

WOMEN'S DEDICATORY PRACTICE IN ANCIENT ATTICA

A reconsideration of women's economic agency



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ABBREVIATIONS

- Agora XVIII* Geagan, Daniel J. *Agora XVIII: Inscriptions: The Dedicatory Monuments*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2011.
- Agora XIX* Lalonde, Gerald V., Merle K. Langdon, and Michael B. Walbank. *Agora XIX: Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, Leases of Public Land*. Princeton: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1991.
- AM Acropolis Museum, Athens.
- BE Archaeological Museum of Brauron.
- CAVI* Immerwahr, Henry R. *Corpus of Attic Vase Inscriptions*. Published online: January 2009. <https://avi.unibas.ch>
- DAA* Raubitschek, Antony E. *Dedications From the Athenian Akropolis. A Catalogue of the Inscriptions of the Sixth and Fifth Centuries B.C.* Cambridge (MA): Archaeological Institute of America, 1949.
- EM Epigraphical Museum, Athens.
- IG I³* *Inscriptiones Graecae I: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anterior*, 3rd ed. Fasc. 2. David Lewis and Lilian Jeffery, ed. *Dedicationes, catalogi, termini, tituli sepulcrales, varia, tituli Attici extra Atticam reperti, addenda*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1994.
- IG II/III²* *Inscriptiones Graecae II and III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, 2nd ed. Part III, Fasc. I. Johannes Kirchner, ed. *Dedicationes, titulos honorarios, titulos sacros, titulos sepulcrales continens: Dedicationes. Tituli honorarii. Tituli sacri*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1935.
- IG II/III³* *Inscriptiones Graecae II and III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, 3rd ed. Part IV, Fasc. II. Jaime Curbera, ed. *Dedicationes: Dedicationes Privatae*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2017.
- IG XII 5* *Inscriptiones Graecae XII: Inscriptiones insularum maris Aegaei praeter Delum*. Fasc. 5. Friedrich Hiller von Gaertingen, ed. *Inscriptiones Cycladum* (2 vols.). Berlin: De Gruyter, 1903-1909.

- LGPN Michael J. Osborne and Sean G. Byrne, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names: Attica*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, supplemented with *Athenian Onomasticon Search*. www.seanb.org
- LSAM Sokolowski, Franciszek. *Lois sacrées de l'Asie Mineure*. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1955.
- LSCG Sokolowski, Franciszek. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. 2nd. ed. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1969.
- LSJ Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones, and Roderick McKenzie, *A Greek-English Lexicon, with a supplement* (9th ed). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.
- LSS Sokolowski, Franciszek. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques. Supplément*. Paris: Éditions de Boccard, 1962.
- ME Archaeological Museum of Eleusis.
- MP Archaeological Museum of Piraeus.
- NM National Archaeological Museum, Athens.

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INTRODUCTION

During the previous century, increasing attention has been paid to the position of women in Antiquity, an interest that has intensified even further during the last couple of decades. A general trend can be discerned, one wherein the academic focus has shifted from the grand accomplishments and major events of the past, to the history of ordinary lives and the day-to-day affairs of people. Thus, in a similar respect, more research was incited into the less well-studied social groups of antiquity, that of metics, slaves, and women. Interest in the lives of the last was no doubt triggered by the rise of the feminist movement during the 60s and 70s of the previous century. Regarding this, I must say that though feminist scholarship and the current hot topic of gender have contributed greatly to our knowledge of women in the ancient world, there often seems to be a tendency to overcompensate — sometimes necessary — to challenge the prevailing dogma. Doing so, scholars have pushed the boundaries of the evidence too far. Therefore, it is upon scholars today to establish a more nuanced consensus on the position of women in antiquity, shedding our current beliefs and ideas and refrain from letting them influence our scholarship. That said, the same holds true for the apparent conservatism in scholarship, which has hindered the exploration of new ideas and has provoked the overcompensation I mentioned earlier. Because of this conservatism, over the years, certain aspects of women's lives in the ancient world have been under-explored. One such aspect is the economic capability of women in ancient Greece, a topic which has come somewhat to a standstill. It is therefore the attempt of the current study, to provide more insight into the economic position of women in ancient Attica, challenging some still commonly accepted beliefs to provide a fuller picture of the day-to-day lives of women in ancient Greece.

The incentive for the current study is the still widespread acceptance in modern scholarship of the '*medimnos* law', a law voiced by the fourth century BC Attic orator Isaios stating that a woman cannot enter a contract for more than the value of one *medimnos* of barley.¹ This law is generally taken to mean that a woman cannot purchase anything above the value of one *medimnos*, either at all, or without the consent or aid of her *kyrios*.² One *medimnos* of barley in the classical age was worth three or four drachmai and could feed a family for five or six days.³ The use, in this law, of the *medimnos* as a measure of va-

¹ Is. 10.10: ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κωλύει παιδὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι συμβάλλειν μηδὲ γυναικὶ πέρα μεδίμνου κριθῶν.

² A *kyrios* can be described as the legal guardian of a woman. The subject of *kyrieia* will be further discussed in Chapter One.

³ Lyons (2003), 104; Blok (2017), 131-132. Calculations first made by Kuenen-Janssens (1941). The value of a *medimnos* was obviously subject to economic fluctuations and could therefore momentarily have risen to up to 18 drachmai.

lue rather than drachmai, indicates that this law is archaic in origin.⁴ Over the last decades doubts have been expressed, questioning whether this archaic law was actually upheld and practiced, especially in the classical era. Many scholars have, in this respect, focussed on three different institutions, the concept of *kyrieia*, the possibility of inheriting as the *epikleros*, and the function of the dowry.⁵ Key to all these studies was the issue of female property ownership and agency, which they studied extensively through (predominantly) literary sources.⁶ The challenge of the current study is to move away from these literary sources and enter an entirely different field instead, that of dedications.

Traditionally, the realm of religion has been seen as an area of ancient Greece in which women were more free to act. However, when describing the role of women in the religious sphere, many scholars turn, perhaps logically, to specifically female dominated festivals such as the Thesmophoria and the Adonia, making a sufficient comparison between the roles of men and women within these festivals impossible.⁷ Another much used approach is to study female priesthoods in order to analyse the role of women in religion. These studies provide however a view of only a minority of women. Without diminishing the incredible influence these studies have had on the development of the field, I will here take a different approach; I believe more can be gained from studying religious practices that were common to both sexes, as it is here that the differences and commonalities between the two become especially clear. Not surprisingly, it is for this reason that I turn to the practice of dedicating, a concept common to all. Dedications can be seen as the direct representations of the reciprocal relationship of the Greeks and their gods. Votives, however small or big, were set up and offered by a wide strata of people, males, females, children, metics, slaves, prostitutes and aristocrats. Because of this, these objects (often carrying inscriptions) provide valuable insight into the lives of people that we otherwise have little direct evidence from. Dedications made by women have not been sufficiently dealt with in the past, as they are usually discussed in combination with dedications made by men — which are undeniably more numerous — and therefore claim much of the attention. It is the aim of the current study to analyse the existing corpus of female dedications more fully, to understand what kind of women dedicated, what they dedicated, why they dedicated, and perhaps most importantly, *how* they did so, specifically raising the question of monetary independence.

To make this all possible I have attempted to create a full database of female dedicatory inscriptions and their objects (Appendix I). Of course, to make both this study and this database more feasible, and allow for a more thorough analysis, I have chosen to re-

⁴ Blok (2017), 131n120.

⁵ These concepts will be further discussed in Chapter One.

⁶ See for instance, Ste. Croix (1970); Pomeroy (1995)²; Schaps (1979); Foxhall (1989); Sealey (1990); Hunter (1994); Blundell (1995); Johnstone (2003); Henry and James (2012); Levick (2012).

⁷ See for instance, Pomeroy (1995)²; Gould (1980); Just (1989); Sealey (1990); Stehle (2012).

strict my dataset both geographically and chronologically, covering Attica from the late archaic to early Hellenistic times at the arbitrary boundaries of 600 to 300 BC. Within this demarcation I focus on dedications that carry inscriptions naming a woman as either the dedicator or the co-dedicator of the object, as recorded in the volumes of *IG I³* and *IG II/III³*, excluding objects that do not carry inscriptions whatsoever, or are simply damaged in such a way that the gender of the dedicator can no longer be discerned.⁸ The most common indicator for the gender of the dedicator is naturally the mentioning of a name, in our case female. Sometimes however, when the name of the dedicator is lost but a female declension can point to a woman, the inscription is likewise included.⁹ Dedications bearing names that have been interpreted in the past as both male or female have only been included when there are certain indications that make the female interpretation more likely.¹⁰ When the gender of the dedicator is truly not reconstructable the inscription is not included. Other examples, outside the scope previously mentioned, will occasionally be used if they are of exceptional value for this thesis. In these cases, a clear indication of their deviation will be given.

As is ever so common, the Athenian evidence predominates this dataset. Surely, I am aware of this, but it is a fact we cannot change. Instead, we must work with the evidence at hand, meaning that the disparity of the evidence will be kept in mind and continuously mentioned when conclusions are drawn for the whole of Attica. Throughout the classical era however, the influence of Athens over the rest of Attica was growingly intense, meaning that the evidence from Athens would likewise become more and more representative for the whole, reducing the imbalance to almost negligible.

The aim of this study is to gain better insight into the realities of the economic capabilities of women in ancient Attica through an analysis of their dedicatory practices. Two questions will be central to this task. The first is simple yet difficult to answer: were

⁸ I restrict myself to dedications recorded in the volumes of *Inscriptiones Graecae*. Inscriptions published elsewhere at a later date can unfortunately not be incorporated in this dataset, though I should stress that this is predominantly the case for the inscriptions of before 400 BC (published in *IG I³* in 1994) as the inscriptions after 400 BC were published in the new volume *IG II/III³* of 2017 which should be relatively complete. Of course, work on this volume started long before this date, meaning that — inevitably — some inscriptions will not be included.

⁹ I have furthermore included the family dedication *IG II/III³* 1358 on the basis that 'γυνή' is in the nominative, despite the third person singular 'στήσεν' in the second part of the inscription.

¹⁰ These include *IG I³* 644 (all four entries of 'Ἐδάρχις' in *LGPN* are listed as female, including ours); 814 ('Κάλις' listed under Kallis in *LGPN* as male but is more likely female); 838 ('[Λυ]σίππω' has been thought to be mistakenly inscribed with an omega, I would rather propose that the name is correct and could perhaps be part of a joint dedication); 1000bis ('Πλατθίς' occurs both for men and women, but I accept *LGPN*'s conclusion that ours is female on the basis that the name is more often female than male); *IG II/III³* 686 (on the basis that the reconstruction of 'γυνή' is credible); and *IG II/III³* 1532 ('Ἄωριός' mistakenly listed in *LGPN* as male even though the name is inscribed on a dedication of female genitals).

women able to individually spend money belonging to their *oikos*? The second consists of manifold smaller questions but can be summarised as follows: to whom, what, why, where, and how did women dedicate? The first chapter of this study is concerned explicitly with the economic position of women in ancient Greece as has been established thus-far. This chapter will discuss the aforementioned topics that predominated previous scholarship: the *kyrieia*, the *epikleroi*, and the use of dowries. Shortly discussing as well the literary evidence on which this knowledge is based. After this I will move on to a point that is more pressing for this study, namely whether women were able to spend money belonging to the *oikos* for their own benefit, either with or without the consent of her *kyrios*. As I will argue, the question of whether a married woman actually had money for herself is irrelevant, as arguments can be raised that neither did her husband, all property belonging to the *oikos*. Extending this view towards the dedicatory practice of the time, I will argue that the theory by David Schaps — who argues that the person mentioned on the object as the dedicator, might not be the one paying, specifically in the case of women — is unfounded.¹¹

The second chapter will present the core of this research, the first analysis of the inscriptions and their objects. I will start with a brief introduction to women's dedicatory practices before moving on to an analysis of the proportions of male to female dedications listed in *IG*. After this, I will discuss the body of female dedications based on their specific aspects. I will analyse their distribution, both over time and by location, followed by an analysis of the receiving deities, in the hope of finding out what kind of deities attract female worshippers and why. Consequently, the different kinds of dedicated objects are analysed, showing possible preferences both of women in general and in their relation to specific deities. Lastly, I will explore the nature of the dedications. Why were they dedicated and under what circumstances? Within this analysis attention will be paid to both the historical circumstances of the time as to the modern restrictions and influences on the dataset, discussing again the Athenian predominance. At all times — that is when my samples allow it — I will pursue to discern patterns in my dataset. Of course, much of the information we can derive is dependent on the comprehensiveness of the inscriptions and the state of their preservation. This will consistently be kept in mind and discussed. Difficulties that arise because of this will be dealt with when discussing individual inscriptions.

Chapter Three will focus on the women behind the dedications. Who were these women? Were they citizens, non-citizens, slaves, freed slaves? Throughout this chapter we will deal with questions that concern the identity of these women. Special attention will be paid to the kind of occupation they had (if so and when mentioned). Furthermore, their familial ties will be analysed, answering questions that concern their self-representa-

¹¹ Schaps (1979), 73. See below, 31.

tion. Did they present themselves as wife, mother, daughter, or sister, or did they not mention any familial ties at all? In the same manner questions concerning their age will be discussed, as will their marital status. Were they married, unmarried, widowed? Again this information is dependent on the comprehensiveness and state of the inscriptions. Furthermore, I will analyse whether these women usually dedicated singlehandedly or together with their husband, other women, their children, or with other family members. Lastly, an analysis will be made to establish whether these women dedicated on behalf of themselves or on behalf of someone else, such as a child or other family member.

The aim of the last chapter will be to establish — for as far as possible — what these dedications must have cost. Doing so, I will analyse the entire dedicatory process, from the choices of the dedicator to the different steps of the production process. Specific attention will be paid to the agency required of the dedicator and the different choices that influence the cost of the final product. A short section will focus on the regulations and logistics of placing a dedication in a sanctuary after which an attempt is made to reconstruct the possible costs of setting up such dedications. Reconstructing prices for this time is a treacherous task. We have little information to go on and the information we do have is not always representational for a wider geographical or chronological area. It is made even more difficult by the spatial and temporal range of our dataset. Nonetheless, even an extremely rough and divergent estimate of costs can help us better understand the economic position of women in ancient Attica, and is therefore of undeniable value for this thesis.

By conducting this research, I hope to present a new perspective on the economic capabilities of women, thus adding to the lively debate on women in ancient Greece. No less in particular, I would like to shed some new light on their ability to spend money by themselves within the religious sphere. Furthermore, I would like to present a more comprehensive view of women's dedicatory practice in ancient Attica, hopefully showing how inherently similar it is to male dedicatory practices. Additionally, I hope to add to our knowledge of dedicatory practices in general and the processes involved therein, with special attention to the 'normality' of female dedicators. Having now outlined my intentions, it is time to move on to the first part of our investigation, the economic position of women in ancient Greece.

CHAPTER ONE

THE ECONOMIC POSITION OF ANCIENT GREEK WOMEN

PREVIOUS SCHOLARSHIP: A CRITIQUE

During the last couple of decades, scholarship has focused on a number of different topics, such as the seclusion of women,¹² the 'status' of women,¹³ and the social and economic position of women.¹⁴ Throughout this series of publications, by far the main sources used were literary, either focussing on orations, or on theatrical and mythical literature (mainly tragedy). This use of sources has been subject to different sorts of critique. Scholars like Sarah Pomeroy and John Gould have for instance argued that by focussing on either one of these different categories of literature a disparate view of women emerges that is often contradictory.¹⁵ A second, much expressed critique — following Lin Foxhall and David Cohen — is that the image that emerges from studying ancient Greek law (often through orations) is not representative of social reality.¹⁶ Juridical norms do not necessarily correspond to real life behaviour and neglecting this difference leads to an incorrect interpretation of every day life in ancient Greece. Thus, we must bear in mind that there is a difference between law and practice. A third critique — again found in Pomeroy — is still echoed today: the common practice of describing women and treating women in ancient Greece as an undifferentiated mass with little or no regard for the different economic and social classes of women and a heavy focus on 'the elite'.¹⁷ Furthermore, there is recurring critique on the heavily male-biased evidence these literary sources pro-

¹² This debate also includes the segregation of women and their exclusion from the *polis*. See for example, Bardis (1964); Cantarella (1987); Blundell (1995); Morgan (2007); and *contra* Richter (1971); Cohen (1989) & (1991); Just (1989); Sourvinou-Inwood (1995). Ste. Croix (1970), 278 remains somewhere in the middle in stating that seclusion was a feature 'peculiar to the propertied class', but is not a general characteristic of women's lives in ancient Athens.

