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WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

Department of Art History and Archaeology

Participating in Public:

Female Patronage and Economic Prominence at Hellenistic Priene

by

Ashley Anne Eckhardt

A thesis presented to the
Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Washington University in
partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts

May 2012

Saint Louis, Missouri

Acknowledgements

This project would not have been successful without the support I received from a number of different sources. I am pleased to have the opportunity to acknowledge and thank them here. Generous financial support came through a summer research fellowship from the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Washington University in St. Louis, which enabled me to conduct preliminary research into the topic of women in antiquity. Through this research, I discovered the exceptional case of Phile of Priene, who inspired this investigation into the women of Hellenistic Priene.

Many thanks go to my thesis committee, whose helpful comments and suggestions improved the scope of my project. I am grateful for the recommendations and advice of Sarantis Symeonoglou and William Wallace. I particularly appreciate the persistent efforts of my advisor and committee chair, Susan Rotroff, to push me to exceed my own expectations. Her guidance and encouragement were invaluable to this project and I am extremely grateful for all her support. I also wish to thank my family and the other special people in my life for their encouragement and understanding throughout this project. Finally, I am grateful to the entire Department of Art History and Archaeology at Washington University in St. Louis, many of whom have taken an interest in my work and facilitated my scholarly development.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
List of Figures	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter One: Patronage and Publicity: A Contextual Analysis of Phile of Priene	10
Chapter Two: The Position of Women at Priene	29
Chapter Three: Conclusions	53
Bibliography	67
Figures	72

List of Figures

- 1 General view of Priene today.
- 2 Map showing the gradual silting of Miletus Bay by the Maeander River.
- 3 Plan of Priene.
- 4 Plan of Priene showing in detail the Hippodamian grid-plan layout.
- 5 View of Priene looking towards the plain of Maeander at the time of the German excavations, 1896.
- 6 Block from the wall of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, c. 334 BCE (British Museum GR 1870.3-20.88).
- 7 Remains of the Temple of Zeus at Priene.
- 8 Reconstruction of the east façade of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, designed by Pytheos, c. 350 BCE.
- 9 Remains of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, designed by Pytheos.
- 10 Plan of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene.
- 11 So-called “Large Head” found in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene, possibly identified as Artemisia of Halikarnassos, late fourth century BCE (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 1535).
- 12 Right profile view of Fig. 11.
- 13 Colossal head found in the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene, sometimes identified as Ada, c. 350-325 BCE (British Museum 1870, 0320.138).
- 14 Right profile view of Fig. 13.
- 15 Detail of the head of the “Artemisia” statue found at the site of the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, c. 350 BCE (British Museum 1857, 1220.233).
- 16 Colossal female head from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, c. 350 BCE (British Museum Cat. 1051).
- 17 Left profile view of Fig. 16.

- 18 Head of a girl found in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene, fourth century BCE (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 1536).
- 19 Left profile view of Fig. 19.
- 20 Head of a veiled female portrait statue from Kos, early Hellenistic period (Kos, Archaeological Museum 13).
- 21 Gold stater from Lampsakos; obverse: female head, possibly Sappho; reverse: Pegasos, c. 360 BCE.
- 22 Silver double-headed *kantharos* from Lycia, c. 350-300 BCE (British Museum GR1962.12-12.1).
- 23 Head of a tributary, relief sculpture from Persepolis, fifth century BCE (Musée du Louvre, inv. AO 17278).
- 24 Fragment of a relief of a Persian guard from Persepolis, 486-464 BCE (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts).
- 25 Enthroned goddess found at Taranto, c. 480 BCE (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin A 17 (Inv. 1761)).
- 26 Detail of Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis from the east frieze of the Parthenon in Athens, c. 440 BCE.
- 27 Entrance of the water pipe through the city wall at Priene.
- 28 Diagram of the water pipe outside the city wall at Priene.
- 29 One of the water settling basins at Priene.
- 30 Diagram of the three settling basins at Priene.
- 31 Water pipes uncovered on Spring Gate Street in Priene.
- 32 Plan showing the reconstructed sewer drainage system at Priene.
- 33 Remains of a fountain on West Gate Street in Priene.
- 34 Street with channel for drainage in Priene, c. 352 BCE.
- 35 Marble statue of Aristonoe from Rhamnous, mid-second century BCE (Athens, National Museum 232).
- 36 Marble statue of Nikeso from Priene, third century BCE (Berlin,

- Antikensammlung 1928).
- 37 Marble statue of Nikeso from Priene in the Staatliche Museen Antikensammlung in Berlin, third century BCE (Berlin, Antikensammlung 1928).
- 38 Back view of Fig. 37.
- 39 Plan of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene.
- 40 The ruins of the Temple of Demeter and Kore at Priene.
- 41 Terracotta figurines found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).
- 42 Terracotta figurine, probably of Demeter, found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 8585).
- 43 Terracotta figurine of Baubo found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 8612).
- 44 Terracotta figurine of Baubo found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 8613).
- 45 Terracotta figurine of Baubo found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 8614).
- 46 Demeter of Knidos, c. 350 BCE (British Museum GR 1859.12-26.26).
- 47 Peplos Kore from the Athenian Acropolis, c. 530 BCE (Athens, Acropolis Museum 679).
- 48 Side and back view of Fig. 47.
- 49 Statue of a veiled woman from Kos, Hellenistic period (Kos, Archaeological Museum 17).
- 50 Head of a female statue from Kos, Hellenistic period (Kos, Archaeological Museum 6).
- 51 Relief sculpture from the Hekateion at Rhodes, first century BCE (Rhodes, Archaeological Museum inv. 5289).
- 52 Relief sculpture from the Hekateion at Rhodes, first century BCE (Rhodes, Archaeological Museum inv. 5289).

- 53 Relief sculpture from the Hekateion at Rhodes, first century BCE (Rhodes, Archaeological Museum inv. 5289).
- 54 Terracotta figurine of a *hydriaphoros* found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin).
- 55 Portrait of a young aristocratic girl, possibly Niko, found in the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene, fourth century BCE (British Museum Cat. 1153).
- 56 Right profile view of Fig. 55.
- 57 Bronze portrait bust of a Roman matron, 20-50 CE (Metropolitan Museum of Art 52.11.6).
- 58 Portrait bust of Agrippina Minor, 50-60 CE (Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 1914).
- 59 Stage building of the theater at Priene, c. second century BCE.

Introduction

Situated 380 meters above sea level on the southern slopes of Mount Mycale on the west coast of modern day Turkey, the ancient city of Priene overlooks the Maeander River about ten kilometers to its south (Fig. 1). The Aegean Sea now lies approximately sixteen kilometers from the site's location, but was once much closer. Over time, the alluvial deposits brought down by the Maeander River have silted up the coastline, turning this coastal city into an inland site (Fig. 2). The original city of Priene was founded at the turn of the second and first millennium BCE by Ionian Greeks emigrating from mainland Greece, but no physical trace of this settlement has been found. The precise date and motive for the refounding of the city at its current site is uncertain, but it is usually placed in the mid-fourth century BCE.¹

The planners of the new city utilized the Hippodamian grid-plan layout for the urban center, which occupies a shelf of land beneath the acropolis (Figs. 3-4). The acropolis itself, unlike its counterpart in Athens, served a purely military purpose owing to its steep cliff and thus difficult access. Major streets ran both east-west and north-south, and many of them were terraced due to the sloping terrain. The city and most of its buildings faced south, which helped shield the buildings from the summer sun because it passed over their roofs but provided more sunlight in the winter. Although the new site of Priene was not located directly on the coast, the city was served by the port of

¹ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 7-34; Akurgal 1970, 185; Toksöz 1980, 22; Demand 1986; Tomlinson 1992, 85; Bayhan 1994, 6-12; Botermann 1994. There was a city from c. 1000-400 BCE, but it is unknown. Historical records that refer to this earlier city of Priene indicate that it was part of the Ionian League, which consisted of the twelve principal cities of Ionia. Contained within Priene's territory was the Panionion, the temple built by the Ionian League for their annual political and religious activities. In 500 BCE, Priene joined the Ionian revolt against the Persians and participated in the Battle of Lade, supplying twelve ships. Later, it also became a member of the Delian League, with records documenting its tribute payments to Athens.

Naulochos, guaranteeing it access to the sea. The city also enjoyed a copious water supply thanks to a spring located in the hills behind the acropolis which brought water into the city through a series of aqueducts and pipes that fed the fountains scattered across the city. Like the aqueducts of the Roman city of Pompeii, these fountains flowed continuously, providing the inhabitants with an abundant water supply unparalleled in many other Greek cities.²

A number of sanctuaries served the religious needs of the ancient Prienians, the most significant and lavish being the Sanctuary of Athena Polias, dedicated to the patron goddess of the city. Built by the architect Pytheos, who also worked on the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos, the Temple of Athena is the oldest structure in Priene and a model example of Ionic architecture. Construction on the eastern part of the temple began in the mid-fourth century BCE, but the entire structure was not completed until the later second century BCE.³ The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore was also constructed around the time of the city's refounding and included a small, rectangular temple, expansive courtyard, and sacrificial pit.⁴ Temples to Asklepios, the Egyptian gods, Cybele, and Zeus and a sacred house dedicated to Alexander the Great comprised the rest of the religious structures in the city. Archaeologists uncovered several civic spaces as well, including the agora, ekklesiasterion, prytaneion, Sacred Stoa, stadium, theater, and two gymnasia. Priene's theater is especially well-preserved, with its stage house, orchestra, and cavea

² Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 35-56; Akurgal 1970, 185-187; Tomlinson 1992, 85-87; Bayhan 1994, 14-15.

³ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 81-119; Akurgal 1970, 188-191; Carter 1983, 24-33; Tomlinson 1992, 87-88; Bayhan 1994, 18-25.

⁴ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 147-165; Akurgal 1970, 202-203; Bayhan 1994, 29-30.

still extant, and often serves as an exemplar of Hellenistic theaters.⁵ The private houses of Priene have also been excavated and conform to the *megaron* format in that all the rooms face the courtyard, the typical layout found in Greek domestic architecture, but the main reception room opens onto a porch with two columns or wood posts between side walls. The majority of the furnishings found within these houses date to the Hellenistic period, despite the city's occupation throughout the span of the Byzantine Empire, suggesting a possible depletion in wealth as the city gradually grew stagnant.⁶

During the Hellenistic period, Priene came under the rule of the Kingdom of Pergamon before submitting to Roman control in 133 BCE, when King Attalus III of Pergamon deeded his territory to Rome in his will. Less is known about Priene under Roman authority, although some of the inscriptions and dedications in the Temple of Athena Polias date to this period and depict members of the Roman ruling elite.⁷ No significant new construction took place at this time, in part due to the fact that the city was fully built and the Hellenistic structures were still functional, but perhaps this can also be viewed as an indication of decline. In the Byzantine period, the city served as a bishopric and continued to be inhabited until the fall of the empire in the mid-fifteenth century.⁸ At its height in the Hellenistic period, the city held 6,000 inhabitants. Gradually, however, it became increasingly depopulated until it was completely

⁵ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 235-257; Akurgal 1970, 196-200; Tomlinson 1992, 92-93; Bayhan 1994, 42-45.

⁶ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 285-328; Akurgal 1970, 203-205; Tomlinson 1992, 93-95; Bayhan 1994, 53-56.

⁷ Carter 1983, 250-258.

⁸ Akurgal 1970, 185; Tomlinson 1992, 95; Bayhan 1994, 12.

abandoned. It was left undisturbed until the first archaeological excavations brought Priene to light again in the eighteenth century.⁹

History of scholarship

The London Society of Dilettanti provided the initial documentation of the newly discovered site during its first Ionian mission of 1764 to 1766. In this early visit, the members of the mission documented the site's topography, inscriptions, and the architecture of the Temple of Athena Polias. The society dispatched a second Ionian mission from 1811 to 1812, again with a focus on the Temple of Athena. The third and final mission to Priene by the Society of Dilettanti occurred from 1868 to 1869 and involved the first archaeological excavation of the site, concentrated on the Athena temple. At the end of their excavation, the society shipped a number of the inscriptions and pieces of sculpture to the British Museum, where they still remain.¹⁰ In 1895, comprehensive excavations of the site began under the direction of Carl Humann for the Berlin Museum (Fig. 5). Theodor Wiegand continued the Germans' archaeological expeditions at Priene until 1898, eventually publishing their finds in 1904.¹¹ As a result of the joint presence of English and German archaeological teams, the finds from the site are divided between the British Museum and the Berlin Museum, although the majority are in Berlin. In the later twentieth century, the German Archaeological Institute in Istanbul renewed interest in the site and continues to the present to conduct survey and excavation work there.

⁹ Toksöz 1980, 22.

¹⁰ Carter 1983, 1-24.

¹¹ Wiegand and Schrader 1904.

Since Priene was abandoned rather than destroyed or continually inhabited, the site overall remained intact, thus providing archaeologists and scholars of antiquity with a treasure trove of epigraphical and material remains documenting the city's Hellenistic and Roman habitation. The first major publication on the site was the excavation report by Wiegand and Hans Schrader, followed two years later by the publication of the inscriptions uncovered and recorded by the German excavators.¹² Since these initial publications, several works have followed that delve further into Priene's archaeological remains, either focusing on a specific structure at the site, such as Joseph Coleman Carter's study of the Temple of Athena Polias, or analyses of the finds overall.¹³ Numerous scholars have also published guidebook-style overviews of the site, giving basic information about the history of Priene and the structures uncovered in excavations.¹⁴ Many of these works laud Priene as an exemplar of Greek city planning through its Hippodamian layout, while also focusing on its well-preserved Hellenistic architecture. In addition to the architectural elements of the city, much scholarship to date also furthers the debate on the uncertainty surrounding Priene's refounding.¹⁵

Scope and goals of the study

My investigation examines women's patronage within the city, looking specifically at votive offerings, portrait statuary, and inscriptions that date to the

¹² Ibid.; Hiller von Gaertringen 1906.

¹³ See, for example: Schede, Kleiner, and Kleiss 1964; Raeder 1983; Carter 1983; Rumscheid 2006.

¹⁴ See, for example: Akurgal 1970; Toksöz 1980; Tomlinson 1992; Bayhan 1994; Cohen 1995; Rumscheid and Koenigs 1998; Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005.

¹⁵ Demand 1986; Tomlinson 1992, 85-86; Botermann 1994; Cohen 1995, 187-188; Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005.

Hellenistic period. Some attention has been paid to the extraordinary public works commissioned by elite women in the Roman world, but few scholars have examined the pieces produced for non-royal women in Greece and Asia Minor during the Hellenistic period.¹⁶ Scholarship on women in antiquity covers a wide range of topics that provide important insight into the daily lives of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman women.¹⁷ Rarely, however, do these works discuss women's patronage, likely owing to the relatively small amount of evidence available on the subject. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway provided a cursory examination of the art and architecture commissioned either by or for women that spanned eight centuries of Greek history.¹⁸ She developed an overview of women's relationships with material culture, either as patrons, users, or subjects of these works. Although she only devoted two pages of her article to the Hellenistic period, her overall conclusions found that ancient Greek women from all periods participated more prominently in civic life than formerly recognized. Her article is an important starting point for anyone looking to explore this topic in greater depth. Two studies of Athenian dedications, Sara Aleshire's examination of the Asklepieion at Athens and Catherine Keesling's analysis of the votive statues from the Acropolis, include discussions on the role of women as dedicators of votive offerings at these particular sites.¹⁹ Riet van Bremen addressed the topic of women in the Greek East in great detail in *The Limits of Participation*, a work that was extremely useful for my study of Priene, by chronicling

¹⁶ For Roman period studies of women's patronage, see: Boatwright 1991 and 1993; Kleiner and Matheson 1996 and 2000. For works on patronage by Hellenistic queens, see: Pomeroy 1984; Burton 1995; Ramsey 2011.

¹⁷ See, for example: Lefkowitz and Fant 1982; Pomeroy 1975 and 1991; Cameron and Kuhrt 1993; Reeder 1995.

¹⁸ Ridgway 1987.

¹⁹ Aleshire 1989; Keesling 2003.

the way women's positions in society changed during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.²⁰ Van Bremen concludes that women did not gain significant advances in economic and political power in this period as the majority of their benefactions and offices were related to the traditional woman's sphere, especially religious matters.²¹ While the majority of the Prienian evidence regarding women does concern their participation in the city's cults, I argue to the contrary that these sacred obligations played an essential role in the maintenance and administration of the city, and that the increased participation of women in both sacred and secular offices in the Hellenistic period does indeed indicate noteworthy improvements in their position within society.

My look at female patronage at Priene takes a microcosmic approach, concentrating on one particular site in order to gain a better understanding of the position of women in the larger context of the Greek East in the Hellenistic period. While Ridgway finds ancient Greek women entering the public sphere more often than expected throughout her chronological study, I seek to understand the motivations behind this phenomenon rather than just document its existence. Both approaches have merit, but in order to gain a more comprehensive view of the position of women in the Greek world, I focus my attention on a single location at a particular moment in time. This way, I can delve as deeply as possible into the multiple factors affecting women and their civic participation. One specific inscription that sparked this investigation into female patronage at Priene refers to Phile, a woman who became the first female *stephanephoros*, the highest official in the city, and funded the construction of a new

²⁰ Van Bremen 1996.

²¹ Ibid.

aqueduct and water reservoir for the community.²² I use Phile as a case study in the first chapter in order to understand the position of elite women within their social and political context at this particular site. Phile was a member of the aristocratic class at Priene, as were most women mentioned in ancient literature or within the epigraphical record. In the second chapter, I broaden my study to include portrait statues and votive offerings at the Sanctuary of Athena Polias and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, in order to provide a more thorough understanding of the positions of women at Priene, including those of lower socioeconomic status.

The extant ancient literature often either neglects or vilifies Greek women and few examples of their patronage can be found in the artistic and archaeological remains of the Greek world. My study focuses more heavily on the lives of aristocratic women, as the patronage of elite women is attested more frequently than that of women of lower social status. However, I also examine the evidence of non-elite women's participation in the local cults to provide a more inclusive appreciation of the contributions of women from every level of society. Using the inscriptions, portrait statues, and votive dedications commissioned by women of all classes in Priene, I argue that women held significant secular and religious positions in this city that provided them with real economic power, despite their virtual exclusion from most literary sources. These instances of female patronage and officeholding in Priene and the motivations behind them will help to elucidate the position of women on a macrocosmic level, influencing our understanding of Hellenistic Asia Minor as a whole. The microcosmic approach taken in this study will supply a clearer context for the general improvement in the

²² Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 208.

situation of women in this region that has been observed by other scholars. By looking specifically at the women of Priene, I aspire to bring the contributions of these women out of obscurity and thus allow for a richer and more balanced understanding of Hellenistic Greek society in Asia Minor.

Chapter 1: Patronage and Publicity: A Contextual Analysis of Phile of Priene

In the first century BCE, a woman, Phile, took on the eponymous office of *stephanephoros* in Priene, a Greek city-state situated on the west coast of Asia Minor. In addition to holding the highest civic office in her city, Phile also funded the construction of a new aqueduct and water reservoir for the community. These achievements are recorded in an inscription found under a cistern in Priene that reads: “Phile, daughter of Apollonios, wife of Thessalos son of Polydeukes; held the office of *stephanephoros*, first among the women, dedicated at her own expense a receptacle for water and the water pipes in the city.”²³ Archaeologists discovered the inscription on one of the blue-gray marble piers that supports the cistern. The cistern is located at the point where the aqueduct brought the water into the city through its northeast wall.²⁴ Euergetism such as Phile’s, the funding of public structures, services, and other expenses by a private individual, was not uncommon among the elite women of Asia Minor in the Hellenistic period. Prominent families at this time sought to promote their reputations by sponsoring benefactions for their cities, using the wealth of both their male and female members. Phile’s civic service as *stephanephoros* was unusual, though, since Greek women rarely secured such public offices prior to this period. The Greek cities of Asia Minor witnessed the transformation of their social and political structures in the wake of the conquests of Alexander the Great and the rise of the Hellenistic kingdoms. These

²³ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 208; van Bremen 1996, 31. The Greek reads: [Φίλ]ῃ Ἀπολλωνίου, [γυ]νὴ δὲ Θεσσαλοῦ [τ]οῦ Πολυδεύκου, [στ]εφανηφορήσα[σα] [πρ]ώτη γυναικῶν ἀν[έ]θηκε παρ’ ἑαυτῆς τὸ ἐγδόχιον τοῦ [ῥ]υδατ[ος] καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει [ι] ὑδραγωγία. Translated by van Bremen, who argues that the phrase “first among the women” refers to Phile as the first woman to take on the office of *stephanephoros*, not as the most prominent of all the women in Priene.

