. He also proposed a new transcript: Μαγνησία Ζοτίχου Ἀλεξανδρίτις χαῖρε²². I conducted an autopsy of the stone twice, once in February 2008 and again in October 2014. I can confirm the reading proposed by Cargill and the chronology, which I would close in the 1st/2nd century AD, due to the palaeography. *Sigma* and *epsilon* are in fact lunate and squared, *pi* has a little appendix and *zeta* is in cursive script, as it appears in the Roman alphabet. Therefore, I would argue that Magnesia was buried in Lemnos and, consequently, that she used to live there. What I believe, in fact, is that the manumissions found in the *Kabirion* took place and were announced on the island. The manumittors from Athens were cleruchs, that is Athenian citizens settled there. The prosopographic study achieved on all the manumission inscriptions found in Lemnos can help us. In details, two individuals, Ἀρχικλῆς Ἀρχικλέους Λακιάδης and Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου Αἰθαλίδης, belong to families that, after 167/6 BC, *i. e.* after the defeat of Perseus at Pydna, seem to provide

¹⁸ IG II² 8002, 8038.

¹⁹ Threatte 1980, 190 ss.

²⁰ For a complete overview of the foreigners living on the island see Culasso Gastaldi 2014/2015, 599-637.

²¹ IG XII. *Suppl.* 339.

²² Cargill 1995, 237-240. One should note Cargill's observation that the first editors did not have a proper autopsy of the inscription: they only published a text that a local archaeologist gave them.

cleruchs to Lemnos and Delos, given back to Athens by the Roman Senate²³. Another manumittor, Ἴεροκλῆς Λυσσιμάχου Εὐωνομεύς, could belong to the same family of a homonym who appears in a list of cleruchs that were sent to Hephaistia in the first half of the fourth century BC²⁴. A funerary stele from Hephaistia, published by Susini, may support my hypothesis²⁵. The holder of the deposition is called Archias, son of Androkleides, of Phegaia. A homonym, without patronymic, but with the same demotic, is attested as the father of Leothemis (MMyrina 2202, text nr. 10), a woman who freed her slave. I believe that the chronology of the funerary inscription can be established in the 1st century BC, as the paleographic characters reveal²⁶. If I am correct, the hypothesis of a family membership, if not of an identification of the two individuals, seems most likely. A second inscription can confirm this hypothesis²⁷. It preserves the memory of two persons, both represented in a scene of *dexiosis*: the man, Dies, recorded without patronymic and demotic, can be compared with another Dies, attested in MMyrina 2202, as a manumitted slave. Again, the paleographic characters suggest that both the inscriptions may well be set in the 1st century BC. To sum up, all the individuals mentioned above seem to suggest a connection with a group of people living on the island and, as we have seen, even buried there. The fact that a group of people from Alexandria, even small, used to live on the island could be important also to understand the presence of the cult of the god Sarapis on Lemnos. I have already discussed that topic and the available data in a congress held in Turin in 2010²⁸. I just would add here, that maybe the group of Alexandrians could have encouraged the introduction - or a reinforcement - of the cult not only in Lemnos, but in the North-East Aegean²⁹. The twin cleruchy, Imbros, provides us a piece of evidence of the presence of the same cult. Here a stele, dated to the Imperial era, and found near the chapel of Hagios Dimitrios, near the village of Glyki, bears a votive inscription for Isis, and, perhaps, for Serapis (the name of

²³ Ἀρχικλῆς Ἀρχικλέους Λακιάδης, Beschi 1996/7 [2000], nr.25 (MMyrina 2202) XII (PAA 213365). Θεόδωρος Θεοδώρου Αἰθαλίδης, Beschi 1996/7 [2000], nr. 25 (MMyrina 2202) XVIII (PAA 506615). For the family background see Rocca 2010 [2012], 303 ss.

²⁴ Ἴεροκλῆς Λυσσιμάχου Εὐωνομεύς PAA 532276; see also Cargill 1995, nr. 889.

²⁵ Susini 1952/4 [1955], 321-322, nr. 3; PAA 212730.

²⁶ On the chronology see also Dimitrova 2004, 212; Culasso Gastaldi 2010 [2012], 363.

²⁷ Segre 1932/33, 311, nr. 16; Susini 1952/54 [1955], 325, nr. 5 with picture.

²⁸ Rocca 2010 [2012], 305 ff.