¹³ For an overview of the historiography on this topic, see Katz (1992)/(1995) reprinted as a chapter to Hawley (1995). This field of study mostly addresses the Greek (male) view on women and their perceived social status. Modern scholars have sometimes argued that women in ancient Greece were put on an equal footing with slaves, for an example of this view, see Bardis (1964) and *contra* Schaps (1998).

¹⁴ The debate on the economic position of women was started by an article of Ste. Croix (1970) reacting to the book of Harrison (1968) and was further instigated by the still much used book of Schaps (1979).

¹⁵ Pomeroy (1995)², 59; Gould (1980), 39.

¹⁶ See for instance, Foxhall (1989); Cohen (1989), 4; Sealey (1990), 6; Cohen (1991), 18-24; Blundell (1995), 113; Blundell (1998); Cohen (1998), 53; Nevett (1999), 17.

¹⁷ Pomeroy (1995)², 60. This critique was echoed by i.a. Gould (1980), 43 and has since been widely expressed.

vide. It has even been said that 'the study of women in ancient literature is the study of men's views of women and cannot become anything else'.¹⁸ Roger Just takes it even further and states: 'the fact remains that for all practical purposes there is nothing which represents the authentic voice of women themselves'.¹⁹

These are claims that embody precisely the malfunctioning and jammed character of modern day scholarship on the position of women in ancient Greece. The tendency to time and again return and hold on to literary sources, with little regard of alternative evidence, is characteristic of the field. It is true that some scholars have attempted to open up the field by pointing out this predominant focus on literary sources and calling for the use different sorts of evidence.²⁰ This appeal was taken up by people like Cohen who carried out anthropological studies on present day Mediterranean societies to provide a framework for understanding ancient Greek societies.²¹ Material evidence was used sporadically over the past decades, but has gained popularity in the more recent years.²² This kind of research was much needed and long overdue, but it still lacks quantity. Much more research is needed to fully analyse the body of material evidence relevant to the study of women in antiquity. Only by combining what we know through literary sources with what we have gained from archaeological and epigraphical sources can we come to a more balanced view of women's lives in ancient Greece. By analysing the corpus of women's dedications in Attica I hope to provide a further step in this direction.

To come back to the often expressed view as cited above by Just, that we lack voices of women from antiquity, I wish to emphasise again the importance of stepping out of this 'literary mainframe' and look at what we actually *do* have: the voices of women expressed in dedications. It is true that the inscriptions were not carved by women themselves,²³ but I need not remind the reader that the same holds true for men. We see inscriptions and monumental statues set up by men primarily as a means of self-representation both towards the gods and towards the *polis*. I see no reason why the same should not be

¹⁸ Culham (1987), 15. This view is widely shared, first expressed by Pomeroy (1995)² and followed by i.a. Gould (1980); Just (1989); Hunter (1989)b; Sealey (1990).

¹⁹ Just (1989), 1.

²⁰ Pomeroy (1995)², 60.

²¹ Cohen (1991). This in turn led to criticism by i.a. Sourvinou-Inwood (1995), 112 who states that 'there are such serious differences between "Mediterranean societies" and Classical Athens that the use of the former to help make us sense of the latter is inappropriate and leads to a distortion of ancient realities, and that one of the most fundamental differences pertains to the ways in which women are placed with reference to the public sphere.'

²² For instance, Ridgway (1987); Harris (1992); Kron (1996); Nevett (1999); Avramidou (2015); Várhelyi (2015); Day (2016). Harris (1992) was republished as a chapter to Harris (2006).

²³ Interesting is the statement by Sealey (1990), 4 who refrains from mentioning dedications: 'It must be admitted that the real women of everyday Athens are inaccessible to historical research. None of their utterances has survived. The inscriptions on their tombstones were carved by men, and the vases which show their everyday activities were painted by men.'

valid for dedications made by women.

Before continuing this path towards the interpretation of our material evidence, which is set to be discussed from Chapter Two onwards, I will first address the economic position of women as established thus-far, i.e., through predominantly literary sources. The work of David Schaps, following the article of Geoffrey de Ste. Croix, has been highly influential in all further studies on the subject. His three-partite approach of looking at women's economic rights through the study of dowries, the epiklerate and the practice of *kyrieia* has been so influential that nearly all studies on women and property have to a greater or lesser extent followed the same approach.²⁴ As a reinterpretation of these concepts is vital to a new and better understanding of the economic position of women in ancient Greece, I will here briefly discuss them before moving on to other aspects of women's economic lives.

KYRIEIA

The *kyrios*, in modern scholarship, is often described as the head of the household. The adjective according to Liddell and Scott could be construed as 'having power or authority over' with the corresponding substantive of 'lord', 'master', 'head of a family', 'guardian', or 'trustee'. They also specifically translate *kyrios* as 'guardian of a woman'.²⁵ In practice, the *kyrios* was the legal and public representative of all members of the household, thus including his wife, children, slaves, and — if present — aged members of the family.²⁶ The *kyrieia* of the married man extended not only to the members of the household, but also to the house itself, meaning that he was also called *kyrios* of the property.²⁷ In her valuable chapter on authority in the Athenian household, Virginia Hunter is right in pointing out that the power the *kyrios* had over the members of the household differed according to their status. Naturally, the authority he had over his slaves was much bigger than the authority he had over his children and even less so over his wife.²⁸

A woman was under the protection of a *kyrios* her entire life, being born into the

²⁴ See references cited below under the headings 'Kyrieia', 'Epikleroi', and 'Dowries'.

²⁵ LSJ s.v. 'κύριος'.

²⁶ Women and minors needed a legal representative as they were not allowed to represent themselves in court, see for instance Just (1989), 34-36; Blundell (1995), 114; Foxhall (1996).

²⁷ Hunter (1994), 9-10. Being *kyrios* of a property does not necessarily entail 'ownership' in the sense that we understand it. The estate of a male adult comprised majorly of his paternal inheritance, the *patroia*. As Foxhall (1989), 28 convincingly argued, these ancestral goods were not 'owned' by the *kyrios* but were held in his trust to be passed on to the next generation of the *oikos*. Squandering one's *patroia* could have great legal consequences. See also, Hunter (1994), 11-12; Blok (2017), 134 on this subject. We will see a similar notion emerge in our discussion of the epiklerate see below, 22.

²⁸ Hunter (1994), 10.

kyrieia of her father and passed into the *kyrieia* of her husband at marriage. In the case of his death or a divorce she passed into the *kyrieia* of a male adult relative, often her son when he came of age.²⁹ Important arguments have been raised that there was a difference between the father's and the husband's *kyrieia*. The *kyrieia* of her father (or another member of her natal *oikos*) being more secure as the woman's ties to her natal family were never cut and remained important throughout her life.³⁰ Likewise, the authority of the husband over the woman was much weaker than her father's had been.³¹ The actual function of the practice has been much under debate, especially on the point of the *kyrios* as an economic guardian.³² Here we come back to the law quoted by Isaios mentioned in the introduction. As described above, according to this law, a woman was not allowed to enter into a contract worth more than one *medimnos* of barley. This law is often taken to mean that women were not allowed to spend this kind of money without the consent of their *kyrios*. This is however, not mentioned in the text of Isaios³³ and is simply a construction of modern scholars to account for the fact that we have a bulk of evidence in which women *do* enter into contracts of a value far beyond the 3-4 drachmai of Isaios.³⁴ In the same manner — because these instances in which women conduct transactions almost never mention a *kyrios* — the argument is raised that consent of the *kyrios* was in practice often taken for granted and not explicitly necessary.³⁵ Thus, the construction of the *kyrios* as the economic guardian of a woman is based on a pile of modern premises, starting

²⁹ Blok (2017), 128. See also Pomeroy (1995)², esp. Chapter 4; MacLachlan (2012) esp. Chapter 5; Levick (2012). The possibility of a woman to become her own *kyria* has been explored by Hunter (1989)a.

³⁰ On the importance of the woman's ties to her natal family see, Wolff (1944), 47; Hunter (1989)a, 296-298; Hunter (1994), 13-15; Blok (2017), esp. Chapter 3.

³¹ Blok (2017), 128.

³² Schaps (1979); Foxhall (1989); Foxhall (1996), 142; Lyons (2003), esp. 14.

³³ Isaios 10.10 states that a minor is not allowed to draw up a will, as children, like women, are not allowed to enter into a contract worth more than a *medimnos* of barley. He makes no mention of a *kyrios*. See above, 12n1.

³⁴ See for instance, Dem. 27-29; 41; 45; 57; Lys. 31; IG II² 1672 line 64. For modern scholarship discussing these instances see i.a., Kuenen-Janssens (1941); Schaps (1979), esp. 52-58; Harrison (1986), esp. 114; Hunter (1989)b; Cohen (1992); Harris (1992)/(2006); Hunter (1994); Foxhall (1996); Cohen (1998); Cox (2003). The idea of the *kyrios* as economic guardian probably emerged in the late 19th century (see Kuenen-Janssens). The studies mentioned above are mostly focused on women and property and feature predominantly literary sources. The present study, using epigraphical sources, will likewise feature multiple examples of economic agency, in which not a single mention of the term *kyrios* occurs (see Chapter 2 and 3).

³⁵ MacLachlan (2012), 87-88: 'One possible explanation for the discrepancy between the law restricting women's access to money and actual practice could be the fact that women ignored the law when they were confident that their *kyrios* would not contest the transaction(s).' See also Blundell (1995), 205n3 and Johnstone (2003), 268 who both follow Schaps (1979), 53-56 in this matter.

with the idea that the law Isaios states is still in function in the classical era, that he refrains from telling us that he actually meant that a woman could only enter into contracts with her *kyrios* and consequently that the *kyrios* was in practice not really involved. All this in an attempt of modern scholars to match the evidence of female economic agency with a law that is cited in a context that is entirely different from the application that is now proposed. Scholars have furthermore based themselves on the short allusion to the law in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae*. Typical to the nature of this play, the law is here cited in reversed form. A woman refers to the law when a man wishes to use money to get out of a precarious situation. In this context the word *kyrios* is used, but not with the same meaning. The woman says: 'absolutely no man is master (κύριος) over more than a *medimnos*'.³⁶ The law is clearly alluded to in a comical manner and is further exaggerated by the desperate attempt of the man to bypass the law asking if he can make an excuse. The woman comically responds that there is absolutely no way around it. We should be wary of taking this passage of three short lines as proof that the law was still in practice at that time. It is not too far-fetched to believe that this is an instance of comic exaggeration of an ancient law that people knew of, but did not put into practice. The concept of the *kyrios* in the function of overseeing female transactions is a construct based on extremely feeble grounds. It would be constructive to reconsider the possibility that the archaic law, cited at least over a century later by Isaios, was in fact a dead letter in the classical era and perhaps even before.

EPIKLEROI

The substantive *epikleros* is often translated as 'heiress',³⁷ the definition of this modern word is however notably different from the meaning of the Greek. The word *epikleros* could be differently described as 'with the property', or 'upon the estate', as has been put forward by various scholars.³⁸ A woman became an *epikleros* when her father died without a son, leaving only a daughter (or daughters). In the event of her father's death the daughter became *epikleros*, that is, she 'inherited' her father's property. This property would transfer to the son(s) of the *epikleros* when he came of age. When circumstances allowed, the father had ideally already sought a husband for his daughter and had adopted their son as his own, or differently, had adopted a son himself and had him marry the daugh-

³⁶ Aristoph. *Ecc.* 1025-1027: ἀλλ' οὐ κύριος ὑπὲρ μέδιμνόν ἐστ' ἀνήρ οὐδεὶς ἔτι. It is clear that she does not use *kyrios* in the same context as is now proposed by modern scholars.

³⁷ LSJ s.v. 'ἐπίκληρος'.

³⁸ Pomeroy (1995)², 61; Schaps (1979), 25; Sealey (1990), 29. Blok (2017), 134-135n132 gives a slightly different interpretation by describing the *epikleros* as being 'guardian/owner 'holding' the paternal *kleros* (inheritance)' and states that the conventional interpretation of the woman as a mere instrumental tool in passing on the inheritance to her sons underestimates the *epikleros* both as heiress and *kyria* of her inheritance.

ter. If the father died before he could carry out such actions, the right to marry the daughter (or the obligation of having her married) fell among her male kinsmen within the *anchisteia*, the order in which this right fell among them was laid down by law.³⁹ Because of this construction, scholars commonly argue that the epiklerate was a means of preserving the property within the *oikos*.⁴⁰

Being *epikleros* of a large property meant a certain economic and social status, even within marriage. The *epikleros*, though married, remained to a certain extent *kyria* of the property until the rightful heirs — her sons — came of age. The husband, though *kyrios* over her, gained little legal control over her (father's) property as the estate did not belong to him, but to his children. The notion of 'ownership' in ancient Greece is a complicated one as the concept is inherently different from how we understand it today. It has been argued that ownership in ancient Greece can be described as the right to control property and ultimately the right to dispose of property.⁴¹ In this sense, neither the *epikleros*, nor her *kyrios* 'owned' the estate, as neither of them were allowed to dispose of the property. Instead, they acted as guardians of the estate until the natural heirs were old enough to legally control it.⁴² Within this framework, the *epikleros* was in a better position than her husband, as she arguably had more rights to the property than her husband did. This is expressed by Isaios: 'We think that the next of kin should marry the heiress and the property should belong to her for the time being, but when sons come of age, they should have possession of it.'⁴³

In conclusion, we can say that a position as *epikleros* can arguably provide a woman with more control in her new household. The dowry, given to her by her father upon marriage, functions — though to a lesser extent — in a similar way. This we will discuss in the following paragraphs.

DOWRIES

³⁹ Cox (2003), 6; Blok (2017), 134. On the practice of fathers adopting sons to marry their daughters see, Cox (1998), 95-96. On the subject of the epiklerate and the order in which the right fell among the *anchisteia* see, Harrison (1968), 144-146; Pomeroy (1995)², 60-62; Nevett (1999), 15; MacLachlan (2012), 90-91. This order was the same as the order in which male kinsmen would have inherited the estate if the deceased had no children at all.

⁴⁰ See for instance, Pomeroy (1995)², 60-62; Hunter (1994), 17; MacLachlan (2012), 90.

⁴¹ Foxhall (1989), 26-28; Sealey (1990), 45; Todd (1993), 210; Blok (2017), 134n128. We have seen above 19n27 that this right of disposal is in itself more complicated. Todd (1993), 210 argues that a *kyrios* was more free in disposing of property that he had himself acquired than he was in disposing his ancestral inheritance.

⁴² Schaps (1979), 26-28.

⁴³ Is. fr. 25 (Transl. by Edwards (2007), 208): 'Ηγούμεθα γὰρ ἐκείνη μὲν τὸν ἐγγυτάτω γένους δεῖν συνοικεῖν, τὰ δὲ χρήματα τέως μὲν τῆς ἐπικλήρου εἶναι, ἐπειδὴν δὲ παῖδες ἐπὶ δίετες ἡβήσωσιν, ἐκείνους αὐτῶν κρατεῖν. The law prescribing this can be found in Is. 8.31. See also Schaps (1979), 27 on both this fragment and its meaning.