²⁴ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 208; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 70. Hiller von Gaertringen dates the inscription no earlier than the first century BCE and notes that the text is wide and deeply carved.

changes allowed elite women to maintain a more prominent place in the public sphere, serving their cities through religious and magisterial offices as well as through their patronage of significant public works and dedications. An examination of the social and political context of Phile's patronage and stephanephorate will illustrate the environment within Hellenistic Asia Minor that allowed her both to support her city and promote her family's status.

Political structure and the stephanephorate

Alexander the Great began his extensive campaign of conquests with the intent to liberate the Greek cities of Asia Minor from Persian rule. He granted these cities autonomy, abolished the taxes instituted by the Persians, and reestablished their democratic constitutions, although after his death, they came under the rule of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid Kingdoms and the Kingdom of Pergamon.²⁵ Alexander showed particular interest in Priene, where he stayed during his siege of nearby Miletus. An inscription from the wall of the Temple of Athena Polias records the funding Alexander provided for the temple and his dedication of the structure (Fig. 6).²⁶ He further bestowed autonomy and independence on the Prienians living in Priene's port city of Naulochos. The city reciprocated by establishing a cult to Alexander, housed in the

²⁵ Bayhan 1994, 12; Tomlinson 1992, 91.

²⁶ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 1. The Greek reads: Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀθηναίῃ Πολιάδι. Translation by the author: "King Alexander dedicated the temple to Athena Polias." Initially, Alexander offered to fund a temple in Ephesus, but the Ephesians declined his proposition claiming that "A god does not sponsor another god's temple." Priene, however, could not afford to be so discriminating and accepted Alexander's generosity. Newton, 1886, no. CCCXCIX; Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, 13.

Alexandreion by the second half of the second century BCE.²⁷ Despite their only provisional autonomy, the Greek cities of Asia Minor enjoyed immense prosperity during the Hellenistic period. By the third and second centuries BCE, Priene, like other cities in this period, had a restricted constitution that seemingly placed legislative control in the hands of private landowners rather than the popular assembly. The city's architecture reflected the effects of this new ruling class of elite citizens, as the wealthy inhabitants took on the responsibility of constructing durable and impressive structures to adorn their city.²⁸

In addition to a loss of democratic participation in the political system of the Greek cities of Asia Minor, there was also a change in the civic offices themselves that reflected this distinct emphasis on euergetism as an aspect of the political process. A constitutional alteration regarding the eponymous official seems to have coincided with Alexander's liberation of Priene in 334 BCE when the title of the eponymous office was changed from *prytanis* to *stephanephoros*.²⁹ Similar transitions occurred in neighboring Magnesia in the late fourth century BCE and on Chios at the end of the third century BCE. On Chios, the designation *stephanephoros* ("wreath-bearing") seems initially to have been appended to the title of *prytanis* ("president"), later displacing it as the official title.³⁰ Reflecting these changes in constitutional structure, both in terms of appellations and the rise of the landed aristocracy, the office of *stephanephoros*, while a privilege, was

²⁷ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 108.75; Cohen 1995, 187.

²⁸ Tomlinson 1992, 92.

²⁹ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, nos. 2-3; Crowther 1996, 201-205. The eponymous official of inscription 2, Hippokrates, is entitled *prytanis* while inscription 3, dated to the following year, identifies the magistrate as *stephanephoros*.

³⁰ Crowther 1996, 206.

also an extremely costly municipal title. The *stephanephoros* conducted and funded all religious ceremonies and festivals for one year, and consequently the year was named after the officeholder.³¹ In Priene, the duties of the *stephanephoros* included performing sacrifices and entertaining at banquets, with strong encouragement to engage in further benefactions on behalf of the city. Inscriptions describing the accomplishments of two male *stephanephoroi*, which also date to the first century BCE and so are nearly contemporaneous with that of Phile, relate the responsibilities undertaken upon ascension to this office: Moschion,

having taken on the crown and the *stephanephorate*, ...decorated all the temples with crowns and the altars of the gods with incense, he ordered a herald to call up all the citizens' sons, the citizens, *paroikoi* and foreigners, freedmen and slaves to a banquet of sweetmeats. Having sacrificed to Zeus Olympios and Hera and Athena Polias and Pan on the first day of the month, he again had the citizens called up by the herald and made distributions to them, and this he did every month during his *stephanephorate*.³²

Zosimos also funded and performed the sacrifices to the city's patron deities and feasted the citizens and his fellow political officials.³³ The *stephanephoros*'s crown was linked to the cult of Zeus and so the cult rituals performed on behalf of this deity were one of the main responsibilities of the officeholder. At the end of the official's term, the

³¹ Bayhan 1994, 55.

³² Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 108.253-263; van Bremen 1996, 32. Translation by van Bremen. The Greek reads: [ἀν]αλαβόντος [δὲ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου στέφανον καὶ τὴν στεφανη[φορία]ν ἐπιδεξάμενος καὶ πάντα τὰ πρὸ πόλεως ἱερά κοσμήσας [στεφ]ανώμασιν καὶ τοὺς βωμοὺς τῶν θεῶν θυμιάμασιν γερά[ρων με]τὰ κηρύγματος ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ γλυκισμὸν τοὺς τε τῶν [πολι]τῶν υἱοὺς καὶ τοὺς πολίτας πάντας καὶ παροίκους καὶ [ξένο]υς καὶ ἐξελευθέρους καὶ οἰκέτας, βουθυτήσας δὲ τῶι [Διὶ τ]ῶι Ὀλυμπίωι καὶ τῆι Ἑρῆι καὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Πολιάδι καὶ [τῶι Πα]νὶ τῶι Ἀρωγῶ ἐν τῆι νομηνίᾳ, τὰ ἀπὸ τῶν θυσιῶν κηρύ[γματα] ποησάμενος τῆι δευτέρῃ διένιμε τοῖς πολίταις καθ' ἑ[καστον] μῆνα τῆς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ [σ]τε[φ]ανη[φορί]ας].

³³ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 113; van Bremen 1996, 32.

stephanephoros dedicated a precious cup in Zeus's temple (Fig. 7).³⁴ When the office went unfilled by a Prienian, the deity himself would take on the role of *stephanephoros* and the temple funds paid the annual expenses.³⁵

Funding banquets for fellow officials, or even for all the citizens of Priene, seems to have been a significant aspect of the *stephanephoros*'s role. In this respect, Phile's gender may have had an impact on how she performed the duties of her office. Public banquets, *deipna*, were typically restricted to male citizens; if benefactors included women in their ministrations, these women often attended their own distribution of wine and sweetmeats, *glykismos*.³⁶ A female *stephanephoros* such as Phile thus may not have feasted either her fellow magistrates or the male public in person, but female *stephanephoroi* are known to have provided banquets for segregated groups of female and male citizens in other cities.³⁷ Phile would have performed the sacred functions of her office, though, and the religious nature of the position may account for the rise of women to this particular magistracy. Women played a traditional role in the religious functions of society and thus Riet van Bremen suggests that positions with largely sacred, rather than political, responsibilities would be deemed appropriate for women's entry into the public sphere in the Hellenistic period.³⁸ Such offices would allow women to attain a

³⁴ Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, 112.

³⁵ Van Bremen 1996, 31-32.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 150-155. Van Bremen prefers to emphasize "the consistent *separation* of men and women at many occasions which *included* a banquet for men" to suggest that although segregated, both male and female citizens participated in these functions (van Bremen's italics).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 32, 150-155. Patron couples would feast select groups of male and female citizens, but inscriptions also show that Archippe of Kyme, Claudia Metrodora of Chios, Tata of Aphrodisias, and Kbaroues of Kotenna funded banquets for either the whole *demos* or select members of the council.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 34.

degree of civic prominence without threatening the typically male political sphere. Furthermore, the available evidence of female magistrates supports van Bremen's proposition since these offices normally involved considerable ceremonial duties rather than political or legislative responsibilities.

Other examples of female patrons and officeholders can be found throughout the Greek world in the Hellenistic period, further indicating that, while Phile was an anomaly in Priene, women were taking on increased civic roles throughout the region.³⁹ The first appearance of a female *stephanephoros* in the epigraphical record is found in Sardis and dates to the mid-second century BCE, and two other women obtained the office later that same century. All the remaining extant inscriptions referring to female holders of the office date to the Roman period, indicating the continued transformation and acceptance of the public roles of women in this region.⁴⁰ By granting women this opportunity to participate, to a certain degree, in the civic functions of the city, the community benefited from these women's wealth as they bestowed various benefactions on their city. Often these benefactions were either a part of or in order to acquire offices such as the *stephanephorate*.

The changing status of women

Women's growing economic power in the Hellenistic period can perhaps be attributed to alterations in their legal status. David Schaps's study of mainland Greece in the Classical and early Hellenistic periods provides evidence of women's expanding legal

³⁹ Boatwright 1991, 258. Boatwright cites more than 160 inscriptions and coins from Greece and Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman periods that proclaim women's benefactions and their roles as priestesses, gymnasiarchs, theatrical game producers, and magistrates.

⁴⁰ Van Bremen 1996, 303, 329-330.

and economic positions even in that region, where they were generally more restricted than in Asia Minor. Athenian law stated that women could not conduct any transaction surpassing the value of a medimnus of barley without the approval of their *kyrios*, or male guardian.⁴¹ Schaps determined that women outside Athens appear to have possessed more control over their property, and in some areas the *kyrios* either served merely as a formality in legal transactions involving women or the employment of such a figure discontinued entirely.⁴² Schaps also cautions against viewing the requirement for a *kyrios* as a restriction of women's economic rights or inherently insensitive to the woman's best interests. Rather, he contends that the system of paternalism that defined Greek society placed the woman's welfare at the forefront of her male relatives' concern, even though she herself was not permitted to ensure her own well-being. After all, a woman's welfare and prosperity were closely aligned with that of her family and similarly her personal wealth contributed to her relatives' overall affluence.⁴³

While Schaps limited his survey to the Greek mainland, a similar situation could be postulated in Hellenistic Asia Minor. There, the example of powerful and influential Hellenistic queens likely played a part in the advancement of women's civic roles in this period. Some aristocratic women, like Phile, emulated the movement of the Hellenistic queens within public spheres formerly reserved solely for men. In addition, with the loss of total autonomy under the Hellenistic kingdoms, the notion of citizenship took on new meaning as the privileges previously enjoyed within the independent Greek cities of Asia

⁴¹ Schaps 1979, 52. A medimnus equated to about six days worth of food for an average family, therefore providing women with a weekly grocery allowance.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 48-60, 89-98.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 92-93.

Minor lessened. While the disparity in civil liberties between men and women narrowed as a result, male citizens at this time also became more willing to share with their female counterparts the lesser public opportunities and responsibilities they once monopolized, resulting in the increase of female civic officeholders and patrons.⁴⁴

Despite their growing civic, economic, and legal opportunities in the Hellenistic period; however, women never truly took on any substantial roles in the political process of the city. Even the position of *stephanephoros*, an eponymous magistrate for the city, was an office that dealt largely with religious and ritual functions. Women attained a semblance of political influence only when in consort with a man, typically their husband, as in the case of the Hellenistic queens.⁴⁵ Couples in the Greek cities of Asia Minor did hold civic offices jointly and carried out complementary benefactions, although during the Hellenistic period this practice was limited.⁴⁶ Philosophical treatises further reinforced the social conventions that traditionally placed women in the household and men in the public sphere. Aristotle and Neopythagorean philosophers stressed the diminished capacity of women to govern, arguing that their inherent qualities more appropriately prepared them for household responsibilities.⁴⁷ Myth, too, could support the status quo. Mary Lefkowitz contends that stories of the Amazons, which some feminist scholars view as evidence of a matriarchal society in the ancient world, actually originally served the purpose of elucidating the negative effects of women in

⁴⁴ Pomeroy 1975, 125-126.

⁴⁵ Lefkowitz 1993, 57.

⁴⁶ Van Bremen 1996, 114-136. Among the offices held jointly in van Bremen's study are: the *agonothesia*, *gymnasiarchia*, *stephanephoria*, *prytania*, *demiourgia*, and various priesthoods. She points out, though, that the earliest evidence for joint office-holding comes from the first century CE.

⁴⁷ Lefkowitz 1993, 57.

power.⁴⁸ Nonetheless, while social conventions regarding gender roles remained largely intact in the Hellenistic period, women undoubtedly did acquire a more prominent role in the public sphere.

The roles of wealth and family

Perhaps more significantly, however, these women were members of elite families that sought to promote and improve their status within their communities. Such status-building occurred through the acquisition of offices and patronage on behalf of the city. Women taking on a formal public role became a new way for elite families to market themselves and elevate their social standing. Male office-holding and priesthoods for both male and female members had traditionally been the means by which families bolstered their reputations. By the Hellenistic period, substantial wealth became a prerequisite for several of these civic offices, like the *stephanophorate*, and even priesthoods. Before the second century BCE, inscriptions do not center on a political or religious officeholder's activities and expenditures on behalf of the city.⁴⁹ Increasingly after this point, though, the epigraphical evidence indicates that wealth and patronage were key components of both secular and religious assignments within the cities of the Greek East.

It was no doubt that it was Phile's wealth and her family's prestige that enabled her to procure the office of *stephanephoros*. Nonetheless, the fact that she attained this office as a woman, considering Priene's Temple of Zeus was wealthy enough to handle the expenses when no one was willing to take on the *stephanophorate*, is still remarkable.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 49.

⁴⁹ Van Bremen 1996, 28-30.

The significance of the family is underlined by the inscription citing her patronage, which identifies her in relation to the male members of her family: her father, husband, and her father-in-law.⁵⁰ Inscriptions for both men and women employed this common convention of nomenclature.⁵¹ Consequently, when women and men took on new public roles in the Greek cities of Hellenistic Asia Minor, they were largely viewed in relation to their lineage, and so their works reflected glory on their families.

An exception to this practice occurs later, in the second century CE, in the case of Plancia Magna of Perge. Plancia Magna funded the renovation of Perge's southern gate, resulting in an impressive and opulent municipal entrance. The walls of the gate held numerous statues of deities, the Imperial family, the city's mythological founders, and Plancia's own family. Three statues of Plancia herself also adorned the gate complex.⁵² Among the statues of Plancia's family were those of M. Plancius Varus, inscribed with the epithet "City-founder, M. Plancius Varus, the Pergean, father of Plancia Magna," and C. Plancius Varus, identified as "City-founder, C. Plancius Varus, the Pergean, brother of Plancia Magna."⁵³ Plancia Magna's significant contributions to the city resulted in the unusual identification of her father and brother in relationship to *her*, rather than the typical identification of Plancia Magna and her brother by their father M. Plancius Varus. Additional statue bases found near the arch of the city gate include inscriptions in Greek and Latin that also proclaim Plancia Magna's benefactions. In the Greek, the

⁵⁰ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 208. She is identified as "Phile, daughter of Apollonios, wife of Thessalos son of Polydeukes."

⁵¹ Lefkowitz 1993, 56-57.

⁵² Boatwright 1991, 250-251; van Bremen 1993, 235.

⁵³ Boatwright 1991, 251.

benefactress is identified simply by her own name, although the Latin includes the patronymic “M. f.,” an abbreviation for “Marci filia” or “daughter of Marcus,” again indicating the extent to which Plancia Magna was recognized for her civic patronage in her own right.⁵⁴

In a similar vein, but on a much less grandiose scale, women’s patronage and officeholding also impacted the reputation of their children. Some male citizens of Miletus listed their mothers as *stephanephoroi* on honorific inscriptions, both those commissioned on behalf of the mothers as well as those that venerated the sons. It seems that the *stephanephorate* was an office that women held on a fairly consistent basis in this city and which they assumed on their own merit even if married.⁵⁵ A second century BCE inscription in Megalopolis, a city in the Peloponnese, commends a woman, Euxenia, for her patronage toward her city. Her expansion of the Temple of Aphrodite was particularly exemplary:

For a sturdy wall around the temple she built
For the goddess, and a house for the public guests.
That a woman trades her wealth for a good reputation,
Is not surprising, since ancestral virtue remains in one’s children.⁵⁶

This inscription indicates additional benefits to public benefactions for both the patroness and her family. The inscription clearly states that a woman’s patronage had lasting effects on her descendants, again benefiting both the patroness herself and the status of her family for generations in the future.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Van Bremen 1996, 92.

⁵⁶ *IG* V.2.461; van Bremen 1993, 223. Translation by van Bremen.

Priene and Halikarnassos

Perhaps the most well-known patroness of the ancient world, however, has ties to Priene, despite not being a resident of the city herself. These ties may help to explain the more elevated status of elite women in this part of the Hellenistic world. That woman, Artemisia II of Caria, sister and wife of Mausolos, King of Halikarnassos, commissioned – or at least completed – a magnificent tomb for her husband in the mid-fourth century BCE, a structure that was listed as one of the Seven Wonders of the World (Fig. 8). Artemisia succeeded her husband after his death in 353 BCE, ruling Halikarnassos until her own death a few years later in 350 BCE.⁵⁷ A direct link between Artemisia and Priene, however, is the architect Pytheos. Pytheos constructed both the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos and Priene's Temple of Athena Polias (Figs. 9-10). Pytheos, as recorded by Vitruvius, wrote a treatise on his principles of architectural design for the Temple of Athena, which became a model of Ionic architecture.⁵⁸ The Athena temple and the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos share a number of noteworthy architectural features, indicating that some of the same designers and masons probably worked on both structures.⁵⁹ Joseph Coleman Carter further suggests that Ada and Idrieus, the siblings of

⁵⁷ Akurgal 1970, 248-249; Ridgway 1987, 406. Ridgway discusses the possible anecdotal nature of the evidence attributing the erection of the Mausoleum to Artemisia. She cites the location of the monument in the middle of the city as evidence that it was likely taken into account during the city's planning, which took place during Mausolos's lifetime. Yet she also concedes that Mausolos and Artemisia appear to have acted in concert in a number of situations.

⁵⁸ Vitruvius I.1.12; Akurgal 1970, 188. Pytheos incorporated an opisthodomos into the temple, which older Ionic temples lacked, and also developed the rule of 24 flutes on column shafts.

⁵⁹ Tomlinson 1992, 88. Tomlinson suggests that similarities between the Temple of Athena Polias and the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos may also support the theory that Priene was re-founded at the behest of Mausolos when he brought the Greek cities of this region under his influence. Tomlinson admits, however, that the temple may predate the re-founding of the city and thus the connection may be limited to the structure itself.

Mausolos and Artemisia, may have also contributed to the funding of the Temple of Athena.⁶⁰

Two colossal female heads found in Priene may depict Artemisia and Ada, perhaps providing additional evidence of a link between these two cities. The alleged head of Artemisia was found in the Temple of Demeter and Kore (Figs. 11-12) while a colossal head discovered in the cella of the Temple of Athena possibly represents Ada (Figs. 13-14).⁶¹ Their identification as Artemisia and her sister Ada stem from their distinctive hairstyle, which is also observed on the statue of “Artemisia” (Fig. 15) and another over life size head (BM Cat. 1051) from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (Figs. 16-17). Further, isotopic analysis indicates that the Prienian head of “Ada” was carved from the same Parian marble used for the colossal head at Halikarnassos (BM Cat. 1051). The portrait of “Ada” may have been erected to commemorate her role in initiating the construction of the Temple of Athena, which was later dedicated by her adopted son, Alexander the Great.⁶² The hairstyle found on all four statues consists of three rows of tight, snail-shell curls arranged above the forehead, often with the rest of the hair bound in a *sakkos*. A third piece at Priene, the marble head of a girl discovered in the Sanctuary of Demeter, shares this same hairdo (Figs. 18-19). Other examples of this hairstyle are found elsewhere in Asia Minor. A veiled female portrait statue from Kos dating to the early Hellenistic period has a similar coiffure, with the only significant difference being

⁶⁰ Carter 1983, 271-276.

