

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

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A. ABSTRACT

In this article we will try to give an answer to the question of changes in the visibility of women in the public sphere. The fact that élite women played a *more energetic role in public life from the late Hellenistic epoch on* has been established by our research on the available sources (mostly epigraphical) in some regions of the Greco-Roman East, in particular W. Asia Minor (Ionia and Caria) and in Aegean islands such as Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Tenos, Syros and Paros.

Nevertheless, the inscriptions, being brief summaries of the decrees which were put in the archives, fail to comment on the issue of the honorand's actual fulfilment of the office, though sometimes they give indirect information on the lady's presence, eg in the stadium. But even if the female magistrates were visible, did that have any effect on other women? Did the free, or at least the citizen women in the cities of the Roman East enjoy more freedom in their movement outside the oikos? Could women move freely in the agora, the theatre or any other public place? And if they did so, what about their mingling with men and regulations about their clothes and personal behaviour? Literature is important on that subject because it provides indirect information on all the aspects of the problem, but the archaising style and subject matter of many

literary works, the hallmark of the Second Sophistic, throws doubt on their relevance to the era in which our research is located. Notwithstanding those problems, the combination of literary texts and inscriptions sheds some light on the obscure subject of women's presence in the public sphere.

B. THE GYMNASIUM, THE ECCLESIA AND THE THEATRE

Traditionally, the *gymnasium* was an exclusive male club. In classical Athens it was open to the sons of all citizens and it provided basically physical education:

«The word *gymnasium* means 'an exercise for which you strip', and so it comes to be used first in the plural, then in the singular as the place where you take exercise. The essential part of it is the running-track, and it is not a building but an athletic ground, but like the palaestra it requires undressing-rooms and bathrooms and therefore it usually contains a palaestra»¹.

In archaic and classical Greece the *gymnasium* was the place for the training of the epheboi, the future citizens, and their education was primarily physical; one of the basic duties of the classical citizen was his military service. In fact, democracy was based on the reality of the citizen-soldier. The city was the body of the citizens and thus it was every citizen's duty to protect her on the battlefield.

Women of course could not become soldiers, not so much because of biological inadequacy but because the survival of the historical human societies demanded the sexual division of labour. Contrary to the other species, the female human cannot combine her reproductive role with the effective defence of her offspring (perhaps this is one of the reasons for women's exclusion from performing blood-sacrifices in the Graeco-Roman religious systems). Thus girls' education has nothing to do with the *gymnasium*: it was performed in the place in which the girl had to pass her whole life, the *oikos*. Of course Sparta was an anomaly; as T F Scanlon observes:

¹ E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford 1930, 72.

«Yet since men's physical initiatory tests and sports contests in general in ancient Greece were either a preparation for warfare or a reflection of the martial spirit, women's athletics for most Greeks with the exception of Spartans, would have been a contradiction in terms»².

Sparta's inclusion of girls in its educational system has nothing to do with feminism.

Simply, the social organisation of the Spartan state demanded the creation of a kind of woman who could handle her affairs and those of her household due to men's permanent absence on military campaigns. (It is a kind of social organisation similar to modern societies whose economical survival is based on men's frequent absence, eg fishing communities.) Also, it is well known that Spartan girls' education had eugenic purposes³.

The sources tend to indicate that both sexes performed their role in gymnastics together but the evidence is suspicious⁴. The compiler Stobaeus (5th century AD) rejects co-education, (perhaps it was the Christian moralistic attitude which influenced him)⁵.

Nevertheless, in the Hellenistic and Roman eras the words *gymnasiarchos*, *gymnasium*, *gymnasiarchein* acquired new different meanings. The Hellenistic and Roman *gymnasium* included cultural facilities like libraries, and it had become «a complex in full Hellenistic flower and thereafter was a public area, controlled by a corps of municipal officers and frequented regularly by men of all ages»⁶. The whole population, not only the free male citizens, could and did enter the *gymnasium* in order to watch the ephebes' contests, to participate in sacrifices and meals, or, in distributions, usually of oil, since the *gymnasium's* baths ended up being the city's public baths. So we have evidence, mostly epigraphical, for the presence of women in the *gymnasium*, but this does not mean either that women were included in the educational system of the *gymnasium* (except in a few cities in the Hellenistic era but only on the primary level) or that they had the right to frequent the *gymnasium* regularly. Their

² «Virgineum Gymnasium», in W. J. Raschke (ed), *The Archaeology of the Olympics*, London 1988, 185.

³ Xenophon *Const. Lac.* 1.3-4, Plutarch, *Lyc.* 14.1-15.1.

⁴ Propertius 3.14, Ovid. *Her.* 16, 149-52.

⁵ Stobaeus, *Peri nomen kai ethan*, 12, 24, 10-20.

⁶ S. L. Glass, «The Greek *gymnasium*» in W. J. Raschke (ed), *The Archaeology of the Olympics*, London 1988, 157.

presence was allowed only on special occasions within a religious context. For instance in Stratonikeia, a priestly couple welcomed the women at the *gymnasium*, regardless of age group or social rank⁷, but this was an invitation for a dinner in the physical space occupied by the *gymnasium* and nothing more. From the analysis of other inscriptions from Stratonikeia, i.e. Stratonikeia II,2 núm. 1325A, recording the distribution of oil by Paederos and his sons to the residents of the city, the chora, the Romans residing in the city, the aliens and the crowd of women in the *gymnasium*, our hypothesis gains more backing. Therefore, V Olivova's statement:

«At first only Greek citizens were accepted in the *gymnasium*, but the barriers which had previously existed were removed, so that in time Greek women were also admitted as well as eventually slaves»⁸,

lacks conviction. She based her argument on J Oehler's lemma «*Gymnasium*», but she failed to interpret the sources cited⁹. Athenaeus' reference to boys and girls wrestling in the *gymnasium* of Chios can easily be dismissed as a joke with sexual undertones¹⁰ (for a more detailed account on the subject see my article, «Women and athletics in the Roman East», *Nikephoros*, 8, 1995, 125-144)

In an inscription from Dorylaeum, Phrygia, a lady, Antiochis Teuthra, is recorded as *gymnasiarchos* of the women¹¹; that could imply that the city had a *gymnasium* for its women citizens with a female as head, but this is undermined (a) by the context: the lady's husband was *gymnasiarchos* of the freedmen and of the slaves from his own funds, she was *gymnasiarchos* of the women from her own funds, which can best be interpreted as the couple distributing oil to the population on gender lines; and (b) by comparing it to a similar inscription from Stratonikeia. The priestess was *gymnasiarchos* for the women providing them with oil and perfumes and ointments¹². This creates further doubts on the validity of the argument. *Gymnasium* as a Latin word could mean simply distribution of oil¹³. Furthermore, the structure of the *gymnasium* as a civic

⁷ CIG no. 2719.

⁸ V. Olivova, *Sports and Games in the Ancient World*, London 1984, 149.

⁹ In Pauly-Wissowa, *R. E.*, VII 2 (1912) col. 2004-26.

¹⁰ Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII 566.

¹¹ IGR IV no. 522.

¹² BCH XV (1907) no. 140.

¹³ See AE (1960) no. 214, Libya.

institution remained exclusively male. In an inscription from Apollonis, a lady (her name does not survive), daughter of Promenes, wife of P..., is recorded as *stephanephoros* and *aleiphousa* for the whole year from her own funds in an ephobic list, but the actual officials, the *gymnasiarchos* and the *ephebarchos*, were men, which implies that usually women were given only honorific titles and liturgical duties, not administrative ones¹⁴.

In mainland Greece, women were not usually included in distributions of oil, even when they were made by a woman. The Laconian Phaenia Aromation gave a sum of money to be lent out and thus from the interest a supply of oil had to be distributed to every social category of resident, even the slaves; but there is no reference to women¹⁵.

In a similar fashion, Phlaviane Philokrateia made an epidosis of 1,000 Attican drachmas so that from the interest oil would be bought and distributed during a three-day festival among citizens, aliens and slaves (women were again excluded): of Panticopolis, Macedonia, A.D. 210¹⁶.

Again the presence of women in a *gymnasium* occurs very rarely, in a religious context, in order to signify important events through its extraordinary nature. For instance, Pausanias refers to the gathering of women of Elis around the Kenotaph of Achilles, in the city's old *gymnasium*, wailing for the hero¹⁷. According to F Graf this is a reversal of the proper order:

«Wailing women in the gymnasium, the meeting place of the young men, at the beginning of night - this is obviously an inversion of ordinary customs, this time in the cult of Achilles, the warrior-hero. This ritual served as a transition from everyday normality to the extraordinary period of the Olympic games... Thus the presence of women marks off the festival of men opening it at night, with women gathering around a warlike hero, and closing it in daytime, under the auspices of Hera, the women's own deity»¹⁸.

¹⁴ L. Robert, *Villes d'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1962, 247-8. See also the unknown Milesian lady who held half a dozen religious and civic offices including these of *gymnasiarchos* of the neoi (young) of the citizen, of the *pateres* (members of the *gerousia*), and also that of paidonomos (supervisor of the children), I Milet I9 no. 265. However the decree characterises them as «liturgies», *op. cit.*, lines 18-20.

¹⁵ IG VI, no. 1208 161/69 A.D.

¹⁶ EG III 261.

¹⁷ Pausanias, 6, 23,3.

¹⁸ F. Graf, «Women, war and warlike divinities», *ZPE* 55, 1984, 253.

In other words, the presence of the Elean women in the *gymnasium* was an abnormality, an inversion of traditional roles, and all the elements (night, wailing) have a magic-like, non-normal quality. On all the other days of the year their presence could not have been justified.

Sparta in the Roman imperial period tried to create a revival of its past, a trend which was very strong in the 1st. and 2nd. centuries A.D. in Roman Greece. This antiquarianism was responsible for the inclusion of girls in the *agoge*, but the evidence which survives is slight¹⁹. As for married women, the epigraphical material in which élite ladies are honoured mostly for their domestic virtues, indicates that they did not enjoy the unique «freedom» which at least our literary sources claimed for Spartan women²⁰. A more serious problem is posed by a Didymean inscription in which the hydrophoros (a kind of priestess) is recorded as having fulfilled her office with piety and love of honour, as having performed (or paid for) the sacrifice and paid for the adornment (of the temple?) and as having had invited the women into the *ecclesia*²¹. The idea of women crowded in the *ecclesia* is, at least, uncommon. What interpretation can we give to that gathering of the female population in the *ecclesia*? The comment by Th. Wiegand poses the question of the actual geographical position of the *ecclesia*²². Was it at Didyma (which was not a city but a temple site), in which case it would be a religious site, or was it the *ecclesia* of Miletos, the place in which the citizens gathered in order to give their (formal) approval of the assembly's decrees?

Of course in either case, women could not be considered as participating in the gathering of the citizens. It simply means that their presence in the *ecclesia* was justified in special cases, in all probability for religious reasons. It is an indication of the civic decline, or at least of the institution of citizenship of the classical type. If groups like women, aliens or slaves could use the *gymnasium* or the *ecclesia*, it means that the political value of those institutions had declined. They had been reduced to mere geographical spaces which could be used by those who were previously off limits from the city's political structure. This was interpreted as positive by some scholars, i.e. I. S. Svencickaja, who commented that the citizen community was no longer a closed unit, that in Roman times in Asia Minor a broader society including previously marginal categories was to

¹⁹ Two fragmented inscriptions: SEG XI (1950-54) 610 and 830, Pausanias, 3,13.7.

²⁰ IG VI, nos. 598, 599, 600, 605.

²¹ I Didyma, Berlin 1958, no. 314.

²² In I Didyma, Berlin 1958, no. 208.

be found²³. But it seems that it was mostly a question of depoliticisation of city life. The ephebes were no more the future *hoplitae*, so the *gymnasium* was no more the place of a masculine, physical education. The next step was to allow old citizens or women to use it as if it simply was a bath complex or a dinner place²⁴. And nothing changes in essence since in the centre were again the young males, whereas the marginal groups remained marginal, having only some facilities at their disposal which could be used only in special cases.

The presence of women at theatrical performances or sports events is still hotly debated. For the specific problem of the Athenian women's licence to attend the theatre, there is no definite answer. J Henderson argued persuasively in a recent article that at least some categories of the female population, the non-citizens, the market women and major priestesses could attend the theatre²⁵. Although his arguments are logical enough, he lacks what is called «hard evidence». The Athenian theatre performances were indeed too much a part of the city's political structure in the 5th. century B.C. to imagine women allowed in it. There are more hints of evidence for women spectators in the Hellenistic era: Henderson quotes a fragment (41) from the poet Alexis' play *Gynaikokratia*, in which a woman complains that it is unjust for them as women to sit always in the very last wedge of seats as if they were foreigners²⁶. If this was true, nothing changed in Roman times when women, at least the ones who were members of the élite, were always limited to the back rows²⁷. This simply reflects the social hierarchy in which women were subordinate to men and thus they had fewer privileges.

In Roman Athens, priestesses had the right to sit in the theatre, and at the front row. A series of inscriptions on seats at the theatre of Dionysos dating in the second century A.D. confirms this, e.g.²⁸ (*topos*) of the priestess of Helios (= sun)²⁹, (*topos*) of the priestess Antonia³⁰, (*topos*) of the Olbia priestess

²³ Cf. I. S. Suencickaja, «Some problems of agrarian relations in the province of Asia», *Eirene* 15, 1978, 27-54, especially, 29-30.

²⁴ Cf. Ch. Forbes, «Expanded uses of the Greek *gymnasium*», *Classical Philology* XL, 1945, 32-42.

²⁵ J. Henderson «Women and the Athenian dramatic festivals», *TAPA* 121, 1991, 133-147.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 140-141.

²⁷ K. Mantas, «Women and athletics in the Roman East», *Nikephoros*, 1995, 125-144.

²⁸ IG II. III. 3.1 no. 5093.

²⁹ *Ibid*, no. 5095.

³⁰ *Ibid*, no. 5101.