While the concept of the epiklerate was only relevant for some women,⁴⁴ the function of the dowry was common to all. Dowries, though not legally required, were nonetheless an indispensable part of marriage practice and should be understood as a social obligation.⁴⁵ Emerging in the late archaic age, dotal marriage became standard practice in the classical era. The dowry, given by the father to the bride upon marriage, was an allocation of property to a woman, managed by her new husband-*kyrios*.⁴⁶ A large dowry would ensure a good (that is wealthy) husband and ensure for the woman a life of economic prosperity. In principle, the dowry functioned as the basis of her maintenance and livelihood. It is often stressed by modern scholars that the size of the dowry, particularly in relation to the size of the property of the (future) husband, would allow the woman to gain more control within the household. This 'power' within the household was strengthened by the fact that the dowry, in the case of a divorce, would return with the woman to her natal *oikos*.⁴⁷

Here again we come to the question of 'ownership'. As we have seen, the notion of ownership in ancient Greece is difficult to define. The right to control property and the right to dispose of it vary in each case. In this case, there is no doubt that the dowry 'belonged' to the woman, but she did not have the right to dispose of it. Her husband-*kyrios* had the right to control the dowry, that is use/invest it, but could not dispose of it either. As we have seen before, the paternal *oikos* of the woman was also still tied to the dowry as they could retrieve the woman with her dowry from her new *oikos* and end her marriage. We here see again that the property was not to be squandered, but instead to be held in trust until eventually the dowry, if her marriage was successful, would pass onto her children as inheritance and would become part of the ancestral inheritance. In this respect, the dowry has often been viewed likewise, as the woman's part of the material inheritance. Instead of receiving it upon her father's death, she gained a portion upon marriage. This dowry-inheritance was not an equal share as her brothers would get, but was generally a fair proportion of the estate.⁴⁸

Lastly, as a brief introduction to the next section of this chapter, I wish to stress that the dowry of the bride, just as the estate — i.e. the paternal inheritance — of the bridegroom was to become part of the new *oikos* upon marriage. Because of this, both husband and wife had a share in the new *oikos* and the success of the household was dependent on both them and their contributions. This, we will further discuss in the next few paragraphs.

⁴⁴ Although Blok (2017), 134n130 is right in arguing that it must have been a fairly common practice as statistically one in five families only has girls.

⁴⁵ Harrison (1968), 48-49; MacDowell (1978), 87; Cox (2003), 2.

⁴⁶ Blundell (1995), 68.

⁴⁷ Foxhall (1989), 34-39; Blundell (1995), 68; Cox (2003), 1; Levick (2003), 101; Blok (2017), 131. See also, Blok (2017), 133 on the importance of a woman's connections to her paternal family.

⁴⁸ Foxhall (1989), 32; Blok (2017), 131.

SPENDING MONEY OF THE *OIKOS*

The ancient text most often referred to when it comes two women's 'economic' roles within the household is Xenophon's *Oikonomikos*. This text represents an alleged conversation between Socrates and the newly-wed Ischomachos regarding household affairs. What is often taken from this text is that women were largely responsible for managing the finances of the *oikos*⁴⁹ and consequently that women were much more free to act economically than the law of Isaios expressed. Concomitantly, it followed from this argument that women had a certain level of financial responsibility and in this role as 'mistress of the house' could exercise power within the household.⁵⁰ Foxhall in her discussion of Xenophon's *Oikonomikos* stresses a different aspect of the text, that is, the repeated emphasis in the dialogue on the *oikos* as a shared partnership between husband and wife.⁵¹ This partnership also regards the common property of the household:

But I for myself and your parents for you considered who was *the best partner for household* and children that we could get. My choice fell on you, and your parents, it appears, chose me as the best they could find. Now if the god grants us children someday, then we will consider how we will best train them. For among the blessings we will share is the acquisition of the very best of allies and the very best of support in old age; but at present we *share in this estate*. For I continue paying into the *common fund* all that I have, and you have put in all that you brought with you. We needn't calculate exactly which of us has contributed more, but we should be well aware that the one who proves the better partner makes the more valuable contribution.

βουλευόμενος δ' ἔγωγε ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς ὑπὲρ σοῦ, τίν' ἂν κοινωνὸν βέλτιστον οἴκου τε καὶ τέκνων λάβοιμεν, ἐγὼ τε σὲ ἐξελεξάμην καὶ οἱ σοὶ γονεῖς, ὡς εἰκάσιν, ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν ἐμέ. τέκνα μὲν οὖν ἦν θεός ποτε διδῶ ἡμῖν γενέσθαι, τότε βουλευσόμεθα περὶ αὐτῶν, ὅπως ὅτι βέλτιστα παιδεύσομεν αὐτά· κοινὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν καὶ τοῦτο ἀγαθόν, συμμάχων καὶ γηροβοσκῶν ὅτι βελτίστων τυγχάνειν· νῦν δὲ δὴ οἶκος ἡμῖν ὅδε κοινός ἐστιν. ἐγὼ τε γὰρ ὅσα μοι ἔστιν ἅπαντα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἀποφαίνω σὺ τε ὅσα ἡνέγκω πάντα εἰς τὸ κοινὸν κατέθηκας. καὶ οὐ τοῦτο δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, πότερος ἄρα ἀριθμῶ πλείω συμβέβληται ἡμῶν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο εὖ εἰδέναί, ὅτι

⁴⁹ Xen. *Oik.* 7.35-37.

⁵⁰ Hunter (1994); Lyons (2003); See also Cohen (1992); Harris (1992)/(2006).

⁵¹ Foxhall (1989), 29-32. This observation is echoed by MacLachlan (2012), 59-65.

ὁπότερος ἂν ἡμῶν βελτίων κοινωνὸς ᾗ, οὗτος τὰ πλείονος ἄζια συμβάλλεται. (Xen. *Oik.* 7.11-13)⁵²

This notion of the shared *oikos* is expressed again a couple paragraphs later, when Ischomachos speaks to his wife:

Now, wife, since we know what duties have been assigned to each of us by the god, we must try, each of us, to do the duties allotted to us as well as possible. The law encourages this, for it yokes husband and wife. And as the god has made them partners in their children, so the law appoints them *partners in their household*.

Ταῦτα δέ, ἔφην, δεῖ ἡμᾶς, ὦ γύναι, εἰδότας ἅ ἑκατέρῳ ἡμῶν προστέτακται ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, πειράσθαι ὅπως ὡς βέλτιστα τὰ προσήκοντα ἑκάτερον ἡμῶν διαπράττεσθαι. συνεπαινεῖ δέ, ἔφη φάναι, καὶ ὁ νόμος αὐτὰ συζευγνὺς ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα. καὶ κοινωνοὺς ὥσπερ τῶν τέκνων ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν, οὕτω καὶ ὁ νόμος τοῦ οἴκου κοινωνοὺς καθίστησι. (Xen. *Oik.* 7.29-30)⁵³

Furthermore, in a passage in which Ischomachos rebukes his wife for wearing make-up and therefore hiding her appearances, he asks her the following question:

Tell me, wife, how should I appear more worthy of your love as a *partner in our goods*, by disclosing to you our belongings just as they are, without boasting of imaginary possessions or concealing any part of what we have, or by trying to trick you with an exaggerated account, showing you counterfeit money and wooden necklaces painted gold and describing clothes dyed purple that would fade?

Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφην, ὦ γύναι, ποτέρως ἂν με κρίναις ἀξιοφίλητον μάλλον εἶναι χρημάτων κοινωνόν, εἴ σοι αὐτὰ τὰ ὄντα ἀποδεικνύοιμι καὶ μήτε κομπάζοιμι, ὡς πλείω ἔστι μοι τῶν ὄντων, μήτε ἀποκρυπτοίμην τι τῶν ὄντων μηδέν, ἢ εἰ πειρώμην σε ἐξαπατᾶν λέγων τε, ὡς πλείω ἔστι μοι τῶν ὄντων, ἐπιδεικνύς τε ἀργύριον κίβδηλον καὶ ὄρμους ὑποξύλους καὶ πορφυρίδας ἐξιτήλους φαῖν ἄληθινὰς εἶναι; (Xen. *Oik.* 10.3)⁵⁴

⁵² Loeb ed. Emphasis my own.

⁵³ Loeb ed. Emphasis my own.

⁵⁴ Loeb ed. Emphasis my own.

The idea that the law recognised all property as belonging to the *oikos* is not new and was among others expressed by Schaps; he, however, stated that the right to alienate this property varied with the position of each family member. Thus, out of the common property, the wife could conduct small transactions, but needed her husband to manage larger ones.⁵⁵ The idea that the wife could not manage larger transactions despite the communal aspect of the property, is of course founded on Schaps' acceptation of the *medimnos* law. As there is reason to assume that this law may not have been in practice, at least not in the classical era,⁵⁶ we should refute this inference.

Here again, we should keep in mind the issue of ownership. As we have seen in Xenophon, the property was common (*koinos*) to both husband and wife and both of them contributed to the estate of the *oikos* (either through dowry, inheritance, or income). As Foxhall accurately states: 'the household use of resources may conceal, and in practice override, their ownership by individuals'.⁵⁷ Within the context of the *oikos* no member had sole 'ownership' of the property, not even legally⁵⁸ and certainly not in practice. Thus, in his position as *kyrios* the husband had an important function as representative of the *oikos* to the outside world, but he was not, as has been commonly stated, the owner of all household property. A note must be made that if this 'ownership' is defined as the right to do with the property as one pleases and thus as the right to dispose of property, neither the husband or the wife had true ownership. If instead, ownership is taken to mean the right to utilise, control and manage property, we should state the direct opposite, that both the husband and the wife were co-owners of the property.

Regarding the property of the *oikos* and the function of the husband as *kyrios* of his wife we must add another remark: the fact that the *kyrios*-husband was responsible for his wife's (financial) upkeep and maintenance, does not necessarily mean that he should or could assert control over his wife financially. Women spent money of the *oikos* on a daily basis, either through the intermediary of a slave or by themselves. Logically, we can imagine that indeed, when larger transactions were made, the husband was consulted, but if we accept the idea of the wife as manager of the household — as is often proposed and put forward in Xenophon — we should not be surprised that a husband might well have consulted his wife in the same way. What I am urging here is that we should be wary in accepting the idea that the husband had complete control over his wife's transactions, especially because the idea of the husband as 'silent-consent'-*kyrios* is an argument *ex silencio* in itself. In day to day practice, women continually made transactions independent of

⁵⁵ Schaps (1979), 55.

⁵⁶ Blok (2017), 132. See above, 20-21.

⁵⁷ Foxhall (1989), 31.

⁵⁸ This we have seen in our discussion of the dowry and the estate of an epikleros, see above, 19n27, and 22. The *kyrios*-husband, as 'guardian' of the household property could not freely dispose of the estate, if doing so he could face legal consequences.

their *kyrioi*, as has been established by a wide variety of studies.⁵⁹ What I wish to propose therefore is that a *kyrios* was possibly only necessary in transactions with great *legal* significance and that he would function more as a witness to the fact (and therefore legally accountable) than as her male guardian providing consent. Thus, I propose that as a *kyrios* a man acts first and foremost as legal representative and not necessarily as financial superior.

Previously, as mentioned above, many scholars have examined instances in which women acted independently from their *kyrioi*. From these studies we learn that there were multiple circumstances in which a woman was seemingly more 'free to act'. What most of these circumstances have in common is the absence of the *kyrios*. Especially during the classical era, many men were away from home for long periods of time as Greece (incl. Athens) was engaged in almost continuous warfare. A large number of these men would not even return, leaving many widows. Besides war, the big age difference between husband and wife upon marriage also makes widows omnipresent. Logically, in these cases women were by default the most likely heads of their household (albeit for an intermediary period) and it is in these instances that we find women mentioned as *kyria* of their own.⁶⁰

Tied to these and other circumstances (e.g. poverty) we find the phenomenon central in our next section: working women. As we will see, a great deal of women had jobs of their own, supporting the *oikos*. Here again we will see that women often made transactions — in this case as vendor rather than customer — that exceeded the limits of Isaios and without the presence or mention of a *kyrios*.

WORKING WOMEN AND PROSTITUTES

The sections above have been representative of what could be described as the (relatively) wealthy citizen woman in late archaic and classical Athens. There are of course large groups of women that fall outside this category. This section of the text in particular, will focus on women, both citizen and non-citizen, of less financial means. These women commonly took on jobs to support the household. The attitudes of the Greeks towards (hired) labour were ambiguous. On the one side, most prominent in judicial orations, we find an attitude of disdain towards labour, especially when concerning citizens, implying that it was below their status. In Demosthenes' *Against Euboulides* we find for instance that Euboulides' status of citizenship is being contested on the grounds that his mother worked as a ribbon-seller in the *agora*, had previously worked as a wet-nurse, and was therefore not a citizen. Euboulides defends himself by explaining that his mother only worked

⁵⁹ See for instance, Hunter (1989)a; Hunter (1989)b; Cohen (1992); Harris (1992)/(2006); Hunter (1994); Cohen (1998).

⁶⁰ See Hunter (1989)a; and esp. Hunter (1989)b.

because his family (like the rest of Athens at the time) was in economic hardship.⁶¹ Necessity is frequently brought forward as a reason for women to take on (demeaning) jobs. Yet this attitude towards labour as demeaning is contrasted by the archaeological and epigraphical evidence. In funerary epigraphy we often find women depicted and described as having been a midwife or a wet-nurse and no negative attitude, but rather a sense of pride, can be discerned.⁶² We will see the same in our next two chapters where we will see women presenting themselves and identifying themselves by their jobs. Not something that you would expect if indeed these jobs were seen as degrading.

It has been stated in the past that work for women in Athens was scarce and unremunerative and that it should not be seen as a normal part of female life.⁶³ Given the wealth of evidence for working women and the fact that lower class women — either citizen, metic or slave — comprised the majority of the female population, this idea cannot be upheld. The labour of women must thus have been very common, both in rural and in urban settings. Walter Scheidel, in his twofold publication on the rural labour of women, assessed the (economic) implications of women working the land. On a general level, he states: 'the extent to which women participated in agricultural labour depends on the size of an agricultural holding and on the strength of the available labour force. Thus small family units usually required greater efforts of the female members of these peasant households than larger estates whose owners could afford to employ additional hired or un-free labourers.'⁶⁴ Following this statement with the conclusion that in general, many small farms would have difficulty in gathering enough means to afford a slave or hired labourer.⁶⁵

Though these women working in agriculture certainly contributed to the financial well-being of the *oikos*, they did not specifically handle money in their direct work, which is our main focus here. For this reason we now direct our attention to the work of women in the urban setting, especially on the Agora. It has often been stated that women generally pursued occupations that were an extension of the woman's tasks at home.⁶⁶ Many women were employed as washerwomen or woolworkers, or worked on the Agora selling different kinds of (self-made) produce, such as food, (woven) textiles, and things like garlands, and this list can be expanded by a number of individually attested jobs.⁶⁷ It

⁶¹ Dem. 57.35. See Cohen (1998) for a discussion of this text.

⁶² Taylor (2017), 133-147.

⁶³ Gould (1980), 48; Blundell (1995), 119.

⁶⁴ Scheidel (1995), 210. See also, Scheidel (1996).

⁶⁵ Scheidel (1995), 210 after Gallant (1991).

⁶⁶ Pomeroy (1995)², 73; Schaps (1979), 18-20; Brock (1994), 338; Blundell (1995), 145.