⁶¹ Ibid., 274; Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, 33.

⁶² Ridgway 1997, 140.

that her hair is parted in the middle (Fig. 20).⁶³ A woman wearing a *sakkos* with the rest of her hair arranged in three rows of tight curls around her face is depicted on a gold stater from Lampsakos, a city situated on the eastern side of the Hellespont in far northern Asia Minor (Fig. 21). The woman may represent the poetess Sappho. Both the male and female figures on a fourth-century BCE silver double-headed *kantharos* from Lycia wear their hair in double rows of snail-shell curls (Fig. 22).

These fourth-century portrait statues of women with snail-shell curls employed both iconographic and epigraphic motifs to advertise the women's social standing. Although this hairstyle occasionally shows up elsewhere, it is most prominently represented in Asia Minor, especially around the region of Caria. Consequently, the coiffure may be an identity marker for local elite women, who sought to emulate the court style conceived perhaps by Artemisia II at Halikarnassos. In a society where the display of wealth was becoming increasingly more important for aristocratic families, images of women sporting this distinctive hairstyle publicized their families' status among the elite. Their adoption of Artemisia's hairdo also paralleled these women's imitation of the queen's patronage, which they conducted on a smaller scale within their own cities. The aesthetic choice of depicting this particular hairstyle illustrated the women's associations with the elite citizenry, while the inscriptions that accompanied these statues recorded their meritorious deeds or characteristics that warranted public honor.

Scholars dispute the origins of this unusual hairstyle. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway suggests that the women of the Carian court adopted the tightly rolled curls

⁶³ Dillon 2010, 122-124.

from Persian fashion, although comparable examples stem from male rather than female portraits.⁶⁴ Fifth-century reliefs from the Persian capital of Persepolis show men with hair and full beards depicted by rows of snail-shell curls (Figs. 23-24). Geoffrey B. Waywell, however, contends that this particular coiffure was an archaizing Greek style that either remained popular in Caria through the early Hellenistic period or was resurrected by the women of the Carian court around the time of the reign of Mausolos and Artemisia, perhaps as homage to the earlier Artemisia I, who fought against the Persians in the Battle of Salamis.

The use of the *sakkos* further supports the argument that this style was deliberately archaizing, as women commonly wore this accessory in the later Archaic and early Classical periods.⁶⁵ For example, the enthroned goddess from Taranto wears a *sakkos* as does the figure of Artemis on the east frieze of the Parthenon (Figs. 25-26). Neither of these figures, however, shares the snail-shell curls of the fourth-century portraits from Asia Minor. In addition, the remainder of the statue of “Artemisia” from Halikarnassos, the only example of the coiffure with the rest of the body intact, lacks any other archaizing details.⁶⁶ This hairdo, then, represents a style particular to the region at this time and the fact that most of the East Greek cities had been under the control of the Persian Empire before their liberation by Alexander makes Ridgway’s argument for the Persian influence more plausible. The similarities between the colossal female heads from Priene and Halikarnassos firmly support a relationship that links the two cities

⁶⁴ Ridgway 1997, 134, 140. The infrequency of depictions of women in Persian art, though, may account for the lack of female parallels.

⁶⁵ Waywell 1978, 41.

⁶⁶ Ridgway 1997, 134.

aesthetically and in their shared history of prominent female patrons. Both Artemisia and Phile commissioned significant works for their cities and while the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos became a legendary monument throughout the entire Greek world and beyond, Phile's cistern and aqueduct served a much more utilitarian but certainly no less important function for the citizens of Priene.

Priene's Water System

An examination of the water system that Phile's benefactions supported reveals the significance of this part of Priene's infrastructure. Phile's construction of water apparatuses for her city provided her fellow citizens with substantial public works that supplied an essential service for its inhabitants. The number of public fountains and private houses piped for water throughout the city also suggest that Phile's contribution to the water system impacted one of the markers of the city's prosperity. Priene enjoyed the benefits of an extremely plentiful water supply, a factor that perhaps played a role in the selection of the site when the city was re-founded in the mid-fourth century BCE. The water originated in a spring located in the hills behind the acropolis and flowed into the city through an aqueduct that ran to the east of the acropolis and then through the city wall into the upper northeast section of the city (Fig. 27).⁶⁷ The aqueduct consisted of a clay pipe with a diameter of 25 centimeters and walls 2.5 centimeters thick that carried the water 2,000 meters down the hill with an average gradient of 1:10 meters. To protect this precious pipeline, the Prienians buried it in a rocky channel 50 centimeters deep and

⁶⁷ Schede, Kleiner, and Kleiss 1964, 22-23; Akurgal 1970, 187; Tomlinson 1992, 87.

covered it with marble slabs (Fig. 28).⁶⁸ The cistern where Phile's inscription was found sat at the point where the pipe entered the city wall, storing the water before it passed into three settling pools to the west of the water tank (Figs. 29-30).⁶⁹ The two easternmost pools (I and II on the plan in Fig. 30) were of equal size, funnel-shaped, and on the same level while the third pool (III on the plan in Fig. 30) sat further west, was deeper, and had a level floor. The funnel shape allowed sediments in the water to settle to the bottom of the first two tanks, thus purifying the water for consumption. By flowing from the first funnel-shaped basin into the second, the water went through two purification processes before continuing into the city. The third basin no doubt served as a reserve during particularly rainy seasons when the other two basins were unable to hold the excess water.⁷⁰

From the pools, the water traveled throughout the city in a series of earthenware pipes with 1.5-centimeter thick walls that ran down the major streets (Figs. 31-32).⁷¹ These pipes fed a plethora of continuously flowing fountains located at various points throughout the city, including near the theater, the Sacred Stoa, and the Temple of Athena Polias (Fig. 33). Excess water from these constantly running fountains flowed into drainage channels cut into the center of the roads (Fig. 34).⁷² In addition, three-quarters of the private houses in the city featured piped water from the water pipelines that

⁶⁸ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 69.

⁶⁹ Schede, Kleiner, and Kleiss 1964, 22-23; Akurgal 1970, 187.

⁷⁰ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 70-72; Akurgal 1970, 187.

⁷¹ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 72.

⁷² Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 72-75; Tomlinson 1992, 87.

followed the grid pattern of the streets.⁷³ Such a plentiful supply of water, especially as indicated by the extent of private plumbing in the city, bolstered the city's prosperity and provided salubrious conditions for its citizens. The citywide water system and its continually flowing fountains differentiated Priene from other Greek cities, especially the older, more important cities like Athens, which lacked such resources.⁷⁴ Phile's funding of works tied so closely to the health and affluence of her city were a significant contribution which, in addition to her acquisition of the office of *stephanephoros*, promoted her own reputation and that of her family.

Conclusion

Phile's tenure as *stephanephoros* and funding of a cistern and aqueduct are unique examples of a woman promoting herself in the public sphere in Priene. No other inscription documents female officeholders or patrons of public structures in this particular city. Phile was less of an anomaly, however, within the larger region of Hellenistic Asia Minor, where a number of women took up civic offices and commissioned public works. While women never attained real political influence or completely broke free of the traditional gender norms of the ancient world, they did play a significant role in the promotion and elevation of their families. Although it became increasingly more common to see women acquiring and managing their own wealth in this period, their finances were still closely linked with those of their relatives and contributed to the overall prominence and affluence of the entire family. The rise of the landed aristocracy and revocation of a constitution governed by a popular assembly made

⁷³ Crouch 1996, 139.

⁷⁴ Tomlinson 1992, 87.

women's – and men's – public contributions, both in terms of civic offices and benefactions, all the more important in maintaining and advancing the status of the elite. Although no extant inscriptions comment on Phile's descendants, her accomplishments certainly benefited both her and her family's reputation and augmented their elite status.

Chapter 2: The Position of Women at Priene

While Phile was exceptional in her attainment of the office of *stephanephoros*, women in Priene did not need to enter the political sphere in order to influence society or engage in patronage. Women took on a number of different roles at Priene through which they served as secular officials, priestesses, heiresses, worshippers, dedicants, and, of course, wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters. The increased participation of women in the public sphere during the Hellenistic period has been documented by scholars seeking to bring to light the contributions of these women, but an in-depth study of the position of women at Priene during this transitional period will put these women's achievements into context.⁷⁵ Through the textual and material evidence, largely consisting of honorary inscriptions, portrait statues, and votive offerings, the presence of women in this Ionian city can be fleshed out, providing a more comprehensive view of Prienian society. While patronage, especially on the scale of Phile, provides a conspicuous example of a woman's effect on her community, a broader look at the position of women at Priene will ensure a fuller understanding of Hellenistic society and women's place within it.

Priestesses

One of the best attested roles of women at Priene was that of priestess at the local sanctuaries, especially at the Sanctuary of Athena Polias and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. Priene had a number of religious structures, including temples to Athena

⁷⁵ See, for example: Pomeroy 1975; Lefkowitz 1993; van Bremen 1993 and 1996; Eule 2001. Although many studies of influential Greek women concentrate on aristocratic women, owing to the greater amount of relevant evidence, the material remains may also provide a glimpse into the lives and contributions of women from lower socioeconomic strata.

Polias, Asklepios, Demeter and Kore, the Egyptian gods, Cybele, Zeus, and the deified Alexander the Great. Because Athena Polias was the city's patron goddess, her temple was the largest and most significant within the community, but it is interesting to note that of the seven designated religious sites at Priene, three were solely devoted to female deities.⁷⁶ The Sanctuary of Athena and the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore were the two most prominent religious sites in the city and also provide the most extant evidence of cult functions and worship. Although the Temple of Cybele was quite simple in contrast and thus perhaps not as significant to the local inhabitants, the inclusion of three sanctuaries to deities associated with women and female concerns within the city limits suggests that women and their various roles were of great consequence in Priene.⁷⁷

Much like the city's political offices, priesthoods often entailed financial obligations in addition to cult duties, thus again these positions allowed elite women to serve their community and improve their family's standing. By the fourth century BCE, priesthoods, especially in Asia Minor, could be attained through purchase rather than simple appointment, thereby allowing elite citizens to increase their social standing through the acquisition of religious offices.⁷⁸ Like secular officials in Hellenistic Asia Minor, many of the holders of these priesthoods, both male and female, presided over ritual services that they also financed. This phenomenon is apparently unique to the Hellenistic period, for textual evidence related to religious offices beginning in the second century BCE stresses the financial expenditures and generosity of priests and

⁷⁶ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 81-184; Bayhan 1994, 18-31.

⁷⁷ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 171-172; Bayhan 1994, 31.

⁷⁸ Kron 1996, 140.

priestesses, an emphasis not found in earlier decrees.⁷⁹ In addition to the usual responsibilities of performing sacrifices and feasting the worshippers, priests and priestesses in this period also had to construct or repair sanctuary buildings. An example of the added financial obligations placed on sacred servants is found in the early second century BCE in Halikarnassos, where a priestess was required to perform sacrifices on behalf of the *demos* and “build also a treasury for the deity.”⁸⁰ Women may not have always financed their sacred commitments on their own, however, since husbands had a legal obligation to fund their wives’ religious activities. Nonetheless, as financiers and administrators of these building projects, priestesses engaged in activities that took them beyond the purely sacred sphere. Despite the sacral nature of these structures, the construction process no doubt brought these women into contact with contractors, architects, and craftsmen.

Portraits

In return for their cult service and patronage, and thus their significant role in the continued preservation and prosperity of the city, the *boule* or *demos* occasionally honored women by bestowing on them gold crowns, honorific decrees, and commemorative statues or reliefs.⁸¹ Such accolades not only brought public prestige, but the crown itself could be worth 1000 drachmas or more.⁸² The practice of honoring

⁷⁹ Van Bremen 1996, 25-30; Connelly 2007, 194.

⁸⁰ Sokolowski 1955, no. 4.15-16; van Bremen 1996, 29. The Greek reads: [κατα]σκευάζει δὲ [καὶ τὸν θησαυρὸν] [τῆι θεῶι]. Translation by van Bremen.

⁸¹ Kron 1996, 141; Connelly 2007, 194.

⁸² Kron 1996, 141.

women with portrait statues appears to have begun during the fourth century, as evidenced by sixteen statue bases for female portrait statues at Athens, but became commonplace in the Hellenistic period.⁸³ Most often, these public honors recognized the woman's service to the local sanctuary. The term *hierieia*, priestess, began to be inscribed regularly on statue bases in the Hellenistic period, identifying these works as portrait statues of priestesses.⁸⁴ Joan Breton Connelly attributes the increase in female honorific portraits and marble statuary in general in the Hellenistic period, which she finds particularly pervasive in Asia Minor, to an increase in population. The influx of people resulted in more participants at festivals and cult rituals, as well as to the expansion of the elite class. Thus, she contends that these factors produced "more money, more priestesses, and more statues."⁸⁵ While economic shifts certainly affected the sacred culture of Asia Minor, it seems to have been a matter of fiscal tightening by the temple treasuries that required greater expenditure by the private sector. Consequently, women with wealth acquired priesthoods because they could afford the extraordinary expenses that such an appointment entailed. Through their munificence, these women benefited their cities and were subsequently rewarded, often with an honorific statue erected by the *demos*. Portrait statues commissioned by their family or the women themselves commemorated and advertised their service to the goddess. These statues honored the

⁸³ Dillon 2010, 38, 51-52. Three of the statues from Athens – portraits of Lysimache, Lysimache's attendant Syeris, and the mother of Epigenes – can be dated to the first half of the fourth century BCE, while the other thirteen statues date to 350 BCE or later. The number of male honorific portraits also increased after 350 BCE, again as attested by the Athenian evidence.

⁸⁴ Connelly 2007, 136.

⁸⁵ Ibid. By the second century CE, female portraits honoring priestesses, benefactresses, and magistrates became so prevalent in the Greek East that M. Porcius Cato Maior complained about the excessive amount of female statues crowding cities and sanctuaries. Pliny, *NH* 34.31.

woman and her important role as priestess, while also elevating the public prestige of her and her family.

The majority of these sculptures were crafted out of marble, no doubt due to its lower cost than bronze, but the material may also have had iconographic implications. Although some examples of bronze female portraits do survive, the more expensive material seems to have been reserved more often for portraits of male subjects, as illustrated by the statues of Mausolos and Artemisia erected by the Erythraeans. The Erythraeans honored the couple with statues and crowns, but placed a bronze statue of Mausolos in the agora, thus employing both the more prestigious material and location for the male honoree, and a marble statue of Artemisia in the Sanctuary of Athena.⁸⁶ Marble was frequently used for both votive statues, perhaps denoting the sacral nature of the dedications, and priestess portraits. Priestesses often engaged in “divine imitation,” dressing in garments similar to those worn by the goddess they served during religious festivals. They are also regularly depicted in statuary wearing this same clothing and holding ritual instruments relevant to their cult practices. Similarly, the marble of the votive and portrait dedications may mirror the material of the goddess’s statue, if also rendered in marble, especially when placed in proximity to the deity’s sculptural manifestation.⁸⁷

Despite the fact that the statues represent actual women, as confirmed by the inscriptions on their bases, the women’s faces are typically idealized and anonymous, unlike male portraits in which actual individuals can be identified. Women were rarely mentioned in inscriptions before the Hellenistic period, thereby ensuring their anonymity,

⁸⁶ Rhodes and Osborne 2007, 266-267; Dillon 2010, 23, 26.

⁸⁷ Dillon 2010, 22-23.

a condition necessary for the maintenance of their character. This notion of a woman's requisite inconspicuousness is expressed in Perikles's funeral oration when he exhorts the Athenian women: "Great will be your glory in not falling short of your natural character; and greatest will be hers who is least talked of among the men whether for good or for bad."⁸⁸ By portraying women in public statuary as idealized and without individuality, aristocratic families exhibited the ideal beauty of their female members while also protecting those women from the potentially inappropriate public gaze.⁸⁹ Perhaps for this reason, artists used dress rather than facial features to distinguish their subjects. Priestesses commonly wore conservative, classically-styled garments in their portraits, possibly denoting their sacred status and reflecting cultic regulations that recommended simple clothing as suitable attire for religious rituals.⁹⁰ The mid-second century BCE statue of Aristonoe from Rhamnous in Attica, discovered in the Sanctuary of Nemesis where the subject had served as priestess, is just one example of a portrait statue exhibiting the traditional style of drapery (Fig. 35).

Yet many female portrait statues, both of women who do represent themselves as priestesses as well as those who do not, are draped in extravagant clothing. A popular garment in this style was a thin, translucent mantle possibly made of either Koan silk or Egyptian linen, a fashion original to the Hellenistic period.⁹¹ Nikeso, in the portrait statue from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Priene (see below, p. 38) wears one of these lavish garments (Figs. 36-38). The disjunction between the women's anonymity

⁸⁸ Thuc. 2.45.

⁸⁹ Dillon 2010, 132-133.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 100.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

and their elaborate drapery in portrait statues captures the delicate balance female citizens had to maintain between guaranteeing their propriety and serving as a means of elite display. A woman's adept management of her voluminous and unwieldy clothing, whereby she maintained both her grace and modesty, signified her education and propriety and thus reflected her social status.⁹² Consequently, statues depict the woman fully enveloped by her drapery, thereby ensuring and proclaiming the modesty of the woman represented, even as her "portrait" was subjected to public scrutiny.⁹³

The Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene

The earliest surviving statue of a priestess with its accompanying inscribed base anywhere in the Greek world comes from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene. The sanctuary is located at the northern limit of the urban area of Priene, 129 meters above sea level on the slopes of the city's acropolis.⁹⁴ The Prienians established the Temple of Demeter and Kore (Figs. 39-40) immediately after the city's founding around 350 BCE. Despite taking Athena as its patroness, the city also held Demeter in high respect and thus its early coinage included a shaft of grain, a symbol of Demeter.⁹⁵ As was typical in Greek sanctuaries, the entrance was on the eastern side of the precinct. The temple itself, placed near the western wall, only occupied approximately one-third of the area enclosed by the sanctuary's walls, thus providing space for a large, open courtyard within the precinct. Just south of the sanctuary's entrance, excavators found

⁹² Ibid., 26, 100-101.

⁹³ Ibid., 101.

⁹⁴ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 147; Bayhan 1994, 29.

⁹⁵ Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, 126; Bayhan 1994, 29-30.

the ruins of simply constructed houses that have been identified as the priestesses' living quarters, and in the northeast corner of the sanctuary, just within the entrance, they located the altar.⁹⁶ The temple contained a marble pedestal that ran about half the length of the west wall of the cella with three depressions in its surface, no doubt for displaying votive offerings. Outside the temple, between the prothesis and the sanctuary's southern wall, excavators found a square sacrificial pit with a number of terracotta figurines placed around it.⁹⁷

The sacrificial pit and its collection of terracotta figurines provide some insight into the cult practices at Priene and perhaps even the social status of the worshippers (Fig. 41). With the single exception of a figure of Eros, all the works in this context are female figures, as befitting a cult of Demeter and Kore, whose main concerns included fertility, women, and children.⁹⁸ A veiled matronly woman holding two torches may represent Demeter herself or one of her priestesses (Fig. 42). An interesting collection of grotesque figurines depict Baubo, the old nurse who, along with Iambe, attempted to console Demeter with bawdy jokes after Kore's abduction. These figures typically consist of a face placed directly on top of a pair of legs with the vulva forming the chin and the hair arranged in a high knot on top of the face (Figs. 43-45).⁹⁹ Women participating in the Thesmophoria reenacted the myth of Demeter and consequently the sacrificial pit in the sanctuary and these Baubo figurines may allude to the practice of the festival at Priene.