Julia³¹, (*topos*) of the priestess of Hestia and the Romans³², *topos* of Philippa daughter of Medeas etc. From a passage of Aelius Aristides we learn that the women of Smyrna in the 2nd. century A.D. were allowed to watch performances of comedy:

«And we do not employ all men as doorkeepers, but those who are the most trustworthy, so that no shame may befall our house. Yet shall we hand over our children, wives, all the classes of the city, and, in sum (it can be said) our dignity, to anyone who wishes to deal with it? And shall we have confidence in drunkards whom we condemned when they were sober?»³³

Aristides voices his anxiety for the moral injuries inflicted by comedy in women spectators (and men)³⁴. Women are present in the theatre, in a different context in Chariton's novel when the happily reunited couple has finally returned to the city of Syracuse, the whole population, men and women, crowded in the theatre to welcome them³⁵. Although the novel's fictitious events are set in 4th. century B.C., the women's participation in the event is closer to the author's era (2nd. century A.D.). Fragments of evidence seem to indicate that women in Roman cities in Asia Minor could walk freely in the streets, though sometimes their dress code was severe and restrictive. Dio Chrysostom observes that the women walking in the streets of Tarsos, Cilicia were dressed in such a way that nobody could see a part of their face or body and the women themselves could not see anything which was not in their way³⁶. C. P. Jones attributes this severity in dress not to Oriental influence but to «conservative Hellenism»³⁷, based on L. Robert's comments on the well-known female figurines from Tanagra, Boeotia, «Deux textes inutilisés sur Pergé et sur Sidé».³⁸ A veiled woman is depicted lying on a couch and holding a veil with her left hand, in a funerary altar, late imperial period, Pamphylia³⁹. Veiled women appear also in three categories of

³¹ *Ibid*, 102.

³² *Ibid*, 3104.

³³ Ch. A. Behr, *Aelius Aristides: the Complete Works*, Leiden 1981, vol. II, 143.

³⁴ XXIX 29 and 30.

³⁵ Dio Chrysostomus, *Chaereas and Callirrhoe* VIII, 40.

³⁶ Dio Chrysostomus, *Or.* 33, 48.

³⁷ Cf. C. P. Jones, *The Roman World of Dio Chrysostom*, London 1978, 75.

³⁸ *Hellenica* V., 1948, 69.

³⁹ SEG XXXV, 1985, Dio Chrysostomus, 1420.

reliefs in a Pisidian village, 3rd. century AD.⁴⁰ In a more detailed discussion, Cl. Brixte and E Gibson comment that:

«The Oriental veil of the ladies in group 11, and of the ladies from the ruin near Yenice (Plate 1) and on Ramsay's no.11 at Sofular, is exactly like the Muslim veil. Many times in Tehran I saw women veiled and seated with exactly the same clothing and posture. The faces too were identical, for the women were from Azerbaijan, forecourt of Anatolia: they might have been Pilia or Seno (no. 9) come back to life»⁴¹.

Those remarks undermine the validity of Jones's argument, since both literature and archaeology seem to confirm that this severe code of dress was typical of the regions of Pamphylia, Cilicia and Pisidia, whose population, especially the rural one, was neither Hellenic nor Hellenised (it was only the élite who had accepted Greco-Roman influence in language and way of life). In Smyrna, Aelius Aristides mentions that the obscene songs of comedy could be heard as being sung by women and boys in «baths, in the houses, the streets or the agora, which implies that women were present not only in the house, but in baths, streets and even the agora»⁴². However, this was not the case in every city because Menander the rhetor (3rd. century A.D.) mentions that in some cities it was not considered proper for women to be out in public or work in the market⁴³.

Nevertheless, a cultic group of women had to apply for the demos' permission for setting up an honorific statue of their benefactress, Kleidike, daughter of Asclepiades, who funded their rituals with 700 staters, in the men's *agora* (*andrea agora*) which implies segregation of the sexes on the *agora*, with only symbolic female presence allowed and only after special permission (the statue was to be erected close to that of her brother's, in her ancestor's place or «assembly»)⁴⁴. A reference to a *gynakeia agora* is to be found in Pollux; it is the part of the *agora* in which things are sold⁴⁵.

⁴⁰ SEG XXXII, 1982, Dio Chrysostomus, 1291-1301.

⁴¹ Cl. Brixte and E. Gibson, «Monuments from Pisidia in the Koc Collection», *Kadmos* 21, 1982, 138.

⁴² XXIX concerning the prohibition of comedy (30).

⁴³ D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (ed.), *Menander rhetor*, Oxford Cl. Pr. 1981, 227

⁴⁴ CIG Dio Chrysostomus, 3657.

⁴⁵ Pollux X.18. For the *agora*, sacred, male and female see M. Sève, «Un décret de consolation de Cyzique», *BCH* 103, 1979, 346-358.

In Roman Asia Minor and some regions of Greece, the women enjoyed the privilege of using the baths (or having their own ones) and of founding or co-founding baths as benefactresses. In Arkades (Roman Crete, imperial period), women had to use the same *balaneion* (bath) as men but in different hours⁴⁶. In Xanthos, Lycia, the famous benefactor Opramoas built a women's *balaneion* among his other benefactions, fulfilling a promise to his relative, Helene (Claudia Helene)⁴⁷. A lady called Lepuscla funded the construction of a *balaneion* in Asopos, Laconia, 1st./2nd. century A.D.⁴⁸. We have already referred to a family who funded a *balaneion* from the dowry of a dead daughter, with the privilege to use them for free, for life. Of course, the idea of mixed bathing was an affront, so in the 2nd. century A.D. imperial legislation banned it: Hadrian distributed gifts to men and women separately in the theatre and the hippodromos, in order to celebrate his birthday, after providing wild beast «hunting», and decreed that men and women should bathe separately⁴⁹.

Nevertheless, the idea which permeates the era's social life is that a woman's place is firmly in the home. In Artemidoros *Oneirokritikos*, references to women's domestic role abound. If a man dreams that he has been transformed into a woman, it is good for him if he is poor or a slave because women have to work less, but if he is a rich man, especially a political one, the dream is bad because women stay mostly at home⁵⁰. A tripod and a hearth symbolise the dreamer's wife⁵¹. A cushion, a couch and everything relating to a bed symbolise again the wife of the dreamer⁵². As S. MacAlister observes, the woman symbolises (a) good (as faithful and docile wife), (b) evil (as adulterous wife or prostitute). She is also the symbol of the private life, the hearth of the *oikos*⁵³. Lucian remarks that a rhetor has to boast of affairs with respectable women, showing letters allegedly written by them because that way he will establish his fame; he would have been known even in the *gynaikonitis*, the women's quarters⁵⁴. This indicates that the social isolation of the majority of women, a feature of pre-Hellenistic Greece, was still alive.

⁴⁶ SEG XXVI (1976/77) no. 1044.

⁴⁷ SEG XXX (1980) no. 1535.

⁴⁸ SEG XXXIX (1989) no. 372.

⁴⁹ Dio Cassius LXIX, 8.10, Hist. Aug., *Hadr*, 18.10.

⁵⁰ Artemidorus I. 50.5-10.

⁵¹ *Ibid*, I. 74.20-21.

⁵² *Ibid*, I. 74.25.

⁵³ Cf. S. MacAlister, «Gender as sign and symbolism in Artemidoros' *Oneirokritika*: social aspirations and anxieties», *Helios* 19, 1992, 140-160.

⁵⁴ A professor of public speaking, 23.

On the other hand, some women had established themselves in public due to their educational skills. From the Hellenistic era onwards, epigraphic evidence proves that Asia Minor cities, especially in Ionia and Aeolid, had continued Sappho's cultural tradition. In 2nd. century B.C., in Teos, three *grammatodidaskaloi* were elected to teach both *paides* and *parthenoi* (boys and girls)⁵⁵. At Smyrna and Pergamos, there was a magistrate responsible for the supervision of girls⁵⁶. A very fragmented inscription from Pergamos records girls' courses: penmanship, music and reading, epic and elegiac poetry⁵⁷. Tation daughter of Apollonios is recorded as winner in penmanship⁵⁸. In the 2nd. century B.C., the city of Larissa in Thessaly honoured a poetess from Smyrna by granting her *proxenia*, *enktesis* and *prostasia*⁵⁹. The city of Tenos honoured Alcinoe from Aetolia who according to the restoration had composed a hymn for Zeus, Poseidon and Amphitrecte, the patron gods of Tenos, during her visit⁶⁰. The honours included a crown. Nevertheless, the restoration was challenged by H Bouvier who preferred the fragmented, unrestored edition of the inscription which does not indicate the reason for the honour bestowed upon Alcinoe⁶¹. The epitaph of the female *stephanephoros* Menophila, Sardis (2nd. century B.C.) emphasises that the book she holds on the funeral relief is proof of her wisdom⁶². Elite women needed to have education in order to fulfil their new roles as priestesses and magistrates. Choirs of aristocratic girls sang in religious rituals; many inscriptions from the Hellenistic era record this fact, ie maidens selected by the *paidonomos* danced and sang hymns in honour of Zeus, in 2nd. century B.C. Magnesia⁶³. This practice was continued into the Roman imperial period; an inscription from Claros records the names of young girls who participated in choral singing in honour of Apollo; Tatarion and Tation daughters of Quintus, Zenonis alias Claudia daughter of Zenon, Ammia and Claudia daughters of Claudios Aktios, Tata daughter of

⁵⁵ Syll³ no. 578 ll.9-10.

⁵⁶ CIG no. 3185, MDAI. 37 (1912), 277 no. 1a.

⁵⁷ Ath. Mitt. 37 (1912) 277 no. 16.

⁵⁸ Ath. Mitt. 35 (1910), 436 no. 20.

⁵⁹ IG IX 2, no. 62.

⁶⁰ IG XII 5 no. 812.

⁶¹ ZPE 40 (1980) 36-38.

⁶² W. H. Buckler and D M Robinson, *Sardis: Greek and Latin inscriptions*, Leiden, 1932, 108-109 no. 111.

⁶³ F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*, Paris 1955, 89, no. 32.

Sosandros⁶⁴. The epitaph of a girl named Teitiane, daughter of a *curator* of the city of Amisos, Pontos, mentions that she had acquired an education, Sinope⁶⁵. At least two inscriptions from Lycia on alimenta by wealthy benefactors included girls in the programme: Opramoas promised that he would educate all the children, boys and girls (*tekna*) of the citizens of Xanthos⁶⁶, and the 1st century AD benefactor Licinnius Longus provided among other things an annual present of money to 250 selected boys and girls⁶⁷. This backs the argument that élite girls or even the daughters of citizens were given an elementary education in some cities of Asia Minor during the 1st and 2nd. centuries A.D. Menander the Rhetor confirms that in 3rd. century A.D. cities provided education for boys and girls⁶⁸. S. G. Cole's hypothesis, though, that girls attended classes in the *gymnasium*, based on the existence of a woman who was *gymnasiarchos* of the women in Dorylaeum, Phrygia, can be challenged. As we have already shown, the title can be perfectly well interpreted as «provider of oil for the women»⁶⁹.

⁶⁴ IGR IV núm. 1589. See also SEG XXXVII (1987) nos. 961, 962, 965, 966, 968, 973, 974, for girls' names included in lists of delegations from various cities (Laodiceia on the Lykos, Hierapytna, Chios) to the oracle of Apollo, in Clarus, 2nd. century A.D.

⁶⁵ IGR III no. 96.

⁶⁶ SEG XXX (1980) no. 1535 ll 24-25.

⁶⁷ IGR III no. 492 ll 15-16.

⁶⁸ I 363.30. Also see a passage of Paul of Aegina who quoted the 1st. century A.D. Athenaus of Attalea which states that girls (*korai*) were included in primary education, in R. A. Kaster, «Schools in Late Antiquity», *TAPA* 113, 1983, 327 and 329. See also SEG XXXIV (1984) no. 1124, in which Vedia Papiane is recorded as priestess for life of Athena 14-6, whereas in 110-12 it is recorded that the *paedes* (boys) and *parthenoi* (girls) were supervised in their process to Artemis by Ko. Tre. Marcus. Pleket observes that Vedia Papiane as lifelong priestess of Athena had symbolical value for the control of the education of children.

⁶⁹ S. G. Cole, «Could Greek women read and write?» H. P. Foley, *Reflections of Women in Antiquity*, London 1981, 231. At Dorylaion in the Imperial period a woman is honoured together with her husband for serving as *gymnasiarchos*; her husband filled the office of *gymnasiarchos* for the boys, both slave and free, while Antiochis herself served as *gymnasiarchos* of the women. Female *gymnasiarchoi* are not unusual, but literacy was not a requirement for serving in that office. The requirement was financial. The important thing about Antiochis is not her title, but the women whom she served; they must have been young women who attended classes at the *gymnasion*. At Dorylaeum there was even a *gymnasium* for women. See also D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton 1950, 652.

The interesting aspect is not the number of literate women, something which can never be defined, but the quality and the character of that education. Did it help the select few who received it to break the boundaries of domesticity? Did girls receive a kind of education which could help them to acquire a job? For instance, did women teach outside the house? There is no evidence to support the argument that women taught other children except their own in the house. Only a female mummy from Memphis which was inscribed «Hermione grammatike» can be used as evidence for the existence of female teachers only in Egypt⁷⁰. Pomeroy refers to literate women who had the right of the three children and to a particularly rich source of evidence, «a group of letters which talk about the education of a daughter in the 2nd. century A.D.»⁷¹. Egypt is a special region outside the geographical limits of our research. An inscription from Delphi, dated to the 2nd. century A.D., records the grant of Delphian citizenship to a lady, Apphia, probably from Bithynia, because she gave a series of many beautiful and sweet speeches and showed the high quality of her education in the panhellenic festival of Pythia⁷². The fact that a woman gave speeches in public is curious enough, but she did so in a religious festival. We do not know what kind of speeches she did deliver but we can assume that they were poems or hymns with a religious content⁷³. On the other hand, Eunapius in the 4th. century A.D. mentions that he made an exemption by including Sosipatra of Ephesos, although she was a woman, in the list of the most celebrated philosophers of his time because she was a woman who surpassed men, even her own husband, in wisdom⁷⁴. But he gives to her education a metaphysical, semi-Biblical character (she was declared a wise woman when

⁷⁰ S Pomeroy, «Women in Roman Egypt», *ANRW* II 10.1 (1988) 715-721.