⁶⁷ On the different sorts of labour of women see, Pomeroy (1995)²; Schaps (1979); Hunter (1989)a; Brock (1994); Hunter (1994); Nevett (1999). See also Harris (2002), who provides a full list of attested occupations in Athens both for men and women.

is true, as is often stated, that generally, selling these kinds of products would not exceed the limit of *Isaios* in a single exchange.⁶⁸ Yet, there are also instances in which women were contracted for a large quantity at once, exceeding by far the three to four *drachmai* of *Isaios*. These contracts were often made in the context of building activities in sanctuaries. As these building accounts were often recorded in inscriptions, we know of several of them in Athens and other parts of Greece in which women were contracted to deliver certain materials or products.⁶⁹ One example is that of *Artemis* of Piraeus who was contracted for 70 *drachmai* worth of reeds as building material in Eleusis, and in the same inscription that of *Thettale* who was contracted for the supply of felt caps for the construction workers, for the slightly odd amount of 17 *drachmai*, two *obols* and 4 *drachmai* and $5\frac{3}{4}$ *obols*.⁷⁰ In both instances the women act alone. No male relative is mentioned. The lack of the patronymic has led scholars to conclude that these women were non-citizens (probably *metics*), but this we cannot say for certain. The name *Artemis* does suggest that she was perhaps a foreigner, but we cannot say the same for *Thettale*.⁷¹ We should be very wary when drawing these kinds of conclusions on the basis of the absence of the patronymic alone. In the past, the lack of a patronymic and the consequent conclusion that the women were therefore non-citizens, has been used as a way around the problem of *Isaios*' restriction, which was than supposedly stricter for citizens than for non-citizens.⁷²

The idea that non-citizens more commonly handled large sums of money, as opposed to citizen women, is also recurrent in modern scholarship on female prostitutes. The two principal types of prostitutes in ancient Greece were *pornai* and *hetairai*. The former denotes a slave working in a brothel or on the street, the latter can be described as self-employed prostitutes and were commonly foreigners (*metics*).⁷³ Both of them, but especially the *hetairai*, could earn considerable amounts, even from a single client. MacLachlan, basing herself on different literary sources, reconstructs that the fees charged or

⁶⁸ Yet even this can be contested as there is evidence for women cloak-sellers (*himatiopolis*) as in the grave-inscription of *Elephantis* (*IG* II² 11254). One *himation* would cost several *drachmai* more than the limit of *Isaios*, and could potentially cost up to 20 *drachmai* (*Ar. Plout.* 982-983 though probably in comic exaggeration), but must have at least cost 10 *drachmai* (cf. Schaps (1979), 137n32).

⁶⁹ Schaps (1979), 61-62.

⁷⁰ *IG* II² 1672, lines 64 and 70-71. The amount is written as 'ΔΓΠ:ΗΗΗΗΙΙΙΙΟ'.

⁷¹ cf. *LGPN* s.v. 'Ἄρτεμις' and 'Θετταλή'.

⁷² Brock (1994), 341. Schaps (1979), 63 argues (somewhat contradictory to his main contentions) that these instances indicate that it was not necessarily the law (*Isaios*) that restricted women to petty trade but the ideals of society.

⁷³ MacLachlan (2012), 98. On the difference between *pornai* and *hetairai* see also the introduction to Glazebrook and Henry (2011); and Cohen (2006).

a single service range from a few obols (*pornai*) to 1,000 drachmai (*hetairai*).⁷⁴ These women could thus acquire quite a considerable amount of money and — as we know from for instance the dedications they set up — were in the position to use it.⁷⁵ In the debate on the economic position of women, prostitutes are often described as the only women in Athens who exercised independent control over large sums of money.⁷⁶ As this does not correlate with the law of Isaios, these women are — in modern scholarship — generally taken not to be subject to this law. This would seem rather odd as, generally speaking, metics (and to some extent slaves) were subject to Athenian legislation much like Athenian citizens were.⁷⁷ I would rather suppose that we take these examples as one of many indicators that this law was in effect a dead letter.

WOMEN IN THE RELIGIOUS SPHERE

Coming now to the final section of this chapter, there is one aspect that still needs to be discussed and one vital to whole of this endeavour: the position of women in the religious sphere. As stated in the introduction, when it comes to exploring the role of women in religious life, many scholars have focussed on two aspects: festivals in which women are the major or the sole participants and the existence of female priesthoods.⁷⁸ Instead of following this example, which has brought us many new and helpful insights, I will here take a different path. It suffices here to say that indeed, women could hold (important) priesthoods and doing so could earn substantial social and economic standing and there are many instances in which female priestesses are known to have contributed to the sanctuary (either as benefactor or as dedicator) out of their own pockets.⁷⁹ This indeed, speaks once more against the legislation in Isaios, but only represents a small group of women. The (ritual) participation of women in festivals has also been vastly analysed and is not of direct importance here.⁸⁰

I would therefore like to direct this section to the topic central to this thesis: that of female dedicators. In particular, this section serves to establish the firm grounds we need for my analyses to be valid. Specifically, I am aiming at the question prerequisite for

⁷⁴ MacLachlan (2012), 98. Especially interesting is the example she gives of Rhodopis (99-100), a Greek slave woman who was brought to Naukratis to work as a prostitute. She earned such a considerable amount of money that she was able to have an impressive dedication made of a tithe of her earnings and have it set up in Delphi. The account is recorded by Herodotos, *Hist.* 2.135.

⁷⁵ MacLachlan (2012), 98-114.

⁷⁶ Pomeroy (1995)², 91.

⁷⁷ Whitehead (1977), 89.

⁷⁸ See above, 13n7.

⁷⁹ Kron (1996).

⁸⁰ Grand monographs have been written on this subject, see esp. Dillon (2002); Goff (2004); Connelly (2007).

this research: *is the person named as dedicator also the one paying?*

Interestingly, this question has never been fully discussed. The most important reason is that when we are concerned with male dedicators the answer to this question is so apparent that the question is never asked. *Who else is supposed to pay?* Yet when we apply the question to women, the answer suddenly becomes problematic. Perhaps because of this, the question is avoided by many scholars. The only scholar — to my knowledge — who has raised this question before is Schaps. In his monograph on the economic position of women in ancient Greece, Schaps shortly discusses the practice of dedicating. As we have seen before, Schaps worked from the perspective that the law of Isaios was effective and women could not spend more than the value of one *medimnos* without the consent of their *kyrios*. Because of this, when he comes to discussing dedications, Schaps is seeking a way to tally the evidence for the numerous (expensive) dedications in women's names with their inability to spend money by themselves. Leading to the following conclusion:

The person who is mentioned as the dedicator of an object is not necessarily the person who provided the money, but the person who incurred the obligation to the divinity: when a woman in labour vows a statue, she may have to get the money for it from her husband, but the statue will bear the woman's name. So the dedications, while they do indicate that women could incur obligations concerning large sums of money, do not necessarily mean that the money was theirs for other purposes. A man who might think twice about refusing money vowed to a divinity could still be firm in refusing new clothes to his wife.⁸¹

Besides the obvious, in modern eyes, 'sexist' connotations visible in his wording — especially in the unwarranted last sentence of this quote — the argument lacks power of persuasion. Rather, I would propose we interpret the question in light of the previously established context of the *oikos* and its property as shared (*koinos*) between husband and wife. Not only do we then come to the conclusion that dedications (whether by a man or a woman) were paid for out of the common capital of the household, but furthermore that a woman need not have had 'consent' of her *kyrios* to do so. In actuality, the question of who is paying is thus an irrelevant one. The payment itself comes from the capital of the *oikos*. From this perspective, it becomes rather logical that, unless specifically stated otherwise (as we will encounter),⁸² the person mentioned as the dedicator is in fact the one paying from the capital of his or her *oikos*.

⁸¹ Schaps (1979), 73.

⁸² Dedications like these contain a '*hyper*'-construction with the genitive (meaning 'on behalf of') and are rather common, as will furthermore become clear in Chapter Two.

CHAPTER TWO

THE DEDICATIONS OF ATTICA

WOMEN'S DEDICATORY PRACTICE

In a sense, the title of this section is somewhat misleading. It suggests that there is a fundamental difference between men's and women's dedicatory practices, while in reality the concept of dedicating is equal to both. What I instead wish to discuss in this section are the more general aspects of Greek votive practice that are specific to women or have been thought to be specific to women in the past. The topic of women as dedicators has been most aptly discussed by Matthew Dillon in his monograph on girls and women in ancient Greek religion. Dillon argues that though expensive dedications by men are more numerous, women nonetheless expressed their piety, wealth, and status through their dedications much like men did.⁸³ According to him, the dedications show that women emerge as individuals, especially when they refrain from mentioning male relatives.⁸⁴ Though I wish to stress that his work has proven to be one the most important publications on the religious life of women in ancient Greece, I would like to point out the following: his argument is typical of what I believe is the fundamental problem in the discussion of women in the ancient world. The most straightforward conclusions that in the case of men are not even drawn because they seem redundant, suddenly need to be substantiated when they are drawn for women. When a man is named as dedicator, whether with or without his patronymic, no one questions his act of self-representation; he acts individually, by his own choice and means. Yet suddenly, when a woman presents herself as dedicator it is questioned whether she acted individually, even though no indication whatsoever is given to make us doubt her agency.

In the following chapters I hope to show that there is no reason we should treat dedications by women differently from those by men. Both are first and foremost religious acts and testify to the reciprocal relationship between humans and gods; with a dedication honour is paid to a god and often gratitude is expressed towards the deity for its assistance.⁸⁵ Secondly, the dedications serve as a vehicle through which one can represent oneself, both towards the gods and towards other humans. When (economic) circumstances allowed, these dedications are often showpieces: showing both the human and the divine world the religiosity, wealth, and status of the dedicator. These two aspects are inhe-

⁸³ Dillon (2002), 9-36.

⁸⁴ Dillon (2002), 15.

⁸⁵ On reciprocity in Greek religion, see Yunis (1988); Parker (1998); Patera (2012); Jim (2014); Larson (2016). On inscriptions as honours, see Meyer (2013).

rent to the practice of dedicating and are equal to men and women alike.

Of course, on a more detailed level we *can* discern certain patterns and differences between dedications by men and dedications by women. It is often stated that women tended to dedicate smaller household objects and personal possessions more frequently and more numerous than men. Dillon argues that this reflects the socio-economic position of women, who often only had access to a 'meagre store of belongings', but nevertheless tried to honour the gods.⁸⁶ What could instead be a more reasonable explanation, is the idea that women acted on a more continual basis — to ensure the prosperity and protection of their household — and their religious responsibility to do so. Household objects of lower value could be dedicated more frequently and would ensure a more continuous relationship with the gods. There are some dedicatory objects that are especially related to women, such as mirrors, jewellery, and textiles, but it should be noted that the value of these cannot exactly be described as 'low'.⁸⁷ In this context, I wish to emphasise the work of Diane Harris, who analysed the inventory lists of the treasuries of the Erechtheion and the Parthenon. She concludes that there are no clear gender distinctions to be drawn from the private dedications listed in the inventories, at least not terms of value.⁸⁸ Furthermore, when we look at the larger (stone) dedications made by women (not recorded in the inventories) we find that there are no types of dedications specifically associated with them.⁸⁹ As we will see later on in this chapter, the dedications made *by* women are not specific *to* women and are known to have been dedicated by men as well.

A further distinction that is often made between the dedicatory practice of men and women is the kind of deities that women dedicate to. Women are known to have been more involved in cults that are related to health and fertility, thus including gods like Asklepios, Hygieia, Eileithyia, Artemis and Aphrodite, but also Demeter and Hera.⁹⁰ The predominance of these gods is indeed not surprising as health and safe deliveries were a major concern for women in this period. It is only logical that men and women — with different objectives and needs — dedicated to different deities, and occasionally used different objects to do so. We will further discuss the predominance of certain gods in the records of female dedications below.

The following sections of this chapter will feature the analysis of the material collected in the attached database (Appendix I). The database consists of 151 dedications, all

⁸⁶ Dillon (2002), 14.

⁸⁷ See for instance Ridgway (1987), 402. These objects are predominantly found in cults that are of special significance to women, such as the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia (see also below, 41).

⁸⁸ Harris (1995), 236-238. She does note that women dedicated most of the silver phialai, while men dedicated most of the gold wreaths (236).

⁸⁹ Avramidou (2015), 8.

⁹⁰ Day (2016), 208; see also Dillon (2002), 31; and specifically for Asklepios: Aleshire (1989).

by women, all inscribed and originating from Attica between 600-300 BC as restricted along the lines set out in the introduction. First, I will discuss the proportions of male to female dedications as recorded in the volumes of *IG*. Subsequently, I offer an analysis of the distribution of the dedications over time — examining any visible development from the archaic to the classical era — followed by an analysis of their geographic distribution. After this, I will discuss the different deities to which is dedicated, trying to determine why some are more predominant than others. Importantly, I will then move on to the discussion of the different objects that are dedicated and their possible relation to the different deities. I will conclude this chapter with an analysis of the nature of the dedications, focussing specifically on the reasons why these objects were dedicated, as is occasionally recorded in the inscriptions.

MALE TO FEMALE RATIO'S

Based on the influential work of Maria Lazzarini — listing dedicatory inscriptions on Greek votive objects from the eighth to the late fifth century — many scholars have judged that women's dedications were vastly outnumbered by dedications made by men. Calculations based on her work alone have yielded a number of different results, ranging from 77 female dedications out of a 1000 to 80 out of nearly 900.⁹¹ Based on these calculations it can be extrapolated that female dedications amount to roughly 8-9% of the total body of dedications, a number that is surprisingly low. Further calculations were made by Antony Raubitschek, who analysed the dedicatory inscriptions of the Athenian Acropolis. According to him, out of the total of 384 dedications dating to ca. 575-450 BC, a number of 250 dedications were made by men, as opposed to 18 by women.⁹² Thus, based on the total number of 268 determinable inscriptions again only 7% was made by women. Both of these calculations were made on the basis of a corpus of dedications established, in the case of Lazzarini, over 40 years ago, and even longer ago in the case of Raubitschek who published his work in 1949. Furthermore, although both authors come down to roughly the same percentiles, they are based on two vastly different datasets, Lazzarini including all dedicatory inscriptions from across the Greek world, and Raubitschek restricting himself to the dedications from the Athenian Acropolis. On top of this, they were based on data from different periods in time, Lazzarini focussing predominantly on the archaic and early classical period, and Raubitschek concentrating on a much shorter timespan, covering part of the sixth and fifth century BC. For both cases it holds true that since then many new discoveries were made, as new inscriptions continue to be published at a steady rate. It is thus time to revisit these calculations and see where we are at now.

⁹¹ Lazzarini (1976); Keesling (2003): 77/1000; Dillon (2002): 80/<900; Ridgway (1987) and Kron (1996): 80/884.

⁹² Raubitschek (1949), esp. 465; see also, Kron (1996), 160-161.

As this research is restricted to the dedicatory inscriptions of Attica between ca. 600-300 BC, so are my calculations. Looking at the inscriptions listed in *IG I³* and *IG II/III³*, I have come to the following conclusions. The total number of private dedicatory inscriptions listed in *IG I³* dating up until 400 BC is 606 (Appendix II).⁹³ Of this number, 267 belong to males as opposed to 45 by females. A single dedication was made jointly by a man and woman together (their relationship unknown) and a total number of 293 inscriptions have proven to be indeterminable, because of the state of the inscription.⁹⁴ Restorations have only been taken into account when an alternative restoration seems highly unlikely. We can thus conclude, based on these numbers, that of the total of 313 identifiable inscriptions, 14,4 % were dedicated by one or multiple women, 85,3% were made by one or more men, and 0,3% was made by a man and woman together.

When we then look at the inscriptions listed in *IG II/III³*, dating from 400-300 BC, we find a total number of 481 dedications (Appendix III).⁹⁵ Of these dedications 218 inscriptions are made by men, as opposed to 96 by women. A total of 9 dedications were made jointly by at least one man and one woman, and a total of 158 inscriptions proved indeterminable either because of the state of their inscriptions or, as in one case, because the inscribed name is common for both males and females and no other indication than the name is given.⁹⁶ Thus, we can conclude that of the total of 323 inscriptions that can be identified, 29,7% were dedicated by women, 67,5% was dedicated by a man, and 2,8% was made by at least one man and one woman.

