

Mobility of Hellenistic Women

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Abstract

The purpose of the current thesis is to study various aspects of women's mobility in the so-called Hellenistic period. It will attempt to provide answers to the questions 'why did women travel,' 'how common was it for women to travel,' and most importantly, 'did women take part in the Hellenistic colonisation processes.' The importance of women's mobility for the Greek societies as a whole will also be evaluated.

To study the mobility of Hellenistic women we shall use a wide variety of literary sources, inscriptions and papyri. The direct sources will be supplemented with some indirect evidence and a few theoretical models. For example, it will be argued that the number of mixed marriages in the new Greek colonies and kingdoms reflects the number of women immigrants.

In chapter one, it will be argued that Greek exiles habitually, although not universally, took their wives and families abroad with them. In Chapter two, an argument will be put forward that many Hellenistic mercenaries travelled together with their families. Moreover, it will be suggested that the growing number of female camp followers was one of the things that aided the successful colonisation processes of the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. In chapter three, we draw attention to the many professional, artistic, and athletic women who moved temporarily or permanently because of work. Chapter four on religion and female mobility is primarily concerned with female pilgrims, but it will also be claimed there that because of religion Greek women had to be 'imported' to the new Greek settlements in the East. In the fifth and final chapter, it will be argued that many more Greek women took part in the colonisation processes of the era than has previously been acknowledged.

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Introduction

Definitions

'Mobility'

In the context of this thesis, any travel beyond the boundaries of one's ordinary physical environment that *required* one to stay overnight in a place other than one's home *because of the distance* between the two places is considered as 'mobility.' Our definition of mobility is, in brief, tied to *distance*. Mobility is thus defined because this thesis is about 'displaced' women, i.e. women who left their normal places of residence for a period of time; that period of time could be anything from two days to a lifetime.

Indeed, it is important to note that our definition of 'mobility' is not exclusive to travel of any particular length or type. We shall study many different categories of movement, from relatively short trips to neighbouring cities to permanent relocations to new colonies in different continents. Common to all the women under focus in the current study is that they left their home territories and visited places that were, at least on first visit, foreign to them and so far from their homes that they could not have made the trip in one day. The motives, distance, and duration of their trips might vary considerably, but they all travelled well beyond their normal daily surroundings. In terms of mobility, pilgrimage, for instance, is not much different from migration; they are different manifestations of the same phenomenon. In this case, the main difference, in addition to the different objectives of pilgrims and migrants, being that pilgrimage is a form of temporary mobility while migration leads to permanent relocation of people. Both pilgrims and migrants, however, travel from places familiar to them to places unfamiliar to them.

The five chapters of this thesis are arranged thematically, each dealing with female mobility caused or motivated by different reasons; all of them, however, are

about women who moved beyond the minimum requirements set in our definition of mobility. The final, fifth, chapter of this thesis concerns Hellenistic colonisation; this will, in many ways, provide a conclusion to the entire thesis, for all the previous chapters will have, to a varying degree, paved the way to it. Some exiled women (chapter one), mercenaries' women (chapter two), and professional women (chapter three) took part in colonising the new kingdoms; in chapter four, which is about religion and female mobility, it will be argued that women were, in fact, integral to the colonisation processes.

While most of the women under focus in this thesis travelled from one *polis* or kingdom to another, it is important to note that our definition of mobility is *not* tied to any notions of political or administrative borders or boundaries. So, for example, an Athenian woman who went to be initiated at the Mysteries at Eleusis, which was administratively still within her home *polis*, did *travel* according to our definition of mobility, because the distance was such that she would have been very unlikely to have been able to make that trip within one day. On the other hand, a visit by a woman to a sanctuary which was an hour or a few hours walk away from her home—whether inside or outside the boundaries of her home *polis* or village—would *not* be considered as mobility, not even if she chose to stay overnight at a friend's or a relative's place near that sanctuary, for she could have returned home on the same day if she wanted to.

'Hellenistic'

We need to define the term 'Hellenistic' in three different ways: chronologically, geographically, and how it relates to women, or people in general. The easiest, and least controversial, is its geographical definition. Not many scholars would disagree with a definition that the 'Hellenistic world' included the areas, mostly conquered by Alexander and ruled by his successors, in which Greek language was the *lingua franca*. This, indeed, is how the term 'Hellenistic' is understood in its geographic meaning for the purpose of the current study. Our focus of attention will, therefore, range from Greece and Macedonia to Anatolia, Asia Minor, the Middle East, Egypt, and to a lesser extent Afghanistan and India. Only brief references will be made to Greek emigration to Italy and other Western regions. A few words may be said of

Magna Graecia and the Black Sea regions, but since these areas were largely colonised by the Greeks before the Hellenistic period—which we need to define next—not a great deal of attention will be given to them.

While there is a fairly universal consensus concerning the geographical definition of ‘Hellenistic,’ in chronological terms it has been defined in numerous ways. By far the most common definition is the time period between Alexander III of Macedonia¹ (aka ‘the Great’) and Cleopatra VII of Egypt (cf. Chamoux, 2003: 1). Among the scholars who define the period broadly on these terms, there is still disagreement on whether the reign of Alexander (336-323 BCE)² should be included within the Hellenistic period, or whether the beginning of the period should be marked by his death. A very good case could be made, however, that the ‘Hellenistic period’ began earlier than the reign of Alexander. While even the beginning of the fourth century BCE has been seen to contain some of the distinguished features of the Hellenistic world, “the year 360 (or thereabouts) has been chosen as a point of departure by scholars who rank as authorities on the subject” (Chamoux, 2003: 5). Indeed, as Ogden has noted, at least one ancient historian, namely Justin, seems to have regarded the rise of Philip II (c. 360-336), Alexander’s father, as the beginning of a new epoch in Greek history (Ogden, 2002: xiii).³ Some scholars, on the other hand, have stretched the period at the other end beyond the death of Cleopatra and the traditionally accepted date of c. 30 BCE. The Danish research project on Hellenistic history, for example, deemed that the period runs up to and including the reign of Hadrian, the Roman emperor (Bilde et. al, 1997: 14). Since the mobility of *Roman* women is not of interest for the current study, this date is surely too late for our purposes. We shall, therefore, draw the line at the death of Cleopatra VII and the fall of the Ptolemaic dynasty. As for the starting point of our study, we shall consider the mid-fourth century, the formative years of the rise of Macedonian power, as the beginning of the Hellenistic period.

While the entire Hellenistic era, as defined by us, is under focus, emphasis will be laid on the two centuries from Alexander’s accession to power (336) to the mid-

¹ All future references to ‘Alexander’ are to this king, unless otherwise stated.

² All dates in this thesis are BCE, unless otherwise stated.

³ Justin’s epitome of the history of Pompeius Trogus is divided so that the bulk of the work, books 8-40, deal with the Macedonian hegemony from Philip II to the fall of the Seleucid kingdom. What is before and after these books, appear like an introduction and an epilogue to the main body of the work (Ogden, 2002: xiii).

second century BCE. This is mainly because much of the Hellenistic colonisation took place then, but also because the source material is particularly rich for this period. Incidentally, the fact that the Hellenistic period, indeed, witnessed major colonisation processes is one of the main reasons why this era is so fascinating for the study of (female) mobility.

It might appear that in relation to people, the term ‘Hellenistic’ ought to be easy and uncontroversial to define. This is not so, however. In fact, it has proved very elusive to define who the ‘Hellenistic’ people were. Some would argue that the term implies hellenisation, since it derives from the verb ἠellenizō, ‘to imitate the Greeks,’ or ‘to speak Greek,’ or even ‘Greek-ize’ (cf. Ogden, 2002: ix). If the term ‘Hellenistic’ was thus understood, it would leave all the people who were ‘Greek’ by birth outside its definition. “The Hellenistic world, in short, is the Greek world with the Greeks taken out” (Ogden, 2002: x). Conventionally, however, the opposite is understood by ‘Hellenistic people,’ i.e. they were ‘Greek’ men and women of the Hellenistic period. Yet, even if one was to accept this definition, the problem does not end there, for it has proved out to be very difficult to define who were ‘Greek,’ or how to identify one as ‘Greek.’ Ethnicity is a highly complex issue; we will only touch upon the issue here, but we shall return to the problem of identifying ‘Greeks’ in the ‘Aims and Methods’ section of this introduction, as well as in the main body of this work when necessary.

The question of Greek identity ultimately revolves around deciding upon whether ethnicity is to be understood as biological or cultural. After giving a brief history of the scholarship on ancient ethnicity, Goudriaan concludes: “Common to nearly all work done so far on the national factor in Hellenistic Egypt is the simple belief that ‘nationality’ or ‘ethnicity’ is an objective and stable quality of the persons involved: Someone is a Hellene, and so cannot be an Egyptian” (Goudriaan, 1988: 8). He continues that being a Hellene, according to this view, entailed issues such as language, behaviour, culture, access to gymnasium, name, Hellenic pedigree, and *Heimatsvermerke*. “Consequently, one has tended to regard mixed marriages, producing children of mixed nationality, as the main factor in changes of nationality” (Goudriaan, 1988: 8).

Goudriaan’s own understanding of ethnicity, however, requires it to be seen “not as objective and innate qualities of a person, but as categories applied in social interaction by actors wishing to divide the participants in the interaction into an ‘in

group' and an 'out-group'" (Goudriaan, 1988: 8). Thompson, in her study of Greek ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt, has also noted that—in terms of human experience, as opposed to official designations—defining ethnicity is not always clear cut (Thompson, 2001: 303).⁴ Indeed, “the first point to establish is that a person’s ethnic identity may vary in different contexts” (Thompson, 2001: 304). It is further important to acknowledge that Greek identities are more easily recognised in urban centres than in rural areas, and that the distinctions between the various ethnic groups became more blurred after the first century of the Hellenistic period (Thompson, 2001: 303).

While accepting that ethnic groups can, and in many cases should, be seen as social constructs—determined on education, language, culture, etc.—the traditional biological/racial/hereditary definition of ethnicity, rejected by Goudriaan, is the most appropriate one for the current study on mobility. This is, in particular, as one of the main themes of this thesis is the migration of ‘Greek’ women to and from Greece and the Greek settlements in the new Hellenistic kingdoms. Indeed, we are, for example, interested in finding out how common it was for Greek women to migrate from Greece to Egypt, but we are not, on the other hand, interested in the number of women able to speak Greek in Egypt. Moreover, it is a constant theme in this thesis that the ‘Greeks’ were a very exclusive group, preferring endogamy and only exceptionally marrying women of other ethnic/racial groups. Therefore, it would have been (relatively) easy for contemporaries living in Asia or Egypt to see who were Greek immigrants (or descendants of them) and who were indigenous, regardless of their social or official ethnic identities. The fact that a Syrian woman, for example, was able to speak Greek and had a Greek name, would not have fooled her friends and neighbours into thinking that her family originated from Greece.⁵ The movements of such a woman would not be of interest for the current study, for as ‘Hellenistic women’ we understand women with Greek pedigree only.

⁴ For example, the terms used for ‘Greek,’ *Hellēn* in Greek and *Wynn* (Ionian) in Egyptian demotic, were not exclusively used for persons with Greek pedigree. Often, as Thompson argues, these terms were used for people who belonged to a favoured tax category, i.e. they were ‘tax Hellenes’ (Thompson, 2001: 306-311). While some native Egyptians enjoyed this tax status, it is important to remember that “most Hellenes no doubt were immigrants from the wider Greek world” (Thompson, 2001: 311).

⁵ Due to the nature of our sources, it might be difficult for modern historians to identify the background of such a woman; this is a problem that we shall tackle in the next section of this introduction.

It is further to be noted that only the movements of free non-royal women will be studied in this thesis in detail. The decision to leave out the movements of slaves and royal women is not only due to restrictions of time and space, but also due to the fact that their movements had completely different motivations and effects from those of the majority of the Greek women.

Aims and Methods

The ancient Greeks, as well as other people living on the Mediterranean, were frequently mobile. Horden and Purcell, in their general study on Mediterranean history, illustrate the point well: "...take the notional population in a defined place at a moment in historical time. As the seasons change (therefore in a matter of months) many of those assessed in that figure will be altogether elsewhere – pursuing seasonal agricultural goals ten, a hundred, two hundred miles away; or following the lure or compulsion of political or military activity two hundred, five hundred or a thousand miles away; on pilgrimage, sold into slavery, emigrating, engaged in the redistribution of surpluses... There is no difficulty in imagining momentary aggregates changing by many per cent through circumstances like these, and no reason – over a period of years, now, not months – to divide populations into a large sedentary core and a substantial mobile group. The proportion of those who are sometimes mobile, in the course of individual lifetimes, may in some cases be very high" (Horden and Purcell, 2000: 382). It follows, as Broadhead has argued, that the "study of that potentially large mobile group should then be of primary, not marginal, importance in the field of historical population studies" (Broadhead, 2002: 20).

Due to the mobility of various peoples, the people inhabiting the regions under examination in the current thesis were not the same in the early fourth century BCE and the late first century BCE. Most notably a vast number of Greeks and Macedonians had moved and settled into new areas in the East (*contra* Davies, 1984: 266). Because of the scale of continuous mobility in the Mediterranean region, Horden and Purcell have, in fact, found it theoretically impossible to talk of 'the population of a city.' "At any instant there will be within its built-up area hundreds

who will not be there tomorrow, thousands who will have left by the end of the year, tens of thousands who will have moved away in the course of a decade” (Horden and Purcell, 2000: 382). However, to know even roughly who lived in certain regions, we need to make efforts to know which, if any, peoples migrated there.⁶

For us, it is paramount to note that the result of any (mass) migration would have been affected by the sex ratio among the migrants. The answer to the question ‘Who lived in Ptolemaic Egypt,’ for example, would vary dramatically depending on the number and proportion of immigrant women. A study on the mobility of women (as well as men) helps us to gain a better understanding of who lived in any given areas. Such a study is, therefore, vital for our understanding of the people and the history of the period; without knowledge of the scale of female mobility, we are not in a position to know which, or what kind of, people we are talking about when we write history of the Hellenistic period.

Demographic studies is not the only area that benefits from the study of mobility in the Hellenistic period. Mobility of people has at least the potential to cause both small and major changes in any given society that experiences either increase or decrease of population. Moreover, the potential for social changes *may* increase when there is a great gender imbalance in the number of the migrants. Ferguson, for example, argues that the increased mobility of women in the Hellenistic period was directly linked with emancipation of women. According to him, families could not have let their daughters go abroad with a husband if she was totally at his mercy; they had to know she had certain rights. In Ferguson’s view, the situation would have been completely different when a daughter was married to a neighbour and the family had the opportunity to look after the couple (Ferguson, 1911: 70-71). Pomeroy, too, has argued that major population upheavals following war and migration affected family relationships (Pomeroy, 1997b: 205). Using the new citizens lists from Miletus and Ilion (see pages 62-65 and 200-201) as her evidence, she claims that Hellenistic colonisation caused major demographic changes, namely shortage of men, which in turn, according to her, affected social and legal norms, e.g. gave women better property and inheritance rights (Pomeroy, 1997b: 204-219).

In response to the arguments that mobility of people caused major social changes, van Bremen asks whether all cities were affected in the same way, and

⁶ The other factors that would, obviously, have affected the composition of populations were birth rates and mortality.

whether the sense of being uprooted was the same wherever one migrated—she answers her own questions in the negative (van Bremen, 2003: 318). Indeed, in arguing that Hellenistic colonisation led to *shortage* of men, Pomeroy has looked at the issue one-sidedly, for if more men than women migrated, as she advocates, the colonies and cities that received immigrants would have ended up having a surplus of men, not a shortage of them. It is unclear how this fits in her line of argument on social changes due to *shortage* of men. According to van Bremen, there simply is not enough evidence to say whether or not migration caused weakening of family ties or any other changes in family behaviour (van Bremen, 2003: 320, 329). While van Bremen is correct in demanding caution in making wide assumptions on the effects of mobility, the *potential* for such changes due to mobility—whether one can prove that these took place or not—calls for a better understanding of women’s mobility.

In addition to permanent mobility, i.e. migration, we shall study temporary mobility of women, i.e. travel. This is basically for two reasons. The first reason why we shall not restrict our study to Hellenistic colonisation is the simple observation that the scholarly world has yet to make sufficient steps to study the motives and scale of travelling women. Hellenistic women are still largely seen as stagnant. West’s characterisation of Erinna (the woman he *discredits* as the author of the poem “the Distaff”) as a nineteen year old girl who spent her life by her loom at home, is how many people still regard Hellenistic women (West, 1977: 116-119). It has often been difficult for scholars to see any reason why Greek women would have left their home *poleis*, even when it has been acknowledged that the women of the Hellenistic period had fewer social restrictions than before. Indeed, the social changes of this era make the Hellenistic age particularly interesting for the study of women’s mobility. Evidence will be brought forward in this thesis to demonstrate that it was not uncommon at all for women to travel. The second reason for studying temporary mobility alongside colonisation is that all forms of female mobility, as defined by us, had the potential of turning into permanent mobility, i.e. women settling abroad. Each of the early chapters will, therefore, contribute to the conclusions to be drawn in the final chapter on colonisation and Greek women.

To put it briefly, what is being studied here is the reasons and scale of female mobility; we look for answers to the questions ‘why did women travel’ and ‘how common was it for them to travel.’ In addition, we attempt to find out the importance and effects of female mobility for the Greek societies as a whole. In effect, the aim of

this thesis is to demonstrate that women were much more mobile in the Hellenistic period than has been previously acknowledged, and that their mobility had many important effects in their societies and the history of the period. No attempt will be made, however, to try to establish the sociological effects of travel for the individual women who visited foreign regions. Travelling will, obviously, have ‘broadened their horizons,’ but to fully evaluate such issues would be a task for anthropologists, sociologists and/or psychologists. A little more will be said of the importance of women’s mobility for the societies at large, both in religious and military spheres, and especially in relation to the colonisation processes of the period.

But how does one study the mobility of Hellenistic women?

Drama has been used by various scholars to paint a picture of the social realities within Greek cities. Most recently, in 2004, Lape published a book on Hellenistic Athens, which is based entirely on the plays by Menander (Lape, 2004). Although these plays included female characters who were mobile, they will not be used extensively in the current thesis. In fact, these plays will only be used when they support conclusions drawn from other, more reliable, source material. The chapter on exiles and their women employs ancient literature more than the other chapters, for reasons that will be explained in due course. Even there, and in particular elsewhere in this thesis, however, ancient plays and poems will not form a significant base for our arguments because we are interested in actual historical events, real historical women.

To trace the movements of real historical women, we have two types of hard evidence: literary and epigraphic. The literary sources for this period are unfortunately few in number and unsatisfactory in nature; much inferior to the sources dealing with Classical and Roman imperial periods (cf. Chamoux, 2003: 2-3). The main historical accounts on the Greek history of the period are Diodorus, Polybius, and Justin. Unfortunately, Diodorus’s books on the years after 301 survive only in fragments, and the latter two authors never covered events after the mid-second century BCE. We are not, however, limited to using narrative accounts. Other useful texts include the geographical books by Strabo and Pausanias, and the various works by Plutarch, for example. On specific issues some other ancient texts, such as Arrian on Alexander or Athenaeus on prostitutes and royal mistresses, are also useful. However, none of these extant sources were interested in colonisation, let alone the

mobility of women. It follows that what we get from these works is very piecemeal and anecdotal.

In any case, for each chapter we have at least some references by the ancient authors to provide examples of mobile women. These references range from unequivocal statements in the form of X daughter/wife/mother of Y travelled from A to B, to more general statements such as reports on entire households, which we assume to have included women, being forcibly transferred to new colonies. In addition, we employ certain quotes from the ancient histories and biographies that indirectly hint at female mobility. For example, a comment that an army, which reportedly had female camp followers, resembled a colonising expedition, indicates that colonising expeditions included women.

While good literary sources for the Hellenistic period are scarce, there is an abundance of epigraphic material from all over the Greek world, as well as plenty of papyri from Egypt. Having said that, only a small proportion of this material is useful for the current study. The inscriptions and papyri that we will use as our evidence for the mobility of Hellenistic women include epitaphs and epigrams of women buried in foreign lands, lists of new citizens, religious dedications by foreign women, honorific inscriptions for foreign women, and various legal documents concerning Greek women in non-Greek contexts. Apart from the lists of new citizens, the epigraphic material is a slightly more complicated and less certain type of evidence for the mobility of women than the literary material, for it rarely makes the mobility of women explicit. In Hellenistic inscriptions, as in literature, Greek women are habitually identified by their father or husband and their father's or husband's origin: ♀ daughter/wife of ♂ from X.⁷ When an inscription containing a reference to a woman thus identified is found in a location other than X, we may usually assume that the woman in question had travelled from X to the place where the inscription was set up (or where the papyrus was written). So, an Attic epitaph of a daughter of a Samian man, for example, implies that the deceased woman (or her immediate ancestors) had travelled from Samos to Attica. Similarly, an Egyptian marriage contract concerning a 'Greek' woman indicates that the woman in question (or her

⁷ There were, obviously, slight variations of this formula. For discussion on the various formulas in inscriptions of Hellenistic Athens, see Henry (1969: 289-305). A group of Danish researchers have made a compelling case that when the relationship between the man and the woman is not clear, it is much more likely that the man is her father than her husband (Vestergaard et al., 1985: 184).

Greek ancestors) had emigrated to Egypt. In other words, we usually make the assumption that these women were mobile based on the ‘fact’ that they were foreigners. It is to be noted, however, that it is not always certain that a person who claims to be the child of a Greek man was telling the truth. Moreover, by no means all inscriptions contain all the information detailed above; often a name is all we have.

For long, the consensus has been that from the second century BCE onwards names can no longer be used as proof of one’s ethnicity. In 1970, Peremans listed fifteen scholars who held this view; this list was not exhaustive then, and it could easily be extended today (Peremans, 1970b: 215). Writing history is not, however, a democratic process; often the majority view ought *not* to be upheld. This *may* be such a case. Peremans has constructed a very persuasive case for believing that names continued to be a fairly reliable mark of identification for one’s ethnic background even in the second and the first centuries BCE (Peremans, 1970b: 213-233). The arguments he has to support his case are sound; hence his view should not be rejected out of hand (*contra* Goudriaan, 1988: 117). Particularly illuminating is the fact that out of the 129 known personnel in the *Egyptian* cult of the dead—listed in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, no. 6917-7046—only two bear a non-Egyptian name; 101 of these belong to the second and first centuries BCE, indicating, therefore, that a great majority of Egyptian men and women kept their native names (Peremans, 1970b: 223).⁸

A further complicating factor in determining the real ethnic origin of the people who appear in our sources, is the fact, at least in Ptolemaic Egypt, that the term *Hellēn*—or *Wynn* in Egyptian demotic—was often used for favoured tax-status rather than as a definition of one’s ethnic background (Thompson, 2002: 139). Nevertheless, “there is sufficient difference to be documented between these two groups [Greeks and native Egyptians] to allow the conclusion that most of those with Greek names were what we would call ethnic Greeks and, even if some of these with Egyptian names might actually enjoy Hellenic tax-status, most were probably of good Egyptian background” (Thompson, 2002: 139).

⁸ It is not, of course, argued here that names remained steadfastly connected with one’s ethnic background; some people evidently had double-names, and we know of a number of ‘anormal’ filiations, but these clearly remained in the minority (Peremans, 1970a: 27; Peremans, 1970b: 217-219). As an example a man with a double name, Clarysse cites and reproduces a papyrus, *P.Sorb.inv.*

In any case, the bulk of the evidence for the current study stems from the late fourth and third centuries BCE, when everybody agrees that names still reflected one's ethnic identity with relative certainty (cf. Goudriaan, 1988: 117). Moreover, the kind of non-Greek women who were likely to assume a Greek identity would probably not have been among those mobile women under focus in the current study. They would usually, no doubt, have been daughters of local men who arranged for them to marry immigrant men. We need not, therefore, be overly worried about the difficulty of identifying the biological/ethnic background of each individual with absolute certainty. In most cases we may take names as proof of ethnicity. It follows that names are a valuable source for tracking down female mobility. A Greek woman's name in an inscription found in Ptolemais, for example, is a good piece of evidence for Greek women having migrated there; although it is often impossible to tell whether the woman in question was a first generation immigrant or a descendant of such.

The one place where this issue (of names as mark of ethnicity) could make a difference is in our discussion on mixed marriages, i.e. marriages between Greeks and non-Greeks. Even there, however, it would not affect the main gist of our argument due to the assumed late development of this, questionable, phenomenon of names losing their ethnic connotations. For us, it is most crucial to get an idea of the scale of mixed marriages at the beginning of the period, as this may reflect the scale of female mobility (see below). What took place in the later Hellenistic centuries is interesting as a social phenomenon—mixed marriages as an indicator of growing interaction and acculturation—but need not have much to do with the number and proportion of new immigrant women.

The discussion on mixed marriages is one of three theoretical models that we have created to support our arguments. We propose that we would have much more evidence for mixed marriages if there had been a chronic shortage of Greek women in the new Hellenistic kingdoms. Since all the available evidence suggests that marriages between Greeks and non-Greeks were rare, always in a clear minority, endogamy being the norm, we hypothesise that Greek women must have formed a substantial proportion of the (early) colonists.

567, which concerns a man called Seleukos, who also used the name Sokonopis in certain circumstances (Clarysse, 1992: 55; cf. Thompson, 2002: 139).

The first theoretical model, however, concerns women of exiled men. The chapter on exiles and refugees suffers, even more so than the other chapters, from scarcity of hard evidence. To complement the little that we have in the way of direct evidence for real historical women following their banished men, we briefly study the traditional image of exiles as presented by ancient poets and other social commentators.

The second theoretical model is used in the chapter on religion and religious mobility, but it actually paves the way for the subsequent chapter on Hellenistic colonisation. We hypothesise that since women had vital roles in Greek religion, which was important for the Greeks, Hellenistic colonisation could not have succeeded without female participation. The hypothesis is confirmed by demonstrating two things: 1) that there was a great deal of continuity in Greek religion and religious practices from the Classical to the Hellenistic age, and 2) that the female roles in Greek religion could only be fulfilled by Greek women. In the process of demonstrating religious and cultural continuity, literary and epigraphic sources are supported by archaeology and numismatics; the existence of Greek style temples and Greek religious motifs in coins found in the East prove that the Greek gods continued to be important for the colonists.⁹ We also provide two inscriptions, which imply that Hellenistic colonists did indeed ‘import’ Greek women with religious expertise.

As the fact that we occasionally have to resort to theoretical models and indirect evidence shows, the evidence for female mobility is often scarce. Consequently, quantification of female mobility is more or less impossible. However, enough direct and hard evidence exists to argue that women were frequently mobile. Moreover, it is possible to quantify the evidence itself. For example, we may calculate how many tombstones of foreign women have survived in Attica; and we may further calculate the proportion of women among all the *known* foreigners buried there. With such calculations, and speculation on the male bias that has led to a disproportionate number of references to male foreigners, we may form a very rough estimate of the

⁹ Continuity of Greek culture can also be seen, among other things, in the use and style of pottery found in the colonies (Hannestad, 2001: 13). The use of Greek style pottery does not, however, relate to Greek women—the pottery could have been imported or manufactured by Greek men and used by them and native women—which is why pottery will not be used as evidence in the current thesis.

proportion (if not the number) of women who travelled and migrated in the Hellenistic period.

The use of theoretical models and other indirect evidence will be further justified in the main body of this work. It is important to note now, however, that at all stages direct evidence drawn from the literary and epigraphic records will form the bulk of our source material, and it is there that our arguments rest; everything else merely supports the conclusion drawn from the hard evidence.

It finally needs to be admitted that when we are dealing with epigraphic material, it is often very difficult or even impossible to date the evidence with certainty. It follows that we *occasionally* draw on material that is loosely dated to the fourth century BCE, although there is a risk that it belongs to the first half of the century. Furthermore, when there is no direct evidence from the Hellenistic period, we will *occasionally* use (with caution) material relating to other periods. This is particularly so in the chapter on religion and religious mobility, where we use evidence concerning Classical Greek religion, as well as material written by authors, such as Pausanias, who wrote in the Roman period (but often relied on earlier sources).¹⁰ This is justified by the fact that the division between Classical and Hellenistic periods is a modern—and arbitrary—one that did not in real life witness sudden changes in the religious sphere. The political developments and great movements of people certainly caused some changes, but they did this very gradually. As Parker has said, “radical political change doubtless affects almost every area of life in the long term, but it does not overturn long-established social forms overnight” (Parker, 1996: 256). His comment that the history of *Athenian* religion did not end at the death of Alexander can be applied to Greek religion as a whole, as well as many other aspects of Greek societies. It goes without saying, however, that we aim to use early and late source material as little as possible, and only when they can be seen to reflect the situation in the Hellenistic period, too.

¹⁰ A similar approach has been adopted previously by other scholars working on Hellenistic religion, e.g. by Pakkanen (1996: 5, 7-8).

Previous Work on Women, Travel and Colonisation

While research on travel and colonisation in Antiquity on the one hand, and studies on ancient women on the other hand, have proliferated in recent years, the two fields of research have rarely been combined. In other words, mobility of women—whether Archaic, Classical or Hellenistic, temporary or permanent—has largely been ignored by modern scholars. Boardman, for example, does not offer any treatment on the topic in his influential book, *The Greeks Overseas*, on Archaic colonies and colonisation. Something of his interests may be revealed by a glance at the index: under ‘W’ we find references to ‘Wood,’ but not ‘Women’ (Boardman, 1980). Similarly, *Greek Colonists and Native Populations*, edited by Descœudres (1990), which includes 50 articles, most of which are on Archaic colonisation, does not deal with mobility of women at all. If one takes a look at its index under ‘W,’ one finds ‘Wine,’ but not ‘Women.’ A search through Braunert’s indices in his book on internal migration in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, *Die Binnenwanderung* (1964), does not provide much more: the subject index does not include women, and while the index of proper names does include some women, only one of them refers to a non-royal woman of the Hellenistic period.¹¹

The two articles on Hellenistic colonisation by Briant, “Colonisation hellénistique et populations indigènes I: la phase d’installation” (1978), and “Colonisation hellénistique et populations indigènes II: renforts grecs dans les cités hellénistiques d’Orient” (1982), include passing references to Greek women. Overall, however, these articles are about Greek men and their relationship with native peoples.

Malkin has done a comprehensive study—a PhD thesis, which has later been published as a book—on religion and colonisation in the Archaic and Classical periods (Malkin, 1987). Malkin’s interest lay in the role that religion played in the lives of colonists before, during and after colonisation; yet women’s role in all this does not receive attention.

Cohen's book *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* contains an exhaustive list of Hellenistic colonies and settlements known under current light of evidence (Cohen, 1995). This has replaced Tscherikower's groundbreaking, but antiquated, work (Tscherikower, 1927). Although the former, in particular, is extremely useful for the study of Hellenistic colonisation as such, neither one of these works has anything in particular to say about women and their role in the colonisation processes. The same, unfortunately, is true of Billows's *Kings and Colonists. Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism* (1995). In fact, Billows is of the opinion that women took no part in the colonisation processes of the period, which he thinks was largely a military phenomenon. In discussing the effects of Macedonian colonisation to Macedonia and its demographics, he claims that "the female population was unaffected" (Billows, 1995: 185n3).

Even the two volumes edited by Sordi, *Emigrazione e immigrazione nel mondo antico* (1994), and *Coercizione e mobilità umana nel mondo antico* (1995), fail to provide anything of value for the current study. These two books contain a series of articles on various non-quantitative aspects of geographical mobility in the ancient world, covering a wide chronological span from the archaic period through to late Antiquity, but they largely omit the Hellenistic era.

The accepted view on *Archaic* colonisation used to be that young Greek men left Greece alone—or in single sex groups—in search of land, marrying native women as they settled in new areas. This case was notably put forward by Rougé (1970), van Compernelle (1982), and more recently by Dalby (1992: 19n29, 20). Rougé, for example, argues that despite laws forbidding marriages between citizens and non-citizens, the Greeks did not find foreign/barbarian women disgusting, nor did they have in principle any objection to marrying indigenous women when they were abroad. To back his argument, he cites a number of mythical and historical examples of mixed marriages, e.g. Corinthian Demaratus marrying an Etruscan woman before becoming the ruler of the Etruscans (Strabo, 5.219, 8.378; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 3.46; Rougé, 1970: 307-317). Similarly to Rougé, van Compernelle argues that while women were needed in new colonies, it would not have mattered whether the women were Greek or indigenous (van Compernelle, 1983: 1043). He

¹¹ Even here, moreover, he does not discuss the mobility of the woman in question; she, Arsinoe, is mentioned because of the terminology she, or her scribe, used in her will (Braunert, 1964: 89).

further argues that some of the changes in the Greek colonists' way of life, language, and material culture could best be explained by mixed marriages; the native women bringing in influences from their own cultures (van Compernelle, 1983: 1048-1049).

It is true, as Rougé and van Compernelle argue, that the ancient sources are usually silent about women. For example, on the Greek colonisation of Cyrene, Herodotus writes that: "The Theraeans resolved to send out men from their seven regions, taking by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battus leader of all. Then they manned two fifty-oared ships and sent them to Platea" (Herodotus, 4.153). We do not know whether these 'brothers' took women with them or not.

It is also rare, on the other hand, to have explicit references to men migrating alone and/or marrying native women, as even van Compernelle acknowledges (van Compernelle, 1983: 1033). And when such statements are made, as Herodotus does on 'the best born of the Ionians' settling at Miletus and marrying Carian women, the statements imply that these men were exceptional in doing so (Herodotus, 1.146; Pausanias, 7.2.6; cf. Rougé, 1970: 315).

Moreover, there are some cases in which the ancient sources do mention the inclusion of women in Archaic colonisation expeditions, as Rougé admits. See Herodotus, for example, on the Phocaeans immigrating to Chios (Herodotus, 1.164). Rougé, nevertheless, stresses that the ancient sources hardly ever mention explicitly that women would have been included in colonisation expeditions—except when an individual woman's presence is used to explain the foundation of a cult (Rougé, 1970: 312-315).

The arguments concerning single sex colonisation and mixed marriages in the *Archaic* period, have been convincingly challenged by Graham. He bases his case on the grounds of scarcity of evidence and the valid assumption that *Greek* women were needed to establish *Greek* colonies with *Greek* cults and customs (Graham, 1980/81: 293-314).¹²

Similar arguments—that Greek men migrated without women to establish new colonies—have also been put forward for the Hellenistic period, although never in

¹² Graham's paper was in turn criticised by Dalby, but without much conviction (Dalby, 1992: 19n29). On the issue that *Greek* colonies needed *Greek* women, a valid comparison may be made to the nineteenth century British colonists, who considered it imperative that British women were sent to the colonies together with men, as is evident from numerous letters and pro-emigration material of the time; much of this material is collected by Hammerton (1979). The nineteenth century British colonists clearly held that British women helped to make the colonies attractive, civilised, and truly British (Hammerton, 1979: 45, 161, 163).

such detail as Rougé and van Compernelle did for the Archaic period.¹³ Welles (1951), Fraser (1972), and Pomeroy (1984) are perhaps the most vocal of the scholars who have maintained that Hellenistic colonisation was primarily conducted by single men. As will be argued in the chapter on colonisation and Greek women, however, none of these scholars, or anyone else, has produced conclusive evidence to support this view. Moreover, statistical approaches to the issue of mixed marriages, as conducted by Peremans (1970a and 1981), for example, have indicated that in the current light of evidence we should conclude that most marriages in the Hellenistic kingdoms were endogamous, mixed marriages being in the minority. The forthcoming *Counting the People* (= *P.Count*) by Clarysse and Thompson, which contains a database of Ptolemaic families in the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes in the third century, will further vindicate Peremans's earlier conclusions on the rarity of mixed marriages.

For the study of female mobility in the Hellenistic period, two recent studies by La'da have proved very valuable. The first of these is a register of all foreign ethnics on record from Hellenistic Egypt (La'da, 2002a). The second is an article on immigrant women in Hellenistic Egypt, which La'da aptly calls "a much neglected aspect of society" (La'da, 2002b: 167). It is most welcome that La'da has highlighted the fact that our sources are misleading on the number of Greek women in Egypt, i.e. there were more of them than appear on the epigraphic records and other sources (La'da, 2002b: 184). Yet, even he falls short of acknowledging the true extent of women's mobility, as will be argued later in this thesis.

Ptolemaic Egypt is not exceptional, for very little research has been done on foreign women in any Greek cities.¹⁴ For example, none of the thirteen chapters in Baslez's *L'étranger dans la Grèce antique* (1984) focuses on women. For the Archaic period she offers discussion on mixed marriages—and hence single sex migration—at some length (pp. 69-86), and the laws against such marriages in

¹³ New Hellenistic settlements were usually founded on the site of existing indigenous villages, hence the Greek immigrants would, at least in theory, have had access to native women (cf. Briant, 1978: 63).

¹⁴ To illustrate the importance of studying immigrant women, one could mention that the study of 'Athenian women' should not be restricted to the study of citizen women, but should take into account the various immigrant groups, including slaves (cf. Kosmopoulou, 2001: 302). Indeed, considering that there may have been as many free foreigners in Athens as there were citizens, and possibly many more slaves, it really would be too narrow to focus any social study on ancient Athens just on her citizens (cf. Ferguson, 1911: 88-89).

Classical Athens (pp. 94-97), but the issue does not receive adequate treatment for the Hellenistic period (cf. pp. 305-308).

According to Whitehead, there were 10,000 metics in Athens. However, he believes that this figure does not include many women, and that the few foreign women who lived in Athens did not influence the 'ideology of the metic,' which was his primary interest concerning the foreigners at Athens. Therefore, he ignores foreign women almost entirely in his book *The Ideology of the Athenian Metic* (Whitehead, 1977: 26, 75, 97). Similarly, McKechnie, in his book *Outsiders in the Greek Cities in the Fourth Century BC* (1989), has very little to say about women; apart from *hetairai*, who receive some attention.

Lonis has edited and published the papers given at two French conferences on foreigners in the Greek world. The first volume, *L'étranger dans le monde grec I* (1988), offers naught for the current study, as none of the nine papers in it discuss women at any length. None of the papers in the second volume (1992) focus on female mobility *per se* either. A few of them are, however, of interest to us, because they concern mixed marriages. See notably Vial's paper "Mariages mixtes et statut des enfants. Trois exemples en Egée orientale" (pp. 287-296), although she has since given the topic a fuller treatment in *Le mariage grec du VI^e siècle av. J.-C. à l'époque d'Auguste* (Vérilhac and Vial, 1998).

It is clear from what has been said above that women's role in Hellenistic colonisation and migration is yet to be adequately explored and understood. The same, sadly, is the case with studies on temporary mobility, i.e. travel. Casson's *Travel in the Ancient World* (1974) is probably still the best book on ancient travel in general, but one will not find any significant discussion on women's travel even there; Casson is almost totally silent about women. He, for example, lists 'Wagons' and 'Wheels' in his index, but not 'Women.'¹⁵

In April 2002, the Leicester-Nottingham Studies in Ancient Society organised a conference on "Realities and Representations of Travel in Ancient Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean." As with the French conferences, however, none of the (eleven) papers presented therein focused on mobility of women. The proceedings of

¹⁵ According to Casson, a large proportion of travel in the ancient world was due to trade and government (Casson, 1974: 130). Important as commerce and politics were as movers of people, women were not involved in overseas trade nor politics (save for some queens). And there is very little (if any) evidence for Greek merchants and diplomats taking their women with them as they travelled, hence these aspects of travel in Antiquity will not be discussed in this thesis.

this conference are yet to be published; Adams and Roy are currently editing the papers for publication.

Studies on one specific type of travel, namely travel to religious sanctuaries (pilgrimage), have taken women into account to some extent. Most notably Dillon discussed female pilgrims in his book *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in Ancient Greece* (1997). To continue to look at this issue through indices, we notice that Dillon has thirty-eight items under ‘Women,’ two under ‘Wives,’ and he further instructs readers to search under ‘Childbirth,’ ‘Clothing,’ ‘Prostitutes,’ and ‘Thesmophoria.’ In fact, Dillon dedicates an entire chapter to “The Female Pilgrim” (Dillon, 1997: ch. 7, pp. 183-203). That women’s participation in pilgrimage has been noticed is perhaps not very surprising, as women’s role in Greek religion has been the focus of a number of studies and because interest in pilgrimage has grown in an era that has witnessed a proliferation of gender studies in the field of Classics in general. Dillon’s invaluable work on female pilgrims is, nevertheless, a rare concentrated study on this issue, and a lot remains to be said of women’s travel to religious sanctuaries. He, for example, does not offer adequate discussion on female consultations of oracles; an aspect of female pilgrimage that is indeed not well studied, but which will receive some attention in the current work.

One highly important group of people who were very mobile were the mercenaries of the Hellenistic armies. Holleaux has noted, in his article “Ceux qui sont dans le bagage” (1926), that camp followers, who were on the trails of practically every ancient army, included women by definition. Scholars in general tend to acknowledge that some women did indeed follow armies, but the issue has not yet been fully evaluated, not even by the major military scholars such as Parke (1933), Griffith (1935), and Launey (1949-1950). Indeed, both the numbers and the importance of women—both wives and female entertainers—among the Hellenistic armies have been undervalued, as I have argued in my article “No Woman No War: Women’s Participation in Ancient Greek Warfare” (Loman, 2004), which stems partly from the research done for the current thesis.

Similarly, it has yet to be examined whether the numerous exiles of this age took their women with them as a rule or not. Even Seibert (1979), who has written

extensively on exiles, almost completely ignores this question.¹⁶ He offers no more than about three pages of generalised discussion on the families of the banished (Seibert, 1979: 379-382). One can only assume that this topic has been avoided because there does not seem to have been any easily recognisable pattern or rule on what to do with women in case of exile (cf. Seibert, 1979: 379). Nevertheless, the fact that scholars have not studied this issue adequately is rather surprising, for the social consequences of women staying or going would have been significant both at the place of banishment and the places that the exiles settled at. The inclusion or exclusion of women from exile could, for example, have decided whether there was any need for redistribution of land and properties. On the other hand, since many of the exiles formed a significant proportion of new colonists and settlers in the new Hellenistic kingdoms, the inclusion or exclusion of women would have played a role in the composition of the populations at these new settlements.

The movements of professional women have not received much attention from modern scholars either. While certain inscriptions have prompted scholars to mention that some individual nurses or textile workers, for example, were foreigners, the movements of the female workforce have not been the focus of any concentrated studies to date. This thesis goes some way in remedying the situation. Importantly, the movements of women working in the sex industry will also be studied, although most scholars who have written about Greek women's work, such as Herfst (1979), have all but ignored this group of women; Lewis (2002) is one recent exception to this trend. Following the example of Pomeroy's article "Technikai kai mousikai" (1977), this study will also include educated women, such as poets and painters, who can only loosely be termed 'professional.'

Whereas works on ancient travel and colonisation ignore women, general works about women in Antiquity do not deal with mobility. Blundell, for example, in her book *Women in Ancient Greece* (1995), spares just 5 lines on Archaic colonisation, and she does not even mention whether women took part in this or not (Blundell, 1995: 63-64). Moreover, she does not say anything about the great movements of people in the Hellenistic period, let alone whether this affected women. Indeed, I

¹⁶ Seibert's work, although in many ways invaluable, is prone to errors, e.g. references are liable to be wrong or not supportive of his argument. See my note 19 on Seibert on Mytilene, for example.

have yet to come across a book on Greek women that would have discussed these issues.

Since both the general and the specific studies on women, travel and colonisation have all failed to handle issues relating to women's mobility, it does not come as a surprise that general politico-historical works have nothing to say on these matters either. For example, Will deals neither with colonisation nor women in the two volumes of his *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique* (1966-1967), as it is purely about politics.¹⁷ Such works will, therefore, be of limited value only for this thesis, although many of them have influenced the historical views of the current author.

¹⁷ Arguably, however, movements of people often have major political motives and consequences. Furthermore, if my case for the centrality of women in the process of colonisation holds true, their movements can be politicised too.

1 Exiles and Refugees

Large numbers of men were exiled or otherwise driven out of their home *poleis* during the Hellenistic period. The causes of banishment can roughly be divided into two categories: internal and external. That is to say that men, and in some cases women, could either be exiled by their own *polis* (as a punishment for a crime) or by a conquering external power. In turbulent times, many individuals also chose to flee their homes and settle abroad in a safer environment. They, too, fall under our scrutiny, for they usually did this to avoid death or imprisonment; hence their ‘voluntary’ exile was as voluntary as a forced suicide.

Whatever the causes were, the fate of ancient exiles and refugees is usually unknown (Seibert, 1979: 188). There are only two points in time at which we are likely to come across them. Firstly, at the actual moment of banishment. And secondly, when an exile or a group of exiles returns to his/her/their home *polis*. A person who had no intention of returning, would have had no reason to advertise his exile status. Indeed, Seibert argues persuasively that the fact that we do not know of many individual exiles living in the Seleucid (and/or Ptolemaic) kingdom(s) implies that many of the exiles who went there settled there permanently (Seibert, 1979: 163n1279). If we know little of the fate of exiles, the fate of their wives and families is even less well known; it was not something that the ancient authors often wrote about. One wonders whether the issue was not taken for granted by the ancient authors. The problem for us is, however, that the ancient authors could either have assumed that everyone knew that the exiles would take their women with them or they could have expected everyone to know that exiles did *not* take their women with them. What follows here is the first attempt to study this issue in some detail.

As was outlined in the general introduction, we shall begin our examination of exile and the women of exiles by looking at the traditional image of exiles, as portrayed by poets and other social commentators. After it has been demonstrated that according to the traditional image exiles were accompanied by their wives and/or female relatives, we shall move on to study historical cases of exile. It will become

evident that while it was not a universal practice, many Hellenistic exiles took their wives and families with them as they were banished.

1.1 Traditional Image of Greek Exiles

The citizens of Greek *poleis* had always been liable to exile, whether temporary (*ostracism*) or permanent, so it was nothing new in the Hellenistic period. The archaic image of a political exile is overwhelmingly bleak (Roisman, 1984-86: 23-32). The earliest recorded mention of Greek exiles/refugees is in Tyrtaeus, who warns Spartan soldiers of the horrors and dishonour that face the defeated. He describes how the defeated are left wandering and begging with—importantly for us—their defenceless families, including old and beloved parents, small children and a wedded wife (Tyrtaeus, fr. 6 [Prato] = fr. 10 [Gerber/Loeb]).¹⁸ “For this early Spartan poet, at any rate, the life of a refugee was a fate worse than death” (van Wees, forthcoming [2004]: 150).

The archaic poets often stress the loneliness and solitude of exiles and refugees. Theognis, for example, writes that exiles have no friends, and that they are avoided as if they were unholy: *ou)dei/j toi feu/gonti fi/loj kai_ pisto_j e9tai=roj: th=j de_ fugh=j e)stin tou=t’ a)nihro/teron* (Theognis, 1.209-10, 332). Although Argyris, the central character in this poem by Theognis, is said to have no friends, he was not, in fact, alone. His family shared his exile, as is indicated in the passage in which he demands that a woman he met abroad stay silent about his family. He claims superiority to her despite all the ills he and his companions have suffered since leaving their homes behind as exiles (Theognis, 1.1211-1216; cf. Roisman, 1984-86: 25).

Indeed, references to loneliness need not mean that an exile would have left his *polis* without his immediate family. A poem by Alkaios is illustrative as it describes

¹⁸ It is to be noted that van Wees, in his forthcoming book on Greek warfare, uses this same Tyrtaeus passage to illustrate what is independently attempted here too, namely that *groups* of people were wandering together as exiles or refugees (van Wees, forthcoming [2004]: 149).

events after an exile and how the exile [= narrator] misses the daily life of his home *polis*:

...wretched me,
I live a rustic life,
longing to hear the assembly
summoned, son of Agesilaos,

and the council. From what my father and my father's
father have grown old possessing—among these
citizens destroying each other—
I have been driven away,

an exile in the outskirts; like Onomakles,
here I settled alone in the wolf-thickets
...war—because to give up the conflict
against...is not better

...to the precinct of the blessed gods
...walking on the black earth
...in the gatherings among women,
I dwell, keeping my feet out of trouble,

where Lesbian women being judged for beauty
promenade in trailing robes,
and a divine echo rings out from the holy
cry of the women each year.

From many...when will the Olympian gods

*

*

*

(Alkaios, 2 [Rayor]).

In this poem exile is described as the most wretched and lonely experience. The exile desperately longs the civic activities of his home *polis*.

The writings of the Attic orators, too, bear witness to the grim image of Greek exiles. Antiphon [c. 480-411], for example, records a man accused of double murder pleading to be saved from exile, which he contrasts with death:

But if I am convicted now and put to death, I shall leave a foul disgrace for my children; or if I go into exile, an old man without a country, I'll be a beggar in a foreign land (Antiphon, *First Tetralogy* 2.9).

The image of an exile remains largely the same as we approach the Hellenistic period. People faced with exile made desperate pleas against this horrible punishment, as is evident from the works of Isocrates and other late Classical/early Hellenistic orators and theorists:

[Exile is the worst fate, for] to have no refuge, to be without a fatherland, daily to suffer hardship and to watch without having the power to succour the suffering of one's own, why need I say how this has exceeded all other calamities? (Isocrates, *Plataicus*, 55).

Lysias records similar pleas by defendants afraid of being exiled. A speech for Polystratus, for example, mentions the frustration a Greek man would feel if he were deprived of his chance to serve his own state (Lysias, 20, *for Polystratus*, 35-36). Exile would, indeed, have meant a complete cut of ties to the home *polis*. There were even laws forbidding any citizens either sending or receiving letters to exiled men; so at least when cities were under siege, as is evident from Aineias's guide on how to survive under siege (Aineias the Tactician, 10.6).

When Isocrates warned Philip II about the dangers posed by the growing numbers of exiles and other vagabonds, he explicitly stated that the people were wondering about with their families (Isocrates, *Panegyricus*, 4.167-168, cf. *Philip* 5.96). In a separate story that he records, Isocrates writes about Thrasyllus the soothsayer and his sons, one of whom was exiled from their native city of Siphnos. This story is fascinating and worth paraphrasing here. Among other things, this story demonstrates that both ordinary and leading families were able to travel, and that

some exiles created expatriate communities while others settled independently among natives (McKechnie, 1989: 19). According to Isocrates, then, Thrasyllus lived a very mobile lifestyle due to his profession (Isocrates, *Aegineticus*, 5-6). He made his journeys as a single man, having affairs with various women until he returned to Siphnos and married a local woman. She died soon after the marriage, however, as did his second wife. With his third wife, an elite woman, he had two sons and a daughter, whom the narrator married (Isocrates, *Aegineticus*, 6-9). After Thrasyllus died, one of his sons and the narrator were exiled. Crucially for us, they both took their mothers and sisters with them as they were expelled from Siphnos (Isocrates, *Aegineticus*, 21-22). With some other exiles from Siphnos, they settled in Troezen, from where they made attempts to capture Siphnos (Isocrates, *Aegineticus*, 38-39). The attempts failed, however, and being forced to settle abroad the narrator laments his fate:

I had only recently suffered exile and was living in an alien land among foreigners, and had lost my fortune; in addition, I saw my mother and my sister driven from their native land and ending their lives in a foreign land among strangers (Isocrates, *Aegineticus*, 23).

As we see from this passage, the fact that the women were also forced to leave their homes added to the distress of the exile.

1.2 Overviews of Exile

Alexander III and Exile

Alexander famously claimed that he had not caused any Greek man's exile (Diodorus, 18.8.4). This, of course, was blatantly not true. Immediately after his accession to power some influential Macedonians had to run for their lives, e.g. Amyntas, son of Antiochus (Curtius, 4.1.27-33; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.17.9; Seibert, 1979: 147). Even though they fled voluntarily, this certainly was exile in all but

name. Not long after these events, Alexander sacked Thebes. Any survivors who were not enslaved went into ‘self-imposed exile’ with their *families*, many ending up in Athens. Pytheas and his family are examples of such exiles (Polybius, 38.16.10; Justin, 11.4.9). Alexander banned the Theban exiles and refugees from entering any other Greek cities (Diodorus, 17.14.3).

Alexander and his generals also exiled individual anti-Macedonian and/or pro-Persian citizens of various Greek *poleis* (Diodorus, 18.56.4-5; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.10.1; Seibert, 1979: 150-3).¹⁹

It seems unavoidable that banishment will also have followed in cities that had tyrannies terminated and ‘democratic’ governments installed by Alexander. Antissa, Eresos and Zeleae in Phrygia are examples of such cities (Demosthenes, 17, *On the Treaty with Alexander*, 7; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.17.2; *Syll.*³ 279; Seibert, 1979: 155, 158). The same took place at Ephesos, too, but only temporarily, for the tyrant was able to regain power and exile ‘democrats’ in turn (Polyaenus, 6.49). It is also to be noted that Alexander did not have a uniform policy of overthrowing tyrannies. Occasionally, as at Messene, he left tyrants in place (Demosthenes, 17, *On the Treaty with Alexander*, 7).

Overall, Seibert is correct in saying that Alexander’s reign witnessed an increase in the number of exiles and refugees, not a decrease as he would have wanted people to believe (Seibert, 1979: 158). In fact, by the mid 320s, the number of exiles was so big that the exiles question had become a cause for concern. Stateless people were wondering about, causing trouble to towns and villages. As Badian says, Alexander himself was partly to blame for the growth of this problem, for he had ordered his satraps to release their mercenaries, many of whom were exiles and thus unable to return home. To solve this problem Alexander ordered Greek cities to accept back their exiled citizens (Diodorus, 18.8.3-4; Curtius, 10.2.4; Badian, 1961: 27-30). Another motivation for this move may also have been Alexander’s wish to get new and loyal supporters from those who returned (Seibert, 1979: 159).²⁰ Whatever the motive was, Alexander sent Nicanor of Stageira to the Olympic games

¹⁹ Seibert uses Mytilene as an example, but the references that he gives (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 2.1; Diodorus 17.29) say nothing on exiles (Seibert, 1979: 151). Similarly some other references to exiles of pro-Persians that Seibert gives are misleading; e.g. Arrian 3.2.5 and Curtius 4.8.11 have nothing, contrary to Seibert’s references, to say about such exiles (Seibert, 1979: 153).

²⁰ Worthington, in a forthcoming revised paperback edition of his recent biography of Alexander, argues that the Exiles Decree is linked to Alexander’s invasion of Arabia, as well as to his wish to boost support in Greece (Worthington, forthcoming [2004]: 241-243)

of 324 BCE to announce a general amnesty for Greek exiles, known as the Exiles Decree:

King Alexander to the exiles from the Greek cities. We have not been the cause of your exile, but, save for those of you who are under a curse, we shall be the cause of your return to your own native cities... (Diodorus, 18.8.3-4).

Exiles, except such as were stained by the blood of citizens, should be received by all the Greek cities from which they had been banished (Curtius, 10.2.4f.).

According to Diodorus, *all* the exiles, numbering more than twenty thousand, were present at the Olympic festival when Nicanor read the Decree (Diodorus, 18.8.5). Badian contemplates that the exiles would have had their wives and families with them, hence the overall number would have been more than 20,000 (Badian, 1961: 28; Worthington, 1990: 201; *contra* McKechnie, 1989: 26-27). The wives of the exiles could not, in fact, have been *at* Olympia during the festival, for women were not allowed to be there during the festival (Pausanias, 5.6.7; see p. 149). Nevertheless, and despite the fact that female presence is nowhere explicitly stated, events relating to the return of the Samians indicate that they [Samians] at least had their women with them while in exile, hence probably also present somewhere near Olympia. Moreover, as Seibert claims, the actual figure of Greek exiles must have been higher than the 20,000 Diodorus's source had estimated to have been present at Olympia, for clearly not everyone would have been able to reach Olympia (Seibert, 1979: 158). Indeed, popular as the games were, one nevertheless wonders why would *all* the Greek exiles have decided to go to there?

The Exiles Decree was not welcomed by all the Greek *poleis*. The Athenians, for example, were unwilling to allow Samians to return to their ancestral lands in Samos. This was because they had invaded Samos and allotted these lands to their own citizens; these plots of land are known as *cleruchies* (Strabo, 14.18, 638). Other *poleis*, especially in Aetolia, objected to this decree, too, no doubt for similar

reasons, i.e. the problem of having to redistribute land (Diodorus, 18.8.6-7).²¹ The fact that the exiles would have been—at least potentially—politically hostile to the political elite would have made matters even worse. Furthermore, the exclusion of murderers and people under a curse left much for interpretation, in particular as many of the exiles were banished after a civil war (Seibert, 1979: 159). Embassies were, therefore, sent to Babylon, where Alexander was at the time, and the details of the return of exiles for individual *poleis* were to be discussed and decided there on an individual basis, *polis* by *polis* (Diodorus, 17.113; Worthington, 1990: 203).²²

We are told by Diodorus that Alexander prioritised the embassies into five categories of importance: 1) embassies relating to religious matters, 2) those bringing presents, 3) people with border disputes, 4) persons with individual problems relating to themselves, and finally 5) embassies to do with the return of exiles (Diodorus, 17.113.3). Given the gravity of the situation one would have expected the Exiles Decree to have received priority immediately after the religious issues, yet Alexander heard these petitions last. Worthington has suggested a compelling explanation for this: “Clearly Alexander expected to deal with large numbers and so settled other administrative and routine matters before occupying his attention with the exiles problem” (Worthington, 1990: 203).