⁷¹ *Ibid*, 719.

⁷² M. G. Colins, *Fouilles de Delphes* III (1930) no. 79, 127-128.

⁷³ Dio Chrysostom in his *Orat.* 33.39 mentions that to speak with female voice is to speak with human voice, and nobody would be vexed at hearing a woman's voice. And in *Or.* 34.31 he remarks that in Tarsos liturgists, a *gymnasiarchos* or a *demiourgos* were the only people whom the citizens would allow to make a speech. Knowing that women could hold these offices, can we assume that they gave public speeches? Also, Servenia Cornuta Cornelia Calpurnia Valeria Secunda Cotia Procilla Luculla, a descendant of the royal family of Galatia was honoured in the *ecclesia* of Ancyra by the *boule* and the *demos*, which implies that she was physically present in the *ecclesia* even if she did not deliver a speech, *IGR* III no. 192, Ancyra.

⁷⁴ *Lives of the philosophers*, 466, Eunop., *Vitae sophistarum*, 466.

she was a mere child by two mysterious strangers who turned up unexpectedly at her father's estate). And notwithstanding her superior wisdom –she held a philosophical chair and taught students in her own house⁷⁵– a woman could never break the boundaries of her household, even if she possessed unique intellectual and spiritual energy. Sosipatra was of course a member of the Graeco-Roman élite of Asia Minor, a wealthy land-owner herself⁷⁶.

Of special interest is the epitaph of the lady Epiphania who came from Hellas, descended from Athens on her mother's side, had travelled a lot on both earth and sea, was wife and daughter of *naukleroi* and had helped other women, Moesia, 2nd./3rd. century A.D.⁷⁷. It is mentioned she was born among the Muses and shared in wisdom (*sophia*)⁷⁸. As G. H. R. Horsley observes, «the epitaph gives some emphasis in a non-specific way to the cultural education which the deceased had gained»⁷⁹. It seems that there is an allusion in this line similar to Sappho's fr.55 in which the Lesbian poetess reminds an uneducated woman that she will disappear from memory since she did not share in the roses of Pieria (the gifts of the Muses). Epiphania wanted to remind just the opposite, that she actually had an education. Further similarities with a Sapphic type of education (homosexuality excluded) can be found in an obscure oracle from Didyma in which a presumably female enquirer is given a typically enigmatic answer⁸⁰; in 1.6-7 there is a reference to virgin girls who dance to the sweet rhythm of the flute. H. W. Parke interprets it as a reference to «a girl's school of dancing»⁸¹. Literary achievements were required by the women who occupied magistracies, eg the *prytanis* Tullia composed a hymn to Hestia during her service⁸². John Malalas refers to young girls who were well versed in philosophy and participated in contests of cultural achievements including reciting of tragedies and singing hymns, and then the *philosophoi* maidens became priestesses⁸³. Although he wrote in the 6th. century A.D. and perhaps

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 469.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 469.

⁷⁷ SEG XXIV (1969) no. 1088.

⁷⁸ *Ibid*, II 15-17.

⁷⁹ G. H. R. Horsley, «Charity motivated by piety in an epitaph», in *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity*, 2, 1982, 56.

⁸⁰ I. Didyma no. 501.

⁸¹ N. Parke, *Oracles of Apollo in Asia Minor*, London 1985, 84.

⁸² I Ephesos.

⁸³ LXII 288 10-19.

had mixed together different things such as women gladiators, female athletes and cultured women who participated in music and philosophy contests, his evidence is not without its value.

The quality of the education of Clea, the priestess of Isis at Delphi, in the 2nd. century A.D. is praised by her personal friend, Plutarch. Only two female poets left (short) fragments of their work, Caecilia Trebulla and the more famous Julia Balbilla; their poems are recorded in A and G Bernard⁸⁴. The latter was a descendant of the deposed dynastic family of Commagene, the sister of the famous C. Julius Antiochos Epiphanes Philopappos⁸⁵. According to E I Bowie, her elegiac poems inscribed on the Memnon colossus used a crude version of Aeolic dialect in a failed attempt to pass herself as a latter-day Sappho⁸⁶. M L West, in a very brief article, refers to the religious sentiment expressed by the poetess who also claims that she descends from a very religious family (in núm. 29 in the French edition mentioned above)⁸⁷.

At least one woman, Magnilla was honoured by being *philosophos* herself as well as being daughter and wife of philosophers, Apollonia, Mysia⁸⁸. But what was the meaning of the word *philosophos*? Julia Domna was called *philosophos* but she never wrote any philosophical work; the word could simply denote a well-educated person. Certainly, female education was very limited: no woman, whatever her rank, was prepared for a career in anything except perhaps priesthoods and magistracies in some regions which were mostly of a brief duration and did not require political experience. Moralists like Musonius Rufus simply repeated Platonic ideas about female education: girls should be given a moral education, studying philosophy but only in order to become perfect housewives, to play better their domestic role, not to create a new one in public⁸⁹. Real women philosophers did not exist in antiquity: the so-called

⁸⁴ *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Collesse de Memnon*, Paris 1960, nos. 92, 93, 94 for Cl. Trebulla, nos. 28-31 for J. Balbilla.

⁸⁵ Cf. A. Spawforth and G. Bernard, «Balbilla, the Euryclides and Memorials for a Greek Magnette», *BSA* 73, 1978, 252.

⁸⁶ «Poetry and poets in Asia and Achaea», in S Walker and A Cameron (eds), *The Greek Renaissance in the Roman Empire*, London 1989, 200.

⁸⁷ «Balbilla did not save Memnon's soul», *ZPE* 25, 1977, 120.

⁸⁸ IGR IV no. 125.

⁸⁹ «Should daughters receive the same education as sons?» in C. Lutz (ed), *Musonius Rufus: the Roman Socrates*, YCS X, 1947.

women philosophers were wives or daughters or mistresses of philosophers who shared their husbands', fathers' or lovers' interests but did not create anything new themselves. Alternatively, they were patronesses of literary men: the empress Julia Domna is the best known of those ladies, but it seems that she found refuge in philosophy in order to relieve her frustration after her fall orchestrated by her husband's favourite, the Praetorian Praefect Plautianus⁹⁰.

G. W. Bowersock remarks that after his research he concluded that most of Julia Domna's philosophers should have been second-rate ones, similar to the parasitical mediocrities described by Lucian⁹¹. Lucian describes in a tragi-comic tone the horrible treatment which Thesmopolis, a Stoic philosopher, received from his patroness, a wealthy woman who belonged to one of the most distinguished families in the city. She obliged him to look after her pregnant dog who gave birth in Thesmopolis' arms⁹². He dismisses the literary pretensions of those vain women who hire philosophers and believe that they are latter-day Sapphos⁹³. It becomes obvious from his vitriolic attack that rich women who believe themselves to be cultured only seek a new kind of entertainment to feel less bored. The empresses Sabina and Plotina had also acted as patronesses of poets (the former), and philosophers (the latter). Sabina had an estranged husband, the emperor Hadrian, so she created a salon frequented mostly by women poets like Balbilla. The consular lady Regina dedicated a statue in honour of the poet Nestor, Paphos, Cyprus, 1st. century A.D.⁹⁴. She styled herself as *philomusos*, lover of the Muses (of their gifts). Also, the girl Tertia was called in her epitaph *philologos* and «servant of the Muses» (implying literary education), 2nd. century A.D., Olympia⁹⁵. Few things had changed with regard to the public role of Greek women in the Roman imperial era. For instance, in Roman Greece in the 2nd. century A.D., a woman's presence could not be tolerated at such public places as the *gymnasium*: the love-struck widow Ismenodora could not accompany her beloved Bacchon at the *gymnasium*, she had to wait for him to pass close to her house to give the signal for his abduction⁹⁶. That

⁹⁰ Dio Cassius 76. 15.7.

⁹¹ G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, 106-109.

⁹² On salaried posts in great houses 33-35.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 36.

⁹⁴ IGR II no. 959.

⁹⁵ Pleket no. 58.

⁹⁶ Plutarch, *Mor* 754F.

bold act committed by a woman outraged two of the characters of the dialogue (*Erotikos*), Pisos and Anthemion: the former characterised that act as a sign of *gynaikokratia* and shouted that the next step would be to hand over to women the *gymnasium* and the *bouleuterion*, which implies that the presence of women could not be tolerated in such exclusively male places, while the latter agreed that Ismenodora's act was a «Lemnia»' one (referring to the myth of the husband-slaking Lemnian women⁹⁷). On the other hand, the Christian apologist Tatian (2nd. century A.D.) in his sole surviving discourse, accuses the Greeks (i.e. pagans in general) for inconsistency on the subject of Christian women attending congregation and studying philosophy⁹⁸. This was a favourite target of the pagans, who accused Christians of demolishing society's hierarchical order by listening to such worthless people as women and slaves, e.g. Origen quotes pagan philosophers accusing the Christians of convincing only the foolish like women, slaves and children⁹⁹. Tatian in counter-attack accuses the pagans that they are the ones who accused the Christians of choosing to be taught by women and especially the ones of the worst kind (i.e. Sappho who is called a whore) and they chose to honour women by erecting their statues in public places. The women who were granted this privilege were, according to him, the nine poetesses as quoted by Antipater of Thessalonica in the Greek anthology: Praxilla, Moero, Anyte, Sappho, Erinna, Telesilla, Corinna, Nossis, Myrtis¹⁰⁰. Also mythological heroines, mostly women who gave birth to monstrous creatures, e.g. Pasiphae, were honoured by having their statues set up. Even a *hetaera* like Phryne had a statue dedicated to her at Delphi:

«At Delphi, her gilded and inscribed image (Phryne the Thespian, daughter of Epikles) stood between those of Archidamos, King of Sparta, and Philip II of Macedon, thus arousing the criticism of later generations»¹⁰¹.

The use of Tatian's oration is moralistic and damning: pagans honoured whores, lewd or mediocre poetesses and women who indulged in adultery and

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, 755 C.

⁹⁸ *Oration to the Greeks*, ch. 33/34.

⁹⁹ *Contra Celsum* iii.44.

¹⁰⁰ A. S. F. Gow and D. L. Page (eds), *The Garland of Philip*, Cambridge 1968, no. XIX, 24.

¹⁰¹ B. S. Ridgway, «Ancient Greek Women and Art: the material evidence», *ASA* 91, 1987, 406.

bestiality, therefore they cannot criticise the Christians, for honouring wise and chaste women.

Nevertheless, classical Greeks usually set up statues for goddesses or the heroines of mythology, not for real women. It was only in the Hellenistic era that women started to erect statues and to have their statues set up. B. S. Ridgway mentions the dedication made by a Delian lady, Cleopatra, of a pair of statues depicting her husband and herself at Delphi in 2nd. century B.C. as a rare example of reversal of roles¹⁰². In the Roman imperial era statues of women, empresses and female benefactors and officials were erected in Asia Minor (and to a lesser degree in Greece). The Lycian benefactress Atalanta was honoured by the erection of her statue in the most conspicuous place of the city, near the stoa of Attalos, at Termessos¹⁰³. Plancia Magna's statues were set up in 2nd. century AD Perge, Pamphylia, especially at the older gate of the city:

«In and around the south gate, and elsewhere in the city, at least fourteen other texts have been found recording either dedications of statues made by her or statues of her decreed by the city authorities. Those presented by her are all of members of the Roman imperial house and were erected about AD 120»¹⁰⁴.

The priestess Ammion Apphion daughter of Dionysokles was honoured for her piety towards the goddess (Hecate? Demeter? the text does not specify) and her generosity towards the people, by the erection of her statues and of her pictures on gilded shields by the *demos*, the boule and the sacred *gerousia*¹⁰⁵.

The lady Julia Eudia daughter of Euteleinos was honoured for her benefaction to the priests of Asclepios (she gave to them six plethra of vine-guard as a gift) by having her picture depicted on a gilded large shield in the shrine, Mantinea, Arcadia¹⁰⁶. In Megalopolis, Nikippa, the wife of the benefactor Xenarchos, was honoured together with him by having her statue and her picture on a gilded shield set up by the city¹⁰⁷. A similar honour was granted

¹⁰² *Ibid*, 408.

¹⁰³ TAM IIII no. 4.

¹⁰⁴ G. E. Bean quoted by C. C. Vermeule, *Greek Sculpture and Roman Taste*, Michigan 1977, 90.

¹⁰⁵ I. Stratonikeia II.I no. 536.

¹⁰⁶ IG V2 nos. 269, 270.

¹⁰⁷ IG V2 no. 515.

to another couple of benefactors, Nikasippos and Timasistrata, by the city of Lycosura¹⁰⁸. Female athletes were commemorated for their victories by having their statues set up (none of their statues survives, but the inscriptions on the bases record their existence); the older evidence comes from Chios: a man, Aristodemos son of Aristanax, dedicated a statue of his daughter Phanion who won (in what kind of game? we do not know) to Leto, 3rd. century B.C.¹⁰⁹. Nevertheless those statues were erected not in public places but in religious centres as the girls' contests were part of religious festivals. And the ideological bias which wanted to keep women in the private sphere was preserved. The Achaean lady Heracleia, daughter of Eumelos, was honoured by having her statues set up in every Greek festival and she was posthumously honoured by a statue by Gaius Bassos, who wanted to preserve her memory as an example of modesty and piety for the women of Achaea, Megalopolis¹¹⁰. The fact that one of the honours granted posthumously to lady Apollonia in Cyzicos, 1st. century A.D., was the erection of her statue in the part of the shrine in which the newly-weds should go to register their marriages, reinforces the idea that a woman's sphere is in the realm of private life¹¹¹.

