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»

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 purposes.\(^3\)

The sources tend to indicate that both sexes performed their role in gymnastics together but the evidence is suspicious.\(^4\) 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


\(^{5}\) Stobaeus, *Peri nomen kai ethan*, 12, 24, 10-20.

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 ΙΙ,2 núm. 1325Α, 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

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7 CIG no. 2719.
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 ephebic 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 ones\textsuperscript{14}.

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 women\textsuperscript{15}.

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. 210\textsuperscript{16}.

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 hero\textsuperscript{17}. According to F Graf this is a reversal of the proper order:

«Wailing women in the gymnasion, 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»\textsuperscript{18}.

\textsuperscript{14} L. Robert, *Villes d’Asia 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 19 no. 265. However the decree characterises them as «liturgies», *op. cit.*, lines 18-20.

\textsuperscript{15} IG VI, no. 1208 161/69 A.D.

\textsuperscript{16} *EG III* 261.

\textsuperscript{17} Pausanias, 6, 23,3.

\textsuperscript{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 slight. 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 women. 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. 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. 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 found. But it seems that it was mostly a question of depoliticisation of city life. The ephebes were no more the future hoplites, 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 place. 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 theatre. 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 foreigners. If this was true, nothing changed in Roman times when women, at least the ones who were members of the elite, were always limited to the back rows. 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. (topos) of the priestess of Helios (= sun), (topos) of the priestess Antonia, (topos) of the Olbia priestess

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26 Ibid, 140-141.
28 IG II. III. 3.1 no. 5093.
29 Ibid, no. 5095.
30 Ibid, no. 5101.
Public and Private

Julia, (topos) of the priestess of Hestia and the Romans, 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?»

Aristides voices his anxiety for the moral injuries inflicted by comedy in women spectators (and men). 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 them. 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 way. C. P. Jones attributes this severity in dress not to Oriental influence but to «conservative Hellenism», based on L. Robert’s comments on the well-known female figurines from Tanagra, Boeotia, «Deux textes inutilisés sur Pergé et sur Sidé». A veiled woman is depicted lying on a couch and holding a veil with her left hand, in a funerary altar, late imperial period, Pamphylia. Veiled women appear also in three categories of

31 Ibid, 102.
32 Ibid, 3104.
34 XXIX 29 and 30.
35 Dio Chrysostomus, Chaeraes and Callirrhoe VIII, 40.
36 Dio Chrysostomus, Or. 33, 48.
38 Hellenica V., 1948, 69.
39 SEG XXXV, 1985, Dio Chrysostomus, 1420.
reliefs in a Pisidian village, 3rd. century AD.\textsuperscript{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»\textsuperscript{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»\textsuperscript{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 market\textsuperscript{43}.

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 (\textit{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»)\textsuperscript{44}. A reference to a \textit{gynakeia agora} is to be found in Pollux; it is the part of the agora in which things are sold\textsuperscript{45}.

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\textsuperscript{40} SEG XXXII, 1982, Dio Chrysostomus, 1291-1301.
\textsuperscript{42} XXIX concerning the prohibition of comedy (30).
\textsuperscript{44} CIG Dio Chrysostomus, 3657.
\textsuperscript{45} Pollux X.18. For the \textit{agora}, sacred, male and female see M. Sève, «Un décret de consolation de Cyzique», \textit{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 cofounding baths as benefactresses. In Arkades (Roman Crete, imperial period), women had to use the same balaneion (bath) as men but in different hours. 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). A lady called Lepuscla funded the construction of a balaneion in Asopos, Laconia, 1st./2nd. century A.D. 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 separately.