⁹⁶ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 151; Akurgal 1970, 202; Bayhan 1994, 29; Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, 127.

⁹⁷ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 152-156; Bayhan 1994, 30; Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, 128-130.

⁹⁸ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 157.

⁹⁹ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 162; Raeder 1983, 26.

Although the Thesmophoria was celebrated all over the Greek world, most of the literary sources describe the Attic practices.¹⁰⁰ Assuming that the local rites were similar to those in Athens, the Thesmophoria in Priene lasted three days. The first day represented the rape of Kore as the women sacrificed piglets and placed them in the *megara*, the sacrificial pits used for the festival. These pits symbolized both Kore's descent into the Underworld and the unintended swallowing up of the swineherd Eubouleus's pigs. On the second day, the women reenacted Demeter's sadness and fasting, and so they also fasted while mocking one another in emulation of Iambe and Baubo's attempts to cheer Demeter. Finally, the festival culminated on the third day with the retrieval of the piglets from the *megara*, now turned into fertilizer, to ensure the fertility of the city's crops as well as assist the women in their own role as mothers.¹⁰¹ In addition to the Baubo figures, the Thesmophoria and myth of Demeter are further suggested by the pig figurines found in this context and the sacrificial pit itself, which may have served as the *megaron* for the women of Priene during their annual festival. The nearly exclusive subject matter related to women and the cult of Demeter found among the terracottas underscores that women were the primary worshippers at this sanctuary.

Votive offerings at sanctuaries represent the most frequent context in which women commissioned works of art. While the marble votive offerings and portrait statues found throughout the sanctuary surely represent the dedications of wealthier women, these terracotta figurines – small, mass-produced objects in a less expensive material – show that even women of lower socioeconomic status, while not likely serving

¹⁰⁰ Lowe 1998, 149.

¹⁰¹ Clinton 1993, 114.

as priestesses, worshipped at this sanctuary, perhaps participated in the Thesmophoria, and left behind tokens of their presence. These objects, however, do not necessarily portray women's patronage in the normal sense because women probably purchased these items ready-made. Nonetheless, the terracotta figures of beautifully dressed women, even if premade, may represent "ordinary" women and their devotions, in a similar way that marble or bronze statues signified wealthy women's dedications. Although women of lower social status did not typically have the means to erect a portrait statue or to engage in civic benefactions that would result in the awarding of an honorific statue by the *demos*, they could purchase these generic images of women to denote their devotion to the deity.

Nikeso, Priestess of Demeter and Kore

German archaeologists discovered an inscribed statue base for a portrait statue of the priestess Nikeso just outside the entrance to the Sanctuary of Demeter during their excavations in the late nineteenth century. Nikeso's marble statue was located in the debris immediately adjacent to the statue base and the two objects can be confidently paired together, because the sculpture fits seamlessly into the cuttings of the base.¹⁰² A second statue base was also discovered outside the sanctuary entrance near Nikeso's base. This bronze statue did not survive, but Nikeso's remains largely intact, missing just the head and the right arm (Figs. 36-38).¹⁰³

¹⁰² Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 147, 150; Ridgway 1990, 210; Kron 1996, 146-147; Connelly 2007, 137; Dillon 2010, 41.

¹⁰³ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 150.

The inscription on the base of the marble statue identifies it as: “Ni[k]jeso daughter of Hipposthenes, wife of Eukritos, priestess of Demeter and Kore.”¹⁰⁴ The text’s placement on the south side of the base ensured that worshippers could view it while both entering and exiting the sacred precinct.¹⁰⁵ Since the inscription does not explicitly state the dedicator of the statue, some debate has arisen as to who erected the statue. Uta Kron acknowledges that the inscription lists Nikeso’s father and husband, but maintains that because the priestess herself is named at the beginning and her title is listed at the end of the inscription, she is both the dedicator and the honoree.¹⁰⁶ John Ma, however, identifies what he terms the “‘great-man’ style nominative” in some honorific inscriptions, where the honored person’s name is in the nominative although the statue was commissioned by the public or a government body. This practice of placing the subject of the statue in the nominative usually was restricted to gods and heroes, cultural heroes, and athletes. With its name in the nominative, the subject can “exist in the absolute, as an autonomous actor...his fame and status are such that there is no need to explain the statue’s identity, nor declare the reason for the statue.”¹⁰⁷ A Prienian example of the “‘great-man’ style nominative” is seen in the statue for Megabyzos, *neokoros* (“temple attendant”) of Ephesian Artemis.¹⁰⁸ In her analysis of the Nikeso statue, Sheila Dillon suggests that the Prienians erected Nikeso’s statue and believes that this

¹⁰⁴ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 173; Connelly 2007, 137. The Greek reads: Νι[κ]ησῶ Ἰπποσθένους, Εὐχρίτου δὲ γυνή, ἱερῆ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. Translation by Connelly.

¹⁰⁵ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 148; Kron 1996, 148.

¹⁰⁶ Kron 1996, 146.

¹⁰⁷ Ma 2007, 207-208.

¹⁰⁸ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 231. Only the base survives and is dated to the fourth century BCE based on the script. The Greek reads: [Μεγάβυζος] Μεγαβύζου νεωκόρος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς ἐν Ἐφέσῳ. Translation by the author: Megabyzos son of Megabyzos, temple attendant of Ephesian Artemis.

inscription is in the “‘great-man’ style nominative,” like that of Megabyzos.¹⁰⁹ Dillon admits, though, that very few portrait statues of women follow the model of this “‘great-man’ style nominative,” thus contradicting her earlier argument for the dedicator of Nikeso’s statue. Later in her book, she concludes that in many early portrait statues of priestesses, the inscriptions lack the name of an explicit dedicator but place the priestess’s name in the nominative, indicating that the priestess herself erected the statue.¹¹⁰ Since Nikeso’s name and her title are in the nominative and she is not mentioned in other inscriptions from Priene, thus making it unlikely she would qualify as a “‘great man,” it seems more plausible that she is the dedicator of this portrait statue that commemorated her service to the goddesses and their sanctuary. By using this format for her inscription, Nikeso takes on the dual identity of both the sculpture’s subject and its dedicator.

Nikeso’s statue has been dated to the first half of the third century BCE, on the basis of the style of the sculpture itself and the letter forms of the inscription.¹¹¹ The priestess stands in a simple, frontal pose with her weight resting on her left leg. Although Nikeso’s head is missing, her body retains evidence of her coiffure, which included three long locks of hair in front of each shoulder and nine or ten locks falling down her back (Fig. 38). Dillon categorizes female portrait statues into six basic formats characterized by the combination of the statue’s pose and the arrangement of the drapery. She titles each format with either a distinguishing detail of that group or with a well-known and

¹⁰⁹ Dillon 2010, 41.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 41, 57.

¹¹¹ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 173; Ridgway 1990, 210.

documented example that depicts the defining features of the type.¹¹² She places Nikeso in her Rhamnous-Arisonoe format group, named after the statue of Arisonoe from Rhamnous mentioned earlier (Fig. 35), based on the style of the drapery. In this group, the drapery involves a combination of a short-sleeved, ankle-length chiton and a himation wrapped diagonally across the chest. The himation's folds cross the torso from the figure's waist on the right side to its left shoulder and the left end of the himation completely enwraps the left arm, fastening it to the body. In this format, both arms of the figure are usually bent at right angles to the body (although Nikeso's left arm strays from the norm), but because the right arm is free of the himation, it is typically engaged in some activity, either holding an object or gesturing.¹¹³ Nikeso's costume contains some interesting variations on this format, however. As on the other figures included in this group, Nikeso's himation drapes around her body under her right arm, with the top edge extending across the body from above her right waist to her left shoulder. Unusually, though, the himation is folded over at the top to make a short overfold, forming a straight horizontal line of fabric that falls just above her waist. In addition, the himation is unusually textured, with a series of finely engraved vertical lines articulated down the entire length of the garment. An additional folded edge of material also covers her breasts in a band, perhaps indicating that the entire himation was double-layered, a configuration further substantiated by the double hem along the fabric's bottom edge.

Although the high overfold reflects earlier male, not female, fashion, a similar horizontal accent is found on the Demeter of Knidos, the mid-fourth century BCE cult statue from the Sanctuary of Demeter at Knidos in southwest Asia Minor (Fig. 46). The

¹¹² Dillon 2010, 68.

¹¹³ Ibid., 75-77.

Demeter of Knidos also wears clothing of the Rhamnous-Aristonoe format and thus the similar drapery style and peculiar overfold perhaps link the priestess to the goddess.¹¹⁴ The elaborately textured, double-hemmed himation certainly represents a fine, exotic material, perhaps silk. Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway believes it depicts the *Coae vestes*, unique garments that originated in Kos and consisted of a top layer of silk that covered a bottom layer of wool. The addition of the thin silk garment on top added a shimmering allure to daily attire and created a complicated series of folds. Indeed, the double hem of Nikeso's himation may support Ridgway's suggestion.¹¹⁵ Whatever the material, the garment is a lavish one, signaling both her social status and sacral role. Although in the Roman period, the *Coae vestes* were sanctioned for their decadence and association with prostitutes, as part of Nikeso's attire it may indicate that this special material was a component of her ritual costume.¹¹⁶

Nikeso's unique drapery may indicate her connection to Demeter as well as her status as the goddess's attendant, and this "divine imitation" may be further seen in her hairstyle. This hairstyle, strikingly similar to the elaborately arranged coiffures of the Acropolis *korai* of Archaic Athens (Figs. 47-48), may be deliberately old-fashioned, as similarly proposed for the distinctive snail-shell curls of the Carian court portrait statues discussed in the previous chapter.¹¹⁷ The hairstyle is relatively unknown among female portraits in the Hellenistic period. Most portrait statues of matronly women in the Hellenistic period show the hair with a central part and a roll of wavy strands framing the

¹¹⁴ Ridgway 1990, 211; Kron 1996, 147; Connelly 2007, 137.

¹¹⁵ Ridgway 1990, 212; Connelly 2007, 137-138.

¹¹⁶ Donohue 2005, 193-196.

¹¹⁷ Dillon 2010, 124-125.

face that are then brought into a bun at the nape of the neck.¹¹⁸ Often, the woman also wears a veil over her head; two Hellenistic portrait statues from Kos, one veiled and one unveiled, illustrate this typical arrangement (Figs. 49-50). Nikeso's hairstyle may also, however, imitate the goddess she serves, as the sculpture of the Demeter of Knidos wears her hair with similar locks falling in front of both shoulders (Fig. 46).¹¹⁹ A comparable coiffure is found in a first-century BCE relief sculpture on the Hekateion in Rhodes depicting the goddess Hekate, a deity associated with Demeter. Hekate assisted Demeter in her search for Kore following the girl's abduction by Hades (Figs. 51-53). Nikeso's strange coiffure, its lack of parallels with contemporary matronly hairstyles, and its association with Demeter has even led Ridgway to identify the statue as an image of the goddess herself. She notes, though, that if the statue indeed represents Nikeso, then the work indicates that priestesses arranged their hair differently from their contemporaries when performing their cultic duties.¹²⁰

The reconstruction of Nikeso's right arm has caused the most debate among scholars, resulting in a plethora of interpretations. The German archaeologists who found the statue in the late nineteenth century proposed that she held a *kalathos*, a basket for grain or fruit, or a *hydria*, a water jug, on her head. A *kalathos* is also the term for the tall headdress worn by some deities, including Demeter and Kore. Whichever item is restored, Nikeso would have held her right arm above her head to steady the heavy burden. The hypothesis that she held a *hydria* is supported by the importance of the *hydria* in rituals of the cult of Demeter and the discovery of a number of terracotta

¹¹⁸ Ibid., 109.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 125-126; Ridgway 1990, 211; Kron 1996, 147.

¹²⁰ Ridgway 1990, 210-211.

hydriaphoroi at both Priene (Fig. 54) and nearby Didyma.¹²¹ Uta Kron, however, argues that the figurines of *hydriaphoroi* depict young girls, not married women, and that because *hydriaphoroi* figures are not only found at sanctuaries of Demeter, she more likely held a torch.¹²² Priestesses of Demeter depicted on a collection of Hellenistic grave reliefs from Smyrna clutch torches, and the excavation of the City Eleusinion in Athens brought to light portrait statues of women dedicated to Demeter and Kore as well as fragments of large marble torches, further supporting Kron's proposition. Kron's restoration also addresses the issue of the large hole in the top of the statue's base, in which the bottom of the torch would have been placed.¹²³ Proposing a third solution, Ridgway and Connelly put a scepter in Nikeso's missing right hand, another indication of the priestess's cultic duties.¹²⁴ Aeschylus describes Kassandra's sacred costume in the *Agamemnon*, which included a scepter and an oracular fillet, providing some support for scepters as priestly instruments.¹²⁵ Despite the disagreement about the object held by Nikeso, all scholars agree it somehow related to her cultic responsibilities, and thus the priestess's elaborate clothing and hairstyle, mirroring Demeter herself, and her display of a ritual instrument express Nikeso's sacred role within the sanctuary and the city. The inclusion of the names of her husband and father, although common in inscriptions describing women, also alerted every visitor to the sanctuary to the prominent civic role this family fulfilled through the priesthood of Nikeso.

¹²¹ Wiegand and Schrader 1904, 151; Kron 1996, 148.

¹²² Kron 1996, 148. She further rejects the *hydriaphoroi* connection by pointing out that *hydrophoros* was the official title for the priestess of Artemis and hence would be more appropriate for that cult.

¹²³ Ibid.; Dillon 2010, 77-78.

¹²⁴ Ridgway 1990, 211; Connelly 2007, 137.

¹²⁵ Aeschylus, 1275-1280; Connelly 2007, 87-88.

Other Prienian priestesses

Nikeso's statue was paired with a perhaps earlier bronze statue that also depicted a priestess of Demeter and Kore, this time dated to the fourth or third century BCE by the letter forms of the inscription. This statue depicted "Timonassa daughter of Euthydemos, wife of Eupolis, priestess of Demeter and Kore."¹²⁶ Just as in the case of the Nikeso inscription, this label does not identify a particular dedicator, but again, Timonassa's name is in the nominative, indicating that she was both the dedicator and the subject of the statue. The sculptural manifestations of the two priestesses welcomed visitors into the sacred space of the sanctuary, while also proclaiming the prestige of their dedicators' positions. The proximity of the statues to the priestesses' residential area possibly meant that the sculptures also acted as models for the women's colleagues, expressing both the piety and repute of their religious office. An additional inscription honoring the priestesses Tyrinno and Phrattis was found on a statue base of the second century BCE in the sanctuary. Here, however, Tyrinno's brother rather than the two women themselves erected the monuments.¹²⁷ A similar situation of a priestess receiving an honorific statue from a male relative is exhibited on a statue base from the Sanctuary of Athena Polias.

Both the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore and the Sanctuary of Athena were built about the same time as the founding of Priene in the mid-fourth century BCE, but the Sanctuary of Athena was required in order to provide a setting for the worship of the

¹²⁶ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 172; Dillon 2010, 41. The Greek reads: Τιμώνασσα Εὐπόλιου θυγατέρα, Εὐπόλιου δὲ γυνή, [ἑρ]ῆ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης. Translation by Dillon.

¹²⁷ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 170; Connelly 2007, 139. The statues are not extant. The Greek reads: ἑρῆ Τυριννώ Ἐπαμείνου καὶ Φράττις Πυθοτίμου ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐπαμείνου εὐχήν. Translation by the author: The priestess Tyrinno daughter of Epameinon and Phrattis daughter of Pythotimos, this dedication [was set up] by the son of Epameinon.

city's patron goddess.¹²⁸ Among the dedications discovered within Athena's sanctuary during the German excavation was another statue base that commemorated one of the goddess's priestesses. Although the German archaeologists did not record the precise findspot of the base within the sanctuary, traces of burning suggest it was located inside the temple. This base dates to the fourth century BCE and honors the priestess Niko. Unlike Nikeso and Timonassa, however, Niko did not dedicate her own sculpture but rather her father commissioned this piece: "Menedemos son of Eumenes [dedicated] Niko his daughter having been priestess of Athena Polias."¹²⁹ Joseph Coleman Carter suggests that a portrait of a young aristocratic girl (Figs. 55-56), found in the Sanctuary of Athena Polias and possibly dated to the same period, may be associated with this base.¹³⁰ The girl wears a *sakkos* with three raised bands or folds and her hair is styled into three rows of snail-shell curls around her face, as seen in the colossal portrait heads also found in Priene (Figs. 11-14, 18-19) and the portrait of "Artemisia" from Halikarnassos discussed in the previous chapter (Fig. 15). The rest of the hair is pulled straight up and under the cap behind the ear, as indicated by its division into straight vertical strands at the back of the head.

Carter and Geoffrey B. Waywell date the young girl's portrait to the fourth century based on its stylistic similarities to the statues from the Mausoleum of Halikarnassos (Figs. 15-17) and the three colossal female heads at Priene (Figs. 11-14, 18-19), as well as the way in which it was pieced together. The head was constructed of

¹²⁸ Bayhan 1994, 18.

¹²⁹ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 160; Carter 1983, 251-254; Connelly 2007, 137; Dillon 2010, 42. The Greek reads: [Μ]ενέδημος Εὐμένου[ς] Νικοῦν τῆν θυγατέρα [ί]ερησαμένην Ἀθηνᾶι Πολιάδι. Translation by Dillon.

¹³⁰ Carter 1983, 251-254, 276-278.

two pieces of marble joined by a dowel, a technique commonly associated with Hellenistic works. The join occurred within the *sakkos*, behind the three bands separating the cap from the hair.¹³¹ This construction is paralleled in the mature female head found in the Sanctuary of Demeter, which is dated to the fourth century on stylistic grounds (Figs. 11-12).¹³² This head also wears a *sakkos* with overlapping bands and shows the hair pulled up and straight under the cap behind the ear. A head of a young girl from the same sanctuary, also dated stylistically to the fourth century, has her hair arranged in rows of snail-shell curls framing her face that are almost identical to those of the “Niko” portrait (Figs. 18-19).¹³³ Connelly and Jale Inan and Elisabeth Rosenbaum, however, place the girl from the Athena Sanctuary in the Roman Imperial period. Inan and Rosenbaum compare the hairstyle to Neronian arrangements with similar curls framing the face (Figs. 57-58),¹³⁴ while Connelly contends that “the overall shape of the bust, the coiffure of crisp snail curls, and the cold hard features of the girl’s face argue for a Roman date.”¹³⁵ The technical construction of the “Niko” head, however, and its numerous stylistic parallels with other fourth-century heads from Priene make a fourth-century date more plausible. The head’s distinctive snail-shell curls appear stylistically more similar to those of the Prienian heads than the Neronian coiffures, and the

¹³¹ Ibid.; Waywell 1978, 64.

¹³² Carter 1983, 278.; Blümel 1966, 87.

¹³³ Carter 1983, 278; Blümel 1966, 86.

¹³⁴ Inan and Rosenbaum 1966, 159-160.

¹³⁵ Connelly 2007, 137.

incorporation of the *sakkos*, an accessory not found in Roman art of Asia Minor, further substantiates the Hellenistic date.¹³⁶

Its provenance in the Athena Sanctuary and its scale make it possible that this head comes from the portrait statue of a young priestess, and thus Carter links the statue with the Niko inscription.¹³⁷ The obvious youthfulness of the subject, though, may call into question its association with the inscription. Perhaps instead it served as a votive offering to the goddess or as a portrait of an initiate.¹³⁸ On the other hand, the fact that her father erected the statue suggests Niko may have been a young priestess and consequently, the statue honored a priesthood purchased for the girl by her family. If a young girl, Niko may not yet have been in possession of her own financial resources. The inscription nonetheless again indicates the pride engendered by women's religious appointments, in both the women themselves and their families. Another inscription dated to the same time period records the statues erected by the parents of two priestesses of Athena, Zoillis and her sister-in-law, whose name was not preserved; this couple also dedicated a statue of their son, Kydimos, a priest of Dionysos. All three statues stood on the same marble base, discovered on West Gate Street, a few meters east of the agora.¹³⁹

Although these inscriptions do not provide evidence of female patronage in Priene, they

¹³⁶ Carter 1983, 278.