C. THE CITY AS *OIKOS* AND THE BENEFACTOR AS PARENT

The language used in literature, and more regularly in inscriptions, defines the relationship between benefactors and citizens as resembling the one between parents and children: benefactors are called father, mother, son or daughter of the city according to their respective gender and age, or as tropheus or trophos (nurturer) of the city which was used mostly on the allegorical level, but sometimes it literally meant that the person thus called fed the populace. The use of such language can be interpreted as an «invasion» of the private into the public, as a subjugation of the masses to the few and as the final demise of whatever had been left from classical democracy: the citizens had been reduced to children, who had to be looked after and guided in every step. The high degree of exploitation which such a relationship required was covered by the

¹⁰⁸ IG V2 no. 516.

¹⁰⁹ SEG XXXV (1985) no. 933.

¹¹⁰ IG V2 nos. 518, 519.

¹¹¹ SEG XXVIII (1978).

use of stereotypical phrases. It is obvious that such a 'privatisation' of the public sphere could enable women to play a much more prominent role in public life. L. Robert, in his article «Sur une monnaie de Synnada T. ροφευς», records the use of that specific word for benefactors¹¹². An arch-priest Artemon is entitled *tropheus* on a coin from Synnada Phrygia¹¹³. It seems that he was the eponymous archon. Robert connects the title which initially meant nurturer and could be used for nurses and foster parents with liturgies such as *sitometria*, *elaonia*, *agoranomia* which had to do with the cities' survival especially in times of famine. Inscriptions record such titles given to benefactors who provided food. The city of Amastris, Pontos honoured Parmeniskos and Pharnakes sons of an arch-priest for being *agoranomoi*. They were called *tropheis*, A.D. 68¹¹⁴. The benefactor Gaius Licinnius Thoantianos was honoured for performing liturgies such as *seiteresia*, *gymnasiarchiae* and *dianomae*; he was called *tropheus euergetes* and *Ktistes*, Telmessos, Lycia¹¹⁵. Dio Chrysostom also records that the benefactors were called *aristeis*, *Olympioi*, *soteres* and *tropheis*¹¹⁶. Surprisingly enough, the title is occasionally used for women: an unknown lady who was priestess of Tyche and had funded the construction of public buildings and made distributions of money, was entitled «mother of the city» and «*trophos*» in Selge¹¹⁷.

Nevertheless, the title «mother or daughter of the city» was awarded to many élite women who were benefactresses and/or priestesses and magistrates. One of the oldest sources referring to a «daughter of the city» is an inscription from the island of Kos, 2nd. century A.D.: it commemorates the festival of the «cutting of the trees» and refers to Claudia Polla the priestess of Hera, as daughter of the *demos*¹¹⁸. The title became a trend in Roman Asia Minor during the 1st. and

¹¹² L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII, 1949, 74-81.

¹¹³ BMC Phrygia, 399, no. 38.

¹¹⁴ L. Robert, *Hellenica* VII, 1949, 77.

¹¹⁵ IGR III no. 495.

¹¹⁶ Dio Chrys., *Or.* 48.

¹¹⁷ Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphylens und Pisidiens* II, Vienna 1892, no. 250, 234.

¹¹⁸ G. Pugliese Carratelli, «Epigrafi del demo Coo di Hippias», *Parola del passato* 13, 1958, 418-19. R. van Bremen's dating of the inscription at the second century B.C., in *Women and Wealth*, 241, note 72, is wrong.

2nd. centuries A.D.: Julia Menogenis, *agonothesis*, *stephanephoros*, *prytanis*, dedicator of the *xystoi* is called daughter of the city, Thyatira, Lydia¹¹⁹. Aurelia Volossia Kyrinia Atossa, arch-priestess of the imperial cult, *agonothesis* is called daughter of the city, too, Selge, Pamphylia¹²⁰. Plancia Magna is called daughter of Plancius Varus and of the city, Perge, Pamphylia¹²¹; she is also recorded as being honoured by the city's gerousia as daughter of M. Plancius Varus and of the city, priestess of Artemis and of the mother of the gods and *demiourgos*, 1st. century A.D.¹²². The arch-priestess Karakylia, wife of Julius Severus, is called daughter of the *metropolis*, Ancyra, Galatia¹²³. Melition daughter of Charmides, who had been priestess of the Empress, *stephanephoros* and *gymnasiarchos*, was also honoured by the honorific title daughter of the city, Herakleia, Phrygia¹²⁴. An anonymous woman, who has died and been *prytanis* and *protarchos* is called the 'first and only woman who was elected as «daughter of the city»'¹²⁵. Older women were called «mothers» of the city, or the boule or the *gerousia*: Tata daughter of Diodoros is called mother of the city; she was *stephanephoros*, priestess of Hera for life, priestess of the imperial cult, at Aphrodisias¹²⁶. Claudia Balbeina, benefactress, was called mother of the *metropolis*, Ancyra, Galatia¹²⁷. Aur. Menoitiane is recorded as mother of the boule whereas her husband Kalliklianos Rufianeianos Poteitos is eternal *gymnasiarchos* and father of the city, Syedra, Rough Cilicia¹²⁸. Aur. Artemis is recorded as mother of the boule, ktistria (founder), eternal *gymnasiarchos*¹²⁹. But it seems that she simply shared her husband's honorific titles and perhaps economic obligations¹³⁰.

¹¹⁹ IGR IV no. 1238.

¹²⁰ IGR III no. 383.

¹²¹ IGR III no. 794.

¹²² SEG XXXVIII (1988) no. 1397.

¹²³ IGR III no. 190.

¹²⁴ MAMA VI no. 10.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, no. 108.

¹²⁶ MAMA VIII no. 4931.

¹²⁷ IGR III no. 191.

¹²⁸ L. Robert, *Documents de l'Asie Mineure Méridionale*, Paris 1966, 85.

¹²⁹ TAM III nos. 57, 58, 122, 123.

¹³⁰ See TAM III no. 122, where her husband is called founder of the *gymnasium*, eternal *gymnasiarchos*, and son of the city.

We have referred previously to the two priestesses from Thasos who were called «mothers of the *gerousia*»¹³¹. The question is, what did those titles signify? Usually they were given to women who held civic or religious offices, but that was not always the case: in a later inscription (3rd. century A.D.), Pakuvia Gaia daughter of Marcus Pakuvius Rufus Mithridates the *demiourgos* was honoured as daughter of the city, at Epiphaneia, Cilicia¹³². Does that mean that in the 3rd. century women started to disappear as civic magistrates, or was it due to the fact that in Cilicia it was more rare to give civic offices to women? On the other hand, the title was granted after an *archaeresia*, an election which gave it prestige equal to the one derived by a magistracy: the *gymnasiarchos* Lalla was elected mother of the city on the election day after the citizens requested that the priest of the imperial cult had to grant her the title, Tlos, Lycia, 2nd. century A.D.¹³³.

C. P. Jones observes that:

«Now it is a familiar feature of public life in antiquity, and especially during the principate, that an eminent person may receive from a public entity such as a city or a province a title denoting some kind of familial relationship to that entity. The most striking occurrence is when a man or a woman is called son or daughter of city or some body within it such as the *boule*: in most, perhaps all, of these cases, actual adoption seems to have occurred, however strange that may appear to modern eyes»¹³⁴.

¹³¹ IG XII 8 nos. 388, 389.

¹³² SEG XXXVI (1986) no. 1241. However women held the office of *demiourgos* in Cilicia in their own right, see note 136.

¹³³ Ch. Naour, «Inscriptions de Lycie», *ZPE* 24, 1977, 265.

¹³⁴ «Τροφίμος in an inscription of Erythrae», *Glotta* 67 (1989) 196. For the meaning of the title «son or daughter of the city» see E Varinlioglu, «Inscriptions from Stratoniceia in Caria», *ZPE* 41, 1981, 191 note 11: «Such epithets as *yios* or *thygater* of the City, People, Council, Old Men etc. were given to benefactors of the city or any other civil organization who have fulfilled the duty, say of a magistrate». Varinlioglu claims that the title was bestowed upon them by a decree (see for instance BCH 84, 1960, 448 and Syll³ no. 854). Similarly S Mitchell suggests that people's assemblies continued to meet in the cities of Asia Minor at least until the later third century and they hailed men or women who were civic benefactors, *Anatolia: «Land, Men and Gods in Asia Minor»*, IC 1993, 201, note 22. Finally Ch. Roueché suggested that the honorific titles «father», «mother», «son» and «daughter» of the city fell out of use with the diminution of civic benefactions in the late Empire in Ch. Rouché, «A new inscription from Aphrodisias», *GRBS* 20, 1979, 176.

The fact that a kind of adoption took place is evident in another inscription in which Julia Menogenis is daughter of the city and by nature - of Menogenes!¹³⁵ L Robert analysed this phenomenon¹³⁶. The title 'daughter of the city' was not limited in Asia Minor: Akylia Nikopolis daughter of the city set up an honorific inscription for Hestia Boulaia, Heraclea, Macedonia¹³⁷.

As for the title Hestia (Hearth) of the city, Robert proposes that it was an honorific title granted (exclusively) to priestesses in both Greece and Asia Minor¹³⁸; in Roman Sparta the title was common: Julia Hetearchis was honoured as having been hestia and daughter of the city¹³⁹, other women were granted the same honour¹⁴⁰. This occurred in the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries A.D. as A Spawforth mentions: «In the 2nd. and 3rd. centuries a number of Spartan women from leading families (Memmia Xenocratia, Claudia Damosthenia and so on), bear the honorific title of Hearth of the City» (*estia poleos*) which Robert took as signifying «une identification soit aux merites soit à la fonction, avec Hestia qui règne au prytané». It is first attested under Marcus Aurelius in a catalogue of gerontes where the «Hearth of the City» is listed immediately before the *spondophoroi*, the context links her with the milieu of the *archeia* which may have housed the civic cult of Hestia Boulaea¹⁴¹.

Also, the Arkadian Claudia Tyche daughter of Tiberian Claudius Tertullus, priestess of Demeter, arch-priestess for life of the imperial cult and of the League of Achaëa is called Hestia for life of the League of Arcadia A.D. c.212/13¹⁴². An unknown lady, arch-priestess of the imperial cult, was called *philodemos basilissa* (queen) and Hearth of the city, at Amastris, Pontos¹⁴³. Robert's thesis

¹³⁵ IGR IV no. 1238. See also MAMA VIII no. 455 for an unknown woman who as daughter of the city made a dedication to her fatherland.

¹³⁶ In *Laodicée du Lycos: le nymphée*, Paris 1969, 316-320. Women also became priestesses of the personification of the city: see L Robert *op. cit.* for a certain Athenais who was *demiourgos* and priestess of the city and for a certain Trypheis who was *demiourgos*, priestess of the Sebaste and of the city, Cilicia, 317, note 1.

¹³⁷ A. J. B. Wace and A. M. Woodward, «Inscriptions from Upper Macedonia», *BSA XVIII*, 1911-12, 169.

¹³⁸ L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos*, 320-321.

¹³⁹ IV V1 no. 593.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, no. 583, 584, 586, 589, 598.

¹⁴¹ «Spartan cults under the Roman empire», in J. Motyka Sanders (ed.), *Laconian studies in honour of Hector Catling*, London 1992, 233.

¹⁴² *Syll*³ no. 882.

¹⁴³ L. Robert, *Etudes Anatoliens*, Amsterdam 1970, 258.

that *hestia* denotes a magistracy or honorific title exclusively for women has been challenged by J. Méndez Dosuna¹⁴⁴. Based on IG/X 1 247, in which *hestia* was followed by a nom. masc Lysios, «he argues that *estia* is a ‘nominatif de rubrique’, short-hand for *hypoprytanis estias*»¹⁴⁵.

Confusion is easy to befall when words which seem to be similar denote different things as for example *tropheus* and *trophimos*. *Trophimos* which is used in an inscription from Erythroe, in order to characterise L Flavius Capitolinus son of the sophist Flavius Philostratos can be interpreted as denoting a relationship of parent and foster-child between the *boule* and the young man¹⁴⁶. This is C. P. Jones’s thesis and seems to be correct but we do not find the word in another inscription. Nevertheless the idea of a fictitious filial relationship between élite families and the people is further supported by the existence of the decrees, mostly from Asia Minor and the island of Amorgos, which grant posthumous honours such as public funeral, public mourning and golden crowns to members of élite families, usually women and children. The most extant, detailed (though in parts frustratingly lacunose) decree is the one from Cyzicos, 1st. century A.D. which honours Apollonis who belonged to a family of benefactors and had made herself an *epidosis* (epidusa) though the lacunae do not allow restoration¹⁴⁷. She was granted a state funeral, public mourning including the closure of temples and shrines during her funeral and the participation in the procession of every free person living in the city, regardless of sex or age¹⁴⁸. Statues of her had to be erected in various public places and in the Charitesion and they had to be crowned during certain religious festivals¹⁴⁹. Another lady, Lavia Paula was granted a public funeral and a crown because of her husband Marcus Antonius Albos’s political career and her own *sophron* and moderate life¹⁵⁰.

At Stratonikeia, Caria, two women Rhodion Koliorgis and Drakontis Korais were granted modest funeral honours (a public funeral) because of their male relatives’ benefactions¹⁵¹. At Laodiceia ad Lycos, the *boule* and *demos* honoured Tatia daughter of Pericles who died young (*nea heroida*) for her father’s and

¹⁴⁴ J. Méndez, «Une autre question de dialectologie grecque», *Glotta* 60, 1982, 71-76.

¹⁴⁵ Pleket, SEG XXXII (1982) 461, no. 1651.

¹⁴⁶ Syll³ no. 879.

¹⁴⁷ SEG (1978) I 29.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid* II 36-45.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid* II 55-80.

¹⁵⁰ I Ephesos III no. 614c.