When we combine these numbers we find that of the total number of 636 inscriptions that can be determined, dating from the archaic period to the late classical period, 76,2% was made by one or more men, 22,2% was made by one or more women, and 1,6% was made jointly by at least one man and one woman. This percentage of 22,2%

⁹³ This number excludes inscriptions *IG I³* 982 (sacred law) and 1013a-c (from the deme of Halai Aixonides, on the basis that they are not private dedications), but includes inscriptions *IG I³* 957-970 and 1027bis (choregic dedications) without which the percentiles would slightly shift — and *IG I³* 977-981 which may be dedications either by Archedemos or in honour of Archedemos.

⁹⁴ An inscription is listed as 'male' when at least one male dedicator is mentioned (including those inscriptions with multiple dedicators of which the others are not legible). An inscription is listed as 'female' when at least one female dedicator is mentioned (including those inscriptions with multiple dedicators of which the others are not legible). An inscription is listed as 'joint' when at least one male and one female are mentioned as dedicator and an inscription is listed as 'indeterminable' when the gender of the dedicator cannot be identified for various reasons (most often preservation issues).

⁹⁵ This number excludes all dedications dated in the *IG* to the third century BC (excluding thus those that could potentially have been wrongfully dated and might belong to the late fourth century after all). Due to the scope of this research the demarcation of 300 BC is rather arbitrary. The number does include all dedications dated to ca. 300 BC (or: fourth/third century BC), meaning inevitably inscriptions have been included that may belong to the beginning of the third century instead. One inscription is included that is dated 350-250 BC (*IG II/III³* 1221).

⁹⁶ *IG II/III³* 1560, the stone simply reads: Ὀλυμπιδος.

forms a substantial difference to the 7-9% that has been put forward by the earlier studies mentioned above. The major discrepancy between the two is likely to originate from several different aspects. One such reason could be the former habit of restoring the inscriptions to a much greater extent than is commonly accepted now, meaning that names in the past have been restored where no reasonable indication as to the gender of the dedicator could be found. These names were likely restored as male names, even though they were effectively indeterminable. Furthermore, it is possible that with the publication of new inscriptions over time, the discrepancy between male and female dedications has decreased. Indeed, when we look at the total number of inscriptions listed in *IG I³* and *IG II/III³* up until ca. 300 BC, we come to a number of 1087 for Attica alone. Compared to the 1000 inscriptions listed in Lazzarini for the whole of the Greek world, this makes for a substantial difference.⁹⁷

Finding that the percentage of women's dedications as compared to men's dedications is somewhat less disparate than previously thought, it should be noted that our image of the female worshipper should be adjusted accordingly. Women dedicators, placing considerable, substantial, and costly objects in Attic sanctuaries were less uncommon than has previously been considered. Having established thus, let us now move on to the analysis of precisely this body of objects.

DEVELOPMENT OVER TIME

It is already well established that large dedications by women occur more frequently during the fourth century BC. This increase in costly dedications goes hand in hand with an increase in honorary practice, especially that of priestesses. During the fourth century we find more instances of statues and other objects being set up that are technically dedications but function rather as honorary displays.⁹⁸ In this section we will establish whether there is such an increase of large dedications in the fourth century and whether we can view this development as linear. Furthermore, the historical circumstances that may have had an influence on this development will be explored.

The following analysis is based on the dates that have been established by the authors of the two volumes of *IG*.⁹⁹ Based on their data, I have divided the inscriptions into periods of 50 years, prioritising them according to the upper limit of the subgroup. This

⁹⁷ I am aware that my time span includes the fourth century, where that of Lazzarini does not. Yet, even when taking this into account the fact upholds that the body of inscriptions published today is much bigger than the dataset Lazzarini had at hand.

⁹⁸ Day (2016), 208; see also, Kron (1996).

⁹⁹ This with the exception of inscription *IG I³* 953, that is likely to have erroneously been dated ca. 450 BC due to the occurrence of the three-bar sigma, I list it here as ca. 450-425 BC (Appendix I). I thank Josine Blok for her help with re-dating this inscription. For a quick overview of the impact of the three-bar sigma controversy, see the introduction to Tracy (2016).

means that inscriptions dated to ca. 500 have been included in the group '500-450 BC' and not in the group '550-500 BC'. One exception is made for the very last group (350-300 BC), as it also includes all dedications dated ca. 300 BC. I am aware that this leads to a distortion in the diagram, making the last group unusually large. The consequences of this decision will be taken into account in the following analysis. The outcome can be viewed in Appendix IV. Since some of the dedications listed in *IG II/III*³ were only dated to the fourth century BC and could not be specified further, I have added a final bar that covers the full century. I have divided this bar in three, showing thus the inscriptions dated '400-300 BC', the inscriptions dated '400-350 BC', and the inscriptions dated '350-300 BC' (Appendix IV).

When we look at the distribution of these dedications over time, two things become immediately clear: first, the development is far from linear and second, there are two periods in which the number of dedications steeply rises (500-450 BC and 350-300 BC). The distribution of the dedications is as follows. Out of the 151 dedications in our database, only one is dated to the first half of the sixth century. The number slightly rises in the second half of the century to a total of 5 dedications. Then, the first half of the fifth century marks a spike in dedications, with a total number of 33 recorded dedications. The second half of the century shows however an interesting decline, with only 7 dedications dating to this period. A total of 21 dedications are listed under the whole of the fourth century due to difficulties in dating. On top of this we have a number of 17 dedications for the first half of the century and an incredibly large number of 67 dedications in the second half. As stated above this seeming outburst in the period of 350-300 is to be viewed in context. When we take this group apart we find that 25 inscriptions are actually dated ca. 350 BC with an additional 10 inscriptions dating to ca. 300 BC. It is therefore highly likely that the difference in numbers between the first and second half of the fourth century is not as grave as it seems at first glance. Especially when one bears in mind the additional 21 dedications dated 'fourth century BC', that could potentially even up those numbers slightly. That said, we can still speak of an increase in female dedications during the latter half of the fourth century.

Looking then at the increase in numbers during the first half of the fifth century, it is clear that we should seek a different explanation. A major cause is of the course the fact that all except two of these inscriptions originate from the Athenian Acropolis.¹⁰⁰ Many of the inscriptions dating to this period — a total of 25 out of 33¹⁰¹ — predate the Persian sack of the Acropolis of 480/479 BC. What we thus see here is the great effect of historical circumstances on the preservation of certain objects over time. Even though the number of dedications dating to this former half of the century are thus increased by

¹⁰⁰ Only *IG I*³ 985 and 1025 come from other areas (Appendix I).

¹⁰¹ This number includes those dedications dated ca. 480 BC.

their chances of survival, there is a considerable decline to be seen during the latter half of the century. Dillon has even gone as far to state that 'after about 450 BC, actual public dedications by women are no longer found on the acropolis as such', while this incorrect — the two extant marble pillars in our database prove otherwise (*IG I³ 888 and 894*) — the decline in numbers is staggering. Dillon believes this lack of public dedications signifies that women and their worship of the gods became much less public in nature during the second half of the century, while that of men continues to be outspoken. I believe instead, that the drop in numbers can be explained by the circumstances of the time. The Peloponnesian war of 431-404 BC had a considerable impact on the economic well-being of both the city of Athens as a whole and on the individual households of Attica in particular. It is reasonable to assume that larger and more costly dedications were not within reach for many (wo)men during this time.¹⁰² As we will see in the last section of this chapter, many of these dedications were set up out of a surplus of wealth and it could take someone, or a household, many years to gather enough resources to make such a dedication. It is likely that this was simply not possible for the majority of the Athenian households at this time. Further study, taking the entire body of dedications dating to this period into account, should be conducted to support or oppose this idea.

Lastly, I wish to conclude this analysis by saying that indeed we find a clear indication that women dedicated larger and especially commissioned objects more frequently during the fourth century BC. Cutting our calculations down to the most simple form, we find that we have 6 dedications from the sixth century, 40 dedications from the fifth century, and 105 dedications from the fourth.¹⁰³ One of the explanations for this could be the impact of the Periclean citizenship law of 451/450 BC. This law gave citizen women a slightly better position and may have affected their agency, manifesting itself especially after the end of the Peloponnesian war and during the fourth century BC. What is moreover a valid explanation, especially given the fact that the bulk of these dedications belong to the second half of the century, is the more general development of female agency during the early Hellenistic period and the improved economy of the time. Female euergatism became more and more profuse during this later period.¹⁰⁴

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The first thing that becomes immediately clear when looking at the geographical distribu-

¹⁰² See Lawton (2009) for a discussion of votive reliefs being set up during this period. She does not discuss the decline in dedications during this period, but does state that the reliefs that are dedicated belong to prominent and wealthy individuals (82). Among them is the dedication by Platthis in our database (*IG I³ 1000bis*).

¹⁰³ Taking again the upper limits as leading.

¹⁰⁴ Kron (1996), esp. 171-182.

tion of the dedications, is that once again the Athenian predominance is strong. Of the 151 dedications recorded in our database a total of 53 dedications originate from the Acropolis itself. The number increases when we add the dedications found on the slopes of the Acropolis, including thus the dedications found in the City Asklepieion (16 dedications), the Sanctuary of Amynos (3 dedications), and the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Pandemos (1 dedication). The dedications found elsewhere in Athens up this number even further, including the dedications found belonging to the yet to be located City Herakleion (3 dedications) and the ones found on the Agora (4 dedications), those from the modern district of Pankrati (4 dedications), and the ones from the Areopagos (2 dedications), the City Eleusinion (2 dedications), the Shrine of Zeus near the Hill of the Nymphs (2 dedications), the Shrine of Zeus at Agrai (1 dedication), the Kerameikos (1 dedication), and the Sanctuary of Hera near the Roman Forum (1 dedication). Another 3 dedications of unknown 'Athenian' origin bring the total of dedications from Athens to a number of 96, thus making up almost two-thirds of the dedications in our database.

This number is not surprising given our focus on the region of Attica, but we must take in mind that it is not necessarily an accurate reflection of the original distribution pattern. The Athenian predominance in our dataset is, no doubt, partly due to the Athenian bias in the published archaeological record. Evidence from Athens becomes in part more dominant because not all other areas of Attica have been sufficiently excavated and/or published. However, we can still state that the numerous dedications from Athens must reflect a historical reality as well.

Looking at the dedications from the remainder of Attica we find that there are two additional groups or clusters in our record. A total of 14 dedications have been found in Piraeus, although they do belong to multiple sanctuaries in this area, and a surprising number of 13 dedications have been found in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite near Daphni. Though this can be seen as a reflection of the incidental nature of the archaeological record, we can nonetheless conclude that many women, likely from Athens, chose to dedicate at this site even though Aphrodite had multiple sanctuaries in the city itself. A further 6 dedications have been found in or near the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in Eleusis, and a total of 5 dedications originate from the Sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron. Additionally, we have two dedications from Thorikos. A total number of 9 locations yielded a single dedication, these are the Amphiareion in Rhamnous, the modern area Kephissia, the area between modern Vyronas and Iliopouli, the island of Salamis, the Sanctuary of Echelidai near New Phaleron, the Sanctuary of Kallista on the road to Plataia, the ancient deme of Teithras, the modern area of Vari, and the Vari cave on Mt. Hymettos. Many of these locations are situated on the outskirts of the modern city of Athens but have been mentioned separately because they were not part of the city in our historical period. A total of 6 dedications are of unknown 'Attic' origin (Appendix I).

The geographical distribution pattern that emerges from this dataset is much like

what was to be expected, with the highest concentration of dedications originating from Athens and the other important regions of Pireaus, Eleusis, and (for women in particular) Brauron. This shows that the claims that have been made in the recent past, that 'women's dedications are often found at sites removed from the centers of communities' — reflecting even in ritual their 'peripheral status' — are genuinely unfounded and prove unsupported by the material evidence.¹⁰⁵ What is however surprising is the number of dedications found at the shrine of Aphrodite near Daphni as opposed to the amount of dedications originating from the sanctuaries of Aphrodite in Athens. This shows that there must have been an incentive for women to dedicate at that particular location other than the deity associated with that shrine. Or perhaps the Aphrodite at Daphni and her particular cult was more fulfilling to the needs of the Athenian women than the Aphrodite venerated in Athens. Furthermore, we could speculate that the Athenian predominance in our dataset also reflects the dedicatory practice of 'Attic' women, who perhaps chose to travel from their homes to the city of Athens and her shrines to set up a dedication there, rather than to set it up at a local shrine. Visibility may be one of the incentives for this decision. Now, having discussed the distribution of our dedications geographically, it is time to move on to our discussion of their associated deities.

THE RECEIVING DEITIES

It is not surprising, given the large number of dedications from the Athenian Acropolis, that the largest group of dedications is directed to Athena (49 dedications), of these 4 were dedicated to Athena Ergane, and one each to Athena Ergane Polias and Athena Poliouchos. The popularity of Athena is easily understood as she is the patron goddess of Athens and its surrounding lands.¹⁰⁶ In her form of Ergane, Athena was venerated as the patron goddess of artisans and craftsmen and in this respect is addressed in 5 of our dedications, one of which (*IG* II/III³ 1358) was a family dedication to Athena Ergane Polias. Especially interesting is the dedication of Melinna who provides a very detailed account of her reasons for dedicating, the inscription reads:

Through her hands and skills of her labours, with righteous courage, having raised her children, Melinna dedicated to you, goddess Ergane, this *mneme*, she worked, having offered a share of her possessions, honouring your *charis* (*IG* II/III³ 1377).

¹⁰⁵ I am citing here Goff (2004), 46 who bases her statement on the conclusion drawn by Morgan (1990), 230. Goff however, takes the statement of Morgan out of context and uses it to support her claims that women in ancient Greece were not 'seriously involved in the offering of votives' (46). These claims have no grounds.

¹⁰⁶ On the worship of Athena on the Acropolis, see Meyer (2017).

It is clear that Ergane in this case is being thanked for her kindness and support in relation to Melinna's working life, an aspect that we will further discuss in the following Chapter. Athena herself, without the epithet of Ergane, is worshipped in a similar way and often receives a share of profit, either in the form of *aparchai* (first-fruits) or in the form of *dekatai* (tithes).¹⁰⁷ Perhaps we can thus conclude that one of the important incentives for women to dedicate to Athena was economic prosperity.

The second largest body of dedications is directed to Aphrodite (18 dedications), of these one was dedicated to Aphrodite Pandemos and one to Aphrodite Ourania. Her predominance is in part due to the many dedications found in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni, but is nonetheless exemplary of her significance to women in Attica (and the rest of the Greek world). Aphrodite was especially important because of her relation to fertility and the female body and her popularity as visible in our dataset should not be seen as surprising.¹⁰⁸

The next largest group of votive offerings is dedicated to Asklepios (17 dedications) to which we can add one dedication offered to Asklepios and Aminos together (*IG II/III*³ 902). Most of these dedications (16), belong to the City Asklepieion on the south slope of the Acropolis, which was the most important sanctuary of the god in Attica. Asklepios, as a healing god, was worshipped by both men and women alike. In her study on the worshippers of the Athenian Asklepieion, basing herself on the inventory lists of the sanctuary, Sara Aleshire concluded that 43% of the dedicators were female as opposed to 38% male.¹⁰⁹ Though these calculations may of course slightly deviate from the historical reality it is safe to say that Asklepios was worshipped equally by both men and women. His function as a healing god was of course important to people from all parts of society and his representation in our database should come as no surprise. Other gods were also related to health and healing and can be taken with this group as well. Our database includes dedications to Aminos (1 dedication), Hygieia (1 dedication), and Eileithyia (2 dedications). Eileithyia in particular is associated with women and childbirth.¹¹⁰ Also associated with childbirth and especially important to women was the goddess Artemis, to whom 10 dedications are recorded in our database; of these 6 were dedicated to Artemis Brauronia, one to Artemis Soter, and one to Artemis Agrotera. The most important sanctuary of Artemis in Attica is located in Brauron, which is where half of the dedications to her in our database originated.