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 home. A tripod and a hearth symbolise the dreamer’s wife. A cushion, a couch and everything relating to a bed symbolise again the wife of the dreamer. 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. 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 quarters. 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.
50 Artemidorus I. 50.5-10.
51 Ibid, I. 74.20-21.
52 Ibid, I. 74.25.
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 grammotodidaskaloi were elected to teach both paides and parthenoi (boys and girls). At Smyrna and Pergamos, there was a magistrate responsible for the supervision of girls. A very fragmented inscription from Pergamos records girls' courses: penmanship, music and reading, epic and elegiac poetry. Tation daughter of Apollonios is recorded as winner in penmanship. In the 2nd. century B.C., the city of Larissa in Thessaly honoured a poetess from Smyrna by granting her proxenia, enktesis and prostasia. The city of Tenos honoured Alcinoe from Aetolia who according to the restoration had composed a hymn for Zeus, Poseidon and Amphitrite, the patron gods of Tenos, during her visit. 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 Alcinoe. 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 wisdom. 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. Magnesia. 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.  
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 elite 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. Athenaeus 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 gymnasium. 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 grammaticake» can be used as evidence for the existence of female teachers only in Egypt. 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.» 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 Pythia. 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 content. 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 wisdom. But he gives to her education a metaphysical, semi-Biblical character (she was declared a wise woman when

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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 house—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 herself.

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. It is mentioned she was born among the Muses and shared in wisdom (sophia). 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». 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 answer, in l.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». Literary achievements were required by the women who occupied magistracies, eg the prytanis Tullia composed a hymn to Hestia during her service. 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 priestesses. Although he wrote in the 6th. century A.D. and perhaps

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75 Ibid, 469.
76 Ibid, 469.
77 SEG XXIV (1969) no. 1088.
78 Ibid, ll 15-17.
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.
Konstantinos Mantas

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 Bernard\(^4\). The latter was a descendant of the deposed dynastic family of Commagene, the sister of the famous C. Julius Antiochos Epiphanes Philopappos\(^5\). 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 Sappho\(^6\). 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)\(^7\).

At least one woman, Magnilla was honoured by being *philosophos* herself as well as being daughter and wife of philosophers, Apollonia, Mysia\(^8\). 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 public\(^9\). Real women philosophers did not exist in antiquity: the so-called

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\(^4\) *Les inscriptions grecques et latines du Collesse de Memnon*, Paris 1960, nos. 92, 93, 94 for Cl. Trebulla, nos. 28-31 for J. Balbilla.


\(^7\) «Balbilla did not save Memnon’s soul», *ZPE* 25, 1977, 120.

\(^8\) IGR IV no. 125.

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 Plautianus\textsuperscript{90}.

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 Lucian\textsuperscript{91}. 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’ arms\textsuperscript{92}. He dismisses the literary pretensions of those vain women who hire philosophers and believe that they are latter-day Sapphos\textsuperscript{93}. 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 patrons 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.\textsuperscript{94}. She styled herself as \textit{philomusos}, lover of the Muses (of their gifts). Also, the girl Tertia was called in her epitaph \textit{philologos} and «servant of the Muses» (implying literary education), 2nd. century A.D., Olympia\textsuperscript{95}. 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 \textit{gymnasium}: the love-struck widow Ismenodora could not accompany her beloved Bacchon at the \textit{gymnasium}, she had to wait for him to pass close to her house to give the signal for his abduction\textsuperscript{96}. That

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{90} Dio Cassius 76. 15.7.
  \item \textsuperscript{91} G. W. Bowersch, \textit{Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire}, Oxford 1969, 106-109.
  \item \textsuperscript{92} On salaried posts in great houses 33-35.
  \item \textsuperscript{93} \textit{Ibid}, 36.
  \item \textsuperscript{94} IGR II no. 959.
  \item \textsuperscript{95} Pleket no. 58.
  \item \textsuperscript{96} Plutarch, \textit{Mor} 754F.
\end{itemize}
bold act committed by a woman outraged two of the characters of the dialogue (Erotikos), Pisios 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-slaying 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.
Public and Private

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 roles. 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 Termessos. 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».

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.

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, Arcadia. 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 city. A similar honour was granted

102 Ibid, 408.
103 TAM III1 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 Lycosura. 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. 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, Megalopolis. 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 life.