¹⁵¹ SEG XXXVIII (1988) nos. 1105, 1106.

her great uncle's liturgies and magistracies¹⁵². At Aphrodisias, the *boule* with the agreement of the generals and the secretary of the *demos* Demeas son of Menekrates resolved to honour posthumously Apphias daughter of Timotheos, a citizen woman (ton politidon) with a state funeral, public praise and a golden crown¹⁵³. The *boule* and the *demos* granted similar honours to a young man, Titus Antonius Lysimachos Grypos who held magistracies like *agoronomia* and to console his mother Antonia Tatia¹⁵⁴. In other paramythetic decrees from Aphrodisias, the *boule* and *demos* honoured Aristokles Moloson, equestrian, who had held *gymnasiarchiae* and *stephanophoriae*¹⁵⁵, a state funeral was granted to Aphia daughter of Glykon who had lived with *sophrosyne* and moderation and had been honoured many times when she was alive¹⁵⁶. The *boule* and *demos* buried Aphia daughter of Eumachos who had lived in accordance with her noble descent¹⁵⁷. A state funeral granted to Hermias son of Phanios Glykon who had been *gymnasiarchos*, *stephanophoros*, had fulfilled many liturgies and had been a member of embassies to Rome¹⁵⁸, the *boule* and *demos* honoured Neaira Ammia daughter of Mienekleas who had lived with *sophrosyne* and moderation¹⁵⁹, the *boule* and *demos* honoured posthumously Metrodoros son of Demetrios who held magistracies and paid for liturgies¹⁶⁰. A very fragmented decree from Knidos refers to the death of a lady, (her name does not survive), daughter of Athenagoras who was given a public funeral. A clause mentions the public condolences paid to her husband¹⁶¹.

But it is a series of decrees from Amorgos which provide the best example of the *paramythetic* decree¹⁶². In one inscription the honorand is a young girl who died suddenly and the *boule* and *demos* pays honours to her and to her family and husband Aur. Theodoros Anthos who held the eponymous

¹⁵² L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos*, Paris 1969, 323.

¹⁵³ MAMA VIII no. 407.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, no. 408.

¹⁵⁵ MAMA VIII no. 468.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid*, no. 469.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid*, no. 470.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid*, no. 471.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, no. 472.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid*, no. 473.

¹⁶¹ IBIM IV (1893) 8.

¹⁶² IG XII 7 nos. 51, 52, 53, 54 at Arcesine. Nos. 394, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410 at Aegiale.

magistracy¹⁶³. A similar formula is used in the other decrees, which include honours such as crowning and condolences to relatives and spouses. Of special interest is the decree which announces the sudden death of Eleutheris daughter of Aristetas, a woman adorned with every virtue¹⁶⁴. It describes the misery to which that death reduced the citizens including the infants¹⁶⁵. It is stressed that her life was always chaste and that she left to her fatherland four sons similar to her (in character and virtue)¹⁶⁶. She is granted a public funeral and a public grave. It is obvious that her family dominated the city and that she and her issue were of great importance for the city's welfare through benefactions. But only two female honorands are granted posthumous honours for personal achievements: an anonymous lady who gave many times to the fatherland for the construction of public projects and for liturgies¹⁶⁷, and Aurelia Agathemeris who held together with her daughter Aurelia Aphrodeisios the *strategia* and *stephanephoria*¹⁶⁸.

Nevertheless, what is interesting is the fact that the whole city laments for the death of a member of an élite family as if he/she was their «common» child. In the decrees from Aegiale, condolences are given to the relatives of the deceased and an almost sentimental language is employed to orphaned young children which does not seem to occur frequently in a public decree. It is the idea that the death of a son or a daughter of the élite could make the number of potential benefactors decrease, as well as the inevitable psychological bond which dependence forces on people, that depressed the populations of whole cities when one of their privileged persons died. An inscription from Herakleia, Phrygia records posthumous honours granted to a dead man Titus Statilios Apollinarios who had had an illustrious military career under the emperor Hadrian, his sons who had been military officers and were dead too, and his only surviving child, his daughter Statilia Tatia¹⁶⁹.

The context implies that the daughter, as the only surviving member of the family, is the only potential benefactor left. Generally, most of the women who

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, no. 51.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid*, no. 395.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, ll 15-16.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid*, ll 20-24.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, no. 399, ll 5-10.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, no. 409.

¹⁶⁹ MAMA VI no. 97.

were granted posthumous honours were wives or daughters of magistrates and benefactors and rarely had they performed benefactions or held magistracies themselves. For instance, a woman was honoured by the *demos* of Knidos after her death, which caused great sorrow among the people, because she was the daughter (or sister, the restoration is uncertain) of Theopompos Artemidoros who won for the city freedom and exemption of taxes¹⁷⁰. In the late 1st / early 2nd. century A.D. though, women could participate more energetically in magistracies and liturgies, though always in the context of family: the *prytanis* Terentia Aeliare honoured by the *boule* and *demos* of Ephesos was daughter of the *prytanis*, secretary of the *boule* and *demos*; Terentius Flavius, niece of the *prytanis* Terentius Veratius and sister of Terentia Flaviane who was also *prytanis*¹⁷¹. Sometimes, though it is very rare, men were honoured for a female relative's benefaction: Marcus Antonius Pythodoros was honoured by the *demos* of Ephesos for his mother, the ex-queen of Pontos Antonia, benefaction¹⁷². Young girls, presumably heiresses, could use the family's wealth for benefactions and thus earn honours in their own right: Cassia daughter of Hermogenes, priestess of Zeus, was honoured by the *demos* of Cagrae because although she was very young she had benefited her fatherland many times: she was called *Ktistria* (founder)¹⁷³. In the same area, Kbaroues daughter of Setos Neoptolemos and Vetillia daughter of Stanamoos Setos, was honoured for holding for the whole *demos* and the aliens who happened to be there every time she held her priesthood of Artemis by the erection of her statue in the *peribolos* of the temple¹⁷⁴.

¹⁷⁰ K. Buresch, «Die griechischen Trostbeschlüsse», *Rhein Museum Philologie* 49, 1894, 435-6. See also SEG XL (1990) in which the members, male and female, of a family who helped Julius Caesar were honoured by the city of Knidos: in no. 963, Telesteira, wife of the family's head, Gaius Iulius Theupompos, is honoured for being descended from a family of benefactors and for living in harmony with her husband. Whereas, Iulia Nossis, their daughter is honoured for her sphron life. See also the hereditary character of Atelanta's benefactions in Termessos, L Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques*, Paris 1984, 338, note 112.

¹⁷¹ I Ephesos III no. 720.

¹⁷² I Ephesos III no. 614.

¹⁷³ G. E. Bean and T. B. Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-68*, Vienna 1970, 27, no. 9.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 32-33, no. 13.

Another indication of the kind of intimacy between the few rich and the populace, and the economic cost it caused to the élite, was the citizens' presence at magistrates' marriages. An inscription from Tenos records the marriage of the daughter of Mederos son of Medeios, to Uniades Kolliphon, both men had excelled in «political liturgies»¹⁷⁵. On the day of the marriage they distributed wheat and hosted a feast for all the citizens and the aliens. They repeated the *sitometria* and made a sacrifice to Asclepios, Hygeia, Apollo and the other gods to honour the bridegroom's son.

D. SYMPOSIA AND DIANOMAE, EPIDOSEIS AND ALIMENTA: WOMEN AS BENEFACTORS AND BENEFICIARIES

We know that nothing like social services existed in the ancient world. In fact the idea of the welfare state would have seemed ludicrous to the ancient Greeks and Romans. The euergetism system was not philanthropy: usually the qualification for receiving gifts, money or wheat was in terms of gender and social status. During religious festivals a relaxation of strict rules could emerge, allowing marginal social categories of people to have a share in the general merriment, but that was the exception. The most important benefaction was the *sitometria*, the distribution of wheat to citizens, but our sources indicate that it was only a certain number of male adult citizens who were registered for the *sitometria*, e.g. in the Lycian town of Tlos, their number was 1,100. The fact that the person who gave the money for the purchase of the wheat was female, Lalla, did not change the established rule of excluding the women¹⁷⁶. Perhaps it was thought that the men as heads of the household should have the responsibility for distributing the wheat to the members of their family. But then what

¹⁷⁵ IG XII 5 no. 805. See also the decree of Cyme, honouring the benefactor Cleanax who had held the office of *pryteneia* ca. 2 B. C. to 2 A. D.: in l 19 it is mentioned that he provided meals for the populace to celebrate his daughter's wedding, P. Schmitt-Pantel, *La Cité au Banquet*, Paris 1992, 545.

¹⁷⁶ See Ch. Nauhr, «Inscriptions de Lycie», *ZPE* 24, 1977, 265. Also see S. Pomeroy's comment that the reason of female benefactors' discrimination against women in the *alimenta* was that they needed the gratitude of the men, in *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*, London 1976, 202-203.

happens to female-headed households?¹⁷⁷. There are hints that in times of extreme crisis, a provision had to be made for women and children too. In an inscription from Priene, in the 2nd. century B.C., the benefactor Moschion mentions that he would distribute wheat to the citizens so that the demos together with the women and children will survive¹⁷⁸. On the other hand, when Apollonius of Tyane came to the Pamphylian city of Aspendos during a severe famine, it seems that women and children were the more afflicted of the population, together with the elderly.

«And when, after a little time the guilty parties arrived, he very nearly broke out in speech against them, so much was he affected by the tears of the crowd; for the children and women had all flocked together, and the old men were groaning and moaning as if they were on the point of dying of hunger»¹⁷⁹.

The most well known example of sexual asymmetry in a money distribution is that made by a woman, the well known Menodora of Sillyum in the third century A.D. As R Gordon comments in the «Veil of Power»:

‘The first point to make about Menodora’s gifts, apart from their sheer size and the minute attention to detail, is that the hierarchy of the city is given a monetary expression. The first inscription includes the following list (ll.16-22):

<i>bouletês</i> (councillor)	86 dr
<i>geraios</i> (elder)	80 dr
<i>ecclêsastês</i> (member of the assembly)	77 dr
the wives of each of these	3 dr
citizen	9 dr
<i>vindictarius</i> (freed slave)	3 dr
<i>apeleutheros</i> (freed slave)	3 dr
<i>paroikos</i> (serf)	3 dr ¹⁸⁰ .

¹⁷⁷ Perhaps widows were included in the lists of recipients of public grain. See S. Pomeroy, *Goddesses* ..., 248, note 42, who suggests that Mallia Aemiliana, the female recipient of public grain in ILS no. 1275, was «the recipient of special charity as a widow».

¹⁷⁸ I. Priene no. 108, ll 72-75.

¹⁷⁹ Philostratos, *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, I. VI.

¹⁸⁰ «The veil of power: emperors, sacrificers and benefactors» in M. Beard and J. North (eds), *Pagan Priests*, London 1990, 229.

The women of the upper classes received the same paltry amount of money as the lowest social categories, whereas the women of every lower category were totally excluded. But the decree honouring Aba, a priestess and benefactress of the city of Hestria in the Romanian Bosphorus, is even more «sexist»: the lady is honoured for acting as a man, performing arch-priesthoods and choregiae which in the past were the responsibility of men only, 2nd. century A.D. The people who were given money were both exclusively male and of high social status: councillors, *gerousiastes*, doctors, teachers¹⁸¹. Sometimes though, female benefactors distributed money or meat to other women: Ammia daughter of Charmides, *prytanis* and *stephanephoros* made distributions to the wives of the councillors and of the citizens, Herakleia, Phrygia¹⁸². Another lady provided a feast for all the citizens, made distributions to women and girls, and distributed meat in the *agora*, in Branchides¹⁸³. Another one, who had performed many liturgies, had also performed with piety her *hydrophoria* and she had made distributions to the councillors, the girls and the women¹⁸⁴. Perigenis daughter of Bacchios is recorded as making distributions to the councillors, the women and the girls¹⁸⁵. A similar pattern is followed in Didyma: the *hydrophoros* Apollonia made distributions to the women and the girls present at the temple of Artemis¹⁸⁶. Statilia Iulia, also a *hydrophoros*, made distributions of money to the girls and the citizens¹⁸⁷. An anonymous lady made distributions to the citizens, the children, the women and the girls during the festival of Didymeia¹⁸⁸, and made distributions to the councillors, the girls and the women and all the Milesian citizens¹⁸⁹. Even men provided some gifts for women: the prophet L. Aphidianos Kallicrates made distributions and *epidoseis* to councillors and the citizens, but at least distributed oil to the women in the baths, 2nd. century A.D.¹⁹⁰.

¹⁸¹ REG 75 (1962) no. 239, 190-91.

¹⁸² MAMA VI no. 119.

¹⁸³ LeBas-Was, no.no. 227.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, no. 228.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid*, no.. 226.

¹⁸⁶ I. Didyma no. 312, ll 20-22.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, no. 333, ll 8-10.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, no.. 375.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, no. 382.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid*, no. 254, ll 5-10.

Another problem is the participation of women in public feasts provided by benefactors. The sources provide a confusing picture: in the second century B.C., a man called Critolaus gave a sum of money to the city of Aegiale in Amorgos to fund a *demothoinia* (public feast) and an athletic contest. At that feast, supervised by the *prytaneis* and the *gymnasiarchos*, everybody was invited: citizens, *paroikoi*, *xenoi* (aliens), the Roman residents and even the women (though it is not clear if by that word the decree denotes the female populace of the city or the wives of the Romans)¹⁹¹. Women are included in the public feasts given by two benefactors in mainland Greece: Soteles in the city of Pagae in Attica provided a dinner for the citizens, the *paroikoi*, the Romans residing in the town, their sons, their slaves and (distributed? the text is extremely lacunose) to the *paroikoi*, the slaves and the girls (what? we cannot define). On the second day of the festival, he distributed sweet wine to the citizens, the women and the aliens. But in the second feast after the sacrifice, though even the slave boys were invited, women were excluded (ca. 60 B.C.)¹⁹². In the 1st. century A.D., at the Boeotian city of Acraephia, the benefactor Epaminondas after receiving the supreme magistracy revived the festival of Ptoia, and made bull sacrifices and distributions of corn and wine to all the citizens and the aliens. For ten days he provided meals for the sons of the citizens and the adult slaves, whereas his wife Kotila did the same for the wives of the citizens, the girls and the adult female slaves¹⁹³. We have to note that females were excluded from food distribution and from the official banquets, and they enjoyed only breakfasts in strict sexual segregation under the supervision of the wife of the benefactor.