Much more surprising is the number of dedications we find for Zeus, in particular those for Zeus Meilichios. In total we find 10 dedications to Zeus, of which 7 are directed at Zeus Meilichios, one belongs to Zeus Philios, and one to Zeus Herkeios. An additional

¹⁰⁷ See below, 44-45.

¹⁰⁸ On the worship of Aphrodite in Attica, see Rosenzweig (2004).

¹⁰⁹ Aleshire (1989), 251-254.

¹¹⁰ On this goddess, see Pingiatoglou (1981).

inscription names Zeus Epiteleios Philios, his mother Philia, and his wife Agathe Tyche as its recipient, and one more is directed at Helios and Zeus Meilichios together. The number of dedications to Zeus Meilichios is striking. Meilichios was the god of wealth and plenty and was especially known as protector and promotor of the wealth of the family and the *oikos*.¹¹¹ It is interesting to see that this particular god attracted the worship of women, especially because almost all of these women set up their offerings by themselves instead of together with their husband or family, which might be expected given the nature of the god.¹¹² It might be that these dedications were made by women on behalf of their household as a thank-offering for the god that helped them prosper.

The last, larger group of votives in our database were dedicated to Demeter and Kore (6 dedications), and an additional dedication was made to Kore/Persephone alone. As mentioned above, Demeter was particularly associated with women's worship, and was worshipped in Eleusis, as well as in Athens, together with her daughter Kore. Of the dedications, 3 originated from their sanctuary in Eleusis, two belonged to the City Eleusinion and one is listed as 'from Athens', perhaps belonging to the City Eleusinion as well.

The remainder of the dedications are directed at several different deities and heroes that I will here list shortly: Herakles (3 dedications), Ploutos (3 dedications), the Nymphs (2 dedications), and one dedication for each of the following; Acheloius, Agdistis and Attis, Amphiaros, Dione, Dionysos, Hera, Hermaphroditos, Kallista, Kephisos, Men, the Mother of Gods, and Palaimon. An additional 2 dedications were directed at unnamed heroes and of another 11 the receiving deities are unknown.

The analysis of the receiving deities has yielded an interesting new perspective. That women were more active in the worship of healing and fertility deities was already well established and their link to Demeter has also been well-discussed. What is interesting here is the many dedications we find to Zeus, especially in his form of Zeus Meilichios, which forms a stark contrast to the apparent lack of dedications we find to Hera, who as the patron goddess of married women is also linked to female worship. The cult of Hera in Attica seems however, never to have been very prominent.¹¹³ Her absence in our dedicatory records further confirms this view.

THE OBJECTS

Particularly interesting for our research are of course the kinds of objects that are dedicated and the value that they would have had. In this section I will discuss the different ob-

¹¹¹ Ogden (2013), 272-283.

¹¹² Of the 8 dedications to Zeus Meilichios 7 definitively feature only one female name. One dedication (*IG II/III*³ 1285) was made jointly, though the name of the other(s) is now lost and only the name of the woman survived.

¹¹³ See Clark (1998), 15-18 on the worship of Hera in Attica.

jects that are found in our database and the materials that they were made of. In total, taking into account only the material on which the inscription was set,¹¹⁴ we find 119 marble objects, 20 bronze objects, 4 stone objects, 1 clay object, and 5 objects of unrecorded material. Of the marble objects, 59 were made of Pentelic marble, 20 were made of Hymettian marble, 17 were made of white (islandic) marble, 3 were of blue marble, 2 of Eleusinian marble, and 18 of unknown/unspecified marble. The predominance of Pentelic and Hymettian marble was to be expected given their proximity to Athens. The large number of white marble objects is however slightly surprising and shows, as we will see later, the wealth of the dedicators.

Perhaps unsurprising, the largest group of objects found in our database are marble bases (40 dedications), 4 of these are decorated with cymatia, 3 of them are small, one of them is round, and one is triangular. The majority of these would have supported either bronze or marble statues, as is visible from the traces on the stones. Three of the bases (*IG II/III*³ 736, 1528, and 1716), have Π-shaped depressions in them indicating that they would have supported three-dimensional aedicular reliefs with separate statues in the front. Such reliefs would have been exceptionally costly to make, as we will further explore in the last chapter of this research. The triangular, white marble base of *IG II/III*³ 742 most likely supported an incense-burner and is decorated with a relief depicting a female worshipper in front of Asklepios, a staff with a serpent stands between them, Asklepios hands the woman a kylix.¹¹⁵

Besides the large body of bases, a considerable number of dedications in our database are marble reliefs (27 dedications). Of these reliefs, 15 are of the 'aediculum'-type, meaning they are framed reliefs in the form of shrines, often decorated with acroteria on the top. These reliefs are elaborate and required craftsmanship as well good quality stone; they would have been placed on bases as well, making them expensive dedications. Two fine examples come from Brauron (*IG II/III*³ 1086 and 1087). Both were set up solitarily by women but the reliefs depict a family of worshippers (Plate 1 and 2). Given the nature of Artemis Brauronia, it could be that these women, having brought a sacrifice to honour the goddess with their family, set up these reliefs in their own name from the joint capital of their households. The importance of Artemis for good fortune in childbirths is relevant to the whole of the *oikos*, but is of course particularly crucial for the women in case, warranting a dedication in their name.

Moving on further through our database we find 17 marble pillars. Of these 12 have abaci, and one (also with abacus) carries a relief. This relief, found in the region of New Phaleron, was dedicated by a woman named Xenokrateia (Plate 3). The marble relief was found together with its supporting limestone pillar. The inscription informs us about

¹¹⁴ I.e. a marble base for a bronze statue, carrying the inscription on the base, will be listed as 'marble' and not as 'bronze'.

¹¹⁵ Vlachogianni (2014), 183-184, no. 64; Kosmopoulou (2002), 191-192, no. 28

the nature of this gift:

Xenokrateia founded the sanctuary of Kephisos and dedicated to the altar-sharing gods, for instruction, this gift, daughter and mother of Xeniadēs of Cholleidai. To anyone wanting to sacrifice for the fulfilment of good things (*IG I³ 987*).

The gift of Xenokrateia, founding the sanctuary and setting up this dedication in her name, must have cost her a small fortune.¹¹⁶ Xenokrateia identifies herself in the inscription as both the mother and daughter of Xeniadēs of Cholleidei, emphasising her citizenship. The main figures on the relief are a mother and a child standing before the river god Kephisos, who must accordingly be interpreted as Xenokrateia and her son. The relief is finely carved and reflects the extraordinary deed of the woman. The remaining marble pillars originally also supported dedications, either in the form of reliefs, like the one of Xenokrateia, or more often in the form of bronze and marble statues as is indicated by the impressions in their top surface. One example is the joint dedication by Lysias and Euarchis (*IG I³ 644*), who dedicated a marble pillar supporting two marble statues (Plate 4). The statue originally standing to the viewers right has been found to be the 'Red shoes'-kore (AM 683) and the objects have since been restored.¹¹⁷ This dedication will be further discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The next largest group are the marble tablets (11 dedications), of which 10 with relief and 2 with cymatia. Part of this group are the 4 dedications depicting female genitals, dedicated at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Daphni. They were likely dedicated either in anticipation or in retrospect of a successful pregnancy and point to the nature of the shrine as a place where Aphrodite was worshipped for her connection to fertility and childbirth.¹¹⁸ Two other categories of objects in our database are marble columns (7 dedications), of which four with extant abacus, and marble steles (5 dedications), of which 2 carry reliefs. From the Acropolis we have 5 bronze bases for statuettes of Athena, of which one still carries its statue: the often referred to dedication of Meleso (*IG I³ 540*). The statuette depicts a striding Athena Promachos (Plate 5). Another interesting group of objects are the three marble 'ovoids', all belonging to the yet to be located City Herakleion. They could be described as cakes, though their meaning remains elusive.¹¹⁹ One of them is decorated with a relief depicting a family of worshippers in front of Herakles wearing a lionskin. The inscription reads:

¹¹⁶ Blok (2017), 133n126 speculates that it must have cost several hundred drachmai. Thus, far exceeding the limit of Isaios. See also below, Chapter 4.

¹¹⁷ See Keesling (2003), 9-10, fig. 3-4, and 106.

¹¹⁸ See below, 49 (*IG II/III³ 1519*).

¹¹⁹ Kearns (1989), 35-36; *Agora XVIII*, 290-291, V559.

Lysistrate [...] on behalf of her children dedicated to Herakles (*IG II/III*³ 1159).

What the exact reason was for Lysistrate to dedicate to Herakles is difficult to uncover, but she does so for the benefit of her children. Other interesting objects in our database are the three basins, of which two are of white marble and one is of poros stone. The white marble basins (*IG I*³ 921 and 934) would have been exceptionally costly dedications and it is interesting to note that both were dedicated as first-fruit offerings, indicating that they were made from a certain share of profit.

Two further dedications are especially noteworthy; they are inscribed on stone (*IG II/III*³ 1514) and marble (*IG II/III*³ 1505) architraves, both belonging to a sanctuary of Aphrodite. The latter architrave carries a large inscription naming a woman and her son as the dedicators:

This, for you, great, revered Aphrodite Pandemos, we adorn with the gifts of our likenesses. Archinos son of Alypetos of Skambonidai. Menekrateia daughter of Dexikrates of Ikarion, priestess of Aphrodite [...], daughter of Dexikrates of Ikarion, mother of Archinos.

As the inscription tells us, Menekrateia was the priestess of Aphrodite Pandemos, who together with her son dedicated 'δώροις εἰκόσιν ἡμετέροις'. It seems that Menekrateia dedicated statues in the likenesses of herself and her son, an extremely privileged thing to do.¹²⁰ The architrave most likely belonged to a naiskos, and is decorated with images of doves (the sacred bird of Aphrodite) with fillets in their beaks. The naiskos, dedicated by Menekrateia and her son likely housed the two statues the inscription refers to. The architrave is over three meters long, indicating that the naiskos was of considerable size (Plate 6). All in all, the dedication must have cost an extensive amount of money.

Other than the dedications described above we find a number of different objects, I will briefly list them here: 2 bronze bowls, 2 bronze hydriai, 2 bronze basins (or large bowls), 2 bronze mirrors, 2 bronze oinochoai, one bronze disc, one bronze kylix, one bronze phiale, one bronze miniature shield, one bronze ram, one marble cippus, one marble herm, one marble throne, one painted clay tablet, one stone base, and one stone tablet. Other than that we have 3 unspecified marble fragments, 2 unspecified bases, one unspecified column, one unspecified relief, one object of unknown shape and material, and two inscriptions on the surface of a cave. One of these objects deserves a little more attention. It is the dedication of Phile, who dedicated an elaborate marble throne (*IG II/III*³ 1214). The dedication was found on the Acropolis and is directed at Dione. The in-

¹²⁰ On the practice of dedicating portrait-statues see, Hoff (2016).

scription is broken off and thus does not give us more information than that Phile, daughter of Niketes, dedicated it to Dione. Nonetheless, we can state that the object itself was of considerable value and it would have been interesting to know why Phile chose Dione as its recipient.

A further body of dedications — that is not featured in our database because none of it remains — should be discussed as well. These are the elaborately woven textiles dedicated by women to Artemis Brauronia. They are recorded in the inventory lists of the Sanctuary of Artemis in Brauron (*IG II² 1514–30*). Cecilie Brøns has written extensively on the practice of dedicating textiles and argues that the many, time-consuming, steps in the production of textiles (from the preparation of the raw material to the production and use of dye) make the end-product economically valuable, compared in worth to items of precious metals. Furthermore, she argues that it is likely that these women dedicated textiles of their own production.¹²¹ The dedicatory textiles of Brauron complement the dedications in our database and are part of the very same story.

The analysis here given has only highlighted a few of the dedications recorded in our database, but I hope they present the reader with an accurate view of the range of objects that were dedicated and the value that they embody. The overt majority of the dedications recorded in our database are costly marble objects. Of most of these only the bases (or pillars/columns) remain; the actual dedications, that would have stood on top of them and carried most of the value are now lost. In all, an image emerges of a large body of dedications worth well above 4 drachmai, that were dedicated by women on behalf of themselves or someone else. The body of evidence here presented is too large and too encompassing to be ignored or reasoned away as 'exceptions to the rule'. Instead, this evidence provides once more reason to reevaluate our views.

THE NATURE OF THE DEDICATIONS

This final section is both an analysis of the reasons for dedicating — as far as we can retrace — as it is a way of combining and summarising our finds. As has been established by elaborate studies, certain expressions in the vocabulary of dedications are recurrent.¹²² Often used terms, especially during the fifth century are *aparchai* (first-fruits) and *dekatai* (tithes). In our database we find 6 cases of dedications termed *aparchai* and 16 cases of *dekatai*. According to Theodora Suk Fong Jim — who published a well-written monograph on the subject of *aparchai* and *dekatai* — these kinds of dedications are highly retrospective in nature. They were often dedicated to the gods after success, not in anticipation of it. Furthermore, they distinguish themselves from other dedications by being linked to

¹²¹ Brøns (2016), 53. For a discussion of the inventory lists see, Cleland (2005). For a further discussion of the act of dedicating textiles see, Brøns (2017). See also above, 29n68.

¹²² See especially, Patera (2012); Jim (2014); cf. Day (1994); Keesling (2003); Day (2010).

economic fortune. As Jim states: '[...] gifts of the *aparchai* and *dekatai* type were usually made when the Greeks came off well from an enterprise or had enjoyed some good fortune, and not after deliverance from difficult or dangerous situations, such as illness, calamities, or life-crises'.¹²³ What we can thus gather from the dedications in our database is that 22 of them were dedicated out of some economic fortune, the dedication being set up from a share of the profit. It seems reasonable to conclude that these women, prior to dedicating, had earned some money, most likely through their own labour and craftsmanship. The dedication that they set up was most likely the result of profit gained over a longer period of time, instead of from a single stroke of good fortune. This is probably also the case with the dedication of Melinna (*IG II/III³ 1377*), as quoted above, who offered a share ('ἀπαρξαμένη') of her belongings to the goddess Ergane, having earned them through her labour. It is likely that she set up this dedication at the end of her professional life, after accumulating enough wealth, and 'having raised her children'.

The exact difference between *aparchai* and *dekatai* is difficult to establish, but it becomes clear from the epigraphic evidence that there was in fact a distinction. Catherine Keesling has taken the dedication by Lysias and Euarchis, described above, as an example of the difference between the two expressions. The pillar base used to support two statues of different size, as is indicated by the depressions in the top surface in which the plinths of the statues could be fixed. The statue on the right is almost twice as large as the one on the left. The inscription reads:

Lysias dedicated a first-fruit to Athena. Euarchis dedicated a tithe to Athena (*IG I³ 644*).

Keesling argues — reading both the inscription and the statues from left to right — that the statue on the left was dedicated by Lysias as a first-fruit, while the larger statue on the right was dedicated by Euarchis as a tenth of her earnings. She also proposes the idea that: 'Lysias and Euarchis paid for their offerings with money derived from the same source, but in different amounts, with Lysias' *aparche* constituting a smaller percentage than Euarchis' tithe'.¹²⁴ This can mean one of two things. Either an *aparche* is a smaller proportion than a tithe, or an *aparche* does not constitute a fixed share (as opposed to the one-tenth of the *dekate*) but is instead a redefinable share of profit. I believe this latter to be more likely. The dedication in itself is already interesting on its own. If indeed we should see the two statues as being separately dedicated by Lysias and Euarchis, it is interesting to see that Euarchis would have dedicated the larger one.

Besides the inscriptions identifying as *aparchai* and *dekatai*, there is a group of in-

¹²³ Jim (2014), 2.