We do not know the details of the negotiations. The loss is not great, however, for the decisions were mostly not implemented anyway. This was due to the untimely death of Alexander in the following summer of 323. His death cancelled the applicability of the Exiles Decree, because the Greek cities still opposed the idea and Antipater, Alexander’s regent in Greece, did not favour the return of the exiles either (Seibert, 1979: 162; Errington, 1975: 55-56; Worthington, 1990: 197). Only one *polis*, Tegea, is actually known to have implemented the Exiles Decree (Worthington, 1990: 213-214). The return of the Tegean exiles is known through an inscription relating to legal matters concerning the properties of the returnees (Heisserer, 1980: 208-210); this inscription is also most revealing about women and exile, which is why we shall discuss it at some length shortly (see pp. 45-47).

²¹ Quintus Curtius Rufus claims that Athens was the only city to have the courage to object to Alexander at this stage (Curtius, 10.2.5-8). One cannot see, however, why Diodorus would have invented the Aetolian dislike of this decree. Other cities/areas may have objected to it, too.

²² Arrian mentions these delegates, too, but he does not comment on the reasons why they came to see Alexander (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.19.1, 7.23.2).

Hellenistic Exiles

The creation of the Hellenistic kingdoms after Alexander—and the mass return of exiles, which began under Alexander's orders—could have been expected to have put an end to the existence of large numbers of exiles and refugees, but this was not to be. The information on the following centuries concerning exiles and refugees is, however, scarce. Seibert remains the main modern treatment of the topic (Seibert, 1979: 162-219). As he comments, there were basically two reasons for Greeks either fleeing or being exiled from their home *poleis* in the Hellenistic era: 1) establishment or termination of tyrannies, and 2) social conflicts (Seibert, 1979: 175). Exile was, therefore, a consequence of political disputes—much as it was in the Classical period. For the later Hellenistic period one should add a third cause for exile: the coming of Rome.

Of the Hellenistic cases of mass exile that fall into Seibert's first category—establishment or termination of tyrannies—that of Elis is worth picking out. After the internal disturbances of 271, Aristotimus became the tyrant of the city with the help of Antigonus Gonatas. Murders and exiles of pro-Spartans followed. At first Aristotimus did not allow women to follow their banished men (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 251C-E; Pausanias, 4.28.5-6). Later the tyrant gave permission for the women to join their men with their children and to take their own but not the confiscated property of their men with them. Interestingly, only six hundred women took the opportunity, whereas eight hundred men had originally been exiled.²³ Moreover, none of the women were actually able to leave the city in the end, for Aristotimus's men captured and imprisoned them, stealing all their belongings (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 251C-E; Pausanias, 5.5.1; Justin, 26.1.4f.).

Elis was not unique, tyrannies were established in other cities too and not infrequently this led to numerous—murders and—exiles. Priene and Megalopolis are just two further examples of such cities. In his study of Hellenistic exile, Seibert goes through many more similar examples (Seibert, 1979: 176ff.). It is not appropriate for us, however, to go through all of the known cases, because in most instances we have absolutely no information on the women of the exiles.

²³ The difference may, however, be explained as simply as assuming that two hundred men had been exiled while they were still unmarried, or perhaps widowed (cf. Seibert, 1979: 177n1397).

As mentioned, the various kinds of social conflicts that took place in many of the Greek *poleis* of this period often led to exiles. Changes in constitutions or regimes were often followed by banishment of the previous ruling elite and their supporters. Perhaps the two most notable conflicts of this kind took place at Sparta and Messenia respectively. In Sparta, King Cleombrotos II was driven out of the *polis* after he failed in his reform attempts. It is notable that his wife, Chilonis, voluntarily shared his exile. Before sharing Cleombrotos's exile, she had, in fact, already experienced exile, for she had shared her father Leonidas's exile. Leonidas, knowing all about the hardships of life in exile, begged his daughter not to follow Cleombrotus. She, nevertheless, went abroad with him (Plutarch, *Agis*, 11, 16-18; Seibert, 1979: 182n1437).²⁴ Although kings and queens may not provide us with the most representative of examples, being exceptional in power and wealth, this case is illuminating, in particular as it is in discussing this particular case that Plutarch reveals his own view on women and exile:

If Cleombrotus had not been wholly corrupted by vain ambition, he would have considered that exile was a greater blessing for him than the kingdom, because it restored to him his wife (Plutarch, *Agis*, 18.2).

This leaves nothing in doubt concerning Plutarch's view on exile: a man, whether a king or not, should definitely take his wife with him if he was exiled. Whether Plutarch's view was representative of all Greeks or not is, of course, difficult to tell.

In 215, Messenia made an attempt to democratise itself, but a decade later Nabis, king of Sparta, intervened and exiled the democrats. Importantly, however, he did not allow the exiles to take their wives along. Moreover, he forced these women to remarry men of his choice; his supporters, freed slaves and his mercenaries (Polybius, 13.6.3-4, 16.13).

As with the exiles related to establishments of tyrannies, Seibert lists many cases of social conflicts leading to individual or mass exiles, e.g. on Crete (Seibert, 1979: 181ff.). Again, however, we hear next to nothing about women. In addition to

²⁴ For Sparta, note also that "during the second century BCE a [Spartan] legal stipulation protected the rights of sisters, wives, mothers, and children of exiles to their family estates" (Heisserer, 1980: 222n19). Chaeron of Sparta was, for example, tried and convicted because he took away the properties of exiles' women (Polybius, 24.7.3-8).

the cases already referred to, we only know of very few other cases, which have such information.

The details surrounding the exile of the people of Oropos are not clear, but we are informed that they were finally able to return home with their wives and children—*katehl[u]ge&nai meta_ te&knwn kai_ gunaikw=n* (*Syll.*³ 675.24-25; cf. Pausanias, 7.11.7ff.).

The one thing that reduced the number of Greek exiles and refugees was the rise of Rome. There was a gradual decrease in the number of people exiled from the third century to the second century (Seibert, 1979: 187). Initially when the influence of Rome began to be felt in Greece, there were instances when either pro- or anti-Roman factions of *poleis* sent their opponents into exile (Seibert, 1979: 188f.). In 219, for example, Demetrius of Pharos's troops fled the Romans and took refuge in various cities and islands (Polybius, 3.19.8).

When Rome was at war with Antiochus III and his Aetolian allies, in the early second century BCE, numerous anti-Romans had to flee their homes. For example, the Roman supporters in Achaëa sent Eurylochus, the leader of their enemies, into exile (Livy, 35.34; Seibert, 1979: 194-195).²⁵ Charops, the leader of Epirus, who was a fanatical supporter of Rome, comprised a list of his wealthiest opponents to be exiled: the list included both men *and* women. Some women were, it appears, exiled for their own sake. Curiously, it is said that it was Charops's mother who extorted and blackmailed the women (Polybius, 32.5.11f.; Diodorus, 31.31; Seibert, 1979: 217). Many of the people exiled during this period were, however, allowed to return in a matter of few years or even months (Livy, 36.31.9; Seibert, 1979: 191).²⁶

When Perseus lost to Aemilius Paullus in 168, the internal conflicts between pro- and anti-Romans stopped, not least because the Romans exiled many of their fiercest enemies (Seibert, 1979: 212f.). From Achaëa alone about one to two thousand men were taken to Rome—Justin makes it clear that these exiles were accompanied by their women—only a fraction of whom were ever to return (Justin, 33.2.8; Pausanias, 7.10).

²⁵ Amynder, the king of the Athamanians, former ally of Rome but now of Antiochus, was forced to flee in similar circumstances and he too took his family and friends with him as he made his way to Ambracia in 191 (Livy, 36.14.9; Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 17; Seibert, 1979: 195).

²⁶ A group of Spartans who were exiled by Kleomenes III, Lycurgus, Machanidas and Nabis were restored to their native land in 179/178, as is evident from an inscription honouring Kallikrates for helping the Spartans' return (*Syll.*³ 634 = Burstein, 1985: no. 74).

Throughout the Hellenistic period, both internal and external wars and smaller disturbances forced large groups of people to leave their home cities in search of safety, although they were not formally exiled. So, for example, when the Carian city Amyzon was taken over from the Ptolemies by the Seleucids, in 203 BCE, a number of its inhabitants fled, despite Antiochus III writing to them and offering privileged treatment and maintenance of their privileges (*Amyzon* no. 9, pp. 132-133 = Welles, *RC*, 38; *Amyzon*, no. 15, pp. 151-153; Cohen, 1995: 246-247). Later, however, it was provided that the refugees were able to return and receive back their property. According to another inscription, those who returned were joined by completely new settlers, whose names the secretary of the *boule* was to read out (*Amyzon*, no. 15, pp. 151-153, no. 26, 212-214; Cohen, 1995: 247).

In the late third century BCE, due to the increase of the population of Antioch, Seleucus II built a new quarter for the city—on an island opposite the original settlement (Strabo, 116.2.5, 750C; Downey, 1963: 53). The population increase may have been natural, but it is more than likely that Seleucus brought in new settlers from the areas he had lost in Asia Minor, which in 236 BCE became part of the Attalid kingdom (cf. Downey, 1963: 53).

The second major expansion of the Syrian Antioch, which occurred under Antiochus III, was certainly accelerated by warfare and influx of refugees (Downey, 1961: 92-93). Having lost to the Romans and signed the treaty of Apamea, Antiochus had a number of veterans to settle, and no doubt many civilian refugees, too. Libanius writes that the influx of settlers to Antioch included ‘Hellenic stock,’ Aetolians, Cretans, and Euboeans; these were settled in the new quarters built by Seleucus II and Antiochus III (Libanius, 11.119). Libanius, unsurprisingly, does not mention whether these Greeks came with entire households or whether they all were single men; the former would seem *a priori* more plausible. In any case, these are the last Greek immigrants to Antioch/Syria we *know* of (Downey, 1961: 93; Downey, 1963: 54). Haddad argues that ancient chroniclers, Libanius in particular, would not have failed to put on record any further bouts of immigration had they occurred, for he believes that such writers were “anxious to register any influx of Hellenic population” (Haddad, 1949: 74). The fact is, however, that *most* of the Hellenistic colonisation went unnoticed, or unrecorded, by the ancient authors, hence there could well have been further settlers coming in from Greece (or elsewhere) to Antioch, and Syria in general. In fact, it seems likely that there was at least one more major phase of Greeks

immigration into Antioch, for Antiochus IV Epiphanes [175-163 BCE] constructed a new—and final—quarter for the city, which was called Epiphania after its founder (Malalas, pp. 205 [8.22]; Downey, 1963: 57). As Downey suggests, the expansion of Antioch was probably due to the growth of Rome and an influx of Greek refugees who wanted to live in cities free from Roman rule (Downey, 1961: 100).

There were also movements in the opposite direction, i.e. exiles migrating to Greece. For example, plenty of Greeks left the Ptolemaic capital, Alexandria, after the massacre of 145 (*FGrH* 270 F9; cf. Polybius, 34.14.6; Fraser, 1972: 1.86). It is not known, however, what, if any, proportion of these Alexandrian refugees were women.

Although the available evidence does not permit us to do any sort of statistical analysis of exiles, it is clear that tens or hundreds of thousands of men and women were banished from their home *poleis* in the Hellenistic period (cf. McKechnie, 1989: 25).

Note on Enslavement

In addition to women who were exiled or who followed their exiled husbands or male relatives abroad, a huge number of women were enslaved and transported abroad in captivity. However, since their movement was *totally* forced upon them and because they formed a different section of the society in their final destinations than the free exiles and refugees (and other immigrants), the movements of slaves will not be discussed in this thesis.²⁷

²⁷ All references to known cases of mass enslavement are to be found in Pritchett (1991: 226-234, cf. 505-541). For mass enslavement in general, see Volkmann (1961; a second edition now exists, *non vidi*).

1.3 Alone or with Family?

Samos: Women Share Their Men's Exile

Samos provides a useful test case on exile and the women of exiles, since no other city offers as much information on the events leading to mass exile, the events during exile, and the eventual return. This will also act as a prime example of 'reading between the lines' of ancient evidence, for it is nowhere explicitly stated that Samian women did share the exile, but by careful interpretation of the sources one can establish with reasonable certainty that they did.

The island *polis* of Samos was one of the more important Greek *poleis*. It was rich in terms of natural resources, it had a significant population, and it was situated so that it was strategically important for any power wanting to control the Eastern Mediterranean (Shipley, 1987: 1, 199). Motivated by economic and military reasons Athens invaded Samos in 365 BCE and made it her *cleruchy* (Strabo, 14.18, 638; Shipley, 1987: 155, 138, 199, cf. 198). It was believed in antiquity that because of this the *entire* Samian citizen population was expelled (Aristotle, fr. 611.35; Shipley, 1987: 141). In reality it would have been difficult, if not outright impossible, to find and expel each and every one (Shipley, 1987: 132, 141). It seems fair to assume, however, that hundreds, possibly thousands, of native Samians were exiled—probably a majority, possibly most of them (Shipley, 1987: 161-164).

According to Strabo, the number of Athenian *families* migrating to Samos was two thousand; modern commentators have, however, estimated the number to have been much higher—in the region of six to twelve thousand (Strabo, 14.18, 638; Shipley, 1987: 141). Among the Athenians who migrated to Samos were Neocles and Chairestrate, the parents of Epicurus, the famous philosopher (Diogenes Laertius, 10.1; cf. Leiwo and Remes, 1999: 162).

As we have seen, Alexander had a general amnesty for Greek exiles announced at the Olympic games of 324 (see p. 34). The Samian families did not, however, manage to return immediately after the announcement of the Exiles Decree. It appears that it was not clear whether Alexander intended to restore the Samians or not

(Errington, 1975: 53). The issue was taken up at the negotiations at Babylon (see p. 35). The Samian case was made by Gorgos, a citizen of Iasos and one of Alexander's courtiers, as is evident from an honorary inscription thanking him and his brother Minnio for helping the Samian exiles (*Syll.*³ 312). Alexander's death, however, made these arrangements void. The eventual return took place only after the conclusion of the Lamian War, under the auspices of Perdiccas, in c. 322/321, forty-three years after the Samians had been exiled and a few years after the declaration of the Exiles Decree (Diodorus, 18.18.9; Diogenes Laertius, 10.1; Errington, 1975: 57; Shipley, 1987: 166).

That the Samian exiles had departed and now returned together with their entire households is implied, if not proven, by an inscription relating to the restoration of democracy, honouring one Antileon of Chalcis and his son Leontinos,²⁸ for it is stated in this decree that the exiles returned with their children, ε0kγο/νουj (Hallos, 1998: 44-46, line 6). It is obvious, of course, that any child exile would not have been a child anymore after forty-three years, which means that the exiled Samian men had to beget these children while away from Samos. The origin of the mothers of these returning children is admittedly not stated. It is, of course, perfectly possible that Samian men would have had sex with native women—or possibly even married them, if the local laws allowed mixed unions—wherever they resided. The inscription, unfortunately, remains silent on the identity of the mothers, and in fact on any possible/probable women who returned. Towards the end of the inscription it is specifically stated that men, τw=ν α0νδρw=ν, returned (Hallos, 1998: 44-46, lines 58-59). The Sami/wν could, however, include women as well as men (Hallos, 1998: 44-46, line 5). Furthermore, the omission of women from the inscription need not mean that they were not there. Women were habitually considered too insignificant to mention. The τw=ν α0νδρw=ν need not mean, therefore, that all those who returned were men.

The impression one gets is that these families that returned to Samos considered themselves completely Samian. Indeed, it seems that at no time did the Samians lose their identity or attachment to Samos. For practical purposes some may have adopted a new citizenship—although probably not many, as this was not yet as easy as it would be in the later Hellenistic period—but many continued to call themselves

²⁸ Text, photographs, and a German translation of this decree are to be found in *Chiron* 28 (Hallos, 1998: 43-53).

Samian, *Samioi* (Shipley, 1987: 161).²⁹ For example, an inscription from Delphi, erected soon after the mass expulsion, contains three ‘Samian’ men: Aristoboulos, Nikophon, and Aischylos (*Syll.*³ 239 C III, lines 35-39; cf. Shipley, 1987: 161). Some later inscriptions mention Samian men registering as *metics* at Piraeus (e.g. *IG II*² 1628, lines 366-368; Shipley, 1987: 161). It is remarkable that despite the fact that they were dispersed all over the Mediterranean, the Samians managed to keep a sense of communal identity and a will to be re-united (Shipley, 1987: 168).³⁰ The Samians evidently had a strong sense of kinship. Would they have felt so, and indeed wished to move back to Samos from wherever they now lived, if they by now were only half-Samian?

Furthermore, we have direct evidence for Samian women living and dying in Attica in the fourth century. These women are: Aphrodisia, wife of a Milesian man (*IG II*² 9870); Kallithea, who was married to a fellow Samian called Didymias (*IG II*² 10227); Nannion (*IG II*² 10229); Tito (*IG II*² 10231); and Phryne (*IG II*² 10233).³¹ Although Samians emigrated for various reasons throughout the centuries, the fourth century date would nicely coincide with the establishment of the Athenian *cleruchy* at Samos and the subsequent exile of the natives.³²

One also needs to ask what would have happened to the Samian women if they did not follow their men when they were exiled. As we saw, the Athenians sent complete families to ‘replace’ the exiled Samians. Surely there simply would not have been space, need or desire to have native women around. Furthermore, one does not see how the women could have supported themselves if left alone.

The eventual return of the Samians meant that the Athenian *cleruchs*, and their descendants who were born and/or raised at Samos, had to leave the island. Such a

²⁹ For discussion on the legal matters concerning new citizens in Hellenistic cities, including the issue of honorary citizenships, see Savalli (1985: 387-431).

³⁰ This seems to prove Davies’s general comment that “of the two defining criteria of a city-state, geographical unity and kinship structure, the second mattered more. The sentiment of unity-by-kinship and common descent could survive geographical fragmentation, the physical transplantation of the community, or its forcible suppression for years or even generations” (Davies, 1993: 14). He further comments that hereditary citizenship was one factor in the importance of kinship for city-states.

³¹ Shipley cites *IG II*² 1005 as evidence for a sixth Samian woman, Antistasis, resident in Athens (Shipley, 1987: 303). While I have no reason to disbelieve Shipley, the reference he gives is wrong, and I have yet to find the correct inscription.

³² Even Aphrodisia, the wife of the Milesian man, could have been exiled from Samos together with her husband—although there is no way of telling—for Samos certainly had resident aliens (Shipley, 1987: 206, 217). Moreover, we know from other *poleis* that resident aliens were occasionally expelled together with the natives. This was the case in Mytilene, for example: ...ai0 de/ ke a)/llon tina_ tro/po[n Mut]ilhna/wn h2 tw=g katoike/ntwn e)m Mutilh/n[ai... (Heisserer and Hodot, 1986: 109-119, “Mytilene Decree on Concord,” lines 16-18).

long absence from Athens will have caused some problems, in particular if one was no longer registered as an Athenian citizen. It is not surprising, therefore, to see that some of the two thousand or so *cleruch* families actually emigrated elsewhere (Seibert, 1979: 165). Epicurus's family, for example, went to Kolophon; Epicurus himself followed his family there, having lived in Athens since he was eighteen (Diogenes Laertius, 10.1).³³

All things considered, it seems probable that the exiled Samian men took their women with them, and brought them and their descendants back on their return.³⁴

Families Separated by Exile: Women Left Behind

The case study on Samos and the few individual examples before it have shown that many women had to leave their ancestral lands because their men were exiled. It is clear, however, that not all men of all Greek *poleis* took their wives with them when they either fled their homes or were exiled. We have seen already how the Spartan king Nabis drove his opponents into exile without their women, whom he forced to marry his supporters (Polybius, 13.6.3-4, 16.13; see p. 37).³⁵

Similarly to Nabis of Sparta, Timaeus, the tyrant of Cyzicus, exiled only men as he banished pro-Macedonians from his city in the age of Alexander; he did not allow the exiles to take their women with them. On the contrary, the women were forced to stay and marry former slaves of their exiled husbands (Athenaeus, 11.509b). Both cases appear in the sources as though they were exceptional; they are mentioned only because it was striking and cruel that families were forcibly separated. By implication, therefore, it seems that it was customary for women to follow their men abroad if they were exiled.

³³ It is true in general that if one left one's home *polis* for an extended period, not even necessarily very long, one ran the risk of losing civil rights (Launey, 1949-50: 688). This is why many exiles, refugees, mercenaries and other mobile groups would often have found it difficult to return, hence their travels would easily become permanent.

³⁴ Shipley has come to the same conclusion, but he does not explain how (Shipley, 1987: 166). Similar mass exiles occurred elsewhere, too. For example, in 167/6, all the Delian inhabitants were exiled from Delos, as the Romans gave the island to Athenians as a reward for their help in the Third Macedonian War (Mikalson, 1998: 208, 311).

³⁵ When Rome imposed peace terms on Sparta in 195, the Spartans who were exiled were to receive their wives and children, "provided that no wife should against her will follow a husband into exile" (Livy, 34.35.7).

Aristotimus of Elis was another tyrant who separated families by exiling only men. As we have seen, when he became tyrant in 271 he immediately murdered and exiled many of his pro-Spartan opponents, forcing the exiles to leave without their wives and children (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 251C-E; Pausanias, 4.28.5-6; see p. 36).

After Cleomenes of Sparta was defeated by Ptolemy III, he and his supporters were in danger of being killed by Ptolemy, hence many of them fled from the city. At least some of them, including Cleomenes himself and his mother, went to live in Alexandria in Egypt (Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 32.3, 29.3; Polybius, 2.69.11). The wife of Pantaeus, an exiled supporter of Cleomenes, wanted to follow him, but was unable to do so immediately, because her parents objected to her going abroad. In the end, however, she escaped from her parents and found her way into Egypt, where the couple was reunited and she is said to have lived “in a strange land without complaint and cheerfully” (Plutarch, *Cleomenes*, 38).

As we have seen, some families were separated by exile, either temporarily or permanently. More revealing than any individual case, however, is a Tegean law concerning exile. It has been argued that this law stipulated that any man who was exiled had to divorce his wife, unless she shared the banishment with her husband (Plassart, 1914, 158, 158n1; Heisserer, 1980: 217-218, 222). This is not strictly true, however, although some women who were left behind remarried. We know of this law through an inscription on the administrative arrangements regarding the return of the Tegean exiles, in 324. It reveals that while some exiled men went abroad alone, others took their wives and daughters with them:

The returning exiles shall recover their paternal property that they held when they went into exile, and likewise the women their maternal property, as many unmarried women as held property and happened not to have any brothers. But if it happened to any married woman that her brother, both he and his offspring, has died, then she shall have the maternal property, but it shall never be more (?) (Heisserer, 1980: 208, lines 4-9).

As many of the wives of the exiles or daughters who, remaining at home, married, or who, having gone into exile, later (returned and) married in Tegea and discharged their release (from banishment

while) remaining at home, these are not to be subject to inquiry about their paternal or maternal property, nor their descendants; except that as many as later went into exile through compulsion and are returning now at this occasion, either the women themselves or their children, these are to be subject to inquiry, both they themselves and their descendants, concerning the paternal and maternal property in accordance with the *diagramma* (Heisserer, 1980: 209-210, lines 48-57).

We are told that in 370 BCE eight hundred Tegeans—probably pro-Spartan oligarchs—fled the *polis* (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 6.5.10; cf. Diodorus, 15.59.2). These would appear to be the exiles who are mentioned in the decree on returning exiles, although there is no direct link to connect the two pieces of evidence. McKechnie suggests that all of the eight hundred men mentioned by Xenophon were probably accompanied by their wives and children, making the total number of exiles around two or three thousand (McKechnie, 1989: 25-26). The inscription, however, makes it clear that some women stayed behind, hence McKechnie's estimate is almost certainly too high.

It is curious that some women, indeed, did not go abroad with their exiled husbands. The exiled men may have left Tegea alone either because of egoistic reasons (it would be easier to emigrate without the burden of a wife and family) or altruistic reasons (thinking that the life of an exile would not be good for women, thus better suffer it alone). Perhaps the most rational explanation for some women staying behind is, however, that the exiles and their families counted on relatively quick return. In these circumstances it would have made sense to leave someone behind to look after the family property. A woman may not have been the most attractive agent for this task, but they obviously could and would have received help from their male relatives and friends. The decree itself implies that exile did not necessarily mean termination of all of the property rights that the women had. Moreover, it indicates that a(n) (ex-)wife or a daughter of an exile who stayed at Tegea was in a position to inherit and pass on (maternal) property (Heisserer, 1980: 222, 209-210, lines 48-57). These rights were lost if the women shared their men's exile, but could be restored by returning and marrying another citizen of Tegea (Heisserer, 1980: 222). The lines 50-51 of the inscription reveal that some women did indeed return alone. One suspects

that in these cases either their husbands had died in exile, or the women had left unmarried in the first place, probably with their fathers and/or brothers.

The Tegean women who did not follow their men and share their exile were liable to be thrown out of Tegea by force after they were left 'alone.' However, it is unclear how common this was and under which circumstances this could have taken place (Heisserer, 1980: 218).

1.4 Conclusion

It has been demonstrated that the traditional image of the Greek exile was grim and it presupposes that the exile had his wife and family with him. We have further seen that this image is, to a large extent, justified. In many reported historical cases, although one wants to be cautious and avoid arguing for 'most' cases, Greek men who were exiled from their home *poleis* took their wives, daughters, mothers and sisters with them.

Only on a few occasions is it made explicit that women followed their men into exile, or for that matter that they did not—this is why a case study (on Samos) was thought appropriate. The case study gave a strong indication that exiles would have been expected to take their women with them when they were banished.

Although it was common for women to share their men's exile, we have acknowledged that there were instances when women did not or were not allowed to follow their exiled men. The reasons will have been varied: anything from parental objection to lack of will on the part of the women. The two principal reasons why some women stayed behind must have been, however, a) a belief in a possibility that the exile would prove to be short term, and b) it was an oppressive regime that caused the exile in the first place, and separating families was just another method of harming the opposition. On the whole, women were usually not capable or privileged to decide themselves whether or not to follow their men abroad when they were exiled. Either the husband or the father made the decision. Whoever made the decision, and regardless of the exceptions, as a norm women must have followed their husbands with their children (cf. Seibert, 1979: 380).

The number of men and women affected by exile was high throughout the Hellenistic period. Neither Alexander's reign nor the creation of the Hellenistic kingdoms stopped the phenomenon; only the causes altered. Thousands upon thousands of men were exiled and a huge number of (men and) women, therefore, had to leave their native lands. At least some of these exiles and refugees will have been an integral part of the colonisation of the Hellenistic kingdoms. This is rarely made explicit by the ancient sources, but can occasionally be gathered from indirect evidence, as was shown to be the case with the various expansions of Antioch in Syria. Exceptionally, however, we are explicitly told that Alexander used refugees from the sacked city of Cyropolis as he founded Alexandria on the Tanais; mercenaries, civilians from three Persian cities, and freed prisoners from Gaza were the other people who were transplanted in the new city (Justin, 12.5.12; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 4.1-4). The destruction of Cyropolis was undoubtedly political—it followed a rebellion in Sogdiana—but also heavily influenced by the need to find inhabitants for the new city (Briant, 1978: 75).

Simultaneously to the destruction of Cyropolis, another unspecified city was besieged; all its adult inhabitants were reportedly killed, while 'the other inhabitants,' which must mean women and children, became the booty of the victors (Curtius, 7.6.16). The fate of this 'booty' is not made clear; many will, undoubtedly, have been sold as slaves, but some of them—whether as slaves or free persons—may well have been transported to the new city together with the inhabitants from Cyropolis.

Although the sources are usually too vague for us to argue strongly with hard evidence, it is clear that many new and old Greek cities received exiles and refugees who needed a place to stay and work. In fact, exiles and their families will have formed a significant proportion of the Greek sections of population in many Hellenistic colonies and cities. For many male exiles, however, mercenary service was often the first step before permanently settling into a new region. In the next chapter we shall try to establish whether mercenaries took their women with them or not as they travelled abroad.

2 Wives and Families of Hellenistic Soldiers

2.1 Introduction

Mercenary service was not a Hellenistic invention. There had never, however, been so many Greek men serving as mercenaries as in the three centuries after Alexander.³⁶ The Hellenistic age was one of near constant warfare, and the creation of the separate Graeco-Macedonian kingdoms created a great demand for *hired* military personnel, i.e. mercenaries. The need for the Successor kings to bring in soldiers from outside is clear enough to understand; most of them were conquerors occupying foreign lands, hence the native populations could hardly have been expected to serve them with great enthusiasm or loyalty. And the immigrant populations were not large enough to supply soldiers as well as all the other professionals that the societies needed.³⁷

There were other factors, too, that contributed to the growing number of mercenaries. We have seen that internal city disputes led to (mass) expulsions of people. Many of the exiled men found that joining a mercenary army was the quickest and easiest way to make a living outside one's native city (Isocrates, 5.96, 6.68, 8.44-46; Parke, 1933: 227; Griffith, 1935: 34).

The speech and letter writers of the late Classical/early Hellenistic period often speak of a multitude of poor. Moreover, it was often argued that the poor resorted to mercenary service to support themselves (e.g. Demosthenes, 14, *On the Navy*, 31). Isocrates, too, speaks of many Greek men joining foreign armies because they lacked the necessities of life. He adds, importantly, that these poor men wandered in *foreign* countries *with their women* and children (Isocrates, 4.167-168, 5.121). Although there

³⁶ The estimates on the number of mercenaries in service at any given time in the Hellenistic period range from 50,000 upwards. See discussion in Parke (1933: 227) and McKechnie (1989: 91-92).

³⁷ The Antigonids ruling Macedonia made an exception; they ruled their native region and consequently relied less on foreign mercenary forces (cf. Launey, 1949-50: 101-3; it is to be noted that there now exists a second edition, or réimpression, of Launey's groundbreaking work on Hellenistic armies, with addenda by Y. Garlan, P. Gauthier, and C. Orrieux (1987, Paris)).

is a great chance that these conservative authors exaggerated the economic plight of their times, the potential financial gain from mercenary service will have influenced many men to join foreign armies (cf. McKechnie, 1989: 79, 89).³⁸ This was something that the Hellenistic kings and their recruiters understood very well. An illuminating passage from Diodorus will demonstrate how the Hellenistic armies were often put together:

Eumenes selected the most able of his friends, gave them ample funds, and sent them out to engage mercenaries, establishing a notable rate of pay. Some of them went at once into Pisidia, Lycia, and the adjacent regions, where they zealously enrolled troops. Others travelled through Cilicia, others through Coelê Syria and Phoenicia, and some through the cities in Cyprus. Since the news of this levy spread widely and the pay offered was worthy of consideration, many reported of their own free will even from the cities of Greece and were enrolled for the campaign. In a short time more than ten thousand foot soldiers and two thousand horsemen were gathered together, not including the Silver Shields and those who had accompanied Eumenes (Diodorus, 18.61.4-5).

In short, it was a combination of near constant warfare, difficulty of recruiting native soldiers, and availability of willing foreign recruits—especially exiles and poor landless men—that led to the growing usage of mercenaries in the early Hellenistic period. It is important to note too, however, that the creation of the Hellenistic kingdoms, which made it possible to recruit citizen soldiers from within, did not stop the employment of mercenaries. Indeed, the use of mercenaries was not a short-lived phenomenon restricted to the fourth and third centuries BCE, but a constant phenomenon throughout the Hellenistic period.³⁹

As for where these mercenaries came from, statistical studies, by Launey and others, have demonstrated clearly that although there were some barbarian

³⁸ For discussion on the rates of pay, see Parke (1933: 232-233), McKechnie (1989: 89), and Roy (forthcoming).

³⁹ A good recent study on the continuation of mercenary warfare in the later Hellenistic period is done by Sion-Jenkins (2001: 19-35). See also, Will (1966: 152).

On the reasons why the use of mercenaries became more common in the Hellenistic period, Parke (1933) and Griffith (1935) are still the best works, although some of their arguments have been challenged.

mercenaries—especially towards the end of the period—Greeks and Macedonians, of various geographical origins, continued to form a major part of all the Hellenistic armies, throughout the period (Launey, 1949-50: 64-103; Griffith, 1935: 78-9).⁴⁰

In addition to numbers, another thing that had changed since the Classical period was that it was no longer necessarily the ambition of a Greek mercenary to return to Greece after serving in a particular campaign, as it had, according to Roy, been in the Classical period (Roy, forthcoming). In the Hellenistic world, Greek mercenaries would not have had to return all the way back to Greece to enjoy Greek culture. The numerous new Greek cities in Asia and Egypt could have provided what they were longing for.⁴¹ In the following, it will be shown that many a Hellenistic mercenary did indeed remain abroad, never returning home after joining a foreign army. By doing so, they, in fact, were the cultivators of Greek culture abroad; keeping their local and national cults, for example (Garlan, 1975: 100).

It is because a large number of *Greek* mercenaries took part in foreign campaigns and settled abroad, throughout the Hellenistic period, that we need to study whether these men took their wives and families with them as they emigrated after work. A huge number of Greek women could at least potentially have been displaced because of their husbands' and male relatives' military careers. Indeed, it will be argued that this was the case; it became common in the Hellenistic period for mercenaries to take their families with them, and many of these found new homes in the East.

⁴⁰ To do such a statistical study, we have two basic types of evidence: epigraphic records and literary sources. The epigraphic evidence is gathered by Launey (1949-50), for which add *SEG* 27.973bis and the badly damaged *SEG* 41.963, neither one of which contradict Launey's conclusions. The most useful literary passages for the study of the origins of mercenaries are Diodorus (19.27-28) on Eumenes's and Antigonos's armies at a battle in 317, at an uncertain location; Polybius (5.79) on the Seleucid and Ptolemaic forces at the battle of Raphia in 217; Livy (37.40) and Appian (*Syrian Wars*, 32) on the troops of Antiochus III at the battle of Magnesia in 190; Polybius (30.25) and Athenaeus (5.194) on the Seleucid army at Daphne in 165.

⁴¹ It is my assumption that Graeco-Macedonian women were one of the things they required.

2.2 Alexander's Soldiers and Their Women

The nature of Alexander's campaign, i.e. long continuous duration, created new problems and needs for his troops. One of the consequences of this was that the marching army attracted a large group of camp followers. To quote Launey, "Les campagnes prolongées d'Alexandre sont peut-être responsables du développement incroyable pris par ces énormes convois qui accompagnent les armées et contiennent toutes les commodités dont elles sentent le besoin" (Launey, 1949-50: 786). Importantly for us, these camp followers included some women too, as is well attested by the ancient sources. Not only were there prostitutes, like the infamous Thais, who is said to have been behind the burning of Persepolis, and other female entertainers, such as flute players, among the camp followers, but we know that whole families travelled with Alexander, some of which reached as far as India (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 38; Athenaeus, 12.539a; Diodorus, 17.94.4; Parke, 1933: 207; Launey, 1949-50: 786; Loman, 2004: 49, 52).

It was not completely novel to have camp followers. In the late fifth century BCE, Cyrus and his mercenary troops, the so-called 'Ten Thousand,' for example, had a number of women with them. This was despite the fact that these women caused some trouble to the marching army; the protection of the women, for example, tied a considerable number of men, leaving the rest more vulnerable (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.3.30). Most, if not all, of these women, however, were not wives but prostitutes and/or dancing girls—*hetairai* and *orchêstres* (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.3.19, 6.1.12-13; cf. 5.3.1). Indeed, it is often stated that the Ten Thousand missed their families, which obviously implies that they did not have their wives with them (Xenophon, *Ababasis*, 3.1.3). What was new with Alexander's army, it seems, was not only the growing number of camp followers, but the inclusion of some wives and families.

Statistics for the number of women following Alexander's army, or any other army for that matter, are unfortunately impossible to come up with. We simply do not have enough information available for us. The little that we know of women travelling and emigrating with soldiers is often anecdotal and piecemeal. For

example, we hear of a row between some of Alexander's mercenaries and two Macedonian soldiers, as the latter were accused of seducing the wives of the mercenaries; Alexander promptly ordered that the men, if found guilty, were to receive the death penalty (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 22).⁴² This passage in Plutarch demonstrates that at least some of Alexander's mercenaries had women with them, but it is not enough to argue that all or even most of them would have been accompanied by wives and families.

An interesting feature of Alexander's policy on the camp followers appears to have been that Macedonian soldiers were *not* allowed to take their wives and children with them, while mercenaries of various origins were. Although there is no clear and direct evidence to support this hypothesis, the conclusion can be derived from a few separate incidents. Firstly, as we saw above, some of Alexander's Macedonian soldiers tried to seduce foreign mercenaries' women, suggesting therefore that the Macedonians were not allowed to take their wives with them whereas foreign, i.e. non-Macedonian, mercenaries could do what they wished (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 22). Secondly, Alexander occasionally sent his Macedonian men home to produce more Macedonian soldiers. For instance, either just before or after crossing the river Oxus—Curtius and Arrian are in disagreement on the exact moment—a group of his soldiers, about nine hundred strong, came to the end of their military obligations. As their discharge was due, Alexander paid them according to their military rank and sent them back home with explicit behest to beget children (Curtius, 7.5.27; cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3.29.5; Parke, 1933: 195).⁴³ Had the wives been with them all along, there would have been no need to travel all the way back to Macedonia to procreate—the nearest garrison would have been sufficient and probably even preferable as Alexander's settlements in the East needed Graeco-Macedonian inhabitants. Thirdly, Alexander arranged thousands of his soldiers to marry Persian women at Susa (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.4). While it would not have been an insurmountable obstacle for Alexander if some, or even many, of these men were already married, it would seem unlikely that he would have forced anyone who had

⁴² Whether the women who were being seduced were actually legally wedded wives of the soldiers, or simply women who accompanied them, is impossible to tell, as the ancient Greek language did not have a special word for 'wife.' Judging, however, by the seriousness that Alexander laid on the accusation, one must assume that we are dealing with proper wives.

⁴³ In 334/333, Alexander sent newly married soldiers back home to Macedonia for the winter, so that they could rest and procreate, while the others were left to winter in Caria (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 1.24.1-2, cf. 1.29.4; Bosworth, 1986: 5, 9).

his wife with him to go through this marriage ceremony in her presence. Indeed, if this was the case, we would expect there to have been a great uproar, reported by the ancient sources.⁴⁴ Fourthly, after the mutiny at Opis, Alexander instructed those of his men who were about to embark on a trip back home not to take their Oriental children back with them if they had a family waiting for them (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.12; Plutarch, *Alexander*, 71.5). This, obviously, shows that these men were not discouraged from having relationships while on the campaign—some of them probably were among those married at Susa—yet many of the Macedonians appear to have had their families waiting for them at home. Finally, when Arrian gives an account of the weakened Macedonian contingent towards the end of Alexander’s campaign, he mentions that every (Macedonian) man longs to see his parents, wife and children, who were left at home (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 5.27).

None of the examples above, of course, gives *definite* proof that Alexander was strict on insisting that no Macedonian woman was allowed to travel with her husband; some individuals may have done so. In fact, his closest friends and the most senior members of his army certainly were allowed to have women with them (Launey, 1949-50: 787; Pomeroy, 1984: 99).⁴⁵ Harpalos, for example, had two mistresses with him at separate times (Pausanias, 1.37.5; Diodorus, 17.108.4-6; Athenaeus, 586c-d, 595d). The elite silver shields, οἱ ἀργυροκόμοι, also apparently had women with them (Diodorus, 6.25.5, 18.104.4, 19.43.7; Polyaeus, *Stratagems*, 4.6.13). In 326/5, when Alexander’s men were getting tired of constant fighting—this was the eight year of the campaign—and their morale was low, Alexander initiated a bonus pay for those wives and children of his soldiers that had followed with the army all the way to India (Diodorus, 17.94; Justin, 12.4.2-11). However, it is not clear if the soldiers in question were Macedonian, although Greek by culture they certainly were, for one of the causes of distress for them was the lack of Greek clothing (Diodorus, 17.94.2).

⁴⁴ On the failure of these Susa marriages, see pp. 176-177. For some of Alexander’s men marrying captive women, which indicates that they probably had departed as bachelors, see Justin (12.4.2).

⁴⁵ It is also to be noted that some Macedonian women did emigrate with their civilian families before, during, and after Alexander’s reign. A catalogue of Macedonians abroad compiled by Tataki (1998) includes nearly 3,000 names—of all periods of antiquity—of these less than sixty, so less than 2% of the total number of the entries, are women of the Hellenistic period.

2.3 Hellenistic Mercenaries and Their Women

Some prominent scholars of Hellenistic women, such as Pomeroy, have argued that mercenaries would have found it burdensome to take their families with them and that only a small minority would therefore have done so (Pomeroy, 1975: 133). In the following, however, this view will be challenged. It will become evident that not only did many mercenaries, of various origins, take their wives and families with them, but that their presence was vital to keep the soldiers happy. Moreover, for the colonisation processes of the period, the inclusion of women among the camp followers and settlers was of major significance, as it helped to make the mercenaries more willing to settle in foreign lands.

Some of the Hellenistic mercenaries downright refused to serve unless they were permitted to be accompanied by their families. Demetrius Poliorcetes, for example, got into trouble in 307 as those of his soldiers who had left their baggage in Egypt deserted him (Diodorus, 20.47.4). Although Diodorus does not mention women, one tends to think, as Launey has done, that this ‘baggage’ did include wives and children (Launey, 1949-50: 788). This is almost certain, in fact, for the word Diodorus uses for the baggage, ἀποσκευῆ, includes the families—wives and children—of the soldiers by definition, as Holleaux has demonstrated in his detailed study of this single word (Holleaux, 1926: 363, 363n1, cf. 356-57).⁴⁶

The entire baggage, with women, children and servants, came to enjoy the same legal protection on campaigns as the soldiers; an indication of how integral part of the military convoy the families of the soldiers were (Holleaux, 1926: 366). Indeed, a contract between Eumenes I and his mercenaries includes a clause for financial allowance for the children of the mercenaries in case they lost their lives and their children consequently became orphans (Staatsverträge III, no. 481, ll. 8-9; *OGIS* 266;

⁴⁶ The same article was later reproduced in Holleaux, *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques*, vol. 3 (1942).

According to Ogden, the ancient sources have fewer references to homosexual relationships among soldiers in the Hellenistic period than before; this, he believes, reflects a growing tolerance for female camp followers (Ogden, 1996: 123).

Sage, 1996: no. 293).⁴⁷ Furthermore, when the oaths for this treaty were taken, family and dependants—*toi=j h9gemo/si kai_ toi=j a1lloij toi=j e)mmi/sqoij*—are included in them (Staatsverträge III, no. 481, ll.54).⁴⁸ This could, of course, be simply a stock phrase, but at the very least it shows that the mercenaries were family men, and at best it implies that the families were actually present with the mercenaries on the field.

Eumenes lost his men to Antigonus because the latter had seized their baggage. In reference to this incident, Diodorus makes it explicit that children, wives, and many other relatives—*te/knwn kai_ gunaikw=n kai_ pollw=n a1llwn a0nagkai&kwn*—of Eumenes’s soldiers had been captured among the baggage, and that it was their love of these relatives that made the mercenaries switch sides (Diodorus, 19.43.7-8; Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 16-19; Justin, 14.3-4, 14.7-12; Orosius, 3.23.25). Polyaeus adds that some of the soldiers had concubines with them as well (Polyaenus, *Stratagems*, 4.6.13). So clearly the Successors, as opposed to Alexander, had nothing against Macedonian soldiers being accompanied by their women; on the contrary, this was probably encouraged in the hope that these families would settle into the kingdoms, forming the core of these societies.

It made good tactical sense to attack the baggage of one’s enemy. This could also be done for revenge, as Pelopidas did after Ptolemy had bribed his mercenaries to switch sides (Plutarch, *Pelopidas*, 27). On the other hand, one could receive gratitude for *not* doing this (e.g. Plutarch, *Eumenes*, 9). In either case, this shows the value attached to the baggage; the inclusion of wives and families certainly added to this value.

Another splendid piece of evidence for women and other non-combatants travelling with Hellenistic armies comes from Diodorus:

And so Ophellas [of Cyrene], when everything for his campaign had been prepared magnificently [in 308], set out with his army, having more than ten thousand foot-soldiers, six hundred horsemen, a hundred charioteers and men to fight beside them. There followed also those who

⁴⁷ On looking after the widows and orphans of mercenaries, with the view that this would increase the loyalty of the mercenaries, see also a passage in Philon of Byzantion (5.94.26-29; cf. Chaniotis, forthcoming [2004]: ch. 6.4). On mercenaries’ orphans, see also *P.Tebt.*, 815fr.14, *P.Gurob*, 17.3, and Launey (1949-50: 744n1).

are termed non-combatants not less than ten thousand; and many of these brought their children and wives and other possessions, so that the army was like a colonizing expedition—*w\$ste e0mferh= th_n stratia_n u(pa/rxein a)poiki/a* | (Diodorus, 20.41.1).

The original Greek, unpunctuated as it was, leaves it open whether the ‘many of these’ (*polloi_ de_ tou&twn*), who had families with them, refers to the camp followers or the soldiers. Both the Loeb and the Teubner editions of Diodorus—as well as earlier editions, such as the one by Dindorf—have placed a raised dot (i.e. a comma, or a semi-colon) before *polloi_ de_ tou&twn*, making it seem like the persons who, according to Diodorus, had families with them were the camp followers. There is no certainty, however, that this is what Diodorus meant. It seems to me more likely, in fact, that he meant that it was the soldiers, or both the soldiers and the civilians, who had families with them. The ‘non-combatants’ included women and children implicitly, whereas it was worth while for Diodorus to point out that the soldiers had their families with them, too. At any event, it is clear that some women, whoever they were married to, followed Ophellas’s troops.

It also needs to be mentioned that mercenaries often wanted to be among members of their own ethnic groups. Various clubs and associations were formed based on ethnicity. In Cyprus, for example, the military garrisons brought together members of the same communities and allowed them to participate in their own cults and culture (*SEG* 34.1412). The same phenomenon can be seen elsewhere in the Hellenistic world, too. To give just one further example, the Idumaians had their own ethnic association in Memphis, Egypt, in the late second century BCE (*SEG* 34.1599).

The tendency of mercenaries at foreign garrisons to group together and not to integrate into local communities has recently also been noted by Chaniotis. He has observed that the mercenaries preferred to worship their own deities, and that there were some restrictions on their participation in the local gymnasiums, for example, which made integration more difficult and unlikely (Chaniotis, 2002: 108-109, cf. 112). Since the mercenaries clearly often preferred the company of their own kind, in

⁴⁸ Many a scholar has commented this contract, but the fullest treatment is still in Launey (1949-50: 738-46; see also Sage, 1996: 218ff.; Griffith, 1935: 312; Garlan, 1975: 96-98).

terms of fellow soldiers, it is not far fetched to think that they would also have preferred women of their own ethnic backgrounds.

Indeed, in his study of Hellenistic garrisons, Chaniotis points to the fact that “in many garrisoned sites we find evidence for women from areas which supplied the Hellenistic armies with mercenaries,” and he correctly draws a conclusion from this that “it is reasonable to assume that they were dependents (wives, daughters, or sisters) of members of the garrison” (Chaniotis, 2002: 111). The Cretan women and mercenaries at Miletus are a prime example of this—which is why we treat them as a case study shortly—but this pattern is evident in other places with foreign garrisons, too. So, for example, the Cypriot cities with Ptolemaic garrisons have produced evidence for women from exactly the same areas where the male mercenaries of the garrisons were recruited, namely Aspendos, Euboa, Byzantion and Crete (Chaniotis, 2002: 111).

Admittedly, there were some exceptions to the rule, i.e. some mercenaries married women with different *city*-ethnics to their own. It appears, however, that these mixed marriages, on the whole, were between representatives of cities or regions that had treaties of alliance and of *isopoliteia*, which meant that they shared citizenship (Chaniotis, 2002: 111). An example could be told of the daughter of a Cretan mercenary Charmadas from Anopolis, who served in a Ptolemaic garrison in Koile Syria, in the late third or second century BCE. According to the epitaph of her father, she, Archagatha, married her father’s comrade in arms, Machaios from Aetolia, a region that had above-mentioned treaties with the home region of her family (*SEG* 8.269).⁴⁹

In contrast, marriages between foreign mercenaries and native women were avoided—or so the lack of evidence for such unions implies—this was partly, no doubt, because of legal restrictions and the ‘obligation’ to produce legitimate children, which required a legitimate marriage (Chaniotis, 2002: 110-113).⁵⁰

As the fact that some mercenaries married while in service implies, some young men clearly took up military service before they had had the chance to marry, i.e. by no means did every single soldier take a family with him. Much must have depended on his age and wealth. Some mercenaries undoubtedly were bachelors

⁴⁹ For more similar examples, see Chaniotis (2002: 112).

⁵⁰ On laws against mixed marriages in various Greek *poleis*, see Vêrilhac and Vial (1998: 41-124; see also pp. 166-185).

when they took up the service. Speaking of men in classical Athens, Roy asserts that most of them would have married at the age of around twenty-five and thirty (Roy, 1999: 6; Roy, forthcoming). If this remained true for the Hellenistic age, many of the mercenaries probably were bachelors when they joined an army.⁵¹ Such was, for example, a Chalcidean man who was to marry a Lycian woman while in service; we know of him through an inscription in which his five sons are granted legal possession of their heritage (*SEG* 36.1220). On the other hand, being a bachelor does not mean that one could not take a woman along when one emigrates. We do, indeed, have evidence for mercenaries marrying their compatriots, or other foreigners, outside their fatherland; especially Cretans marrying fellow Cretans outside Crete, which obviously means that single women, too, had emigrated (e.g. *SEG* 47.558; Chaniotis, 1996: 26-7).

On the other hand, one who had had the chance of purchasing land and establishing his home in one place or the other was probably less keen on taking his wife and children along than one who was young and had no permanent residence; although, such a person was probably less likely to join a mercenary army in the first place. An interesting letter has survived from the late second century BCE, 126 to be precise, in which a wife of a Ptolemaic soldier explains some legal disputes that have arisen while her husband has been away on campaign, but for which a decision can only be made once he returns home (*P.Bad.* 4.48). The details of this case are not of immediate interest for us. What does hold our attention are the facts that a Ptolemaic soldier had land already while serving, and that he had left his wife at home rather than take her with him. Nothing is known of their origins, i.e. whether they were first generation immigrants or descendants of earlier arrivals. At this late date it would be safer to assume the latter to have been the case, but there is no way of knowing this for sure.

Before moving on to our case study on Cretan mercenaries, the mercenaries from Gaul deserve a brief note, for they were widely used by the Graeco-Macedonian kings and generals after the early 270s BCE (Livy, 38.16.1, 38.17.2-3; Diodorus, 22.5, 22.9; Launey, 1949-50: 490-91). What is of particular interest for us about the Gauls is that they habitually took all their families with them on campaigns, which could and often did lead to permanent migration of the Gallic, and later Galatian,

⁵¹ Military service was not, however, monopolised by the young. Cyrus, for example, had mercenaries older than forty years of age (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 5.3.1).

families, who settled in the Greek cities of Asia Minor and beyond (Mitchell, 2003: 292; Mitchell, 1993: 1.57). While this thesis is about *Greek* women, the way in which the Graeco-Macedonian kings and generals tolerated the presence of Gallic women among their armies may be illuminating of the general attitude towards female presence at military convoys.

There is more than one reference in the ancient sources on Gallic mercenaries travelling with families, even entire tribes, such as the tribe of the Aegosagae in the service of Attalos I (Polybius, 5.77-78). In many ways the most fascinating passage is, however, the one in Polyaeus concerning the Gallic mercenaries of Antigonus. According to Polyaeus, then, the Gallic mercenaries demanded payment not only for the soldiers, but also for their wives, children and the injured or otherwise unarmed men: *Οἱ Γαλάται καὶ τοῖς ἀποπλοῖς καὶ ταῖς γυναῖκας καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἀποφθόνου: τοῦτο γὰρ εἰλῆναι τῶν Γαλατῶν ἐνὶ ἐκαστῶ* (Polyaeus, *Stratagems*, 4.6.17). Antigonus's wage bill suddenly more than tripled, as he was forced to pay one hundred talents to c. 30,000 Gauls, rather than just thirty talents for the 9,000 Gallic mercenaries he had hired. It seems that despite it making the journeys slow and more burdensome, the Gauls always took their families with them: “les Gaulois ne se séparaient jamais” (Launey, 1949-50: 494, cf. 497n6). Since the number of Gallic mercenaries was great and entire families, even entire communities, migrated together, it is fair to speak of a real migration of peoples or mass wandering, “le déplacement des Celtes était une véritable migration de tribus” (Launey, 1949-50: 494).

Cretan Mercenary Families: a Case Study

In the Hellenistic period, Crete was one of the main sources of mercenaries (Petropoulou, 1985: 15-31; Chaniotis, 2002: 111). Launey argued that most of the Cretans who emigrated—because of mercenary service—did this with the understanding of coming back home one day (Launey, 1949-50: 276-77). This view has been, however, correctly challenged in more recent scholarship (Chaniotis, 1996: 26-7; Spyridakis, 1981: 49; Brulé, 1978: 162-70). In fact, the only time we see an attempted return, this is because the Cretans in question were forced to leave their

new homes. Moreover, the Cretan cities did not allow the migrants to come back (*IC* 4.176, lines 34-38; van Bremen, 2003: 320; Brulé, 1978: 163).

Perhaps Launey arrived at the false conclusion that Cretans did not settle abroad, because he was not able to find almost (*presque*) any examples of Cretan immigrants in Ptolemaic Egypt (cf. Launey, 1949-50: 199). By saying ‘almost,’ however, even he admits that there were some Cretan *cleruchs* in Egypt. Indeed, we even have evidence for some Cretan women permanently resident there. An interesting example of this is Philotera, a Cretan woman who married a Macedonian man, Nikandros, at Elephantine island, in 247-246 BCE (*BGU* 6.1463). How and why she got there is not known to us, but with all likelihood it was with her father, who probably served in the Ptolemaic army as a mercenary.⁵² The number of known Cretan military *cleruchs* in Egypt may be small, but to ignore them altogether or to argue that Cretans always returned home would simply be wrong. We should also note that there was even a Cretan *politeuma* in the Arsinoite nome (*P.Tebt.* 32.17 [145 BCE]; cf. Brulé, 1978: 164; Launey, 1949-50: 1068-72). Furthermore, as Brulé has encouraged, we should look outside Egypt as well (Brulé, 1978: 163).

Indeed, the epigraphic records reveal Cretan names in a wide variety of places, near and distant to Crete. Although the Ptolemies were arguably the main employers of Cretan mercenaries, we find them serving many different masters, as is evident from the prosopography of Cretan mercenaries compiled by Spyridakis (1981: 49-83; cf. Petropoulou, 1985: 29-34; Launey, 1949-50: 1052-60).⁵³ In addition to the Ptolemaic domains, Cretans are attested as living in mainland Greece, Anatolia, Asia Minor and as far away as modern Afghanistan and India (Petropoulou, 1985: 30, 128; Brulé, 1978: 163-64). Importantly, evidence suggests that many of these men migrated with wives and families, for we find inscriptions from many areas bearing the names of men *and* women from Crete. Various tombstones from Thessaly and Eretria, for example, indicate that both Cretan men and women emigrated there, as Petropoulou has observed (Petropoulou, 1985: 30, 211n48-n49).

It is clear, indeed, that the Cretan mercenaries regularly took their wives and children with them as they went abroad, or summoned them to follow later

⁵² In another context, Chaniotis makes a valid assumption that because Cretans were so widely used as mercenaries, any (male) Cretans attested in inscriptions in garrisoned sites can safely be recognised as soldiers (Chaniotis, forthcoming [2004]: ch. 6.2).

⁵³ Spyridakis’s prosopography includes 140 entries, but it is by no means exhaustive; he, for example, made no use of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*.

(Petropoulou, 1985: 30; Launey, 1949-50: 256, 276-77, 660, 662n1). There was, for example, a mercenary called Eraton from Oaxos, who served in the Ptolemaic army in Cyprus. He had a wife and two sons with him; the origin of the wife is not known (*Syll.*³ 622B; *IG IX*² 178). It seems that the Cretan migration was conducted in groups of various sizes as opposed to individually. Men took their wives, children and siblings, even slaves, with them as they made their departure. This indicates also that these men had no intention to return; Brulé justifiably asks why would the Cretans have taken the trouble of moving about with their households if their intention was to return home soon (Brulé, 1978: 164). Moreover, leaving one's lands and possessions behind would have made very little sense in Hellenistic Crete, in which the cities had very aristocratic societies with no safeguard to one's properties if one left them unguarded. Indeed, many of the Cretan emigrants lost their possessions immediately or soon after they left the island (Brulé, 1978: 169-70). By rationale, therefore, one may argue, as Brulé does, that the Cretans who left the island had no plans to go back there.

The best evidence both for permanent emigration from Crete *and* for Hellenistic mercenaries moving with their families comes from Miletus.⁵⁴ The evidence for Cretan families moving to Miletus *en masse* comes in the form of two fragmented but lengthy lists of new Milesian citizens, many of whom were Cretan mercenaries (*I.Milet* I.3 nos. 34 and 38).