¹³⁷ Ibid.

¹³⁸ Ibid. Carter points out that the "Bears" of Brauron and the daughters of Asklepios, girls of approximately the same age as the young aristocratic girl, received honorific statues in their sanctuaries. These girls were not priestesses, but were still connected to the cult practices.

¹³⁹ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 162; Connelly 2007, 139. Again, only the base and inscriptions remain; the statues themselves have not survived. The Greek for statue A (the wife of Kydimos) reads: [...ινα(?) --]οτέραν Πυθοτίμου [καὶ --]δος θυγατέρα, γυναῖκα δὲ [Κυ]δί[μ]ου, [ἱερη]τεύσασαν Ἀθηνᾶς [Πο]λιᾶδος. The Greek for statue B (Kydimos) reads: [...ι?]να Κύδιμον τὸν υἱὸν τὸν αὐτῆς καὶ Ἀθηνοπ[ό]λιος, ἱερητεύοντα Δι[ο]νύ[σ]ου [Φ]λείου. The Greek for statue C (Zoillis) reads: [...ινα] Ζοιλίδα [τὴν θυγατέρα τὴν αὐτῆς] καὶ Ἀθηνοπόλιος, γυ[ν]αῖκα δὲ τοῦ δέϊνος, ἱερητεύσασαν [Ἀθηνᾶς Πολιᾶδος].

do strongly indicate the extent to which familial pride and social standing were key elements in the attainment and commemoration of a woman's religious office.

The secular and sacred spheres

Although the majority of Prienian female portrait statues, especially statues dedicated by women, represent priestesses, women who did not self-identify as a priestess also attained great wealth and status and commissioned their own works. The euergetism of Phile, whose attainment of the office of *stephanephoros* and funding of the city's waterworks were examined in the last chapter, represents just one example of women benefiting their relatives through their patronage. An inscription from the third or second century BCE identified a bronze statue erected by the father and husband of a woman whose name is now partly lost, but who is also not identified as a priestess: "Her father [Pollis] son of Apollonios and her husband [...] son of Timokratos [set up a monument of ... daughter] of Pollis on account of her virtue and kindness towards them."¹⁴⁰ This woman was honored for her morality and generosity on behalf of her family, although no specific achievements are mentioned. In the second century BCE, another woman, Megiste, erected a statue of her husband in the theater at Priene, for which the inscribed base is still *in situ* at the foot of the stage building (Fig. 59).¹⁴¹ The inscription states that Megiste not only honored her husband for his virtue and benevolence toward the people of Priene, but that she also inherited his property, attesting once again to the increased economic freedom women enjoyed in the Greek East

¹⁴⁰ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 262; Eule 2001, 207. The Greek reads: [Πόλλις' Απ]ολλωνίου ὁ πατήρ [καὶ] Τιμοκράτου ὁ ἀνὴρ [..... Π]όλλ[ι]δος [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν] καὶ εὐνοίας [τῆς πρὸς ἐ]αυτοῦς. Translation by the author.

¹⁴¹ Ma 2007, 209-210.

in the Hellenistic period.¹⁴² Through this dedication on behalf of her deceased husband, Megiste underscored the stature of her husband's lineage as well as that of her own father by naming the patriarchs of both lines. In addition, by placing the honorific statue at the foot of the stage building in the theater, an extremely public location, Megiste chose a prominent venue to preserve her family's prestige in perpetuity.

Women's public service, whether secular or sacred, promoted their family's status and esteem, yet the number of inscriptions and portrait statues that document women's accomplishments signify that the ancient Prienians found these women worthy of commendation and commemoration in their own right. Of the inscribed bases and statues found in the Sanctuary of Athena Polias that probably date to the Hellenistic period, two of the twelve bases honored women while two of the six surviving statues depicted a female subject.¹⁴³ Among the entire corpus of inscribed bases found at Priene, at least eight honor women out of a total of approximately sixty examples, with three of those women acting as dedicators.¹⁴⁴ Twenty-two percent of the statues in the Athena Sanctuary represented women, then, while approximately thirteen percent of the extant statue bases in the whole city venerated women. The disparity may stem from the gendered division of the public and sacred spheres, in which women traditionally performed religious functions while men engaged in civic and political activities. As a result, honorific statues of women would more appropriately be placed within a sanctuary

¹⁴² Ibid.; Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 255. The Greek reads: Μεγίστη Ἀπολλοδώρου θυγάτηρ, κληρονόμος οὔσα τῶν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ὑπαρχόντων Θρασυβούλου τοῦ Φιλίου, ἔστησεν τὸν ἑαυτῆς ἄνδρα Θρασύβουλον Φιλίου ἢ ἐτίμησεν αὐτὸν ὁ δῆμος, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτόν. Translation by Ma: Megiste, daughter of Apollodoros, being the heiress of the property of her husband, Thrasymboulos son of Philius, set up her husband, Thrasymboulos, son of Philius seeing as how the people honored him, on account of his excellence and goodwill towards it.

¹⁴³ Carter 1983, 264.

¹⁴⁴ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906.

context. Again, the Erythraeans' erection of statues to Mausolos and Artemisia nicely illustrate this point: Mausolos's statue was placed in the agora while Artemisia's was put in the Sanctuary of Athena.¹⁴⁵ Although women were becoming increasingly involved in civic affairs at this time, the majority of their public roles still involved ritual duties. Furthermore, the fact that Athena was a goddess and thus her cult attendants more likely would be priestesses rather than priests, may also contribute to the larger percentage of female statues in her sanctuary. As this study has shown, honorific statues rewarded priestesses for their service to the city's cults and so there would be a correspondingly higher number of these works in sanctuaries to goddesses.

The dedications on the Athenian Acropolis can serve as a point of comparison. During the sixth and fifth centuries, offerings by women dedicators accounted for less than ten percent of the total number of dedications on the Acropolis, but by the fourth century, twenty-seven percent of the inscriptions cite women dedicators.¹⁴⁶ These figures suggest that women actually fared better in fourth-century Athens than Hellenistic Priene, but a couple factors must be taken into account. First, the Athenian dedications comprise a significantly larger and better preserved corpus than those at Priene, allowing for a greater sampling. Second, the Athenian Acropolis is a sacred context. Consequently, if the disproportionate number of female honorees in religious settings at Priene can be paralleled here, then the Acropolis would probably also contain a higher percentage of works dedicated by and for women than in the secular areas of Athens. Since the Athenian figures only account for statues on the Acropolis, the figures do not indicate the extent of female patronage in the city as a whole. Nonetheless, the Hellenistic

¹⁴⁵ Rhodes and Osborne 2007, 266-267.

¹⁴⁶ Keesling 2003, 75-76.

inscriptions that document women's various roles in Prienian society indicate the growing influence of women that can already be attested in the fourth-century dedications on the Athenian Acropolis. These women engaged in activities that were essential to the preservation of Priene and the well-being of its citizens and thus their service was acknowledged in inscriptions, statuary, and votive offerings that provide a greater understanding of the position of women in this Hellenistic society.

Chapter 3: Conclusions

The epigraphical and material evidence from Priene concerning women's patronage and participation in civic and religious offices paints a clear picture of the growing influence of women in the public sphere in the Hellenistic period. Women were involved in activities that shaped and improved their communities and brought prestige to themselves and their families. While the majority of the positions attained by women involved religious matters, religion was an essential component of Greek society and the concept of a division between cult and state would have been completely bewildering to an ancient Greek citizen. Although women had always been directly involved in sacred rituals and functions, a distinct change in the level of their participation is noticeable in the Hellenistic period. This change extended beyond the elite class, even though the greatest proportion of available evidence concerns this segment of society. An assessment of the factors that contributed to this improvement in women's position within society will help elucidate the financial and political effects of women's patronage and public roles as well as the degree of economic power they attained through such pursuits.

Economic effects of social change

The social and political situation of Asia Minor noticeably changed in the Hellenistic period with the reforms of Alexander the Great and the influence of the kingdoms of his successors. The elite class grew increasingly affluent and powerful, acquiring more positions of authority in both the secular and sacred spheres and altering the way in which these offices were filled. The result was a greater emphasis on

euergetism and thus the necessity for wealth to acquire such titles.¹⁴⁷ In addition, the fiscal situation of East Greek temples in the Hellenistic and Roman periods became rather unstable, fluctuating between surplus and shortage, making the financial obligations attached to priesthoods all the more important for the cults' continued maintenance.¹⁴⁸ Elite citizens were obligated to perform various civic and religious services in their cities, but paying a high enough price for a priesthood could relieve the officeholder from some of those other responsibilities. A second century BCE stele from Priene documents the amount a purchaser of the priesthood of Dionysos needed to pay to attain exemption from certain liturgies: more than 6,000 drachmas released him from the *lampadarchia*, *agonothesia*, *hippotrophia*, *architheoria*, and *gymnasiarchia* and more than 12,000 drachmas freed him from the *trierarchia*, *oikonomia*, *neopoia*, and *proeisphora chrematon*.¹⁴⁹ This inscription reveals not only the amount of money needed to acquire a religious office, but also the numerous ways in which aristocratic citizens aided their communities.

As the autonomous cities of Asia Minor came under the control of the Hellenistic kingdoms of his successors and civic and religious bodies began to experience financial strain, women's wealth represented a previously untapped resource to assist these

¹⁴⁷ Van Bremen 1996, 28-30.

¹⁴⁸ Dignas 2002, 278.

¹⁴⁹ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 174.24-30; van Bremen 1996, 19-20. The Greek reads: ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχιλίας δραχμῶν εὐρηθῇ ἡ ἱερωσύνη, καὶ ἀτελής ἔσται ὁ πριάμενος λαμπαδαρχίας ἀγωνοθεσίας ἵπποτροφίας ἀρχιθεωρίας γυμνασιαρχίας· ἐὰν δὲ ὑπὲρ μυρίας καὶ δισχιλίας δραχμῶν ἀγοράσῃ, ἀτελής ἔσται καὶ τριηραρχίας καὶ οἰκονομίας καὶ νεωποίας καὶ προεισφορᾶς χρημάτων· Van Bremen translates the liturgies as the following: sponsoring a torch-race, sponsoring a festival or games, providing horses for public use, heading a sacred embassy, supervising and/or funding a gymnasium, outfitting a trireme, serving as the official in charge of public funds, maintaining a temple, and advancing money to the state.

beleaguered institutions.¹⁵⁰ Women in Asia Minor seem to have enjoyed greater economic freedom than their counterparts in mainland Greece, likely owing to several factors. First, David Schaps theorizes that the improvement in women's economic situation began first outside of mainland Greece as a result of interaction with foreign cultures and thus the cities of Asia Minor and Egypt witnessed an earlier influx of women in the public sphere.¹⁵¹ Second, these women had greater access to the benefactions of the Hellenistic queens, whose pecuniary munificence served as a model for non-royal women to emulate through their own patronage and service.¹⁵² Finally, women outside the mainland had fewer legal restrictions, providing them with more control over their own property and in some cases allowing them to conduct legal transactions without the use of a *kyrios*.¹⁵³ As a result of these privileges, women in Asia Minor acquired wealth outside of the traditional dowry and used their new resources to benefit their communities and their families. Megiste of Priene exemplifies the economic opportunities open to Eastern Greek women as she inherited her husband's property and used her money to erect a statue of her husband in the theater.¹⁵⁴

A major component of women's euergetism involved not only supporting their respective cities, but also promoting their family's reputation and prestige. Especially in the changing political climate of Hellenistic Asia Minor, the better a family's reputation, the more likely their members were to secure significant offices within the city.

¹⁵⁰ Pomeroy 1975, 125-126; van Bremen 1996, 28.

¹⁵¹ Schaps 1979, 96-97.

¹⁵² Pomeroy 1975, 121-126.

¹⁵³ Schaps 1979, 90-97.

¹⁵⁴ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 255.

Likewise, certain families developed traditions of holding particular offices and titles which in turn influenced the positions attainable for their female members.¹⁵⁵ Still, a wealthy woman could purchase civic and religious offices not previously held by a member of her family and any dedication, sacred or otherwise, made by the woman would naturally reflect on the family through the patronymic inscription. The use of a relative's wealth and public service to bolster the family's reputation was not limited to women, however, as men also served their families in a similar manner.¹⁵⁶ In this way, women joined their brothers, husbands, and fathers by taking more prominent roles in the public sphere, and thus civic service no longer became the sole responsibility of the male members of a family.

Intersection of the secular and sacred in Greek society

Some of the magisterial titles women took in the Hellenistic period include *stephanephoros*, *prytanis*, and *demiourgos*, offices that were often eponymous and thus of great importance.¹⁵⁷ Riet van Bremen argues that the secular offices held by women largely involved ritual functions and therefore conformed to the traditional placement of women in the sacred sphere.¹⁵⁸ Consequently, she concludes that despite common perceptions, Greek women did not achieve increased economic and legal power in the Hellenistic period and certainly never attained any real political authority. Instead, she finds that the greater visibility of women at this time paradoxically coincides with “a loss

¹⁵⁵ Van Bremen 1996, 82-83.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 92-96.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 303-304.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 4.

in citizen-status and a public image that emphasized, above all, the familial aspects of womanhood.”¹⁵⁹ It is true that most of the evidence of women’s participation in the public sphere at Priene centers on sacred and ceremonial matters, but these concerns were inherently linked to the administration and maintenance of the city. The fact that the office of *stephanephoros* involved a number of ritual and ceremonial functions, including performing cult duties at the Temple of Zeus, clearly illustrates the extent to which political and religious service were intertwined. Furthermore, Phile’s funding of water apparatuses for the city seems to emphasize her own accomplishments as *stephanephoros* and patron more strongly than her feminine familial responsibilities and indicates the impressive fiscal influence she wielded.

The inscription recording Phile’s donation of an aqueduct and cistern to the city of Priene notes the civic office she held, specifies the details of her benefaction, and describes her as “first among the women.”¹⁶⁰ Rather than lauding her feminine virtues, as is the case in many inscriptions related to women, Phile’s inscription emphasizes her achievements in the civic realm which consequently made her an exemplar among her gender. In addition, the inscription does not mention that the funds used to commission the waterworks came from any source but her own wealth, suggesting that she herself possessed the economic power to provide her community with essential municipal services. The significance of Phile’s benefaction cannot be denied, because her constructions ensured the health of her fellow citizens. While the office of *stephanephoros* may include religious duties, this particular aspect of her service was entirely secular and thus demonstrates a woman stepping outside of the bounds of the

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 302.

¹⁶⁰ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 208.

traditional religious and domestic spheres to conduct a vital civil service. Such actions, rather than indicating a decline in her citizen-status, ensured the elevation of her name above all other women in the city, as the inscription proclaims, and exhibits the influence a woman's financial contributions could have on her community.

Even when relegated to the religious sphere, however, women played a significant role in the public affairs of their communities due to the way in which religion permeated every aspect of ancient Greek life. Temple treasuries often acted as physical expressions of a city's prosperity, power, and devotion, and religious processions, especially for those cities that hosted Panhellenic festivals, displayed these attributes before the city's inhabitants and the entire Greek world.¹⁶¹ Even smaller local sanctuaries fulfilled a multitude of functions for the communities they served, furthering the symbiosis between sacred and secular in the Greek world, and many festivals to local deities were seen as crucial to the well-being of the populace.¹⁶² As a result, women's ritual services were indispensable to the city as they ensured its continued existence.¹⁶³ Few festivals carried such vital implications as the Thesmophoria, the most widespread of all Greek festivals. The intersections of public and private space were brought to the fore in this festival, as it often took place in a civic location, yet its secret rituals remained concealed from the male citizens, the sole holders of secular authority.¹⁶⁴ Most of the documentation for this particular festival comes from Attica, but its practice in other regions of the Greek world is noted as well, including in Syracuse, Messenia, Corinth, Mytilene, Delos, the North

¹⁶¹ Linders 1987, 121-122.

¹⁶² Marinatos 1993, 228-233.

¹⁶³ Kron 1996, 139.

¹⁶⁴ Blundell and Williamson 1998, 9.

African city of Cyrene, and the city of Milesia in Asia Minor.¹⁶⁵ In Corinth, excavators found more than 23,000 terracotta figurines and most, like those at Priene, depicted women, often carrying either piglets or torches. Based on these terracotta finds and a plethora of other feminine votive offerings – mirrors, jewelry, and loom weights – in the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, scholars posit that Corinthian women likely celebrated the Thesmophoria here.¹⁶⁶ The terracotta finds and sacrificial pit, if it can be identified as a *megaron*, from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Priene suggest that Prienian women also celebrated the festival within the sacred precinct, despite the lack of textual documentation for its occurrence at this city.

Although again the Thesmophoria was an explicitly religious activity, its intended consequences were essential to state functions. As the deity associated with grain, fertility, and women and children, Demeter oversaw the principal elements necessary for the perpetuation of human existence and for civilization itself. Abundant harvests ensured the polis could feed its inhabitants and engage in trade, and fertile women helped sustain the population, all of which factored into the degree of a city's prosperity. In an agrarian society like that of ancient Greece, the fertility of the land played a significant role in the well-being of the larger community, and consequently, the Thesmophoria "in a sense was the responsibility of all; the community's life depended on it."¹⁶⁷ Women's festivals such as the Thesmophoria not only offered women a means of bonding in shared femininity, but also gave them the ability to preserve the sanctity and prosperity of their polis through their sacred rituals. The secret nature of these rituals suggests both the

¹⁶⁵ Versnel 1992, 34-41; Bookidis, et. al. 1999, 51; Pedley 2005, 86-88.

¹⁶⁶ Bookidis, et. al. 1999; Pedley 2005, 86.

¹⁶⁷ Brumfield 1981, 88.

power women possessed in enacting these fertility rites as well as their ability to maintain sole authority over such important acts. As van Bremen rightly claims, women lacked any real access to political power, being restricted entirely from the composition of legislation, public debate, and other political processes, but their religious duties still had a significant impact on secular society.¹⁶⁸ The Thesmophoria, service of priestesses to local cults, and dedications to the gods all contained civic components that concerned the welfare of the community. The increased visibility of women's participation in these activities in the Hellenistic period is a testament to their improved financial situation as the costs of sacred service rose to meet the demands of a changing society. With more money, women's religious and public roles expanded and thus they had a greater influence on both the cults and municipal offices which they served.

Evidence of women's social status

Of course, the new economic opportunities available to Hellenistic women generally affected only those women already of the elite class. An analysis of the dedications found at the sanctuaries in Priene, however, suggests the array of women functioning in these cults, representing multiple levels of society. The bronze and marble portrait statues, attested by either the sculptures themselves or their inscribed bases, from these sacred precincts represent aristocratic women. Bronze was the more expensive material, but although an increase in marble statuary is attested in the Hellenistic period, marble sculpture, especially life size depictions, still entailed considerable expense.¹⁶⁹ Consequently, Timonassa, identified by the inscription on the base of her bronze statue

¹⁶⁸ Van Bremen 1996, 4, 300-302; Blundell and Williamson 1998, 1.

¹⁶⁹ Dillon 2010, 23-26; Connelly 2007, 136.

(now missing), and Nikeso, whose base and marble statue are extant (Figs. 36-38), exhibit the devotions of elite women.¹⁷⁰ Nikeso's status as a wealthy woman is further substantiated by the exquisite garment she wears, displaying both the expensive fabric of her costume and the virtuosity of the sculptor. In addition, the head from the Sanctuary of Athena Polias (Figs. 55-56), also of marble, no doubt represents an aristocratic young girl, to judge from her hairstyle, reminiscent of that of "Ada" (Figs. 13-14) from the Temple of Athena and that of "Artemisia" (Figs. 11-12) from the Demeter Sanctuary. The inscriptional and material remains of these portrait statues comprise the greatest proportion of extant evidence for elite women's patronage and participation in cult activities, suggesting the extent of their influence within this realm.