C. THE CITY AS OIKOS AND THE BENEFACCTOR 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.
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. ῥοφεύς», records the use of that specific word for benefactors. An arch-priest Artemon is entitled trophaeus on a coin from Synnada Phrygia. 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, elaenoria, 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 trophoës, A.D. 68. The benefactor Gaius Licinianus Thoantianos was honoured for performing liturgies such as seiteresia, gymnasiarchiae and dianomai; he was called trophenoi euergetes and Ktistes, Telmessos, Lycia. Dio Chrysostom also records that the benefactors were called aristeis, Olympioi, soteres and trophoës. 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 Selge.

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. The title became a trend in Roman Asia Minor during the 1st. and

113 BMC Phrygia, 399, no. 38.
115 IGR III no. 495.
116 Dio Chrys., Or. 48.
117 Lanckoronski, Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens II, Vienna 1892, no. 250, 234.

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2nd. centuries A.D.: Julia Menogenis, *agonothenis, stephanephoros, prytanis*, dedicator of the *xystoi* is called daughter of the city, Thyatira, Lydia. Aurelia Volossia Kyriinia Atossa, arch-priestess of the imperial cult, *agonothenis* is called daughter of the city, too, Selge, Pamphylia. Plancia Magna is called daughter of Plancius Varus and of the city, Perge, Pamphylia; 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 *demourgos*, 1st. century A.D. The arch-priestess Karakylia, wife of Julius Severus, is called daughter of the *metropolis*, Ancyra, Galatia. 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, Phrygia. 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»'. 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 Aphrodisias. Claudia Balbeina, benefactress, was called mother of the *metropolis*, Ancyra, Galatia. Aur. Menoitiane is recorded as mother of the *boule* whereas her husband Kalliklianos Rufianianos Poteitos is eternal *gymnasiarchos* and father of the city, Syedra, Rough Cilicia. Aur. Artemis is recorded as mother of the *boule*, *ktistria* (founder), eternal *gymnasiarchos*. But it seems that she simply shared her husband's honorific titles and perhaps economic obligations.

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119 IGR IV no. 1238.
120 IGR III no. 383.
121 IGR III no. 794.
123 IGR III no. 190.
124 MAMA VI no. 10.
125 Ibid, no. 108.
126 MAMA VIII no. 4931.
127 IGR III no. 191.
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, Cilicia\(^{132}\). 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.


\(^{134}\) «Τροφήμος 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 Syll\(^3\) 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. Roueché, «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! L Robert analysed this phenomenon. 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, Macedonia.

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 Minor; in Roman Sparta the title was common: Julia Hetearchis was honoured as having been hestia and daughter of the city, other women were granted the same honour. 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 Damostenia 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 Boulaea.

Also, the Arkadian Claudia Tyche daughter of Tiberian Claudius Tertullos, priestess of Demeter, arch-priestess for life of the imperial cult and of the League of Achaea is called Hestia for life of the League of Arcadia A.D. c.212/13. An unknown lady, arch-priestess of the imperial cult, was called philodemos basilissa (queen) and Hearth of the city, at Amastris, Pontos. 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.
139 IV V1 no. 593.
140 Ibid, no. 583, 584, 586, 589, 598.
142 SylP no. 882.
that *hestia* denotes a magistracy or honorific title exclusively for women has been challenged by J. Méndez Dosuna\(^\text{144}\). 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*'\(^\text{145}\).

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 man\(^\text{146}\). 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 restoration\(^\text{147}\). 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 age\(^\text{148}\). Statues of her had to be erected in various public places and in the Charitesion and they had to be crowned during certain religious festivals\(^\text{149}\). Another lady, Lavia Paula was granted a public funeral and a crown because of her husband Marcus Antonius Albo's political career and her own *sophron* and moderate life\(^\text{150}\).

At Stratonikeia, Caria, two women Rhodion Koliorgis and Drakontis Korais were granted modest funeral honours (a public funeral) because of their male relatives' benefactions\(^\text{151}\). At Laodiceia ad Lycos, the boule and *demos* honoured Tatia daughter of Pénelles who died young (nea heroida) for her father's and

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\(^\text{144}\) J. Méndez, «Une autre question de dialectologie grecque», *Glotta* 60, 1982, 71-76.