The Cretans came to Miletus in two waves, in 228/7 and in 223/2 BCE. On both occasions the Milesians consulted the oracle at Didyma whether they should grant citizenship to the Cretan immigrants or not (*I.Milet* I.3 nos. 36 and 37; Parke, 1985: 62; Fontenrose, 1988: nos. 5-7). For example, when the Drerians and Milatians from Crete applied for citizenship, in 228/7, the Milesians asked the oracle if it was good for them to admit the Cretans to the citizen body (and to give land); the Milesians were advised to receive them as 'helper men,' *a1ndraj a0rwgou_j* (*I.Milet* I.3.33f 6-14, 33g 1-4 = Fontenrose, 1988: no. 5). Notably there is no mention of women either in the consultation or in the response. Women are absent from the other similar inscriptions, too. Consider the following, from 223/2 BCE, for example:

⁵⁴ The city of Miletus is an interesting city for the study of Hellenistic migration, for on the one hand the city received immigrants, such as the Cretan mercenaries and their families, but others as

The prytnes and those chosen to watch moved... Milesians choose five (?) envoys from all and that they go to the sanctuary of Apollo Didymeus and ask the god whether it will be better and preferable for the demos of the Milesians to enroll the *men* [my italics] in the citizen body— (*I.Milet* I.3.36a; Fontenrose, 1988: no. 7).

If these oracular consultations and responses were the only evidence we had for the immigration of the Cretans, we would not be in a position to argue (with evidence) that the immigrants had their women with them. This is, indeed, a very good example of the nature of the ancient sources; women are often omitted. Fortunately, however, we have the above mentioned lists of new citizens to provide evidence for entire families moving to Miletus. The omission of women in the ancient sources—as in the oracular consultations—cannot, therefore, be used as evidence for their absence in any colonisation processes.

The first list of new citizens, which dates to 228-227, includes, in its fragmented state, individuals and families from two Cretan cities—Dreros and Milatos—totalling over 200 names (*I.Milet* I.3 nos. 33-35; Brulé, 1978: 165, 168). It is not entirely clear why these Cretans left their island, or why they arrived in Miletus. As a possible cause Brulé has tentatively suggested a land dispute between Miletus and Magnesia, and consequent request for help by the Milesians (Brulé, 1978: 165).⁵⁵ Many of the arrivals being clearly soldiers, whether allies or mercenaries, this sort of reason would indeed make sense, i.e. some sort of a security arrangement it will have been, whatever the threat to Miletus (cf. Herrmann, 2001: 112). It is more important for us, however, to pay attention to the fact that on arrival these Cretans were, indeed, given citizenship and property rights. Moreover, the land lots that the new settlers received were inalienable for twenty years, thus tying the immigrants to the designated area (*I.Milet* 1.3 33e, lines 6-7; cf. Brulé, 1978: 165-66, 169; Launey, 1949-50: 662). It is hard to imagine anyone committing himself to a particular place for such a long time if he is not willing to stay there permanently.⁵⁶

well, e.g. from Pidasa (Gauthier, 2001: 117ff.). On the other hand, many Milesians migrated themselves, most notably to Athens (Vestergaard, 2000: 81ff.; see pp. 203-204).

⁵⁵ See Launey (1949-50: 661) for further discussion on possible causes.

⁵⁶ The settling of Cretans almost certainly meant that indigenous people were forcibly transferred elsewhere (Herrmann, 2001: 113).

The second wave of Cretan immigration to Miletus took place in 223-222, with more or less the same volume, but from more varied city origins; the new arrivals came from nearly twenty different Cretan cities.⁵⁷ Together with the earlier arrivals, more than one thousand Cretan mercenaries were granted Milesian citizenship; of these, we know about 400 men by name (cf. Launey, 1949-50: 255n7, 663). Since the inscriptions have big lacunae, we know that the actual number will have been considerably higher. It has been estimated that the total number of Cretans at Miletus must have been around three to four thousand (Brulé, 1990: 238; van Bremen, 2003: 320).

Among the Cretan immigrants at Miletus, there were as many as 78 families.⁵⁸ This number is worth comparing to the total number of known adult men, which is 400. In the light of the available evidence, therefore, roughly 20% of the men had come to Miletus with a family. It is also notable that a majority of the immigrant families had children with them.⁵⁹ We even know of a family who arrived with representatives from three generations (*I.Milet* 1.3 34a, lines II.10-13). Most commonly, however, the Cretan families that emigrated to Miletus consisted of a married couple and at least one child; like, for example, a Kleandros, his wife Nannion, and their daughter Demetria (*I.Milet* 1.3 34e, lines 13-5; Petropoulou, 1985: 186).

Petropoulou argues that (Hellenistic) mercenaries would usually have been single and married only later; most of the Cretan families at Miletus being, according to her therefore, civilian immigrants (Petropoulou, 1985: 128-29). While in some cases this generalisation could be seen to be true, it should not be used as a rule, for clearly many married men served as mercenaries as well (e.g. *I.Milet* 1.3. 34h, lines 3-9; cf. Chaniotis, 2002: 110-113). Yet, it is worthwhile stressing that it was a varied group of people that emigrated from Crete, not merely mercenaries. Political refugees and civilians looking for a better standard of life than the impoverished Crete could offer were among those who immigrated into Miletus (Spyridakis, 1981: 49).

⁵⁷ The Cretan cities: Arkades, Dreros, Eleutherna, Gortyn, Hierapytna, Hyrtakina, Knossos, Lappa, Lyttos, Axos, Phaistos, Priansos, Rhaukos, Kydonia, Late, Elyros, Olonte, Herakleion and Malla (cf. Brulé, 1978: 168).

⁵⁸ The new citizen lists include 61 (or 64) other, non-Cretan, families, too (cf. Brulé, 1990: 238).

⁵⁹ A good social study on these lists is done by Petropoulou (1985: 128-30, 177ff.). Among other things, she comments on the age and gender structure of the children; underage sons are most common—sons being almost twice as numerous as daughters. She also provides a very helpful table consisting of all the Cretan families mentioned in the Milesian inscriptions.

In the mid 190s BCE, after Magnesia on the Maeander won a decisive victory over Miletus in their long running dispute over land, the Cretans were forced to leave Miletus. The Magnesians believed that Miletus would continue to be a threat as long as they had Cretan mercenaries living there, hence the peace treaty required that the Cretans were driven out (*I.Milet* 1.3 148; *Syll.*³ 588; Parke, 1985: 63). So the Cretans' stay at Miletus lasted just over thirty years or so. This may not sound like a long time, but for individuals it will have been a very long time. Bearing in mind the low life expectancy in Antiquity, it is almost certain that a majority of the first generation adult immigrants from Crete had died before the Cretans were forced to leave. Even many of the children of the Cretan military families who were actually born at Miletus may have perished there. Most of those 'Cretans' that were driven out of Miletus will, therefore, have been second generation Milesians who would have considered Miletus their home and their expulsion an exile. It may be due to this kind of considerations that some of the Cretan cities, Gortyn at least, refused to accept them 'back' (*IC* 4.176, lines 34-38; cf. van Bremen, 2003: 320; Brulé, 1978: 163).

2.4 Conclusion

While Alexander was not the first general to allow groups of people—merchants, entertainers, etc.—to follow on the trails of an army, it appears that his reign and his campaign did see a turning point in the number of camp followers, i.e. there were more of them than ever before. Among the camp followers were a number of women; most notably prostitutes and entertainers, some of who had intimate access to senior members of Alexander's officers and himself. Indeed, those closest to and most trusted by him were even allowed to bring wives and/or mistresses with them. Harpalos, for example, is known to have taken advantage of this privilege (see p. 54). However, the bulk of Alexander's *Macedonian* soldiers do not appear to have had such pleasure. In fact, many of them were sent home at some point to be with their families and procreate. And thousands of them were married to Persian women at Susa, which, as we have argued, would probably not have taken place if these men had had their Macedonian families with them. In contrast, at least some of the

foreign, i.e. non-Macedonian, mercenaries had their wives and families with them; this seems to have been a new feature in Graeco-Macedonian warfare.

After Alexander, all the Hellenistic armies relied heavily, usually primarily, on mercenary forces. It is of no surprise, therefore, that the number of female camp followers, in particular wives and families, increased; this was simply part of the evolution that had begun under Alexander. Indeed, women were now such a feature of the camp followers that the word for baggage, ἀποσκευῆ, came to include wives and families by definition. Moreover, occasionally the Hellenistic mercenaries simply refused to fight unless they were allowed to bring their women with them, and the kings and generals made arrangements to take care of the widows and orphans of mercenaries in order to increase their loyalty.

We have also seen that the mercenaries preferred the company of their own ethnic groups. A number of military clubs and associations were formed on the basis of ethnic/geographic origins. Epigraphic evidence strongly suggests that mercenaries, on the whole, married within their own ethnic groups. Mercenaries stationed in foreign garrisons very rarely married any native women. Marriages between Graeco-Macedonian soldiers and barbarian women, apart from the unsuccessful unions forcibly formed at Susa, were extremely rare. Some couples with different *Greek* city-ethnics did marry, but even these usually followed the legal guidelines set in their home *poleis*, i.e. such mixed marriages were usually between men and women from two cities with *isopoliteia* agreements.

Crete was one of the main sources of mercenaries in the Hellenistic period. Therefore, the Cretans and their habit of bringing families with them as they emigrated because of mercenary service were used as a case study. The two long lists of new citizens at Miletus include hundreds of Cretan mercenaries, and we have noted that a fair proportion of them settled into Miletus together with their families. While the Cretan migration to Miletus, and the evidence for it, may be atypical, we have plenty of evidence for Cretan men *and* women—from the same cities—resident in other foreign garrisons and cities, which implies that Cretan mercenaries did, indeed, habitually migrate with their families. Furthermore, enough evidence exists of mercenaries from other regions to argue that the Cretans were not unique in bringing their women with them. Indeed, it may be argued that it was common for Hellenistic mercenaries to bring their women with them, or even further: most Hellenistic

mercenaries who were married would have taken their women with them on campaigns rather than left them home with the hope of reuniting later.

On the Importance of Women Camp Followers

The importance of women among the camp followers was twofold: 1) they played a crucial part in maintaining the mercenaries in good fighting spirit and condition, 2) the presence of Graeco-Macedonian women among the camp followers was of major significance in the establishment of military garrisons and colonies. A brief discussion on these two aspects will close this chapter.

The common perception among scholars has been that Greek women played no part in warfare, especially in foreign wars. Consider the claim by Schaps, for example: “Time and again, when cities of Greece were threatened, the women rose to the occasion and helped in their salvation. The more striking, then, is the complete absence of women from the record of foreign wars. We hardly expected to find ancient Greek women serving as hoplites, but they do not seem to have contributed in other ways, either” (Schaps, 1982: 207). This, however, is, as I have argued elsewhere, a false perception, for women had many important roles on foreign campaigns as well as in defending cities (Loman, 2004: 44-53).⁶⁰

The emotional and spiritual support women gave must have been of importance and motivated their men to fight (Loman, 2004: 38-40). Women are also on record fulfilling many supporting roles: cooking for troops, taking care of the wounded and the dead, as well as looking after arms and armour, e.g. sharpening spears. All the references for women doing these tasks relate to city defence, but since women were present among the camp followers, they no doubt were expected to do the same things while abroad.⁶¹ It is notable that such work by women was, as Plutarch comments, good for the morale of the soldiers (Plutarch, *Philopoemen*, 9.5).

The importance of female entertainers among the camp followers also lies in the maintenance of the morale of the soldiers. “One could easily question the military value of these entertainers, but one would be foolish to do so. Obviously these

⁶⁰ For examples of women—mostly royal women—who actually fought or led armies, see Loman (2004: 45-48) and Chaniotis (forthcoming [2004]: ch. 6.3).

dancers and prostitutes did not slay enemies or protect friendly soldiers. Yet, the constant presence of musicians and other entertainers among the armies is conspicuous and needs explaining. Most armies would only take with them what they, or their generals, thought necessary, or at the very least useful, for the campaign. The Ten Thousand, for example, off-loaded all newly taken prisoners and everything else that was not considered indispensable, including baggage animals, to ensure swifter and easier travel (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 4.1.12-14). It would appear, therefore, that the services of entertainers were appreciated and even regarded as valuable; only this would explain why their presence was tolerated—and why modern armies continue to employ entertainers. The importance of (female) entertainers lies in the mundane life of a soldier. In the life of a soldier battle days are in the minority, most days involve simply marching, training, or waiting for action; this creates boredom, boredom creates tension, and tension may, at worst, lead to mutinies. The role of the entertainers was, therefore, to keep the soldiers happy and ready to fight... However, even more important than entertainers, especially in the Hellenistic period, was the fact that many soldiers took their wives and children with them on campaigns. Arguably, many campaigns would not have been fought unless the soldiers were given the right to bring their families along” (Loman, 2004: 52-54).

As Parke has commented, Alexander had two ways of using mercenaries; he obviously used them in military expeditions, but the other chief use for them was settling them in colonies (Parke, 1933: 192). The same is very much true of the Hellenistic kings after Alexander; they, too, used mercenaries as they founded new colonies and cities. In fact, the opportunity of obtaining land was clearly one of the motives for many men in joining mercenary armies. Diodorus reports that Ophellas was successful in recruiting many Athenians and other Greeks because he promised they would receive a portion of the fertile Libyan land for colonisation (Diodorus, 20.40.6). Since we have demonstrated that an increasing number of mercenaries brought their women with them on campaigns, it is axiomatic that a number of the women also found a permanent home in the newly conquered areas in which mercenaries were left to retire.

Unfortunately, the details of the composition of the early settlers of military garrisons and colonies are usually very sketchy. In 328/7 BCE, for example,

⁶¹ For the references for women helping to defend their cities in these various ways, see Loman (2004: 40-44).

Alexander left a number of his retiring mercenaries in the Hindu Kush, in a town that was to be called Alexandria of Caucasus, which lies near modern Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan.⁶² We do not know, however, how many ex-mercenaries stayed there, let alone how many of them had their wives and families with them. In addition to the retiring mercenaries, well over ten thousand other people settled in this new colony: 7,000 barbarians and 3,000 civilian camp followers (Curtius, 7.3.23; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 3.28.4). What is particularly noteworthy for us here is that the camp followers must have been Greeks (and/or Macedonians), for they are listed separately from the barbarians. Although some women probably were among the camp followers and those settled in this region, the sources do not make this explicit.

While Alexander, at least sometimes, sent some of his Macedonian soldiers to Macedonia for winter, where they were to produce children, no such thing can be observed in the later Hellenistic period. The Hellenistic soldiers were not totally disbanded for winter (cf. Parke, 1933: 207). This was partly because they often came from faraway places—it would not have made sense to travel such long distances only to return almost immediately—but partly because there would not have been any guarantees that these men would have returned to serve the same master. Instead, they were spread in small groups into towns nearby, where they were to lodge until called for service again. When Antigonus the One-Eye, for example, decided to winter in Media [winter of 317/16], where he had taken his entire army, he distributed his soldiers in all corners of the satrapy (Diodorus, 19.44.4). This was a common policy with the generals of this era; one could name Demetrius Poliorcetes as another example (Diodorus, 19.80.5). While this prevented the soldiers from enjoying a full civilian life (Parke, 1933: 207), it certainly would have allowed married soldiers to spend more time with their wives and children, many of whom had been following the fighting forces throughout the year, as has been demonstrated above.

When the time came to retire, many of the foreign mercenary soldiers decided to stay in the regions they had served in. Speaking of the first generation of Hellenistic mercenaries, Parke writes that “those who had been originally invading and garrisoning became the permanent occupiers as well as the defenders of their new countries” (Parke, 1933: 223). Many of the new Graeco-Macedonian settlements in the East were initially military colonies peopled by retired or reserve soldiers (and

⁶² According to Diodorus they were settled near—a day’s march from—Alexandria, not in it, but the exact location is of no importance to us (Diodorus, 17.83.2).

their families). There were, of course, some settlements that had purely civilian background, being perhaps the results of forced migration or *synoecism*, but military colonies really were the key to the early Hellenistic colonisation (Cohen, 1978: 4).

Arguments on the number of cities founded by Alexander range from six to nearly one hundred. It is not worth detailing the foundations of each of these cities here, 1) because this has been done by other scholars,⁶³ and 2) because the sources do not mention women in connection with city foundations. It is, however, worth noting that most of these foundations did not survive long as *Greek* settlements (Fraser, 1996: 195-96). The literary sources are either silent or very vague about the fate of most of the Alexander foundations. Pliny speaks of cities that once existed, but have perished by his own time (Pliny, *Natural History*, 3.116). Strabo's comment about eight cities that 'they say that Alexander founded' in Bactria and Sogdiana is even more dubious (Strabo, 11.11.4, 517). He distances himself from the whole argument, and in any case they had ceased to exist by his day. It seems clear that their Hellenistic character was rapidly lost after their foundation (Fraser, 1996: 198-99).

Perhaps even more telling is the complete absence of any Alexandrians—apart from those from the famous Egyptian Alexandria and Alexandria Troas—in the epigraphic records. Not a single tombstone or honorific decree by or for them has survived. This means, as Fraser reasons, either that the Graeco-Macedonian inhabitants of the various Asian Alexandrias did not travel West for any reason, e.g. to attend festivals, or that there simply were no such people, i.e. ethnically Graeco-Macedonians living in the cities founded by Alexander (Fraser, 1996: 196). One is inclined to think that the latter alternative is closer to the truth; since the citizens of other Hellenistic cities were so very mobile and left their marks in various foreign cities, it would be odd if the various Alexandrians did not make similar efforts to attend festivals etc. It would appear, therefore, that Alexander's attempts to settle his garrisons and cities by Graeco-Macedonians was a failure.

⁶³ Full list of *garrisons* in Griffith (1935: 22-3) and a full list of *cities* in Fraser (1996: 240-43). Claiming that Fraser made a huge underestimation on the number of cities Alexander founded, Hammond argues that Alexander founded around 70 cities (Hammond, 1998: 248). Hammond has come to this figure from a passage in Arrian, which mentions that 30,000 boys were brought to Alexander 'both from the newly-founded cities and the rest of the spear-won territory' (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.6.1; Hammond, 1998: 244). With this figure in mind, Hammond used modern demographic studies as comparative evidence and he argues that to gather so many boys Alexander must have received them from 57 to 85 cities (Hammond, 1998: 246-247). Not only is the use of such comparative methods questionable, but Hammond forgot that the boys came from 'the newly-founded cities and the rest of the spear won territory,' i.e. not all of them came from cities founded by Alexander.

By contrast, the Seleucid and Ptolemaic colonisation processes were hugely successful. Indeed, the Seleucid colonisation of the East has been labelled as “one of the most amazing works of the ancient world” (Tarn and Griffith, 1952: 126; cf. Cohen, 1978: 4). Rather unsurprisingly, it was the early Seleucids who were the most keen and active in colonising Asia Minor and the parts of Asia that they controlled. Seleucus I and his son Antiochus I being the most prolific in this regard, but Antiochus II, Antiochus III, and Antiochus IV can also be credited for founding some major military colonies (Cohen, 1978: 11). Appian gives a lengthy list of cities that he believed to have been founded by Seleucus I, but many of them probably date to a later period (Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 57; Cohen, 1978: 11). The fact is that it is extremely difficult for a historian, whether ancient or modern, to establish with certainty who founded which individual military colony or a city. In *Historia Einzelschriften* 30, Cohen provides a brave attempt at identifying many of the founders (Cohen, 1978). He also gives a summary of some of the most important Seleucid settlements (Cohen, 1978: 11-20).⁶⁴ His later work, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor*, contains an exhaustive list of such settlements known under current light of evidence (Cohen, 1995).

It was most common to found a colony in or near existing native town or village. Only a few military colonies were established in totally unexplored and uninhabited lands (Cohen, 1978: 25). This tendency to establish military settlements around native peoples would have, of course, at least theoretically made it possible for the colonists to form families and procreate with local women. As we argued, however, mixed marriages among the mercenaries were not at all common (see p. 58), nor were they significantly more common among the civilian immigrants (see pp. 166-185). To guarantee longevity of a colony, therefore, either continuous male migration or some initial female migration was necessary. Since women are known to have been among the camp followers, the latter seems much more probable.

Alexander had planned to have mixed colonies, and actually implemented them, as at Arigaeum in India (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 4.24.6-7). However, it soon became clear that the Greeks especially were not very tolerant of foreign cultures; according to Diodorus, one of the reasons why the Greeks in Bactria rebelled was that they were

⁶⁴ On Seleucid cities in Syria, see also Grainger (1990). He provides useful discussion on the size of the cities and their relationships with the kings. However, he has very little to say about women.

fed up living amongst barbarians (Diodorus, 17.99.5-6). Consequently, many of the Hellenistic colonies remained exclusive and the populations did not mix (Cohen, 1978: 33). Indeed, the Seleucids peopled their new colonies almost exclusively with Greeks and Macedonians; sometimes with foreign mercenaries, but rarely with native Asians mixed in. Most often they were ex-soldiers, as was the case in Syrian Larissa, which revolted from Demetrius in c.145 (Diodorus, 33.4a; Cohen, 1978: 29). A uniform population was a much safer option for the rulers, for it aided the creation of a secure and stable society (Cohen, 1978: 30). A mixed population would have had more potential for internal frictions.

There was a serious practical matter to be concerned about as well. The successor kings were dependent on Graeco-Macedonian support, and unless they were ready to go native, which they were not, they had to guarantee the continuity of Greek culture within their realms. There was a real threat that if the colonists mixed freely with the natives, the immigrants might lose their cultural heritage, which could then have jeopardised their loyalty. Had the Seleucid colonists mixed with locals, as Cohen asserts, “within a few generations, no doubt, all traces of a particular colonist’s background would have been lost” (Cohen, 1978: 33). Records of Macedonian and Greek descendants decades or even centuries after the arrival of the original settlers implies that they held their own traditions and did not mix with the locals (Cohen, 1978: 33).

The policy of uniform settlements was often extended to non-Greek colonies as well. For instance, Attalus I moved Gauls into their own settlement in Hellespont. As we have seen, an entire tribe, those of the Aegosagae, had been travelling with him and was now settled together in an old town—otherwise unknown to us—called Alexandria Troas, from which the natives were expelled (Polybius, 5.78; see p. 60). Similarly, when he deported the whole population of the Gerginthians from Troad to a new site, named after their tribe as Gergintha, there is no mention of any other group of people joining them (Strabo, 13.1.70). Jews habitually settled or were settled as a separate group; even in cities with mixed populations they seem to have had their own quarters, as in Alexandria (Philo, *Flaccus*, 55; Venit, 2002: 20).⁶⁵

Whereas the Seleucid—and Ptolemaic—colonisation was very successful and led to permanent *Greek* settlements in many places, it is curious that, on the whole,

⁶⁵ On Jewish *households* being forcibly moved from one place to another, see Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 12.148-151 (= Sage, 1996: no. 299), which is quoted on pp. 193-194.

Alexander, as was mentioned, failed in his attempt to do the same. While a full-scale study on the apparent failure of Alexander's military colonies and cities—as Graeco-Macedonian settlements—is clearly beyond the scope of this study, it is worth pointing out some possible reasons behind this. According to Fraser, the fact that many of the Greek colonists (majority?) were massacred soon after the revolt that broke out after the death of Alexander was the first catalyst in the decline of the Alexandrias; they simply did not have enough Graeco-Macedonians to maintain their own culture among the barbarians (Diodorus, 17.99.5-6; Fraser, 1996: 193).⁶⁶ Another probable factor was that the decision to colonise certain areas was usually from top down, i.e. the settlers themselves had no say in the matter. Alexander clearly forced some of his men to stay in Asia against their will. It has even been argued that most of *Macedonian* colonisation was forced (Billows, 1995: 159). Unsurprisingly, some of them were less than enthusiastic to stay (Billows, 1995: 158; Griffith, 1935: 24).

As another reason for Alexander's failed colonisation policy I suggest that a contributing factor for the unhappiness of the settlers, and their consequent wish to return home, was the fact that Alexander did not allow Macedonian women to accompany their men on his campaign. It is not beyond belief, considering the strong preference for endogamy (see pp. 166-185), that those Graeco-Macedonians who were forced to settle in the East without 'compatriot' spouses, simply wanted to return to Hellas where they could better cultivate their own culture *and* marry women of their liking. The shortage of Graeco-Macedonian women among the people Alexander settled in his garrisons and cities cannot, obviously, alone explain the failure of his colonisation activities—in particular as some of the Greek mercenaries apparently did bring their families with them, and because women could have been imported later—but since his policies differed in this respect from his successors, whose colonisation processes were hugely successful, it would appear that this was a significant factor.

At this point, an interesting parallel may be drawn with the 17th and 18th century European colonisation of the Americas, and the contrasting history of the populations in British and Latin America. "Spanish settlers tended to be solo male *encomenderos*.

⁶⁶ Curtius was not aware of, or did not report, any massacre. According to him these men returned home safely in 324. Some modern scholars, such as Badian, trust Curtius's version of the

Only around a quarter of the total 1.5 million Spanish and Portuguese migrants to pre-independence Latin America were female; the majority of male Iberian migrants therefore took their sexual partners from the (dwindling) indigenous or the (rapidly growing) slave population. The result within a few generations was a substantial mixed-race population of *mestizos* and *mulattos* (Hispanic and African). British settlers in North America were not only much more numerous; they were encouraged to bring their wives and children with them, thus preserving their culture more or less intact. In North America as in Northern Ireland, therefore, British colonization [sic] was a family affair. As a consequence, New England really was a new England, far more than New Spain would ever be a new Spain” (Ferguson, 2003: 69).

Similarly, I suggest, Alexander’s foundations quickly lost their Graeco-Macedonian character because they had a shortage of Graeco-Macedonian women, whereas the settlements founded by his successors survived as *Greek* centres of habitation thanks to the fact that among the colonists were many families.

events and argue that Diodorus, who reports the massacre, has confused two separate incidents (Curtius, 9.7.1-11; Diodorus, 17.99.5-6; cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 5.27; Badian, 1961: 26-27, 27n76).

3 Professional, Artistic and Athletic Women

Today we are used to seeing men and women move up and down the country, even around the world, in search of employment. The people who tend to move are either specialists in a particular field or manual labourers in big industry. The ancient world, being largely agrarian in nature, offered fewer such opportunities. Yet, there were some men *and* women who were mobile because of their particular talent or profession. In fact, epigraphic evidence from *Classical* Athens indicates that a large proportion of the female professionals working in the city were foreigners (Kosmopoulou, 2001: 283). The same is very much true for the Hellenistic period, and not just for Athens.

3.1 Textile Workers

In 1941, Rostovtzeff lamented that “our information about the textile industry in Hellenistic times is very defective,” and he concluded that “in these circumstances it is impossible to say what progress was made in the textile industry in Hellenistic times” (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 1223). As he says, there is a lack of vase-paintings depicting textile workers—the type that is familiar from the Classical as well as Roman vases—and scarcity of archaeological remains of textile production establishments in Hellenistic cities. His approach to supplement the dearth of sources was to compare evidence from earlier (Pharaonic etc.) and later (Roman) periods (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 1223-1224). Provided that one chooses the points of comparison carefully, comparative methods can indeed be helpful. Arguably (and depending on what is being studied), however, one can gain more by comparing contemporary societies, rather than clearly earlier and later ones, as was done by Rostovtzeff. Moreover, we no longer need to rely merely on comparative studies, for new relevant epigraphic evidence has been found since the publication of Rostovtzeff’s book (cf. Pleket, 1988). Furthermore, literary sources, most notably Ptolemaic papyri, reveal a

great deal about this industry. These sources offer possibilities of interpretation that are more positive than those presented by Rostovtzeff—and other scholars to date—indicating growing specialisation and the existence of commercial textile production units. It is because there was a significant growth in this field in the Hellenistic period that we need to examine whether there was any notable mobility among the textile workers.

In the next few pages it will be argued that some men and women working within the textile industry went out and actively sought employment in locations other than their home cities. Admittedly we do not have much evidence for this type of (female) mobility. Although disappointing, this is not surprising, because the majority of women still worked in the domestic sphere. And the (wo)men working in a low profile industry, such as the textile industry, were unlikely to attract the interest of ancient authors, who rarely wrote about women in any case. These women are also unlikely to have produced epigraphic records. Indeed, one has to count us most fortunate to have any evidence at all for work-related mobility among the uneducated women.

The likeliest sources of information for mobility of textile workers are poetry and private letters or contracts between employers and employees. Archaeology may, if we are lucky, provide information on the existence of textile industry, but it cannot establish the nature of its workforce.⁶⁷ Although the Hellenistic poets and playwrights wrote increasingly about normal day-to-day matters of their contemporaries, no Hellenistic poem or play is known to depict the life and work of a labourer in a factory. Fortunately, however, we possess a few papyri, most notably two fascinating letters from Ptolemaic Egypt, which prove that some women—together with men related to them—applied for and were offered jobs in textile industry, sometimes away from their hometowns. The first of the above mentioned letters, dated 256 BCE, is by two brothers to Zenon:

Apollophanes and Demetrios, brothers, craftsmen in all the skills of weaving women's clothing, to Zenon, greetings. If you please and you happen to have need, we are ready to provide what you need. For

⁶⁷ See Wilson (2001: 288-289) for the general difficulties in finding evidence for urban production units, such as fulleries, and Thompson (2003: 200) for the difficulty of establishing the status of textile workers.

hearing of the reputation of the city and that you, its leading man, are a good and just person, we have decided to come to Philadelphia to you, we ourselves *and our mother and wife* [my Italics]. And in order that we might be employed, bring us in, if you please. If you wish, we can manufacture cloaks, tunics, girdles, clothing, sword-belts, sheets; and for women: split tunics, tegidia, full-length robes, purple-bordered robes. And we can teach people, if you wish. Instruct Nikias to provide us with lodging. And, to save you wondering, we will provide you with guarantors, men of substance, some here and some in Moithymis. Farewell. Year 30, Gorpieion 28, Thoth 28. Apollophanes and Demetrios, brothers (*PSI iv 341* = Rowlandson, 1998: no. 201a).

In addition to the plain fact that this letter attests two ‘working-class’ women moving from *a* city to another (Philadelphia), the reference to the guarantors is notable, for it implies mobility of this group (to and from Moithymis) prior to the time of writing this letter. They do not seem to have been rooted to any particular location, on the contrary they were most willing and used to move about wherever there were jobs available. These weavers, according to Thompson, came from Memphis (Thompson, 1988: 55). To reach Philadelphia, therefore, they had had to travel c. 50 kilometres from their hometown; this was a considerable distance in Antiquity. Moreover, it is significant to note that it was thought necessary to bring in specialists from another town—surely there was no shortage of labour as such in Philadelphia(?); a clear indication of the level of specialisation in the textile industry. The distance between Moithymis and Philadelphia, on the other hand, was not much more than 15km; even this distance is notable given that the ancients could hardly have commuted such a distance each working day. That there were such textile jobs available is a remarkable fact in itself, as is the fact that Philadelphia—and the particular textile production unit these weavers wanted to work at—was famous for its textile production elsewhere in Egypt. This suggests that there was some level of centralisation in urban manufacture (textile factories) in Ptolemaic Egypt, just as there was in Roman Algeria, Asia Minor, Syria, and Pompeii.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ For Roman Algeria, see (Wilson, 2001: 271-296). For Asia Minor and Syria, see Pleket (1988: 25-37). For Pompeii, see Moeller (1976: 58, 81, 105-109; *contra* Jongman, 1988: 161-185). On the importance of textile industry in general, see Kleijwegt (2002: 81).

The second letter is undated, but it is most probably contemporary to the previous one, thus from mid third century, for both letters are addressed to Zenon; there is every reason to believe he is the same man. This second letter concerns a proposal for a method of payment; it is worth noting that a woman is also asked to be paid, although only a third of what the writer of this letter deemed appropriate for the men. The members of this family of weavers seem to be immigrant workers, just like the ones responsible for the first letter:

To Zenon, greetings from the weavers. *We have come here to work* [my Italics]. So that we may receive our due, you need to give us 1 drachma for each talent-weight of washing and carding and 3 bronze drachmas for weaving each piece of linen cloth. Even this is not sufficient for us, (because) each piece requires 3 men and one woman six days to finish and cut off from the loom. If you do not accept these conditions, give each of us 1 ½ obols a day and the woman ½ obol, and furnish us with an assistant able to help us with the weaving equipment for 5 drachmas and 2 obols, to be deducted from our wages. Farewell (*PSI vi 599* = Rowlandson, 1998: no. 201b).

It should not escape our notice that while women moved after work in the textile industry, as these two letters prove, they seem to have moved with their male relatives; a feature that is repeatedly visible in most forms of female mobility of this period.

Isolated as the two letters referring to textile workers are, they do indicate that there was movement among the manual labourers. Although both examples are from Egypt, and generalisations based on geographically (and numerically) limited evidence is usually dubious, one feels relatively confident in arguing that such mobility was a common feature in many parts of the Hellenistic world. The simple fact is that this phenomenon would have gone largely unnoticed or un-noted by the ancient authors. Moreover, letters of this kind would not have survived from Greece or Asia due to their unfavourable climate; only Egypt could, and fortunately it did, provide examples of such correspondence between (immigrant) workers and their employers; contracts of this kind would not have been worth inscribing on stone.

The Zenon papyri provides a fascinating piece of evidence for (temporary) female mobility within textile trade as well as for the level of responsibility laid on a (slave) woman by her supervisors. According to a papyrus in the collection, then, Sphragis travelled from Memphis—in order to get more wool for the textile-manufacturing unit of Apollonios—to Sophthis, which was about 50km South of Memphis. In ancient terms, this was a considerable and even dangerous distance for a woman to travel without a guardian; indeed, she was robbed on the trip (*P.Cair.Zen.* 2.59145; Thompson, 1988: 53-54).⁶⁹

3.2 Medical Professionals

It is women who were professional in the medical field that we have most evidence for in terms of female employment and mobility thereof—many of them were foreigners or slaves (Kosmopoulou, 2001: 286). The clients of these women would have felt direct gratitude for their services, hence we have a number inscriptions, including tombstones, dedicated by their clients in praise of such women.

The Hippocratic corpus makes frequent remarks on female assistants in the various case studies it gives; these are mostly related to the cure of women's and children's diseases as well as helping in childbirth (e.g. Hippocrates, *Fleshes*, 19). Many of these tasks did not require any specific skills beyond the capability of holding down the patient's limbs (cf. King, 1998: 167). Indeed, friends and family members would doubtless have done much of the nursing needed in the Greek world. In the Hellenistic period, however, there were professional Greek women practising various medical professions which need more skills and education; we know of professional female midwives, wet nurses, dry nurses, and even doctors (cf. Herfst,

⁶⁹ It is also to be noted that skilled professional men, such as architects and builders, were often mobile. These men, if married, probably travelled with their families, unless they knew they would be returning home soon. Consider a letter to Zenon, for example: "To Zenon greetings from Peteërmotis... from you from the Serapeum. I thereupon applied to you concerning the temple of Arsinoë which is to be built, in order that I might come here. If therefore you approve, let me be here with you also. *For I am not alone, but I have relatives* [my italics]..." (*P.Lond.* 7.2046, tr. by the editor T.C. Skeat, 1974). On mobile workers, see also *PSI* 515 and Thompson, 1988: 55n138.

1979: 52-63). Some of the more specialised medical professionals do, moreover, seem to have been in demand *and* mobile.

Some of these women will have tended the sick, but mostly the women described as nurses were general servants resident in private households whose responsibilities would, in particular, have included looking after the children. One gets the impression that these nurses will have worked with a single household for long periods of time, i.e. not just when there was sickness in the house. Consider the following epitaph from Athens, for instance:

Apollodorus the immigrant's daughter,⁷⁰ Melitta, a nurse. Here the earth covers Hippostrate's good nurse; and Hippostrate still misses you. 'I loved you while you were alive, nurse, I love you still now even beneath the earth and now I shall honour you as long as I live. I know that for you beneath the earth also, if there is reward for the good, honours will come first to you, in the realm of Persephone and of Pluto' (*IG II²* 7873 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 379).

It would appear that Melitta had migrated with her father, i.e. not because of her profession. She herself may even have been born in Athens; there is simply no way of telling. At any event, this goes to show that nursing offered opportunities for women of foreigner status. Occasionally, there could have been actual demand for nurses from abroad (Herfst, 1979: 82). Spartan women, in particular, were highly regarded and therefore hired, or bought, by foreigners (e.g. Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 19.3; cf. Herfst, 1979: 62). Using Theocritus's *Idylls* as evidence, we note that Thracian women were used as nurses in Ptolemaic Alexandria (Theocritus, *Idylls*, 2.70). Gow, in his commentary on Theocritus, also points out the demand for Thracian nurses in Ptolemaic Egypt, but he believes—perhaps too hastily—that these women were mostly slaves (Gow, 1950: 50, cf. 554).

In fact, it may well be that majority of professional nurses were foreigners, at least in Athens and other big cities, for this was not a high esteem job that many citizen women would have volunteered to do. A legal dispute over the citizenship of one Euxitheus is revealing. The fact that his mother had served as a nurse was used as

⁷⁰ The actual wording is "isoteles' daughter" (Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: 354n 53).

an argument in the dispute over his citizenship. Eubulides had claimed that Euxitheus must be a foreigner because his mother had been a nurse—and because his father spoke with a foreign accent. Euxitheus defended himself by pointing out that many citizen women, whom he could even name, had been forced to work as nurses due to poverty, just like his mother (Demosthenes, 57, *Against Eubulides*, 35). Nevertheless, Eubulides would not have used the argument concerning Euxitheus's mother's profession in his case against Euxitheus's citizenship if it were not common knowledge among the Athenians that most nurses were foreigners.

In addition to working as nurses, either at home or professionally, a number of women had jobs as wet nurses (Herfst, 1979: 61). An indication of the volume and importance attached to this profession in the Greek world is the statement by Plato, in his *Republic*, that wet (and dry) nurses are vital for cities (Plato, *Republic*, 2.13 [373c]). Bonfante, who compared the appearance of mothers suckling their children and exposing their naked breasts to view in Classical Greek and Italian art, came to the conclusion that the rarity of this motif in *Greek* art mirrored real life. This is to say that at least the upper class Greek women avoided breast feeding their own children; perhaps because they wanted to preserve their figures or because breast feeding was seen as an animalistic act, unsuitable for civilised women (Bonfante, 1997: 174-196, esp. 184-185; Bielman, 2002: 194). This being the case, it created an atmosphere in which foreign women capable of breast-feeding would have found it easy to find employment. No doubt, however, some local women of the lower classes would have taken this chance too.

There is some epigraphic evidence to suggest that Greek families of the Hellenistic period preferred to hire outsiders to breast feed their children. Moreover, we see women moving to new areas to work as wet nurses. A good example is that of Malicha. She is known to us through her tombstone, dated to mid-fourth century BCE, in which she is called a wet nurse, τῆ / τῆχῆ:

Here the earth enfolds the nurse of Diogetes' [sic] children; she came from the Peloponnesos (and proved) most trustworthy. Malicha from Kythera (Clairmont, 1970: 85, pl. 10).

It is most probable that Malicha worked at Piraeus, since this is where the tombstone was found. As for her origin, strictly speaking she did not come from the

Peloponnesos, as Clairmont, the editor of this inscription, comments, although the epitaph would let us believe so. Her ethnic is given as $\text{Κυθηρι}/\alpha$, which tells us that she actually came from the island of Cythera, which lies just off the coast of the Peloponnesian peninsula. Clairmont further conjectures that Malicha migrated to Piraeus during the Athenian occupation of her home *polis*, 393-386 BCE, and that she served the same family for up to three decades (Clairmont, 1970: 85).⁷¹ The argument on the date is not, however, totally conclusive. She could have moved from Cythera to Piraeus at any time during the fourth century (this is why this inscription has been included in this study).⁷² At any event, she can hardly have worked as a *wet* nurse continually for three decades.

Another Attic epitaph, this one dated to the third century BCE, commemorates Phanion, a Corinthian nurse (*IG* II 3097). Because she was a foreigner, Kosmopoulou conjectures that Phanion was a slave, but this cannot be proven (Kosmopoulou, 2001: 290, 310-311, N11).

Although one imagines that a wet nurse would often continue to serve the same family as a dry nurse (Herfst, 1979: 57f.), whose responsibilities would include much of the education of the children, there were individual women specialised in this type of childcare. Plutarch explicitly distinguishes these two different type of nurses, calling breast-feeders $\tau\iota/\tau\eta\eta$ and educational nurses $\tau\rho\omicron\phi\omicron/j$ (Bielman, 2002: 196; cf. Herfst, 1979: 57-59). There could, of course, be a difference that rich families had two different types of specialist nurses, while the poorer had just one woman working for them in many capacities (Herfst, 1979: 57). The evidence from Hellenistic Egypt would certainly seem to confirm this view. According to the database on households in the Ptolemaic nomes Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite in the third century, compiled by Clarysse and Thompson, yet to be published, the wealthy military settlers had many non-kin dependants working for them within the household, while the less well off would at most have just one nurse (Clarysse and Thompson, forthcoming). It goes without saying that Greek families, whether rich or poor, would have preferred their educational nurses to be fellow Greeks, if at all

⁷¹ Kosmopoulou notes that Malicha is a Phoenician name and wonders how she came to live in Kythera (Kosmopoulou, 2001: 290).

⁷² It is also treated as Hellenistic by later editors of the inscription, such as Bielman (Bielman, 2002: no. 37).

possible.⁷³ We even have direct ancient evidence making this wish explicit. Moreover, we have this wish expressed both by a man (Plutarch) and by a woman (Myia, a Pythagorean philosopher from third or second century BCE).

Myia, then, wrote a letter to her friend Phyllis, giving her advice on how to hire a good wet nurse. After going through various aspects of good qualities of wet nurses, such as being modest and sober, Myia writes the following:

The wet-nurse should not be temperamental or talkative or uncontrolled in her appetite for food, but orderly and temperate, practical, not a foreigner, but a Greek (Thesleff, pp. 123-4 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 250).

Plutarch feels that in an ideal situation it would be the mothers themselves who feed and nurse their children, but he acknowledges that this is not always the case, and he therefore advises that:

...if unable to do this [breast feed one's own child], either because of bodily weakness (for such a thing can happen) or because they are in haste to bear more children, yet foster-mothers and nurse-maids [ti/tqaj kai_ trofou_j] are not to be selected at random, but as good ones as possible must be chosen; and, first of all, in character they must be Greek [prw=ton me_n toi=j h1qesin79Ellhni/daj] (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 3c-d).

It is notable that neither Myia nor Plutarch stress citizenship; ethnicity was more important. These references, therefore, appear to indicate that Greek women moved from one location to another in order to work as nurses. It further appears, however, that some barbarian women would have been hired as nurses, too. If Greek families never employed non-Greek foreigners, there would have been no reason for Myia and Plutarch to make the explicit recommendations on hiring *Greek* women. Indeed,

⁷³ The nurse, trofo/j, of a late Ptolemaic king, namely Ptolemy XII, came from Naucratis (only this would explain why she was honoured there), some 70 to 80 kilometres south of Alexandria, but she too seems to have been of Greek origin, as her name Tryphaina suggests (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, no. 14734).

Plutarch did not object to hiring hellenised (i.e. *culturally* Greek) barbarians as nurses.

Some slave women will have had to act as wet nurses too. It is argued, for example, that the Spartan nurses—who had a good reputation and were sometimes employed by foreigners (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 16.3, *Alcibiades*, 1.2)—were, in fact, slaves, helots or other non-Spartiates (Pomeroy, 2002: 98-99, 99n13). McClees even argued—without much evidence or discussion—that the majority of working nurses would have been slaves (McClees, 1920: 31).⁷⁴ However, the papyri from Egypt that concern wet nursing gives the impression that a big proportion of the women hired to do this job were *free* women. Out of the 34 known wet-nurses in post-Alexander Egypt, twenty-three are free and eleven slaves (Tawfik, 1997: 944, 944n66-67).⁷⁵ A majority of nurses seem, therefore, to have been freeborn women. Yet, one in three, so not an insignificant proportion, of the nurses appear to have been slaves. Frustratingly, attempts to find out the nationality of the wet nurses mentioned in the papyri have proved largely fruitless and inconclusive (Tawfik, 1997: 941-945). Given the ideology of preferring Greek women of good background as the persons feeding and looking after Greek children, the use of slave nurses is unlikely to have been widespread in areas where it was easy to find free Greek nurses.

The majority of Hellenistic doctors were men. Some women did, however, manage to train themselves as qualified physicians.⁷⁶ An Athenian tombstone, which dates to mid or late fourth century, commemorates Phanostrate, who is described both as a wet nurse and a doctor, *mai=a kai_ i0atro/j* (*IG* II/III² 6873).⁷⁷ This

⁷⁴ She cites five epitaphs of nurses, of which at least two even she admits to be for freeborn women; one a citizen (*IG* III 1457) and one a daughter of an *isoteles* (*IG* II 2729 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: 354n 53). The other three nurses, whose epitaphs McClees cites, may have been slaves, for only their occupation, and in two cases the adjective *xrhsth_*, are recorded; even their first names are not known, let alone patronymics (*IG* II 4195-4197; McClees, 1920: 31, 36). To the epitaphs of nurses cited by McClees, one could add at least *IG* II 1458, which reads *filu/ra ti/tqh*.

⁷⁵ The majority of the examples sampled by Tawfik are from the Roman period (Tawfik, 1997: 941-945, 945n68-71). A study of Alexandrian tombstones suggests, however, that many of the early Ptolemaic wet nurses were Greek, too. One gets this impression from the reliefs that depict wet nurses dressed in a Greek fashion (Noshy, 1937: 105-107, pl. XII.2).

⁷⁶ The famous story of a (first) woman doctor called Agnodice, or Hagnodice, as told by Hyginus does not concern us, for a) it is chronologically too early for us, and b) there is a strong likelihood that the story is pure fiction—although the story may have been modelled on some actual events (Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 274.10-13; Herfst, 1979: 52).

⁷⁷ It is to be noted that Phanostrate is described as doctor by using the masculine version for the word ‘doctor,’ *i)atro/j*. Perhaps this indicates that it was recent for women to practise this trade (Bielman, 2002: 203). Later this word did attain a feminine version too, as is evident from a late second or early first century BCE epitaph of Mousa, daughter of Agathocles, *i)atrei/nh*, which was found at Byzantium (Firatli and Robert, 1964: no. 139; Bielman, 2002: no. 39).

inscription demonstrates that women acted as doctors too and that (wet) nursing was seen as a valued profession; why else would this detail have been added to a female doctor's tombstone? It is to be noted that the first line of this epitaph is damaged and problematic; some editors have, in fact, left it out all together as they have reproduced the inscription in print (Clairmont, 1970: 130, pl. 25; Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 376). Those editors who have reproduced the first line, have restored it as follows: $\text{Fano[stra/th] Me[lite/wj gunh/]}$ (*IG II/III*² 6873; Kosmopoulou, 2001: p. 316, M1). In accordance with this restoration, many scholars, such as Pomeroy and Bielman, have accepted Phanostrate's status as a citizen of Melite [an Athenian deme] (Pomeroy, 1977: 60; Bielman, 2002: 2003-205; cf. Herfst, 1979: 55). However, the restoration is somewhat odd, for one would expect the name of the husband to appear, not just his demotic or ethnic. Numerous Greek names begin with *Me-*; therefore, an alternative restoration could be, for example, *Menestra&tu*. It follows that we cannot be sure whether Phanostrate was a citizen or a metic.

Male doctors certainly did travel and migrate because of their profession; with good reason, Rostovtzeff calls Hellenistic doctors 'highly nomadic' (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 1089, cf. 1112; Fraser, 1972: 1.348, 2.503; Pomeroy, 1977: 58).⁷⁸ The possibility remains that female doctors were as mobile as male doctors were, but we do not have evidence for this.

3.3 Prostitutes and Royal Courtesans

The Sex Industry—Foreign Prostitutes

Prostitution was one of the most common women's occupations in ancient Greece. Yet, most scholars have chosen to ignore it when they talk about women's work or

Kosmopoulou translates *mai=a* as 'midwife,' and comments that by the Hellenistic period this had become a trained profession (Kosmopoulou, 2001: 299).

⁷⁸ See Fraser on Herophilus of Chalcedon, "the greatest of all Alexandrian doctors", being an immigrant, or son of immigrants, and in any case travelling because of his decision to follow a medical career (Fraser, 1972: 1.348, 2.503). There are also inscriptions to prove mobility of male doctors, in particular the so-called public doctors (*IG II*² 722 [c. 252/1 BCE] = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 552; cf. Burstein, 1985: no. 27).

ancient economy in general. Rostovtzeff, for example, offers no discussion at all on the matter on the 1779 pages of his three volume book *The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (1941).⁷⁹ Herfst gave some attention to the work of *hetairai* in his study of women's work in ancient Greece, but even his work is of little value for what follows here (Herfst, 1979: 68-73). Lewis, whose recent study on the representations of women in Attic pottery includes a chapter on working women, has exceptionally given a fair bit of attention to the women working in the sex-industry. Her section on prostitutes is more than twice as long as the section on all other professions together (Lewis, 2002: 91-129). This is not due to her being particularly interested in prostitution, but the apparent over-representation of—and undue modern interest in—prostitution on vase paintings on the one hand, and the under-representation of other female occupations on the other hand (Lewis, 2002: 91).

Working as a prostitute⁸⁰ may not be considered a proper occupation, nor running a brothel considered as reputable business, in most modern societies (the Netherlands being a notable exception with its relaxed attitudes and laws regarding the entire sex-industry). Although, Theophrastus includes the ownership of brothels among the things that shameless men do, and Plutarch also considers it indecent to keep a brothel, the overall impression is that the Greeks considered the sex trade as just another form of business, not really much different from other kinds of trade, as Keuls has argued (Theophrastus, *Characters*, 6.5; Plutarch, *Pericles*, 24; Keuls, 1985: 154). Even some women owned brothels (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 3.11.4; Keuls, 1985: 197). A few of these madams, as well as prostitutes, seem to have been able to become wealthy through the sex trade.⁸¹ Pomeroy, too, mentions, in her discussion on Hellenistic prostitutes, that this trade was at least *potentially* very lucrative, either for an independent woman or her owner if a slave woman was in question (Pomeroy,

⁷⁹ To be sure, Rostovtzeff thrice mentions prostitutes. On page 242 he acknowledges the existence of tax on prostitutes at Cos, and on pages 506 and 1383 he makes brief mentions of temple prostitutes, but he nowhere discusses the numbers of prostitutes or their economic importance—let alone the origins and mobility of prostitutes which is of interest to the current study.

⁸⁰ Here the words 'prostitute,' 'courtesan,' and even to a lesser extent 'concubine,' are understood as synonymous and interchangeable. As Hawley has commented, by translating the word *hetaira* as 'concubine,' modern scholarship has tended, perhaps unduly, to soften the image of these women (Hawley, 1993: 74). For discussion on various types of prostitutes, see Blundell (1995: 147-8) and Hamel (2003: 4-13).

⁸¹ Davidson, in his book *Courtesans and Fishcakes*, has identified some brothels and houses of *hetairai* in Athens, and he comments that some of these houses were lavish, "especially in the Hellenistic period" (Davidson, 1997: 104). The Hellenistic geographer Polemon saw a bronze statue dedicated by a hetaira called Cottina (Athenaeus, 13.574C-D). Although nothing else is known of her, this dedication alone indicates that she must have been rich (cf. Pomeroy, 2002: 62, 122n7).

1975: 141). Whether prostitutes were free or slaves, these women were not considered ritually impure nor were they banned from festivals, sacrifices or temples because of their job (Dillon, 2002: 183-184). That the Greek states, or Athenian state at least, considered prostitution as a notable form of business is evident from the fact that prostitutes had to pay taxes (Aeschines, *Against Timarchus*, 119; Pollux, 7.202; cf. Blundell, 1995: 147; Herfst, 1979: 70). “Buying sex from prostitutes, then, was sanctioned by law. It was also, on the whole, sanctioned by popular opinion” (Hamel, 2003: 13; cf. Keuls, 1985: 160-186).

To be sure, however, prostitution was not totally level with other professions; it was fine for Greek men to use prostitutes, but it would not have been honourable to marry one (McKechnie, 1989: 153). Here the fact that many prostitutes were foreigners may also have played a role, for in many Greek cities children born of foreign mothers could not be enrolled as citizens, hence *foreign* prostitutes would have been unattractive marriage partners on this account alone (Hamel, 2003: 50n5). Nevertheless, because prostitution *was* considered a profession—and because free women are attested as prostitutes alongside slaves—we need to discuss the mobility of these women here.⁸² It will become apparent that many prostitutes were indeed foreigners, even if freeborn, and mobile. “*Hetairai* were very much an international commodity“ (Ogden, 1996: 160). It seems as if “the fourth century conditions made it desirable or necessary for them [*hetairai*] to adopt a mobile lifestyle” (McKechnie, 1989: 153).

Our study of Hellenistic prostitutes and their movements is hampered, as ever, by scarcity of sources. Aside from the royal courtesans, of whom more will be said shortly, and the characters in New Comedy, we do not know of many individual prostitutes by name.⁸³ Furthermore, not only do we have depressingly little material to work on, but the evidence is also geographically limited: “Hardly anything is known about prostitutes in other Greek cities [in addition to Athens] except for Corinth” (Dillon, 2002: 183). Most of our evidence does indeed come from mainland Greece, but we also get glimpses of prostitution in Ptolemaic Egypt, and it appears that the prostitutes were mobile in Egypt too (Montserrat, 1996: 107). Much of the evidence for Greek prostitution as a phenomenon comes from the Classical period;

⁸² Prostitution was not a status but a trade, as Lewis has commented; a citizen woman could work as a prostitute for a limited amount of time to overcome times of economic hardship (Lewis, 2002: 99).

some of this evidence will be cautiously used here if and when it is believed that there is no fundamental reason why things would have been dramatically different compared to the Hellenistic period.

One cannot put any figures on how many prostitutes there were in the Hellenistic world, but it would appear that a significant number of women made their living in this manner. Corinth was (in)famous for its secular and temple prostitutes, who were capable of demanding high prices (Dillon, 2002: 199). During Strabo's time [late first century BCE to early first century CE], Corinth reportedly had more than one thousand sacred slaves (*hierodouloi*), i.e. temple prostitutes (Strabo, 8.6.20, cf. 12.3.36). It is important to note that Corinth was not unique in having temple prostitutes. The Pontic Comana, for example, had numerous *hetairai*, most of whom were dedicated to the goddess (Aphrodite); because of this Strabo, in fact, calls Comana a lesser Corinth (Strabo, 12.3.36).

Athens, and its port town Piraeus in particular, had a large number of prostitutes (Keuls, 1985: 153). The increase of prostitutes in Athens is visible already in the Classical period. The prostitute characters in the comic plays of Aristophanes are one indication of this (cf. Herfst, 1979: 70). It has been suggested that some of these prostitutes would have come from Corinth. This is because women outnumber men as immigrants from Corinth to Athens; this has been seen as an indication of them being largely independent prostitutes (McKechnie, 1989: 170n133). This conclusion may, however, be too hasty, for these women, or some of them at least, could equally have been nurses or musicians, for example. At any event, there is no reason to assume that Athens and Corinth would have been somehow very different to the other Greek cities in regards to prostitutes, apart from numbers perhaps, there must have been prostitutes about in every Hellenistic city. There is certainly evidence for this from Ptolemaic Egypt (e.g. *P.Count* 3.91 [229 BCE]; Clarysse and Thompson, forthcoming, vol. II, Ch. 5). And Samos is said to have had a great number of 'good quality' *hetairai* and areas that we would call 'red-light districts' (Athenaeus, 12.540f-541a; Tsantsanoglou, 1973: 193).⁸⁴ Whether the women working in the Samian sex-industry were locals or immigrants is not known to us.

⁸³ For a brief discussion on prostitutes in New Comedy, see Pomeroy, 1975: 139-140.

⁸⁴ Tsantsanoglou has noted that in Greek literature Samian women were notorious for their loose morals (Tsantsanoglou, 1973: 193). See also Plutarch, *Moralia*, 303C for the bad reputation of Samian women.

We do have, however, clear evidence for mobility among the prostitutes. A first century CE tariff inscription from Coptos in Roman Egypt is revealing about the mobility and wealth of the prostitutes, although it is a slightly late source for us. This inscription reveals that prostitutes had to pay more than five times higher charges for passports than other women; the former paying 108 drachmas while the latter only 20 drachmas (*OGIS* 674, lines 17-20). “This differential is not likely to be indicative of social policy or a fine for immorality; rather, it should be attributed to the prostitute’s ability to pay” (Pomeroy, 1975: 141).⁸⁵ Some scholars are of the opinion that the fee of 108 drachmas was not for one prostitute only, but for a group of prostitutes (Montserrat, 1996: 130-131). Whether the fee was for one prostitute or a group of them is ultimately irrelevant for our current study, what holds our attention is the fact that any prostitute would have been travelling, as the payment of a passport fee proves.

The best way of becoming rich in the sex trade was to take part in selling and raising young babies, who would one day start making profit as prostitutes; this trade in babies often occurred across borders (Keuls, 1985: 157, 196). Tscherikower cites a third century BCE papyrus *PSI* 4.406 which describes trafficking of young slave-girls from Syria to Egypt, Palestine and Arabia. The men involved in this trade apparently made a good profit—they sold one girl for 300 drachmas, and another for half that price (Tscherikower, 1937: 17-18; cf. Herfst, 1979: 123). This and other similar references in papyri suggest a considerable volume of trade, as does the reference by Herodas, the third century BCE author of mimes, that Ptolemais was a [regular] place where imported prostitutes from Tyre came to (Herodas, *Pornoboskos*, 16-18; Tscherikower, 1937: 17-18, 75n14).

Whether slaves, such as the ones brought over to Ptolemais, or free, the evidence from Athens and Corinth strongly suggests that most of the prostitutes were foreigners, although some local women of citizen class are attested too (Dillon, 2002: 183). For Classical Greece, the clearest reference to citizen women working as prostitutes in their hometown is a passage in Plutarch, in which Alcibiades is said to have held both native and foreign *hetairai* in his home (Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 8.3).⁸⁶

⁸⁵ The same papyrus contains a reference to a similar tax for soldiers’ women, at 20 drachmas, proving further that soldiers habitually travelled with their wives.