²⁹ For the evidence of the cult of Sarapis in the North Egean see Kater Sibbs 1973, 62-63 (where the Sarapis' head found in Myrina [MMyrina 2128] is mentioned, but considered lost); Bricault 2005, 191-194; LIMC VII.1, 666-692.

the god is fully restored)³⁰. This offer, in my opinion, suggests a local celebration of the worship; therefore, I would imagine a very similar situation for the two islands, which probably had their own sanctuary and cult of Serapis.

Going back to the text of our inscription, I am pretty sure that fragment *c* can be placed at the left corner of the stele. Unfortunately, it is not possible to say if the fragment joins the stone or not, since fragment *b*, as I have already said, is walled up and the lower part is stuck on the support. What is certain is that the inscription on *c* is the prosecution of the second text carved on *b*. The hand is the same, without any doubt. Moreover, the letter ΑΛΕ (line 3) in the text can be the beginning of the name Alexandra or of the ethnic Alexandritis, attested - and discussed - in the aforementioned document.

The palaeography of the text, together with the phonological peculiarities that we have already noticed, suggests a date around the 1st/2nd century AD, as already argued by the first editor³¹.

Inscription 3

The inscription on the left side presents some difficulties in the reading of the first lines, where the verb of manumission and possibly the *paramone* clause usually are. Regrettably only a few letters are now recognisable on the stele. The lines on fragment *b* are better preserved: here we can identify the formula ἀπιέναι ἄν αὐτοὶ προαρῶνται, which is well attested in the manumission inscriptions from the island. It means that the freedman is free to go wherever he wants. The words that we can read from ll. 8 to the end of the text (μηθεῖν[ι]/μηθέν προ/οσήκον/τας) are also common in the manumission acts. As we have already said, this is the way to state that the previous slave has now no obligations, towards no one. I would like to focus the attention on the pronoun μηδεῖς, μηθέν, which is here in the form μηθεῖς, μηθέν, with the aspirated dental. This peculiar pronunciation appears in Attica from the end of the fourth century BC and lasts until the 1st century BC. Only in the Imperial period they do go back to the standard spelling.³² This could suggest to us the *terminus ante quem* for our text. The first editor dated the document in the 1st century AD³³. I think that, considering what the phonology and palaeography show, we can now say that the text was carved around the 1st century BC.

³⁰ *IG* XII. 8, 81 + *IG* XII *Suppl.* 81. See also Picard - Reinach 1912, 315; Bricault 2005, 194; Ruhl 2010 [2012], 466. During the survey accomplished on the island of Imbros in 2011, we were told that the inscription is still lost.

³¹ Accame 1941/3 [1948], 94.

³² Threatte 1980, 471 ff.

³³ Accame 1941/3 [1948], 95.

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Inscription 4

The second inscription of the left side, again, is very fragmentary. However, we can recognise the name of the lady who is freeing her slave. She is Kleopatra, daughter of a man of the deme of Marathon³⁴. In accordance with the Attic law, the girl acts with the presence of her *kyrios*, possibly her husband, whose name is Ἀπολλόδωρος³⁵.

Inscription 5

On the right side we can read the name of a girl, Ἴσιδίκη, the daughter of a man from Sounion³⁶. Her husband, Εὔδημος, assists her while setting free her slave or slaves³⁷. It is interesting to stress that in another inscription from the *Kabeiron* we have a girl, Eisdike, with the same patronymic and demotic of Isidike, who manumits her slave with her husband³⁸. Looking at the names, we could be tempted to equate the two girls. The different spelling, in fact, could be just a peculiar pronunciation of εἰ for ι, which - as we have seen - is quite common in Attica in the Hellenistic period until the Imperial era³⁹. By the way, we are forced to neglect this hypothesis since the two girls have different *kyrioi*, i.e. different husbands. The most probable solution is, therefore, that Eisdike may be a nephew of Isidike. The first editor, Accame, anchored the chronology of the inscription at the 2nd/1st century BC⁴⁰. The palaeographic aspects of the inscription (some letters have quite a cursive script, like *mu* and *alpha*; *theta* has a straight crossbar in the middle and not a simple dot) suggest to shorten the range and to place the text in the 1st century BC.

Document 2 (B side) = MMyrina X51 + MMyrina X3310 + MMyrina X52.

Opisthographic stele composed of three coarse-grained marble fragments, with quartz inclusions. *a* and *b* are lateral fragments and they join along the central fracture line (fig. 4). The back is original and inscribed; *c* is a right lateral fragment; its *verso* is not original. *a* (X51) and *c* (X52) were found in the sanctuary of the gods Kabeiroi in 1939; *b* (X3310) was found by one of the

³⁴ PAA 577625.

³⁵ Harrison 2001 (= 1968), 73-83. About the legal status of Lemnos see Marchiandi 2008 [2010], 11-38.