The situation was slightly different in Asia Minor: we cannot be sure if Claudia Macreina, priestess and daughter of the city who provided meals for «all the city» in the *gymnasium* together with her son had included the women in her invitation¹⁹⁴. Sexual segregation is again the rule in another inscription from Stratonikeia in which the priest and son of the city Tiberius Claudius Lainos invited at dinner the citizens, the Romans, the aliens and many slaves at the Komyrion, whereas the citizen women, the Roman and alien women and

¹⁹¹ IG XII 7 no. 515.

¹⁹² IG VII, no. 190.

¹⁹³ IG VII, no. 2712, ll 68-75.

¹⁹⁴ I Stratonikeia I, no. 270.

many slaves ate at the shrine¹⁹⁵. A priest and his wife welcomed in the *gymnasium* the women of every age group and social rank¹⁹⁶. The women of the city and of the *chora* were invited at the temple of Hera and were given three drachmas each¹⁹⁷. The priest Aeneas Theophanes and the priestess Flavia Pauleina distributed oil to the citizens, welcomed during the whole year the visitors at the temple, they gave to the people who made sacrifices the carcasses of the sacrificial victims, organised banquets for the *ephebes*, the boys and the rest of the people, distributed oil for the ten days of the festival of Panamareia, and finally distributed oil and perfumes to the women and welcomed them, free and slave alike, at the temple of Hera, where they were given wine and three drachmas each¹⁹⁸. In another inscription the women were given oil in their baths and they received wine together with the citizens, the aliens and the slaves but the banquet was only for the men¹⁹⁹. The women and the councillors received money from a couple on the day of their inauguration²⁰⁰. Elsewhere, a priestess was *gymnasiarchos* (she provided oil) for the women, and together with the priest provided meals and gave money to citizen, alien and slave women²⁰¹. The women were included in distributions of oil²⁰². They participated in *dianomai* and *epidoseis*²⁰³. Again the women received oil as gift from male benefactors in Stratonikeia: an arch-priest gave oil to the young men, to the old men and the women²⁰⁴, the priestess and daughter of the city Leontis gave to the citizen, *paroikoi* and slave women three drachmas each and provided a feast for them whereas the citizens and the Romans were given five drachmas each and a feast in the theatre²⁰⁵; a priest gave five drachmas to citizens, Romans and aliens on his birthday whereas his daughter Tatias alias Hedia welcomed the *politeuma* (the association) of the (citizen) women and the female *paroikoi*

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, no. 172.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, no. 181.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid*, no. 192, ll 8-12.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, no. 202.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, no. 205, ll 26-27.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid*, no. 222.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, no. 242, ll 18-20, 24-28.

²⁰² *Ibid*, no. 244, 245, 248, 256, 311, 312, 324.

²⁰³ *Ibid*, no. 255, 256, 258, 309, 310, 311, 352.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, no. 1325A l 15, 1325B ll 18-20.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, no. 663.

and gave them three drachmas each²⁰⁶; the women and the men who came at the temple of Hera received money and meals²⁰⁷, the women received oil, a special bath for them, and money²⁰⁸.

Women and girls were catered for in *dianomai* made in 2nd. century A.D. Syros by pairs of magistrates, male and female: Aristagoras son of Aristagoras together with the archeine Polla daughter of Scymnos celebrated the Hestia Prytaneia and the other gods by distributing to the members of the *gerousia* three denarii each and wine, to their wives and children eight *assarii* each and wine²⁰⁹. L. Milionios Scymnos, archon *stephanephoros* by his own volition and the archeine Teima daughter of Philargyros, his own wife made a *demothoinia* (public feast) for every free man and woman and their children and for the visitors from neighbouring islands²¹⁰ (the same process was followed by M. Eleutheros archon *stephanephoros* by lot for the second time together with his wife, the archeine, núm. 662); the *stephanephoros* archon Antalos son of Modestos and the archeine, the daughter of Kallistos celebrated the birthday of the emperor Commodus by hosting a banquet for the members of the *gerousia* and distributing to each of them five *denarii*. The women and girls were given wine and the women were also given eight *asarii* each whereas boys received four *asarii* each²¹¹.

The same ratio of eight *asarii* to each woman and wine was followed²¹². Female slaves were included in money distribution and in distributions of wine, bread and pork meat²¹³. Finally two other *stephanephoroi* archons organised public feasts for every free person of every sex and age²¹⁴. On the island of Lesbos, at the city of Mitylene, Tation Aristonoa Dada, made distributions for her priesthoods and *prytaneiae* and to honour the emperor; the women, boys and girls received one denarius whereas old people (*geraeoi*) received seven

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, no. 666.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, no. 672.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, no. 706.

²⁰⁹ IG XII 5, no. 659.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, no. 660. See also no. 662.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, no. 663.

²¹² *Ibid*, nos. 664, 665.

²¹³ *Ibid*, nos. 665, 667.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, no. 668.

denarii each, the councillors four (the lacunose text does not enable us to define the amount of money given to the citizens)²¹⁵.

The evidence from Stratonikeia and some Aegean islands suggests that in some regions women as well as other marginal social groups were included in the food and cash distributions and to the banquets albeit in a disadvantaged position and almost always in sexual segregation. An inscription from Cyrene, A.D. 106, records the benefaction of the priestess of Artemis Antonia Mego who organised a banquet for the girls of the city and its *chora* in order to celebrate Trajan's victory in the Dacian war²¹⁶. Also, in an inscription from Aegina, ca. 2nd. century A.D., one of three benefactors, Aurelios, son of..., is recorded as having invited all the citizens and all the women to a public banquet²¹⁷. The attitude of Greek males, according to the majority of scholars, was to eat separately from their wives and children. But literary and epigraphical evidence from late Hellenistic and early Roman imperial period challenges that view. In Achilles Tatius' «Leucippe and Cleitophon», a family eats together: «My father had given orders to have the dinner prepared. I and he occupied the middle of the couch, the two mothers lay on the left and the two girls on the right»²¹⁸. And in an inscription which records regulations on the reorganisation of the mysteries of Apollo Karneios and Demeter, it is mentioned that the priests have to share the sacrificial meat in the sacred dinner together with the priestesses, the sacred maidens, the priest and benefactor Mnasistratos, his wife, children and the musicians and artists²¹⁹. N Bookidis comments that perhaps in the first century A.D. Messenia, the custom of segregation in dining ceased to exist²²⁰. Furthermore, pseudo-Lucian mentions that the wife of the miser Hipparchos ate together with her husband, reclined on a nearby couch, and from the context of the narrative it does not seem that she left after Lucius' participation at the dinner²²¹. Nevertheless, this happened in Thessaly which was notorious in classical antiquity for the elastic morals of its people, with the participation of citizen women in banquets and of female witches (such as the aforementioned lady proved to be).

²¹⁵ IGR IV núm. 46 = IG XII2, no. 68.

²¹⁶ SEG XXVI (1976/7) no. 1826.

²¹⁷ SEG XXX (1980) no. 3405.

²¹⁸ Achilles Tatius, I.5.25-30.

²¹⁹ F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées des cités Grecques*, Paris 1969, no. 65, ll 95-8.

²²⁰ N. Bookidis, «Ritual dining at Corinth», in O. Murray (ed.) *Symptica*, Oxford 1990.

²²¹ *Lucius or the ass*, 2.

Notwithstanding a general discrimination against women in benefactions, both female and male benefactors showed a tendency to include the women and girls among their beneficiaries. Though it would be ludicrous to assume that a thing such as female solidarity existed in antiquity, some women benefited the other females in their community. The great benefactress Claudia Metrodora funded a bath for women in Chios²²². Similarly, the priestess L(ucia?) daughter of Myron funded the construction of the women's bath in Pergamos²²³. We have already mentioned *dianomai* and feasts provided for the female population or some of its members by priestesses and female magistrates. As for the *alimenta*, foundations established by emperors or private benefactors, whose purpose was to support the children of citizens, it is a phenomenon of the High Empire, though C. P. Jones mentions earlier examples, starting even from the Julio-Claudian era²²⁴. Nevertheless, the *alimenta* were restricted to the West, Italy and North Africa. Only in 2nd. / early 3rd. century A.D. do we find inscriptions recording child support funds in the east and only in the regions of Lycia and Pamphylia. The Latin inscriptions included a ratio of girls equal to that of boys. The benefactress Caelia Macrina left an endowment of 1,000,000 *sesterii* for the maintenance of 100 boys and 100 girls at Taracina, Italy²²⁵. A man called P. Licinius Papirianus donated to his city, Cirta, North Africa, 1,300,000 *sestercii* so that from the 5% per cent interest, the citizens could maintain each year 300 boys and 300 girls²²⁶. But in the alimentary scheme of Trajan 245 boys were included and only 34 girls²²⁷.

²²² *Arch. D* (1927-8) 25, no. 5.

²²³ *Ath Mitt* (1910) 447. Another example of a woman donating a bath to the women of her city, this time in the West, is of Laberia Hostilia Crispina, in Trebula Mutesca, Italy, second century A.D., see M. Kajava, «A new city patroness?» *Tyche*, 5, 1990, 31 núm. 22. For a modern parallel, see the case of Elizabeth Kastritsiou, one of the very few benefactresses of the nineteenth century Greek benefaction system who as the widow and heiress of a wealthy merchant in Romania, funded three schools for girls in Ioannina, West Greece, in the 1850s. Her name was given to one of the city's streets and can be seen even today inscribed on a plaque.

²²⁴ C. P. Jones, «Eastern *alimenta* and an inscription of Attaleia», *JHS* 109, 1989, 189.

²²⁵ *CIL X* no. 6328.

²²⁶ A. R. Hands, *Charities and Social Aid in Greece and Rome*, London 1968, 185.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, 185.

In the east, Licinius Longus established such a scheme for 250 boys (*paides*) and girls (*parthenoi*) in his city Oenoanda²²⁸, whereas a benefactor (some scholars argue that he is Opramoas, others disagree) established a fund for the maintenance and education of all the children (*tekna* = boys and girls) of the citizens for sixteen years in another Lycian city, Xanthos²²⁹. Pleket's comments include an argument for the identification of the anonymous benefactor with Opramoas and another that the *alimenta* in the east were «in the best tradition of civic euergetism» (so they pertained to all the citizen children). Nevertheless Menodora's gift at Sillyum in Pamphylia included only the boys' maintenance²³⁰. And C P Jones argues that perhaps an ambiguous inscription found in Attaleia, Pamphylia in which *oiketika paedia* honour their *tropheus* and *euergetes* (and if we accept the restoration as *politika*) can be interpreted as evidence for exclusiveness in the Eastern *alimenta*, too. He based his argument on the existence of classes of boys *paides pollitikoï* (son of citizens) and girls (daughters of councillors) in Naples²³¹. As for the endowment of dowries to poor citizen girls, it must have been a very important issue²³². A woman without a dowry could never get married. Lucian mentions as a man's highest proof of friendship that he looked after his late friend's old mother and gave a dowry to his daughter (two talents) taking them out of the dowry prepared for his own daughter²³³, and another man Zenothemos got married to the daughter of his best friend Menecrates, who was not only dowryless but also repulsive to look at²³⁴. Artemidoros refers to the birth of girls as a bad omen because they will cause economic damage to their father, presumably because later on they require an expensive dowry²³⁵. The economic dependence of wives, sisters and daughters on their menfolk is stressed by Libanius, when he refers to the fact that the

²²⁸ IGR III no. 497.

²²⁹ SEG (1980) núm. 1535. Pleket's comments include an argument for the identification of the anonymous benefactor with Opramoas and another that the *alimenta* in the East were «in the best tradition of civic euergetism» so they pertained to all the citizen children.

²³⁰ IGR III nos. 800-802.

²³¹ C. P. Jones, «Eastern *Alimenta* and an Inscription of Attaleia», *JHS*, 109, 1989, 191.

²³² Cf. S. Pomeroy, «Charities for Greek women», *Mnemosyne* 35, 1982, 115-135.

²³³ *Toxaris or friendship*, 22-23.

²³⁴ *Ibid*, 24.

²³⁵ Artemidoros, I.15.

female relatives of prisoners have to do either begging or prostitution in order to support themselves²³⁶. In another oration, Libanius mentions the case of a military officer who became rich through marriage to his aunt who was given a huge dowry²³⁷. Nevertheless, the anonymous benefactor's «decision to give dowries to the poor maidens of Xanthos»²³⁸ is the only epigraphical evidence for that kind of philanthropy in the Roman imperial period (examples from classical Athens abound - from Hellenistic times we have queen Laodice's scheme for dowries of the poor citizens of Iasos²³⁹, and Phila's similar one in Diodorus Siculus²⁴⁰. Finally benefactors included women not only in distributions of cash but also in paying for their poll tax: Satyros, son of Philinos among his other benefactions gave 18,500 denarii for the payment of the poll tax of the free men, women and children of Tenos, 1st./2nd. century A.D.²⁴¹.

E. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HONOURS BESTOWED UPON MEN AND WOMEN

We know that the cities honoured their benefactors irrespective of their gender, but did the honours bestowed upon men differ from the ones reserved for women? R van Bremen has repeatedly commented on the domestic character of the adjectives of honour which were used for female benefactors²⁴². M Lefkowitz in the same volume comments that:

«The traditional female virtues were listed along with their benefactions, and even though their own names are now conspicuously mentioned (unlike proper aristocratic women in the fifth and fourth centuries who remained incognito), due credit was always given to the men in their families»²⁴³.

²³⁶ Libanius, *Oration to the King for the Prisoners*, 9.

²³⁷ Libanius, *On Protection Systems*, 27.

²³⁸ SEG (1980) no. 1535.

²³⁹ ASAA 45-46 (1969).

²⁴⁰ Diod. Sic. XIX 59.4.

²⁴¹ IG XII, 3 no. 1119.

²⁴² Cf. Rivan Bremen, «Women and wealth» in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London 1983, 223-243.

²⁴³ M. Lefkowitz, «Influential women» in A. Cameron and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Images of Women in Antiquity*, London 1983, 56-57.