⁸⁶ According to Ogden, this is the only ancient reference to citizen prostitutes, but Roy has identified a few more such references and he correctly argues that the boundaries between the respectable and the unrespectable were not entirely clear (Ogden, 1996: 160; Roy, 1997: 17).

However, Montserrat, who has studied sex-related issues in Graeco-Roman Egypt, argues on onomastical basis that most prostitutes in Upper Egypt were local Egyptians (Montserrat, 1996: 109). He does, however, admit that some foreign women were practising this trade too, and he cites Oxyrhynchus papyri on some such women (Montserrat, 1996: 109, 113). One of them is the Samian Philaenis, who is famous for writing obscene books (*P.Oxy.* 39.2891). In any case, that there do not seem to have been many Greek born prostitutes in Upper Egypt is not very surprising, for it was in Lower Egypt that the biggest Greek settlements were.

There were two particularly famous foreign prostitutes working in Athens. The first was the Milesian Aspasia, who came to Athens in c. 451 and ended up living with Pericles, over whom she is reputedly held great influence (Plutarch, *Pericles*, 24-25; Dillon, 2002: 186). The other famous foreign prostitute to have lived in Athens is Neaira (Demosthenes, 59, *Against Neaira*). She, of course, was very mobile because of her trade: in addition to Athens she spent some time in Corinth, Megara, the Peloponnese, Thessaly and Ionia (Demosthenes, 59, *Against Neaira*, 26, 35, 108; McKechnie, 1989: 153). Much of her mobility was voluntary, as her trips to the festivals at Eleusis and Athens (see pp. 154-155), but when she bought her 'freedom' from Timanoridas and Eukrates, who had earlier bought her from Nikarete, she was ordered to leave Corinth (Demosthenes, 59, *Against Neaira*, 30-32). The reason behind Neaira's expulsion from Corinth, as Hamel argues, was probably that the two men would have felt obliged to secure a comfortable living for her as long as she was around, even after she was no longer their property. The problem ceased to exist as soon as she moved out of town; she would not be there to remind them and their associates of her condition (Hamel, 2003: 37).

The 'freedom' that Neaira bought, with money provided by Phrynion, was debatable, for she was now forced to give sexual services to Phrynion, who took her to Athens (Demosthenes, 59, *Against Neaira*, 33). After two years, in c. 372, she had had enough and she moved to Megara to stand on her own feet, working as an independent prostitute. However, the ongoing war between Sparta, Athens and their allies hampered her business and forced her to return to Athens. She returned with the Athenian Stephanos, one of her clients, and her three children (Demosthenes, 59, *Against Neaira*, 35-38).

Another relatively famous foreign prostitute working in Athens was Phryne, the woman who was the model for the first ever (Greek) three-dimensional nude statue of

a woman. She came from the Boiotian city of Thespiiai, but worked in Athens (Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, 33.3; Dillon, 2002: 195).

As mentioned before, we do not know much about prostitutes (and their mobility) outside Athens, Corinth, and Egypt—apart from royal-courtesans. The two mistresses of Harpalos, Alexander’s treasurer, make an exception. The first of these two, Pythionice, was already famous, having worked as high class prostitute in Corinth and Athens, before being brought over to Babylon by her illustrious client (Pausanias, 1.37.5; Diodorus, 17.108.4-5; Athenaeus, 586c-d; Davidson, 1997: 288). Despite her fame—and apparent respect—she was not of illustrious background (Pausanias, 1.37.5). In fact, Athenaeus says she was a slave and ‘triple a whore,’ *τρι/πορνον*; apparently her mistress Bacchis was a flute-girl and herself a slave of a Thracian prostitute Sinope, who had moved her sex-trade from Aegina to Athens (Athenaeus, 13.595b). Once Pythionice died, Harpalos organised an elaborate funeral procession for her, with a large choir and distinguished artists. He even constructed two expensive memorials for her; one at Hermos, which is on the Sacred Way between Athens and Eleusis, and the other in Babylon (Athenaeus, 594e; Diodorus, 17.108.5; Pausanias, 1.37.5; Plutarch, *Phocion*, 22; Dillon, 2002: 196). Almost immediately after her death, however, he summoned another personal courtesan for himself, namely Glycera from Attica. She duly answered the call and came to Tarsus—also known as Antioch—in Cilicia, where she lived a luxurious life at Harpalos’s expense and was even honoured as queen (Diodorus, 17.108.6; Athenaeus, 586c-d, 595d; Dillon, 2002: 196). One further point is worth making of these two women: both the terms *ε(ταιρα* and *πο/ρνη* are used for them (Athenaeus, 13.595a-d). This indicates that these terms can be interchangeable and that, therefore, concubines and courtesans often really were prostitutes.

Royal Courtesans and Courtiers

The Hellenistic kings were frequently accused of being addicted to sexual pleasure; this was especially the case with many of the Ptolemaic rulers (e.g. Justin, 30.2.5; Pomeroy, 1984: 53). Nor were these accusations totally groundless; most of the Hellenistic kings did indeed have liaisons with courtesans, or *hetairai*, i.e. they had mistresses who were not far from what one might call prostitutes. The majority of our

evidence on royal mistresses relates to the Macedonian and Egyptian dynasties, while the Attalids and the Seleucids are less frequently connected to courtesans by the ancient authors. The unevenness of the references to such women may, as Ogden has put forward, be due to the simple fact that the realms of the latter two dynasties had far fewer (centres of) literary production, hence scarcity of evidence (Ogden 1999: 222-23).

The royal courtesans were a particularly mobile group of women. Only one of the known royal mistresses, namely Didyme of Ptolemy II, can with any degree of certainty be claimed to have been local (Athenaeus, 576e-f). No doubt the Hellenistic kings will have used local prostitutes for casual sex, but these women do not seem to have been able to establish themselves as regular companions of the monarchs. We should also bear in mind that some of the women portrayed as royal courtesans were, in fact, perfectly respectable ladies, who have had to suffer blackening propaganda (Ogden, 1999: 215). The available evidence does not always permit distinction between wives and courtesans, the latter often also resembled other courtiers, such as ladies-in-waiting of the Hellenistic queens (Ogden, 1999: 215-17). In any case, even when we are sure of one's status as *hetaira*, we usually know very few additional details about the individual. Fortunately, however, the one detail we relatively often do get is her origin—although this may not always be the true origin.

Only one or two of the known royal courtesans were from Macedonia, the homeland of the Hellenistic kings (or their ancestors at any rate). Ptolemy I's mistress-cum-wife Berenice was certainly Macedonian. She migrated from Macedonia to work as a lady-in-waiting for her cousin, Eurydice, who at the time was married to the king, Ptolemy I. Soon, however, Berenice became intimate with the king and replaced her cousin as the queen (Plutarch, *Pyrrhus*, 4; cf. Macurdy, 1932: 103).

Ptolemy II is also alleged to have had a Macedonian mistress, namely Bilistiche. It is not certain, however, that she actually was Macedonian. Everything from barbarian slave origin to royal Macedonian background has been argued for. Plutarch claims that she was a slave and of unspecified barbarian origin (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 753e-f). Some modern scholars have suggested that Bilistiche was, in fact, Phoenician, on grounds that her name is not a traditional Greek name (Pomeroy, 1984: 54-4). In support of the Macedonian origin we have a passage in Pausanias and a lists of Olympic victors in the Oxyrhynchus papyri, which describe Bilistiche as a

Macedonian victor in horseraces in the 260s (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2082 = *FGrH* 257aF6 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 203; Pausanias, 5.8.11; Golden, 1998: 133; cf. Cameron, 1990: 298, 301-02). According to Athenaeus, our main source for royal mistresses, however, she was from Argos, deriving her ancestry from the very reputable family of the Atreidae, making her a descendant of no less than Agamemnon (Athenaeus, 596e). Leaving the genealogies aside, many modern scholars tend to believe that she did indeed come from Argos (e.g. Cameron, 1990: 303). In relation to the known origins of other royal mistresses, a pure Greek background for Bilistiche would seem most plausible. Furthermore, we know of at least one other Argive royal courtesan; Philip V's courtesan called Gnathainion (Plutarch, *Aemilius Paullus*, 8.7; cf. Athenaeus, 579c-582c; Ogden, 1999: 220, 244; cf. Dillon, 2002: 198).⁸⁷ All this is, obviously, too weak a basis to argue with much confidence. While one cannot reach a firm conclusion on Bilistiche's origins, one thing is certain: there were very few (if any) Macedonian *hetairai* in the Hellenistic courts. It is most striking that it is the first two Ptolemaic kings of Egypt who allegedly had Macedonian mistresses, but after them the connection seems to have dried up.

Athens produced a number of royal courtesans, such as Thais, who was the mistress of Alexander and later the wife of Ptolemy I (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 38.1-4; see p. 52). It is to be noted, however, that there is no certainty that she was an Athenian citizen (Ogden, 1996: 160). Demetrius Poliorcetes had three Attic mistresses. Apparently he was in 'love' with a wealthy flute-girl Lamia, a daughter of Cleanor (Athenaeus, 128b, 577c-f). He is also said to have loved Leaena, who was a more modest Athenian prostitute (Athenaeus, 252f-253b, 577c-f). Finally, Demetrius had Mania, who, despite her Phrygian name, was also of Attic birth (Athenaeus, 578a-579d, cf. 252f-253b; Ogden, 1999: 242).

Demetrius Poliorcetes, together with Ptolemy II, was by far the most notorious user of *hetairai* of all of the Hellenistic kings; for the former our sources name nine different courtesans, whereas for the latter they give the names of eleven mistresses (Athenaeus, 576e-f; Ogden, 1999: 221).⁸⁸ One of Demetrius's mistresses was from Samos. He allegedly gave Myrrhine, the Samian mistress, 'a share in his royal state'

⁸⁷ However, it may be that her identity has been mixed (deliberately?), with that of the more respectable Polycrateia, hence she was perhaps no courtesan after all (Ogden, 1999: 220).

(Athenaeus, 593a). We know of two other royal courtesans originating from the same island. Ptolemy IV's mistresses Aristonica and Oenante were also Samian (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 753d; Ogden, 1999: 242). It is to be remembered that the Samian women were proverbially lecherous (see p. 88n.84), hence the origins of these women may, in fact, be different from what we are told.

No other city is known to have produced more than one royal mistress (cf. Ogden, 1999: 243-44); doubtless some, or even many, did, but we simply do not have the evidence to show this. Larissa was where Philinna, the mistress or wife of Philip II, came from (Athenaeus, 557b-e, 578a; Justin, 9.8.2). Ptolemy II's courtesan Glauce was from Chios (Theocritus, *Idyll*, 4.31; cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, 10.26.51). The Attalid king Eumenes II is said to have had an Ephesian mistress (Justin, 36.4.6).⁸⁹

There is very little evidence for any non-Greek royal courtesans. However, we do know of one such woman. As was mentioned before, Ptolemy II had a local mistress called Didyme. According to Ptolemy Euergetes, she was extraordinarily beautiful (Athenaeus, 576e-f). She is immortalised also in a poem by Asclepiades, in which she is again described as very beautiful, but stress is laid on her blackness (Asclepiades, 5 = Gow and Page, 1965: lines 828-831; Ogden, 1999: 244; Cameron, 1990: 287ff, esp. 289). This has led some scholars to think about a southern origin for her, perhaps Ethiopia or Nubia; Pomeroy, for example, advocates the former (Pomeroy, 1984: 55). But, as Cameron has demonstrated in his discussion of this poem, the Greeks habitually called the Egyptians black. Moreover, drawing support from prosopography lists, he comments that Didyme was a traditional Egyptian name (Cameron, 1990: 287-89).⁹⁰ Names cannot always be used as direct evidence for the origin of a courtesan, but one can see no reason why Didyme would have invented an Egyptian name if she was not one—a traditional Greek prostitute's name, such as Lamia or Mania, would have been more likely.

Pomeroy asserts that the courtesan of Ptolemy VIII Physcon, Eirene (or Ithaca), whose son Apion was to become king of Cyrene, was Jewish (Pomeroy, 1984: 53). Yet, there is no evidence whatsoever to draw this conclusion on her ethnicity.

⁸⁸ Philip V of Macedonia was also criticised for his affairs with numerous women (Polybius, 10.26; cf. Roy, 1998: 120; Walbank, 1967: 91).

⁸⁹ Yardley, whose translation of Justin has been used for this thesis, has translated Ephesia as her name, not as the place of her origin (cf. Ogden, 1999: 242, 256n114).

⁹⁰ The first of these arguments carries more weight, for Didyme(ia) was actually an acceptable name for Macedonian women too; even Seleucus I's sister was called Didymeia (Tataki, 1988: p. 297, no. 50).

Eirene's defence of the Jews can be seen as purely humanitarian concern, which she would have undertaken regardless of her personal background; this need not imply that she was Jewish herself (Josephus, *Against Apion*, 2.55; Ogden, 1999: 244). At any rate, this would reveal nothing of her geographical origins.

In addition to giving sexual services, the royal *hetairai* were expected to take part in symposiums and to provide sophisticated entertainment (e.g. music and dance), but most of all to join in intellectual discussions and debates.⁹¹ In this light, it is hardly surprising that most of these women are said to have migrated from Greece. While education of women had improved in various areas under Greek influence, it would still have been in mainland Greece—or Alexandria or Pergamum—that girls and women had the best chances of receiving education. Therefore, it seems unlikely that a Thracian woman, for example, would have been familiar with Greek philosophy and the arts.

It has to be admitted that the common image of the Greek courtesan as 'pretty, witty and wise' has been challenged—on all counts—by some modern scholars, most notably by Hawley (Hawley, 1993: 73-91, esp.77-80). It is true that the specific examples of courtesans' wisdom, *sophia*, in Athenaeus for example, are usually connected either to musicianship or to sexual activity, as Hawley points out (Hawley, 1993: 77-78). We should not, however, undermine the level of sophistication associated with musicianship in antiquity. Moreover, we should give some credence to Athenaeus's comment that some of the *hetairai* were cultured and that they spent time in education and learning (Athenaeus, 583f.). A Megarian courtesan, Nicaretê, is, for example, said to have studied with the philosopher Stilpon (Athenaeus, 596e). The fact that some of the *hetairai* seem to have been at ease to make remarks on literature and politics should not be passed over, either. Gnathaena, for example, is credited to have made witty remarks to Diphilus concerning his 'cold' plays (e.g. Athenaeus, 579e-580a). Lais, a Corinthian courtesan, had allegedly read Euripides's plays and knew passages by heart (Athenaeus, 582c-d). A few courtesans, such as Astynassa and Elephantine, are even said to have authored books themselves, although these works were of pornographic nature (Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: 348n25, cf. 174). Taking all these things into account, we should not totally renounce the traditional image of sophisticated and perhaps even intellectual *hetairai*. Royal

⁹¹ See Ogden (1999: 259f.) for wealth of references to the various tasks.

mistresses must, moreover, have been the cream of their profession, thus wittier, wiser and prettier than the average *hetaira*.

The Hellenistic rulers seem also to have preferred their courtesans to have been from as high status families as possible. Most of them were from (Greek) citizen families (Ogden, 1999: 245-47). As Ogden comments, the *hetairai* of the kings were of surprisingly high backgrounds, they were not slaves made good, but “daughters of respectable bourgeois houses” (Ogden, 1999: 247). Bilistiche (of Ptolemy II) was probably from a notable family, although probably not linked to the old Argead royal house of Macedonia, as has sometimes been claimed. Demetrius Poliorcetes’s Mania must have been a citizen woman, too, for only this explains why Machon was so infuriated by her Phrygian name (Athenaeus, 578b-d; Ogden, 1999: 246). Perhaps the preference for respectable women explains why most of the mistresses were not local, but immigrants. For being a courtesan cannot have been something that made one’s family proud, regardless of the status of one’s client, local families would, therefore, have been reluctant to see their daughters involved in this business in their own neighbourhood. For a lower class families this would not have been such a big problem, the benefits would, no doubt, have outweighed the negative aspects of all this, but their low level of sophistication would have made them undesirable to the elite.

A serious complication in determining the specific origins of *hetairai*, whether royal or not, is that by no means is it certain that they really came from the city that our sources tell us. This is not to say that the ancient authors would have fabricated the ethnics of the courtesans, but, as Ogden has commented, the courtesans may and probably will have often invented their backgrounds as part of their professional image. “It was the very stuff of the courtesans’ trade to invent fantasies, and their ethnics may sometimes have been among those aspects of their personality that were subject to such invention” (Ogden, 1999: 244). Elsewhere Ogden has, a little less convincingly, argued that the claimed origins of a courtesan indicated the sexual style that the courtesan in question preferred or offered (Ogden, 1996: 160). Yet, even if we are not capable of identifying the origins of royal mistresses *with certainty*, the places we hear connected to them may be of value as a general indicator of (many) courtesans coming from those cities mentioned—why else would these exact cities have been chosen? Moreover, it is remarkable that, if fantasy, the fantasy was always to have a Greek courtesan.

There was also some clear mobility of royal mistresses between the Hellenistic courts. The first example comes from the first generation of Hellenistic rulers; the Athenian Thais was first associated with Alexander, but after his death Ptolemy got hold of her and eventually married her (Athenaeus, 576e). Later it was Ptolemy who lost a courtesan to another man, for his mistress Lamia, who had began her sex trade in Athens—and who was famed for her musical skills—was caught by Demetrius Poliorcetes, in 306, and, as far as we know, she never returned to Egypt (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 16.3; Athenaeus, 577c-f.; *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, no. 14727). According to Ogden, she did this out of her own will (Ogden, 1999: 241). There is not, however, any concrete evidence to support this claim. The fact that Demetrius released a number of captives, including Ptolemy's brother Menelaus, does not mean that he necessarily would also have allowed Lamia to return to Egypt if she so wished (Justin, 15.2.7). Perhaps holding a courtesan of Ptolemy was a way of snubbing him.

Another clear example of a courtesan moving from one kingdom to the other is Callippa. She had first been the *pallakida* of Perseus, but once his Antigonid dynasty was defeated by the Romans, Callippa looked for new pastures. She found a new 'client' from the Attalid court, namely Athenaeus, brother of Eumenes II. The couple eventually married in c.149/8 BCE (Diodorus, 32.15).

Although the examples are not multiple, "there is perhaps just enough here to suggest that courtesans from one royal house were welcomed into others. There may have been some sort of inter-dynastic market for them" (Ogden, 1999: 242). Perhaps some of these courtesans moved from one king to the other in a similar fashion that some modern-day women date one celebrity after the other.

We know that Hellenistic rulers often took their mistresses with them on their travels, most notably on military campaigns, Thais and Lamia being good examples of this practice (Loman, 2004: 49). It would therefore be surprising if the kings and princes did not take their favourite ones with them when they themselves were in flight or exile. We have a few examples of this. Seleucus II is said to have been accompanied by Mysta on his flight from the Galatians. Ptolemy the Son (son of Ptolemy II) similarly had his mistress, Eirene, with him when he fled the enemy, who in his case were the Thracians (Athenaeus, 593a-b, e; Ogden, 1999: 236). One would be surprised if these were the only such cases.

In addition to courtesans, some other respectable (Greek) immigrant women will have found employment in the Hellenistic courts. These courtiers, in fact, often

resembled courtesans and/or later became such; just as Berenice did (Ogden, 1999: 215-217; see p. 92). It is legitimate to assume that many similar women would have migrated, and not only to Alexandria but also to the Seleucid, Antigonid, and Attalid courts, in order to work in various capacities. It is true that we do not have much evidence for this, but it is also true that there is no reason why the ancient authors would have written about the origins and movements of such women unless they got directly involved with the reigning monarchs, as Berenice did. We must indeed stress that the only reason we know of Berenice is the fact that she went on to marry a king. Generally speaking, we only learn about women at the Hellenistic courts if they shared a bed with a king. Of the twenty-four ‘Dames de la Cour’ that are listed in the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* all but perhaps six were intimate with the kings, or at least were related to such women (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, nos. 14713-14737).⁹² There must have been a great many more women doing all manner of jobs; this goes to show how little we know of these women.

Ogden has made a persuasive case for the existence of women’s quarters in the Hellenistic palaces (Ogden, 1999: 274-276; cf. Lloyd, 2002: 125). He laments our inability to establish by means of archaeology which rooms of a palace belonged to women, but by a careful study of literary sources he argues that not only royal women, but also maids and ladies-in-waiting would have been accommodated in the palaces (Ogden, 1999: 274-476). Among the sources, he cites Athenaeus’s famous description of Ptolemy IV Philopator’s ‘floating palace,’ the Thalamegos, which had large areas restricted to women—with a dining saloon and a sleeping apartment—the so-called *gunaikwni=tin* (Athenaeus, 5.205d; Ogden, 1999: 275). The existence of women’s quarters implies that there must have been more than a handful of women living and working in the royal residences. Yet, we have no way of telling exactly how many working women the courts would have required, let alone how many of them were immigrant Greeks or daughters of immigrants (or indeed native).

Exceptionally we have evidence for three ladies-in-waiting of Cleopatra VII, two of whom are known by name. One of them, Eiras (or Naeira or Naera), was her hairdresser, and the other whose name we know, Charmion (or Charmione or Charmonion), was her manicurist (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, nos. 14720 and

⁹² The exceptions are a flute-player/dancer (she may have been a mistress too), a hairdresser, a cup-bearer, a nurse, a manicurist, and an ambiguous servant of Cleopatra VII (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, nos. 14713, 14720, 14726, 14734, 14736-7).

14736; cf. Plutarch, *Antony* 60, 85; Ogden, 1999: 217). We do not know their origins, however. The opposite is the case for another, anonymous, servant of Cleopatra VII, for her place of origin, Athens, is all we know of her (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, no. 14737). Nevertheless, it is most fascinating to note that even at the very end of the Hellenistic age, women kept coming from mainland Greece to work at the Alexandrian court.

It is indeed remarkable that women from Greece continued to migrate in order to work in the court at Alexandria throughout the three Hellenistic centuries, i.e. it was not just a phenomenon that occurred at the formation of the Hellenistic kingdoms. Through an inscription we know that a young Athenian woman migrated to work at the Alexandrian court in a very late period, even though her family stayed in Greece. After she died, her mother wanted to bury her in Greece:

An Athenian mother once raised her daughter
to be a lady-in-waiting in foreign halls.
She hastened for her daughter's sake and came to the palace of the king
who put her in charge of his abundant property
Nevertheless, she did not bring her home alive.
But at least she has a grave in Athens, instead of Libyan sand (*IG III*, 1309;
Kaibel, 1878: no. 118; tr. Pomeroy, 1984: 73).

McClees dates this inscription to the first century CE, but it would, of course, make more sense if it would belong to the first century BCE when the Ptolemies were still in power (McClees, 1920: 37). It seems that pure Greek background was preferred for all, or most, of the women working at the courts, not just the courtesans.

3.4 Philosophers

It is arguable whether philosophy can be regarded as a profession in antiquity, but since we are discussing learned or otherwise skilful women in this chapter, this is the most appropriate place to deal with the movements of female philosophers. A number of the women who chose to follow teachers of philosophy and their doctrines led a mobile lifestyle and/or moved to the big centres of Greek culture, most notably Athens, because of their interest in philosophy.⁹³

The two schools of philosophy that are known to have advocated equality of the sexes and that actually had female members amongst them were the Cynics and the Epicureans (Snyder, 1989: 105). The former had amongst them one of the most famous female philosophers of antiquity, Hipparchia, whose birth is dated to c. 300 BCE.

The above mentioned Hipparchia has received the honour of having an entire section devoted to her in the great collection of ‘Lives’ of philosophers by Diogenes Laertius.⁹⁴ According to him, then, Hipparchia was born at Maroneia.⁹⁵ She is said to have fallen in love with the Cynic philosopher Crates. Against the wishes of her parents she steadfastly courted Crates and eventually managed to marry him. Subsequently she is said to have shared the mobile lifestyle of her husband, who died in old age somewhere in Boeotia (Diogenes Laertius, 6.96-98). The place of death for Hipparchia herself is not known or at least not told by Diogenes Laertius. That she was in Boeotia, far from her home, at the time of Crates’s death seems probable, however. This is because women tend to outlive their husbands, especially in antiquity where the age gap between spouses was greater than in most modern

⁹³ Plato had already attracted female students to move from outside into Athens; at least Lasthenia of Mantinea [in Arcadia] and Axiothea of Phlius [Argolid] (Diogenes Laertius, 3.46 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 216). If such mobility was possible in the early fourth century, it is likely to have been more common in the Hellenistic period with its more relaxed gender roles. It is notable, furthermore, that at least Axiothea seems to have moved from her home *polis* to Athens by herself—dressed like a man, as it appears—without a guardian (Themistius, *Orations*, 295E = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 216; Pomeroy, 1977: 61).

⁹⁴ See also an epigram on her by Antipater of Thessalonica (AP VII.413 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: 218).

⁹⁵ This is on the North coast of the Aegean in Thrace. Alternatively, she could have been from Maroneia in Southern Attica.

societies, and because we know from Diogenes Laertius that she followed him around and shared his public life.

Of the Epicureans we know no fewer than seven individual women by name. All of these women are classed as *hetairai* (Diogenes Laertius, 10.4-7, 10.23; Athenaeus, 13.588B; Cicero, *De Natura Deorum Academica*, 1.93). As Snyder comments, however, it is not all that clear whether they actually were *hetairai* or whether this was an attempt by rival schools of thought to mar the reputation of the Epicureans, who were famous for their liberal mixing of the sexes within their Garden. “In any case, many of them do seem to have been of foreign origin” (Snyder, 1989: 103). In the light that many of the male philosophers, of this and other schools, were foreigners—like Metrodorus of Lampsacus, who is said to have visited his native city only once after joining the Epicureans (Diogenes Laertius, 10.23)—this should not be very surprising. It is more remarkable that none of the Epicurean women are given patronymics or ethnics; suggesting therefore that they indeed were *hetairai* or from servile classes. Furthermore, the names of many of these women—Mammarion, Boidion, Demetria, Hedeia, Erotion—point to the same conclusion (Snyder, 1989: 105).⁹⁶ Leontion, the most famous, or notorious,⁹⁷ of all the Epicurean women is said to have been an ‘Athenian courtesan’ (Diogenes Laertius, 10.23), but this of course need not necessarily mean that she was an Athenian citizen or indeed born in Athens. Leiwo and Remes believe that she *was* an Athenian citizen, but they do not expand why they think so (Leiwo and Remes, 1999: 162).

The Neopythagoreans also had a significant—perhaps the largest—number of female philosophers in the Hellenistic period (Pomeroy, 1977: 57). A number of letters written by Neopythagorean women, such as Arignote, Periktione, Myia, Theano, and Melissa, have survived to us (Thesleff, 1961: 11-23).⁹⁸ There has been some controversy whether these letters, which deal with ethical and practical matters that affected women, were written by women, or by men writing under female pseudonyms (Snyder, 1989: 108). The consensus is that they *were* genuinely written by women. “Considering the improvement of women’s education and the relative

⁹⁶ Four of these women are also attested in the epigraphic records, all giving dedications to healing gods. Mammarion and Hedeia appear on the same inscription as dedicators to Asklepios (*JG* II² 1534, lines 27 and 41; cf. Dillon, 2002: 203). Nikidion, Boidion, and Hedeia (again) appear on another inventory of dedications at Oropos (*SEG* 16.300, lines 6, 9, and 12-13; cf. Dillon, 2002: 203).

⁹⁷ Generations after her death, Cicero was still infuriated by her, because she had criticised Theophrastus in *her* book. He does, however, commend her book for its style (Cicero, *De Natura Deorum Academica*, 1.93).

freedom of movement of upper-class women in the Hellenistic period, there is nothing inherently impossible in the notion that the authors actually were women” (Pomeroy, 1977: 57; cf. Pomeroy, 1984: 67-68; Snyder, 1989: 112). At any rate, the target audience most certainly was women, hence we can be sure that there were women among the Neopythagoreans even if these letters would have been written by men. If the letters were written by women, the correspondence between them would suggest some mobility on their part. This is because we would expect some previous contact with the letter writer(s) and the recipient(s) before they began writing to each other; how and why would they even have heard of each other, let alone began writing letters, if none of them had ever left their home *poleis*?

3.5 Performing Artists

It has long been acknowledged that there were some major changes in the social conditions and opportunities offered to women in the Hellenistic period. Perhaps the two most influential changes concerned women’s education and the more relaxed attitude towards respectable women appearing in public (cf. Pomeroy, 1977: 51-52). In many parts of the Greek world, girls and women were now able to attend schools and/or be taught by private tutors (e.g. *Syll.*³ 578 = Austin, 1981: no. 120; cf. *Syll.*³ 577 = Austin, 1981: no. 119). Ionian cities seem to have been particularly liberal and advanced concerning female education (Tarn and Griffith, 1952: 95). The growing female literacy that this caused is evident, among other things, in the numerous Hellenistic terracotta figurines depicting women reading (Pomeroy, 1977: 52). The ability to read and write, together with increased access to the public sphere, naturally led to more and more women taking up performing arts: mainly poetry, music, and dance. All this took place in an era that saw a rapid increase in the number of festivals and games, as well as performers becoming real professionals (Tarn and Griffith, 1952: 113-115).⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Seventeen out of the 235 known disciples of Pythagoras were women (Pomeroy, 1977: 57).

⁹⁹ Five new annual games were introduced, at Thespieae, Cos, Delphi, Magnesia and Miletus, and a great number of other festivals were also founded, e.g. the Ptolemaieia at Alexandria (Tarn and Griffith, 1952: 114 with references).

That performing artists were a particularly mobile group of people, whether men or women, is not surprising; this is the case in most cultures. One is not likely to be able to keep the population of one particular place entertained with the same routine for an extended period of time on the one hand, and one may attract the interest of people in neighbouring and even distant places on the other hand. *A priori*, therefore, we would expect that if and when there was a growing number of female artists, we would also see them moving about within the Greek world. Once again, the evidence is not overwhelming, but it does clearly point to confirm this assumption. We see both temporary and permanent mobility.

Poets

In the modern world, poetry is largely seen as a private matter; poems are mostly read alone at home, while recitals of poetry are small-scale events and often not very well publicised. In antiquity the situation was the polar opposite. Poems were written precisely in order for them to be read aloud in public, often for large crowds at religious festivals. We have unambiguous evidence to demonstrate that women who wrote poetry travelled to such festivals and performed alongside male poets. Moreover, they were by and large treated equally on the merits of their work regardless of their gender. They were awarded civic honours and financial rewards on par with men (Loman, forthcoming [2005]).

In addition to festivals, women poets took part in competitions—the two could, of course, coincide. Aristomache of Erythrae, for example, is a female poet known to have won a competition. Plutarch mentions that she appears twice in the records kept by the treasuries of Delphi as the victor in epic verse at the Isthmia (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 675B). Her victories, which date to the third or the second century BCE, probably came in competitions against men, as Plutarch does not make any reference for these contests being for women-only (Lee, 1988: 109; Dillon, 2000: 463).¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Pomeroy refers to a fragmentary inscription from Hellenistic Pergamum as evidence for girls or women successfully taking part in competitions reciting epic, elegy and lyric poetry; the inscription in question does not, however, prove anything of the kind (*I.Pergamon* II 315, no. 463b; Pomeroy, 1977: 54). The passage in question reads, in its totality: οἰῶ ἐπι_θ=ῆ εὐ)κοσμί&αῖ τω=ν παρθε/νῶν καὶ_ αἰῶ παρθε&νοῖ.

The most famous travelling female poet of the Hellenistic age is Aristodama of Smyrna. She appears to have travelled widely and have been famous already in her own lifetime (cf. Bielman, 2002: 216). She is known to have received awards of *proxeny* in not just one but two cities. Below is one of the two inscriptions commemorating her talent (and proving her mobility):

Of the Aitolians the strategos is Hagetas, a citizen of Kallion. With good fortune. Resolved [by the city] of the Lamians. Since Aristo[d]ama, daughter of Amyntas, a citizen of Smyrna in Io[nia], epic poetess, while she was in our city, gave several [public recitations] of her poems in which the nation of the Aitolians [and] the people's ancestors were worthily commemorated and since the performance was done with great enthusiasm, she shall be a proxenos of the city and a benefactress, and she shall be given citizenship and the right to possess land and [a house] and the right of pasture and inviolability and security on land and sea in war and peace for herself and her descendants and their property for all time together with all other privileges that are given to other proxenoi and benefactors. And Diony[sios], her brother, and his descendants shall have the rights of a proxenos, citizenship, [inviolability]. The archons are [Py]thon, Neon, Antigene[s], the strategos is Epi[gen]es, the Hipparch is Kylon. The guarantor for the proxeny is Py[tho]n, son of [Ath]janios (*Syll.*³ 532 = Burstein, 1985: no. 64).

The other city that offered her awards was that of Chalai[on] in Thessaly [or Chaleion on Phocian coast of the Gulf of Corinth] (*SEG* 2.263; cf. Pomtow, 1923: 292-4). We know of her visit to this city from a commemorative inscription, found at Delphi, which is very similar to the one inscribed by the Lamians (quoted above). Aristodama is again praised for her reverence to the gods, her benevolence to the city, and in particular for writing about the ancestors of the city she was performing at;¹⁰¹ she obviously knew how to please her audience! (*SEG* 2.263, ll. 10-14). The rewards she was awarded were also almost identical to the ones she received at Lamia, with the

¹⁰¹ ...AI] tw=n progo/nwn tw=n ta[=j po/lioj] m[na/ma]n e)poihsato (*SEG* 2.263, ll. 10-11).

exception that at Chalaion she was additionally crowned and awarded one hundred drachmas monetary prize (*SEG* 2.263, ll. 14-29). This inscription further proves that although talented, Aristodama could not travel alone; she toured with her brother Dionysios. He clearly profited from his sister's talent, for he too received the rights of a proxenos, citizenship, and inviolability (*SEG* 2.263, ll. 30-31).

It is possible, and one would like to think probable, that this sister-brother pair from Smyrna travelled widely and were awarded various prizes in more than just the two cities that we know of; the survival rate of this kind of inscriptions cannot be great; we are lucky to have two.

We are equally fortunate in that Aristodama is not the only Hellenistic woman poet known to have travelled. Another similar case to Aristodama is that of Alkinoe. She was a citizen of the Aetolian city of Thronion, but she is attested as visiting or moving to Tenos, where an inscription relating to her and her poetry has been found.¹⁰² The English translation of the inscription regarding Alkinoe (below) is mine, and, to the best of my knowledge, the first of its kind:¹⁰³

[It was decreed by the council and the] people, while Patrocles [was the president, X the son of Ph]aullos¹⁰⁴ made the following proposal: s[ince Alkinoe, the daughter of X, an Ae]tolian [poetess, came t]o [our] city, [and she wrote a hymn to Zeus, a]nd Poseid[on, and Amphitrite, the ruli]ng god[s of our lands and our city,] and her stay was conducted with devo]tion, in a manner worthy of [her city of Thronion.] With good fortune. [That the people resolve to grant pra]ise to Alkinoe, [daughter of X, an Aetolian] of Thronion, and to cr[own her with a] crown [of ivy for

¹⁰² Based on dubious onomastic comparisons, Bielman suggests that Alkinoe, or her family at any rate, originated from Asia Minor. To support her case she mentions that one Demetrius of Ephesos had a son by the name of Alkinos (Bielman, 2002: 219-220; Loman, forthcoming [2005]). Whether Alkinoe came from Thronion or a city (Ephesos?) in Asia Minor, the fact remains that she travelled.

¹⁰³ There are at least two French translations of this inscription. The following version is by Bielman: [Il a plu au Conseil et au] peuple. Alors que Petroklès [était président, (UN TEL) fils de Ph]aullos, a fait la proposition suivante: at[tendu qu'Alkinoé, fille de E]tolienne, [poétesse (?) s'est rendue da]ns [notre] cité, [qu'elle y a écrit un hymne (?) en l'honneur de Zeus (?)] de Poséi[don et d'Amphitrite] – dieux [maî]tres [de] notre [contrée et de] notre [cité] – [et qu'elle a fait ainsi an séjour stu]dieux, digne [de sa (?) cité de Thronion (?)]. À la Bonne Fortune. [Plaise au peuple d'accorder] l'éloge à Alkinoé [fille de (UN TEL), Étolienne] de Thronion, et de l[à couronner] d'une couronne de feuillage pour son mérite et sa bienveillance envers notre cité. [Que l'archonte stéphanéphore proclame] cette couronne [- - -] (Bielman, 1999: no. 42; cf. Bouvier, 1980: 36).

¹⁰⁴ Or [Ph]yllos.

her excellence and her respect and benevol]ence to the ci[ty. That the archon stephanephoros proclaim] this crown... (IG XII.5, 812).¹⁰⁵

It is to be noted that Bouvier has insisted that the inscription is too fragmentary to establish Alkinoe's profession (Bouvier, 1980: 36-38). This view has not, however, won any support (*SEG* 30.1066; Bielman, 2002: 219-221). For those of us who are working with the printed editions of this inscription only, it is difficult to judge, but one is inclined to believe that she was a poet. This is not simply because editors before and after Bouvier have found it possible to interpret the inscription in this manner, but also because the restoration of this inscription has been aided by our knowledge of the line lengths, as well as comparisons to other similar inscriptions. In any case, even if we cannot be absolutely certain about her profession, there is no doubt at all concerning her mobility. The words $\alpha\lambda\kappa\iota\omicron\upsilon$ and $\alpha\pi\omicron\upsilon\ \rho\omicron\nu\iota$ are not among those that have had to be restored, i.e. they are clearly visible on the stone. Similarly we know that this is an official honorific decree, because the word for 'people' (or deme), $\delta\eta\mu\omega$, is clear and in a place we would expect it to be in such an inscription. We can, therefore, be sure that Alkinoe went from Thronion to Tenos, and that for one reason or the other [the council and] the people erected an honorific inscription for her. The inscription does not reveal any accompanying *kyrios* for Alkinoe, but this need not necessarily mean that she travelled alone (Loman, forthcoming [2005]; Vatin, 1970: 267).

The movements of Aristodama and Alkinoe, although none of their poems survive, are relatively well known to the scholarly world. Less attention has, however, been given to the mobility of the four Hellenistic women poets whose work actually survives, in parts, today: namely Anyte, Erinna, Moero, and Nossis. It is, in

¹⁰⁵ [71E]doce tei= boulei= kai_ tw|=] dh&mw|: Patroklh=j
[e0pesta&tei, o9 dei=na F]au&llou ei]pen: e0[pei-
[dh_70Alkino&h tou= dei=noj Ai0]tw&lissa h9
[poi&tria, paragenome&nh ei0]j [th_n] po&lin
[h9mw=n, u3mnon ge&grafe Dii6 k]ai_ Posei[dw=-]
[ni kai_70Amfitri&tei, toi=j kate&x]ousi qeoi=[j]
[th&n te xw&ran kai_ th_n po&lin th_n] h9mete&ra[n,]
[th&n te e0ndhmi&an pepoi&htai filo]ti&mwj, a)ci&wj
[th=j tw=n Qronie&wn po&lewj], Tu&xai th=i70Agaqei=:
[dedo&xqai tw|= dh&mw|: e0pain]e&sai70Alkino&hn
[tou= dei=noj Ai0tw&lissan] a)po_ Qroni&ou kai_ s[te-]
[fanw=sai au)th_n qal]lou= stefanw| a)re-
[th=j e3neken kai_ eu0noi&]aj th=j ei0j th_n po&-
[lin kai_ a)nagoreu=sai t]o_n ste&fanon to_n [a!r-]

fact, difficult to establish their movements, since relatively little of their lives is known. Consequently, the conclusions in what follows remain speculative. Nevertheless, a pattern of mobility is traceable.

There are more extant poems by Anyte than of the other Hellenistic women poets (Snyder, 1989: 67), hence she is the logical one to start with. Despite the considerable corpus of her poems having survived, we do not have reliable biographical details for her (cf. Barnard, 1978: 209). Two possible places of origin are given to her: Tegea in Arcadia and Lesbos (Pollux, 5.48; Snyder, 1989: 67). Based on her Doric dialect, scholars are convinced that Tegea is the more likely birthplace of this poet. This impression is given more weight by references to the Arcadian god Pan in her work (Barnard, 1978: 204, 209; Snyder, 1989: 67).¹⁰⁶

Since Anyte makes some references to the sea in her poems, it has been argued that she would have travelled [from Tegea] at least as far as the Peloponnesian coast (Barnard, 1978: 204; Loman, forthcoming [2005]). A coastal city that we are fairly certain that she *visited* is Naupactos in southern Aetolia, or West Locris to be more precise, for Pausanias recalls a story of Anyte sailing there. Details of the story must clearly be fictional, but it probably has a historical background. According to Pausanias, then, Anyte was inspired by the healing god Asklepios at Epidauros to go to Naupactos in order to stop a man becoming blind. On arrival, Anyte gave the man a sealed wax tablet, which he was miraculously able to read and thus regain his vision. Fortunately for Anyte, the text on the wax tablet required him to give money to her! (Pausanias, 10.38.13; Loman, forthcoming [2005]).

We may never be able to trace the true origins of this fantastic story concerning Anyte's visit to Naupactos (cf. Snyder, 1989: 68). It would seem probable, however, that she *did* visit the city of Naupactos and/or have some connection with the city (Barnard, 1978: 210). She may also really have received a considerable sum of money there, but this is most likely to have been for her creative work rather than for acting as a tool for divine intervention. Perhaps the citizens of Naupactos did not think it appropriate to offer money to a poet simply because of her talent, hence a

[xonta th_n stefanhfo&ron a)rxh_n...]

¹⁰⁶ Snyder believes that people have mistaken Lesbos as her place of origin because Sappho came from there (Snyder, 1989: 67). For us Sappho stands out as unique, but in antiquity there were many other women poets, even if not as famous and as admired as her, hence such direct analogy to Sappho based merely on Anyte writing poetry too seems arbitrary.

story of a god demanding such a payment was invented?¹⁰⁷ In any case, we may note that Pausanias thought it entirely plausible that a woman poet would travel. We may further note that, if there is any truth in the story, Anyte visited at least two cities: first that of Epidauros, some 50-60 kilometres East of her probable hometown of Tegea, and secondly that of Naupactos, more than 100 kilometres North of Tegea, across the Gulf of Corinth.

Two epigrams by Anyte herself further indicate that she indeed was mobile, or that she at least had “a wider range of social contacts within the Greek world than we might otherwise guess” (Snyder, 1989: 70):

The Lydian dust holds this Amyntor, son of Philip,
who touched iron-hard battle with his hand many times.
Nor did grievous sickness send him to the House of the Night,
but he perished holding his round shield over his comrade-in-
arms (Anyte 6 [Snyder] = *Anthologia Palatina* 7.232).

This man, while he was alive, was Manes; now that he has died,
his power is equal to that of the great Darius (Anyte 7 [Snyder]
= *Anthologia Palatina* 7.538).

Both of the poems suggest some kind of connections with Asia Minor and/or beyond (Snyder, 1989: 70). It is mainly the names that appear in the poems, as well as the ‘Lydian dust,’ which point to this conclusion. The first of these poems, obviously, refers to a Macedonian soldier—Philip being a traditional Macedonian name.

Nossis, a female descendant of Greek colonists at Locri in southern Italy, is another one of the four Hellenistic women poets whose work survives (in part). Her ‘national’ origin is clear from a direct reference to her origin in one of her own poems (Nossis 2 [Snyder] = *Anthologia Palatina* 7.718; Barnard, 1978: 210). She was a contemporary of Anyte, so she wrote in the beginning of the third century BCE. Nossis is not known to have ever left her native city; yet there is no evidence to argue that she remained there all her life either (cf. Snyder, 1989: 77).

¹⁰⁷ At Delphi there have been attempts to erase references to prize-money from inscriptions relating to artists; implying perhaps a change of policy at Delphi concerning the acceptability of such awards (Westermann, 1932: 21).

The third woman poet from the same era that we know of is Moero of Byzantium, daughter of Homer and wife of Andromachus (Suda, Μῦρω/). While her son, also a poet, is known to have migrated to Alexandria, Moero herself is commonly believed to have lived and worked at her home town all her life (Barnard, 1978: 204). It is by no means certain, however, that she was so static. Tatian writes that a sculptor called Cephistion, son of Praxiteles, made statues of Moero and Anyte (Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, 33; Snyder, 1989: 84). A very tentative question may be asked—though not answered—where did the sculptor meet the two poets? Did he travel to Tegea and Byzantium respectively to view his models, or did the women travel to meet him, or did they perhaps meet at a festival? It is also possible, of course, that they never met, but one feels that this is unlikely. It is one thing to do a bust or a portrait of a queen, for example, without ever seeing her personally, for one can rely on other images of her (on coins etc.), but to do this of a lesser-known figure would be close to impossible. We know that the father of this sculptor, Praxiteles, was active in c. 375-330 BCE (*OCD*³, 1242), hence he himself was contemporary with the poetesses, making it possible that they could have met. Perhaps we ought to be more cautious, therefore, in thinking that Moero never left Byzantium.

Of all the female authors of the Hellenistic period, Erinna was perhaps the most famous. She is the subject in no less than five poems in the *Greek Anthology* and she is mentioned briefly in a sixth one with Callimachus. The poems written about her give the impression that she had a considerable reputation in a wide area within the Greek world (*Anthologia Palatina* 9.190, 7.11-13, 7.713, 11.322 = Snyder, 1989: 86-90). Given the impossibility of mass-producing poetry by modern methods, it is legitimate to ask whether she would have been able to achieve this fame without travelling widely and performing at various festivals and/or competitions. Unfortunately, however, we have no clear-cut evidence for any movements by her—so Erinna *may* have stayed at home all her life.

Very little is known of her life; we are not even sure where she was born. The uncertainty of Erinna's place of origin is evident in the tenth century CE lexicon by Suda:

Erinna, of Tenos¹⁰⁸ or Lesbos,¹⁰⁹ or, as some say, of Telos. (Telos is a little island near Knidos.) Some think she was from Rhodes. She was a writer of hexameters and composed “The Distaff.” This poem is in Aeolic-Doric dialect, and consists of 300 hexameters. She also wrote epigrams. She died a virgin at the age of 19. Her verses have been judged equal to Homer’s. She was a companion of Sappho’s and her contemporary (Suda,) /Hrinna).¹¹⁰

We first need to notice the obvious mistake of dating her as a contemporary of Sappho. An exact date for her is not known, but Barnard dates her towards the end of the fourth century and there are no strong arguments to disagree with him (Barnard, 1978: 207). More importantly for our purposes, however, is the apparent disagreement by ancient sources concerning her native city. The consensus is to take it that she was from Telos on the basis of her dialect (Barnard, 1978: 204).

Possible clues to Erinna’s movements can be derived from one of the two epigrams she composed to her deceased friend Baukis. This epigram implies that Baukis was an emigrant from Tenos and that she died abroad (Erinna 3 [Snyder] = *Anthologia Palatina* 7.710). As Lefkowitz and Fant have argued, “her birthplace may be mentioned because she died away from home” (Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: 335n10). It also implies that that Erinna was with her when she died. Did she emigrate from Tenos together with Baukis or did she meet her when Baukis immigrated to her home *polis*?

Erinna is most famous for her poem entitled “The Distaff.” West argues that Erinna, a nineteen year old girl, who, according to him, had spent her life by her loom at home on an obscure island somewhere in the Aegean, could not have written this poem. Instead he argues that “The Distaff.” must be the work of a *man* from an intellectual centre like Cos or Rhodes (West, 1977: 116-119). Later scholarship has, however, largely disagreed with West and credited the work to Erinna (Pomeroy,

¹⁰⁸ Stephanus of Byzantium claims that Erinna was a Tenian (Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, “Th=noj”).

¹⁰⁹ Tatian held that she was from Lesbos (Tatian, *Oratio ad Graecos*, 33.1).

¹¹⁰ Translation by Snyder (1989: 87).

1984: 67; cf. Snyder, 1989: 96).¹¹¹ Indeed, had she travelled widely and interacted with many fellow professional writers, as has been tentatively proposed above, she could have amassed the kind of sophistication that West held imperative for anyone who wrote this poem in question.¹¹²

Apart from the poets so far discussed—Aristodama, Alkinoe, Anyte, Nossis, Moero, Erinna, and the few known victors in various competitions—we know very little of any other Hellenistic women poets (cf. Snyder, 1989: 97). Athenaeus mentions and quotes a brief passage by an Attic woman poet Hedyle, daughter of another woman poet Moschine. What is interesting about Hedyle is that her son Hedylyus, also a poet, is described as Samian (or Athenian), making it possible therefore that this artistic family had migrated to Samos at some point (Athenaeus, 7.297A-B). Many Athenians, of course, moved to this island in the mid fourth century when Athens made it her cleruchy (Strabo, 14.18).

Musicians

In her recent book on musicians in Antiquity, Bélis mentions that in principle respectable Greek women of the Hellenistic (as well as Classical) period were not meant to play music in public, or practise music as a profession in any case. According to her, married women in particular would not have been expected to do this, let alone take part in competitions. Yet, almost at the same breath she admits that a few young women did play music in public (Bélis, 1999: 37). The tendency among scholars has been to dismiss all female musicians as prostitutes (Loman, forthcoming [2005]). It was in this vein that Herfst, for example, omitted musicianship almost entirely from his study of women's work in ancient Greece (Herfst, 1979: 71-73). Even he admits, however, that some of these women musicians were not prostitutes

¹¹¹ It has been brought to my attention, too late for the purpose of this thesis, that Neri has recently produced a new edition of and commentary on Erinna, both her life and works: Neri, C., 2003, *Erinna. Testimonianze e Frammenti*, Patron Editore, Bologna. According to a reviewer of this book, Neri believes that Erinna was the poet, and he reportedly provides a brief discussion on the reaction against West's arguments [pp. 31-32] and an extensive commentary on the poem "The Distaff" [pp. 233-430] (Guichard, 2004).

¹¹² It needs to be noted that some other scholars, in addition to West, hold a completely opposite view concerning Erinna's mobility. Barnard, for example, notes suggestions that she may have been a priestess and barred from any type of travel, based on the fact that in one of her hexameters Erinna laments her inability to attend her friend's funeral in fear of incurring impurity (Barnard, 1978: 206, cf. 208). Barnard gives the hexameter in English translation (Barnard, 1978: 205).

or *hetairai* (Herfst, 1979: 73). Since the female musicians of antiquity have so persistently suffered from a bad press, it is worthwhile to examine why this has been the case. Having done this, we will be better equipped to talk about the movements of female musicians in the Hellenistic period, as we will have a better picture about who these women were. Although, ultimately it does not even make much difference for our value-free study whether these women were *hetairai* or not; their movements would be of interest to us regardless of their respectability.

The bad image of female musicians is mostly due to some ancient authors claiming or implying that they were either *hetairai* or otherwise disreputable women (e.g. Plutarch, *Moralia*, 644C). Aristophanes and Athenaeus, for example, imply that flute-girls regularly doubled as prostitutes (Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1345-1346; Athenaeus, 13.607e; Hamel, 2003: 9-10). However, other authors, like Xenophon, do not connect flute-girls with the sex-industry (Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2.1-2; Hamel, 2003: 8-9).¹¹³ Moreover, the flute-girls mentioned by Aristophanes and Athenaeus appears to have been slaves, which, obviously, may have made an important difference on how they were seen and what was expected of them.

Images of nude flute-girls on Greek vases have further maligned the reputation of female musicians of Antiquity (cf. Starr, 1978: 405, 408). To add to this picture, a few famous *hetairai* were well known for their musical skills. Lamia, the infamous mistress of Demetrius Poliorcetes, for example, is said to have played the flute (Plutarch, *Demetrius*, 27.4). Ptolemy II Philadelphus had a mistress called Glauce, who was believed by the ancients to have been so beautiful that even some animals fell in love with her. She had migrated to Alexandria from Chios and was not only a musician and a singer, but a composer, too (Theocritus, *Idyll*, 4.31; Pliny, *Natural History*, 10.26.51; Athenaeus, 4.176C-D; cf. Aelian, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 1.6, 5.29, 8.11, *Historical Miscellany*, 9.39; *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, no. 14718).

That some flute-girls, and other musicians, were indeed *hetairai*/prostitutes is not in doubt. However, Starr has made a very compelling case for this to have been the exception, not the rule, i.e. the majority of flute-girls would have been professional freeborn musicians, who made their living by music and *not* by selling

¹¹³ Kharmides, a character in Xenophon's *Symposium*, does say that the music and the beauty of the youths playing the music "rouses thoughts of sex," but he does not suggest that the musicians were actually available for sex (Xenophon, *Symposium*, 3.1).

sex (Starr, 1978: 408-410). As he points out, some vase-paintings do indeed depict nude flute-girls, which would imply that they were not respectable ladies, but the majority of the flute-girls depicted on vases are, in fact, fully dressed. Moreover, the few exceptions may be male erotic imagination, rather than reflection of reality (Starr, 1978: 405, 408). Lewis, in a recent study on female iconography on Greek pottery, has independently come to a similar conclusion, i.e. that the female musicians of Antiquity have unduly been labelled as prostitutes.¹¹⁴ As she says, the passages in Aristophanes and Menander are not decisive evidence, and the scenes on pots do not imply that flute players would have habitually been prostitutes (Lewis, 2002: 95-95). She also highlights the fact that female flute players abound in vase paintings depicting wedding processions, sacrifices, and other occasions that have nothing to do with the sex industry (Lewis, 2002: 96, figs. 1.17-18, 1.26, 1.31, 1.33). Starr further notes that while flute-girls and prostitutes are often mentioned in the same connection by the ancient authors, they are talked about as different groups and their fees are separately itemised (Starr, 1978: 409-410).¹¹⁵

We should also bear in mind that the αὐλό&j, for example, was a difficult instrument to play, and to be able to make a living as a flute player one would presumably have to master it well and be familiar with many compositions; this would usually not be possible without some formal education and a lot of practice (Starr, 1978: 404). Since the fourth century there actually were schools for female entertainers (Isocrates, 15.287). Such education was both time consuming and expensive; ordinary families could not have afforded to train their daughters in this manner (Starr, 1978: 404). Female musicians will have been, then, either daughters of respectable and well to do families, or slaves of wealthy slave owners looking to make a profit from investing in musical training. The latter has unduly received more attention than the former; it seems likely that the majority of female musicians belonged to the citizen classes and had nothing to do with the sex industry.¹¹⁶ This is

¹¹⁴ Images on tombstones of women with musical instruments, mostly the lyre, do also imply that respectable women were taught to play music; the poor families could not afford to pay for such a relief and the rich would not include such an image if playing music was something to be ashamed of (cf. Pomeroy, 1977: 54; McClees, 1920: 32). Noshy provides a few examples of such tombstones (e.g. Noshy, 1937: pp. 106-107, pl. xii.2).

¹¹⁵ Lewis makes a useful comparison with the bad image Victorian actresses had; while some may have been strippers or prostitutes, many were respected professionals (Lewis, 2002: 96-97).

¹¹⁶ There may have been a difference in what sort of an instrument one played. Playing stringed instruments seems to have been much more acceptable than playing wind instruments. The distinction between the social status of women playing certain instruments has been observed by Bélis, who paid attention to the participation of Greek women in musical competitions at various festivals. She also

why we need to examine whether female musicians were mobile because of their profession.

Musicians, flute-players in particular, were required in religious processions, choruses, and at the theatres to accompany dramas (Starr, 1978: 402). Until the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, these professional musicians were predominantly men (Starr, 1978: 402-404). Gradually, however, women were given more and more opportunities, too. In one of his many epigraphic studies, Louis Robert demonstrated already in the 1930s that women did indeed play music to audiences in public (Robert, 1938: 36-38). Moreover, the inscriptions he cites illustrate that the women who played the harp, for instance, would often have been accompanied by a choir of women (Robert, 1938: 37-38). Among the inscriptions is an honorific inscription commemorating a second century BCE female harpist from Kyme, who performed with a choir at Delphi; this inscription is now most accessible in a French translation by Bielman (Bielman, 1999: no. 45; *Syll.*³ 689; Robert, 1938: 38). According to Bielman, this anonymous female harpist, whose father is named as Aristocrates of Kyme, appears to have travelled to Delphi *without* a guardian, but this is by no means certain (Bielman, 1999: 229; Loman, forthcoming [2005]).

A similar inscription from Delphi, dating to 86 BCE, commemorates Polygnota, an artist of the same genre, from Thebes:

To the god. With Good fortune. During the archonship of Habromachus, in the month Boucatios. Strategos, Cleon, Antiphilus, and Damon were serving as councillors for the first six-month period.

The city of Delphi has decreed: whereas Polygnota, daughter of Socrates, a Theban harpist having come to Delphi, at the appointed time of the Pythian games, which could not be held on account of the present war,¹¹⁷ began on that very day and gave a day's time and performed at the request of the archons and the citizens for three days, and won the highest degree of respect, deserving the praise of Apollo

notes that all the evidence for women taking part in musical competitions is dated to the period between the second and the first centuries BCE (Bélis, 1999: 52).

Kleino, daughter of Euandros, is an example of a woman playing the harp at a festival. We know of her through an inscription dating to the second century BCE, which was found at Iasos. There is controversy whether she competed or simply performed. Robert advocates the former, while Bélis is in favour of the latter argument (Robert, 1938: 37; Bélis, 1999: 53-54). While her status is not clear (cf. Bélis, 1999: 53), the inclusion of her patronymic would suggest a respectable background.

and of the Theban people and of our city – she is awarded a crown and 500 drachmas.¹¹⁸ With good fortune.