\(^\text{146}\) Syllº no. 879.

\(^\text{147}\) SEG (1978) I 29.

\(^\text{148}\) *Ibid* II 36-45.

\(^\text{149}\) *Ibid* II 55-80.

\(^\text{150}\) I Ephesos III no. 614c.

\(^\text{151}\) SEG XXXVIII (1988) nos. 1105, 1106.
her great uncle's liturgies and magistracies. 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 crown. The boule and the demos granted similar honours to a young man, Titus Antonius Lysimachos Grypos who held magistracies like agoranomia and to console his mother Antonia Tatia. In other paramythetic decrees from Aphrodisias, the boule and demos honoured Aristokles Moloson, equestrian, who had held gymnasiarchiae and stephanophoriae, 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 alive. The boule and demos buried Aphia daughter of Eumachos who had lived in accordance with her noble descent. 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 Rome, the boule and demos honoured Neoira Amnia daughter of Mienekleas who had lived with sophrosyne and moderation, the boule and demos honoured posthumously Metrodoros son of Demetrios who held magistracies and paid for liturgies. 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 husband. But it is a series of decrees from Amorgos which provide the best example of the paramythetic decree. 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

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.
Public and Private

magistracy\textsuperscript{163}. 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 Aristeas, a woman adorned with every virtue\textsuperscript{164}. It describes the misery to which that death reduced the citizens including the infants\textsuperscript{165}. 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)\textsuperscript{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 liturgies\textsuperscript{167}, and Aurelia Agathemeris who held together with her daughter Aurelia Aphrodeisios the strategia and stephanephoria\textsuperscript{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 Tatia\textsuperscript{169}.

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

\textsuperscript{163} Ibid, no. 51.
\textsuperscript{164} Ibid, no. 395.
\textsuperscript{165} Ibid, ll 15-16.
\textsuperscript{166} Ibid, ll 20-24.
\textsuperscript{167} Ibid, no. 399, ll 5-10.
\textsuperscript{168} Ibid, no. 409.
\textsuperscript{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 taxes. 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_.

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, benefaction. 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). In the same area, Kbaroues daughter of Setos Neoptolemos and Vetullia 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 temple.

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170 K. Buresch, «Die griechischen Trostbeschlasse», _Rhein Museum Philologie_ 49, 1894, 435-6. See also SEG XL (1990) in which the members, male and female, of a family who helped Julias 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 sophron 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.


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»\(^1\). 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 women\(^2\). 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

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\(^1\) 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 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.

\(^2\) 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? 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 survive. 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».

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 (II.16-22):

- *bouletès* (councillor) ........................................ 86 dr
- *geraioi* (elder) .................................................. 80 dr
- *ecclēsastēs* (member of the assembly) .................. 77 dr
- the wives of each of these ................................. 3 dr
- citizen ............................................................... 9 dr
- *vindictarius* (freed slave) ................................. 3 dr
- *apeleutheros* (freed slave) .............................. 3 dr
- *paroikos* (serf) ................................................. 3 dr

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, II 72-75.

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

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 Bosporus, is even more «sexist»: the lady is honoured for acting as a man, performing arch-priesthoods and choreagiae 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, teachers. 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, Heraklea, Phrygia. Another lady provided a feast for all the citizens, made distributions to women and girls, and distributed meat in the agora, in Branchides. 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 women. Perigenis daughter of Bacchios is recorded as making distributions to the councillors, the women and the girls. A similar pattern is followed in Didyma: the *hydrophoros* Apollonia made distributions to the women and the girls present at the temple of Artemis. Statilia Iulia, also a *hydrophoros*, made distributions of money to the girls and the citizens. An anonymous lady made distributions to the citizens, the children, the women and the girls during the festival of Didymeia and made distributions to the councillors, the girls and the women and all the Milesian citizens. 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.
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 gymnasarchos, 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). 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.). 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 slaves. 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 invitation. 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