³⁶ PAA 540280.

³⁷ PAA429282.

³⁸ MMyrina 2202 nr. XIV = Beschi 1996/7 [2000], nr. 25, XIV.

³⁹ Threatte 1980, 195 ff.

⁴⁰ Accame 1941/3 [1948], 94.

employee of the Museum of Myrina, Mr. Fotis, in 1990. Measures: *a* 0, 135 x 0,03 m (on the upper part) - 0, 008 (lower part) x 0, 03; *b* 0,14 x 0, 085 x 0,04; *a+b* 0, 245 x 0,085 x 0, 042; *c* 0,055 x 0, 065 x 0,03. Every fragment is kept in the storeroom of the Museum of Myrina.

A side: *a* and *b* have the left side preserved. It is possible to count 18 written lines. *c* bears five written lines, which are almost unreadable. The hand is the same for all the lines. The A side bears a decree; it will be published by Culasso Gastaldi, who recognised the three fragments as part of the same stele.

B side (fig. 4): unpublished. *a* and *b* have the right side which is original. We can count 13 written lines. *Sigma* and *epsilon* are lunate. Measures: 0.008-0,01 m. The text is very untidy. We can distinguish two different hands who wrote two different inscriptions, that can surely be identified as manumissions of slaves.

Ed. *a* Susini 1952/4 [1955] nr. 19, who gave the reading only of the *a* side; *b* is unpublished; *c*. Susini 1952/4 [1955] nr. 15. Autopsy: June 2011 and October 2014.

B side

- a 1 [- - -] OY[- - -]
vacat
[- - -] Μελι-
[τεύς - - -] Πειρ-
5 [αιεύς - - -] θρεπτήν
[- - -] +έ[α]υτοί+
[- - -] Λ [..] T +++
[- - -] ++ O [- - -]
[- - -]
b 10 [- - -] ++ [Παι]ανιεύ-
[ς - - -] ΘΟΣ ἀφίασι
[- - -] Η παραμε[ι]-
[v - - -] N.

6. The first trace of a letter is an oblique stroke; it could be *alpha*, *lambda*, *mu*, *nu*. The last trace is, again, possibly a vertical stroke.

7. Traces of letters: two vertical strokes and possibly an oblique one.

8. Traces of letters; probably an oblique and a vertical strokes.

9. The line is not really readable, since the surface is too damaged.

10. Very damaged traces of letters: maybe two vertical strokes.

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Figure 4. Fragment *a* (= MMyrina X51) and *b* (= MMyrina X3310). B side. Picture taken by E. Culasso Gastaldi.

Commentary

B side

The stele is heavily damaged, the surface is very shabby and the letters are difficult to find and therefore to recognise. What I can say about this document is that it bears two different manumission acts. Both of them were probably achieved by Athenian citizens: at the line 3 the letters MEAI would in fact suggest the demotic Μελατεύς. The letters at line 3, in the same way, recall the word Πειραιεύς. The manumitted slave is a girl, since in the stele the word

θεεπήν is the only one that seems to stand out from the surface. The following lines look without any meaning at present.

The second inscription, again, preserves very little of the names of the patrons; at line 10 we get the end of a demotic, Παιανιεύς, and part of one name, [- - -]ΘΟΣ. The verb of manumission is *aphiemi*, at the third person plural, which is well attested in Lemnos. We have also part of the *paramone* clause (l. 12), but we do not know the duration and - if present - any special requirement.

In conclusion, I would like to underline that the ever-growing *corpus* of manumission inscriptions from Lemnos - even if *prima facie* somewhat repetitive, even poor - upon closer inspection can still spring some surprises on us. It is in fact a precious source, and a rare one at that; one that affords us tantalising glimpses into the island's history at the very end of the Hellenistic period.

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Abstract

Il contributo vuole presentare una serie di frammenti rinvenuti sull'isola di Lemnos, in particolare nel santuario degli dei Cabiri sito a Chloi, e riconoscibili come iscrizioni di manomissione. I testi vanno dunque ad arricchire il *corpus* già noto di atti legati all'emancipazione servile, contribuendo in modo costruttivo alla definizione della pratica liberatoria sull'isola nella tarda età ellenistica e nella prima età imperiale.

The paper aims to present a series of fragments found on the island of Lemnos - in the sanctuary of the gods Kabeiroi in Chloi- and recognizable as manumission inscriptions. The texts will therefore enrich the already known corpus of acts which testify the ways used on the island to set the slaves free. The documents usefully contribute to the definition of the manumission practice attested on Lemnos in late Hellenistic and early Imperial period.