Voted: to commend Polygnota, daughter of Socrates, the Theban, for her piety and reverence towards the god and for her dedication to her *profession* [my italics]; to bestow on her and on her descendants the guest-friendship of the city, the right to consult the oracle, the privileges of being heard first, of safety, of exemption from taxes, and of front seating at the games held by the city, the right of owning land and a house and all the other honours ordinarily awarded to other benefactors of the city; to invite her to the town hall to the public hearth, and provide her with a victim to sacrifice to Apollo. To the god. With good fortune (Pleket 6 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 306; cf. Robert, 1938: 38; Westermann, 1932: 21).

Polygnota did not make her trip to Delphi alone, but with her cousin and nephew, as is evident from the paragraph succeeding the above quoted passage (Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: 216; Bélis, 1999: 54). At any rate, she must have been from a respectable family because both her patronymic and city of origin are mentioned in the commemorative inscription (Pomeroy, 1977: 54). The rewards she received for her *profession* were considerable; her efforts were clearly much appreciated and respected.

Already these few examples make it evident that women from a variety of origins travelled to religious sites, in which they made use of their musical skills and performed to festival audiences. It is indeed at the religious sanctuaries that we most often come across professional female musicians.

From a temple at Sardis was recovered an inscription in which Seddis, a sister of a cook called Ephesos, is described as *kiqari/stria* (Buckler and Robinson, 1932: no. 3). The editors of this early second century inscription are convinced that both Seddis and Ephesos, together with his wife, son and daughter, were permanent

¹¹⁷ The Mithridatic war.

¹¹⁸ This was a very considerable financial award. As a comparison one could mention that in the Classical period the maximum legal rate for the flute-, harp-, and lyre-girls of Athens and Piraeus was two drachmas, although these women doubtless were *hetairai* and were priced accordingly (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 50.2; Bélis, 1999: 47). Interestingly, there has been an attempt to erase the reference to the prize-money from the inscription; implying perhaps a change of policy at Delphi concerning the acceptability of such awards (Westermann, 1932: 21).

members of the staff at the temple in which the inscription was found (Buckler and Robinson, 1932: 10). The name of the head of the household would imply that this family either came from the coastal city of Ephesos or at least had some links to it. Ephesos is rare as a personal name; it appears only four times in the finished volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (LGPN)*: At Delos and Tenedos (*LGPN I*, p. 191); Athens (*LGPN II*, p. 191); and Pompeii (*LGPN III.A*, p. 183).¹¹⁹

All of the female musicians we have discussed so far have been exceptional in one way or the other. The religious sanctuaries may have had professional female musicians, but the numbers cannot have been great. Those who are eternalised in commemorative inscriptions or lists of victors were exceptional in their skills. It is indeed legitimate to presume that any female victor of a competition was particularly skilful in comparison with other (male and) female musicians of whom we never hear, but must assume to have existed. It is conceivable that there were female competitors in many of the competitions of this age, perhaps even habitually, but we only hear of one if she managed to beat all other rivals; losers did not receive honorific inscriptions!

The chances of any female musician winning a competition would also have been hampered by the fact that they had to compete with men (Lee, 1988: 108-10; Dillon, 2000: 463). Harris has, in fact, argued that there were all-female categories in musical contests too. According to his translation of *Syll.*³ 802, Hedeia, one of the three daughters of Hermesianax, “won also the competition for girl harpists at the Sebasteia at Athens” (Harris, 1964: 180). However, the Greek term used for the category, παιδάριον, should rather be translated as ‘boys’ or in this context, knowing that at least one woman/girl took part in the competition, as ‘children.’ This leaves us with no evidence for musical competitions that would have been exclusively for women or girls.

Lee, who first made the persuasive case for mixed sex music competitions, held that neither gender enjoyed any advantage over the other, arguing that the larger number of male victors simply reflects the greater number of male competitors (Lee,

¹¹⁹ Another example of a woman working for a temple as a professional musician, playing the lyre, comes from the temple of Athena at Pergamon (Buckler and Robinson, no. 10).

1988: 109-110).¹²⁰ That neither gender is better positioned to succeed in music would be true in today's world, but not necessarily in the Hellenistic world. This is because, in comparison to men, women still had limited access to education, although the situation had improved dramatically since the Archaic and Classical periods (cf. Harris, 1989: 133, 141).¹²¹ Consequently, women had a smaller pool of talent, diminishing the chances of many exceptional female musicians coming through. Coupled with the (assumed) fact that proportionately as well as numerically fewer of the educated women actually entered competitions than of the educated men, it is remarkable that we have evidence for any victorious women (Loman, forthcoming [2005]).

Music (and dance) were not restricted to religious festivals and competitions; private individuals and clubs would have hired such professional entertainment from time to time too (Westermann, 1932: 18ff). For example, Straton—or Tennes as he is also known—the fourth century the king of Sidon (on the coast of modern Lebanon), summoned female artists to perform at his parties. It is remarkable that he commissioned these women from all over the Greek world:

Straton used to arrange his parties in the company of flute-girls, singing girls, and girls who played the harp; and he used to summon many courtesans from Peloponnesus, many singing girls from Ionia, besides girls from every part of Greece, some of whom were singers, some

¹²⁰ “The Isthmian victor lists from 3 A.D., which designates the athletic events as being for *paides ageneoi*, or *andres*, gives the musical events without any further description. We would expect a designation by sex similar to that by age if from Aristomache's time there had been separate women's competitions in musical events” (Lee, 1988: 109; *SEG* 11.61-62; Meritt, 1931: nos. 15-16). “In contrast, if we assume all-female musical contests, we must then suppose that such events had existed at Isthmia when Aristomache won her prizes, and that they were then discontinued, only to be revived in the time of Hermesianax and his daughters” (Lee, 1988: 110). Indeed, as Lee suggests, it would be odd if there was a c. three hundred-year gap between women taking part in musical competitions—from third/second century BCE (Aristomache) to 45 CE (Hemesianax's daughters [*Syll.*³ 802 = Lee, 1988: 103, translation on pages 103-104]). The non-appearance of women in lists of victors in the interim period would best be explained by lack of success, i.e. women did compete but not many (if any) managed to beat male rivals.

¹²¹ There is no evidence at all for girls or women receiving formal education before the Hellenistic period (Harris, 1989: 96). Towards the end of the Classical era there seems to be a growing sense that girls should be allowed access to schools; children of both sexes would attend schools in Plato's ideal cities (Plato, *Laws*, 7.804c-e; Harris, 1989: 100). During the Hellenistic period girls certainly did enjoy this privilege, at least in some cities, as is evident from a second century inscription from Teos, which concerns the foundation of a school and the wages of the teacher, who was to teach boys and girls (*Syll.*³ 578; Austin, 1981: no. 120; Harris, 1989: 130, 133).

dancers; he was in the habit of getting up contests among them in the company of his friends (Athenaeus, 12.531B-C; cf. Diodorus, 16.42ff).

It is to be noted that Straton summoned, according to Athenaeus, female musicians and courtesans as separate and distinct groups, i.e. it appears that the entertainers were not *hetairai*. Indeed, had he wanted any old prostitute with a bit of musical skills, he doubtless could have summoned them from the towns and villages nearby. Clearly he wanted skilled professionals matching his stature and the nature of his parties.

Unfortunately, references such as the one on Straton and his parties, are rare. This particular one is also exceptional in the sense that it was a king who arranged the party. The problem is, therefore, how could we find out about the existence and mobility of mediocre female musicians who were not prize-winners, but good enough to play music as a profession, commissioned by ordinary Greeks. The ancient historians were unlikely to report on any unspectacular female musicians performing for unspectacular individuals or groups; nor were such women likely to have received honorary inscriptions of any kind (Loman, forthcoming [2005]).

It is through private correspondence and contracts that one can best hope to hear of such women (and their movements). Private letters and other similar evidence for the Hellenistic period only survive from Ptolemaic Egypt.¹²² Letters in the Zenon archives reveal that Apollonios had a female kithara-singer, Satyra, in his household (*P.Zen.* 59028, 59059, 59087).¹²³ Tscherikower quite rightly conjectures that Apollonios probably had more (female) musicians in his household than just the one on record (Tscherikower, 1937: 75). In general, it is very difficult to have explicit evidence about such women and their movements. A letter describing the hire of a *male* flute player to accompany a *female* dancer is well known (see below). This, of course, on the one hand raises hopes that similar papyri on female musicians might one day be found, and on the other hand it gives valuable information on the movements of a female dancer and her male musician, which may well resemble the movements of some female musicians, who we know to have existed.

¹²² An early article on entertainment in Hellenistic (and Roman) Egypt was written by Westermann (1932), but his interest lay on the existence and organisation of private clubs who hired professional entertainers; he had much less to say about the entertainers *per se*, and hardly anything on female musicians.

Dancers and Acrobats

It is appropriate to start this section with the above mentioned papyrus relating to the female dancer:

Sosos, son of Sosos, Syracusan, of the *epigone*, has hired himself to Olympias... of Attika (? *Athenian*), dancer, acting with Zopyros, son of Marikkos (?), Galatian of the *epigone*, as her guardian, to work with her as a flute-player for twelve months from the month of Hyperberetaios of the 16th year for a wage of forty-five bronze drachmas per month. And Sosos has received in advance from Olympias 50 bronze drachmas. He shall not fail to appear at any festival or any other engagement at which Olympias is present and he shall not provide service for anyone else without the authority of Olympias. The keeper of the contract is Olympichos, son of Herodotos, Kleopatrus.

[...] Sosos is about 30 years of age, short, large, with honey-coloured skin. Olympias is about 20 years of age, short, with white skin and round face. Zopyros is about 40 years of age... with honey-coloured skin and a large face. Olympichos is about 40 years of age, of medium height, with honey-coloured skin, a large face and a bald forehead. The contract was written in year 16, Hyperberetaios (CPR xviii.1 = Rowlandson, 1998: no. 215).

This highly fascinating papyrus, which dates to January/February 231 BCE, brings up a number of interesting issues. The first notable fact is that Olympias seems to be the centre of all action, although she is not writing the document herself: a flute-player is being hired *for* her; *she* pays for the services of the musician from *her* own resources; Sosos, the flute-player, follows *her* when *she* has a ‘gig’ to do and not the other way around—moreover, she has a *monopoly* for his services. Although Olympias has a very powerful position, she is not able to act independently; being a woman she needs

¹²³ In these letters, Satyra complains about small wages and for not receiving dress allowance for more than a year (*P.Cair.Zen.* 59028, 59059, 59087).

a guardian. However, the guardian does not seem to be a blood-relative of hers; she appears to have hired a ‘manager’ of sorts to act as her *kyrios* (Loman, forthcoming [2005]).

Although young, only twenty years of age, Olympias has evidently been performing for some time and with considerable success, as she is able to employ a musician (and a manager?). Everything from the hire of a flute-player to the mention of them attending festivals (in plural) and ‘other engagements’ (= private parties?) implies that Olympias was a full professional, who devoted all her time and efforts to pursuing her artistic trade (Loman, forthcoming [2005]). For the current study, the most significant fact is that she is said to be from Attika. It is, of course, possible that the reference to her origin only refers to her ancestors’ origin, as in Ptolemaic Egypt ethnics were hereditary. Although it is not sure, therefore, whether she was a first generation immigrant or not, her appearance indicates that none of her ancestors were native Egyptians, for her white skin could only be the result of pure European family background (or alternatively her ancestors came from the Greek cities in Asia Minor).

There are other papyri relating to the hire of female dancers, some of which also indicate that such dance professionals were mobile due to their profession. We have, for example, an example from Philadelphia, dating to 206 CE (so late for our current study, but not unique nor anything that could not and did not occur in earlier centuries), in which a woman called Isidora, a castanet-dancer, from Artemisia in Philadelphia employs two fellow dancers to perform at her house. The papyrus includes the terms of the contract, including a rate of pay and a promise to provide *transport* to and from her place (*P.Cornell* 9 = Rowlandson, 1998: no. 216 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 309). Unfortunately, we do not know the distance between the party and the homes of the hired dancers; they could be fairly local.

There is less hard evidence for dancers from mainland Greece, but undoubtedly they existed—Straton, let it be reminded, was at ease in finding such entertainers from all over the Greek world (Athenaeus, 12.531B-C; see pp. 117-118). Indeed, it is clear that the symposia of ordinary Greeks had such entertainment. A passage in Xenophon famously recalls the acrobatic dancing of a girl, who did somersaults over sword-blades (Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2.11; Hall, 2002: 28). It could be that dancing was considered in the more conservative Greek areas as something that respectable women would not do in public; in ancient Egypt, even before the Ptolemies, dancing was considered as a perfectly reputable profession (Watterson, 1991: 46, 53). In

accordance with the assumption that in Greece respected women would not dance for money, Bielman's interpretation of the social background of Sanno, a second century dancer whose epitaph was found in Athens, as servile would make sense (Bielman, 2002: no. 43 = *IG II²*, 12583).¹²⁴ Bielman came to this conclusion not because of Sanno's dancing profession, but because she lacks a patronymic and because one of the adjectives used to describe the deceased, namely *ἄριστος* (useful/honest), is usually reserved for describing slaves (Bielman, 2002: 221).

Other than poets, musicians, and dancers, we have very little evidence for women being involved in what could be called the entertainment industry (the sex industry being separate from this). A rare exception is an inscription referring to a Cleopatra. She appears on the last line of an inscription listing the people taking part in an audition, *ἐπιδειξιῶν*,¹²⁵ at the festival for Apollo (or Dionysos) at Delos in 268 (*IG XI 2*, 110 = Bielman, 1999: 40). In fact, she appears on two similar lists in exactly the same manner (*IG XI 2*, 112; *IG XI 2*, 113). It is difficult to establish what exactly this Cleopatra did, for the term used to describe her, *θαυματοποιός*, can cover a wide range of activities and professions: juggler, acrobat, rope dancer, contortionist, magician etc. The term derives from *θαυματοποιέω*, to do wonders (cf. Bielman, 1999: 211). The word Bielman has chosen to use in her French translation of this inscription is 'saltimbanque.' A conjurer or a magician would indeed be most plausible profession for this Cleopatra, given the traditional association of women with magic in antiquity. Hall, however, calls her 'specialist trick dancer' (Hall, 2002: 22n63). Even if the exact nature of her performance remains a mystery, we can be sure that she was an entertainer of some sort.¹²⁶

Bielman has made some interesting remarks both on Cleopatra and this type of *thaumatopoiōi*-professionals in general. Among other things, she notes the absence of a patronymic for her; this may be due to her being of servile origin. She also points out that all the references for 'thaumatopoiōi' for the fifth and fourth centuries are

¹²⁴ Lefkowitz and Fant prefer to call her a 'tumbler' (Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no.304). Xenophon refers to another female tumbler with great enthusiasm for her talent as she juggled with hoops while another woman played the flute (Xenophon, *Symposium*, 2.9; Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 303).

¹²⁵ An audition was a presentation in or at the margins of a festival (Bielman, 1999: 211).

¹²⁶ We have only a very limited number of references to female 'thaumatopoiōi,' whatever they did in the end. In addition to Cleopatra, there are only two other known examples, both found at Delos; the first concerns an Aristion and the second concerns an Artemô (*IG XI 2*, 115, l. 25 [259 BCE] and 133, ll. 78-79 [170 BCE]). One cannot be very optimistic that we would ever find more such examples (Bielman, 1999: 212).

literary, while for the third and second centuries we only have epigraphic evidence; she suggests that the shift may signify a more professional status of these men *and* women. Most importantly for us, she tentatively suggest that these women travelled independently and not with any group; the fact that Cleopatra is named separately from the other people in the same list has led her to this conclusion (Bielman, 1999: 213).¹²⁷

3.6 Other Artists and Athletes

Painters

Unlike performing artists, there was no necessity for visual artists—sculptors and painters—to travel because of their profession. It would, of course, have been beneficial for them to travel too in order to get influences and inspirations from other areas and other artists. Going abroad would also have given new opportunities to attract customers. Moreover, an ambitious painter, for example, would move to a city where the best painters of his/her time live with the hope of becoming an apprentice of a respected teacher. It would, however, be perfectly possible to practise this trade from the comfort of one's natal home and never to venture abroad or even to a neighbouring city. We do not, therefore, expect to find much evidence for mobility of female painters. Yet, remarkably, we do possess some such evidence. This is another indication of the loosening of social restrictions on women in the Hellenistic age—such a liberal profession would have been out of the question in the conservative centuries of the Classical and Archaic periods.

The most famous and most important female artist, as Pomeroy argues, of the Hellenistic era was Laia [or Lala or Iaia] (Pomeroy, 1977: 53). She was born in Cyzicus in the Hellespont, but she worked at Rome. One wonders if she did not move to Rome exactly because of her talent and interest in art, with the hope of attracting

¹²⁷ For actors and (the lack of) actresses in Antiquity, see various articles in Easterling and Hall (2002); in particular, see “The Singing Actors of Antiquity” by Hall (pp. 3-38, esp. p. 12), “Nothing to Do with the *technitai* of Dionysus?” by Lightfoot (pp. 209-224, esp. pp. 212, 236), and “Female Entertainers in Late Antiquity” by Webb (pp. 282-303).

rich Roman patrons. At any rate, her talent was noted and appreciated, as is evident from Pliny the Elder:

Laia of Cyzicus, who never married, worked in Rome during the youth of Marcus Varro [127-116 BCE]. She used both the painter's brush and, on ivory, the graving tool. She painted women most frequently, including a panel picture of an old woman in Naples, and even a self-portrait for which she used a mirror. No one's hand was quicker to paint a picture than hers; so great was her talent that her prices far exceeded those of the most celebrated painters of her day, Sophilos and Dionysius, whose works fill the galleries (Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35.40, 147 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 307).

In the same context in which Pliny speaks so highly of this female painter from Cyzicus, he refers to a few other women who made their living by painting: Timarete, the daughter of Micon; Irene, daughter *and* student of Cratinus; Aristarete, daughter *and* student of Nearchus; and a certain Olympias, who is said to have taught painting to others herself.¹²⁸ Much has been made of the fact that two of these women were daughters of male painters (Fantham et al., 1994: 168; Pomeroy, 1977: 53, 62). One feels, however, that it is premature to make wholesale generalisations that *most* female artists would have been daughters of male artists and taught by them. That creativity runs in a family is, of course, not surprising, but to suggest that hardly any woman would have taken an artistic profession unless her father was such is, on the basis of available evidence, surely wrong. After all, three out of the five examples (thus a majority!) given by Pliny do not refer to father-daughter pairs. Indeed, we do not even know the name of Laia's father, although she is the most famous of them all. Lack of patronymic could, obviously, be due to her being of servile origin. It seems more likely, however, that she was a freeborn *peregrina*. This belief is based on two facts, a) her city of origin is mentioned, and b) if she was a slave or freedwoman one would not expect Pliny to have mentioned that she never married (Pomeroy, 1977: 53).

¹²⁸ Careless editing and interpretation of this passage could lead to the 'discovery' of another female painter, named Calypso, but it appears, as Linderski has argued in his entertaining yet learned

Athletes

Both literary and archaeological evidence has survived to attest that many Greek women took part in athletics, especially running.¹²⁹ Most famously the Spartan women were allowed to exercise. In fact, Lycurgus reportedly ordered them to do so, with the belief that this would enhance the strength and quality of their offspring. He also reportedly organised athletic competitions for the Spartan women (Xenophon, *Spartan Constitution*, 1.4; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 14.2-4, *Moralia*, 227D; cf. Plato, *Laws*, 805E-806A; Pausanias, 3.13.7).¹³⁰ The women on Ceos and Chios are also said to have joined their men in the gymnasia and the running tracks (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 249D; Athenaeus, 13.566E). The Chian women are, moreover, claimed to have actually wrestled with men (Athenaeus, 13.566E). As incredible as any wrestling bouts between men and women, or girls and youths, sound, it is not inconceivable that the story in Athenaeus is true, for, as Golden has pointed out, the “Chian women are among those we know as gymnasiarchs and hippic victors” (Golden, 1998: 137-138; *contra* Harris, 1964: 183). However, it is not made explicit whether the Chian women took part in formal competitions, or whether their athletic activities were simply recreational.

The way the [Athenocentric] sources talk about the women of Sparta and Chios makes it sound as if women’s participation in athletics was considered odd and rare. Pomeroy makes the same point by referring to the relatively extensive attention given to Spartan women’s athletic activities; this would only have been of interest to our sources, she argues, if the Spartan women were unique in this sense (Pomeroy, 2002: 12). In any case, doing physical exercise does not mean that the women would necessarily also have taken part in panhellenic athletic competitions, which would have required some mobility, let alone made their living from sport.

However, there was at least one entire festival with athletic competitions which was open for women *only*, namely the Heraia at Olympia. It was organised by a

article “The Paintress Calypso and Other Painters in Pliny,” that this Calypso was a nymph painted by the third century artist Irene (Linderski, 2003: 83-87).

¹²⁹ Archaic and Classical vases from Attica, as well as bronze statuettes from Laconia, depict athletic women. For discussion on the archaeological evidence, see Golden (1998: 125-130).

¹³⁰ On Spartan women and sport, see also Golden (1998: 127-129).

college of sixteen women; various rituals were performed by women; foot races were conducted by bare breasted girls, *parthenoi*, under the supervision of women (Pausanias, 5.16.2-8; Clark, 1998: 21-22). All the girls who competed at the Heraia may have been locals, as Dillon and Pomeroy argue, but this is not certain. In any case, the women who participated as spectators probably came from many parts of the Greek world (Dillon, 2000: 460-462; Pomeroy, 2002: 26).¹³¹ Indeed, it is perfectly plausible that the running races were panhellenic, too, as Golden tentatively suggests on the basis of a passage in Pausanias that refers to a winner at the first Heraea [Hippodameia's], namely Chloris, daughter of Amphion of Thebes (Pausanias, 5.16.4; Golden, 1998: 129-130).¹³²

Pomeroy argues categorically that there were no professional female athletes before the Roman period; according to her, only Sparta had female athletes, and other women would not even have had the opportunity to witness athletic competitions (Pomeroy, 1977: 54; Pomeroy, 1997a: 90. 93). On the latter point she is *certainly* mistaken, for women were usually allowed to participate in games and festivals as spectators, as we shall see later (see p. 148-153).

The Delphic inscription dating to 45 CE that refers to three victorious female athletes, all daughters of Hermesianax, some of who had won more than once and in various places, has long been understood, by Pomeroy among others, to have been the first attestation of professional women athletes (*Syll.*³ 802 = Lee, 1988: 103 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 206; Pomeroy, 1977: 54). Even if this inscription was indeed the earliest piece of evidence for female athletes, it would imply that women had been competing for some time before 45 CE, as it is clear that by this date there were well established games for women at Delphi, Isthmia, Nemea, Sicyon and Epidaurus, which evidently attracted some women to travel fair distances to compete

¹³¹ According to Pomeroy “running races were the only athletic events for women that took place at festivals. There were races for Helen, Dionysus, Hera, and in honor of local deities called *Driodones*” (Pomeroy, 2002: 24; Theocritus, 18.22-25, 18.39-40). Speaking specifically about the Heraea festival and its running competition, Pomeroy has argued that only girls and women who lived close to the events would have participated (Pomeroy, 2002: 26). She offers no other “evidence” than the fact that travel would have been expensive and Greek families would have, according to her, been reluctant to pay for women to travel great distances.

There were two other major festivals for Hera, one at Athens and the other at Plataia (Clark, 1998: 17-20, 22-25). The *Daidala* at Plataia is interesting in that it had two variations; the *Little Daidala* and the *Great Daidala*. The former was a rather small scale local festival for the Plataians, but the *Great Daidala* was a major panboiotian festival attracting participants from many Boiotian cities every sixty years (Pausanias, 9.2-4; Plutarch, frag. 157.6; Clark, 1998: 22-23).

¹³² Pausanias also refers to another foot race—of Delphic origin—for girls; a contest between eleven *Dionysiades*, ‘daughters of Dionysus’ (Pausanias, 3.13.7; Golden, 1998: 128).

year after year (cf. Harris, 1964: 180). Such a development could hardly have occurred over night, or even over a couple of years; we must assume that at least some of these festivals had allowed women to compete decades before the daughters of Hermesianax were victorious. It would not be surprising if these developments had taken place well within the Hellenistic period.

In any case, our references to the women of Ceos and Chios alone indicate that Pomeroy was wrong in arguing that there were no female athletes before 45 CE. She also seems to have been unaware of an inscription from Corinth, dating to 25 CE, referring to a contest for girls, *certamen virginum*, at the Isthmian games (Kent, 1966: no. 153; cf. Lee, 1988: 104, 113n7). Moreover, since the publication of Pomeroy's 1977 article, in which she makes these claims, a new inscription—a third century BCE dedication to Leto—has come to light at Chios, which may prove otherwise:

[]A rist[o/]dhmoj 7)Arista/nakto[j]
 [Fa]ni&on v 70Onesa/ndrou
 [..]EM[...] th_n qugate/ra
 nikh/sasan
 Lhtoï= (*SEG* 35.933).

Bielman, who has translated this inscription into French,¹³³ has suggested that the anonymous daughter of Aristodemos and Phanion was a female athlete (Bielman, 2002: 262). Although one sees no immediate reasons to disagree with Bielman, we cannot be sure of the contest in which this woman was victorious (cf. Golden, 1998: 127). If she indeed was an athlete, one must presume that she was not totally unique. Given the poor survival chances of any Greek inscriptions, it would be a miracle if the one and only inscription relating to a female athlete had survived; we must presume there once were more such inscriptions. Furthermore, as was the case with women poets and musicians, it is legitimate to assume that only the cream of female athletes would have received expensive stone commemorations, such as this one in question. The mediocre and poor athletes would not have received any acknowledgements.¹³⁴

¹³³ Aristodèmos fils d'Aristanax (et) Phanion fille d'Onésandros (ont consacré ce monument) à Leto en l'honneur de [..]em[...], leur fille, qui remporta la victoire (Bielman, 2002: no. 51).

¹³⁴ If women competed with men, the chance of them being victorious would have been minimal (cf. Pomeroy, 2002: 14). The evidence is, however, contrary to this and suggests that in

We have more evidence for women taking part in horseracing than in any other form of sport. We have both archaeological and textual evidence for women, in particular Spartan women, not only riding and driving horse-drawn vehicles, but also taking part in equestrian events (Pomeroy, 2002: 19). The most famous female winner in a horserace must be Bilistiche, one of the mistresses of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. According to an Oxyrhynchus papyrus she was a winner of a four-horse chariot race at the Olympic games of 268/7, and Pausanias reports her as the winner in 264 (Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2082 = *FGrH* 257aF6 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 203; Pausanias, 5.8.11; Golden, 1998: 133). In her involvement in horseracing she was not unique, however. From Rhodes, to give just one example for now, we have an epigraphic record of a female champion of a horserace (Bielman, 2002: no. 52).

It is not easy to determine from the vague information given by the epigraphic lists of victors whether one was the owner of the victorious horses or actually the one who drove the chariot (or both). For example, an Aristoclea from Larissa, daughter of Megacles, appears in a list of victors in various competitions from all over the Greek world as a victor in a two-horse chariot, but there is nothing to specify her involvement in these victories (*IG* IX.2 526, lines 19-20 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 204). There are scholars, like Pomeroy, who hold that most owners of racehorses did not actively take part in the races (Pomeroy, 1997a: 93). Lee is even more categorical and claims that female equestrian victors were neither active participants nor in attendance (Lee, 1988: 104). This is possible if his assumption, that the proclaimed victors were actually owners of horses rather than their drivers, is correct (Lee, 1988: 112n4). Unfortunately, Lee gives no evidence to support this argument. It is true that this is the modern practice, and we know that some Greek men hired drivers for their race chariots, but it is, nevertheless, possible that some contestants actually drove their chariots themselves.¹³⁵ Indeed, there are scholars, such as Bielman, who believe that some women had the opportunity to actually drive the chariots (Bielman, 2002: 269-270).

athletic competitions women had their own categories—in running and perhaps even in equestrian events—and competed only in all-female contests (Lee, 1988: 104-108; Golden, 1998: 139).

¹³⁵ The Roman emperor Nero drove race chariots himself, both at Olympia and elsewhere (Suetonius, *Nero*, 22, 24, cf. 11). Although Nero, obviously, was an exceptional character, this implies that horse owners could drive their chariots at races if they wanted to. On the other hand, it is clear from Suetonius's biography of Nero that this was regarded this as disgraceful.

The female Olympic victors certainly did not drive the chariots themselves, since women were not allowed to be in the city during the festival. Knowing that some women, therefore, sponsored horses—the only way that there could be female Olympic victors—would make it at least possible that the women known to have been victorious in equestrian events were sponsors, just like the Olympic victors. However, some women clearly were capable of handling horse driven chariots; as is proved by Lycurgus’s proposed law to prohibit women from driving chariots during the festival of the mysteries (Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 13.24; cf. Athenaeus, 4.139f; Pomeroy, 2002: 19-20). This knowledge makes it at least feasible that, given the opportunity, women could have taken active part in horseracing. Such is the nature of the sources that we may never know for certain whether they actually did drive chariots in competitions.¹³⁶ Whether owners or competitors, one would expect at least some of these women to have travelled to various places because of their association with racing.

The following three lists of victors, or extracts from such lists, imply that women did indeed travel to panhellenic races. All of the lists were found in Athens and relate to the Panathenaic games, yet none of the women mentioned in them are Athenian:

Zeuxo of Argos, daughter of Polycrates, in the horse race... Encrateia of Argos, daughter of Polycrates, in the four-horse chariot race; Hermione of Argos, daughter of Polycrates... (*IG II² 2313.9-15* = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 205).

Zeuxo of Cyrene, daughter of Ariston, in the four-horse chariot race... (*IG II² 2313.60* = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 205).

Zeuxo of Argos from Achaëa, daughter of Polycrates, in the four-horse chariot race... (*IG II² 2314.50-1* = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 205).

¹³⁶ Golden has questioned the level of female involvement in equestrian events even further. He asks whether Bilistiche, for example, was actually used by her lover Ptolemy II as a vehicle to show that he was above competing at Olympic games while advertising that he could win if he wanted to. Or, as another alternative Golden asks, whether the impetus behind her equestrian activities was “to

These lists date to 194/3, 190/89, and 182 respectively. It is notable that the Argive woman called Zeuxo appears in two of the lists, separated by a full decade, suggesting therefore a long running interest in the sport, as opposed to one-off participation in a competition.

Another set of three victor lists that also contain women was published in the early nineties, in *Hesperia* 60 (1991), by Tracy and Habicht. They present, in this article, the Panathenaic victor lists for the games held in 170/69, 166/5, and 162/1 (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 188-189, cf. 193; the lists are also in *SEG* 41.115). Fifty-five of the victors—in gymnastics, horserace, and even dramatic competitions—are Athenians and nineteen are foreigners from a wide variety of origins; from Cyprus to Alexandria and Seleucia on the Tigris. Out of the 19 foreign victors, eight, so nearly half, are women; one of them is none other than queen Cleopatra II of Egypt. No Athenian woman is recorded as having won anything (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 205, 213-14). All the female victors appear to have been sponsors of racehorses and racing teams (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 202). While it is possible that none of the victorious women were actually present at the games, it would seem more probable that at least some of them would have travelled to Athens to watch their horses compete.

Three out of the seven non-royal female victors have been identified: namely Agathocleia, Eirene and Olympio. The first of these, Agathocleia, daughter of Noumenios (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 188, column III, line 18), is with a high degree of certainty the daughter of the famous Alexandrian Noumenios. He was a Panathenaic victor himself, as well as an ambassador for the Ptolemies (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 213). Eirene, who also came from Alexandria, was the daughter of a Ptolemaios (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 189, column I, line 33). He came from Megalopolis, but he travelled widely in the service of the Ptolemies, ending up as the governor of Cyprus. Eirene herself became the first priestess of the posthumously deified Queen Arsinoe Philopator (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 213-214). She appears as a priestess in numerous inscriptions, most famously in the Rosetta Stone, *IG 1.100.100* (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 214). Olympio, daughter of Agetor, was most probably the sister of a Pedestratos, who is known to us from an inscription from Gortyn honouring three men who served Ptolemy VI

show her off as a Hellenistic trophy wife” (Golden, 1998: 134). These are questions worth asking, but impossible to answer in the current light of evidence.

Philometor (*IC* 4.208 A; Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 189, column I, line 34). Both Olympio and Pedestratos are said to be Spartans and the children of an Agetor, hence it is very likely that they indeed were siblings (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 214).

A fascinating feature of these three women is the fact that they all are relatives of men who served the Ptolemaic monarchy. Yet, only Noumenios, father of Agathocleia, seems to have been born in Egypt (even this is not certain). Furthermore, the men related to these women are all recorded as having been in Ptolemaic service *outside* Egypt. Whether the three women were born in Alexandria, and whether they followed their male relatives in their diplomatic assignments is, unfortunately, unknown to us. It would appear odd, however, if none of them were mobile because of their fathers and/or brothers. The other four non-royal women on these three lists of Panathenaic victors are mere names for us. However, the fact that they were foreigners is once again worthy of note.¹³⁷

3.7 Conclusion

It has not been an easy task to examine the mobility of professional women, for the ancient literary and epigraphic sources are almost entirely silent about ‘working class’ women. Nevertheless, we have found evidence for growing specialisation of the labour force and consequent mobility of skilled workers, artists and athletes.

We have demonstrated that skilled textile workers were in demand and willing to relocate because of work. The evidence for textile workers moving from one place to another comes exclusively from Ptolemaic Egypt, but it has been argued that this is due to the nature of the sources, not varying economic structures of different areas. Only the climate in Egypt has preserved evidence—private letters and contracts—likely to have any reference to individual textile workers, let alone their mobility. However, since there were significant textile manufacture centres in various

¹³⁷ The other women are: Eugeneia, daughter of Zenon, from Antioch at the River Kydnos (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 189, column II, line 29, cf. pp. 214-215); Archagathe, daughter of Polykleitos, from Antioch at the Pyramos—formerly Magarsos (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 189, column I, line 32, cf. pp. 214-215); Kleinete, daughter of Karon, from Liguria (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 189, column I, line 31); Menophila, daughter of Nestor, from L[.....] (Tracy and Habicht, 1991: 189, column III, line 11).

locations, not just in Egypt, it is fair to assume that there would have been similar movements of skilled labour force elsewhere as well.

In contrast to textile workers, much more evidence has been found regarding female medical professionals. In the Hellenistic period, there were plenty of women, both free and servile, who were employed as nurses or wet-nurses, and there were some individual female doctors too. These were people who looked after the sick and the vulnerable, hence they often earned the respect and gratitude of their clients (or masters). Consequently, many of them received commemorative inscriptions, especially tombstones after they passed away, some of which survive today. Fortunately for us, some of the epitaphs include direct references to the origins of the deceased medical professionals, and thus reveal that many of them were mobile.

Although it is obvious that many of the medical professionals chose their career *after* they had emigrated, especially if they had moved with their parents as children or been transported as slaves, it has been argued here that some of them moved because of work. Despite the fact that the work of nurses etc. was appreciated, the ancient literary sources clearly imply that these were not high status jobs. Consequently, a woman who had given birth might well have considered working as a wet-nurse, but would have preferred to do this away from her friends and neighbours. Indeed, such a large proportion of nurses working in Athens were foreigners, that some—upper class—people thought it unlikely that *any* citizen woman would do the job, as is evident from the legal battle concerning Euxitheus's citizenship (Demosthenes, 57, *Against Eubulides*, 35). Yet, the Greeks very much preferred to employ fellow Greeks as nurses for their children, as is made explicit by Plutarch and Myia, the female philosopher of the Pythagorean School (Thesleff, pp. 123-4 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 250; Plutarch, *Moralia*, 3c-d). In Athens, Spartan women were particularly popular as nurses (e.g. Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, 19.3; cf. Herfst, 1979: 62). There is no reason to assume that Athens would have been unique in offering nursing jobs for foreigners.

As with nurses, evidence brought forward in this chapter has corroborated the view that most prostitutes in Athens and elsewhere, e.g. in Egypt, were foreigners. Not many Greek women would have been willing, even at times of crisis, to practise sex-trade in their own cities. It would have been less humiliating to work as a prostitute away from one's friends and family. Although Neaira lived in the (late) Classical period, she was used in this chapter to demonstrate the ease at which

prostitutes moved from one place to the other, although some of her movements were forced upon her.

Although the majority of prostitutes seem to have been foreigners—and there is a possibility that the sources have exaggerated their proportion—it would appear that most of them were of Greek origin. This is nowhere else as apparent as in the case of royal courtesans, the elite of the prostitutes. We have seen that barring one known exception, Didyma of Ptolemy II, all the royal mistresses we ever hear about, at least allegedly, were from somewhere in the Graeco-Macedonian world. We argued that there were basically two reasons why the Hellenistic kings, and probably other Greek men too, preferred Greek *hetairai*. Firstly, the *hetairai* were expected to provide more than just sexual services, namely intellectual companionship. It is unlikely that many barbarian regions could have produced such knowledgeable prostitutes, owing to their inferior 'education system' and simply the language barrier. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the Greeks felt superior to all other ethnic groups, and consequently Greek men would not have found non-Greek women as sexually attractive as their fellow Greek women.

After the discussion on royal courtesans, a brief sub-chapter was dedicated to female philosophers. Not a great deal is known about them, but it would appear that they were as willing to relocate—to Athens and other major centres of learning—as male philosophers famously were. We suggested, for example, that the correspondence between Neopythagorean women implies that at least some of them had been travelling, since this would explain how they had first made contact and begun writing to each other.

While textile workers, medical professionals, prostitutes and philosophers often migrated permanently to new locations, whether near or far, the mobility of female artists and athletes was more temporary and seasonal in nature, although some of them relocated permanently, especially to religious sanctuaries, because of their profession too. A few commemorative inscriptions in honour of women poets have survived from the Hellenistic period; all of these indicate that the artists in question were mobile, as they received awards in cities other than their home *poleis*. We also speculated on the possible movements of the four women poets of the Hellenistic age—Anyte, Erinna, Moero and Nossis—whose poetry has survived to us. Although we hesitated from making definite conclusions on their mobility, we argued that some material in their poems as well as in the little biographical details we have of them,

suggest that they, too, probably travelled at some point in their lives. Furthermore, we suggested that this was a reflection of a growing number of women travelling because of their ‘profession.’

We also provided evidence for mobile female dancers, acrobats, and painters. In addition to poets, however, it is musicians of whom we know most, and who certainly were mobile because of their work. Following the lead of scholars such as Starr, we argued that the female musicians of Greek antiquity have often been unfairly labelled as disreputable women (Starr, 1978: 408-410). An objective reading of all the available evidence suggests that many of the female musicians of the period were, in fact, from perfectly respectable backgrounds and had nothing to do with the sex industry. In particular, the flute players at religious sanctuaries, many of whom were not local girls/women, were of citizen status and they had to be respected to have been able to achieve the posts.

It is clear that some of these professional women musicians were ‘world famous,’ and they were sought after entertainment. Polygnota, a Theban harpist, was, for example, summoned to perform at the Pythian games (Pleket 6 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 306). Wealthy private individuals would also have invited these ‘international stars’ to perform at their parties. Straton, the king of Sidon, famously invited many singers and musicians from all over the Greek world to perform for him and his friends (Athenaeus, 12.531b-c). It is unlikely that women like Polygnota would have been able to gain such a wide reputation had they previously performed only in small circles in their home *poleis*. It is much more probable that they had done some amount of ‘touring’ and competing already before the lucrative ‘gigs’ we have evidence for.

We have implied in this chapter that the number of female artists was growing in the Hellenistic period, mainly because of improved education of girls, but we have not tried to estimate exactly how many women made their living from art. The register of known artists in Greek Antiquity, compiled by Stephanis, includes 104 women (Stephanis, 1988). Since the total number of artists in the register is 3023, women’s proportion of all the known artists is less than 4%. This is not a huge figure, but not entirely negligible either. It has to be admitted, however, that many of the artists in the register are fictional characters in the plays of Aristophanes, Menander and other playwrights. It is also of interest that recent work on the artistic associations, the *dionusiakoi_ texni&tai*, has not revealed a single woman

who would have belonged to these clubs in the Hellenistic, or any other, period (Aneziri, 2003: 221-223; see also Le Guen, 2001). In a private correspondence with me, Aneziri, a leading scholar in the field, has suggested that the lack of female members in these associations is due to their inability to participate in Greek music [thymelic and dramatic] contests (Aneziri, 8.4.2004). The lack of women in the artistic associations may, however, reflect the nature of these associations, rather than the number of actual female artists. The *dionusiakoi_ texni&tai* were not formed to further the cause of liberal arts, as such associations these days are, but they were largely political organisations, hence they operated in the male sphere of action.¹³⁸ It is, nevertheless, probably true that by not being a member of these associations, women missed out on some job opportunities, since many festivals were organised or part organised by the artists themselves (cf. Aneziri, 2003: 267-289).

As for there being so few references to women artists in general, we have argued in this chapter that only the very best female poets/singers/harpists etc. would appear in lists of victors or other commemorative inscriptions, let alone have attracted the interest of ancient authors. It is indeed likely that the ancient literary and epigraphic sources are misleading and have led to an underestimation of women's involvement in performing arts. The same is true of female athletes; we never hear of losers or even second bests. However, since we know that there were organised competitions for women in athletics for centuries, and that they were allowed to compete against men in musical competitions—where men had much higher chances of success owing to their better education and larger pool of talent—we must assume that there were (plenty of) women who took part in the competitions without success. In addition, there would have been an army of women who made their living by performing at private parties, perhaps occasionally out of town, but who never made the headlines.

To sum up: far from being constrained to work within the *oikos* or the local *agora* inside their home *poleis*, Hellenistic women had many opportunities to find work abroad. Occasionally, as with performing artists, it was the job that took these

¹³⁸ It appears that ancient festivals had as much to do with commerce as culture, and that the artistic associations were “imposed from the top by governments and not created by the artists in pursuit of their mutual interest” (Csapo, 2002). Furthermore, much of the function of these associations were devoted to activities in the traditional male spheres of life, e.g. decreeing cult statues, sacrifices, propaganda for kings—in addition to giving free shows, organising competitions etc. (Csapo, 2002).

women beyond the boundaries of their birth place, but sometimes they would have emigrated for other reasons—e.g. following their family in exile—and found a suitable career in the foreign city they relocated in. Indeed, some of the jobs available for women, such as nursing, were mostly filled by foreigners. At all areas, however, the Greeks preferred to employ fellow Greeks (regardless of citizenship) instead of barbarians; this was even the case with prostitutes.

4 Religion and Female Mobility

4.1 Introduction

As we have seen, religious sanctuaries welcomed and employed foreign female entertainers, especially flute players. These women were important, but hardly numerous, although more numerous than has usually been assumed. We need to turn our attention, therefore, to the ‘multitude’ of women; did they travel because of religious reasons? We shall ask whether women visited oracles and healing sanctuaries, as well as whether they participated in religious festivals, and whether they travelled to do so. In other words, we are interested in finding out whether there were female pilgrims in the Hellenistic period.

The ancient Greeks did not have a single word that would neatly correspond with our ‘pilgrimage’ (cf. Dillon, 1997: xv).¹³⁹ Moreover, when the Greeks travelled to sacred sites this was usually a voluntary and joyful occasion, culminating in a celebration, hence a far cry from Christian or Islamic pilgrimages characterised by suffering, penance, search for salvation, and/or some level of obligation (Rutherford, 2001: 41). A Greek travelling to a sanctuary could not have been motivated by a wish to find salvation, for the concept of sin was almost completely alien to Greek religion (Garland, 1994: ix, 23). So different are the ancient Greek trips to, say, the Delphic Oracle, on the one hand, and Medieval/modern Christian pilgrimage to ‘the Holy Land,’ on the other hand, that many scholars are unhappy about using the words ‘pilgrim’ and ‘pilgrimage’ in connection with the ancient world (cf. Arafat, 1996: 10). These *are*, however, useful terms, as long as we strip them of any association with modern salvation religions. What is understood as a ‘pilgrim’ here is, therefore, not strictly equivalent to modern parallels, but simply a traveller whose main purpose

¹³⁹ The word *qewro/j* and its derivatives had at least nine different meanings: 1) a type of festival or spectacle, 2) being a spectator at a festival, 3) a sacred delegation to a sanctuary, 4) the action of such [3] sacred delegation going to or from the sanctuary, 5) to consult an oracle, 6) an official sent out to announce a festival, 7) by way of sightseeing, *kata_ qewri&an*, 8) an exploration, 9) a state official, an overseer (Rutherford, 2000: 133-136).

of travel was to reach a sacred site for whatever reason.¹⁴⁰ Pilgrimage in the ancient world, then, to use Dillon's definition, was "paying a visit to a sacred site outside the boundaries of one's own physical environment" (Dillon, 1997: xviii).

In this chapter, after concluding remarks on female pilgrims, we shall also investigate what role religion played in the colonisation of the new kingdoms, or more specifically, whether women's role in religion was taken into account when the Greeks established new settlements, i.e. were the colonists compelled to take priestesses and other women capable of carrying out religious tasks restricted to (Greek) women when they emigrated from Greece?

4.2 Healing Sanctuaries

Healing sanctuaries were habitually situated outside cities (Plutarch, *Aetia Romana*, 96, 286d = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 708). Therefore, anyone wishing to visit these places had to make some effort to reach them. When ill, many Greeks were willing to travel far and wide to do just that (cf. Dillon, 1997: 191). Indeed, as Casson has argued, health—or sickness—was one of the main reasons why people travelled in Antiquity (Casson, 1974: 130). When Pausanias gives an account of the regulations of sacrifice at the healing sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, he mentions that both Epidaurians and *foreigners* consumed the sacrificial meat within the bounds of the sanctuary (Pausanias, 2.27.1 = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 510). While most of these 'foreigners' were fellow Greeks from other *poleis*, even some barbarians travelled considerable distances to visit Greek healing sanctuaries, e.g. from Thrace to Pergamum some two hundred kilometres away (Galenus, *Subfiguratio Empirica*, Cp. X, p.78 [Deichgräber] = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 436). Indeed, the sanctuaries were open to all, and they attracted pilgrims from all over the Hellenistic world; they were "truly 'international' institutions" (Lund, 1992: 138).

¹⁴⁰ It is often difficult to distinguish between ancient pilgrims and tourists (cf. Rutherford, 2001: 41-44). However, "a religious tourist visiting sacred sites is *not* simply a tourist: he or she is also a pilgrim" (Elsner, 1992: 8). Indeed, most scholars question whether there was tourism as such in ancient Greece at all, and they hold that the distinction between pilgrimage and tourism is, therefore, artificial (Rutherford, 2001: 44, 52).

There is plenty of evidence, both literary and epigraphic, that many women (young and old) visited healing sanctuaries, just like men did. Consider, for example, a passage from Strabo:

Tablets stood within the enclosure [of the temple of Asclepius]. Of old, there were more of them: in my time six were left. On these tablets are engraved the names of men *and women* [my italics] who were healed by Asclepius, together with the disease from which each suffered, and how he was cured. The inscriptions are in the Doric dialect (Strabo, 2.27.3 = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 384).

Indeed, any sick woman could seek a cure from the sanctuaries of the healing deities, such as Asclepius at Epidaurus (Garland, 1994: 93, 95). Inventories on the *Athenian* Asclepieion have indicated that women, in fact, made slightly more dedications for the healing god than men: 51.39% of the dedications being by women, 45.82% by men, and the remaining 2.79% by couples or the Athenian *demos* (Aleshire, 1989: 45, cf. 110). The Athenian Asclepieion appears, however, to have been of local importance only (Aleshire, 1989: 4). One also, of course, has to keep in mind that these proportions would not necessarily have been identical at each healing sanctuary or even at the same sanctuary each year. Nevertheless, these figures give a clear indication that women were no strangers at healing sanctuaries.

While the Athenian Asclepieion may not have attracted many foreign women, it is evident that many other healing sanctuaries did. An otherwise incredible passage in Aelian is illustrative; he recalls a story first told by Hippys—of either fifth or third century BCE—concerning a foreign woman, τῆς ἐξ ἐξωτερῶν, who was plagued by a tapeworm. According to the story she had consulted numerous proven physicians without success, before going to the healing sanctuary at Epidaurus. There her head was allegedly removed, and then replaced after the healing god Asclepius had taken the tapeworm out (Aelianus, *On the Characteristics of Animals*, 9.33 = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 422). It is unlikely that the person behind this story would have (further) jeopardised the credibility of this story by including a *foreign* woman in it, unless such women did indeed visit the site.

The stories concerning miracle cures may seem unbelievable, and doubtless many of them are pure fantasy in medical terms.¹⁴¹ Yet, they are of value for us, because they prove female mobility. To borrow from Dillon: “The accounts indicate that women were regular clients at Epidaurus at least in the fourth century when the iamata were inscribed, and that the authorities of the sanctuary encouraged women to visit Epidaurus” (Dillon, 1997: 191).

In addition to Epidaurus and Athens, Asclepius had numerous sanctuaries practically all over the Greek world (cf. Julianus, *Contra Galileos*, 235c = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 710). For example, women are recorded as regular suppliantes at Oropos, where the visiting suppliantes had sexually segregated sleeping arrangements (*LSCG*, no. 69.43-47; Dillon: 1997: 191). Edelstein and Edelstein, in their monumental book *Asclepius. Collection and Interpretation of the Testimonies* (1998), have collected evidence for the sanctuaries of Asclepius from over thirty locations, ranging from Northern Greece to Africa, and from Spain to Asia Minor (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: nos. 707-861). The most famous of them all, however, was the one at Epidaurus (Pausanias, 2.26.8-9 = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 709; cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, 4.5 (9).18 = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 736).¹⁴² People, both men and women, seem to have found it worthwhile to visit Epidaurus even when there were (smaller) healing sanctuaries closer to their home *poleis*.

Fifty-two cure inscriptions, iamata, dating to the late fourth century BCE, survive from Epidaurus; fourteen of these are by female suppliantes, one of whom was a girl (Dillon, 1997: 191). These texts are now most accessible, both in Greek and in English, in Edelstein and Edelstein (1998: no. 423 = *IG IV²* 1.121-122). If the extant Epidaurian iamata are anything resembling representative, we may conclude that slightly over a quarter of all the pilgrims—to Epidaurus—were female. Moreover, some of these women seem to have made their trips to the healing centres in their own right (Dillon, 1997: 191-192). Perhaps the fact that pilgrims were protected by similar laws of inviolability as sacred sites themselves gave women, and their families, confidence to sometimes travel alone to sanctuaries (cf. Dillon, 1997:

¹⁴¹ Ludwig Edelstein provides a very good historical evaluation of the medical cases (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: 2.158-173).

¹⁴² Strabo, however, claims that the temple of Asclepius at Tricca was the most famous one (Strabo, 9.5.17 = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 714; cf. Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: 2.238-239).

27-59).¹⁴³ A common cause for women to make the trip to Epidaurus, according to the inscriptions, seems to have been to request help in matters to do with fertility and pregnancy.¹⁴⁴ The famous inscription by Cleo may be representative:

Cleo was with child for five years. After she had been pregnant for five years she came as a suppliant to the god and slept in the abaton. As soon as she left it and got outside the temple precincts she bore a son who, immediately after birth, washed himself at the fountain and walked about with his mother. In return for this favor she inscribed on her offering: “Admirable is not the greatness of the tablet, but Divinity, in that Cleo carried the burden in her womb for five years, until she slept in the Temple and He made her sound” (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 423.1).

Unfortunately, it is not known where Cleo came from, hence we do not know how far she had to travel to reach the healing sanctuary. It would seem *a priori* that a heavily pregnant woman would not have travelled very far, given the difficulties surrounding travel in Antiquity. We do, however, possess clear evidence among these cure inscriptions that some pregnant women did travel fair distances to reach the sanctuary.

A woman called Ithmonice, for example, travelled to Epidaurus from Pellene, which is more than sixty kilometres Northwest of the healing sanctuary. She is said to have first received help in getting pregnant, and three years later she was back at the healing sanctuary at Epidaurus asking the god to end the pregnancy—having forgotten to ask that during her first visit (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 423.2). Agameda of Ceos and an anonymous woman from Troezen also allegedly became pregnant after their trips to Epidaurus (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 423.39 and 423.34). While Troezen is less than forty kilometres away from Epidaurus—not an insignificant distance in Antiquity—the woman from Ceos had a much longer trip, as Ceos is an island in the Aegean Sea about one-hundred kilometres East of Epidaurus. Two other women, Andromache of Epirus and Nicasibula of Messene, were also

¹⁴³ For examples of laws protecting pilgrims, see Sokolowski (*LSCGS*, nos. 117, 127).

aided in their quest for offspring (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 423.31 and 423.42). Messenia is located right on the other side of Peloponnesos, some one hundred kilometres away from Epidaurus. Epirus is the region west of Macedonia, over 500 kilometres as the crow flies northwest of Epidaurus.

Sostrata of Pherae was pregnant with worms and unable to reach Epidaurus by herself, but she was carried to the sanctuary. Her friends had a formidable task in carrying her to the sanctuary, for Pherae is situated in Thessaly, some 220 kilometres from Epidaurus as the crow flies; by land they would have had to carry her about three hundred kilometres, but assuming that they travelled by sea, which would have been much easier, the distance was about four hundred kilometres.¹⁴⁵ As for her illness, after initial disappointment, the worms were allegedly removed from her belly on her return, by Asclepius himself, who was disguised as a fine gentleman (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 423.25).

Another woman who consulted Asclepius—probably at Epidaurus—in regards to child bearing was Aristodama of Sicyon. She was the mother of the Achaean strategos Aratos, born in 270 BCE, who was said to have been a son of Asclepius (Pausanias, 2.10.3, 4.14.8).¹⁴⁶ There is an image of a woman riding a serpent on the roof of Asclepius's temple at Aristodama's home town Sicyon, which is more than 50 kilometres Northwest of Epidaurus. Coupled with the cure inscriptions which claim that Asclepius's serpent effected pregnancies, Dillon has plausibly conjectured that the story concerning Aratos's parentage probably stemmed from his mother's visit to the healing sanctuary (Dillon, 1997: 190; Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: nos. 423.39, 423.42).

While problems with pregnancy were one of the main causes for women to visit healing sanctuaries, pregnant women were sometimes barred from entering other holy sites as they were regarded as polluted. Such prohibition was, to give just one example, in place for the third and second century mysteries of Despoina at Lycosura; breast-feeding women were also not allowed to participate (*LSCG*, no. 68.11-13). Yet, such regulations prove that 'normally' women were allowed to enter such places,

¹⁴⁴ Excavations at shrines of Asclepius have revealed several dedications in the forms of breasts and uterus; these further indicate Asclepius's interest in women's reproductive functions, as King has commented (King, 1998: 100).

¹⁴⁵ If she was, in fact, from the Messenian town Pherai, the distance to Epidaurus would have been considerably less, although still significant: well over one hundred kilometres, c. 130km.

and these prohibitions probably were not in place at each sanctuary (cf. Dillon, 1997: 188).

In addition to the examples already given, the extant Epidaurian cure inscriptions include three more testimonies by female pilgrims. Ambrosia of Athens allegedly regained vision in her blind eye after her visit to the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 423.4). Another case inscribed on this stele concerns a dropsical Spartan woman, Arata, who was apparently cured thanks to her mother visiting Asclepius's shrine at Epidaurus and the two women sharing a healing dream (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 423.21). Both Ambrosia and the mother of Arata had to travel for a good few days to reach the sanctuary, for both Athens and Sparta are about one hundred kilometres away from Epidaurus by land. Finally, Arasippe of Caphyae went to this healing sanctuary when plagued by worms, travelling some ninety kilometres to reach the sanctuary (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 423.42).¹⁴⁷

To sum up the origins of known female pilgrims to Epidaurus: Ceos, Troezen, Messenia, Epeiros, Pellana, Athens, Sparta, Pherae and Kaphyiai (cf. Dillon, 1997: 192).¹⁴⁸ We may gather from this list that the sanctuary commonly attracted female pilgrims from a radius of about one hundred kilometres—a considerable distance in Antiquity—and occasionally women came there from much further afield.

4.3 Oracles

Women's visits to oracular centres have not received much scholarly attention. Dillon, for example, in his work on pilgrims, spares just two paragraphs on female consultations of the oracle at Delphi and offers no general discussion on the topic

¹⁴⁶ The cult of Asclepius was, apparently, introduced to Sicyon by a woman; Nicagora of Sicyon, mother of Agasicles and wife of Echetimus, is said to have brought it from Epidaurus [in the fifth century BCE] (Pausanias, 2.10.3).

¹⁴⁷ It would appear that for smaller medical problems women (and men) did not travel to the major healing sanctuaries, but relied on local ones. From Crete, for example, we have an inscription, dating to the second or first century BCE, by a woman thanking Asclepius for healing her sore finger (*IC* 1.17 no. 19 = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 441).

¹⁴⁸ The Tegean Poet Anyte, of course, may also have visited the sanctuary at Epidaurus (see p. 107).

beyond presuming that women did not visit oracular centres as often as healing sanctuaries (Dillon, 1997: 192). While he does not explain why he thinks women consulted oracles less often than healing gods, this must surely be correct. However, by not making any attempt to investigate the frequency of female consultations of oracles, while emphasising the fact that this was not an exclusively male prerogative, he gives the false impression—although not making explicit claims—that it was at least relatively common for women to consult oracles; the available evidence does not support this view.