Part of the reason for the disparity between the quantities of dedications of different materials is due to preservation; marble in particular is quite durable and survives, whereas less expensive offerings were often made of more perishable materials, with terracotta as a notable exception. Literary sources show that women frequently dedicated *pinakes* at sanctuaries, but these painted tablets were usually constructed of wood and hence are lost.¹⁷¹ The collection of terracotta figurines surrounding the sacrificial pit at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore may represent the votive offerings of women from lower socioeconomic statuses since terracotta was a less costly material (Fig. 41). Wealthier women also certainly dedicated such objects, but the inexpensive material meant that women of lesser means could purchase these works as well. The terracottas portray subjects related to the myth and cult of Demeter and their findspot around the sacrificial pit – if indeed it can be identified with the *megaron* – suggests an

¹⁷⁰ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 172 (Timonassa) and no. 173 (Nikeso).

¹⁷¹ Kron 1996, 158-159.

association with the Thesmophoria. If these objects were dedicated as commemorations of a woman's participation in this vital festival, they also allude to the participation of women of lower economic status in the festival, which was frequently regarded as the responsibility of married aristocratic women.¹⁷² Consequently, the finds from Priene evoke a society in which women attained greater sacred and civic responsibilities as a result of their wealth, but which also featured the involvement of women from all socioeconomic backgrounds in one of the most important women's festivals celebrated by the ancient Greeks.

Assessing chronological change

Catherine Keesling's study of the dedications of the Athenian Acropolis documents a marked rise in Greek women's dedications from the Archaic to the Classical periods, showing a trend of women's increased visibility in epigraphical and material records that persisted into the Hellenistic period.¹⁷³ The inscriptions and physical remains of Priene illustrate the influential position of women, especially elite women, in Hellenistic Asia Minor, a situation that would only improve further with the advent of the Roman Empire, when women participated even more fully in the public sphere. The impressive public patronage of Plancia Magna at Perge, where she financed the renovation of the city's gate and adorned it with statues of herself and her relatives,

¹⁷² Versnel 1992, 34; Dillon 2002, 118-119.

¹⁷³ Keesling 2003, 75-76. Offerings by women dedicators accounted for less than ten percent of the total number of dedications on the Acropolis in the sixth and fifth centuries, but by the fourth century, they comprised twenty-seven percent of the offerings.

demonstrates one Roman woman's secular contributions to her community.¹⁷⁴ Roman influence in Asia Minor further supported the integration of women into the public sphere as their affluence heightened. In Ionia alone, at least 73 women held magisterial offices and acted as priestesses from the first to the third centuries CE.¹⁷⁵ Remains from Roman Priene are fewer than those of the Hellenistic period, but the *demos* did dedicate a statue to Julia, the daughter of Augustus, in the Sanctuary of Athena Polias in 2 BCE and inscriptions from two more statues depicting women date to the first and second centuries CE.¹⁷⁶ In addition, two over life sized statues of women from the Imperial period found in the Sanctuary of Athena depicted female subjects.¹⁷⁷ This chronological trend of women's upward mobility helps to locate the Hellenistic situation in a temporal context. Women did not instantaneously attain greater access to wealth and municipal offices with Alexander's liberation of the Eastern Greek cities, nor did their position in society remain stagnant. Instead, a general development of higher social visibility marked women's experiences from the Archaic through the Roman periods, but the political and economic conditions that distinguished Hellenistic Asia Minor caused this region to witness the most dramatic transformation of women's public roles.

¹⁷⁴ Boatwright 1991, 249-272.

¹⁷⁵ Van Bremen 1996, 316-328.

¹⁷⁶ Hiller von Gaertringen 1906, no. 225; Carter 1983, 264-265. The statue of Julia is not extant. The Greek reads: Ὁ δῆμος [Ι]ουλίαν θεᾶν [κ]αλλίτεκνον [τ]ῆν Καίσαρος [θε]οῦ Σεβαστοῦ [θ]υγατέρα κα[θι]έρωσεν. Translation by the author: The demos dedicated divine Julia with beautiful children, daughter of divine Caesar Augustus.

¹⁷⁷ Carter 1983, 265.

Macrocosmic implications of a microcosmic approach

Although this study concentrates on the remains from one particular site, it has broader implications for the understanding of the overall position of women in Hellenistic Greece, especially in Asia Minor. The microcosmic approach that I have taken to the issue of the patronage and position of women in this period has led to a greater understanding of the significance of women's contributions to their particular communities and the extent of their economic influence on a more general level. In addition to Phile, two other women from Asia Minor attained the office of *stephanephoros* at this time, one from Apollonis and another from Sardis.¹⁷⁸ While conditions varied from city to city, it seems plausible that the situation of women at Priene was comparable to that of their counterparts throughout the Greek East. Consequently, the factors that influenced the elevated position of women in Priene can be used to comprehend the larger phenomenon of women's greater participation in the public sphere in Hellenistic Asia Minor.

Priene is a valuable site for a case study of the position of women at this time because it is itself a microcosm of the Hellenistic period. Due to the city's relocation in the mid-fourth century and its decline and later total abandonment during and after the Roman period, the majority of the structures and inscriptions document the city at its height in the fourth to the first centuries BCE. Additionally, the inscriptions record several exceptional women from its history, women who made significant impacts on the perpetuation of their city's prosperity and quality of life. Although these women never attained real political authority, their economic power and religious service enabled them

¹⁷⁸ Van Bremen 1996, 303-347.

to influence civic affairs indirectly. Phile guaranteed the city maintained access to its abundant water supply while Nikeso, Timonassa, and their priestess colleagues ensured that the gods continued to favor Priene. Elite women benefited the greatest from the societal transformations that shaped Hellenistic Asia Minor, most significantly by gaining access to and control over greater financial resources. Thus, the quantity of information regarding the activities and contributions of these women is higher, but the votive offerings from Priene's sanctuaries provide insights into the lives of non-elite women as well. Despite their inability to commission monumental works of art and civic structures, these women still played a role in cult rituals that propagated the welfare of the polis and its inhabitants, a situation surely paralleled in the other cities of the Greek East.

The accomplishments of Phile, Nikeso, Timonassa and others, illustrate the significant but often overlooked contributions women throughout Hellenistic Asia Minor made on behalf of their communities and help to balance the male bias of the ancient literary sources. Through this study, I have demonstrated that a microcosmic approach provides a more comprehensive investigation into the motivations that transformed Hellenistic society, particularly in the way that they affected the position of women, than a more generalized survey of the period. My investigation is the first to consider the women of Priene in their social, temporal, and geographic contexts. As the evidence concerning women's patronage and social status is usually rather sparse in the ancient world, I used the documentation at Priene to examine the multiple facets of these issues in detail. The results augment the broader view of Hellenistic women typically expressed in scholarship on this topic. I have shown that Prienian women attained greater economic freedom at this time and subsequently used their wealth to acquire religious and civic

offices. Although they never gained political power, my research indicates that even their sacred responsibilities had a profound impact on the city's municipal functions, a consideration often unnoticed in more general discussions of ancient Greek women. Priene's female patrons and priestesses attest to the marked improvement in women's position within society and the introduction of effective female economic influence in Hellenistic Asia Minor. By looking at the activities of singular women in Priene, my study provides concrete evidence of women's participation in the public sphere, the factors that led to this phenomenon, and its effects on the city as a whole. Their individual economic, religious, and social influences stand for the other Greek women of Asia Minor, and thus present tangible examples that expand and clarify the position of women in this particular region.

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Figures



Fig. 1
General view of Priene today
(Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, p. 51)



Fig. 2
Map showing the gradual silting of Miletus Bay by the Maeander River
(Eric Gaba, Wikimedia Commons)

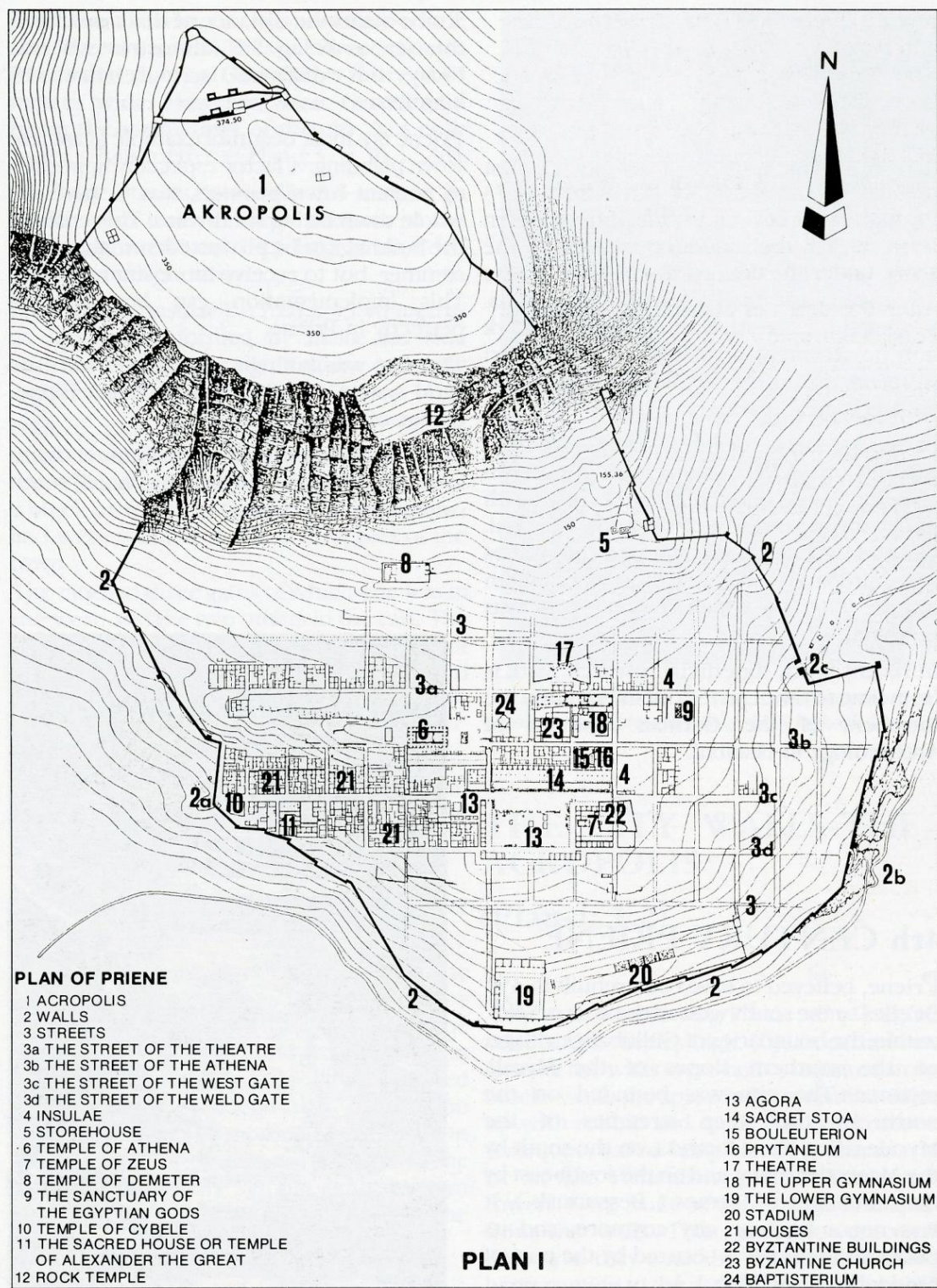


Fig. 3
 Plan of Priene
 (Bayhan 1994, p. 13)

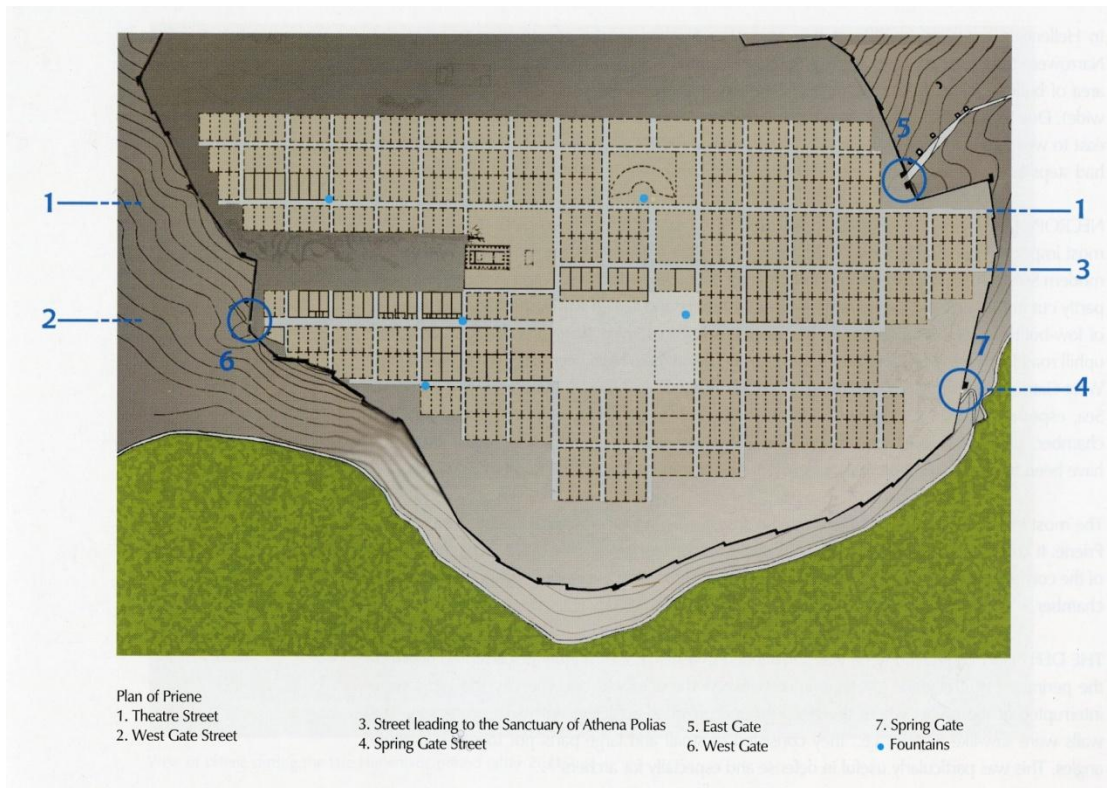


Fig. 4
 Plan of Priene showing in detail the Hippodamian grid-plan layout
 (Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, p. 53)



Fig. 5
 View of Priene looking towards the plain of Maeander at the time of the German
 excavations, 1896
 (Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, p. 51)



Fig. 6
Block from the wall of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, inscribed with
Alexander the Great's gift of funds to complete the structure, c. 334 BCE
British Museum GR 1870.3-20.88
(ARTstor)



Fig. 7
Remains of the Temple of Zeus at Priene
(ARTstor)

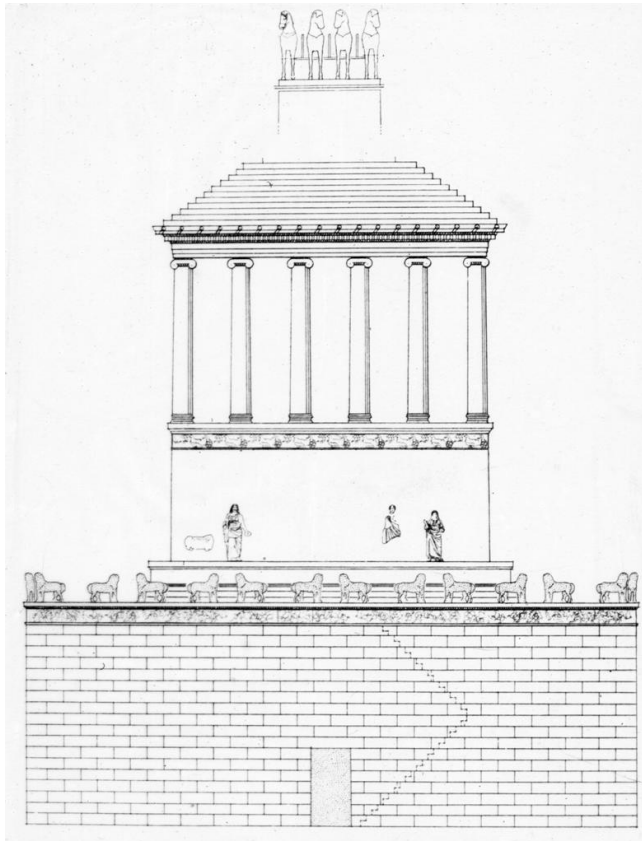


Fig. 8
Reconstruction of the east
façade of the Mausoleum of
Halikarnassos, designed by
Pytheos, c. 350 BCE
(ARTstor)



Fig. 9
Remains of the Temple of Athena Polias at Priene, designed by Pytheos
(ARTstor)

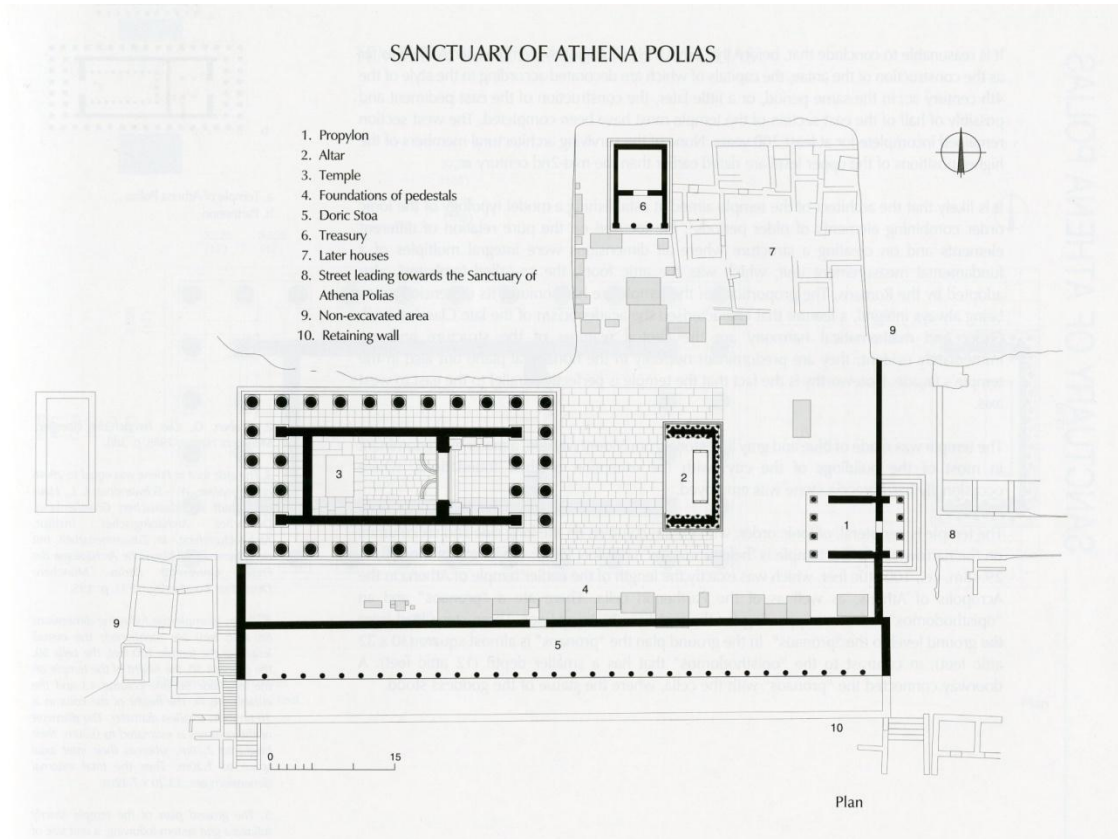


Fig. 10
 Plan of the Sanctuary of Athena Polias at Priene
 (Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, p. 87)