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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 shrine. A priest and his wife welcomed in the gymnasium the women of every age group and social rank. The women of the city and of the chora were invited at the temple of Hera and were given three drachmas each. 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 carcases 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 each. 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 men. The women and the councillors received money from a couple on the day of their inauguration. 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 women. The women were included in distributions of oil. They participated in dianomai and epidoseis. 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 women, 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 theatre; 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, II 8-12.
200 Ibid, no. 222.
202 Ibid, no. 244, 245, 248, 256, 311, 312, 324.
203 Ibid, no. 255, 256, 258, 309, 310, 311, 352.
205 Ibid, no. 663.
Konstantinos Mantas

and gave them three drachmas each$^{206}$; the women and the men who came at
the temple of Hera received money and meals$^{207}$, the women received oil, a
special bath for them, and money$^{208}$.

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
wine$^{209}$. L. Milionios Scymnos, archon stephanophoros 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 islands$^{210}$ (the same process was followed by M.
Eleutheros archon stephanophoros by lot for the second time together with his
wife, the archeine, núm. 662); the stephanophoros archon Antalos son of Mo-
destos 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 each$^{211}$.

The same ratio of eight asarii to each woman and wine was followed$^{212}$. Female
slaves were included in money distribution and in distributions of wine,
bread and pork meat$^{213}$. Finally two other stephanophoroi archons organised
public feasts for every free person of every sex and age$^{214}$. On the island of
Lesbos, at the city of Mitylene, Tation Aristonoa Dada, made distributions for
her priesthoods and pryianeae 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)\textsuperscript{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 war\textsuperscript{216}. 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 banquet\textsuperscript{217}. 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 Tatus’ «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»\textsuperscript{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 artists\textsuperscript{219}. N Bookidis comments that perhaps in the first century A.D. Messenia, the custom of segregation in dining ceased to exist\textsuperscript{220}. 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 dinner\textsuperscript{221}. 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).

\textsuperscript{215} IGR IV núm. 46 = IG XII2, no. 68.
\textsuperscript{216} SEG XXVI (1976/7) no. 1826.
\textsuperscript{217} SEG XXX (1980) no. 3405.
\textsuperscript{218} Achilles Tatius, I.5.25-30.
\textsuperscript{219} F. Sokolowski, Lois Sacrées des cités Grecques, Paris 1969, no. 65, II 95-8.
\textsuperscript{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 Chios. Similarly, the priestess L(ucia?) daughter of Myron funded the construction of the women’s bath in Pergamos. 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 era. 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, Italy. 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 girls. But in the alimentary scheme of Trajan 245 boys were included and only 34 girls.

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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.
225 CIL X no. 6328.
227 Ibid, 185.
In the east, Licinius Longus established such a scheme for 250 boys (paides) and girls (parthenoi) in his city Oenoanda, 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, Xanthos. 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' maintenance. And C P Jones argues that perhaps an ambiguous inscription found in Attaleia, Pamphylia in which oiketika paedia honour their trophæus 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 politikoi (son of citizens) and girls (daughters of councillors) in Naples. As for the endowment of dowries to poor citizen girls, it must have been a very important issue. 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 daughter, and another man Zenothemos got married to the daughter of his best friend Menecrates, who was not only dowryless but also repulsive to look at. 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 dowry. The economic dependence of wives, sisters and daughters on their menfolk is stressed by Libanius, when he refers to the fact that the

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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.
233 Toxaris or friendship, 22-23.
235 Artemidoros, I.15.
female relatives of prisoners have to do either begging or prostitution in order to support themselves\textsuperscript{236}. In another oration, Libanius mentions the case of a military officer who became rich through marriage to his aunt who was given a huge dowry\textsuperscript{237}. Nevertheless, the anonymous benefactor’s «decision to give dowries to the poor maidens of Xanthos»\textsuperscript{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 Iasos\textsuperscript{239}, and Phila’s similar one in Diodorus Siculus\textsuperscript{240}. 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.\textsuperscript{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 benefactors\textsuperscript{242}. 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»\textsuperscript{243}.