Plutarch claims women were not allowed to approach the prophetic shrine at Delphi (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 385d). On this issue he was, however, mistaken; some women did visit this and other oracular centres.¹⁴⁹ Euripides's play *Ion* indicates that women could consult oracles either with their husbands or on their own, for Ion asks Creusa whether she has come alone or with her husband, and although she had travelled with her husband, she consults the oracle alone. Moreover, Ion's question whether she travelled alone implies that it would have been conceivable for the Greeks that Creusa had travelled to the sanctuary without a male guardian (Euripides, *Ion*, 299). The central characters Xuthus and Creusa also had slave women with them on their pilgrimage to Delphi, although they were not allowed to enter the temple (cf. Euripides, *Ion*, 1250; cf. Dillon, 1997: 192).

In general, there appears not to have been any laws or customs barring women from consulting oracles, and some women evidently did seek help from oracular centres: Euripides's female characters had real life counterparts. However, we have only very few historical examples of women consulting oracles, whether alone or with a male guardian. A rare example of a woman consulting an oracle alone is Nicocrateia, who consulted the Oracle of Zeus at Dodona when she was struck with some unspecified illness:

Nicocrateia consults by sacrificing to which of the gods she may fare better and more well and may cease from her illness (*Syll.*³ 1161 = Parke, 1967: 268 no.15).

¹⁴⁹ Dillon conjectures that it is possible that women had ceased to consult the oracle by Plutarch's time (Dillon, 2000: 479).

As with healing sanctuaries, matters relating to fertility were at the top of women's agenda when consulting oracles. From Delphi, for example, we have a late fourth century BCE inscription concerning a woman requesting help from the Pythian Apollo on having a child. According to the inscription, the oracle's promise that she would become pregnant was fulfilled within eleven months, and repeatedly after three years (*Fouilles de Delphes*, 3.1.560; Parke and Wormell, 1956: no. 334; cf. Fontenrose, 19, H34; cf. Dillon, 1997: 192; Dillon, 2000: 479).¹⁵⁰

In 86 BCE, the city of Delphi awarded the right to consult the oracle, and, moreover, the distinguished right to be heard first, to Polygnota, the female harpist we have already met (Pleket 6 = Lefkowitz and Fant, 1992: no. 306; cf. Robert, 1938: 38; Westermann, 1932: 21; see pp. 114-115).

While we do not know whether Polygnota ever used her right to consult the oracle, we have over six hundred references to enquiries and responses at the Delphic Oracle; many of these belong, however, to the realm of legends and fiction. Less than half a dozen of the known enquiries are by women. Moreover, none of the female consultations has been accepted as genuinely historical; Fontenrose, for example, regards only one of them as *quasi*-historical, while claiming that the rest are legendary (Fontenrose, 1978: Q135, L2, L28, L130). The one that he believes to be quasi-historical dates to c. 520 BCE and concerns Telesilla of Argos; according to Plutarch, she enquired how to recover from sickness, and she was told to serve the muses (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 245c = Fontenrose, 1978: Q135).

While Delphi continued to be an important oracular centre in the Hellenistic period, others rose in repute and prominence to compete with it; no doubt partly due to the fact that an increasing number of Greeks were now living far from Delphi in the new Hellenistic kingdoms. One of the oracular centres that experienced such a growth in stature in this period was Didyma, which was situated on the East coast of the Aegean—near Miletus—thus closer to the Greek colonists in the new Hellenistic kingdoms than Delphi. A sign of Didyma's new fame is the fact that it had won a new place in the Greek literature—in legends usually modelled around Delphi—so that characters in the lost poems of Callimachus's rival Apollonius of Rhodes, for example, consulted Didyma (Parke, 1985: 56-57).

¹⁵⁰ Since most of the enquiry, including the name of the enquirer, is lost, it is possible that the person who actually consulted the oracle was the husband of the woman, as Parke and Fontenrose believe (Parke and Wormell, 1956: no. 334; cf. Fontenrose, 19, H34).

Surviving epigraphic and literary sources contain thirty-three historical consultations and/or responses from Didyma; these range from the early sixth century BCE to the early fourth century CE (Fontenrose, 1988: nos. 1-33). Out of these thirty-three consultations, only three [9%] are by women; two of them are by the same woman, Alexandra, Priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros (*I.Didyma*, 496A, 496B = Fontenrose, 1988: nos. 22-23). The other woman is not known by name (*I.Didyma*, 501 = *I.Magnesia* 228; Fontenrose, 1988: no. 24). Both women consulted the oracle on religious matters, in the second century CE.

Although there are no earlier references for women consulting the oracle at Didyma, the second century CE date ought not to be considered as the time when women were first allowed to consult the oracle. If one was to make that argument, then one would be forced, by the same rationale (of existing evidence), to argue that the same second century date was the date that women ceased to consult the oracle, for no later records of women's consultations survive. It would appear very odd if women were first prohibited from consulting the oracle, then suddenly allowed, only for this right to be taken away from them almost immediately. Moreover, if the two women were unique, it would be very striking that both of their consultations left lasting records (without any indication that they were extraordinary enquirers). The scarcity of evidence does not, however, permit us to judge whether it was common or rare for women to consult the oracle at Didyma.

We also cannot say whether women came to Didyma from distant places, for neither of the women we know to have consulted the oracle reveals her origins. In general, we know that the Didymaeans accepted sacrifices and votive offerings for Apollo from foreigners as well as citizens, although most, c. 45%, of the clients were either locals or the state of Miletus (see a list of references in Fontenrose, 1988: 67n8, 104-105, cf. 62). Although the *foreign* offerings are mostly by states and/or statesmen, we cannot rule out the possibility that foreign women would have travelled to this oracular centre too, because we know that there were no prohibitions on either women or foreigners; indeed, both groups are attested as having been there (yet, we lack positive evidence for foreign women). All we can argue with certainty is that some women, probably far fewer than men, did consult the oracle at Didyma.¹⁵¹

¹⁵¹ The prophet who spoke for Apollo Didymeus at Didyma was a woman, as is evident from an inscription by a hydrophor of Artemis Pythie; unfortunately, however, we know nothing about the entry requirements nor origins of the prophetesses (Fontenrose, 1988: 55-56).

To do a thorough and systematic analysis of women's visits to each oracular centre would be a mammoth task; clearly beyond the limited scope of this thesis. Moreover, the picture would most probably not change much from what we have gathered from Delphi and Didyma, for brief overviews of inscriptions from other sites appear to give similar results, i.e. women *did* consult other oracles too, but not very frequently and never as often as men. For example, Parke's selection of enquiries made at Dodona in Epirus—which is not exhaustive (he did not have access to some unpublished inscriptions), although representative—includes just two enquiries by women. Only one woman appears to have consulted the oracle alone; this woman is the Nicocrateia we have already come across (see p. 143; cf. Parke, 1967: 259). In addition to her, just one other woman appears in the twenty-nine private enquiries that Parke has edited:

Gods. Good Fortune. Evandros and his *wife* [my italics] enquire of Zeus Naios and Dione by praying and sacrificing to what of the gods or heroes or supernatural powers they may fare better and more well, themselves and their household both now and for all time (Parke, 1967: 263 no. 1).

It is worth noting that for most of the Greeks Dodona was very much an out-of-the-way oracular centre (cf. Parke, 1967: 279). Most visitors would, therefore, have had to make a considerable effort to reach the place; including, one assumes, the priestesses who worked there (Parke, 1967: 54, 66, 82n7, 158). Unfortunately, we do not know the origins of Nicocrateia or Evandros and his wife. Indeed, as Parke points out, inscriptions of private enquiries do not usually state where the enquirer came from; Parke's selection of enquiries from Dodona has only two examples in which the place of origin is mentioned: one (male) enquirer came from Ambracia and another from Athens (Parke, 1967: 113).

A note should be made on consultations of oracles before colonisation. Herodotus would have us believe that it was customary for the Archaic colonists to consult the Delphic oracle on matters to do with colonisation (Herodotus, 5.42). Cicero likewise claimed that the Greeks consulted Delphi, Dodona or Ammon before establishing new colonies (Cicero, *De Divinatione*, 1.1.3; Londey, 1990: 117-127). Some colonists certainly did consult Delphi, for example, before embarking on their expedition, but, as Londey has demonstrated, this was never a universal practice, let

alone obligatory (Londey, 1990: 125). Colonisation was, therefore, a secular matter as such. Nevertheless, religious issues had to be taken into consideration when founding new colonies and cities, as will be demonstrated later (see pp. 161-164).

4.4 Ordinary Temples

Healing sanctuaries and oracular centres were exceptional places, which understandably attracted foreigners, including women. In addition to these sacred sites, there were literally thousands of ordinary temples and shrines around the Greek world. It would not be feasible to do a thorough study on whether each and everyone of them allowed foreign women to enter them; nor would we have enough evidence for such a study. One or two representative examples will be in order, however, to demonstrate that many (most?) of the regular Greek temples around the Hellenistic world accepted foreign worshippers of both sex.

The rules set out for the worshippers at the temple of Athena at Pergamon in the second century BCE reveal splendidly that not only foreign men but also foreign women visited Greek temples:

a(gneue/twsan de _kai_ ei)si&twsan ei)j to_n
 qeo[u= nao_n]
 oi# te poli=tai kai_ alloi pa&ntej a)po_ me_n
 th=j i)di&aj
 g[unai]ko_j ka[i _] tou= i)di&ou a)ndro_j
 au)qhmero/n, a)po_ de
 a)llotri/aj kai_ a)llotri/ou deuterai=oi
 lousa/menoi

Whoever wishes to visit the temple of the goddess [Athene Nikephoros], whether a resident of the city or anyone else, must refrain from intercourse with his wife (or husband) that day, from intercourse with another than his wife (or husband) for the preceding two days, and must complete the required lustrations... (*Syll.*³ 982.3-6 = Grant, 1953: 6).

The inscription also includes rules against meeting pregnant women—as well as corpses—prior to visiting the temple, but for our current purposes the important thing about this inscription is its statement that both ‘citizens [of Pergamon] and anyone else’ have to behave in accordance with the rules just before and during their stay at the temple. The reference to ‘anyone else,’ of course, proves that the temple welcomed foreign worshippers. Furthermore, the rule dealing with sexual purity of husbands *and wives* indicates that women as well as men entered this place of worship. We may be relatively sure, therefore, that both local and foreign women visited this temple [of Athena at Pergamon], or at least they could have done should they have chosen to do so.

It actually appears that religious sanctuaries took pride in the fact that they attracted foreign visitors. An inscription from Demetrias on the Pegasean Gulf, which gives the order of the procedure at the oracle and dates to c. 100 BCE, gives a good indication of this. It is stated in this decree that one of the reasons the city takes particular care of the maintenance of the holy place is the fact that many foreigners visit it (*Syll.*³ 790. I-II = Grant, 1953: 34-37).

4.5 Panhellenic Festivals

The issue whether women attended religious festivals, such as the Olympic games, received very little attention from scholars before the late 1990s. What we now know about female pilgrimage and attendance at religious festivals is largely thanks to two studies by Dillon (1997 and 2000). What follows here owes much to his work even when not directly cited.

Thucydides quotes a passage from the Homeric Hymn to Apollo which indicates that women and children, from various cities, were spectators at the Delian festival as well as at the Ionian festival at Ephesos (Thucydides, 3.104.3-5). Pindar provides evidence that there were female spectators, at least local girls at the Pythian games at Delphi in the fifth century BCE (Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 9.97-103). We also know that women were present at the Panathenaic and Isthmian festivals (Dillon,

2000: 457-458, 469). The Isthmian games grew in popularity in the Hellenistic period to the extent that a new and larger stadium had to be built to accommodate all (Gebhard, 1993: 168). The contestants and spectators came from a wide area, which is why the Graeco-Macedonian kings—such as Philip II, Alexander III, and Philip V—and later Roman generals, found it a useful place to give important announcements that concerned all the Greeks (Diodorus, 16.89; Polybius, 18.46; Plutarch, *Flamininus*, 10.3-11; Gebhard, 1993: 168).¹⁵² On the basis of the evidence for the above-mentioned festivals, Dillon conjectures that women were also allowed to attend the Nemean festival (Dillon, 2000: 458, 469). Although much of the evidence is early, with no evidence to the contrary, one assumes that all these festivals welcomed women also in the Hellenistic period.

Festivals and games were also held at Epidaurus, the famous healing sanctuary; both artistic and athletic, e.g. boxing, competitions are known to have been held there—also in the Hellenistic period. These contests were organised at five-year intervals, nine days after the Isthmian games (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: nos. 556-560). The games were judged by officials called ἑλληνοδῖται (*IG IV² 1.98* [third century BCE?] = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no. 557a). This, according to L. Edelstein, implies that the games received Panhellenic importance (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: 2.209). Since we know that women visited the sanctuary in general (see pp. 138-142), and because we have no evidence for any prohibition of women attending these Epidaurian games, it would seem probable that they would have been allowed to attend these games too.

Similar festivals for Asclepius were also held in many other places; the one in Pergamum being particularly popular among Greeks from various places (Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: 2.195). A late fourth or early third century BCE inscription from Euboea reveals that not only women, but girls as young and younger than seven years of age could take part at the Eretrian festival in honour of Asclepius (*IG 12.9.194* = Edelstein and Edelstein, 1998: no 787).

Although women were usually allowed to attend games and festivals, as we have seen, they were barred from the most prestigious one, the Olympic games (Pausanias, 5.6.7). As Pausanias writes, the site itself was not prohibited to women

¹⁵² Dio Chrysostom (8.9-10, 9.5), writing at the turn of the first century CE, mentions that the Isthmian festival in honour of Poseidon drew people from all over the Greek world, from France (Massilia) to the Black Sea (Borysthenes).

per se, they are attested as visiting the base (*prothesis*) of the altar of Zeus at Olympia, but women could not attend the actual festivals. Even local women had to go away for the duration of the festival (Pausanias, 5.13.10, 6.20.9).

However, there was one exceptional woman who was allowed and even expected to be present at the Olympic festival, namely the priestess of Demeter Chamyne (Pausanias, 6.20.9). The only recorded case of another woman witnessing the games, and thus breaking this prohibition, concerns Kallipateira (or Pherenike), the widow and mother of boxing champions. She apparently accompanied her son to the games as his coach. According to the story, her gender was revealed in her excitement over her son's victory, and afterwards a law was passed to force trainers to be naked as well as the athletes so that this could not happen again (Pausanias, 5.6.7-8, 6.7.2; cf. Aelian, *Historical Miscellany*, 10.1). Amusing as the story is, it probably holds no truth in it. The story seems to have been invented as an aetiological myth to explain why the trainers, too, had to be in the nude (Dillon, 2000: 460).

While adult women were barred from the Olympic festival, it seems, interestingly, that young unmarried virgin girls, *παρθένοι*, were allowed to attend (Pausanias, 5.6.7, 5.13.10, 6.20.9). Admittedly, the passage in Pausanias regarding the attendance of girls has been contested as corrupt by some scholars, such as Harris, who does not think highly of Pausanias's skills as a historian (Harris, 1964: 183). This view has not, however, won much support (Dillon, 2000: 457). In any case, as has been mentioned, there is no record of any restrictions on female participation, whether children or adults, at the other major athletic festivals (Dillon, 2000: 458). Indeed, as Dillon comments, the fact that Pausanias draws attention to the prohibition of women participating at Olympia most probably signals its uniqueness—or, at least, its rarity (Dillon, 2000: 469; cf. Golden, 1998: 133). When no restrictions are mentioned—the majority of festivals—we must assume that women were welcome.

Once a year all women were permitted into the Hippodameion at Olympia, named after Hippodameia, the wife of Pelops (Pausanias, 6.20.7; Dillon, 2000: 469). According to Pausanias, Hippodameia left Elis after her husband grew angry with her at the death of Chrysis. She settled in Argive Midea, where she also died. Her bones, however, were brought back to Olympia on the advice of an Eleian oracle (Pausanias, 6.20.7). It would appear that this myth provided the pretext for the exclusion of women from the Olympic festival, which centred fundamentally on Pelops (Dillon, 2000: 469). As the wife of Pelops was forced to leave Olympia, so the

wives of Greek men attending the Olympic festival were forced to withdraw from the site during the festivities.¹⁵³

Greek men and women celebrated international festivals also outside mainland Greece. Consider, for instance, the following passage from Strabo:

Now [the Pontic] Comana is a populous city and is a notable emporium for the people of Armenia; and at the times of the “exoduses” [= solemn processions, ε) κο/δου] of the goddess people assemble there from everywhere, from both the cities and the country, *men together with women* [my italics], to attend the festival... and there is a multitude of women who make gain from their persons, most of whom are dedicated to the goddess, for in a way the city is a lesser Corinth, for there too, on account of the multitude of courtesans [εἰρηταιρῶν], who are sacred to Aphrodite, outsiders resorted in great numbers and kept holiday (Strabo, 12.3.36).

This passage in Strabo is perhaps our best piece of evidence for women travelling to attend foreign festivals.

The new Greek settlements in the East also came to have popular festivals with games, such as the games held in honour of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander (cf. Rostovtzeff, 1941: 667). These games were founded in c. 207 BCE after the Magnesians had asked various kings and cities to recognise them. Many of the replies—for example, from Attalus I (*I.Magnesia*, 22), Ptolemy IV (*I.Magnesia*, 23), and the Epirote League (*I.Magnesia*, 32)—survive. The games quickly earned international recognition and prestige; victors were crowned and the games were of Pythian rank, ἰσοπυθιον, as many of the letters, e.g. the ones from Antiochus III and his son Antiochus, reveal (*I.Magnesia*, 18 line 14; *I.Magnesia*, 19 line 14).

Unfortunately, we do not know much about female participation in the Magnesian games beyond the fact that girls and women were required to participate in the religious processions, as is evident from a decree on the religious arrangements

¹⁵³ For the women-only festival, Heraia, at Olympia, see pp. 124-125. Note also that there were two other major festivals for Hera, in addition to the Olympian Heraia; one in Athens and the other at Plataia (Clark, 1998: 17-20, 22-25). The Daidala at Plataia is interesting in that it had two variations; the Little Daidala and the Great Daidala. The former was a rather small scale local festival for the

for this festival, dating to 197/6 BCE (*I.Magnesia*, 98). We do not know whether women actually competed at the Magnesian games, nor do we have evidence for (or against) *foreign* women taking any part in the games.

In contrast, we have clear evidence that foreign women took part in the Anoigmoi (Openings) festival at Didyma. This festival was at least once organised by a woman, namely the hydrophor of Artemis Pythie (*I.Didyma*, 382; Fontenrose, 1988: 76). Another hydrophor managed just the athletic contests, not the entire festival (*I.Didyma*, 385 I; Fontenrose, 1988: 76). In fact, it is possible that the management of the contests was always the responsibility of a female hydrophor, for we have no evidence of any man ever organising these games (Fontenrose, 1988: 126-127). It is notable that the hydrophoroi did not have to be native children of citizens. A first century BCE inscription from Didyma mentions an Athenian hydrophor called Batio, Batiw_ Kor[nhli&ou 70Aqh]nai&ou (*I.Didyma*, 319.1-4). Another inscription, dating to the Roman period, mentions a hydrophor called Apollonia, whose mother was a Samian hydrophor (*I.Didyma*, 312.1-3).¹⁵⁴

Although the Olympic festival was exceptional in its prohibition of women, some other cults and festivals refused entry for certain groups of women. Ethnicity was the ground for excluding women in one case: it was ‘not lawful’ for Dorian women to participate in a cult of Kore on Paros in the fifth century (*LSCG* 110; Dillon, 2000: 478).¹⁵⁵ Thracian women were the only women allowed into the sanctuary of Herakles, the Herakleion, at Erythrai (Pausanias, 7.5.3). These prohibitions would not make sense unless there was mobility of women; certainly from those ethnic groups that were singled out, but probably from wider circles, for otherwise the prohibition would have been made generally on foreign or non-citizen women, not on any particular ethnic group.

Much, but by no means all, of the evidence for women attending festivals is pre-Hellenistic. However, since the Hellenistic age saw a loosening of social restrictions on women in general, it would appear extremely odd and illogical if their

Plataians, but the Great Daidala was a major panboiotian festival attracting participants from many Boiotian cities every sixty years (Pausanias, 9.2-4; Plutarch, frag. 157.6; Clark, 1998: 22-23).

¹⁵⁴ There appears to have been more than occasional religious mobility between Miletus and Samos—or at least Apollonia’s mother was not the only one moving between the two places—for another inscription from Didyma reveals that a mother served on Samos as a *stephanephoros* (*I.Didyma*, 339.1-6).

¹⁵⁵ A calendar of cults at Myconos, dating to c. 200 BCE, includes some prohibition for women—gunaiki_ ou) qe&mi j—but this prohibition seems to be universal, as opposed to targeting certain group of women (*LSCG*, no. 96.9).

right to attend festivals had been taken away from them in this period. Moreover, all the major festivals lasted well into the Roman imperial period (Parker, 1996: 264), and women evidently attended and participated in athletic festivals in the post-Hellenistic period too (Dillon, 2000: 463-464). Therefore, any restrictions on female attendance in the Hellenistic period would be most curious, not to say absurd. Indeed, we have enough evidence to suggest that it was not uncommon for women to attend Panhellenic festivals, even if it meant that they had to travel considerable distances to reach the sites.

4.6 Mystery Cults

The most famous mystery cult of the ancient world was that of Demeter celebrated at Eleusis, near Athens.¹⁵⁶ The Greater Mysteries at Eleusis were celebrated every year, but with special emphasis every four years. Clinton has quite rightly made a point of emphasising the fact that Eleusis was part of Athens, i.e. not a separate *polis* but a *deme* of Athens, already in the fifth century BCE (Clinton, 1993: 110). However, the site of Eleusis is sufficiently distant, c. 22 km, from central Athens that one may justifiably regard it as another town/city, even if it was not administratively independent. In any case, as Dillon mentions, the trip from Athens to Eleusis would have taken the better part of the day and participation in the mysteries would have required several days' presence at the site, hence "the Eleusinian Mysteries constituted a pilgrimage not only for the non-Athenians being initiated, but also for those Athenians involved" (Dillon, 1997: xix).

Clinton has also argued that the Eleusinian mysteries were a transformed and enlarged version of the much older Thesmophoria and similar women only fertility festivals (Clinton, 1993: 120). Whether the mysteries indeed began as a women only festival or not, by the time of the Hellenistic age it was not such; it was open to men

¹⁵⁶ For the definition of mystery cults, see Pakkanen (1996: 64-68) and Burkert (1987: 3-4, 8, 11).

as well as women. Among the attested initiates are men *and* women of all ages, both free and slave (Mylonas, 1962: 243-244, 282).¹⁵⁷

Unlike some other cults and mysteries, the Eleusinian mysteries could only be held at Eleusis and nowhere else, hence most initiates had to travel to be initiated.¹⁵⁸ Thousands of people were prepared to do that; the mysteries attracted initiates from all over the Hellenistic world. Basically everyone was welcome as long as one spoke Greek (cf. Isocrates, 4.157; Mylonas, 1962: 282). In fact, the sanctuary positively encouraged this international attendance by sending messengers to various (all?) Greek city-states ‘advertising’ the event; they proclaimed a fifty-five day truce, asked for tithes of first fruits, and for official delegates, *γεωροί*/, to be sent to the sanctuary (*IG* II² 1672; *Syll.*³ 42; Aeschines, *On the Embassies*, 133; Mylonas, 1962: 244; Pakkanen, 1996: 34). The evidence for Eleusinian ‘propaganda,’ in the forms of literature and iconography, from a variety of places, ranging from modern Russia to Italy and Egypt, has been studied by Burkert (Burkert, 1987: 37). This marketing appears to have paid off, for the mysteries grew in popularity in the early Hellenistic period, and became ever more Panhellenic in nature. Nevertheless, regardless of the growing number of foreign (yet non-barbarian) visitors and initiates, the Eleusinian mysteries remained an Athenian city-state cult and there were no significant changes in the character of the mysteries. “It [the cult of Demeter at Eleusis] focused people’s attention on the old traditions and on the special identity of the Greeks as *Hellenes*” (Pakkanen, 1996: 29).

Actual references to women participating at the mysteries, apart from the priestesses and other female officials, are in fact rare, but this does not reflect them not being common initiates (Pakkanen, 1996: 34n67). Athenaeus recalls a story of a Thespian courtesan, Phryne, taking part in the mysteries; she is said to have taken a bath in the river Cephissus taking great care that the other participants in the procession from Athens to Eleusis could not see her naked (Athenaeus, 13.590e-f). Another famous woman known to have taken part in the Eleusinian mysteries is Neaira. She, her sister, and their owner—also a woman—Nikarete, had the chance to travel from Corinth to Athens [distance c. 80km], in order to take part in the

¹⁵⁷ Burkert writes that the admission to the Eleusinian mysteries was ‘largely’ independent of sex [or age], but he does not clarify what restrictions he believed there to be for women [or men] (Burkert, 1987: 8).

¹⁵⁸ This was in sharp contrast to many other cults, e.g. Dionysus was worshipped everywhere in the Greek world (Burkert, 1987: 5).

procession. They were taken there by the orator Lysias, a regular client of Neaira's sister Metaneira, in the mid-380s (Demosthenes, 59, *Against Neaira*, 23; cf. Hamel, 2003: 16, 22).¹⁵⁹ Lais, from Hyccara in Sicily, is yet another *hetaira* known to have visited Eleusis. After she had been captured and brought to Corinth, one Aristippus took her as his mistress; they travelled to the festival every year, spending two months in the area (Athenaeus, 13.588c-e).¹⁶⁰

The Eleusinian mystery cult was undeniably the most famous and influential mystery cult in ancient Greece. The other major mystery cults were those of the Great Gods of Samothrace, Dionysos, and the 'Oriental' cults of the Great Mother, Mithras, and the Egyptian cults, notably that of Isis (Graf, 2003: 241). The Eleusinian and the Samothracian mysteries were unique and could only be held at the sanctuaries in question. The other mystery cults were not, however, attached to certain locations; they were held in numerous places and were more local in nature. It is unlikely, therefore, that women would have travelled long distances to be initiated in the cult of Isis, for example. Only the Eleusinian and Samothracian mysteries, in other words, were likely to cause significant amount of female mobility.

While not quite as popular as the Eleusinian mysteries, the Samothracian mysteries attracted visitors, both men and women, from many places. Philip II and Olympias, Alexander's parents, famously met each other for the first time while both were being initiated at the Samothracian mysteries (Plutarch, *Alexander*, 2.2; Burkert, 1993: 185). Another royal woman known to have gone to Samothrace was Arsinoe I, who fled Alexandria in 280 BCE and took refuge on the island (Justin, 24.3.9; *Samothrace* 2.1 no. 10, pp. 5-6; Burkert, 1993: 185). Another Ptolemaic queen, Berenike I, has also left a dedication on Samothrace (*Samothrace* 2.1 no. 11).

It was not only royal women, however, who visited the Samothracian sanctuary; 'normal' women travelled there too, although apparently not nearly as often as men. In the collection of inscriptions from Samothrace that was published by Fraser, in 1958, there are 307 Greek names, of which only half a dozen or so are women's names (*Samothrace* 2.1, pp. 142-145). Moreover, of the 137 *initiates* with Greek names in Fraser's list, *none* are women (*Samothrace* 2.1, nos. 25-61). Fraser's list is

¹⁵⁹ A few years after their trip to Eleusis, Neaira and Nikarete travelled to Athens for the second time. This time accompanied by Simon of Thessaly, who probably took the women to the Panathenaia of 378 (Demosthenes, 59, *Against Neaira*, 24; Hamel, 2003: 23).

¹⁶⁰ Women *initiates* are mentioned by Callimachus in his sixth Hymn, and Aristophanes in his play *Plutus* (Callimachus, *Hymn 6, To Demeter*; Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1013-1015).

not, however, exhaustive of all known inscriptions from Samothrace. We do know, for example, that a second century BCE female citharist, Menulla, went to Samothrace from the Macedonian town Cassandreia with Eirene (her slave?) in order to be initiated, $\text{Me}\&\text{nulla}\text{79Ippostra}\&\text{tou}\ \text{Kassandreia}=\text{tij}\ \text{kiqari}\&\text{stria}:\ \text{a0ko}\&\text{louqoj}\ \text{Ei0rh}\&\text{nh}$ (*SEG* 2.504; Tataki, 1998: 92). This is remarkable, because Samothrace is a very isolated (and small) island—about 200 kilometres from Menulla’s home city, Cassandreia, by sea. Her trip is, therefore, a clear indication of the wide reputation and appeal of the Samothracian mysteries, even among foreign women (cf. Burkert, 1993: 178).

In addition to Menulla, Eirene and the royal women, we know of three *Roman* women who were initiated at Samothrace; one—Antonia—in the late Hellenistic period, and two—Rupilia wife of C. Marius Schinas¹⁶¹ and Oulpia Alexandra wife of Ti. Claudius Eulaios—in the early imperial period (*Samothrace* 2.1, nos. 31, 36, and 47).¹⁶² It is, of course, impossible to tell how representative these examples are. It could be that many more women were initiated at Samothrace than the epigraphic records indicate, but it is also possible that, owing to its remote location, Samothrace did not attract many women—they were, however, clearly allowed to be initiated, as the few examples prove.

In addition to the major mysteries, there were numerous lesser mysteries. For example, Arcadia alone had—at least—thirteen sanctuaries with mystery cults (Jost, 2003: 143). Most of the participants in the various mystery cults celebrated in Hellenistic Arcadia were probably locals or from nearby towns and villages. Nevertheless, probably all of them were panhellenic, or panarcadian at the very least, i.e. participation was not restricted to locals. In regards to the Mistress or Despoina at Lycosoura, Pausanias writes that she is the principal object of devotion and worship in Arcadia (Pausanias, 8.37.9). As Jost has recently commented, Pausanias clearly indicates that the celebration of the sacrifice and mysteries at Lycosoura was a matter

¹⁶¹ Schinas went to Samothrace with his entire household, including over twenty of his slaves (*Samothrace* 2.1, no. 36.18-29).

¹⁶² Another point of interest is the fact that almost none of the *new* Hellenistic cities sent state ambassadors, $\text{qewroi}\&$, to the Samothracian sanctuary, although it was exactly in the Hellenistic period that the Samothracian mysteries were at the height of their popularity among the old Greek cities (*Samothrace* 2.1, nos. 22-24, appendices III A-B, pp. 15). As Fraser has commented, “[...] Samothrace was unaffected by those political and social trends of the Hellenistic and Roman periods which led to the growth of syncretism, [...] it forms a significant element in the total picture of Hellenistic religion, in which the survival of the traditional in religious practice is of no less importance than the development and Hellenization of exotic cults” (*Samothrace* 2.1, p. 17).

for the Arcadians at large, not simply the inhabitants of Lycosoura (Jost, 2003: 146). Only five of the thirteen Arcadian mystery cults were celebrated within a city—Mantineia, Megalopolis, Pheneos, Heraia and Phigalia—hence most worshippers had to make some effort to reach the sanctuaries (Jost, 2003: 147). Unfortunately, not much is known of women's participation in these mysteries.¹⁶³

The regulations concerning the mysteries of Despoina (the 'Mistress') at Lycosoura give the clearest indication that also women, provided that they were neither pregnant nor nursing, were welcomed into the Arcadian sanctuaries and allowed to be initiated into the mysteries. An inscription stating the rules for those to be initiated in these mysteries includes a dress code for women, thus proving that women were allowed to participate (*IG* V.2, 514 = Grant, 1953: 26-27). Indeed, it would be odd if they would have been prohibited from this, as some of these sanctuaries had female priestesses in addition to male priests (cf. Jost, 2003: 157). In fact, the mysteries of Demeter Thesmia at Pheneos *may* have been exclusively for women; the evidence, however, does not allow us to argue emphatically for or against this assumption (Jost, 2003: 155).

According to Pausanias, the mysteries of the Great Gods (or Goddesses) in Andania in Messene were most impressive, second only to the Eleusinian festival (Pausanias, 4.33.5). What matters for us is that women were not only allowed to participate in these mysteries, but they were integral for the processions. Consider the various female roles mentioned in an inscription, dating to 92 BCE, concerning the procession at the mysteries:

Regarding the festival procession. The Procession is to be led by Mnasistratos; then follows the priest of the gods whose mysteries are being celebrated, together with the *priestess* [all italics are mine], then the director of the games, sacrificing priests, and the flute players; following them the *sacred virgins* draw the cart, their order of precedence being determined by lot, and in the cart is the chest containing the sacred objects. Following these come the *stewardess* of the temple of Demeter and her assistants, who have already begun

¹⁶³ Graf (2003) has recently conducted an admirable study on the lesser mysteries, yet his work does not shed any light on the movements of women. On the lesser mysteries, see also Burkert, 1987: 4 with note 16.

their work [?], the *priestess of Demeter of the Hippodrome and Demeter* in Aigila; then come the *holy [consecrated?] women*, one by one, as the lot has determined their order, and the *holy [consecrated?] men*, in order assigned them by the Council of Ten. The overseer of the *women* is to determine by lot the order of precedence of the *consecrated women and virgins*, and shall take care that they have place in the procession assigned to them by the lot (*Syll.*³ 736 = Grant, 1953: 31).

This inscription also includes rules concerning women's clothing (*Syll.*³ 736). This implies that the female cult officials were not the only women present at the festival; it must have attracted a considerable number of female participants. The inscription does not give any impression that the female participation in this particular mystery cult was exceptional. Indeed, one would expect that women took part and participated in the processions of most mysteries unless we have evidence to the contrary.

The Kabeiroi mystery cults deserve the term 'mystery' in modern terminology better than most such cults, for hardly anything is known of the sanctuaries and rituals of the Kabeiroi; only Lemnos and Thebes (in Boiotia) have surviving physical remains. The origins of the Kabeiroi are clearly outside the Greek world, but they became celebrated in a number of Greek *poleis* already before the classical era, and they received increased prominence in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Schachter, 2003: 121, 132).¹⁶⁴ Despite the foreign origins, these mystery cults came to include local elements. At Thebes, for example, there were two Kabeiroi which were associated either with Dionysos—and his circle—or with Hermes and Pan (Schachter, 2003: 112). Indeed, the cult seems to have been mostly, but not exclusively, celebrated by local people, as onomastic evidence leads to conclude. Yet, it is to be noted that the initiation for these mysteries was open to *all*, both men and women alike, not just the locals. In terms of gender ratio, we find that a significant proportion, although not majority, of the known dedications were made by women (Schachter, 2003: 113, 122). A woman from the nearby town of Thespieae, approximately a day's walk away from Thebes, is among those who made

¹⁶⁴ For the origins of the Kabeiroi rites see a passage in Pausanias (9.25.5-7), which Schachter, for example, holds as accurate in the light of archaeological evidence (Schachter, 2003: 135).

dedications at the sanctuary in the Hellenistic period (*IG VII*, 2420, lines 7-8; Schachter, 2003: 113).

4.7 Concluding Remarks on Female Pilgrims

While warfare was probably the greatest mover of women in the Hellenistic period if we consider permanent relocations—not only did huge numbers of women follow their mercenary fathers and husbands, but perhaps even more women had to leave their home *poleis* as refugees or enslaved captives—religion was probably otherwise the prime mover of women.

We have been careful not to confuse modern terminology on pilgrims and pilgrimage, for the ancient Greeks did not travel to sacred sites because every individual was expected to do so—as modern Muslims, for example, are expected to do—nor did they take part in pilgrimage with the view of securing salvation, as Christian pilgrims do. What is considered as pilgrimage here is simply any visit to a sacred site outside one's normal place of residence.

Many women from all over the Greek world, both before and during the Hellenistic period, took part in the Thesmophoria festivals, which were habitually held some distance from the towns (*OCD*³, 1509; Lowe, 1998). Similarly, many of the rites for Artemis—for which women were responsible—were held just outside cities (Cole, 1998: 27). However, in neither case did the participating women have to stay 'abroad' over night, hence women who took part in these rites did not, normally, travel according to our definition of mobility. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that women had to fulfil these rites, out of town without male guardians, for the good of the entire community (Cole, 1998: 27). Indeed, while there was no personal obligation to go on a pilgrimage, it was vital for the Hellenistic states that their citizens undertook to visit certain foreign sanctuaries and oracular centres, which occasionally were far away, at specific times of the year. Sometimes these religious ambassadors were women. Most notably, a group of Athenian women, the so-called Thyiades, travelled without men to Parnassos in order to participate in some women-only rituals with Delphic women (Pausanias, 10.4-6, 10.19, 10.32; Plutarch, *Moralia*,

364E, 365A). Here we have, therefore, a clear example of the crucial role that women could and did have in Greek religion. Moreover, this shows that for the orderly working of the Greek society women were sometimes *required* to go beyond the boundaries of their home *poleis*.

It is difficult to tell whether *all* Greek *poleis* had similar regular tasks—as Athens sending the Thyiades to Delphi—for their women, but it would be odd if Athens was the only civic community to send their women on such missions. In any case, women from all parts of the Greek world, and beyond, travelled individually or with their families to religious sanctuaries for various personal reasons. There will have been various reasons to go on a pilgrimage, but health issues appear to have been the most common motivation for women. Indeed, we have plenty of evidence for women travelling considerable distances to healing sanctuaries. The most famous place of this kind is the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus, but there were numerous other similar sites too. According to the surviving cure inscriptions, *ilamata*, one of the primary reasons for women to resort to the help of the healing gods related to fertility and problems with pregnancy.

Inability to conceive was also the most common—known—reason why women visited oracular centres on their own right. It would appear, however, that although women were welcome at Delphi and other oracular centres, not very many women actually used their right to consult the oracles. A tiny minority of the surviving oracular responses are for enquiries by women; most of these are, moreover, suspect, i.e. only a few enquiries by women can be considered historical.

Clear historical evidence has, however, survived concerning women's association with panhellenic festivals and mystery cults. Only the Olympic games are known to have excluded women from the stands; we assume that women were allowed as spectators to most other festivals, whether they included athletic or dramatic events. Indeed, it has been argued in another chapter that there were many more women who actually competed in various events than has been previously assumed (see pp. 124-130). There were also, of course, some women only festivals, such as the Heraia at Olympia, which attracted women from a wide area. Moreover, women had clear roles in the religious processions, e.g. they acted as *kanephoroi*, which were vital for each of the festivals. Women also occasionally acted as the *agonothetes* or umpires at athletic games. Unlike the spectators, however, most, but not all, of the women involved in the organisation of festivals were locals. At any

rate, religious festivals gave many women a chance to travel and thus ‘to broaden their horizons.’ Visiting panhellenic festivals and meeting fellow Greeks from other areas must have been a very formative experience for the women. Initiation to the Mystery cults, such as the one at Eleusis, will further have had a significant effect on the women. All in all, participation in these cults and festivals was one of the things that marked Greek women *Greek*.

4.8 Religion and Colonisation: Women’s Role

A hypothesis: The Greeks, who are known to have been very conservative, would have wanted to take their gods, cults, and religious rituals with them when they migrated, i.e. once they settled in new areas, they would have wanted to establish new cults, with traditional rites and practices, for gods familiar to them.¹⁶⁵ Since various Greek religious cults and rites required female participation, whether in the form of priestesses or some lesser roles, the colonists *had to* take women with them.¹⁶⁶

This hypothesis works only if one can prove that a) there was continuity in Greek religion and religious practices from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, and b) that the roles restricted to women could only be fulfilled by *Greek* women.

Many scholars, such as Green, have focused on changes in religious practices in the Hellenistic period, and they have concluded that there was a demise in traditional beliefs (Green, 1990: 396-413, 586-601).¹⁶⁷ Without contesting the fact that some

¹⁶⁵ A good indication of the fact that Greeks took their gods and cults with them as they migrated is the fact that the majority of the religious societies, *thiasoi*, of foreigners (or slaves) at Hellenistic and Roman Cos were for the traditional Greek deities: Athena, Apollo, Halios, Hermes and Dionysus (Sherwin-White, 1978: 361).

¹⁶⁶ Dillon is responsible for the best and most comprehensive study on the various female roles in Greek religion (Dillon, 2002). A very brief but good summary of these roles is to be found in Gould (1980: 50-51). Note also that there were numerous women-only cults; these were not designed simply for the benefit of the women, but they were held for the common good of the communities (Cole, 1998: 27; Dillon, 2002: 109-138; Dillon, 2000: 470-471).

¹⁶⁷ The historians concentrating on religious changes have usually found the following four concepts to have been characteristic of Greek religion all over the Hellenistic world: 1) syncretism, 2) trend towards monotheism, 3) individualism, and 4) cosmopolitanism (Pakkanen, 1996: 2, 85-130). To this list one should add the ‘invention’ of ruler cults (cf. Parker, 1996: 256ff).

Having studied demotic papyri from Ptolemaic Egypt, Clarysse has noted that some Graeco-Macedonian immigrants gradually integrated into Egyptian society and adopted native religious practices (Clarysse, 1992: 53). An important point needs to be made, however: according to Clarysse’s

changes did occur, other scholars have maintained that the most important and universal concepts in regards to the religion and religious practices of the Hellenistic Greeks were continuity and conservatism. Gehrke, for example, begins a section on religion in his general work on Hellenistic history with the following lines: “Zunächst gilt es, auch auf diesem Gebiet auf die Kontinuitäten hinzuweisen. Keineswegs wurde das religiöse im Hellenismus revolutioniert. Alte Kulte behielten ihren Platz...” (Gehrke, 2003: 78).¹⁶⁸

The evidence for Hellenistic Athens, as presented by Mikalson, is overwhelmingly in favour of continuity and conservatism; small changes occurred, but only very gradually (Mikalson, 1998). Indeed, it is very clear that the Athenians held it paramount that in religious matters one should act in the ancestral way, *kata_ ta_ pa/tria* (Mikalson, 1998: 4). It is unfortunate, as Mikalson laments, that “in the current state of scholarship it is difficult to compare religion in Hellenistic Athens to that in other cities of either mainland Greece or Asia Minor” (Mikalson, 1998: 315). Difficult as it is to make such comparisons, there is enough evidence to suggest that the Athenians were not uniquely conservative; most Greeks held on to traditional beliefs and practices throughout the Hellenistic period. Graf has demonstrated this to have been the case in the Greek city-states in Ionia (Graf, 1985: 140-146, 367-377, 374; cf. Mikalson, 1998: 320). And research on architecture and numismatics in the Ptolemaic and Seleucid kingdoms reveals a considerable amount of continuity in the religious practices of the Greeks living within these kingdoms.¹⁶⁹

Religious continuity can also be seen in places like Ai Khanoum in Bactria, even though no remains of Greek temples have been found there (cf. Rapin, 1990: 338). The excavated temples appear as oriental, but a closer look at the temple architecture indicates that the temples *did* include some Greek elements alongside the predominantly Mesopotamian style (Hannestad and Potts, 1990: 96-98). Moreover, a stone stele containing five maxims that appear in Apollo’s sanctuary at Delphi has been found in the city (Burstein, 1985: no. 49). “Their public exhibition in this place

dating, the evidence for the acculturation is later than 210 BCE; hence we may still, under current light of evidence, be relatively safe in assuming that at least the early immigrants relied exclusively or near exclusively on Greek gods.

¹⁶⁸ Parker (1996) and Mikalson (1998) are other notable scholars discussing religious continuity at some length.

¹⁶⁹ For religious architecture in Ptolemaic Egypt, see Noshay (1937: 143-144) and Venit (2002: 95). For religious architecture in Seleucid Asia, see Hannestad and Potts (1990: 101-104), *SEG* 12.556 (cf. Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.20.3-4), and Cohen (1978: 82). For religious motifs in Seleucid coinage, see Zahle (1990: 127, 134) and Rapin (1990: 340).

of honor [sic] offers striking testimony to the colonists' desire to remain loyal to their distant heritage" (Bernard, 1982: 133).

It appears, therefore, that the Hellenistic colonists imported their gods, cults, and religious practices as they settled abroad, but could *native* women have fulfilled the important female roles? The short answer is no. The first obstacle for non-Greek women would have been their lack of citizenship. As Kosmopoulou states, "metics, and even more so slaves, were not suited for such important positions, linked with the totality of civic affairs" (Kosmopoulou, 2001: 293).

Inheritance was the earliest and the most extensive method of acquiring a priesthood, whether feminine or masculine, as Turner has demonstrated in her PhD thesis on this topic (Turner, 1983: 2, 234). Furthermore, it was not only one's paternal, but also maternal ancestry that mattered (Turner, 1983: 26). Illustrative of this fact is a third century inscription from Perge in Pamphylia, found at the temple of Artemis Pergaia, which reveals four qualification requirements for the priesthood of Artemis: 1) only a woman could fulfil this task; 2) she had to be a citizen; 3) she had to actually live in the city, *astú*; 4) three generations of both her paternal *and* maternal family line had to have lived in the city (*LSAM*, no. 73.4-9 = *Syll.*³ 1015; cf. Detienne, 1989: 136; Vatin, 1970: 299).¹⁷⁰ As we can see, it would have been very difficult, if not impossible, for barbarian women to achieve Greek priesthoods. It follows that if and when Greek colonists wanted to preserve their religion and religious practices as they had been for centuries, they needed *Greek* women to migrate with them.¹⁷¹

As was mentioned in the general introduction to this thesis, there are two inscriptions that appear to show that Greek colonists 'imported' women with religious expertise. Both of them refer to the inhabitants of Magnesia on the Maeander. The first of these explicitly states that the early colonists had priests *and* priestesses among them (*I.Magnesia*, 20, lines 23-24; quoted on pp. 201-202). The

¹⁷⁰ This three generation rule appears to have been the usual custom of other Greek cities too, as Oliver argues (Oliver, 1970: 45-46). There was, for example, a similar three generation rule on citizenship and participation in the civic cults at second century Olymos (*LSAM*, no. 58).

¹⁷¹ Graham argues almost identically on *Archaic* colonisation: "it is inconceivable that Greeks would ever imagine that the office of priestess could be filled by some native woman. It follows that all properly established colonies needed suitably qualified Greek women to serve as priestesses... women who possessed the traditional knowledge to perform the traditional rites in the traditional way which would alone please the deity concerned... to establish a new Greek community without any Greek women is absurd... The great majority of women in Greek colonies must have been from the beginning Greek" (Graham, 1980/81: 312-313).

second indicates that the Magnesians had to ‘import’ men *and* women familiar with the cult of Dionysos, as the early colonists had failed to establish a cult for this deity. When the Magnesians wondered—in the late third century—why they had seen Dionysos appear on a tree, they consulted the Oracle at Delphi and received the following response:

Magnesians, defenders of my possessions, you want to know the meaning of Dionysos’ appearance in a tree. He appeared as a youth, since when you founded your city you did not build temples for Dionysos. So build them now and appoint a priest. Go to Thebes and fetch Maenads of the family of Ino, Kadmos’ *daughter*. They will establish companies [thiasoi] of Dionysos in the city (*I.Magnesia*, 215 = Fontenrose, 1978: L171; Parke and Wormell, 1956: no. 338).

The particulars of the Maenads to be brought into Magnesia include their names: Kosko, Baubo, and Thettale (*I.Magnesia*, 215, lines 38-40). It is to be admitted that Fontenrose, unlike Parke for example, does not consider this inscription as historical/genuine (Fontenrose, 1978: 410). Even if Fontenrose’s scepticism would prove to be well founded, it must be the case that the third century BCE Magnesians—who inscribed, set up, and viewed this inscription—accepted the idea of importing men and women with religious expertise. In either case, therefore, this inscription strengthens our hypothesis that Hellenistic colonies would have required at least some *Greek* women, with relevant skills and knowledge required to fulfil female tasks in Greek cults.

As persuasive as the theory on religion and colonisation is, it alone cannot prove that large numbers of Greek women did indeed migrate to the new Hellenistic kingdoms. Firmer evidence will be brought forward in the next chapter. What was attempted here was to demonstrate one of the reasons *why* Greek women would have been needed at the new Greek settlements in the East.

5 Colonisation and Greek Women

Previous chapters have already indicated that many individual women found themselves permanently settling in new territories due to a variety of reasons. Some, for example, followed their fathers into exile, others went abroad as their husband joined a foreign mercenary army, and quite a few moved to cities other than their home cities because of employment. It is well known that in addition to mercenaries and exiles, a great number of Greek civilians—architects, artists, sculptors, teachers, traders etc.—emigrated to the new Hellenistic kingdoms (cf. Chamoux, 2003: 197-198), but not a lot of attention has been given to the question whether women took part in the colonisation processes or not. On the contrary, it is often argued, without much justification or evidence, that it was mainly unattached Greek men who went East and founded Greek settlements, marrying native women as they arrived. In this chapter it will be argued that, contrary to the popular belief, huge numbers of Greek women, too, took part in the colonisation of the new Hellenistic kingdoms, right from the start, and that they were, in fact, absolutely integral for the success of the colonisation processes.

We will begin this chapter by squashing the only viable alternative for mixed gender colonisation, i.e. Greek men habitually marrying native women in the East. Following this, it will be argued that many Hellenistic cities had separate living quarters for the various ethnic groups living in them; this further strengthens the belief that the (immigrant) Greeks were very reluctant to mix with non-Greeks. Since the Greeks were not enthusiastic about mixing with the natives, or other non-Greek foreigners, the continuity of the cities within the new kingdoms *as Greek* settlements depended on the presence of Greek women or continuous male reinforcements. While being largely theoretical, the study of mixed marriages and divisions within cities will, therefore, give the impression that Greek women would have had to be among the early colonists. Finally, the sub-chapter on colonisation expeditions and population transfers provides some concrete evidence that Greek women indeed took part in the colonisation of the new kingdoms. While direct evidence for women's involvement in the colonisation expeditions is scarce, arguments from near silence,

i.e. arguments supported by little but firm evidence, together with the theories developed within this chapter as well as the chapter on Greek religion, will provide enough grounds for us to argue with certainty that numerous Greek women were among the colonists.

5.1 Mixed Marriages – Tri/ton de_ ge&noj ou)de_n ilsmen to_ mikto&n.¹⁷²

As mentioned, many scholars have argued that the Hellenistic colonisation was mostly conducted by unattached men, who married and procreated with native women. Welles, for example, in his study on the population of Dura Europus, claims that “more males than females emigrated from Greece and Macedonia in the fourth and third centuries B.C. and many of the males found wives among the people with whom they came to live” (Welles, 1951: 263). The main basis of his argument is the total lack of Graeco-Macedonian women’s names in the earliest records bearing the names of Macedonian men, such as the 190 BCE parchment that records certain contracts (Welles, 1951: 262-267; Cumont, 1926: 286-296, parchment 1). The obvious weakness of this argument is that the parchment does not include any names of native women either. Furthermore, almost all the women of the ruling class of Dura Europus that appear on later sources have Graeco-Macedonian names (Welles, 1951: 263). And less than ten percent of the women’s names inscribed on the stone seats in the temples of Artemis-Nannaia and Azzanathkona at Dura Europus are Aramaic (Welles, 1951: 263). There are also further clues to suggest that the Greeks at Dura Europus, on the whole, did not marry native women, but we shall discuss these a little later (see p. 170).

Welles is by no means the only scholar to argue for (primarily) single sex Greek colonisation in the Hellenistic period. Fraser, for example, conjectured that the Cyrenean constitution (*SEG* 9.1; cf. *SEG* 18.726), which allowed her citizens to marry women of the surrounding Libyan tribes, was not unique, but reflects a frequent practice of the early Hellenistic colonists marrying native women (Fraser,

1972: 1.787).¹⁷³ Yet, even Fraser admits that “in general, marriages with non-Greeks were disapproved by the Greeks, and only tolerated where a lack of Greek women made it inevitable” (Fraser, 1972: 1.71). Since he believes that mixed marriages were frequent in the early stages of the Hellenistic period, his view is, therefore, that not many Greek women migrated, for Greek men, according to him, would only have married native women “where a lack of Greek women made it inevitable.”

Pomeroy argues that “among the migrants in the Hellenistic period, unmarried men predominated” (Pomeroy, 1984: 123). And, when discussing child exposure, she remarks, quite casually, that Ptolemaic Egypt was “a magnet for *unattached* [my italics] Greek men” (Pomeroy, 1984: 137). She continues that it would have been impossible for all these Greek immigrants to find *Greek* wives. It is not clear, however, how Pomeroy has come to these conclusions, for she does not supply statistics or enough examples to make a strong case. Elsewhere—in the same work—Pomeroy argues that the Hellenistic period was favourable for population movements and exogamous marriages, although she admits that the citizenship law of Ptolemaic Alexandria discouraged Greeks from marrying non-Greeks; citizenship required both parents to be citizens (Pomeroy, 1984: 45-47).¹⁷⁴ Moreover, she makes a very important point about the nature of our sources: “Yet the number of mixed marriages may be exaggerated, because of the way in which gender affects our perception of identity. The archive of Apollonia and Dryton gives evidence that, in important characteristics which aid scholars in determining ethnicity (that is, names, language, law, behaviour, and *mentalité*), there is some tendency for women to appear as more Egyptianized and men as more Hellenized” (Pomeroy, 1984: 124). Therefore, some of the marriages that appear ‘mixed’ may well, in fact, have been between Greek men and ‘Egyptianised’ women of fully Greek backgrounds.

¹⁷² “I know nothing of a third tribe of people that is ‘mixed’” (Strabo, 14.5.25).

¹⁷³ According to Fraser, there were no mixed marriages in Alexandria in the third century BCE, but among the lower classes in the Fayyum mixed marriages were already common in the mid-third century BCE; as his evidence, he cites *SB* 1567 (Fraser, 1972: 2.155n238), which appears to be a dedication by the children of a Cyrenean man, Demetrios, and an Egyptian woman, Thasis, at Crocodilopolis (Fraser, 1972: 1.71, 1.73, 2.156n250).

It is to be noted, however, that we have not found any *Greek* marriage contracts in Crocodilopolis, which would bear witness to mixed marriages (Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 1984: 363). Moreover, the few *Demotic* marriage contracts that involve a ‘Greek (or Ionian) born in Egypt,’ Wjnn ms n Kmj, which might imply mixed marriages, do not, according to Mélèze-Modrzejewski, necessarily concern persons with actual Greek ancestry, but hellenised Egyptians instead (Mélèze-Modrzejewski, 1984: 363-364).

¹⁷⁴ In a later work, however, Pomeroy writes that young free-born women ‘flocked’ to early Ptolemaic Egypt (Pomeroy, 1997a: 217).

While not arguing explicitly anything about the early colonists, Haddad advocates that the Greeks in Syria, especially in Antioch, often married natives. They did this, according to Haddad, to such extent that the racial and cultural divide was eventually almost completely blurred, although the Graeco-Macedonian element of the population was more numerous than in most Greek cities in the East (Haddad, 1949: 76). He is adamant that by the end of the Hellenistic period the population of Antioch was so mixed in blood and culture that none could be called Graeco-Macedonian any more (Haddad, 1949: 84-85).¹⁷⁵ As his evidence, Haddad refers, for example, to a passage in Libanius in which he [Libanius] compares the Hellenic populations of Antioch and Athens and sees them as similar only “if Greeks are to be so named by language rather than by race [or by descent]; εἰ δὲ τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς μάλλον ἢ τῶν γενεῶν τῶν ἑλληνικῶν” (Libanius, 11.184).¹⁷⁶ This, according to Haddad, implies that Libanius did not regard Antiochenes as racially Greeks (Haddad, 1949: 79). He also refers to the second century CE biographer Philostratus, whose subject Apollonius of Tyana held his contemporary inhabitants of Antioch were only half-Greek and uneducated. He is claimed to have said to the Antiochenes that “not only thy daughter has been transformed but thou also, for thou seemest to be no more of Hellas and of Arcadia but barbarous” (Philostratus, *In Honour of Apollonius of Tyana*, 1.16; Haddad, 1949: 82). More dubious is Haddad’s comment that because we never hear of quarrels between the different races in Antioch, except the Jews, this must be because they were sufficiently fused (Haddad, 1949: 94-95).

In an article in which Hannestad argues that Greek pottery was important for the Greek identity of Greek emigrants of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, she claims that it was typical for Greek male colonists to take local wives (Hannestad, 2001: 10, cf. 12). According to her, therefore—although she does not make it explicit—the shape and style of pots was more important to the Greek male colonists, and the construction of their Greek identity, than the ‘shape and style’ (physical

¹⁷⁵ Bickermann argued similarly on Ptolemaic Egypt; by the time of the Roman conquest, according to him, there were no Greeks left: “in Ägypten wohnten wieder nur die Ägypter” (Bickermann, 1927: 239; *contra* Goudriaan, 1988: 14).

¹⁷⁶ Athens, indeed, was the city that ‘Greekness’ was compared to, or associated with. Meleagros of Gadara, a Hellenistic poet, for example, called his native city, which was in barbarian territory, “an Athens among Assyrians” (*Anth.Pal.* 7.417).

appearance and behaviour) of their women.¹⁷⁷ I have yet to meet a modern man who is such a pot-enthusiast, and I remain sceptical that the majority of the Hellenistic men, if any, would have been either.

Most recently Stephens has commented that “colonization [sic] over a three-century period meant that Greek men in these environments consistently married native women and that local populations, however they identified themselves, Greek or otherwise, were likely to be descendants of ethnically mixed arrangements” (Stephens, 2003: 191). Like Fraser before her, she holds that the Cyrenean constitution that permitted some mixed marriages reflects a wider acceptance of mixed unions (Stephens, 2003: 191n49).