¹²⁴ Keesling (2003), 10. It must be noted that Keesling was under the impression that Euarchis was a man, though this should not affect the credibility of her observation.

scriptions that feature another often used expression: *euxamene*. The aorist participle, meaning 'having prayed', indicates — like the *aparchai* and the *dekatai* — that the dedication had a retrospective character. As Jim states: 'Whether in times of need or in normal circumstances, the Greeks could pray to the gods and promise an offering if the favours requested were granted. A vow thus established a conditional agreement, but not a contractual relation, between men and gods: it did not oblige the gods to grant a favour, but did bind the worshipper to act as promised in this event. [...] Its fulfilment is normally indicated by the words εὐχολή, εὐχή, or εὔχεσθαι in dedicatory inscriptions'.¹²⁵ What we can conclude is that the 19 inscriptions featuring the word *euxamene* were likely made in retrospect, in fulfilment of a vow. What kind of favours were granted is in most cases regrettably not detectable. Sometimes however, the verb can be accompanied by other expressions and is also used together with *aparchai* and *dekatai*, which gives a little more information about the nature of the dedication.

Other than these more general expressions about the incentives for the dedications, we have a couple instances in which specific, more elaborate, or simply less common expressions are used to indicate the reason for dedicating. One such example is the dedication of Meneia. Inscribed on the abacus of a marble pillar, the inscription reads:

To Athena, Meneia dedicated, having seen with her own eyes the *arete* of the goddess (*IG II/III*³ 1367).

It is impossible to determine whether Meneia saw a vision of the goddess, or saw the effects of the goddess' intervention in an important matter, but we can be certain that in one way or another, after this event, Meneia felt the need to dedicate in the goddess' honour. A more direct exhortation by a divinity, demanding a dedication, can be found in two of our inscriptions. The first, a dedication by a woman named Rhode, was directed at Asklepios. The inscription reads:

To Asklepios, Rhode being ordered by the god, during the priesthood of Olympichos of Kydathenaion (*IG II/III*³ 737).

The verb used is 'προστάξαντος', which of the same root as the noun ('πρόσταγμα') found in the dedication of Timothea. Her white marble stele with relief — depicting Attis and Agdistis — carries the following inscription:

To Angdistis and Attis, Timothea on behalf of her children in accordance with a command (*IG II/III*³ 1337).

¹²⁵ Jim (2014), 3.

It seems likely that these dedications came from a similar vow as the *euxamene* inscriptions. They are however a little more pressing in their articulation. A further dedication tells us it was made in accordance with an oracle. What exactly was prophesied in this oracle will remain a mystery, but it led Nikagora to dedicate a column to Zeus:

Nikagora wife of Philistidos of Paiania set up for Zeus a gift in accordance with an oracle (*IG II/III*³ 1282).

Another dedication, also retrospective in nature, simply presents itself as a thank-offering. It is one of the reliefs of female genitals dedicated to Aphrodite at Daphni:

Philoumene, to Aphrodite, in gratitude. May all visitors praise you (*IG II/III*³ 1519).

In this case, we can say with relative certainty that the dedication was made after what is likely a successful pregnancy, with Philoumene thanking the goddess for her assistance in bringing the child safely into the world. What could also be the case, is that the dedication was made after a long period in which Philoumene had trouble getting pregnant, thanking the goddess when she finally was. However, given the fact that pregnancies carried great risks at the time, for both mother and child, I believe it is more probable that such a dedication was made after the successful completion of childbirth.

Lastly, I wish to discuss one further form of expression that is often found in dedicatory inscriptions: the 'ὑπὲρ + genitive'-construction. With this construction it is indicated that the dedication is made by someone on behalf of someone else. It has been said that these dedications were made by people in fulfilment of a vow by someone else, most likely someone who was incapable of fulfilling the vow him/herself. Likewise, the construction is said to be usually associated with a prayer for the health of a relative.¹²⁶ We find the construction in 13 of our dedications. They are however directed at a manifold of gods, including Asklepios (3 dedications, of which one to Asklepios and Aminos), Athena (2 dedications), Herakles (2 dedications), Hygieia, Demeter and Kore, Zeus Herkeios, and Agdistis and Attis. Two of the dedications are directed at unspecified gods. There is a minor predominance of healing gods in this dataset, but we cannot derive with any certainty that these are indeed the most common recipients of such dedications. However, the evidence does seem to point in this direction.

The reason I discuss this construction somewhat elaborately is because I believe it gives us a clear indication of how we should interpret, not only these, but all dedications. The construction — devised to specify that a dedication was made 'on behalf of someo-

¹²⁶ Avramidou (2015), 10; cf. also Löhr (2000), for a summary of his finds see especially 232-233.

ne else' — implies that when the construction is absent the person named is in fact the dedicator. The construction furthermore implies that the monetary aspect of setting up a dedication was also taken up by the person actualising the votive offering. Thus, I believe it is reasonable to assume that when this construction is absent, the person named as dedicator is in fact the one paying. If someone was not able to pay for him- or herself, a formulation via the *hyper*-construction would provide a solution, allowing both the person who wanted to dedicate and the person actually paying to be named.

That said, I wish to once more stress that it seems highly unreasonable to assume that in all the 151 dedications listed in our database the woman named as dedicator was not the one paying for the dedication but instead an unknown *kyrios*, absent from all the evidence. Especially troublesome would than become the 13 *hyper*-dedications, dedicated by women on behalf of other men, women, and children,¹²⁷ paid for by an invisible man who goes unrecorded in the inscriptions. The whole idea that women could not pay for these dedications because of the law quoted in Isaios has led to a whole series of problems created by modern scholars and 'solved' with awkward solutions, all the while the evidence tells us a wholly different story.

¹²⁷ Who the beneficiaries are of the *hyper*-constructions will be further discussed in the last section of the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

THE WOMEN BEHIND THE MARBLE

CITIZEN, SLAVE, METIC: THE WOMEN'S LEGAL STATUS

Talking about women's 'status' in ancient Greece proves problematic from the outset and I would hereby like to refrain myself from the topic as such; I use the term here merely to distinguish between the legal capabilities and rights of the different groups of women visible in our body of evidence. This section in particular will serve to distinguish primarily three categories of women in our database: citizens, slaves, and metics.¹²⁸ Doing so is a treacherous task as there is not much evidence to go on. What must be kept in mind at all times, is that for the most part it is impossible to draw any definitive conclusions on the lives of these women. However, it is the aim of this chapter, to try and get as far as we can based on the evidence at hand.

As has been firmly established by Helle Hochscheid, neither citizen-status nor the lack thereof prevented anyone from setting up costly votives. On top of this, it is undeniably clear that dedicating was not restricted to the upper class citizen, as dedications by working-class people and foreigners are abundantly attested.¹²⁹ In most instances, however, it is highly difficult to identify these different groups of people. Looking at our own database, the only definitive proof we can find concerning the legal status of these women, is when they mention their patronymic and demotic, or — especially after the Periclean citizenship law of 451/450 BC — when they give the names of their husbands and *their* demotic. Only when this information is given in the inscription, or when it is known from other sources, can we be certain that the women in question had citizen-status. The problem remains however, that the absence of a patronymic or demotic does not prove the opposite, neither in the archaic period nor in the classical period, as has been stated otherwise in the past.¹³⁰ Identifying women as slaves or metics is even more problematic,

¹²⁸ I limit myself to these three groups because the evidence at hand does not allow a further distinction to be made. I include under the heading 'slaves' also possible freedwomen, since it is impossible to know whether they were freed or still slaves at the time of dedicating.

¹²⁹ Hochscheid (2015), 319-320.

¹³⁰ Dillon (2002), 28 states: 'the women in the inventories and dedications who lack these identifiers were therefore non-citizens: slaves, metics and prostitutes (who could fall into either of the two previous categories)'. Earlier, Dillon does conclude that if the lack of such identifications are equivalent to metic status, than too high a proportion of the dedications would be of metics (17), but he does not fully reject the idea. I would like to stress that simply given the fact that the majority of the dedications in our database (including those of classical times!) were made by women who do not mention any familial ties, this idea cannot be upheld. Accepting it would lead to a seriously distorted view of the female dedicator.

because in effect the only thing we can really go on is their names. Names alone are very difficult to use as evidence¹³¹ and the only times we can make a stronger case is when other indications are given as to the background of these women.

Having said such, it is time to take a look at the women in our dataset. To make the following analysis more comprehensible I have included an overview in Appendix V. Of the 151 dedications, 14 carry such limited information that absolutely nothing can be said about the legal status of these women. On the very opposite, we have a total of 26 dedications that were certainly made by female citizens. Of these women dedicators, 14 identify themselves by the name of their father and their demotic, 5 identify themselves by the names and demotics of their husbands, 3 identify themselves by naming both their father, their husbands and their demotics, and another 4 identify themselves as priestesses, thus emphasising their citizenship. The remaining 111 women are more difficult to identify. Checking their names against those recorded in *LGN*, we find that 56 of them have names that occur more frequently in Attica. They could potentially be Athenian citizens, though we cannot say so with any certainty. The same is true for the woman, whose name is lost, who dedicated a bronze hydria to Zeus Herkeios on behalf of herself and her children (*IG I³ 573*). She is likely a citizen, though we cannot say for sure.¹³² Another 10 of the women have names that are otherwise unrecorded, making it impossible to draw conclusions on this information alone. The same counts for the 11 women who — on the contrary — have names that according to *LGN* are known in other parts of the Greek world as well, showing no particular Attic predominance. Then, there is one woman, named Danaïs, whose name is uncommon, but known to be a slave name.¹³³ She dedicates however, together with her husband on behalf of their three children (*IG II/III³ 717*). Both her husband and her children have much recorded Attic names and are likely Athenian citizens. For this reason, I believe Danaïs is potentially a citizen too, though of course we cannot be certain. Let us now have a look at the remaining 33 women. A total of 17 of these women name either their father or their husband, but do not record their demotics. Based on this alone it is difficult to tell whether they were citizens or not. Gathering from one of the dedications in particular we can tell that at least some of them probably were. The dedicatory inscription dated ca. 340 BC reads:

Peisis wife of Lykoleon dedicated (*IG II/III³ 1087*).

¹³¹ I rely in my analysis much on the work of Hornblower and Matthews (2000), whose edited book is so fittingly called: *Greek Personal Names. Their value as evidence*.

¹³² Zeus Herkeios ('of the fence'), as protector of the home, was especially worshipped among Athenian citizens, who kept a shrine for him in their homes.

¹³³ The only other record of a Danaïs in Attica during this period is that of a slave (*LGN*, 'Δαναϊς', 2).

The name Lykoleon is very rare and is only recorded one other time during the fourth century BC. This Lykoleon is also from Athens and was commander under *strategos* Chabrias of Aixone in the Oropos affair of 366/365 BC.¹³⁴ It seems very probable, given the rarity of the name and the corresponding chronology that this could be one and the same man. If this is the case, Peisis would — like her husband — be an Athenian citizen. Of course this is not necessarily true for the other women identifying themselves by naming their father or husband. Therefore, I have included 10 of them as 'possible citizens' based on their names alone and have placed the remaining 7 under the heading 'unknown' as they are impossible to determine (Appendix V).

Metics too can identify themselves by mentioning their relatives. This is seen in 2 of the 4 dedications that were made by women from other parts of the Greek world, potentially living as metics in Attica. One dedication was made jointly by Aristomache and Charikleia, daughters of Glaukinos of Argos (*IG I³ 858*). They were likely living as foreigners in Attica.¹³⁵ Another dedication was made by someone whose name is now lost, together with Kallistone who was the wife of a man from Thebes (*IG II/III³ 748*). Given its date of ca. 300 BC it is likely that Kallistone herself was a metic too. A third woman identifies herself as being from Thespiiai (Boeotia) and is probably a metic as well (*IG II/III³ 1141*). Finally, we have a woman named Aristoklea, who states that she comes from Kition on Cyprus (*IG II/III³ 1513*). It is likely that these women were living in Attica at the time they set up their dedications. Given the costs of such dedications and the duration of the whole process, it seems unlikely that they would take on such a project when merely visiting Athens.¹³⁶

Three other women may be considered metics too. A certain Nikarete dedicated a marble pillar (found in the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Acropolis), identifying herself as being 'from Pelekes' (ἐκ Πηλήκων) (*IG II/III³ 1567*). It is interesting to see that the woman gives solely her demotic, she is the only one doing so, and it is difficult to tell whether this points to her citizenship or rather to her status as a metic. Perhaps there are examples from other parts of the Greek world of women stating only their demotic, but I know of none. I suggest here that she may be of metic status following the common description of metics in official documents as living in (*oikon en*) a certain deme.¹³⁷ Though this formula, according to David Whitehead, is never used by metics in private dedications — using instead their *ethnikon*, as we have seen as well — I believe we here might have a case of a metic woman identifying herself by the deme she li-

¹³⁴ Arist. *Rb.* 1411b6-7.

¹³⁵ The date of their dedication before the citizenship law means that if they had a citizen mother, they may have been citizens after all. However, the fact that they give no other information than their fathers origins suggests that they identified as foreigners and not as Athenian citizens.

¹³⁶ On the process of dedicating and the costs involved see, Chapter 4.

¹³⁷ Whitehead (1977), 31-32.

ves in.¹³⁸ If she is instead a citizen woman, which cannot be excluded, it is interesting to see that she does not identify herself in relation to her family but instead self-identifies by her demotic.

A second woman that may be of metic status is a certain Mikythe who dedicated a marble pillar that possibly supported a relief (*IG I³ 857*). The inscription she had inscribed is in fully Ionic dialect and lettering. The early date of the inscription, ca. 470-450 makes the Ionic lettering stand out, perhaps indicating the woman's Ionic background. The fact that she hired the Parian sculptor Euphron is not of much importance to this question as Athenians too could hire foreign artists. We find a similar case in the dedication of Iphidike (*IG I³ 683*). The fully fluted votive column she dedicated during the last decade of the sixth century, was inscribed in a mixed Ionic/Attic alphabet. It most likely supported a Ionic capital and it has been suggested that the archaic Chian-Nike (*AM 693*) belongs to this column.¹³⁹ According to the inscription, Achermos of Chios was the sculptor, possibly a grandson of the well-known artist. As is the case with Mikythe, the Ionic lettering seems to point to her Ionian background.

On top of this we find three dedications by women that are likely either metics or slaves. I have included them under the heading 'possible metics' (Appendix V). First is a woman who identifies herself as a female baker. She dedicated a small bronze shield with a gorgoneion on the Athenian Acropolis. The inscription along the rim reads:

Phrygia, a bread-maker, dedicated me to Athena (*IG I³ 546*).

Her name — corresponding to a region in west-central Anatolia — and to some extent her profession as a baker, indicate that she was likely a foreigner. Whether she was a slave, a freedwoman, or a metic is impossible to tell.¹⁴⁰ Second, is a woman who dedicated a bronze oinochoe, on the handle (all that is left), we read that Himera dedicated it to Athena (*IG I³ 571*). The name Himera is not very common, and is only attested three times in Attica (of which ours is one). From the remaining two, one is a slave. The other Himera is found on a Black-Figure lekythos, where the name is inscribed next to what is likely a *hetaira*.¹⁴¹ Based on this information and the correspondence of her name to a Greek city-state in Sicily, it seems likely that the Himera in our inscription was either a slave or a metic, and not an Athenian citizen. Third, are two women, jointly dedicating a bronze statuette of Athena. On the preserved base we read the names Chalchis and Thethis (*IG I³ 537*). These names are very unusual (note especially the double aspirated syllables) and both are otherwise unrecorded. The name 'Chalkis' does yield a few results (and

¹³⁸ Whitehead (1977), 33.

¹³⁹ *DAA*, 7-8, no. 3.

¹⁴⁰ See also, Ridgway (1987), 402n15; Kron (1996), 163.

¹⁴¹ *CAVI* 7546; see also, *LGPN*, 'Ἱμέρα'.

LGPN lists ours as one), but almost all of them date from the third century onwards. Ours is the only one from Attica. Rosa Proskynitopoulou in her description of the object notes that two or more dedicators are usually only mentioned on larger (marble) votive offerings, and not on smaller items of this sort. She states that perhaps economic reasons or some common purpose led the two women to dedicate together.¹⁴² Taking this all into consideration it seems likely that these women were either metics or slaves.