Fig. 11
So-called "Large Head" found in the
Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at
Priene, possibly identified as
Artemisia of Halikarnassos,
late fourth century BCE
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 1535
(ARTstor)



Fig. 12
Right profile view of the so-called
"Large Head" found in the Sanctuary
of Demeter and Kore at Priene,
late fourth century BCE
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 1535
(Blümel 1966, fig. 140)



Fig. 13
Colossal head found in the Sanctuary of
Athena Polias at Priene, sometimes
identified as Ada,
c. 350-325 BCE
British Museum 1870, 0320.138
(British Museum Collections Database,
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/>)



Fig. 14
Right profile view of the colossal head
found in the Sanctuary of Athena
Polias at Priene, showing the *sakkos*,
c. 350-325 BCE
British Museum 1870, 0320.138
(Dillon, p. 126, fig. 64)

Fig. 15
Detail of the head of the “Artemisia”
statue found at the site of the Mausoleum
of Halikarnassos, c. 350 BCE
British Museum 1857, 1220.233
(British Museum Collections Database,
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/>)

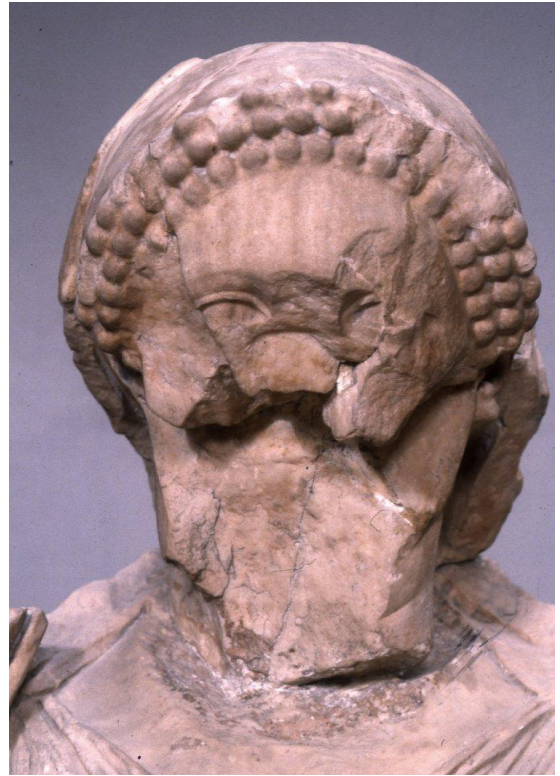


Fig. 16
Colossal female head from the
Mausoleum of Halikarnassos,
c. 350 BCE
British Museum Cat. 1051
(Waywell 1978, pl. 16, cat. 30)

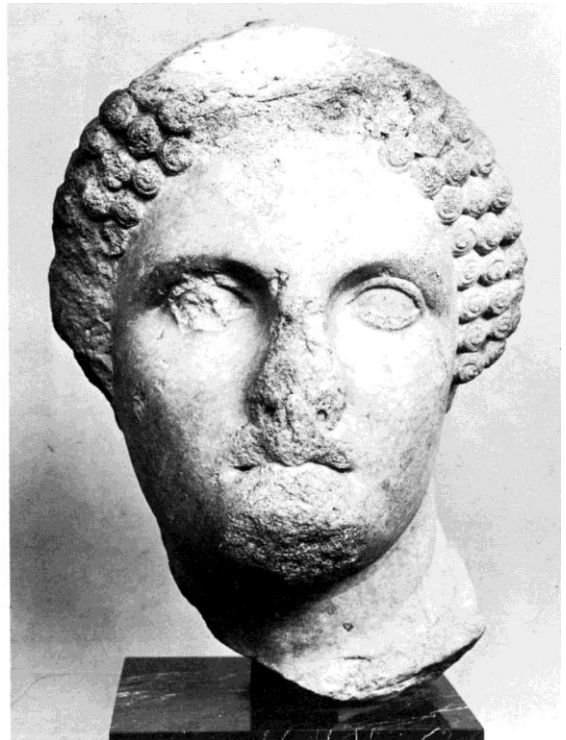


Fig. 17
Left profile view of the colossal
female head from the Mausoleum of
Halikarnassos, c. 350 BCE
British Museum Cat. 1051
(Waywell 1978, pl. 16, cat. 30)

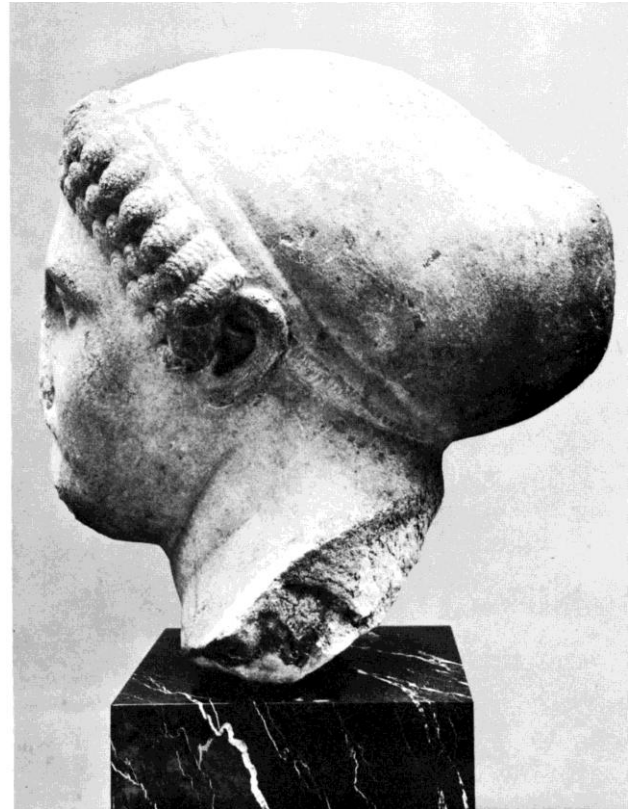


Fig. 18
Head of a girl found in the Sanctuary
of Demeter and Kore at Priene,
fourth century BCE
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 1536
(Blümel 1966, fig. 38)

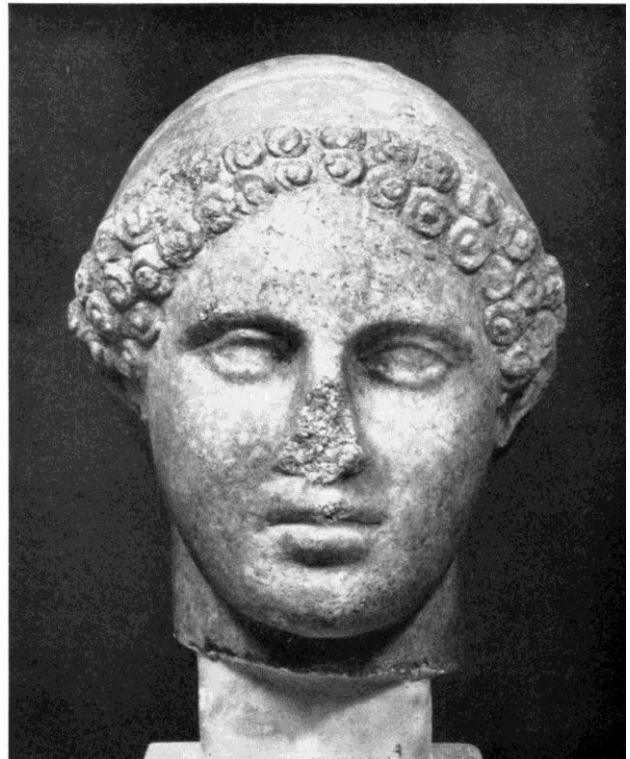


Fig. 19
Left profile view of the head of a
girl found in the Sanctuary of
Demeter and Kore at Priene,
fourth century BCE
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin Sk 1536
(Blümel 1966, fig. 39)

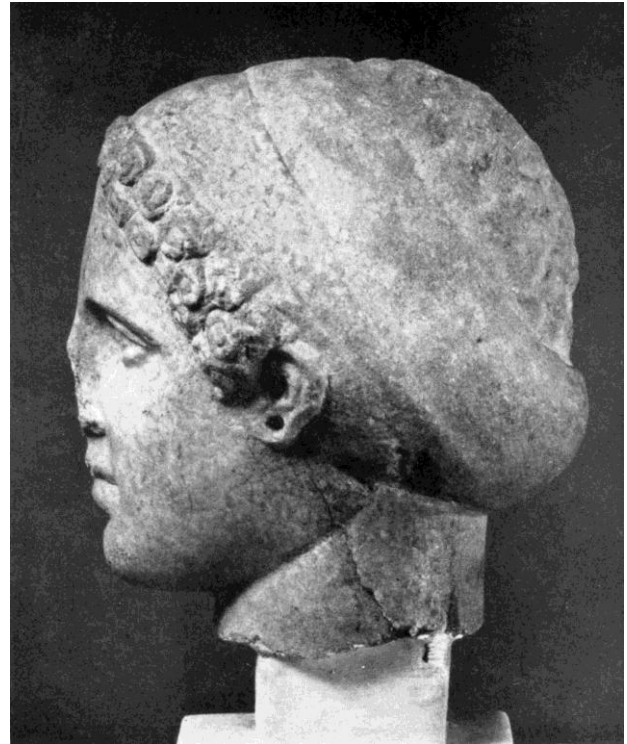


Fig. 20
Head of a veiled female portrait statue
from Kos,
early Hellenistic period
Kos, Archaeological Museum 13
(Dillon, p. 124, fig. 62)

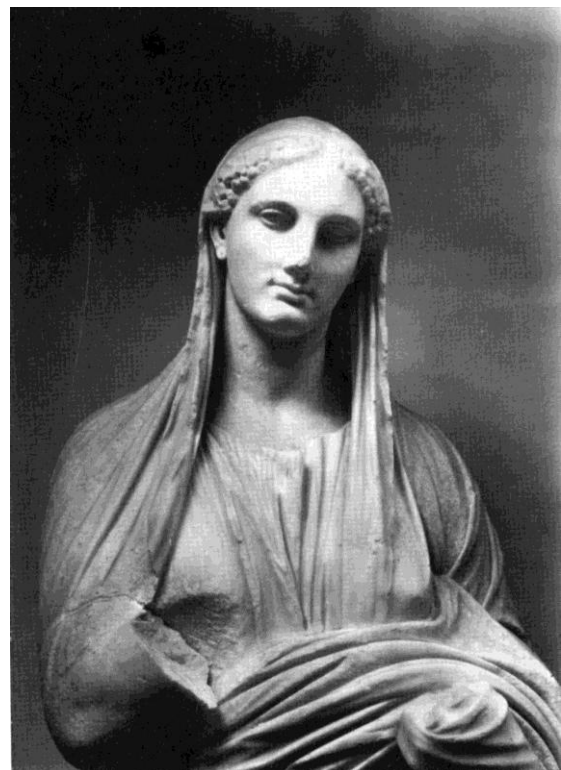




Fig. 21
Gold stater from Lampsakos; obverse: female head, possibly Sappho; reverse: Pegasus,
c. 360 BCE
(CoinArchives.com, Lot 468)

Fig. 22
Silver double-headed *kantharos* from Lycia,
c. 350-300 BCE
British Museum GR1962.12-12.1
(British Museum Collections Database,
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/>)





Fig. 23
Head of a tributary, relief
sculpture from Persepolis,
fifth century BCE
Musée du Louvre, inv. AO 17278
(Erich Lessing/ART
RESOURCE, N.Y., ARTstor)

Fig. 24
Fragment of a relief of a
Persian guard from Persepolis,
486-464 BCE
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
(ARTstor)





Fig. 25
Enthroned goddess found at Taranto,
c. 480 BCE
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin A 17
(Inv. 1761)
(Lullies 1960, fig. 98)



Fig. 25
Detail of Poseidon, Apollo, and Artemis from the east frieze of the Parthenon in
Athens, c. 440 BCE
(ARTstor)



Fig. 27
Entrance of the water pipe through the city wall at Priene
(Schede, Kleiner, and Kleiss, p. 22, fig. 22)

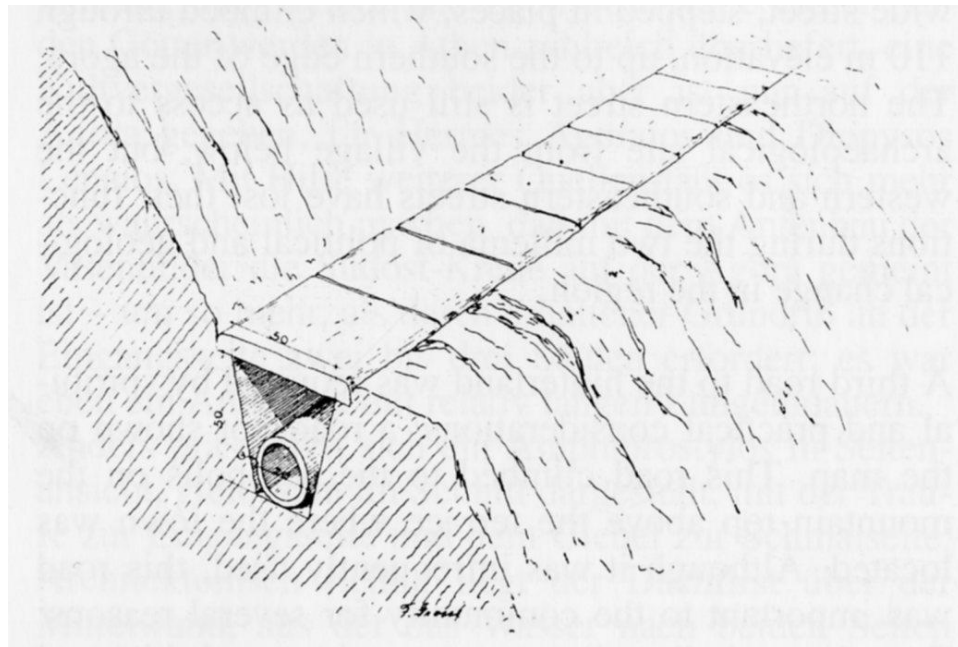


Fig. 28
Water pipe outside the city wall at Priene, showing the depth and
diameter of the pipe and the marble slabs that covered it
(Wiegand and Schrader, p. 69, fig. 37; Crouch 1994, p. 138)



Fig. 29
One of the water settling basins at Priene
(Schede, Kleiner, and Kleiss, p. 23, fig. 24)

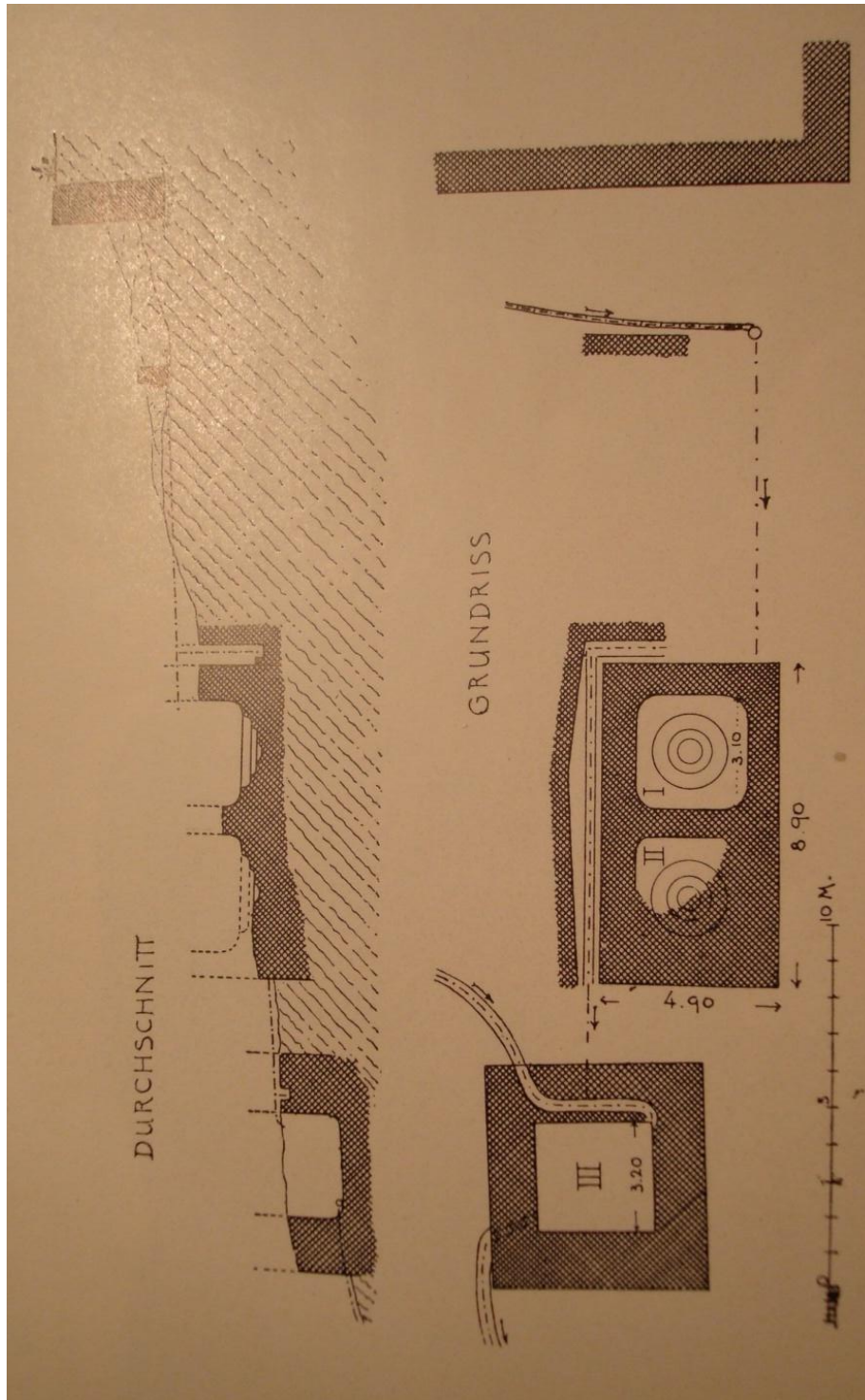


Fig. 30
 Diagram of the three settling basins at Priene
 (Wiegand and Schrader, p. 71, fig. 39)

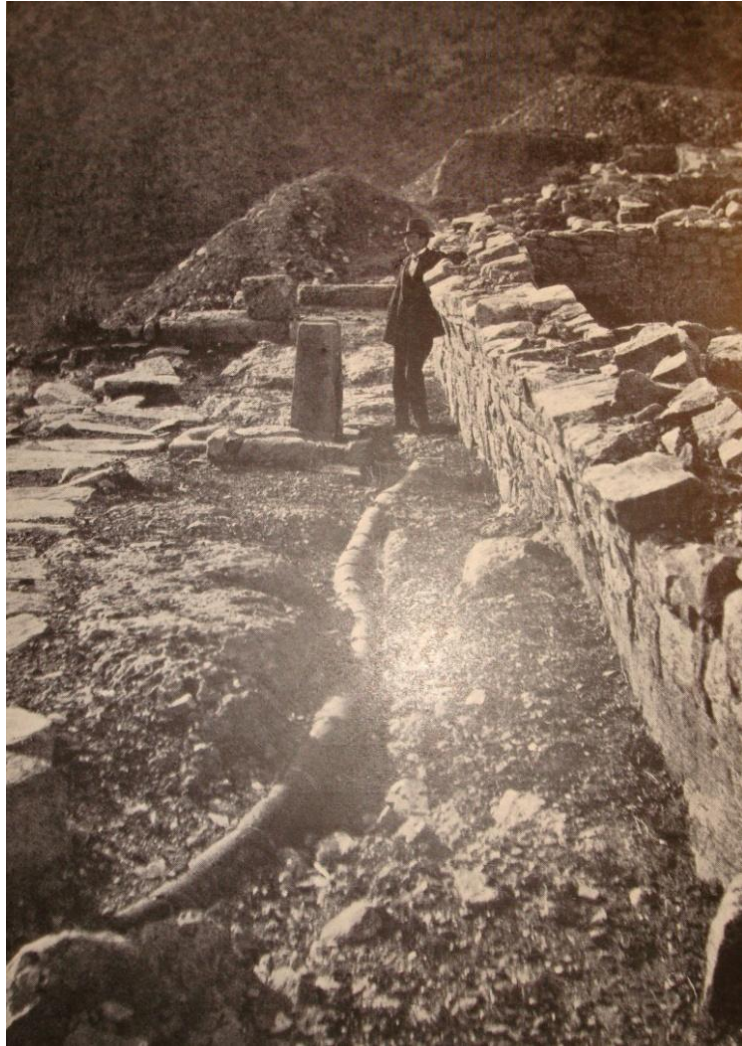


Fig. 31
Water pipes uncovered on Spring Gate Street in Priene
(Wiegand and Schrader, p. 76, fig. 44)