Fraser and Stephens are correct as far as the Cyrenean constitution is concerned; it did indeed permit mixed marriages, although with restrictions. A diagramma of Ptolemy I on citizenship, dating to 321 BCE, decrees that not only children of two Cyrenean citizens were considered legitimate, but also any children whose parent(s) were Libyans from the region between Katabathmos and Automalax (*SEG* 9.1; cf. *SEG* 18.726). It follows, therefore, that *most* foreigners fell *outside* of this law; it was only *certain* Libyans who were accommodated within the law.¹⁷⁸ The Ptolemaic constitution of Cyrene did not, in other words, encourage fusion of races (Vatin, 1970: 134). Moreover, there is nothing to indicate that Cyrene was a typical Greek colony in allowing (some) mixed marriages.¹⁷⁹

The notion that the foundation of the new big kingdoms and consequent movements of population would have led to the Ptolemaic and Seleucid mercenaries habitually marrying native women, let alone any significant fusion of peoples, has been correctly challenged by some scholars, such as Vatin (Vatin, 1970: 132-135). The reality in general is, as Vatin argues, that there were not many unions between the Greeks and the barbarians. On the contrary, many immigrants brought their families with them and/or they married amongst each other (Vatin, 1970: 132). On

¹⁷⁷ It is possible, of course, that Hannestad presumes that the Greek men preferred foreign women, and therefore did not bring Greek women with them, but she does not say so, nor does it seem likely that this is what she thinks, let alone that this was the case.

¹⁷⁸ For discussion on why an exception was made for these Libyans, see VÉrilhac and Vial (1998: 69-71).

¹⁷⁹ There were, according to Josephus, four classes of people in the state of Cyrene: citizens, farmers, *metics*, and Jews (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 14.115). Onomastic evidence indicates, however, that non-Greeks were only a small minority of the Cyrenean population (Vatin, 1970: 134; Chamoux, 1959: 351). Even Fraser admits that it would “be wrong to suppose that the practice of racial intermarriage penetrated the upper strata of society on a large scale, or that Cyrene became a city of ‘mixed Greeks’ (*mice/llhna*)” (Fraser, 1972: 1.787, cf. 1.71).

Dura Europus, for example, he notes that the later generations of Graeco-Macedonian inhabitants of the city show a remarkable stubbornness for ethnocentric marriages, i.e. they married primarily fellow Graeco-Macedonians. Endogamous marriages were still the norm in the first and second centuries CE, even to the extent that incestuous marriages became accepted; uncles married their nieces, and brothers their sisters (Vatin, 1970: 136).¹⁸⁰ For example, Demetria, daughter of Menophilos, was given in marriage to her paternal uncle Diocles (Cumont, 1926: no. 66).¹⁸¹

The most remarkable example of the incestuous marriage practice at Dura Europus is the family of a Themonestos. He had two sons and two daughters. Only one of his children, Despoina, married outside the family. The other daughter, Megisto, married her brother Antiochus. This brother-sister couple had a daughter called Adeia, who was later married to her parents' brother Athenodoros, her own uncle (Cumont, 1926: nos. 64-65).

Vatin conjectures that the incestuous unions at Dura Europus were designed to preserve family heritage and that they may reflect a real scarcity of women (Vatin, 1970: 137). While the economic argument sounds plausible, it is the possible scarcity of marriageable women that holds our attention here. Small communities are, obviously, liable to lead to incestuous unions, but in the case of Dura Europus there would have been plenty of native women available for the Graeco-Macedonians to marry, should both parties have found mixed unions acceptable (cf. Vatin, 1970: 137). The immigrants found, therefore, incestuous marriages—generally condemned in the Greek world—a smaller evil than marrying barbarians.

Briant, too, in his article “Colonisation Hellénistique et populations indigènes I: la phase d’installation” (1978), attacks the view that only men migrated. He holds it quite clear that the colonisation expeditions included women as well as men, although he does not expand on why he thinks so (Briant, 1978: 85n241).

It is clear that the Greeks, on the whole, found Greek women more attractive than women of any other ethnic origin. This was probably largely due to a pride in Greekness, but sexual preference may have been an additional reason (cf. Vatin,

¹⁸⁰ In a recent article on brother-sister marriages in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, Bussi has argued that, similarly to Dura-Europus, there was an “explosion of brother-sister marriages in Egypt during the first two centuries A.D.” (Bussi, 2002: 1, cf. 19).

¹⁸¹ Strictly speaking, however, a marriage between a niece and her uncle was not considered as incestuous in ancient Greece. Indeed, women who had no brothers often married, as *epikleroi*, their uncles for inheritance purposes (Blundell, 1995: 117-118).

1970: 140).¹⁸² Moreover, there were a number of other factors that made mixed unions less attractive than unions with fellow Greeks. It is firstly to be remembered that, unlike today, most marriages were not love matches. An overwhelming majority of marriages were unions of convenience, especially in the upper classes. A good recent study on the reasons behind choosing spouses in the Hellenistic period has been conducted by V rilhac and Vial; they, justifiably, trash any notion that love marriages were in the increase. On the contrary, as they argue, marriages continued to be largely arranged by the male members of the two families involved, and the unions often had some economic or symbolic undertones (V rilhac and Vial, 1998: 209-227). It follows that even if a young man had taken fancy to a foreign or a native non-Greek woman, she would most probably not have fulfilled the criteria that his family would have required from his wife. He could, of course, have married a Greek woman and still continued to have an affair with the foreign woman.

The most damaging thing that that made foreign women—whether Greek or barbarian—unattractive as marriage partners was their lack of citizenship. Many cities had laws prohibiting marriages with non-citizens or laws that seriously disadvantaged children born in such unions by depriving them of citizenship (V rilhac and Vial, 1988: 41-124). Lack of citizenship would usually have meant that the children would have been unable to inherit; they would not have had political rights; their participation in religious activities would have been restricted etc. It is a logical conclusion that if and when marriages between citizen and non-citizen Greeks were discouraged, marriages between citizens and barbarians, who obviously lacked citizenship, would also—or in particular—have been discouraged.¹⁸³

While we do not have evidence for these restrictive marriage laws for all or even most Greek cities, it would appear that mixed marriages were indeed banned or seriously disadvantaged in majority of them. We have more evidence for Greek cities restricting mixed marriages than we have evidence for Greek cities explicitly

¹⁸² The Hellenistic woman poet Nossis wrote an epigram in which she mentions that it is good when children look like their parents (Nossis 8 [Snyder] = *Anthologia Palatina* 6.353). While this reference has probably more to do with fidelity—as adultery may lead to children who do not resemble the ‘father’ of the child—than anything else, it may also reflect disapproval of mixed marriages, as children of mixed race can hardly look like either of their parents.

¹⁸³ Baslez suggests that patriotism—and sentimental ties to one’s place of origin—was the main reason that prevented total fusion of races (Baslez, 1984: 294-299). While this may have been a factor, even a significant factor, one feels that the practical difficulties concerning lack of citizenship was the primary reason why Greeks preferred endogamous marriages.

allowing such unions.¹⁸⁴ Unless new sources are revealed to prove otherwise, scholars are justified in generalising that these laws were nearly universal in Greek cities (cf. Sherwin-White, 1978: 153). In Ptolemaic Egypt, however, it was perfectly legal for Greeks of varying origins to marry each other; the restrictions only applied to non-Greeks.¹⁸⁵

While most Greek *poleis* prohibited or restricted mixed marriages, even with fellow Greeks of different *poleis*, some of the mobile Greeks married fellow Greek emigrants from other *poleis* before or after settling on new areas. Indeed, we have a number of examples of mixed Greek couples migrating—or marrying after having immigrated to the same place. It is perhaps not surprising that we find such couples, for the reasons that discouraged mixed marriages in one's home *polis* would not apply to him when abroad. So, for example, any children born of such unions would not have citizenship rights in the foreign place of residence anyway—unless the parents of the child had been awarded the citizenship of their new place of residence—hence it made no difference if the parents came from the same *foreign* city or not.

Vérilhac and Vial have calculated that of the twenty-one foreign couples who are known to have been naturalised at Miletus—this figure does not include the Cretan immigrants (see pp. 62-65)—eleven had come from different cities (Vérilhac and Vial, 1998: 75). The table below gives the name and origin of the mixed couples, as well as the sources:

¹⁸⁴ Vérilhac and Vial discuss and provide evidence for the following places: Athens, Cos, Rhodes, Alexandria, Arsinoe, Oxyrhynchus, Hermoupolis, Euaimon, Cyrene, and Miletus (Vérilhac and Vial, 1988: 41-124). Of these only the last three allowed *some* marriages with non-citizens. To the exceptional cities one could add Kuren, a city on the Carian coast (Bean and Cook, 1957: no. 4, p. 106), and Phalanna in Thessaly (*IG* 9.2.1228; Vatin, 1970: 123).

¹⁸⁵ The earliest dated Greek document—a marriage contract—from Ptolemaic Egypt deals with exactly such a mixed Greek couple. In August/September 310 BCE, Heracleides from Temnos married Demetria, 'a free woman from Cos,' daughter of Leptines, a Coan, and Philotis (*P.Elephantine*, 1; Vérilhac and Vial, 1998: 76). In 247/246 BCE, a Macedonian Alexander son of Nikanor married a Cretan woman, Philotera daughter of Philon, on the Elephantine island (*BGU* VI, no 1463; Vatin, 1970: 70; Vérilhac and Vial, 1998: 76). And in 173 BCE Antaios, an Athenian, married Olympias from Macedonia (*P.Giess.* 2.8-11; Vérilhac and Vial, 1998: 76).

Husband	Wife	Source
Apollonios of Pidasas	Artemisia of Heraclea	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 77
Kronios of Heraclea	Mnesike of Magnesia on the Maeander	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 45.II.2
Stratonax of Magnesia	Platthis of Ephesos	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 46.4
Plato of Ephesos	Pythia of Samos	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 41.II.1-2
Pasikrates of Apollonia on the Maeander	Demylla of Tralles	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 76
Pollis of Mylasa	Artemisia of Halicarnassus	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 45.II.9
Myron of Amisus	Abas of Seleucia	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 76
Athenagoras of Sardis	Melinna of Caunos	W. Günther, <i>Chiron</i> 18 (1988), p. 391, lines 3-4
Miletos of Smyrna	Hedeia of Antioch	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 45.II.9
Epigonos of Cyrene	Atheno of Ephesos	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 57
[-]phon of Heraclea	Artemisia of Seleucia	<i>I.Milet.</i> , 1.3. 64.1-2

Many of these couples originated from cities close to Miletus, such as Pidasas, Mylasa and Heraclea. Others, however, came from much further afield, like Cyrene in North Africa, Sardis in Lydia, and Amisus by the Black Sea. The mixed couples immigrating to Miletus in the third century tended to be from neighbouring areas; we know, for example, of an Ephesian and Samian couple (*I.Milet.*, 1.3. 41), a Magnesian and Ephesian couple (*I.Milet.*, 1.3. 46), and a Mylasian and Halicarnassian couple (*I.Milet.*, 1.3. 45). In the second century, however, the mixed couples came from further afield, e.g. a Cyrenean man and an Ephesian woman (*I.Milet.*, 1.3. 57). Continental Greece did not produce many immigrants to Miletus (Vatin, 1970: 129).

Frustratingly, we are not informed how these couples met each other, nor why they chose to migrate to Miletus. It would seem most plausible that the men and women had arrived in Miletus independently, perhaps as merchants or some kind of professionals, and first lived there as *metics*, but wanted to gain citizenship once they

formed relationships with other *metics*, so that they and their children could have full legal rights. It is possible, however, that at least some of these couples emigrated from their home *poleis*, after forming a relationship with their (foreign) partners, knowing that their offspring would be disadvantaged in their place(s) of origin due to the double parentage laws in regards to citizenship. Perhaps Miletus had a reputation of naturalising foreign Greeks; if this was true, it provided better prospects for the children of mixed parents, as they could gain a citizenship and be full members of a Greek *polis*. All this is, however, pure speculation; the evidence does not allow us to make firm arguments.

The most significant aspect of these migrating couples of different city origins is that they were all Greeks, i.e. even when one found a spouse from another city, the spouse was a fellow Greek from another Greek city. Indeed, Greeks really preferred to be associated with fellow Greeks, even in remote areas where this was more difficult. Especially in urban areas the Greeks were usually able to retain their culture. From Uruk, for example, we do not have evidence for any certain examples of mixed marriages in which the man was Greek and the wife Babylonian (Sarkisian, 1974: 500).¹⁸⁶ An architect at Uruk was able to name many of his ancestors; all of them were Greek (Vatin, 1970: 138). For the indigenous Urukites, and other Babylonians, a few mixed marriages would not have constituted a threat to their socio-cultural survival—unlike for the Greek minority—hence they would have been happy to marry Greek women in certain circumstances. Indeed, we know of four such cases. Most notable of these is the marriage between Anubaallit, a ruler of Uruk, and Antiochis, daughter of Diophantus; their marriage is known to us through a business document, dated 202 BCE (Sarkisian, 1974: 498).¹⁸⁷

Studying surviving business and legal documents, as well as Greek personal names, Sarkisian has divided the history of Greek presence at Uruk into four chronological periods: 1) from the foundation to c. 225 BCE the Greeks lived as a separate community, 2) between c.225 to c.190 BCE the Greeks integrated somewhat, resorting to the local legal practices for example, 3) in the mid-second century BCE, there was a considerable influx of new Greek immigrants, 4) after the

¹⁸⁶ For a possible mixed marriage at Uruk, see *Seleukid Prosopography*, p. 152, and discussion on page 184 of the current thesis; this is not discussed by Sarkisian.

¹⁸⁷ Since the name Antiochis is not known to have ever been given to people outside the house of the Seleucids, Sarkisian conjectures that the wife of Anubaallit must have been related to the royal house (Sarkisian, 1974: 501).

130s, the Greek population gradually declined as the dominion of the Arsacids grew (Sarkisian, 1974: 497-498, cf. 500-502).

Even at the margins of the Greek world, then, the Greeks preferred not to mix extensively with the natives, although the maintenance of ‘Greekness’ must have been harder in isolated Greek cities in the barbarian world (cf. Vatin, 1970: 141). Consider, for example, the situation at Massilia, where a wall was built between the Greeks and the natives to allow the Greeks to preserve their culture uncontaminated (Strabo, 3.4.8; Livy, 37.54.21-23).

While rigorous separation of races was rarely possible, the Greek communities had mechanisms in place to favour endogamous marriages; children of mixed blood were habitually excluded socio-politically from the rest of the Greek communities. This, as Vatin argues, would explain the intriguing inscription from Olbia by the Black Sea that mentions ‘mixohellenes,’ *mice/llhna j* (*Syll.*³ 495.114; Vatin, 1970: 142). Chafranskaja, who has published a study of this inscription, and the whole issue of mixohellenes—in a Russian journal—argues that the mixohellenes at Olbia were children of mixed marriages between Greek men and indigenous women, and that they were a distinct social group without the rights of citizenship, but who were able to serve as mercenaries for the city (Chafranskaja, 1956: 37-48, for a French summary of this article, see Belin de Ballu, 1960: 40).¹⁸⁸

It is also to be noted that the natives might not have been willing to let their daughters marry the Greek occupiers of their ancestral lands. The Egyptians, for example, were a proud and nationalistic people (Fraser, 1972: 1.71).¹⁸⁹ Moreover, the current understanding is that the Egyptian elite continued to hold positions of power, contrary to the old belief that they were restricted to priestly offices (Lloyd, 2002:

¹⁸⁸ Fraser has also argued that these mixohellenes that appear on the Olbian inscription honouring Protogenes were not part of the citizen body (Fraser, 1972: 2.1095n499). Vatin argues that similar ‘mixohellene’ communities existed everywhere near Greek cities (Vatin, 1970: 142).

It is notable that Olbia, which was originally founded by the Greeks in c. 600 BCE, was ‘re-conquered’ by the Greeks at the end of the fourth century BCE, following a period of Scythian domination (Pecirka, 1992: 284). Details of the history of Olbia are not known, but it would seem unlikely that the Greeks would have been able to regain control of the area without reinforcements. Furthermore, it has been argued that the Greeks now forced the indigenous people to farm their lands, i.e. subjected them to semi-servile status; according to Pecirka, the archaeological evidence supports, or at least does not oppose, this view (Pecirka, 1992: 284). If this much is true, it would be highly improbable that the Greeks would have married native women, since they were of inferior status; would the Spartans have married helot women? It follows that the reinforcement Greeks of the early Hellenistic period will most probably have brought Greek women with them.

¹⁸⁹ Signs of Egyptian nationalism are to be seen in various pieces of ephemeral literature, such as *The Oracle of the Potter*. This is now most accessible in Burstein (1985: no. 106, with bibliography

130-131). Therefore, it would not have been necessary even for the politically ambitious natives to mix with the Greeks.¹⁹⁰

Unwillingness to mix with the Greeks can be seen elsewhere, too. Take the Zoroastrians of Iran, for example. Their religion survived despite the fact that Alexander ‘the damned one’ [Guzistak] nearly destroyed this religion by killing many of the ‘magi’ (the priestly class) who transmitted beliefs and practices of the religion: they had no sacred texts, everything was transmitted orally. The loss of the priests obviously meant that much of their knowledge of their own heritage was lost at the same time (Hjerrild, 1990: 144). Over the centuries there were some significant changes to Zoroastrianism, but the fact remains that many, perhaps most, Iranians were Zoroastrians before, during, and after the Seleucid era (Hjerrild, 1990: 140-149). Would these proud people have been willing to mix with the Greeks? Apart from a few, one suspects that they would not have wanted to marry Greek women or give their daughters away in marriage to the Greeks, who in their eyes were not only conquerors and descendants of ‘the damned one,’ but also ‘infidels.’

Before the Hellenistic age, the Bithynians were reportedly hostile to Greeks and other foreigners (Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 6.4). But this apparently changed in the third century BCE (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 566, 569). At least until the Bithynians became more hospitable, it is unlikely that they would have given their daughters in marriage to Greek colonists, who, therefore, would have had to bring their own women with them if they wanted children and continuity.

There were some attempts at forcing different communities to mix, but these invariably failed. Alexander famously organised a mass wedding at Susa, between thousands of Graeco-Macedonian men and Persian women (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.4). However, his plan to mix these people could hardly have been a bigger failure, for his men deeply resented the Oriental marriage ceremonies, and all—except Seleucus I—

on page 106). For discussion on this and three other nationalistic texts, namely the *Sesostris Romance*, *Nectanebo logos*, and the *demotic Chronicle*, see Lloyd (1982: 33-55).

¹⁹⁰ Mitchell (27.-28.3.2003) has recently demonstrated—in a paper presented at the British Epigraphic Society’s Spring Colloquium 2003 (= 2nd Colloquium of the LGPN) *Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics* at St Hilda’s College, Oxford, 27.-28.3.2003—that the Persians adopted a kind of professional responsibility of promoting religious cults in Anatolia after the Greeks conquered the area and took administrative control of it. Interestingly, the onomastic evidence points out that this practice extended beyond cults that were strictly Persian. Here too, it would appear, therefore, that it would not have been necessary to mingle with the governing elite in order to succeed in life. The papers from this colloquium will be published in the British Academy’s *Proceedings*, which are being edited by E. Matthews and S. Mitchell.

divorced their foreign wives soon after Alexander died (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.6; cf. Tarn, 1929: 139).

Antigonus the One-Eyed attempted to unite two Carian cities, Latmos and Pidasa, by means of synoecism *and* forced mixed marriages. His satrap Asandros legislated, in the late fourth century BCE, that for a period of six years, Latmians could only marry Pidaseans and *vice versa*:

and so that they will also intermarry (*epigamia poieisthai*) it will not be permitted to a Latmian to give a daughter to a Latmian nor to take (from him), and for a Pidasean (to give) to a Pidasean [or to take from him], but a Latmian must give to and take from a Pidasean and a Pidasean to and from a Latmian for a period of six years (Blümel, 1997: 137, lines, 21-25).¹⁹¹

This inscription, with its regulation on forced mixing, is extraordinary; there are no known parallels to it (cf. Blümel, 1997: 141). It is worth highlighting, as van Bremen does, that this legislation cannot be seen as evidence for a drastic change in the Hellenic structures and mentalities concerning (mixed) marriages (van Bremen, 2003: 316-317). Moreover, there was no lasting change in the marriage laws of Latmos and Pidasa either; this was only a temporary measure to be followed by return to the normal practice, i.e. civic endogamy, after the short period of six years. Indeed, this measure seems not to have succeeded in its aim, for both communities continued to be distinctly separate entities even after the six-year period (Erskine, 2003: 212).

In any case, close examination of many individual cases of ‘mixed marriages’ often reveals that the marriages in question were not ‘mixed’ at all. A famous debatable case concerns the second of the two marriages of Dryton, son of Paphilos of the Philoteris deme, a cavalry officer. His first wife was a citizen woman, α0στῆ/, Sarapis daughter of Esthladas and granddaughter of Theon. Later, however, he was removed in service from Ptolemais to Pathyris, where he married another woman—the first wife had probably died, but a divorce cannot be ruled out either—who bore a double name, Apollonia-Senmonthis (*Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, no. 2206; Vêrilhac and Vial, 1998: 69, 69n85).

¹⁹¹ The English translation is by van Bremen (2003: 314-315). Blümel provides a German translation (1997: 138). Both Blümel and van Bremen provide a photograph of the inscription; the former also provides a transcript.

As mentioned, the ethnicity of Dryton's second wife has caused some controversy. Lewis, for example, argues that "she [Apollonia-Senmonthis] was one, probably the eldest, of four sisters in a local military family, enrolled in the *politeuma* of Cyreneans. That could mean that one of her forebears had been among the many recruits known to have been attracted to Ptolemaic Egypt in the third century BC from the North African city of Cyrene, a Greek colony, but the greater likelihood is that hers was an Egyptian family in origin which had acquired a Greek veneer through intermarriage" (Lewis, 1986: 92-93). Other scholars, such as Pomeroy, have, however, regarded it more likely that she was of Greek stock (Pomeroy, 1984: 103-121).¹⁹² One is inclined to support the latter argument, i.e. that she did not have any native ancestors—this was not a mixed marriage. This belief is based on three observations: 1) Her double name need not mean she had Egyptian ancestors. Greek colonists adopted double names elsewhere—e.g. at Dura Europus—purely for reasons of convenience, i.e. so that the natives could understand and pronounce them (cf. Rostovtzeff et al., 1939: 431). Pathyris was a small town with a large Egyptian majority (Lewis, 1986: 92), hence it would have made sense for Greeks to adopt double names. 2) She dropped her native name whenever possible, calling herself simply Apollonia, Cyrenean, daughter of Ptolemas (Lewis, 1986: 93, an example on pages 94-95 [= *P.Grenf.* I 18]). 3) The documents in the Dryton archive indicate, as Lewis has pointed out, that the five daughters of Dryton and Apollonia prided themselves on being Greek, as did their parents (Lewis, 1986: 97).

Towards Statistics (of mixed marriages)

It is unfortunate that we do not have any reliable statistics on Hellenistic marriages, whether mixed or not. A few studies have, however, tackled the issue of mixed marriages with a statistical approach in as much as the sources allow. For example, by using surviving Attic epitaphs Oliver has made a list of mixed marriages in Athens in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (exact dating of the epitaphs is impossible). This list includes 137 couples, of which 100 are between Athenian men and foreign

¹⁹² Using the same evidence on Dryton and Apollonia, Lewis and Pomeroy have come to strikingly different conclusions on a number of other issues too. For instance, the former believes that

women, 33 between two foreigners, and just four between Athenian women and foreign men. Of the foreigners, Milesians form a substantial proportion; 34 women and 2 men are reportedly from Miletus (Oliver, 1970: 50-53; VÉrilhac and Vial, 1998: 78).

For reasons unknown to me, Vestergaard has come to slightly different figures in his study of mixed marriages in Athens, although his study was also based on Attic epitaphs. He has counted only 130 cases, hence seven fewer than Oliver, and of these he says 46 are between Athenians and Milesians, i.e. ten cases more than according to Oliver (Vestergaard, 2000: 102n72).¹⁹³ In any case, the trend is clear: there was an increase in the number of mixed marriages in late Hellenistic Athens. It is to be noted, however, that mixed marriages remained relatively rare at all times (cf. Vestergaard et al., 1985: 181).

Clarysse has created a database of c. 850 persons with Greek names in Ptolemaic Thebes. Of these he has counted seventeen 'Greeks' taking 'Egyptian' wives, and two marriages between 'Egyptian' men and 'Greek' women (Clarysse, 1995: 4-6, table 3 with references). It is highly interesting to note that none of these mixed marriages date before the second century BCE; Clarysse finds it probable that this is simply due to the accidental manner in which evidence from Ptolemaic Thebes has survived (Clarysse, 1995: 5). However, comparisons to other locations that the Greeks colonised give similar results, hence it would appear that the lack of evidence for early mixed marriages in Thebes reflects reality, i.e. the early Greek immigrants brought their women with them and married exclusively amongst each other for the first few generations. Moreover, at least some of the known 'mixed marriages' in Thebes were, in fact, marriages between two native Egyptians with one of them simply having a Greek name (Clarysse, 1995: 6). It is also worth bearing in mind that the entire population of Thebes, in the Hellenistic period, was somewhere around

the couple had a stable marriage, while the latter claims that the marriage was plagued by rifts (Lewis, 1986: 96; Pomeroy, 1984: 122-123).

¹⁹³ In comparison to the 46 known Athenian-Milesian marriages, Vestergaard mentions that we only know of "seven instances of Milesians married to compatriots [buried in Athens] and, in 14 cases, Milesians are married to other foreigners with ethnics" (Vestergaard, 2000: 102n72).

50,000, with Greeks constituting a small minority of a few thousand. The number of ‘mixed marriages’ appears, therefore, to have been minuscule.¹⁹⁴

In 1970, Peremans made use of the then existing volumes [six out of ten] of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, and examined how many of the known parent/child relations in Ptolemaic Egypt were ‘normal’ [both parents and children have names from the same ethnic group] or ‘anormal’ [a parent and his/her child have names from different ethnic groups; one native Egyptian, the other Greek]. The six volumes of *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* at Peremans’s disposal in 1970 included nearly five thousand individuals with a child; of these only 133 are ‘anormal’ (Peremans, 1970a: 27; cf. Peremans, 1970b: 217-219).¹⁹⁵ Fourteen of the ‘anormal’ cases belong to the third century BCE, when names still corresponded to nationality with relative certainty, and the rest [119] are from the second and first centuries BCE (Peremans, 1970a: 27). By no means do all these ‘anormal’ families have to have been of mixed blood; some will simply have adopted foreign names for one reason or the other. All this indicates that mixed marriages were extremely rare in early Ptolemaic Egypt, and not much more common in the later centuries either.¹⁹⁶

Peremans, quite rightly, remained cautious about making final conclusions while the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* was unfinished (Peremans, 1970a: 38). Although neither Peremans nor anyone else has undertaken to do a similar study on mixed families on the basis of the entire corpus, which is now finished, overviews of the later volumes do not appear to contradict Peremans’s tentative conclusions.

Peremans did return to the issue of mixed marriages in his article “Les mariages mixtes dans l’Égypte des Lagides” (1981), in which he examined Ptolemaic marriage contracts between spouses who have names of different ethnic origin, or who had children with a name of different origin to that of his/her parent(s) and/or siblings. Here, too, he concludes that mixed marriages were not common in the third century

¹⁹⁴ Clarysse holds it likely that the Greeks in Thebes belonged to the upper class of the society and that they had close, including marriage, links with the native upper class from an early age. Furthermore, he believes that these links led to a thoroughly mixed upper class by the end of the Hellenistic period (Clarysse, 1995: 19). While he has some grounds and evidence to argue this from a cultural point of view, he is less convincing—due to lack of evidence—on social and biological mixing.

¹⁹⁵ Clarysse has discovered more ‘anormal’ filiations and mixed marriages in demotic papyri (Clarysse, 1992: 51-52). It does not appear to me, however, that these discoveries would substantially alter the conclusions reached by Peremans.

¹⁹⁶ Peremans found many more ‘anormal’ families among the lower classes, e.g. farmers and soldiers, than the higher classes, e.g. administrators (Peremans, 1970a: 30-31). Furthermore,

BCE, and probably not common later either (Peremans, 1981: 280). Among the cases that he discusses is a third century BCE marriage between Dionysios, also called Apion, who married Isidora (*SB* 2135); they had two children, Isidoros and Isidora—Peremans, justifiably, conjectures that this must be an Egyptian family who wanted to Hellenise themselves, hence the Greek names (Peremans, 19981: 280). Another case that Peremans deals with concerns brothers Herakleides [a Greek name] and Paapis [an Egyptian name], who might be thought of as children of a mixed union because of their different types of names (*PSI* 4.384). However, the occupation—swineherd—of Herakleides strongly indicates that he was purely Egyptian despite his name, as Peremans argues, for out of the twenty-one known swineherds from third century Egypt, eighteen were natives (Peremans, 1981: 277-278). In a similar fashion Peremans convincingly challenges, or at least casts a doubt over, the other marriages that some other scholars, notably Taubenschlag (1955: 104n8) and Vatin (1970: 132-133), have regarded as unions between Greek men and Egyptian women (Peremans, 1981: 273-281).

Clarysse and Thompson have compiled—and will soon publish—a database of Ptolemaic families, based on third century tax lists from the Fayum (the forthcoming *P.Count*).¹⁹⁷ While their evidence is restricted to two administrative areas, the Arsinoite and Oxyrhynchite nomes, from a limited period in time—all are dated within a few decades of each other—*P.Count* may, in fact, form a basis for a more reliable study of Ptolemaic families than the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica*, which derives its information from a wide geographical and chronological areas. This is because in *P.Count* we witness the actual composition of families, whereas the individuals in *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* often appear on their own, or with a reference to one or two relatives, but not the entire family.

P.Count contains 75 male heads of household with a Greek name *and* a wife who is known by name. Out of these, sixty-eight (= 91%) were married to women with Greek names, while only seven (9%) had wives with Egyptian names

Egyptianisation appears to have been more common than Hellenisation, for we know more foreigners who took Egyptian names than *vice versa* (Peremans, 1970a: 29-30, 38).

¹⁹⁷ I am most grateful to Dr. D. Thompson for giving me permission to use and cite the forthcoming *P.Count*.

(Thompson, 2002: 153).¹⁹⁸ We have no way of knowing how many of the women with Egyptian names were actually native women, and how many Greek immigrants or their descendants with Egyptian names. At any rate, *P.Count* indicates that while there may have been mixed unions in Ptolemaic Egypt, these were fairly rare, certainly in the minority. This proves, indisputably, that plenty of Greek women had to have migrated to Egypt at the start of the Hellenistic period, for otherwise we would expect much more evidence for mixed marriages.¹⁹⁹

The men with Greek names who married Egyptian women will have belonged to one of two types of men: a) Egyptian men who had adopted Greek names, b) Greek men who for one reason or another *preferred* to have an Egyptian wife (sexual preference? love? money?). It is unlikely that these men were ‘forced’ to marry native women due to lack of Greek women. Indeed, it appears that there were, if not an abundance, a sufficient number of Greek women in the new kingdoms for Greek men to marry should they so have chosen. Over all, it is true, the available statistics indicate that the Greek households in Ptolemaic Egypt—the only place we have such evidence for—had fewer women than men; the sex ratio according to the available evidence being 126.5 men to 100 women (Thompson, 2002: 149, 150-151, table 8, figure 5). The most plausible explanation for the imbalance of the genders is that more sons than daughters were raised to adulthood, i.e. girls were either left to die or looked after with less care, resulting in higher mortality among girls than boys. Indeed, there is evidence to support the view that children were habitually exposed: a first century BCE temple ruling sets out a period of time for purification for the partners of women who expose children, [e0]a_n de_ e0xqh=| t_o_bre&foj (*SEG* 43.1131, line 12).²⁰⁰ It stands against reason that the Greeks would have exposed daughters if there was a significant shortage of Greek brides.

¹⁹⁸ No Egyptian man is known to have married a Greek woman in the Hellenistic period (Thompson, 2002: 153). There are two known marriages between men with Egyptian names and women with Greek names, but the women in question were undoubtedly natives with Greek names (cf. Clarysse, 1995: 4).

¹⁹⁹ In fairness, it has to be admitted that some mixed marriages may have gone undetected due to the nature of the sources. “Perhaps the scarcity of mixed marriages in our third century documentation is for a large part due to the types of documents on which modern surveyance is based (in the Zenon archive for instance “irregular” filiations are totally absent from the 1700 Greek documents, but two are found in the twenty-odd demotic texts” (Clarysse, 1992: 52; cf. Stephens, 2003: 241n14).

²⁰⁰ N.b. in her very useful sourcebook, Rowlandson (1998: no. 40) refers erroneously to *SEG* 42.1131.

An even better indication that the demand of Greek brides was met by the supply is the fact that not all the Greek women in Egypt found husbands. *P.Count 47*, which includes 374 names (and is incomplete), includes numerous unmarried women; the sex ratio in *P.Count 47* is sixty-eight men to one hundred women (*P.Count 47*; Thompson, 2002: 152). Crucially, many of the ‘surplus’ women in *P.Count 47* are not girls, but adults: twenty of them lived alone in single adult households (*P.Count 47*; cf. Clarysse and Thompson, forthcoming, ch. 7 “Family Matters”). If the Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt were in desperate need of Greek brides, surely these women would not have remained single, even if they were widows.

If we find only few recorded instances of mixed marriages from the Ptolemaic kingdom, the evidence that is available from the Seleucid kingdom is even more striking. “For example, the population of Seleucia on the Eulaeus remained exclusively Greek. Even 300 years after its foundation there is no known case where a person with a Greek name did not have a father with a Greek name” (Price, 2001: 371-372). The impressive prosopography of people within the Seleucid realm—and foreigners affecting the kingdom—compiled by Grainger in 1997 (= *Seleucid Prosopography*) includes nearly three hundred women whose guardian, husband or father, is known. Almost all of these filiations are ‘normal,’ i.e. the names of the women belong to the same ethnic group as those of their guardians—Greek and Greek, or non-Greek and non-Greek. There are only three ‘anormal’ filiations on record. At Uruk, in the early second century BCE, a man called Artemidoros had a daughter by the name of Same-rammat, or Karatu (*Seleucid Prosopography*, p. 572). The evidence for this father-daughter pair comes from a seal impression, now in the Yale Babylonian Collection, and it does not allow us to determine if this Artemidoros was really ethnically Greek, or had he simply adopted a Greek name. If he was Greek, it would be very odd that he had given his daughter a native name; this could imply a mixed marriage, but it hardly *proves* anything of the kind.

Another ‘anormal’ filiation concerns a man with a Greek name, Kephalon, who gave his daughter in marriage to a man with a native name, Anu-ah-ittanu, at some unknown date in Uruk (*Seleucid Prosopography*, p. 299). However, the name of the woman in question, Belessunu, would indicate that her family was native. If her father had indeed, as it seems, simply assumed a Greek name, then this obviously was not a mixed marriage at all.

The third known ‘anormal’ filiation within the Seleucid kingdom *may*, however, provide evidence for a mixed marriage at Uruk in mid second century BCE. The entry in Grainger’s prosopography reads as follows: “Antu-banat (Erestu-nana), daughter of Anu-balassu-iqbi, granddaughter of Sams-etir, descendant of Lustammar-Adad, wife of Antiochos, seller of a butcher’s prebend at Uruk” (*Seleucid Prosopography*, p. 152). As we see, the ancestry of the wife is made clear, but oddly nothing is told of the husband’s family. It may be, therefore, that this Antiochus had no Greek blood after all, just a Greek name. Consequently, even this case is not a certain example of a mixed marriage. In any case, the evidence is overwhelmingly against any suggestions that mixed marriages would have been common in the Seleucid kingdom. Whatever other kind of interaction there was between the races, as a rule the Greeks continued to marry Greeks and the natives married natives.²⁰¹

It is clear from our study of mixed marriages that Strabo was correct in arguing that there was never any real fusion of races between the Greeks and non-Greeks (Strabo, 14.5.25, 679C; Vatin, 1970: 139). Indeed, Strabo has not seen any evidence for this: “And who are the ‘mixed’ tribes? For we would be unable to say that, as compared with the aforesaid places, others were either named or omitted by him [Ephorus] which we shall assign to the ‘mixed’ tribes; neither can we call ‘mixed’ any of these peoples themselves whom he has mentioned, still omitted; for even if they had become mixed, still the predominant element has made them either Hellenes or barbarians; and I know nothing of a third tribe that is ‘mixed’” (Strabo, 14.5.25, 679C). This particular passage in Strabo relates to his criticism of Apollodorus’s judgement on Ephorus’s statements on Chalybians, Cappadocians, Cilicians, and Pisidians (Strabo, 14.5.24, 679C), but the same question—*Ti/nej d) ei0si_n oi9 miga&dej*;—could be asked concerning rest of the Hellenistic world. And if there were neither mixed tribes nor many individual mixed marriages, we must assume that the Greek colonists took women with them as they emigrated from their home *poleis* even if these women only rarely appear in our sources.

²⁰¹ It is of further interest to note that about two thirds of the Seleucid women whose guardian is known appear to have been mobile. The evidence relating to them is usually in the form of tombstones—which reveal their place of origin and the (different) place of their burial—grant of citizenship, or religious dedication at foreign sanctuaries. If one discounts the native women, who mostly appear in business or legal documents and do not reveal any mobility, the proportion of mobile women is much higher. While this bears witness to considerable mobility among the Greek women in the East, this should not, however, be interpreted to mean that almost *all* the Greek women in the Seleucid kingdom were mobile. What it does show is that women who were mobile were more likely to leave records of them than the women who never left their home *poleis*.

Van Bremen has, in general terms, summed up the issue of mixed marriages very well: “Intermarriage between Greeks and Egyptians was more frequent in the second century than in the third, more common in the *chora* than in the *metropoleis*, and among the lower social classes than among the elite: within the latter, Greek tended to marry Greek” (van Bremen, 2003: 319). What needs to be added to her conclusion is that mixed marriages remained rare *even* in the second century, *even* in the *chora*, and *even* among the lower classes; most Greek immigrants and their descendants were able to find Greek spouses; racial mixing never became common in Egypt nor elsewhere in the Hellenistic world.²⁰²

5.2 Divisions within Cities

If the ‘statistics’ of mixed marriages are not entirely conclusive, although they are highly suggestive (of the rarity of mixed unions), further circumstantial evidence for the presence of Greek women in substantial numbers in the Hellenistic settlements in the East comes from the fact that certain cities separated different ethnic groups both constitutionally and physically, i.e. they had separate living districts or quarters for Greeks and other ethnic groups. It is occasionally difficult to determine the ethnic origin of certain individuals, even if we know his/her name and ethnic. It is much easier, and safer, however, to identify the ethnic origin of large groups. When a group of people or a district is called ‘Greek,’ we may safely presume that these, on the whole, were indeed ethnically ‘uncontaminated’ Greeks, for the Greek authors had terminology for mixed blood communities. This has also been noted by Fraser: “where this [mixing of Greeks and non-Greeks] happened elsewhere the Greeks were always quick to mark the product hybrid; the settlers of Cedreae, the Dorian colony in Caria, had married the local Carian women, and the whole population is consequently

²⁰² That two peoples living side by side can interact for centuries without this leading to widespread mixing of the peoples can be observed from modern-day Egypt, too. For example, anyone who has visited Aswan and Elephantine Island will hardly have failed to notice the sharp divide between the Nubians and the Egyptians. Indeed, the Nubians, in particular, are very proud of their own heritage, and many Nubian men are keen to make it clear to foreigners that they are *not* Egyptians. It appears to me that in Ptolemaic Egypt the Greeks were equally sharply divided from the native population as the Nubians are today.

described by Xenophon as ‘half-barbarian’ (*micoba/rbaroi*), and elsewhere such populations are described as ‘bastard Greeks’ (*mice/llhna j*)” (Fraser, 1972: 1.71; Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 2.1.15; *Syll.*³ 495.114).²⁰³

We have already mentioned that Sarkisian’s study on the population of Uruk in the Hellenistic period indicated that from the foundation of the city in the late fourth century to c.225 BCE the Greeks did not mix with the indigenous Babylonians, but “lived there as a separate colony under its own customary law” (Sarkisian, 1974: 500; see pp. 174-175). Even after this date, the integration of the two ethnic groups does not appear to have been more than superficial (Sarkisian, 1974: 500-503).

Beyond Uruk, however, there are not many new, or old, Hellenistic settlements that offer enough information about the ethnic divisions between their inhabitants. The archaeologists working on Delos, for example, have found it very difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish between the houses of the Greeks, Orientals, and the Italians. Moreover, when they have been able to identify individual proprietors, it does not appear that they lived exclusively among their own ethnic groups (Baslez, 1984: 248). Although the various ethnic groups living on Delos do not appear to have had separate living quarters, they clearly found other ways of organising themselves along ethnic lines. Epigraphic records reveal, as Rauh has noted, that there were many groups of foreigners on Delos, especially in the late Hellenistic period, which organised “themselves religiously as well as ethnically according to the worship of the gods of their homelands” (Rauh, 1993: 28-9; e.g. *ID* 1519-20 [Tyrian and Berytian clubs]; cf. Baslez, 1984: 248).²⁰⁴

The two notable exceptions—in providing evidence for divisions within cities—are the Seleucid and Ptolemaic capitals, Antioch in Syria and Alexandria in Egypt respectively.

Seleucus I founded Antioch on the site of an existing Syrian village; archaeological evidence would not suggest that there had been any city or town of

²⁰³ In the early second century BCE, a Roman general called the Galatians ‘Gallogrecians’ (Livy, 38.17.9). This, however, was in a context that the consul was encouraging his troops to fight against the renown Galatian forces, and he was making a point that these soldiers had degenerated into useless half-breeds. This cannot, therefore, be used as evidence for real mixing between the Galatians and the Greeks. Indeed, recent epigraphic studies on the inscriptions found in Anatolia have proved that the Galatians preserved their ethnic identity well into the Roman imperial period (Mitchell, 2003: 290).

²⁰⁴ On the basis of the apparently uniform visual language of funerary sculpture, which was based on Classical Athenian models, Hannestad has called the arguments concerning ethnic divisions on Delos into question, but not with much conviction (Hannestad, 1997: 294-295).

even moderate size (Malalas, p. 201; Seyrig, 1968: 53). It is therefore not a surprise that natives formed only a small minority of Antioch's population. The non-native inhabitants of Antioch came—or were transferred—from various places. A significant proportion of the early settlers were Macedonians from the army of Seleucus (Libanius, 11.91). In addition, people were forcibly transferred from Ione—descendants of Argives, Cretans, and Heraclidae. Seleucus also transferred 'Athenians' from Antigonía. At some point a community of Jews also moved into Antioch, where they lived in a quarter of their own (Libanius, 11.91-92; Malalas, pp. 201-202.6 [8.15-16]; Josephus, *Against Apion*, 2.39, *JA* 12.119; II Maccabees, 4.33-38; Downey, 1961: 79; Downey, 1963: 39, 62).²⁰⁵

From its foundation, Syrian Antioch had two separate districts, separated by walls—one for the Graeco-Macedonian settlers, and the other for natives, who were not part of the *demos*—and later it had four separate districts, all separated by walls, thus Strabo calls the city a 'Tetrapolis' (Strabo, 16.2.4, 750C; Haddad, 1949: 74). Excavations on the site have revealed that the area preserved for the Europeans was c. fifty percent larger than the quarter for the natives (Downey, 1963: 33). The physical separation of the races was matched by socio-political segregation, as only a few non-Greeks were granted equal citizenship with all the rights and privileges it brought with it (Josephus, *Against Apion*, 2.39; Haddad, 1949: 74). Briant does not believe that Antioch had four separate quarters for her various ethnic groups, as Downey argues, although he admits that the truth is difficult to know in the current state of knowledge (Briant, 1978: 89n272). However, he does think that other Seleucid cities, such as Beroia, Damas, Arethusa, Laodice in Lebanon, and others, had such divisions (Briant, 1978: 89).²⁰⁶

Malalas's description of the different religious practices of the Greeks and the Syrians at Antioch, and how the latter came once a year knocking at the houses of the Greeks on a day of remembrance, would further point to a clear separation of the races (Malalas, p. 29; Haddad, 1949: 78). The separation appears, moreover, to have persisted for centuries; an indication of this is the fact that even when the peoples of

²⁰⁵ Malalas claims that Antioch had 5,300 Athenian and Macedonian men, which would mean a total free non-native population of around 17,000-25,000 people (Malalas, p. 201, 12-16; Downey, 1963: 40).

²⁰⁶ Josephus mentions that the population of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris was composed of more Greeks than Macedonians and some Syrians, and that there were quarrels between the Greeks and Syrians (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 18.374).

the area finally became united in religion, many did not adopt the Greek language (Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Statues*, 19.2; Haddad, 1949: 107, 113).

Polybius, who visited Egypt at an unknown date between 145 and 116 BCE, divided the Alexandrian population into three neat categories, as Strabo reports: 1) the native Egyptians, 2) [foreign] mercenaries, and 3) the Alexandrians themselves, i.e. the Greeks, who “even though they were a mixed people, still they were Greeks by origin and mindful of the customs common to the Greeks” (Strabo, 17.1.12; Polybius, 34.14). However, using primarily certain papyri and inscriptions as his evidence, Fraser has argued that early Ptolemaic Alexandria had in fact no less than seven distinctive *constitutional* categories of population. “These groups are: first, the Greek population consisting of (i) the citizen-body ($\text{πολι}=\text{ται}$), (ii) partial and probationary citizens, whose exact status is problematic and obscure,²⁰⁷ (iii) Greeks with no particular civil status, and (iv) Greeks with external ethnics ($\text{Κυρhnai}=\text{οι}$, $\text{79Ro}/\text{διοι}$, $\text{Sa}/\text{μιοι}$ and so on); and secondly the non-Greek population consisting originally of (v) the native Egyptian population, (vi) foreign, non-Greek immigrants (Jews, Syrians, and others), and (vii) slaves” (Fraser, 1972: 1.38). El-Abbadi has, however, convincingly argued that the Alexandrian citizenship was not graded, i.e. he believes there was only one type of citizenship available, and that the population of Alexandria could be divided into three: 1) soldiers, 2) citizens, and 3) others, $\text{οι}(\text{ α}!\text{λλοι}$, i.e. non-citizen inhabitants (El-Abbadi, 1962: 106-123, esp. 109). In any case, a clear distinction was made between Greeks and non-Greeks.

The native Egyptians were demographically the most important section of the Alexandrian population, yet they were separated from the Greek population in many ways. For example, they had their own separate law courts (Fraser, 1972: 1.54). In general, we hear very little of the native population until the end of the third century BCE. This, as Fraser conjectures, seems to imply that the Egyptians and the Greeks, at least the middle and upper classes of Greeks, had almost nothing to do with each other; they were completely separated (Fraser, 1972: 1.70). In fact, there were laws to keep the different ethnic groups rigorously segregated, e.g. the law forbidding mixed

²⁰⁷ Fraser argues that because certain legal documents include witnesses with different civic status, one bearing a demotic, while the other is simply called Alexandrian, there must have been a distinction between their statuses (Fraser, 1972: 1.47, citing *P.Rein.* 9, lines 29ff [= Fraser, 1972: 2,128n90] as an example). He further conjectures that the demesmen were the original settlers, or their descendants, while those who appear in legal documents as ‘Alexandrians’ without a demotic were later immigrants and stood on the fringe of full citizenship, yet already enjoying certain privileges (Fraser, 1972: 46-49).

marriages (cf. Venit, 2002: 10). “Scholarly consensus holds that in the later part of his reign, [Ptolemy I] Soter, followed by [Ptolemy II] Philadelphus and [Ptolemy III] Euergetes, retreated from a position that tended to engage with or included elements of both Egyptian and Greek cultures to one of isolationism and of relative cultural purity for Greeks” (Stephens, 2003: 16). The Greeks even had their own living quarters. A papyrus, dating to 258-257 BCE, on the cult of Sarapis states, among other things, the following: “A Sarapeion and sacred area must be built for him *in the Greek quarter* beside the harbor...” (PSI 4.435 = Grant, 1953: 144).

The indigenous Egyptians were not the only group of people segregated from the occupying Greeks. Josephus quotes Strabo thus: “In Egypt, for example, territory has been set apart for Jewish settlement, and in Alexandria a great part of the city has been allocated to this nation. And an ethnarch of their own has been installed, who governs the people and adjudicates suits and supervises contracts and ordinances, just as if he were the head of a sovereign state” (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 14.117 = *FGrH* 91 F7; cf. Josephus, *Jewish War*, 2.487-488).²⁰⁸ There will, however, have been individual Jews living in other parts of the city (Venit, 2002: 20). Philo gives the impression that the Jews were not confined to specific quarters before the anti-Jewish measures of Flaccus in 38 CE, hence his account contradicts that of Strabo. According to him, there were five quarters in Alexandria, two of which were predominantly Jewish, while the others had some Jews too, until Flaccus drove all the Jews into a small part of one of the quarters (Philo, *In Flaccus*, 55). It would be odd, however, if Strabo had completely invented the story about Jews living in a specific district, which is why Fraser, for example, trusts Strabo’s account (Fraser, 1972: 1.55). In any case, there will not have been much intermarriage between the Jews and the Greeks; had there been many mixed marriages, the anti-Semitism in the city would be hard to explain (Fraser, 1972: 1.57).²⁰⁹ Similarly, the native revolts of the late third century BCE—following the battle of Raphia, in 217—would be difficult to explain if the Greeks intermarried with the Egyptians on a large scale.²¹⁰

²⁰⁸ Josephus claims that the Jews did not come to Egypt/Alexandria by accident, but were deliberately ‘imported’ by Alexander’s successors, ‘as a mark of esteem’ (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 12.8-10; Fraser, 1972: 1.55).

²⁰⁹ As Cohen put it, “the Jews sensed that their survival depended upon their ideological (or “religious”) and social separation from the outside world” (Cohen, 1993: 36). It seems to me that the Greeks in the new Hellenistic kingdoms, on the whole, felt exactly the same, although they were more concerned about their culture than religion.

²¹⁰ On the first native revolt, see Fraser, 1972: 1.60.

Foreigners were not allowed to be with native Egyptians without king's permission; the ethnic groups were segregated by law (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 1058 with note 22 and 1394-5n121 for bibliography). "The transference of an individual from the group of natives to that of foreigners and *vice versa*, or from one subdivision of the foreigners to another, without the special permission of the king was strictly forbidden" (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 323). So when we hear of mercenaries cohabiting with native women, we get the impression that they acquired the women like slaves and lived in only a quasi-marital fashion (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 343-344, 1400n135; Westermann, 1938: 7-9).

Hellenistic Greeks, of course, did not merely migrate to the new kingdoms in the East, but many went to the West, Italy and Rome in particular (Noy, 2000: 223-226). Umbricius, a character in a satire by Juvenal, even goes as far as calling Rome a Greek city due to the number of 'Greek' immigrants, many of who came from Greek cities in Asia Minor rather than Greece itself (Juvenal, 3.58). Surprisingly, however, Noy's study of foreigners at Rome has not found any evidence for a separate and distinct Greek community within the city of Rome (Noy, 2000: 226). Many other ethnic groups did have such communities at Rome, as Noy's study has shown, as well as in the Greek cities in the East, where the Greeks, moreover, were very protective of their culture and community, too.²¹¹

5.3 Colonisation Expeditions and Population Transfers

²¹¹ Another aspect of Hellenistic life which reveals that the various foreign ethnic groups in the big commercial centres of the time preferred to socialise amongst their own kind—or perhaps more likely they were not allowed to mix with the natives—is the various associations, *koina*, especially professional or commerce associations, some of which included women as well as men (Tarn and Griffith, 1952: 93-95, 99). For a recent overview, with bibliography, of *Rhodian* associations [and their economic activities] see Gabrielsen (2001: 215-244). These associations offer much scope for further study.

In Ptolemaic Egypt, the distinction between the Greeks and the Egyptians was made blatantly obvious by the existence of two different legal systems for the two different ethnic groups; for evidence and discussion, see Thompson (2001: 302-303). The Ptolemies also created a special tax category for the Hellenes, but this was occasionally open for some Egyptians too (Thompson, 2001: 306-311). In any case, an 'us-and-them' mentality survived between the Greeks and the Egyptians throughout the Hellenistic period (cf. Thompson, 2001: 313-314).

Our studies on mixed marriages and divisions within cities have strongly implied that the *Greek* cities of the Hellenistic kingdoms included *Greek* women in significant numbers right from the beginning of the period. However, since it is often very difficult to identify the real ethnicity of individuals, we cannot yet be *absolutely* certain that Greek women did indeed take part in the colonisation expeditions of the era. What we really need is some concrete, and preferably contemporary, evidence to support our hypothesis. Let us start, however, by a quote from Plato, who obviously wrote before the Hellenistic period:

Therefore the *married pair* [all italics are mine] must leave their own houses to their parents and the bride's relations, and *act themselves as if gone off to a colony*, visiting and being visited in their home, begetting and rearing children, and so handing on life, like a torch, from one generation to another, and *ever worshipping the gods as the laws direct* (Plato, *Laws*, 776a-b).

While the quote above from Plato's *Laws* does not prove that women took part in colonisation expeditions, it is, nevertheless, interesting that he compares marriage to colonisation. It is unlikely that the link between the two, marriage and colonisation, would have been sufficiently strong for Plato to use it as a metaphor if women were not expected to be part of Greek colonisation expeditions. Similarly, it is worth noting that the Greek term for colony, ἀποικία, literally means 'away-household' (cf. Jones, 1999: 12). Perhaps this reflects a fundamental basis for colonisation: it was something that entire households did together, just as Plato implies.²¹²

Since Plato is an early source, and as he was not talking directly about colonisation expeditions *per se*, the quote above can hardly be used as firm proof for women's involvement in colonisation. As mentioned in the introduction, direct evidence concerning Hellenistic colonisation, let alone women's involvement in it, is very scarce indeed. The surviving literary sources tell us next to nothing on colonisation; these ancient authors simply were not interested in colonisation as a

²¹² If the link between marriage and colonisation, as read from Plato here, is valid, this passage would also seem to confirm our earlier theory that religion was so fundamental for the Greeks that they

phenomenon. Most of them, like Diodorus and Polybius, deal with politics and warfare.

The lack of ancient works on colonisation is unfortunate, because there *were* writers who were interested in such topics. In the prologue of his ninth book, Polybius makes it clear that he writes only about politics, but he points out that other writers have written about genealogies, colonies, foundation of cities and their ties of kindred (Polybius, 9.1-2). This remark reveals that there must have been colonisation expeditions, for how else could other writers have written about the phenomenon? In fact, that these lost authors were interested in colonisation and wrote about it indicates a certain volume of mobility. A small-scale migration could hardly have inspired anyone to do research on the topic, let alone have expected other people to want to read or hear such work, which must usually have been the primary objective of writing. Yet, this reveals nothing more of the nature of the expeditions. The many large colonisation expeditions, that we now can take to have existed, could have included only free men, or mostly slaves and criminals (think of the birth of modern Australia), or a mixture of all social classes and both genders, or some other kind of mixture of people (and animals).

The fictional literature of the Hellenistic period sometimes has references to Greek women living abroad, even if not on the colonisation expeditions themselves. For example, Gorgo and Praxinoa, the main characters in Theocritus's well known *Idyll* 15, are Syracusans living in Alexandria in Ptolemaic Egypt.

A few Hellenistic epigrams also bear witness to Greek women emigrating to Egypt. One epigram, for example, describes how an Athenian girl, who worked for a king, died in Libya (Kaibel, 1878: no. 118; Pomeroy, 1984: 73).²¹³ Fascinating as some of these Hellenistic epigrams with references to immigrant women are, one has to remember that they are not necessarily truly biographical, i.e. they may describe fictional women. In any case, these women must have had real-life counterparts, for one would not expect that the authors would have written poems and epigrams that would not have been realistic (cf. Pomeroy, 1984: 73). In what follows, however, I wish to limit myself strictly to historical sources, hence neither Theocritus's *Idylls* nor the Hellenistic epigrams will be discussed beyond the comment that the

had to take it with them as they migrated, just as the married couple continued to worship the gods according to old customs, *kata_ no& mouj*.

²¹³ For more such epigrams, see Pomeroy (1984: 73).

immigrant characters in those works would indeed have had parallels in the real world.

A passage from Diodorus, which was already quoted in connection with our examination of wives of soldiers (pp. 56-57), is worth quoting again, for this incidental remark is one of our best and most illuminating pieces of evidence on the nature of colonisation expeditions:

And so Ophellas [of Cyrene], when everything for his campaign had been prepared magnificently [in 308], set out with his army, having more than ten thousand foot-soldiers, six hundred horsemen, a hundred charioteers and men to fight beside them. There followed also those who are termed non-combatants not less than ten thousand; and many of these brought their children and *wives* [my italics] and other possessions, so that the army was like a colonizing [sic] expedition—
w\$ste e0mferh= th_n stratia_n u(pa/rxein a)poiki/a | (Diodorus, 20.41.1).

Diodorus could only have imagined a colonising expedition and used this image as a metaphor if such colonising expeditions actually existed! One wonders whether he, in fact, would have been able to consult some of the specialist works on the topic that Polybius refers to (Polybius, 9.1-2). At any event, his vision of colonising expeditions included adults of both genders and children.