\textsuperscript{236} Libanius, \textit{Oration to the King for the Prisoners}, 9.
\textsuperscript{237} Libanius, \textit{On Protection Systems}, 27.
\textsuperscript{238} SEG (1980) no. 1535.
\textsuperscript{239} ASAA 45-46 (1969).
\textsuperscript{240} Diod. Sic. XIX 59.4.
\textsuperscript{241} IG XII, 3 no. 1119.
Public and Private

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 P eroic honours bestowed upon him, as having lived with virtue and aedos, Aphrodisias. A certain Rodon was called «a *stephanephoros* citizen adorned with faith and chastity». 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 life. 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-yria*, 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».

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

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244 CIG no. 2774.
246 CIG no. 2787, 2788.
248 Pleket no. 8132. 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 Pamphylia, (b) the priestess Cassia at Crague in Rough Cilicia, (c) Aurelia Artemisia, the ‘perpetual’ gymnasiarchoi, Termessos, Lycia and (d) Flavia Publicia Nicomachis, the perpetual prytanis, 2nd. century A.D. Lesbos. 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 funerals. Female benefactors like Archippe of Cyme and Timessa of Amorgos, both in the 2nd. century B.C. were granted wreaths while they were alive. The poetess Alcinoe was granted the same privilege in Tenos and female athletes were crowned too, i.e. a certain Pedia daughter of Lysisastros was honoured many times with golden crowns and the set up of her statues by the council, Rhodes, late Hellenistic era. 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 statue. 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 city. F. W. Danker cites the following rewards

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249 IGR III no. 802.
251 TAM III nos. 5, 58.
254 Cf. R. V. Bremen, Women and Wealth...
256 A GIBM IV (1893) 5.
Public and Private

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 honours. 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.

In n. 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 festival. 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 honoree’s parents and grandparents. Antonia Tryphaena, daughter of the king of Thrace Cotys and

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 Cyzikos as their adopted homeland and benefit her. Their flattering policy bore fruit because she restored a ruined temple of Poseidon, a ruined temple dedicated by Augustus, 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 benefactress.

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. P. R. Trebilco observes that the prohedria was unique in that sense in Jewish inscriptions, whereas R Kraemer adds that she was not awarded immunity or other municipal benefits because they did not have municipal authority. 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 Athena. A female harpist, Polygnota was granted the above honours plus proxenia and even sitesis in the prytaneion, 86 B.C., for her virtuosity in music.

We have already referred to Aphnia who was granted citizenship in Delphi, 2nd. century A.D., for her «many sweet speeches». In an inscription from Crete,
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 Gnaia Tydicius 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 wife^273. 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 Pancratius, 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 benefactions^278. Dio Chrysostom’s mother was also granted this unusual honour for her benefactions to Prusa^279.

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

^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.
anastrapheisa, she conducted worthily her duty towards the goddess and was philotimos towards the people, paying for the public sacrifices by her own money. Antonia Tryphaena was characterised as «by nature philanthropos». John Chrysostom, referring to the spiritual liturgies required by Christianity, mentions that both women and poor people qualify for God's liturgies. 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, gymnosiarchia etc. after their weaning. But the epigraphical record challenges his view: Larcia Secundilla, daughter of a stephanephoros, Larcius 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. 100-105. Two sisters from Pergamos, Aurelia Alexandra and Aelia Iuliana, priestesses of Athena Pollio discharged the offices and liturgies of their father, Aurelius Alexander. 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 Branchis.

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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 Epidauros; 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.


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 Ist. century B.C. or Ist. century A.D., Pleket no. 7. Similarly Aba of Histria was praised for undertaking 'masculine' liturgies, Pleket no. 21, 2nd. century A.D., II 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 denarii. 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*.