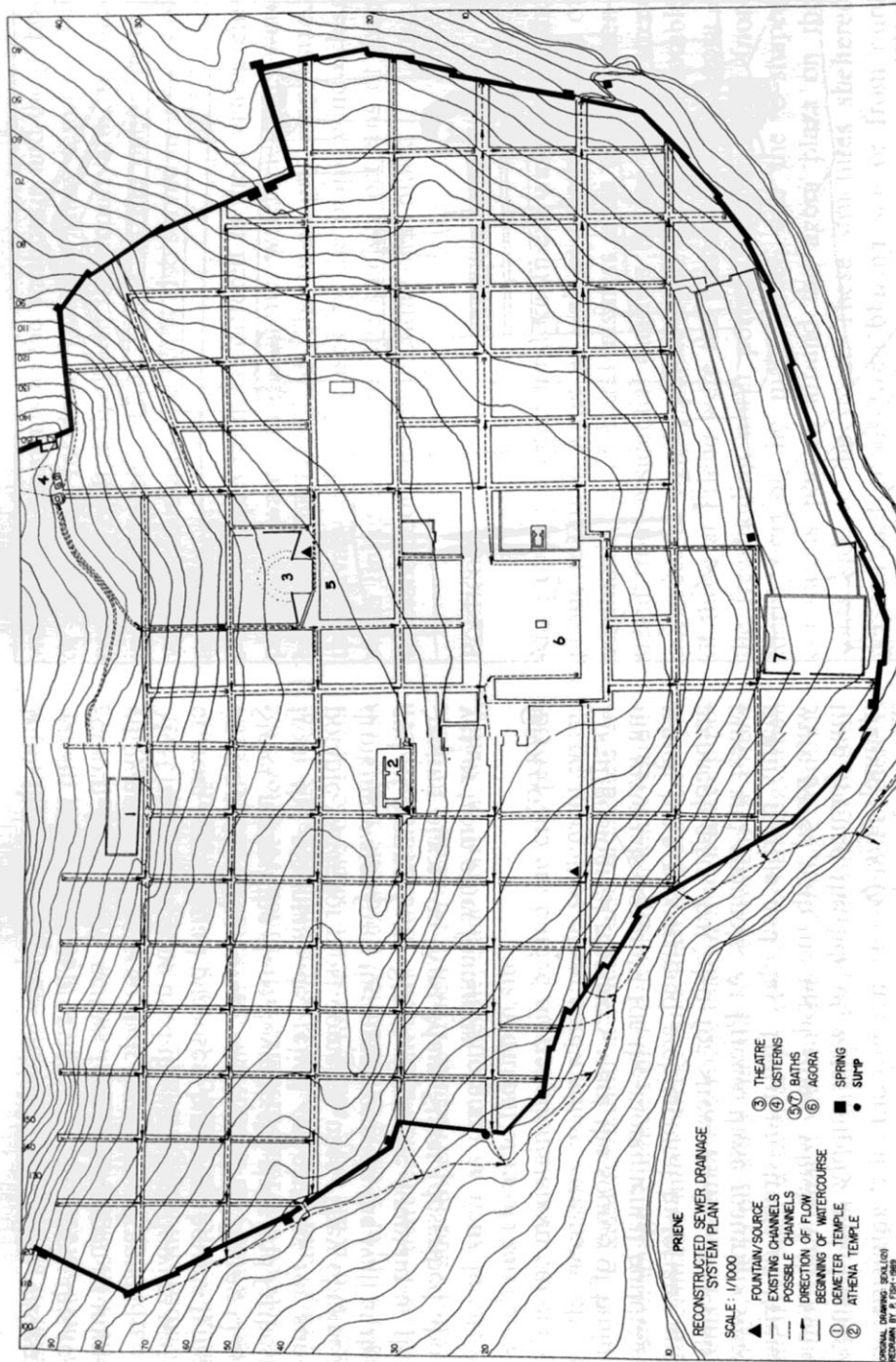


Fig. 32
Plan showing the reconstructed sewer drainage system at Priene
(Crouch 1994, p. 139)

Fig. 33
Remains of a fountain on West Gate Street
in Priene
(Wiegand and Schrader, p. 78, fig. 46)

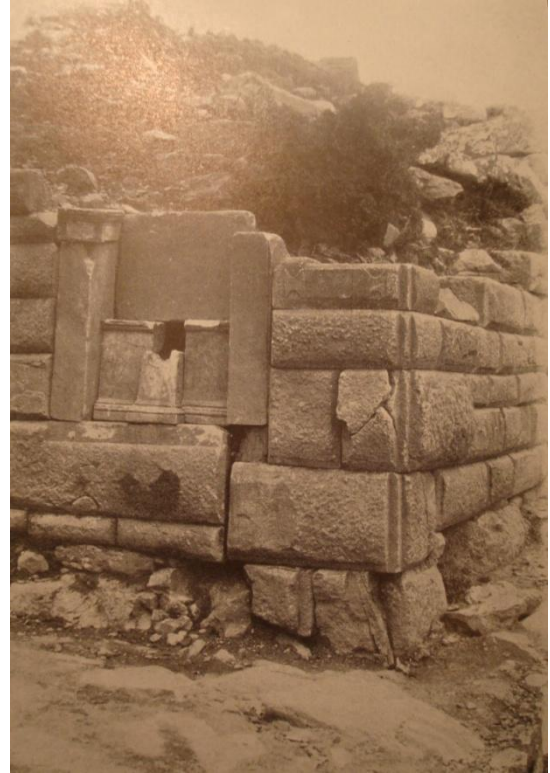


Fig. 34
Street with channel for drainage in
Priene, c. 352 BCE
(ARTstor)

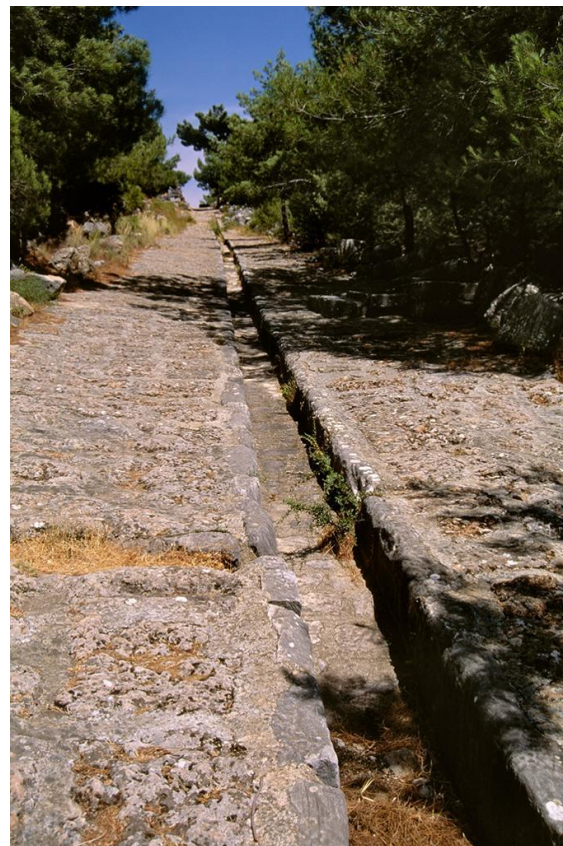




Fig. 35
Marble statue of Aristonoe from
Rhamnous,
mid-second century BCE
Athens, National Museum 232
(Kaltsas 2002, p. 274, cat. 574)



Fig. 36
Marble statue of Nikeso from Priene,
third century BCE
Berlin, Antikensammlung 1928
(Connelly 2007, p. 136, fig. 5.12)



Fig. 37
Marble statue of Nikeso from Priene in
the Staatliche Museen
Antikensammlung, Berlin,
third century BCE
Berlin, Antikensammlung 1928
(Connelly 2007, pl. 16)



Fig. 38
Back view of the marble statue of Nikeso
from Priene, third century BCE
Berlin, Antikensammlung 1928
(Dillon 2010, p. 127, fig. 65)

SANCTUARY OF DEMETER AND KORE

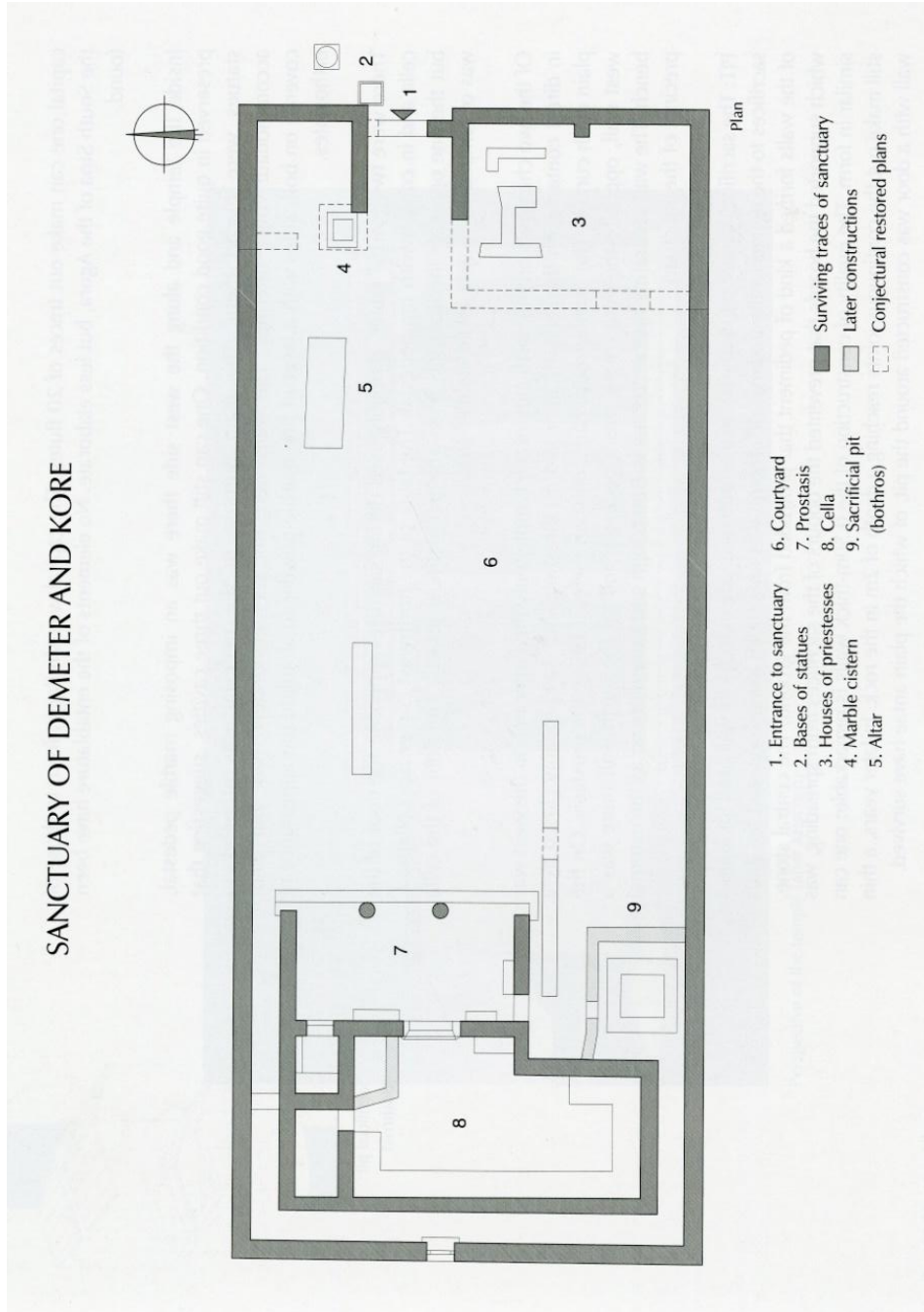


Fig. 39
 Plan of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene
 (Ferla, Graf, and Sideris 2005, p. 127)



Fig. 40
The ruins of the Temple of Demeter and Kore at Priene
(Shmuel Magal, ARTstor)



Fig. 41
Terracotta figurines found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(Raeder 1983, p. 82, fig. 20)



Fig. 42
Terracotta figurine, probably of Demeter, found at
the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 8585
(Raeder 1983, p. 84, fig. 22b)



Figs. 43-45

Terracotta figurines of Baubo found at the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 8612-8614
(Raeder 1983, p. 85, figs. 23a-23c)



Fig. 46

Demeter of Knidos, c. 350 BCE
British Museum GR 1859.12-26.26
(British Museum Collections Database,
<http://www.britishmuseum.org/>)



Fig. 47
Peplos Kore from the Athenian Acropolis,
c. 530 BCE
Athens, Acropolis Museum 679
(LUNA, Visual Resources Collection)

Fig. 48
Side and back view of the Peplos Kore
from the Athenian Acropolis,
c. 530 BCE
Athens, Acropolis Museum 679
(ARTstor)

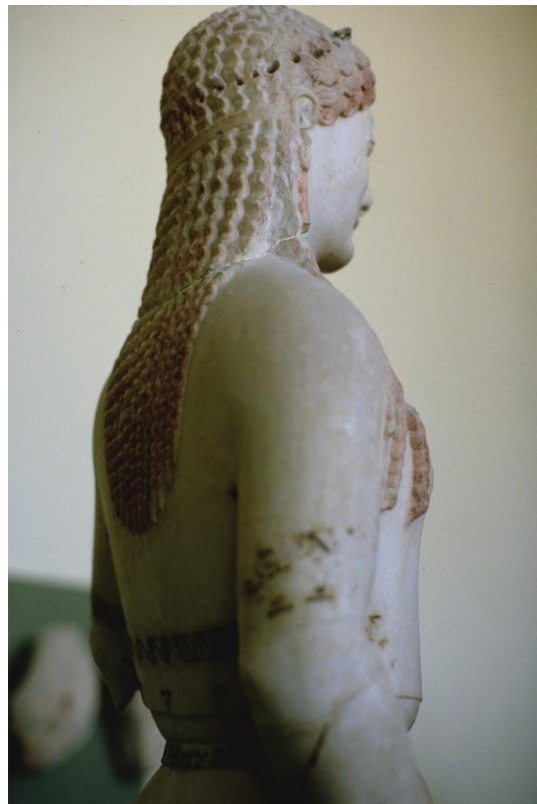




Fig. 49
Statue of a veiled woman from Kos,
Hellenistic period
Kos, Archaeological Museum 17
(Dillon 2010, p. 19, fig. 5)

Fig. 50
Head of a female statue from Kos,
Hellenistic period
Kos, Archaeological Museum 6
(Dillon 2010, p. 18, fig. 4)





Figs. 51-53

Relief sculpture from the Hekateion at Rhodes, first century BCE
Rhodes, Archaeological Museum inv. 5289
(Ridgway 2002, pls. 53a-c)



Fig. 54

Terracotta figurine of a *hydriaphoros* found at
the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Priene
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
(Wiegand and Schrader 1904, p. 159, fig. 135)



Fig. 55
Portrait of a young aristocratic girl,
possibly Niko, found in the Sanctuary of
Athena Polias at Priene,
fourth century BCE
British Museum Cat. 1153
(Carpenter 1983, pl. XLc)

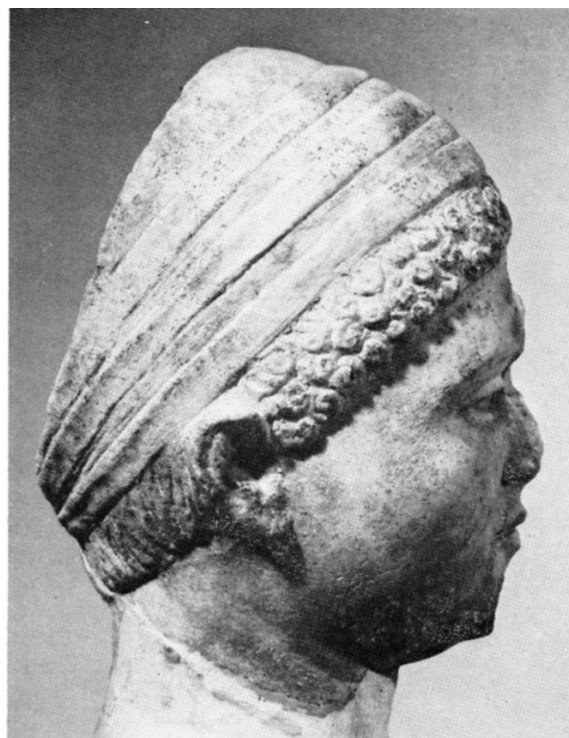


Fig. 56
Right profile view of the portrait of a
young aristocratic girl, possibly Niko,
found in the Sanctuary of Athena
Polias at Priene,
fourth century BCE
British Museum Cat. 1153
(Carpenter 1983, pl. XLd)



Fig. 57
Bronze portrait bust of a Roman matron,
20-50 CE
Metropolitan Museum of Art 52.11.6
(ARTstor)

Fig. 58
Portrait bust of Agrippina Minor,
50-60 CE
Galleria degli Uffizi inv. 1914
(ARTstor)

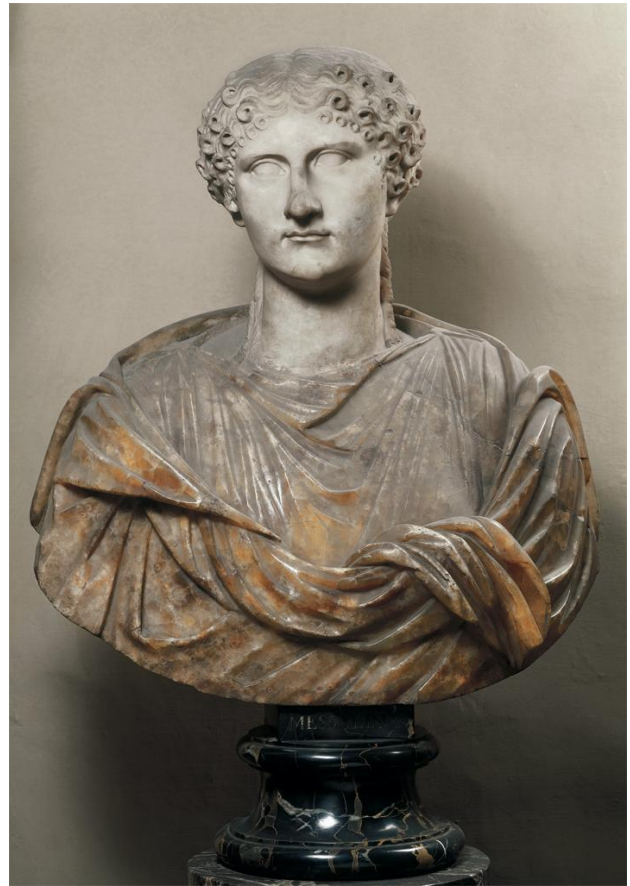




Fig. 59
Stage building of the theater at Priene, c. second century BCE
(Susan Silberberg-Pierce, ARTstor)