Whereas Diodorus was only making comparisons to a colonisation expedition, Josephus has preserved a letter from Antiochus III to one of his generals, Zeuxis, which deals with an actual colonising expedition. This is the most valuable single literary piece of evidence for the nature of Hellenistic colonisation expeditions:

King Antiochus to Zeuxis his father,²¹⁴ greetings. If you are in good health, it is well. I also am in sound health. Learning that the people in Lydia and Phrygia are revolting, I have come to consider this as requiring very serious attention on my part, and, on taking counsel with my friends as to what should be done, I determined to transport two thousand Jewish

²¹⁴ Zeuxis was not Antiochus's real father; here 'father' is merely an honorary term (Sage, 1996: 224).

families—7) Ἰουδαίων οἰκιστοῦν—with their effects from Mesopotamia and Babylonia to the fortresses and most important places [...] It is my will, therefore—though it may be a troublesome matter—that they should be transported, and since I have promised it, use their own laws. And when you have brought them to the places mentioned, you shall give each of them a place to build a house and land to cultivate and plant with vines, and shall exempt them from payment of taxes on the produce of the soil for ten years. And also, until they get produce from the soil, let them have grain measured out to them for feeding their servants... (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities*, 12.148-152).

This letter, as quoted by Josephus, may or may not be genuine, but as Rostovtzeff comments, it in any case reflects well how the Seleucids found colonies (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 492). There are a number of important issues to be raised from this letter. Firstly, Jews are seen here, as is usual, being settled as a separate group, and they continued to live under their own laws. One wonders if non-Jewish communities would have been any different in their wish to remain close to people of their own culture and heritage. Secondly, it was the king who decided about this mass migration, not the colonists themselves. As far as we know, they were not even asked their opinion, counsel was only taken from the king's close associates. Thirdly, and to us most importantly, an entire Jewish community, or communities, was forced to move, i.e. not just young men, but whole households with wives, children and presumably elderly people and servants as well. The fourth important point to be raised is that this deportation was carried out for military/security purposes, although the people were not necessarily soldiers (everybody certainly was not, even if some were);²¹⁵ their presence was to safeguard important Seleucid strategic locations. The final fact that needs highlighting is that Antiochus clearly envisaged that the population transfer would not be easy, nor could the first years of settlement be hoped to go without trouble, hence the settlers were given concrete financial benefits as 'inconvenience pay.' Not only did all the families receive land suitable for farming and/or viticulture, but they were also given exemption from taxes. The financial benefits must not only have been an important way of securing that the settlers start

²¹⁵ Cohen thinks that the Jewish men were soldiers (Cohen, 1978: 8-9).

their new lives with minimum problems, but they also acted as incentives for remaining in the new area.²¹⁶

It is most plausible that much of the Hellenistic colonisation would have been done in a similar manner as the settling of the Jews by Antiochus III, i.e. groups of people—entire households and communities—were invited or forced by kings to move to new locations. For stability's sake it would have made sense not to have a very varied population, at least not in the foundation years of a settlement. Indeed, according to the available evidence, most colonies drew their colonists from certain areas, thus we have colonies that are predominantly Macedonian, Greek, or Jewish. Larissa, for example, was founded by Thessalians (Rostovtzeff, 1941: 490, 492).

Whether voluntary or forced, mass population transfers will have affected huge numbers of people, both men and women. Cohen, in his work on Hellenistic settlements, lists about a dozen colonies that were established as a result of population transfer, and another nineteen colonies that received reinforcements from towns and villages nearby (Cohen, 1995: 433-434). There will, no doubt, have been more cases of population transfers than the thirty odd cases listed by Cohen; we simply do not possess evidence for all such movements. The colonies that we know to have been established through population transfers, as listed by Cohen, are:

Antigoneia Mantinea
Antioch near Pisidia
Antioch on the Maeander (?)
Attaleia in Pamphylia (?)
Berenike on Chios
Gargara
Gergitha
Jewish colonies in Lydia and Phrygia

²¹⁶ Antiochus III used similar financial incentives in attracting colonists to other places too, e.g. to Sardis (*N.I.Sardes* II, no. 1, pp. 13, no. 3, pp. 82; Cohen, 1995: 231-232, 434), Lysimacheia in Thrace (Livy, 33.38.10-11; Appian, *Syrian Wars*, 1; Cohen, 1995: 83), Amyzon (*Amyzon*, no. 15, pp. 151-153, no. 26, pp. 212-214; Cohen, 1995: 247), and the Lycian city Kardakon Kome (Serge, 1938: 179-208; Cohen, 1995: 330). Unfortunately, none of the sources for these population transfers have anything at all to say about women.

As important as the financial incentives must have been, the right to have *Greek* families must have been equally or more important, just as it was for many mercenaries—even to the point that they would not join a campaign without their wives and families—so it will have been for the colonists, although we have no evidence to support this claim.

Kardakon Kome
Katoikia of the Aigosages
Perseis (?)
Philippopolis Phthiotic Thebes

And the colonies that we know to have drawn new inhabitants from the proximity of the foundations are (colonies followed by [S] received reinforcements through synoecism²¹⁷):

Alexandropolis in Thrace (?)
Amyzon
Apameia Kelainai
Apollonis (?) [S]
Arsinoe Ephesos
Arsinoe in Cilicia
Arsinoe Marion
Demetrias Sikyon
Eurydikeia Smyrna [S]
Hellenopolis
Ilion (Troy)
Cassandraia [S]
Lysimacheia in Thrace (?) [S]
Nikomedeia [S]
Pharnakaia [S]
Sardis [S]
Seleuceia on the Calykadmos
Thebes
Thessalonice [S]

²¹⁷ It is to be noted that not all cases of synoecism led to actual population transfers; occasionally synoecism was simply a political unification of two or more *poleis*. Indeed, of the twenty known cases of synoecism of the Hellenistic period, as listed by Cohen (1995: 428-431, 433-434), only eight appear to have involved population transfers.

The lists compiled by Cohen—together with his commentary on the preceding pages—are very helpful and informative, as they not only show that the process of Hellenistic colonisation was often aided by *en masse* population transfers, but they also give some indication of the scale of the phenomenon. It is clear that thousands upon thousands of Greeks were uprooted from their ancestral lands and transplanted to new locations during the three centuries after Alexander.

What Cohen's work does *not* provide is any information on women's involvement in colonisation. He is not to be blamed for this, however, for the ancient sources by and large are entirely silent on this issue too. It would seem *a priori* most plausible that when masses of people were transferred to populate new—or old—settlements, both sexes would have been 'imported' to secure continuity. In many cases this would not, however, *necessarily* have been obligatory, for there would have been native women around who could theoretically have been 'employed' for producing offspring for the colonists. This would even have been a welcome practice had there been a policy of fusion.²¹⁸ We have already, however, seen that mixed marriages were not the preferred option for the Greek colonists (see pp. 166-185). Let us, therefore, have a brief look at some of the reports—a minority of all the cases—on population transfers that give any indication whether women were included or not. Occasionally when direct evidence is not there, we may, nevertheless, be able to conjecture that women had to have been there for one reason or the other.²¹⁹

Alexander transferred native Bactrian *families* to the Alexandria near modern Kabul, the so-called 'Alexandria-by-the-Caucasus,' as well as to Arigeum—possibly the modern Nawagai—in India; both of these cities received ex-mercenaries as new inhabitants too (Arrian, *Anabasis*, 4.22, 4.24).

In 310, Cassander installed 20,000 Autariates (from Illyria), with *wives* and children, in the Mount Orbelos region (Diodorus, 20.19.1; Launey, 1949-50: 411;

²¹⁸ Many scholars, such as Griffith and others before him, used to hold that Alexander planned a fusion of races and 'brotherhood of man.' Indeed, Griffith believes this is one of the few certainties concerning Alexander's plans (Griffith, 1963: 74). Support for these arguments has mainly been drawn from Plutarch and Diodorus, with their references to Alexander's supposed plans for population transfers between Asia and Europe—both ways—numerous intermarriages and mixing of cultures (Plutarch, *Moralia*, 329b-f; Diodorus, 18.4.4; Hammond, 1998: 254-255). The idea that Alexander really planned a fusion of races is, however, completely without foundation. Since Bosworth has already conclusively shown this to be the case, there is no need to dwell on the issue here (Bosworth, 1980: 1-20).

²¹⁹ Since the sources usually have nothing to say about women in connection with population transfers, and because Cohen (1995) provides ample discussion with references on each of the cases in general, it would be superfluous to discuss each case of population transfer here.

Tarn, 1913: 183).²²⁰ Shipley's conjecture that this kind of population transplants were vital for the success of new towns is surely correct; a functional city with any long-term prospects surely needs a sizeable population (Shipley, 1987: 175-176). Mass deportation of a big part of (or entire) cities would also provide the new cities with all the necessary skilled professionals, such as artisans, that all cities need (Briant, 1978: 90-91).

Lysimachos moved Ephesos [in Ionia] to a new location, renamed it Arsinoe, and reinforced it with new inhabitants drawn from Kolophon and Lebedos (Pausanias, 1.9.7; cf. 7.3.4-5; Strabo, 14.1.21; Cohen, 1995: 177). The fact that both Kolophon and Lebedos are claimed to have become *entirely* deserted after Lysimachos's activities implies that women, too, were removed from the cities.

Strabo mentions that the Bithynian town Nikomedeia was founded by synoecism after Astacus had been destroyed by Lysimachus, who then transferred the population—mainly Megarians and Athenians—to the new city, which was founded opposite the destroyed Astacus (Strabo, 12.4.2, 563C; Cohen, 1995: 400). We may again assume that women would not have been left alone in a destroyed town; either they were transplanted to the new city with their men or they were enslaved. The former alternative seems more likely, for mass enslavement of women would probably have been picked up by our sources and reported by Strabo, whereas their inclusion in the population transfer could have been taken for granted and left unmentioned.

Strabo reports that 'the kings,' whom Cohen assumes to be the Attalids, increased the ailing population of Gargara in the Troad by transferring colonists from Miletoupolis (Strabo, 13.1.58, 610-611C; Cohen, 1995: 151). After this population transfer, the inhabitants of Gargara were described as semi-barbarians, ἡμιβάρβαροι. This, on the face of it, would appear to be a sign of mixed marriages between Greeks and non-Greeks—and therefore single sex population transfer—the evidence, however, leaves much to be desired. Indeed, even Strabo distances himself from the argument by saying that this transformation occurred 'according to Demetrius of Scepis,' i.e. he is not making this comment with his own full authority.

²²⁰ Launey refers mistakenly to Diodorus book 19 instead of 20; he further gives a wrong page reference for Tarn.

In 223 BCE, the Achaeans, with the help of Antigonos Doson, massacred a large proportion of the male population of the Peloponnesian city Mantinea, while enslaved the rest together with women and children. The city was subsequently settled by the Achaeans and Macedonians (Plutarch, *Aratus*, 45.4; Polybius, 2.56.6-7; Cohen, 1995: 123). The deserted city would not have had much chance of continuity unless women were transplanted there together with men, hence we must assume this to have been the case.

Since the literary sources are only of limited value for the study of women and colonisation, one would hope to find more evidence in the epigraphic records. Unfortunately, however, the epigraphic records do not contain detailed accounts concerning any colonisation expeditions either. Yet, useful epigraphic records are not entirely lacking, nor is it very surprising that such records are rare. One needs to think at what circumstances would there have been any need to publish inscriptions on colonisation? For example, if the initiative for a colonisation expedition came from the new cities, or kingdoms and their kings, the foreign cities from where they were hoping to recruit colonists would probably have been very reluctant to allow any advertising inscriptions to be published within their walls (unless they were suffering from over population).

Many cities claimed to have kinship ties with each other, and details of these ties were frequently inscribed on stone. If true, such ties indicate movements of people. While the Greeks may sincerely have believed in these links, the fact of the matter is that the links were often derived from mythology and it is very difficult for us to verify whether they had any base in reality, as studies by Jones and Erskine, for example, have shown (Jones, 1999; Erskine, 2003). Indeed, in the Hellenistic period kinship was often declared between cities that evidently had very little in common (Erskine, 2003: 209). This was the case, for example, when Kytinians accepted, at least superficially, the kinship claims of Xanthians, people from the other side of the Aegean Sea, who had more in common with the peoples in Asia Minor than with the Greeks (*SEG* 38.1476; Erskine, 2003: 210). The purpose of these false kinship claims lay in politics: “they allow the diplomatic approach to be made” (Erskine, 2003: 209). While occasionally there probably was some basis in the kinship claims, it does not help the current study that the details on these inscriptions are usually very sketchy. Moreover, they hardly ever include any mention of women; so they are of little value

as evidence for the mobility of Hellenistic women. As promised, however, there are some epigraphic records that are of use.

Old cities would, of course, have had their own citizenship laws and it would have been in the best interest of the natives to control and regulate who was entitled to citizenship and the benefits thereof. Inscriptions listing the names of new citizens will have been, therefore, inscribed. Not many such lists have survived, but a good example of such lists survives from Miletus. These Milesian inscriptions are a splendid example of entire families migrating together, as they document many Cretan families gaining citizenship as a group. This issue has, however, already been dealt with in the chapter on wives of mercenaries (see pp. 62-65). It is worth adding, however, that the list of new citizens at Miletus includes some single women, too, not just wives of mercenaries (*I.Milet* 1.3 34i, lines 5-8; Pomeroy, 1997a: 206; Pomeroy, 1997b: 216).

The only other place, in addition to Miletus, from where we have a sizeable list of new citizens, dating to the Hellenistic period, is Ilion/Troy (*I.Ilion*, 64; van Bremen, 2003: 330). In this list, which dates to the second century BCE, the proportion of women is remarkably high, as Pomeroy remarks (Pomeroy, 1997a: 205; Pomeroy, 1997b: 215). The inscription has 151 male and 80 female names; these are mostly Macedonian, Thessalian or Thracian, but there are a few Ionian, Persian and Phrygian names too (*I.Ilion*, 64). To put the figures into percentages, almost 35% of the foreigners known to have been naturalised at Ilion in the Hellenistic period were women or girls. It may be even more telling a fact that 32 of the adult men were married, while only 18 were single. Moreover, more than 50% of the immigrant couples had wider family, either children and/or the husband's mother, with them. Indeed, there are 23 mothers with adult sons, with or without other members of their families. Pomeroy makes a plausible assumption that these mothers were probably widows, with their sons acting as their *kyrioi*, but these women could equally be simply single mothers, perhaps victims of rape or ill advised sexual encounters before marriage (Pomeroy, 1997b: 215). Towards the end of the inscription, however, a group of eight women are explicitly entitled as widows, *kherai* (*I.Ilion*, 64.58-59). These eight women appear to have emigrated without any relatives or other male guardians.²²¹

²²¹ We have evidence for women migrating alone elsewhere too. For example, the Athenian state imposed a separate tax on independent female metics; at six drachmas a year this was half the

Van Bremen has, correctly, cautioned against making wide-ranging demographic and historical generalisations based on the lists of new citizens found at Miletus and Ilios, because these are the only two documents detailing the naturalisation process of large groups (van Bremen, 2003: 330).²²² Brulé, in particular, has gone too far in using these inscriptions as clear demographic guides on the composition of Greek families at large, e.g. number of children and the scale of female infanticide (Brulé, 1990: 233-358).²²³ Arguably, however, these two inscriptions can shed light on the composition of migrant communities. While they should not be used as definite barometers on the sex ratio among colonists, they do, at the very least, suggest that it was not uncommon for women to migrate too. In fact, taken together with all the other evidence put forward in this thesis, they may be taken to be representative of Hellenistic migration/colonisation, i.e. women habitually followed their husbands and/or male relatives abroad, and a few individual women migrated alone or at least without a formal guardian.

One of the best individual inscriptions that include some details concerning colonisation comes from Magnesia on the Maeander. It is a Cretan inscription concerning the benefits offered to the colonists from the old Greek city of Magnesia to the new city on the Maeander, which was to share the name of the home *polis* of its founders:

Decision of the League of Cretans, all the cities having assembled in the sanctuary of Bilkonian Apollo at Bilkon, the Gortynians presiding, in the year of office of Kudas of Kunna: Whereas the Magnesians are kin and well-disposed to all Cretans, and some of them have decided to send a colonising expedition to Asia [71Edocen de& tisin au)tw=n e0j ta_n70Asi&an a)poki&an stei&lasqai (lines 8-9)]; there shall be ageless kinship and friendship with all Magnesians, who shall have dining-rights at the public table; freedom

amount male metics had to pay. We know of this taxation through Harpocration, who cites Aristomenes, Eubulus, Isaeus, and Menander (Harpocration, M27 *Metoikion* [Keaney]; cf. Pollux, 3.55; Whitehead, 1977: 75 with n.39). In an article on the longevity of the metoikion tax, Niku has argued that this tax was not a major financial burden, but its significance was ideological, i.e. it emphasised their lower status in comparison to citizens (Niku, 2002: 41).

²²² Compare Günther's view: "Für die Familienstruktur in hellenistischen kleineren poleis scheint das Beispiel des Documents aus Ilios nicht untypisch zu sein: Rund 40% der Einwohner lebte in Kernfamilien, 36% in Einzelhaushalten, 24% in erweiterten Familien" (Günther, 1992: 35).

from import and export duties; immunity, without treaty, from liability to seizure throughout Crete; the right to own property; and citizenship. On their sailing, each city is to give them four talents of silver, ready-made bread, and as many animals for sacrifice as they desire; they are to escort them to Asia with ships of war, and to send with them five hundred archers, and to escort them and take leave of them, men, children and women, according to age-group, and priests and priestesses [a1ndraj kai_ pai=daj kai_ gunai=kaj kaq 0 a(liki&an kai_ tou_j i9erei=j kai_ ta_j i9erei&aj: (lines 23-24)]. This decree is to be inscribed on a stone slab and set up in the sanctuary of Bilkonian Apollo. All the cities of Crete are to give a talent of silver to leucippus the Lycian, the leader of the expedition to Asia (*I.Magnesia*, 20).²²⁴

This inscription offers much needed information on what a colonising expedition could have looked like. Unfortunately, it does not definitely prove what an actual colonising expedition did look like, for the inscription is not contemporary to the events it refers to. This is clear, as Roy has pointed out to me, from the vocabulary used and the political institutions mentioned in this decree. Yet, the people of Magnesia on the Maeander evidently accepted it as genuine, for they set it up with dozens of other similar inscriptions. For our purposes it does not make a great difference if the inscription is late and has some anachronistic mistakes in it. Since it dates to the Hellenistic period, we must take that the kinds of colonising expeditions mentioned in it may or must have existed. Clearly the person(s) behind this inscription had seen or heard of colonising expeditions and knew what they looked like. He, among other things, understood that the colonists would have wanted to take their cults and customs with them, hence the inclusion of priests and *priestesses*. Importantly, it is specified that men *and* women of various age groups would have participated in the voyage; another indication that the Greeks wanted to preserve—or so the inscriber believed—all aspects of their culture even when they migrated to new

²²³ He claims, among other things, that these inscriptions indicate that the Greeks exposed c. 50 per cent or more(!) of their daughters (Brulé, 1990: 233, 242-244).

²²⁴ Translated by Dr. J. Roy (for the University of Nottingham undergraduate module Q81003, *Ancient Greek History: an Introduction*). See Jones (1999: esp. p. 59) for a brief discussion on this inscription that explains the foundation of this colony at Magnesia on the Meander by Thessalians.

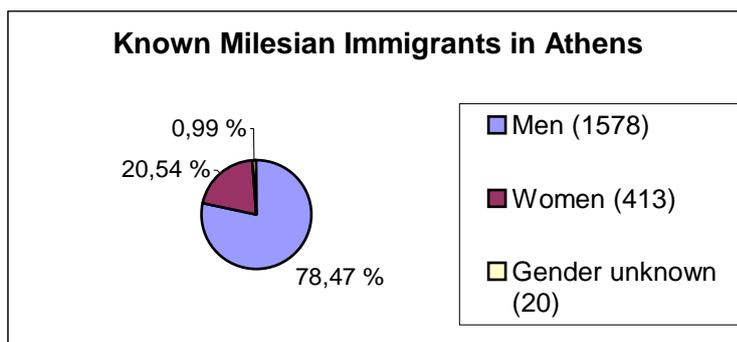
areas. In the light of this inscription, therefore, it seems ever more probable that women were a common feature of colonising expeditions; perhaps inseparable part of them.

One specific type of inscriptions, epitaphs, can be particularly revealing about the end result of colonisation, i.e. people settling in new areas, without actually telling anything about the actual process or reasons behind the migration. Many tombstones mention the ethnic origin of the deceased, hence they allow us to track human mobility to some extent. Indeed, occasionally they reveal great movements of peoples otherwise unknown to us, as is the case with the Milesians emigrating in significant numbers and forming communities elsewhere, especially in Attica, in the Hellenistic period. Of all the c. 3,300 tombstones of foreigners with ethnics in Athens, around 25% belong to Milesian immigrants (Vestergaard, 2000: 82). Yet, we know very little about them; the literary sources are completely silent about why, when and how did the Milesians leave their home *polis* and move to Athens [and elsewhere] in such significant numbers.²²⁵ As Vestergaard has mentioned, “Epigraphy offers a platform for uncovering social phenomena which would otherwise be unknown: the appearance of Milesians in late Hellenistic and Roman Athens is one indication of the movement of people in antiquity” (Vestergaard, 2000: 82-83).

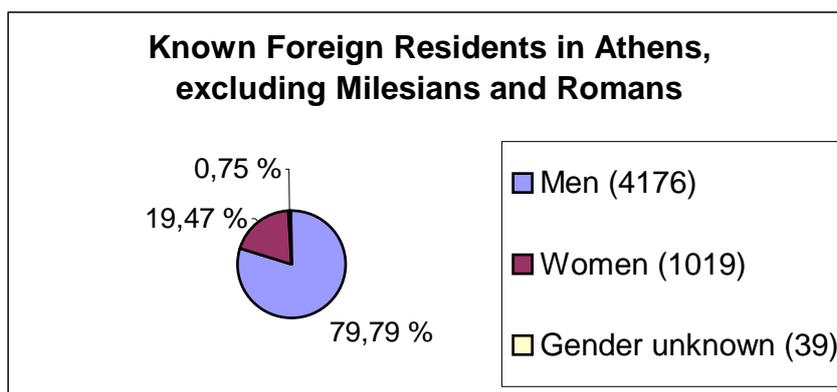
From the register of foreign residents in Athens, compiled by Osborne and Byrne (1996), which includes but is not restricted to names gathered from tombstones, I have calculated the names of 2,011 Milesian individuals. This is about 27% of all known immigrants of known provenance in Athens.²²⁶ Of the 2,011 *known* Milesian immigrants, 413 are women. This means that of the known Milesian immigrants in Athens, slightly over twenty percent were women, as the chart below shows:

²²⁵ Vestergaard argues that the port of Miletus was in decline around 100 BCE, and that this would have caused the mass emigration (Vestergaard, 2000: 97-98).

²²⁶ The register compiled by Osborne and Byrne (1996) is divided into two parts: I Foreign Residents of known Provenance, and II Other Foreign residents. The first part includes 7,390 entries, and the second part includes 818 entries. For two reasons I have only used the first part for my calculations: 1) the second part consists mostly of slave names, and [much more importantly] 2) the names in the second part derive largely from damaged inscriptions, which do not allow one to determine the ethnic origin of the individuals and, moreover—if the name is damaged too—the gender of these persons is difficult/impossible to determine.



Although Miletus is unique in the sense that it produced a large number of immigrants to Athens, both in absolute and relative terms, it is remarkable that the proportion of women among all the known immigrants is very close to the proportion of women among the Milesian immigrants.²²⁷ Compare the chart above on Milesians and the chart below on all other known foreign residents in Athens [excluding the Romans, who are not the object of this study]:²²⁸



Of the *known* foreigners in Athens, then, men constitute a clear majority. However, twenty percent is not a negligible proportion. Furthermore, one needs to remember that these figures are not completely reliable census figures. Indeed, it is clear that men are over represented in the type of evidence that these figures have been drawn from. Most of the names in the register compiled by Osborne and Byrne (1996) are known from epitaphs, which in theory at least could give balanced evidence on the

²²⁷ It is worth remembering that c. 20% of the Cretan mercenaries that migrated to Miletus had families (see p. 64); taking daughters and mothers into account, in addition to wives, the proportion of Cretan women on record at Miletus is not far off from the proportion of women among the foreigners in Athens.

²²⁸ The figures are, again, based on my calculations from the register compiled by Osborne and Byrne (1996).

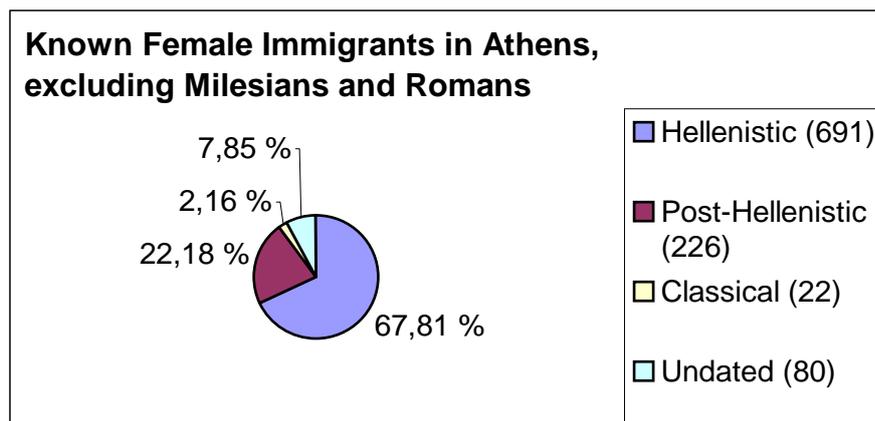
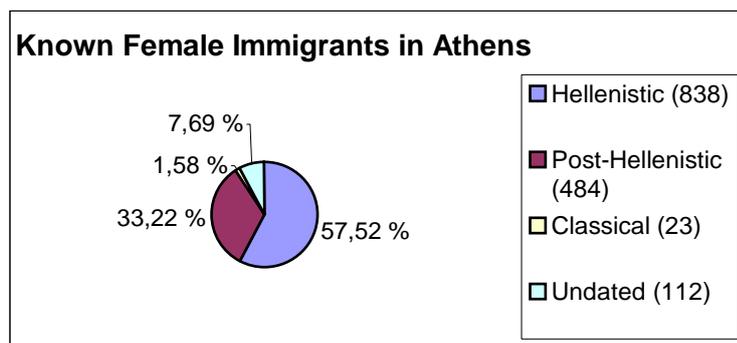
number of foreign residents in Athens.²²⁹ However, tombstones were not the only source of evidence for Osborne and Byrne as they compiled the register of foreigners in Athens. They used all kinds of inscriptions and literary material that have references to foreigners living in Athens; these include lists of soldiers, documents naming contractors and civic officials etc. These types of sources are less likely to include women's names. Nevertheless, as we have argued in the chapter on mercenaries' wives, the men who appear in these inscriptions may well have brought their (foreign) wives and daughters with them—there simply was no reason why they would appear on such documents. In short, proportionately many more men have left lasting testimony of their immigration than women. It would be hazardous to guess how much more likely are men to appear on the epigraphic (and literary) sources. However, if we, for argument's sake, were to say that men were twice as likely to appear in inscriptions, the proportion of women among the foreigners in Athens would be much higher than the current evidence implies, perhaps as high as 40%, or higher(?).

If one examines just the foreigners who appear on tombstones, in which women have a much higher chance of appearing than in most other types of inscriptions, the proportion of women is much higher. In fact, women appear in the Hellenistic tombstones almost as frequently as men, as Vestergaard's study has shown: "Of the total number of foreigners [on Attic tombstones] 51.8 per cent are men, and 45.8 per cent are women; for the remaining 2.4 per cent it has not been possible to state the sex owing to lacunas in the text. The percentage of women is remarkably smaller in the earlier centuries: in the fifth century females only constitute 14 per cent of the attested persons, in the fourth century 34.7 per cent, and in the third century 39.8 per cent. Proportionately more women's names appear on gravestones in the Hellenistic and Roman periods: from the second century BC to the second century AD the number is constantly around 50 per cent" (Vestergaard, 2000: 87-88). Although there may have been a change in recording practices, these figures do strongly suggest an increase in the mobility of women in the Hellenistic period. They also contradict the old view, held by Whitehead for example, that there were not many foreign women

²²⁹ To have been buried in Athens need not, of course, necessarily mean that the person had actually been a permanent resident there. On the whole, however, epitaphs "may normally be taken to certify residence" (Osborne and Byrne, 1996: xxiv).

resident in Attica (Vestergaard, 2000: 88; Whitehead, 1977: 97; cf. Walters, 1983: 325).²³⁰

On the basis of the register of foreigners in Athens, compiled by Osborne and Byrne (1996), I have created two charts to show the chronological accumulation of references to foreign women residents in Athens. The results confirm Vestergaard's conclusion that there was an increase of female mobility in the Hellenistic period. The first of my charts illustrates the number of *all* known foreign women [of known provenance] living in Athens at different times. The second chart excludes two exceptional groups of women: 1) Romans, as they are not the object of this study, and 2) Milesians, because the Milesians clearly migrated in great numbers and are not, therefore, *on a par* with the other immigrants, who appear to have come to Athens either alone or in small groups unlike the Milesians.



²³⁰ Vestergaard has noted that foreign women in Attic tombstones had their ethnics usually in the nominative feminine (as e.g. *Milesia*, *Antiochissa*), whereas citizen women almost always had their demotics in the genitive masculine, i.e. the demotics of their fathers and husbands. Because of this he conjectures that “perhaps foreign women enjoyed a freedom of movement which their Athenian counterparts did not?” (Vestergaard, 2000: 88-89).

As we can see from both of the charts above, the greatest number of *known* female immigrants coming into Athens date to the Hellenistic period—the same, incidentally, goes for men too (Osborne and Byrne, 1996: xxiv). When one disregards Roman and Milesian immigrants, who mostly moved into Athens during or after the first century CE, the proportion of female immigrants settling into Athens in the Hellenistic period is even greater; about two thirds of all *known* female immigrants moved into the city during this period.²³¹ While Athens, obviously, had been and continued to be unique in many ways, there is nothing to suggest either that it attracted proportionately more women than other places, or that it was unique in attracting particularly many immigrants in the Hellenistic period.

Perhaps the only other place that could provide comparable sources to conduct a similar study on immigrant women is Ptolemaic Egypt, which, obviously, has left us a wealth of evidence. Numerous foreign visitors and immigrants crop up in the Greek and Demotic texts of the period. In 1925, Heichelheim published a groundbreaking study on foreigners in Ptolemaic Egypt; he listed over 1,700 names (Heichelheim, 1925). This work, however, does not directly address foreign women, although it lists foreign women as well as men. Moreover, Heichelheim's register is now seriously out of date, due to the vast amount of new evidence that has been found since the early twentieth century. A new exhaustive collection of foreign ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt has, however, recently been made available by La'da, whose work is published as the tenth volume of the *Prosopographia Ptolemaica* (La'da, 2002a). La'da has also, in fact, published a short study on immigrant women in Ptolemaic Egypt (La'da, 2002b), but since this is based on only a *section* of his own research, let us first examine what one can learn about foreign women in Hellenistic Egypt by using the *entire* corpus.

La'da's register of foreigners in Hellenistic Egypt contains 2,608 individuals with known ethnics, plus slightly over four hundred individuals with fragmentary and uncertain or Egyptian city-ethnics, e.g. Alexandrians etc. (La'da, 2002a). I have calculated that of the 2,608 foreigners whose ethnics are known for sure, 198 are women. This means that only about 7.6% of the *known* foreigners in Hellenistic Egypt were female. This is a significantly smaller proportion than the roughly 20%

²³¹ A change in recording patterns may, of course, have distorted these figures, but it is unlikely that this would alone explain the significant differences between different periods (especially as corresponding figures for immigrant men are similar to those of the immigrant women).

found among the *known* foreign residents in Athens. However, the difference can at least partly be explained without concluding that Egypt attracted fewer immigrant women than Athens did.

Firstly, whereas Osborne and Byrne explicitly did *not* include mere visitors in their register of foreigners in Athens, La'da does include *all* attested foreigners in Egypt (Osborne and Byrne, 1996: xxvii; La'da, 2002a: xxxiv-xxxv). This will have disproportionately increased the number of men in La'da's register, as at any given time Egypt will inevitably have had visiting foreign diplomats and international merchants etc., who, in this period, were [almost] invariably men. Secondly, and even more importantly, there is a clear qualitative difference in the source material between the evidence for the foreigners in Athens and the foreigners in Egypt. Whereas Osborne and Byrne used primarily tombstones (Osborne and Byrne, 1996: xxiv), La'da has been short of tombstones, on the one hand, but he has had a much wider selection of source material, on the other hand. He used "Greek and Demotic papyrological (papyri and ostraca), epigraphic (inscriptions, graffiti and dipinti), ancient historiographical, scholarly, scientific and other non-literary and non-magical evidence [... which] originate, or refer to, Hellenistic Egypt" (La'da, 2002a: xxxiv-xxxv). As has been argued before, men are much likelier to appear on most types of epigraphic and literary sources; this is also surely true, even to a greater extent, with papyrological sources, since they include evidence for activities, such as legal and business transactions, mainly carried out by men. Therefore, the gender bias is most probably even higher in the Ptolemaic sources than in the sources relating to Hellenistic Athens. Given also that we have found very little evidence for mixed marriages in Egypt, and presuming that most immigrants did find a spouse, we can assume that the proportion of women among the foreign *immigrants* in Hellenistic Egypt was much higher than the c. 7.6% indicated by La'da's register. There is nothing to indicate that this proportion could not have been as high as in Athens.²³²

²³² Another significant place that allows some sort of statistics to be made is Delos. From the index of foreigners who appear on the Epigraphic records of Delos, compiled by Tréheux (1992), which contains well over 1,500 names, I have calculated one hundred and ten women's names [= c. 7%]. Delos being a major commercial centre, it may well be that the proportion of women among foreigners was much smaller on this island than in most other places.

The problem with smaller places is, of course, that the samples get very small and [more] unreliable. But, to give one example, the proportion of women among the *known* foreigners at Eretria appears, in the current light of evidence, to have been more or less the same as in Ptolemaic Egypt; roughly 10% of the foreigners in the inscriptions found at Eretria are women (*IG XII.9 786-843*; *IG XII supplement 629-37*).

Let us now turn to La'da's own study on immigrant women in Ptolemaic Egypt. As mentioned, his study does not exploit all the material available in his register of foreign ethnics (La'da, 2002a), but only parts of it, namely ethnics that appear on *Greek official documents* (La'da, 2002b: 171, 178).²³³ The number of women that appear on these records is 48, and they represent 26 different ethnic groups (La'da, 2002b: 178). The corresponding figures for men are significantly higher: 796 individuals, bearing 148 different ethnic designations (La'da, 2002b: 179). A quick calculation of these figures reveals that only 5.7% of the persons with ethnics that appear on surviving *Greek official documents* from Ptolemaic Egypt are women.

La'da gives three reasons for the discrepancy in the number of foreign men and women in the Greek official documents (La'da, 2002b: 180-184). After explaining these reasons, he correctly concludes that "the real number and proportion of immigrant women in Hellenistic Egypt was not as low as the sources appear to reflect" (La'da, 2002b: 184). However, he falls short of acknowledging the true extent of female mobility by stressing that the number of male immigrants was *much* higher than female immigrants, and that the number and proportion of immigrant women "remained *well below* [my italics] those of immigrant men" (La'da, 2002b: 184).

To understand the strengths and weaknesses of La'da's arguments, we need to go through the three reasons he gives for the shortage of women in the Greek official documents; I shall go through these in reverse order. As his third explanation La'da proposes that women's acculturation and integration into the native society was faster than men's. Not only did men have more political, military and social reasons to hang on to their Greek identities than women, but women had positive grounds for 'going native,' for the Egyptian legal system was much more favourable to women than the Greek legal system. Consequently, according to La'da, far fewer 'Greek' women than men appear in the official documents (La'da, 2002b: 181-183). While this argument is attractive, it is very difficult, if not impossible, to verify.

It is La'da's second argument that holds the most weight—and this is something we have independently already touched upon—namely the nature of our evidence, i.e. men are more likely to appear in the kind of sources we possess. "Since one of the most important functions of documents was the legalisation of any

²³³ The *demotic* official documents are yet to reveal any female ethnic designations, while they contain nine different male ethnics referring to seventeen different men (La'da, 2002b: 178-179).

transaction concerning any form of property or wealth, those segments of society which did not possess property or wealth appeared in such documents with much less frequency... it is logical to expect this inequality [between the genders] to be reflected in the documents as well” (La’da, 2002b: 181). It is also to be noted, as La’da does, that many foreign men are known to us because they acted as witnesses in the kind of transactions described above; since women could not fulfil this function, it is self-explanatory that more men than women appear in legal documents.

Finally, “the first obvious explanation” to the statistical difference between male and female designation in the documents, according to La’da, is that “immigration to Egypt in the Hellenistic period was predominantly military and, therefore, male immigration. The successive waves of immigrants, especially the initial ones, consisted overwhelmingly or at least largely of soldiers. As a result, a much larger number of foreign men arrived in Egypt than women” (La’da, 2002b: 180, cf. 167-168). He further claims that there were many mixed marriages, which according to him corroborates the previous argument concerning near-exclusive [military] male immigration (La’da, 2002b: 180). Evidence has been brought forward earlier in this thesis which contradicts both of these claims, i.e. ‘military immigration’ need not have been ‘overwhelmingly’ male. It follows that the number and proportion of women among the immigrants in Hellenistic Egypt was *even* higher than La’da has assumed.

Indeed, if we go back to the register of all known ethnics in Hellenistic Egypt (La’da 2002a), and exclude all the people in the Greek official documents, because of the heavy male bias, as well as the fragmentary and uncertain ethnics, we are left with 1764 foreign individuals, of which 150 (= 8.5%) are women. The proportion of women in sources other than the Greek official documents is, therefore, nearly 50% higher than the 5.7% in those official documents. Keeping in mind that the other types of sources also have male bias—and that numerous mercenaries were accompanied by women, who usually do not appear on any records—the real proportion of women among the immigrants must have been much higher than has been acknowledged by modern scholars, including La’da. The real proportion of women among the Hellenistic immigrants in Egypt, as well as Athens and elsewhere, will certainly have been over 20%, probably around 30-40%, and possibly close to, although not reaching, 50%.

5.4 Conclusion

We have seen in this chapter that the old view that Hellenistic colonisation was a predominantly male phenomenon has been founded on shaky grounds. The scholars who have argued that the colonisation process was carried out almost exclusively by men—who on arrival married native women—have offered little, dubious, or no evidence at all to support these claims. Welles, for example, believed that the onomasticon in certain documents from Dura Europus would imply that almost no Graeco-Macedonian women had taken part in the foundation of the city, and that the colonists married widely with the natives (Welles, 1951: 262-267). A closer study of the onomasticon of Dura Europus has revealed, however, that the Graeco-Macedonians were, or appear to have been, a very exclusive group. Indeed, many of them even preferred incestuous marriages to mixed race marriages.

Some scholars, such as Fraser (1972: 1.787) and Stephens (2003: 191n49), have drawn attention to the Cyrenean constitution, which allowed some mixed marriages (*SEG* 9.1; cf. *SEG* 18.726). We have pointed out, however, that the inclusiveness of the law was, in fact, very limited; only *certain* Libyans were allowed to marry Cyrenean citizens and have legitimate children with them. Moreover, there is nothing to indicate that this law could be used to generalise anything beyond Cyrene.

We have further argued that had mixed marriages been the standard or even common, never mind any ‘fusion of races,’ we would expect to have much more direct evidence spelling this out, since the Greek authors had vocabulary for mixed blood individuals/communities. Indeed, the ancient historians were quick to point out if they even suspected that the population of a particular city or region had degenerated into ‘half-barbarians’ or ‘half-Greeks.’ These terms are even found in inscriptions; most notably in the famous inscription from Olbia (*Syll.*³ 495.114). The rarity with which we see these terms, however, implies that such ‘fusions’ were not common.²³⁴

²³⁴ It is worth remembering our brief comparison to early modern colonisation of the Americas, and the fact that around one quarter of the Spanish and Portuguese migrants were female, but even this was not a large enough proportion to prevent a substantial mixed-race population being formed in

The fact that the Greeks had terms, such as *μίξε/λλήναί*, for the products of mixed unions, obviously means that there had to have been *some* mixed marriages. Or, if not legally binding marriages, mixed unions of some sort at least. Indeed, we have some examples of Greek men forming unions and even marrying foreign women, both in mainland Greece—Athens in particular—and in the new Hellenistic kingdoms. The question is, therefore, how are we to account for the known cases of mixed marriages, and how common were they?

The first—crucial—point to make is that there are practically no examples of mixed marriages from the very early stages of the Hellenistic age. If Greek women did not take part in the colonisation process, it would have been the first few decades that we would have expected to find evidence for mixed unions—both on epigraphic records, and in the literary sources [*on a par* with the Roman myth on the rape of Sabine women (Livy, 1.9)]. It is only very gradually, however, that evidence begins to accumulate testifying marriages between citizens and non-citizens. Furthermore, at all times the mixed marriages that we see are usually between Greeks of different ‘nationality’, i.e. different city origin and citizenship. Known marriages between Greeks and non-Greeks remain extremely rare at all times, as our ‘statistical’ study has demonstrated.

It is also to be noted that there may have been, and were, some geographical variations; what applies to Ptolemaic Egypt need not apply to Greek cities in Babylonia, for example. As a relatively safe guideline one can argue, however, that big and medium size cities did not tolerate mixed marriages—in the early Hellenistic period—even if some cities, such as Miletus, were more willing to naturalise foreigners than other cities. Smaller settlements, on the other hand, would have found it more difficult to maintain rigorous civic purity, hence some smaller cities within the Greek world allowed their citizens to marry their neighbours.²³⁵ Curiously, however, small Greek settlements in the midst of barbarian territories, such as Uruk or Dura Europus, appear to have resisted mixed marriages longer than similar size cities in Hellas. This, one suspects, was mainly due to the Greek sense of racial superiority, i.e. to succumb to marry neighbouring Greeks may have been a blow to civic pride, yet tolerable under certain circumstances, but to marry barbarians would

South America. A similar phenomenon did *not* take place in North America, where many more migrants arrived with their wives and children (Ferguson, 2003: 69; see pp. 73-74).

have challenged the entire identity of the Greek people. To quote Erskine on this issue: “Where Greeks feel under threat, civic and ethnic identity become protected” (Erskine, 2003: 212).

The motivation of the few individuals who did marry non-Greeks is very difficult to determine. It may be that some of them, especially those living in remote areas, found it difficult to find Greek wives. Yet, we have seen that, in Ptolemaic Egypt at least, there were enough Greek women for some of them to remain single, and for some parents to expose daughters. There is no direct evidence to support any claims for scarcity of Greek brides. It would appear that those individual Greeks who married non-Greeks were simply mavericks and exceptions to the norm, i.e. they were *not* desperate men willing to marry any woman who happened to be available.

The sub-chapter on division within cities demonstrated that while the Greek colonists were not totally isolationists, they did prefer to have separate living quarters from the natives and other foreigners.

While our investigation on mixed marriages and divisions within cities indicated that the Greeks, on the whole, were not willing to mix with foreigners, this was not enough to *prove* that Graeco-Macedonian women did take part in the colonisation processes of the period. To argue with some certainty that women were, in significant numbers, among the Hellenistic colonists, one cannot rely merely on arguments from silence and hypothetical theories. In this chapter, however, we brought forward a fair amount of direct and indirect evidence to support our assumption that Graeco-Macedonian women did indeed take part in the colonisation expeditions and/or were moved together with men in mass population transfers.

Polybius informs us that some of his contemporary historians wrote about colonies, foundation of cities and the blood-ties between the people living in the new and old cities (Polybius, 9.1). Unfortunately, none of these works have survived. It is also unfortunate that Polybius’s comment on such works does not reveal whether Greek women took part in the foundation of cities or not. As we have seen, however, other ancient historians and philosophers, whose works survive, have left some indirect evidence for us to gain a strong impression that Greek women *did* migrate with men to found new settlements in the East. For example, Plato and Diodorus respectively have compared married couples leaving home and travelling armies *with*

²³⁵ Euaimon in Arcadia is an example of such a city (*Staatsverträge* II, no. 297; Vérilhac and Vial, 1998: 72).

mixed sex camp followers to colonists and colonisation expeditions (Diodorus, 20.41.1; Plato, *Laws*, 776a-b). Surely these analogies would not have been made, nor would they have made any sense, unless the authors in question knew or believed women to have been a regular feature in colonisation expeditions.

Further evidence for women's involvement in Hellenistic colonisation and foundation of cities has been drawn from various reports on mass population transfers. While our sources, be they literary or epigraphic, on such forced migration do not usually say anything explicit about women, the fact that the cities from which people were uprooted were often said to have become *entirely* deserted means that women too were transferred. Common sense would have it also that when masses of people were moved to found or enforce cities, women would have had to be included, because otherwise the population transfer would only have been a temporary solution, i.e. for continuity's sake women had to be 'imported' in equal or near equal measure to men.

As our best piece of literary evidence on the character of Hellenistic colonisation expeditions we cited a letter by Antiochus III, preserved by Josephus, which mentions that [Jewish] *families* were transferred together into a new colony (*Jewish Antiquities*, 12.148-152). Moreover, we argued that most mass population transfers would have been similar in character to this example, as for all reasons and purposes it would have made sense to keep communities together and to ensure that all cities had enough suitable women for the colonists to marry and found families with. And as we have seen both in our studies of mixed marriages and Greek religion, it would not have been enough for Greek men to have just any women available, they wanted *and* needed *Greek* women in order to continue living their lives according to their cultural traditions (e.g. *I. Magnesia*, 20).

While the literary sources had already given clear indications as to women's involvement in Hellenistic colonisation, we finally turned to the epigraphic records in search of firm proof for women taking part in Hellenistic colonisation. Admittedly, clear references to actual colonisation expeditions in the epigraphic records are rare. However, they are not entirely lacking. Lists of new citizens sometimes reveal that entire families had emigrated together, as we saw already in the chapter on mercenaries' wives. The most illustrative inscription on the character of colonisation expeditions is, however, the Cretan inscription, which was used in this chapter, on a colonisation expedition from Magnesia in Greece to Magnesia on the Maeander; this

inscription leaves no doubt about the fact that women, including priestesses, were among the colonists.

Towards the end of this chapter we explored the various inscriptions found in Attica that include names of foreign residents, i.e. people who have actually immigrated to Athens and were not mere visitors. The results were very conclusive. They indicate that Hellenistic period witnessed a huge growth in human mobility. Furthermore, my calculations on the available evidence have demonstrated that women formed a sizeable proportion of the foreign population in Athens. *Without* taking into account the obvious gender bias in the epigraphic records, i.e. that men appear in inscriptions in proportionately greater numbers than women do, about twenty percent of the *known* foreign residents in Athens were women. Studies based on tombstones alone have revealed a much more balanced gender ratio; Vestergaard has calculated that almost fifty percent of the foreign people known to have been buried in Athens in the Hellenistic period were women (Vestergaard, 2000: 87-88). We have further argued that there is no reason why Athens would have attracted proportionately more female immigrants than any other city, hence these figures gathered from tombstones and other epigraphic records can be used as representative. Simple quantification of Ptolemaic evidence has implied that there were fewer female immigrants in Egypt than contemporary Athens, but the discrepancy has largely, if not totally, been explained by the different type of sources, namely greater male bias in the papyri.

In brief, it was argued in this final chapter that large numbers of Greek women took part in the Hellenistic colonisation processes.

Conclusion

The mobility of Hellenistic women outside the boundaries of their ordinary physical environments, be it a *polis* or a village, had not received adequate attention from modern scholars prior to the current research project. Indeed, the motives, scale, and effects of women's mobility on the Greek societies at large had received very little or no attention at all. Many issues concerning travelling women have been discussed in this thesis. Most importantly, an argument has been put forward that—contrary to a popular belief—a significant number of women took part in the colonisation processes of the Hellenistic period. While it is impossible to quantify the number of Hellenistic women who travelled and/or migrated, by focusing on various different aspects of the Greek societies, and different categories of mobility, it has become clear in the course of this dissertation that there were numerous reasons that could have prompted practically any Greek woman to travel beyond the boundaries of her usual place of habitation at some stage in her life. These reasons were often tied to the activities of their husbands or male relatives, but increasingly women also had motives of their own to travel.

The results of our investigations on female mobility have made it clear that the Hellenistic world would have been very different had women not been on the move. Not only did mobile women make significant contributions to the economies and entertainment of the Greek cities, but it is even fair to question whether the Hellenistic kingdoms would have lasted longer than a generation or two after the death of Alexander had Graeco-Macedonian women not taken part in the colonisation processes of the period. Even if the kingdoms had survived, they would certainly have been very different in character were there not many female immigrants. The Hellenistic kings, and queens, relied on (Greek) mercenaries and the support of the Greek cities within their realms. The mercenaries grew accustomed to bringing their women with them, and even refused to fight if they were not allowed to travel with their wives and families. Had the Graeco-Macedonian populations of the Greek cities within the Hellenistic kingdoms mixed widely with non-Greeks and failed to reproduce themselves, these cities would have rapidly lost their Greek character. Without Greek cities capable of supplying Greek personnel, the Hellenistic kingdoms

would have had to operate very differently. It follows that the presence of Graeco-Macedonian women immigrants, who ensured the continuity of Greek race and culture, was of major importance for the Hellenistic kingdoms.

While short conclusions have been drawn at the end of each chapter, it is worth recapping what was argued in the various chapters of this thesis and how each of them contributed to the overall picture presented in this dissertation.

The first chapter tackled a difficult and much ignored question concerning the wives and families of exiles and refugees: did they accompany their banished men? Being particularly short of direct evidence, we used an innovative method of studying the traditional literary image of exiles, and then juxtaposed this to the literary and epigraphic evidence concerning real Hellenistic exiles. It was found that according to the traditional image exiles and refugees travelled with their wives and families, and that this corresponds largely, although not universally, with the lives of known Hellenistic exiles. Occasionally Greek tyrants separated families by exiling men, while forcing the women of the exiles to stay behind. It also appears that political exiles, who held hopes of relatively quick return, sometimes left their families behind to look after their property, which would, no doubt, otherwise have been confiscated. Indeed, it is partly in the possibilities of redistribution of land and property that the importance of the wives of exiles lies. For the current thesis, however, it was more important to note that many exiles did not ever return home, but took up mercenary service and settled on foreign lands among other colonists. The fact that many exiles and refugees clearly moved about with their families means, therefore, that among the Greek colonists were a significant number of wives (and daughter, mothers, and sisters) of exiles. This near-invisible group will have helped to lift the proportion of women among the Greek immigrants—the failure to acknowledge their existence partly explains why most scholars have hugely underestimated the number of women who took part in the colonisation of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

While the mere fact that many exiles travelled with their women could lead us to think that many mercenaries, too, travelled with families, since we know that exiles often found employment in foreign armies, this alone would hardly be firm proof of the matter. Fortunately, however, plenty of evidence exists to suggest that it was increasingly common, ever since Alexander, for mercenaries to bring their families with them as they went on campaigns. The second chapter of this thesis was dedicated to this issue, and the case study on Cretan mercenaries therein was

particularly revealing in demonstrating that many mercenaries indeed travelled with wives and families. It was further argued in this chapter that the women among camp followers played important roles in the military campaigns, not least in lifting the morale of the soldiers. Moreover, it was suggested that one of the reasons why Alexander's policy of founding new colonies and cities by populating them with retired soldiers was not very successful, was that he did not permit his regular Macedonian soldiers to bring their wives with them. The successor kings, on the other hand, allowed and probably encouraged their mercenaries to travel with families; these later formed an important part of the hugely successful Hellenistic colonisation processes.

The third chapter gave an opportunity to study Hellenistic women in their own right, as opposed to studying women as wives and daughters of certain men. Here we established that there were a number of female professions that enabled or even encouraged women to be mobile. The growing specialisation within urban manufacture, textile industry in particular, made skilled workers valuable, which in turn gave Hellenistic women unexpected opportunities to move from one place to another in search of work, although they probably did this usually with their husbands and/or male relatives. It was also noted that women who worked in the health and sex industries—nurses, midwives, doctors, and prostitutes—were particularly mobile; much of our evidence for such women relates to *metic* or (foreign) slave women.

In addition to the above-mentioned professional women, we cast light on women who can only loosely be termed 'professional,' namely artists and athletes. A strong case was made that our source material is very misleading on the number of such women. It was suggested that women travelled to take part in artistic and athletic competitions on a regular basis, but owing to their lack of success we have only little evidence for them. The scarcity of evidence is the main reason why modern scholars have failed to note the level of female activity in these fields. While the mobile professional women will have had important social and economic effects, the travelling female entertainers and athletes will have made significant contributions to the cultural life of the Greek *poleis*, which is reflected in the high prizes and honours they were granted. Although it would appear *a priori* certain that there were women such as the ones discussed in this chapter also among the colonists, the available evidence does not permit us to say how many. Most of the evidence in this chapter

relates to women who migrated only relatively short distances or who travelled only periodically.

One of the most common reasons for Greek women to leave their domestic spheres was to take part in religious activities, as was outlined in chapter four. While bulk of such activities took place within the normal physical environments of the women—i.e. inside their home *poleis* or villages, within a walking distance from their dwelling places—sometimes women ventured abroad in order to participate in religious cults and/or to visit foreign sanctuaries. In fact, occasionally entire communities depended on women fulfilling rituals outside their civic boundaries. In any case, it appears that most Greek temples and sanctuaries welcomed foreign women pilgrims. According to the available evidence, health issues were the main motivation for women to undergo pilgrimage; the sanctuary of Asclepius at Epidaurus being particularly popular among Greek women, who flocked there from far and wide in search of cure or help in fertility matters. Religious festivals attracted large crowds from all over the Greek world, and both genders appear to have been present in the stands; some women even took part in competitions, as was argued in the previous chapter. Although women's involvement in pilgrimages is nowadays fairly well acknowledged, not least thanks to the two studies by Dillon (1997 and 2000), one aspect had until now been largely neglected, namely women visiting oracles. Considering the level of women's religious activities in general, it was surprising to notice that it was rather rare for women to consult oracles.

In addition to the discussion on female pilgrims, the chapter on religion and religious mobility provided a new theoretical model for the necessity of female presence at Hellenistic colonisation expeditions and new colonies. It was argued that women had such a central place in the Greek cults and religious practices that it would have been unthinkable to found new settlements without *Greek* women. Native women would not have had the necessary skills and knowledge to fulfil the important female roles, and non-citizen women would not normally have qualified for priesthoods in the first place.

The final chapter on colonisation and Greek women was in many ways the culmination and the most important chapter of this thesis, for all the previous chapters, to a varying degree, paved the way to it. Although previous chapters had highlighted groups of women likely to have been among the Hellenistic colonists, a concentrated study on the issue of colonisation was needed, because a) exiles and

mercenaries (and their women) did not constitute the entire immigrant populations, b) while professional women were evidently mobile, it is unclear how many of them took part in the actual colonisation processes, and c) the theory on religion and female mobility is only a theory, not firm proof of female colonisation.

Since many scholars have used examples of mixed marriages between Greek men and non-Greek women as ‘evidence’ for shortage of Greek immigrant women in the Hellenistic kingdoms, we were obliged to study how common a phenomenon this was. Not only did our investigation reveal that such mixed marriages remained rare throughout the Hellenistic period, but we were able to find evidence for further physical separation of Greeks and non-Greeks in the form of separate living quarters for different ethnic groups in various cities. We further made a point that the Greeks had terminology for mixed blood communities, but that the ancient authors rarely refer to such communities. All this points towards a conclusion that the Greek colonists did not mix widely with native peoples, and that Graeco-Macedonian women must have been among the colonists from early on, probably right from the start (e.g. wives of mercenaries).

In search of firmer proof for migrating women, we investigated numerous ancient texts and inscriptions. It soon became apparent that the ancient authors clearly associated women among colonisation expeditions, although they rarely made this explicit. By doing ‘statistical’ analysis on epigraphic records concerning foreigners in select cities—places that provide enough applicable material—such as Athens and Ptolemaic Egypt, we found out that the proportion of women among colonists was *at least* twenty percent. Furthermore, considering the nature of our sources, namely the inherent male bias, it is certain that the actual proportion of women was *much* higher than the available sources indicate. While one is reluctant to give any estimates how big this proportion actually was, it certainly was even bigger than suggested by La’da (2002b), who so far has been the most prominent advocate of considerable female migration, for he did not realise that many mercenaries, too, brought their women with them. If one would argue that around 40% of the Hellenistic immigrants were women, one would probably not be far off the mark, even if the figure cannot be verified in the current light of evidence.

Among the things that this thesis as a whole has achieved is to demonstrate that ‘normal’ Greek women had plenty of opportunities, needs, and even obligations to travel, both temporarily and permanently. If there still were some doubts, it can now

be confirmed that any notions about majority of Hellenistic women being forced to stay at home ‘by their looms,’ as West assumed (West, 1977: 116-119), are ill founded. Furthermore, we can now see, for the first time, that the success of the Hellenistic colonisation processes, and hence the existence of the Graeco-Macedonian kingdoms, was dependent on the presence of Graeco-Macedonian women in the new settlements. Women occupied such a central place in the Greek societies that they had to be ‘imported’ into the new Hellenistic kingdoms in order for them and their cities to be able to retain their Greek nature and culture. Having a better understanding of the scale and motives of female mobility in the Hellenistic period, we are not only in a better position to evaluate the lives and status of ordinary Greek women, but we actually have a clearer picture on who the ‘Hellenistic people’ were. The available evidence bears witness to a fairly strict separation of the various ethnic groups that lived side by side within the Hellenistic world. Although the Greeks interacted with non-Greeks, there was very little mixing and certainly no ‘fusion of races.’ It follows that, on the whole, the Hellenistic Greeks, both in Greece and the new kingdoms, were pure Greeks of Greek ancestry, with little or no mixed blood.

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