The *gymnasiarchos* Aurelia Leite, Paris, A.D. 300 was *philosophos, philandros, philopais* and *philopatris*. *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, Caria, Plancia Magna, Perge, Pamphylia, 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). *Philotimia*, love of honour was also used for female benefactors: Junia Theodora had shown *spouden kai philoteimidu*, enthusiasm and love of generosity to the Lycians. Aba of Histria *panta philoteimu epoiesen*, she performed everything with generosity, she was *philotimotate*, most generous, to both men and women. The arch-priestess Modesta is *ek progonon philotimos*, generous in a hereditary capacity. 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*.

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289 Pleket no. 18, 11, 21-3. See also an inscriprion 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.
294 Pleket no. 8, 1 49.
295 Pleket no. 21, 1 38.
296 *Ibid.*, 1, 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 *euergetis* is widely attested: the queen of Pontos Pythodoris called Livia her *euergetis* (after 8 B.C.), Hermonassa³⁰³. Another queen of Bosporian Pontos, Dynamis, honoured Livia as her *soteira* (saviour) and *euergetis* (benefactress)³⁰⁴. And Dynamis herself was characterised soteira and euergetis 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 *euergetis*, 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.
³⁰¹ Forschungen in Ephesos IX, Vienna 1981, 64.
³⁰² Pleket no., 8, 1 77.
³⁰³ SEG XXIX (1989) no. 695.
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 *euergetides*, IG XII 1 no. 127.
³⁰⁷ See also SEG, 1989, no. 391, in which a lady, Autopa was honoured by the city of Kaphyai, Arcadia as its *euergetis*, IG IV núm. 598, in which Claeneta was honoured by the Pamphylian tribe as its *euergetis* and the curious case of the freedwoman Canuleia Potamilla who was honoured by L Canuleios Zosimos as his *euergetissa*, IG X 11.1 no. 453, Thessalonika.
³⁰⁸ I. Priene no. 208.
Public and Private

Didyma\(^{308}\). Tryphosa daughter of Hermesianax was the first maiden who won in the foot race at Pythia, ca. A.D. 45, Delphi\(^{309}\). In an inscription from Magnesia the meaning is ambiguous: Juliane 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 Salbake\(^{311}\). 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, Thasos\(^{313}\). 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 answer\(^{315}\).

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.
\(^{312}\) 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 1 3 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.
Konstantinos Mantas

*sophron and philosophos* in her epitaph\(^1\), in Heraclea, Bithynia and finally of course, Magnilla, daughter and wife of philosophers, and herself a philosopher\(^2\). 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*\(^3\) with annual *stephanephoria*\(^4\). Cleonyma daughter of Brasidas, who was *euergetis* descending from a family of *euergetes*, who *eunous diateleı* (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 citizenship\(^5\). 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. 83/96\(^6\).

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, Pontos\(^7\). 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

\(^{1}\)BCH (1898) 495, no. 5.
\(^{2}\)Pleket no. 30.
\(^{3}\)IG IV no. 913 (Argos) SEG XXIV (1969) no. 1107 (Moesia).
\(^{4}\)Arch. Eph. (1922) 43.
\(^{5}\)SEG XVII (1962) 101, no. 281.
\(^{6}\)IGR III no. 535.
Oesidiene, the most adorned wife of Appios Alexander, the epitropos of the emperor was honoured by Julia Atticilla, priestess of Artemis and arch-priestess of the temples of Asia in Ephesos, her own euergetis. 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, Lycia. (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 benefactor, Eresos, Lesbos, in the reign of Augustus (together with his wife Ammia, daughter of Apollophonnes he demonstrated that he was a benefactor not only of the city but also of the whole of the province). In an epitaph from 1st. century A.D. Thasos, a married couple, Python and Epikydia 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 citizens.

The unnamed daughter of the benefactor Lysonias, at Magnesia on the Sipylas was arxasa dorean stephanephorum (she held freely the stephanophorate).

Similar language was used in Christian inscriptions honouring benefactresses: Scholasticia who repaired the baths at Ephesos was called in her epitaph, «the most pious and wise lady». And Euphemia, cubiculicaria (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.

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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 VII, no. 1343.
329 I Ephesos no. 453.
330 I. Chalcedon no. 22.