It is true that the benefactresses are usually called *sophron*, *philandros*, «adorned with every virtue», *philoteknos*; all of these adjectives denote modesty, love of the husband and the children, and reinforce the idea that they did not break out of the private sphere. But some of these adjectives were used for men as well: the *gymnasiarchos* Artemidoros Menippos, was described in a decree, in which his mother Aurelia Ammia established a fund for Peroic honours bestowed upon him, as having lived with virtue and aedos, Aphrodisias²⁴⁴. A certain Rodon was called «a *stephanephoros* citizen adorned with faith and chastity»²⁴⁵. Another man who had held all the first-rank magistracies and liturgies was characterised as having lived with virtue, *aedoi* being the example, having been praised for the mildness of his character, and for the moderation of his life²⁴⁶. Nevertheless the rare examples of men being called «moderate» and «virtuous» occur almost every time in epitaphs and they are exclusively for young men or priests. Other titles such as martyr (not with the religious meaning of the word) or *ktistria* (founder) which denote a more essential honour were very rarely given to women. The comments by C P Jones seem to be valid:

«The word *martyr* and its cognates have a long and important history. From witness in the legal sense *martyr* evolved the meaning of affirmer, proclaimer, which leads directly to the Christian martyr. A political and official usage of this family of words, especially of *mart-yría*, is best shown by inscriptions of the principate. An outstanding man or rarely a woman, might receive testimony for their merits in a number of ways. Sometimes no doubt expressions such as of attested generosity (*martyretheis epi philotimia*) signify no more than general public approbation. Usually, however, there lies behind such a phrase a specific act, which may be as simple as a shouted acclamation or as formal as an honorific decree or the closely related testimonial letter»²⁴⁷.

In fact Junia Theodora is one of the few women on the epigraphic record as being *martyr*²⁴⁸. Only four women have been recorded as *ktistria* (founder), (a)

²⁴⁴ CIG no. 2774.

²⁴⁵ L. Robert, *Hellenica* XIII, 1965, 42.

²⁴⁶ CIG no. 2787, 2788.

²⁴⁷ C. P. Jones, «A martyria for Apollonius of Tyana», *Chiron* 12, 1982, 137.

²⁴⁸ Pleket no. 8 I 32. The same word is also used for the female physician Antiochis, Tlos, Lycia (see Pleket núm. 12) and for Seisadla, wife of Alkimos, at Kyanai, Lycia, second century AD [SEG XLI (1991), no. 1378].

the famous Menodora of Sillyum, 3rd century Pamphylia²⁴⁹, (b) the priestess Cassia at Crague in Rough Cilicia²⁵⁰, (c) Aurelia Artemisia, the 'perpetual' *gymnasiarchos*²⁵¹. Termessos, Lycia and (d) Flavia Publicia Nicomachis, the perpetual *prytanis*, 2nd. century A.D. Lesbos²⁵². Sometimes though another formula could be used to denote that the honorand belonged to a family of founders, ie Iulia Paula, arch-priestess was descendant of *stephanephoroi*, arch-priests and of people who helped to establish the city's autonomy, Pergamos. Women as well as men were frequently honoured by the award of a wreath, though the many aspects of this specific honour can create confusion. As the archaeologist K Davaras observes, wreaths were given as prizes to winners at athletic and cultural contests, were given as votive offerings to gods, were used at religious ceremonies, were the emblems of priests in Ionian cities who later became eponymous archons, were given as prizes for bravery in the war but they were also used as emblems in betrothals, marriages and funerals²⁵³. Female benefactors like Archippe of Cyme and Timessa of Amorgos, both in the 2nd. century B.C. were granted wreaths while they were alive²⁵⁴. The poetess Alcinoia was granted the same privilege in Tenos and female athletes were crowned too, i.e. a certain Pedias daughter of Lysisastros was honoured many times with golden crowns and the set up of her statues by the council, Rhodes, late Hellenistic era²⁵⁵. An inscription from Knidos records the honour of bestowing by public proclamation at the feast of Dionysos a crown and a statue on Lykaithion, daughter of Aristocleidas; furthermore the *demos* elected a man who had to set up her statue²⁵⁶. The *demos* of Caunos in Lycia honoured Dionysia, wife of Agrophon, with a golden crown for her holding of the priesthood of the imperial cult with modesty and *philotimia* and for her virtue and her goodwill towards the city²⁵⁷. F. W. Danker cites the following rewards

²⁴⁹ IGR III no. 802.

²⁵⁰ G. Bean and T Mitford, *Journeys in Rough Cilicia 1964-68*, Vienna 1970, 27, no. 9.

²⁵¹ TAM III nos. 5, 58.

²⁵² L. Robert, *Hellenica XIII*, 1965, 213.

²⁵³ *Arch. eph.*, 1985, 180-9.

²⁵⁴ Cf. R. V. Bremen, *Women and Wealth...*

²⁵⁵ *Ath. Mitt.*, 1900, 108.

²⁵⁶ A GIBM IV (1893) 5.

²⁵⁷ Cf. G. Bean, «Notes and inscriptions from Caunos», *JHS* 73, 1953, 95, no.. 37.

to benefactors: (1) a wreath or crown of leaves, natural or worked in gold, (2) a statue, (3) a portrait engraved on a gilded shield, (4) *prohedria*, (5) equality in taxation, (6) exemption from taxation, (7) the right to wear the purple for life, (8) inviolability of person or property, (9) public maintenance, (10) citizenship, (11) immunity from liturgies, (12) *Proxenia*, and (13) annual honours²⁵⁸. Women were included in almost every one of them. As Danker observed, the most frequent honour bestowed upon the benefactors was the crown, so a large number of women are recorded as having been granted that privilege: Hieroboule daughter of Gorgostheneus wife of the priest of Athena Lindia was crowned with golden wreaths by the *mastroi* (financial magistrates) by a statue also set up by the *mastroi* by the *synarchia* (government), the priests, the sacrificial priests and their presidents. Also the latter dedicated a portrait of her engraved on a gilded shield and was crowned four times by the federation of Lindos, Rhodes, 2nd. century B.C.²⁵⁹. Another woman, who held herself the priesthood of Athena Lindia, Nikassa wife of Lapheideus enjoyed similar honours (golden crown, statue)²⁶⁰.

In núm. 389b, p. 744 the *demos* of Lindians bestowed upon an anonymous lady, daughter of Dionysios, the honours of a golden crown, a bronze statue, the right to wear a crown in each annual festival for her piety, her virtue, her love of honour towards the Lindians. So, here we have three of Danker's awards (crown, statue, annual honours) bestowed upon a female. Another woman, Aristomacha (wife or daughter) of Aristomenes was honoured by the Lindians with (a) a wreath, (b) a bronze statue, (c) *prohedria* in the games organised by the Lindians, (d) the right to wear a crown in each annual festival²⁶¹. Again in Rhodes, in the Roman imperial period, Aelia Zenodote and her son Poplios Aelios Kullistratoi declared through inscriptions the distributions and special distributions of oil to the priests, *mastroi* and citizens in honour of her (presumably deceased) grandson; so the priests of Athena Lindia, the *mastroi* and the *demos* set up statues to her, her son, to the dead honorand's parents and grandparents²⁶². Antonia Tryphaena, daughter of the king of Thrace Cotys and

²⁵⁸ F. W. Danker, *Benefactor: epigraphic study of a Graeco-Roman and New Testament semantic field*, St. Louis 1982, 467-468.

²⁵⁹ Lindos: II 791, no. 420.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid*, 748, no. 392.

²⁶¹ *Ibid*, 812, no. 436.

²⁶² *Ibid*, 843, no. 465.

the queen of Pontos Pythodoris, became a benefactress of Cyzikos in the reign of Tiberius: when the demos was informed upon her arrival, it decreed that the shrines had to be opened, and that priests and priestesses together with the city's youths and boys and their respective supervisors should make a procession out of the city, to welcome the royal lady and her sons so that the latter should recognise Cyzicos as their adopted homeland and benefit her²⁶³. Their flattering policy bore fruit because she restored a ruined temple of Poseidon²⁶⁴, a ruined temple dedicated by Augustus²⁶⁵, and finally she held the priesthood of Livia, dedicated a statue of her, paid for sacrifices, and because of her «natural» philanthropy, paid for games though she was absent during them, and also paid for the feeding of the aliens who worked in the festival. The latter dedicated a portrait of her engraved in a gilded shield, declaring her their benefactress²⁶⁶. Even the Jewish community of Phocaea, Ionia, honoured a woman, Tation daughter of Straton son of Empedon, for having erected the assembly hall and the enclosure of the open courtyard with her own funds, with a golden wreath and *prohedria*, 3rd. century A.D.²⁶⁷. P. R. Trebilco observes that the *prohedria* was unique in that sense in Jewish inscriptions²⁶⁸, whereas R Kraemer adds that she was not awarded immunity or other municipal benefits because they did not have municipal authority²⁶⁹. A priestess, Chrysis, was honoured at Delphi in the 2nd. century B.C., was granted most of the honours usual for a benefactor: freedom from taxation, *prohedria*, the right to own land and a house, for taking part in a procession in honour of Athena²⁷⁰. A female harpist, Polygnota was granted the above honours plus *proxenia* and even *sitesis* in the *prytaneion*, 86 B.C., for her virtuosity in music²⁷¹.

We have already referred to Aphnia who was granted citizenship in Delphi, 2nd. century A.D., for her «many sweet speeches»²⁷². In an inscription from Crete,

²⁶³ IGR IV, no. 145.

²⁶⁴ IGR IV, no. 147.

²⁶⁵ IGR IV, no. 146.

²⁶⁶ IGR IV, no. 144.

²⁶⁷ IGR IV, no. 1327.

²⁶⁸ P. R. Trebilco, *Jewish Communities in Asia Minor*, Cambridge 1991, 110.

²⁶⁹ R. Kraemer, *Her Share of the Blessings*, New York and Oxford 1992, 85.

²⁷⁰ IG II2, no. 1136.

²⁷¹ Pleket no. 6, ll 10-15.

²⁷² M. Colin, *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 1930, no. 79.

a man Megon son of Dionysios and a woman, Horatia (wife or daughter) of Acylas are called citizens and *proxenoi* of the Oluntians. In one of the decree's possible interpretations (it is difficult to be interpreted due to very anomalous syntax), both Horatia and Megon not only pass their citizenship and proxenia to their descendants, but also to two relatives, she to Gnaeus Tydicus Macquius, a Roman citizen, perhaps a son in law of hers, he to his wife. In the second version, the decree is honorific, so both Horatia and Megon, citizens and *proxenoi* of the Oluntians honour, she her son in law (?), he his wife²⁷³. Women were granted *proxenia* in Hellenistic Greece (ie Timessa 2nd. century B.C. in Amorgos) but in the Roman imperial era we find few examples of *proxenoi*, male or female: Scribonia Philotera was honoured by the Melians as their *proxenos* and *energetis*, Melos²⁷⁴. Flavia daughter of Flavius Pancratus, a *hydrophoros* of Artemis, was the first maiden (*parthenos*) who had the right to wear a crown in Didyma²⁷⁵.

Sometimes, though, women were granted privileges, especially the crown simply as relatives of a male benefactor, e.g. a woman was honoured in Rhodes, simply because she had given birth (*gegeneken*) to such a magnificent son²⁷⁶. The only inscription that records a woman wearing purple and a golden crown is an epitaph for Romana, an arch-priestess in Side, Pamphylia, later 3rd. century A.D.²⁷⁷. There is also an award not mentioned by Danker (it was indeed rare): the dedication of a shrine, the empress Faustina the Younger was granted this privilege by the citizens of Pergamos, grateful for her benefactions²⁷⁸. Dio Chrysostom's mother was also granted this unusual honour for her benefactions to Prusa²⁷⁹.

The same words are used to describe male and female benefactors alike: Junia Theodora is called *kali* and *agathi*, Tertulla daughter of Krateros was honoured in her epitaph with traditional feminine virtues (*oikouros*, good housewife) but also with public ones, *soteira* (saviour) of the city and *olbiodotis* (giver of wealth)²⁸⁰. A priestess of Artemis, Claudia Pollo Quintilla was

²⁷³ K. Davaras, *Arch eph* 18, 1963, 156-7.

²⁷⁴ SEG XXXI (1981) no. 743.

²⁷⁵ I. Didyma no. 356.

²⁷⁶ Claudia daughter of Xenophon, in A Mauri, *Nuova sillage epigraphica di Rodi e Cos*, Florence 1925, 164.

²⁷⁷ ZPE 60, 1985), 117-121 no. 1.

²⁷⁸ IGR IV no. 361.

²⁷⁹ Or. 44.3.

²⁸⁰ W. Peek, «Grabepigramme aus Klaudiopolis», ZPE 27, 1977, 276.

anastropheisa, she conducted worthily her duty towards the goddess and was *philotimos* towards the people, paying for the public sacrifices by her own money²⁸¹. Antonia Tryphaena was characterised as «by nature philanthropos»²⁸² John Chrysostom, referring to the spiritual liturgies required by Christianity, mentions that both women and poor people qualify for God's liturgies²⁸³. He observes that the spiritual theatre admits women, old men and slaves too. The implication is that girls were exempted from liturgies whereas pagan boys were qualified for *agonothesia*, *gymnasiarchia* etc. after their weaning!²⁸⁴. But the epigraphical record challenges his view: Larcia Secundilla, daughter of a *stephanephoros*, Larcus Silon and wife of the arch-priest Tiberius Flavius Aponianus is recorded as having held all the offices and liturgies at Acmonia, Phrygia, ca. A.D. 100-105²⁸⁵. Two sisters from Pergamos, Aurelia Alexandra and Aelia Iuliane, priestesses of Athena Pollios discharged the offices and liturgies of their father, Aurelius Alexander²⁸⁶. Theagenis hydrophoros of Artemis was descendant of liturgists and herself a liturgist (*kai aute leitourgousa*), she was the first *hydrophoros* who constructed aqueducts and a fountain, at Branchis²⁸⁷.

²⁸¹ IGR IV no. 1755, see also the inscription honouring the archeine Berenice, in 2nd. century A.D. Syros, Pleket no. 25 (she had fulfilled her *anastrophe*).

²⁸² IGR IV no. 149.

²⁸³ *Sermon to Anna*, 3, PG 54, 660.

²⁸⁴ For children as liturgists and office-holders, see T E Wiedemann, *Adults and Children in the Roman Empire*, London 1989, 117-139. For epigraphical material referring to minors as liturgists see IGV.2 no. 653 for a four year old boy who was appointed as *agoranomos* and *gymnasiarchos* at Epidaurus; also see the offices held by the son and the daughter of Menodora IGR III no. 801.

²⁸⁵ W. M. Ramsay, *The Social Basis of the Roman Power in Asia Minor*, Aberdeen 1941, 18-19. She discharged all the offices and liturgies. See also the unique inscription from Miletos, Milet II no. 265, in which an unknown lady is recorded as having held a series of offices, civic and religious: (a) arch-priestess of the imperial cult and of Iona, (b) *hydrophoros*, (c) *stephanephoros*, (d) *gymnasiarchos* of the young, the elders and the citizens, (e) *kotarches* (head man of the village) and finally she is described as having discharged all the liturgies.

²⁸⁶ I. Pergamos VIII2, Berlin 1902, 339, no. 522.

²⁸⁷ LeBas Was no. 2885b. However, it was not usual for women to undertake expensive liturgies. Epie was praised for undertaking the liturgy of neocoreia, Thesos 1st. century B.C. or 1st. century A.D., Pleket no. 7. Similarly Aba of Histria was praised for undertaking 'masculine' liturgies, Pleket no. 21, 2nd. century A.D., ll 15-20.

A priestess from Samos, daughter of Proclos held the priesthood of Artemis with *eusebeia*, *philotimia* and gave to the city with *ekteneia* (generosity) 5,000 denarii²⁸⁸. Tata of Aphrodisias, 2nd. century A.D., is a woman who does not hesitate before expenditure, a lover of *doxa*, adorned with virtue and *sophrosyne*²⁸⁹.

The *gymnasiarchos* Aurelia Leite, Paris, A.D. 300 was *philosophos*, *philandros*, *philopais* and *philopatris*²⁹⁰. *Philopatris*, lover of his/her city was an honorary title awarded by the city. Other women who were granted this title, Carminia Ammia, *stephanephoros* and priestess of the mother of Adrastos and of Aphrodite, Heraclea Salbatee, Caria²⁹¹, Plancia Magna, Perge, Pamphylia²⁹², Cyreinia Patra, the *kratiste*, wife of Brionianos Lollianos, who was honoured by the city of Side's *gerousia* (she was also called Pegasus, the name of a nymph)²⁹³. *Philotimia*, love of honour was also used for female benefactors: Junia Theodora had shown *spouden kai philoteimidu*, enthusiasm and love of generosity to the Lycians²⁹⁴. Aba of Histria *panta philoteimu epoiesen*, she performed everything with generosity²⁹⁵, she was *philotimotate*, most generous, to both men and women²⁹⁶. The arch-priestess Modesta is *ek progonon philotimos*, generous in a hereditary capacity²⁹⁷. In some inscriptions the words *authairetos* or *ekusios* denote that the office holder took the office by his own volition, eg Grania Attikilla is *ekusios prokritos stephanephoros*²⁹⁸.

²⁸⁸ *AE*, 1990, 270, no. 912.

²⁸⁹ Pleket no. 18, ll, 21-3. See also an inscription from Boubon, Lycia in which Artemion daughter of Troilos, a citizen of Boubon was characterised as «honourable lady», «one of the first-rank citizens», *philandros*, a woman adorned with every virtue. She was priestess of the imperial cult and she had spent a lot of money for the improvement of the city, IGR III no. 464.

²⁹⁰ *Philosophos* - lover of wisdom; *philandros* - she loved her husband; *philopais* - she loved her children; *philopatris* - she loved her city: Pleket no. 31.

²⁹¹ *AE* (1940) no. 185.

²⁹² *AE* (1958) no. 78.

²⁹³ C. Foss, «Bryonianus Lollianus of Side», *ZPE* 26, 1977, 163-164.

²⁹⁴ Pleket no. 8, l 49.

²⁹⁵ Pleket no. 21, l 38.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, l, 47.

²⁹⁷ C. Foss, *op. cit.*, 167. See also CIG no. 4150b for a *philotimos* lady, Julia Acquilina, at Amastris, Pontos. Also see IGR III no. 116 and I Stratonikeia nos. 536, 537.

²⁹⁸ I. Milet I.7 no. 176.

The term *prostatis* is used in the context of the New Testament, in order to characterise the deaconess Phoibe in the church of Kenchreai²⁹⁹. R A Kearsley mentions that many translators doubted the validity of the word *prostatis* for a woman and proposed instead the use of *parastatis* (a much weaker word denoting help, not patronage)³⁰⁰.

The *prytanis* of Ephesos ca A.D. 170 Tullia was recorded as having accomplished her *prostasia* in the sacred house of Hestia³⁰¹. And again Junia Theodora is recorded as *prostasian endeiknymen*³⁰². So, the doubts of the commentators for the validity of Phoibe's title as *prostatis* seem to have no basis.

The term *euergētis* is widely attested: the queen of Pontos Pythodoris called Livia her *euergētis* (after 8 B.C.), Hermonassa³⁰³. Another queen of Bosphorian Pontos, Dynamis, honoured Livia as her *soteira* (saviour) and *euergētis* (benefactress)³⁰⁴. And Dynamis herself was characterised *soteira* and *euergētis* on the honorific inscription in the base of the statue set up by the city of Phanagoria in her honour³⁰⁵. The Roman lady Egnatia Maximilla was honoured by the *demos* of Andros as their own *euergētis*, reign of Nero³⁰⁶.

The word *protos*, meaning the first, was used for women too: Phile from Priere, 1st. century B.C. / 1st. century A.D., was the first woman who held the *stephanephorate* in her city³⁰⁷. Similarly, the *hydrophoros* of Artemis Flavia daughter of Flavius Pancratius was the first maiden to wear the crown, in

²⁹⁹ Romans 16.1-2.

³⁰⁰ R. A. Kearsley, «Women in public life in the Roman East», *Ancient Society: resources for teachers* 15, 1985, 124.

³⁰¹ *Forschungen in Ephesos* IX, Vienna 1981, 64.

³⁰² Pleket no. 8, 1 77.

³⁰³ SEG XXIX (1989) no. 695.

³⁰⁴ IOSPE iv no. 202.

³⁰⁵ IOSPE ii no. 356.

³⁰⁶ Syll³, no. 811. See also an inscription from Rhodes recording athletic victories in which men and women were called *euergetae* and *euergētides*, IG XII 1 no. 127.

See also SEG, 1989, no. 391, in which a lady, Autopa was honoured by the city of Kaphyai, Arcadia as its *euergētis*, IG IV núm. 598, in which Claeneta was honoured by the Pamphylian tribe as its *euergētis* and the curious case of the freedwoman Canuleia Potamilla who was honoured by L Canuleios Zosimos as his *euergētissa*, IG X 11.1 no. 453, Thessalonika.

³⁰⁷ I. Priene no. 208.

Didyma³⁰⁸. Tryphosa daughter of Hermesianax was the first maiden who won in the foot race at Pythia, ca. A.D. 45, Delphi³⁰⁹. In an inscription from Magnesia the meaning is ambiguous: Iuliane daughter of Eustratos son of Phanostratos, wife of Alciphron, the arch-priest of Asia was either the first woman who became arch-priestess of Asia, or simply she was the first among her city's women (she was also *stephanephoros*, *gymnasiarchos*, priestess of Aphrodite and Agrippina and of the Ephesian Demeter)³¹⁰. The *stephanephoros* and *gymnasiarchos* Tate daughter of Glycon was the first woman who became a member of the *gerousia* at Heraclea Salbake³¹¹. An anonymous lady was the «first and only woman who became twice *stephanephoros* and *gymnasiarchos*» and who was elected as «daughter of the city»³¹², and the arch-priestess Fl. Vibia Sabina was the first and only woman who enjoyed equal honours with the members of the *gerousia*, Thasos³¹³. The term, when applied to women, seems to indicate exclusiveness, to imply that the honorand has been promoted to the position of the «honorary male»³¹⁴.

The word *teknotrophesasa* (who reared children) is ambiguous in the Syros' decree for Berenice: does it mean that she reared her own children (private), or that she funded the rearing of the community's children (public)? The blur between the two spheres does not allow for a definite answer³¹⁵.

Even *philosophos* (lover of wisdom) applies to women: the *gymnasiarchos* of Paros Aurelia Leite is called also *philosophos*, a bearer of wisdom (*ten sophian pherousan*)³¹⁶. Aurelia Charalambiare Olympias is called *philandros*,

³⁰⁸ I. Didyma no. 356.

³⁰⁹ Pleket no. 9.

³¹⁰ I. Magnesia no. 158.

³¹¹ L. Robert, *La Carie*, Paris 1954, 174.

³¹² *Ibid*, 173.

³¹³ IG XII 8, no. 389.

³¹⁴ Lollia Antiochis set up the bath in Assos, in honour of Julia Aphrodite and for the *demos*, I. Assos no. 16: in 13 she is called «first of the women». See also Diaphene, daughter of Philon, the «first woman» in IG XII suppl no. 63 = SEG II no. 492, Mytilene, Lesbos. G. R. Horsley is not sure if the phrase used for the women in Thessalonike, in Acts 17.4 was a title or simply a descriptive way to refer to leading women. G. R. Horsley, *New Documents illustrating Early Christianity*, 1976, 72, no. 25.

³¹⁵ Pleket no. 25.

³¹⁶ Pleket no. 31, 19.

sophon and *philosophos* in her epitaph³¹⁷, in Heraclea, Bithynia and finally of course, Magnilla, daughter and wife of philosophers, and herself a philosopher³¹⁸. Nevertheless the combination of domestic virtues with *philosophia* implies the kind of the «educated housewife» promoted by such stoics as Musonius Rufus.

Two inscriptions from different regions (Argos, Moesia) bestow unique honours upon women: the former awards a woman, daughter of Kulliphanes, wife of Mnason with *asylia* (other honours, probably *proxenia* and citizenship did not survive on the text) for her and her descendants whereas in the latter a woman, Moschion daughter of Diogenes is honoured, for her *philotimia*(?) with annual *stephanephoria*³¹⁹. Cleonyma daughter of Brasidas, who was *euergetis* descending from a family of *euergetes*, who *eunous diateleis* (who is always showing goodwill towards the city), repaired the statue of Athena Polias, in Telos, Sporades, 2nd. century B.C.. For her generosity she was awarded a golden wreath and citizenship³²⁰. Stallia Preima was honoured by the *mystai* of Dionysos together with her husband Diodoros Cointos for holding the *agonothesia* and *gymnasiarchia*, with luxury and in a nice way, Regium, Thrace, A.D. 83/96³²¹.

Other examples of honours bestowed upon female benefactors: Claudia Satourneina daughter of Claudius Basileios, the «good-willing» (*eumenes*), generous (*megalopsychos*) arch-priestess of the emperor M. Aurelius, the *philodemos* (lover of the people, *demos*) and *Hearth* of the city, who was honoured by her nephews according to the will of her brother and according to the resolution of the *boule* and the fatherland, mid-second century A.D., Heraclea, Pontos³²². Aelia Hegemonis Lydatis, the *kratiste*, mother and grandmother of senators was honoured by the *boule* and *demos* of Lydis, as their *euergetis*. On the personal level of *euergesia*, Calpurnia Kodratilla, wife of C Arrius Antoninus the *anthypatos*, was honoured by the clerk of the *demos* and arch-priest of the Ephesian temples Aelius Tatianus as his personal and the city's patroness

³¹⁷ BCH (1898) 495, no. 5.

³¹⁸ Pleket no. 30.

³¹⁹ IG IV no. 913 (Argos) SEG XXIV (1969) no. 1107 (Moesia).

³²⁰ Arch. Eph. (1922) 43.

³²¹ SEG XVII (1962) 101, no. 281.

³²² IGR III no. 535.

(*euergetis*)³²³. Oesidiene, the most adorned wife of Appios Alexander, the *epitopos* of the emperor was honoured by Julia Atticilla, priestess of Artemis and arch-priestess of the temples of Asia in Ephesos, her own *euergetis*³²⁴. A woman together with her daughters Phrontis and Artemis honoured their own *phile* (friend, patroness) Phlavia Nannila daughter of Osbaros, arch-priestess of the emperors Termessos, Lycia³²⁵. (These examples, together with the honorific inscriptions by the queens Dynamis and Pythodoris to Livia, prove that a female to female patronage existed too.)

Women were honoured together with their husbands or sons for benefactions. An anonymous benefactor is recorded as being a civic benefactor³²⁶, Eresos, Lesbos, in the reign of Augustus (together with his wife Ammia, daughter of Apollophanes he demonstrated that he was a benefactor not only of the city but also of the whole of the province)³²⁷. In an epitaph from 1st. century A.D. Thasos, a married couple, Pythion and Epikydilla are recorded as having been married for fifty years (he at the age of eighteen, she at the age of fifteen), as having shared an indestructible friendship, as having fathered fathers and having held the archonship twice over the citizens³²⁸.

The unnamed daughter of the benefactor Lysonias, at Magnesia on the Sipylas was *arxasa dorean stephanephoron* (she held freely the *stephanephorate*)³²⁹.

Similar language was used in Christian inscriptions honouring benefactresses: Scholastica who repaired the baths at Ephesos was called in her epitaph, «the most pious and wise lady»³³⁰. And Euphemia, cubicularia (lady of honour) of the Empress Pulcheria was called «the most modest lady» in an honorific inscription for her construction of a shrine to St. Christopher, late 4th. and mid 5th. centuries A.D., respectively.

³²³ I Ephesos no. 619B.

³²⁴ I Ephesos no. 616.

³²⁵ IGR III no. 456.

³²⁶ IG XII suppl. no. 124.

³²⁷ Pleket no. 10.

³²⁸ TAM V.II, no. 1343.

³²⁹ I Ephesos no. 453.

³³⁰ I. Chalchedon no. 22.