Furthermore, we have five dedications that seem to have been dedicated by slaves. The first is a dedication made by a woman named Malthake, on behalf of Thraitis. According to Daniel Geagan, Thraitis is an extremely rare variant of Thraitta, a common slave name based on the ethnic of 'Thrace'. The name Malthake occurs both for slaves and citizens.¹⁴³ It seems as though Malthake, herself a slave (or perhaps a freedwoman), dedicated on behalf of another slave, possibly her daughter. That ethnics are commonly used as designations for slaves has been established quite firmly and is elaborately discussed by Peter Fraser.¹⁴⁴ This is why we can say with almost complete certainty, that the woman named Aigyptia, dedicating a round marble base in the shrine of Aphrodite near Daphni, was at least at some point in her life a slave, and was probably born in Egypt (*IG II/III*³ 1530). It could of course be that at the time of dedicating Aigyptia was a freedwoman, but this we cannot say for sure. In any case she must have had acquired a substantial amount of money to be able to dedicate this (albeit) small marble base, that would have originally supported a statue of some sort.

Then, we have two dedications made jointly by a man and a woman, all of whom are likely slaves. One is dedicated by Manes and Mika to the Mother of Gods (*IG II/III*³ 1320), the other by Dionysios and Babylia to the god Men (*IG II/III*³ 1338). Manes is a very common slave name, while Mika is known for both slaves and non-slaves. Their dedication to the Mother of Gods, who is herself of Anatolian origin, further supports (not solely proves!) their foreign origin. The name Dionysios is very common and as such gives us no further information. The name Babylia, quite to the opposite, is otherwise unknown. The name at least does not have very 'Attic' sound to it, though this on its own means nothing. My belief that they are nonetheless slaves is based in part on their chosen deity: Men. Robert Parker, in his analysis of theophoric names, also discusses their onomastic origins. In his discussion of the names formed from the stem of 'Men-', Parker discusses the introduction of the cult of this god in Attica. Parker states: 'He never, to our knowledge, received public cult in Athens or perhaps in any Greek city; moreover, though one must allow that certain of the votive reliefs depicting Men are works of some quality which imply prosperous donors, such donors when named are never demonstrably

¹⁴² Proskynitopoulou in Kaltsas and Shapiro (2008), 66, no. 24.

¹⁴³ *Agora XVIII*, 290-291, V559.

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion on ethnics as personal names see, Fraser (2000).

citizens and are sometimes certainly foreigners or slaves.¹⁴⁵ This observation, together with the information we have on the names of Dionysios and Babylia, leads me to conclude that they are foreigners, and probably slaves (or freed slaves).

Lastly, we have a dedication made by what is most likely a group of slaves, dedicating a triangular relief to the Nymphs in the Vari cave on Mt. Hymettos (*IG II/III*³ 1437).¹⁴⁶ The names recorded are known slave names, among which is at least one female: Soteris. Her name too, is found more often for slaves and freedwomen. The relief depicts a cave, with inside it Hermes and three nymphs. Below, on the right side is the head of Acheloios, the river god, and above the cave the heads of six goats are depicted.

As was to be expected, the largest group of dedicating women were citizens. An even larger group, of whom we do not exactly know, are likely to have been Athenian women too. Perhaps more surprisingly — if our speculations are correct — is the relative large number of dedications made by foreign, or slave women, coming to a number of 15 dedications (if all are accepted). This would mean that some 10% of the recorded dedications were made by non-citizens. That metics and notably slaves, were not excluded from public sanctuaries and could worship privately is not a new observation.¹⁴⁷ Their quite substantial representation in our body of evidence is, however, still striking. The objects recorded in our database are of high value and not exactly within easy reach of people with such limited means. Metics, of course, could be as poor and wealthy as any Athenian citizen, but slaves most certainly were not. This leads me to believe that most of the dedications, that seem to be dedicated by slaves, were actually dedicated by freed slaves. Though perchance it was possible, as perhaps in the case of the group dedication discussed above, that slaves jointly could gather enough resources to set up a dedication. All in all, the picture emerges that by far most of the dedicating women were citizens, but that metics and slaves are most certainly not absent from the record and could under the right circumstances gather enough resources to set up a dedication for the deity of their choice.

MARITAL STATUS AND FAMILY TIES

Having established to what legal and social strata these women belong, it now time to see if we can gather a little more information about the circumstances in which these women dedicated and during what phases of their lives they did so. This section and the next are therefore highly complementary to each other. Given the very young age at which citizen

¹⁴⁵ Parker (2000), 77.

¹⁴⁶ A similar dedication can be found in *IG II*² 2934, likewise a dedication by a group of slaves to the Nymphs. It goes unrecorded in *IG II/III*³ new volume of private dedications, most likely because it is not considered 'private'. It is however, of a similar nature to the one discussed here.

¹⁴⁷ See especially, Kamen (2013), for an overview of all the different subgroups in Athens and their rights; see specifically, Whitehead (1977), 86-88 for the religious life of metics.

girls in ancient Greece got married, it seems highly unlikely that they would set up a dedication by themselves in their years before marriage. Furthermore, marriage was socially obligatory. Any unmarried woman was an exception to the rule, making it likely that the majority of the women in our database were in fact married at the time of dedicating. However, it is difficult to tell whether this is true for metic women as well. After the citizenship law of 451/450 BC, metics were no longer able to bear citizen children, making marriage between citizens and metics much less common and even illegal during the fourth century BC.¹⁴⁸ This of course narrowed the possibilities of metic women, whose only option was to marry metic men or remain unmarried. That said, it is likely that many foreigners moving to Attica did so already married and brought their spouses with them. Another possibility would of course be for a widowed foreigner to move to Athens in search for a better life, but the number of these must decidedly have been very small. Furthermore, the slave-women recorded in our database were by definition unwedded as Athenian slaves could not legally get married.¹⁴⁹ However, this does not mean that these women could not have partners or form 'slave families'.¹⁵⁰ Keeping this in mind it is time to have a look at the women in our database.

Looking at the inscriptions we find that 18 women identify themselves as someone's wife. Of these 10 are certainly citizens, 4 are possible citizens, 1 is a metic, and 3 are of unknown status (Appendix V). The distribution of the formula 'wife of' seems coherent with the image set out above, but though it might be proportionate it does not reflect the actual number of married women. We can however, up this number by adding the women that present themselves as mothers, mentioning one or more of their children. In total we find 15 women who mention their children in their inscriptions. Of these, 3 also mention their husband and are thus already accounted for.¹⁵¹ Of the remaining 12 mothers, 4 are citizens, 4 are possible citizens, 1 is a possible metic, and 3 are of unknown status (Appendix V). To this we can add Melinna (*IG II/III*³ 1377), who makes a reference to her children in her dedication and the unnamed mother in the family dedication of (*IG II/III*³ 1358). In total we thus find 32 women who were assuredly married; 14 of them were citizens, 9 of them were possibly citizens, 1 was a metic, 1 was possibly a metic, 0 were slaves, and 7 were of unknown status. It is of course possible that some of these women at the time of dedicating were actually widowed, but this is impossible to determine. That said, this is of course not the actual number of married women in our database, but simply the number of those who chose to present themselves as such.

It has been stated in the past that citizen women in classical times almost always

¹⁴⁸ Kamen (2013), 50.

¹⁴⁹ Ogden (1996), 130-131; Golden (2011), 143.

¹⁵⁰ On the possibility of slave families see, Golden (2011).

¹⁵¹ *IG II/III*³ 717, 1092, and 1505.

presented themselves in relation to their family.¹⁵² This view, which still rests on the outdated idea that women who do not mention their patronymics are by definition not citizens, is unsupported by the evidence. Dillon concludes that the transition he places at 480 BC — after which 'it became normal' for women to mention a husband or father — 'must reflect a shift in emphasis in the attitude to women suggesting that in the classical period they were not so much individuals in their own right but adjuncts of their fathers or husbands.'¹⁵³ Using this premise, he then concludes that the women who mention no male relatives 'assert a right to be viewed as independent dedicators.'¹⁵⁴ These conclusions are based on false premises, are not supported by the evidence, and should be rejected based on these grounds. By far the majority of the women in our database, including those from the classical period, do not present themselves in relation to their relatives. It would be unreasonable to conclude either that all of them were non-citizens, or that they all asserted some special individuality. The statement made by Folkert van Straten that while 'private dedications by men *could* be regarded as an entirely individual matter [...] private dedications of women were always regarded as a family affair', is likewise unfounded.¹⁵⁵ Based on the evidence at hand I believe such statements should be discarded. The majority of these women do not present themselves in relation to their family and dedicate singlehandedly.¹⁵⁶ This does not make them non-citizens, neither does it reflect a lack of family ties, nor is it a sign of particular self-asserted agency.

As I have stated above, I believe we can say that all the citizen women in our database must have been married. It is likely, however, that some of these women at the time of dedicating were already widowed, but of this we find no evidence. Among the (possible) metic women in our database there may too have been widowed, or perhaps unmarried women. We know of two who were undoubtedly married. As explained above, we find no wedded women among the slaves, but perhaps there is something to say for a possible relationship between Babylia and Dionysios (*IG II/III*³ 1338) whom we discussed above. The same is true for Mika and Manes (*IG II/III*³ 1320), yet for all we know they could be brother or sister. We can only speculate.

AGE OF THE FEMALE DEDICATORS

Much like we said above, it seems reasonable to conclude that girls would not set up cost-

¹⁵² This view was even repeated in the relatively recent work of Kaltsas and Shapiro (2008), 187-188.

¹⁵³ Dillon (2002), 14-15.

¹⁵⁴ Dillon (2002), 15.

¹⁵⁵ Van Straten (1992), 282. Emphasis my own. Van Straten draws this conclusion after analysing a series of votive reliefs. Hero-reliefs in particular.

¹⁵⁶ See below, 63-64.

ly dedications during their early life and childhood.¹⁵⁷ Many of the dedications we find in our database were costly marble and bronze votives, so at the very least we could say that they were set up no earlier than when the women got married. For many of the women and their households it could take many years to save up for such a dedication. It seems reasonable to assume that most of the women in our database, being of moderate means, set up their dedications later in life, after accumulating enough wealth. This is supported by the dedication made by Melinna (*IG* II/III³ 1377), who dedicated 'having raised her children', indicating that her children had reached maturity and that she thus set up this dedication in a later stage of her life.¹⁵⁸ She acquired the money for this dedication 'through her hands skills of her labours', indicating she was probably a craftswoman, perhaps selling her own produce.¹⁵⁹ It must have taken her some time to gather enough resources to dedicate this marble pillar, carrying a statue on top. Another argument can be made on the basis of the dedication made by Smikythe, a washerwoman (πλύντρια). She dedicated a *perirrhanterion* (now lost) on a poros stone base that carries the inscription:

Smikythe, washerwoman, a tithe to Athena (*IG* I³ 794).

The tithe she refers to is likely to have come from the income she made washing clothes. She too probably took a long period of time collecting the money needed for the dedication, perhaps even marking the end of her career.¹⁶⁰ Taking these two offerings as an example, we could speculate that most of the dedications calling themselves tithes (16 dedications) and first-fruits (6 dedications), were made by working women who probably took several years of saving before being able to set up such a (larger) dedication.¹⁶¹ That is not to say that wealthier women per definition could not dedicate a first-offering of some sort, but as Jim recognised as well, we have no actual proof of them doing so. She explains this by stating that: 'in ancient Greece, where the leisured class did not work for a living, it was natural that work-orientated classifications did not apply to the affluent strata of the society,' thus explaining why *aparchai* and *dekatai* offerings were not usually dedicated by the leisured class.¹⁶² The nature of the dedications imply a certain level of work-

¹⁵⁷ If in some instance an event in a little girl's life warranted a dedication, it was most likely set up by her parents and not by the girl herself.

¹⁵⁸ See above, 40.

¹⁵⁹ Taylor (2017), 146 has speculated that she could be a potter but it has also been proposed that she supported her family by weaving. We have no way of knowing what exactly she did for a living, but we can draw the conclusion that she was probably a woman of modest means, supporting her *oikos* through her labour.

¹⁶⁰ Jim (2014), 139 suggests that retirement offerings must have been quite common. We could also raise the idea that she dedicated her own basin when she no longer needed it.

¹⁶¹ See above, 44-45.

¹⁶² Jim (2014), 142.

effort. This relatively large group of dedications shows us that especially women of modest means would — and probably only could — set up these monumental dedications later in life. They probably did so only once, perhaps even marking their retirement.

On the other hand, we have several examples of what are likely dedications set up by women either to ensure a successful pregnancy or to pay thanks for one. We have discussed these dedications above. Given the very young age at which women bore children in Attica, approximately when they were between 15-25 years old (directly following their marriage), these dedications were set up by women during a much earlier stage in life. The dedications to Artemis in Brauron and to Aphrodite near Daphni range from large scale reliefs to small scale tablets and includes for instance also a bronze mirror. It is here that we perhaps more accurately see the economic realities of these women reflected in their dedications. It is safe to say that all young women dedicated to deities either before, during, and/or after their pregnancies in the hope of a good outcome. How small or large their dedications were depended largely on the monetary resources at their disposal.

It is of course impossible to pinpoint 'the average age of the female dedicator' and one should not wish to do so. All we can do is look at what little clues are given about the age of individual dedicators and try to work from there. As we have seen, we do not have much to go on. Not surprisingly, the main conclusion would be that women in general dedicated when their circumstances both *required* and *allowed* them to do so, at whatever age this need arose. For example, dedications to Asklepios and the other healing gods would only be set up when a woman, or one of her family members, needed the god's assistance. We have no way of knowing at what particular age these individuals required help. However, this same reason is why we *do* know that part of our database was dedicated by relatively young women, because they did so surrounding their pregnancies. And it is for this same reason that we find that the dedications of *aparchai* and *dekatai* were most likely made later in life, after one-tenth of someone's earnings were enough to set up a dedication of some size. Let us now have a look at what kind of professions these women had.

THE WOMEN'S WORK

As is the case for many of the aspects of these women's lives we here talk about, we have very little information to go on. Let us, as always, take a look at what we *do* know: a total of 8 of the women in our database list their professions and another two hint at them (Appendix V). Among them, I have also included the four female priestesses. Of these, the first is a woman named Lysistrate, who calls herself 'πρόπολος' of Demeter's rites, and dedicated what it likely a stele with two crowns (either depicted or pinned), in the City Eleusinion in Athens. The inscription reads:

Attendant of your unspoken rite, mistress Demeter, and your daughter's, Lysistrate has set up this *agalma*, an adornment of your porch, two crowns, she does not spare her possessions, but to the gods she is plentiful to the extent of her ability (*IG I³ 953*).

Lysistrate's dedication is important, not only because it is the oldest dedication we have by a female priestess in Attica, but because of the way she emphasises her generosity towards the goddess, stating particularly how she did not spare her belongings ('οὐδὲ παρόντων φείδεται'). Lysistrate thus presents herself as having paid for the monument, much like Melinna stressed how she set up the monument through her labours (*IG II/III³ 1377*). Secondly, we have a dedication by a woman who was likewise priestess of Demeter and Kore and who also set up her dedication (a statue on a marble base) in the City Eleusinion. Interestingly she does not provide us with her name, instead she states:

The priestess of Demeter and Kore, mother of Epigenes of Acharnai, dedicated. [...]os son of Aristeidos made it (*IG II/III³ 995*).

It has been said that the statue she dedicated was a statue of her son, but this cannot be proven.¹⁶³ The third priestess in our database likely goes unnamed, though her name is probably lost. She presents herself as the city priestess of Artemis Agrotera and dedicated a marble tablet carrying the inscription:

To Artemis

To you Agrotera, daughter of Zeus and Leto with the purple girdle [...] the fields, has glorified this altar, mother of the children of Dionysios, key-bearer of the city's temple, Mistress, your servant (*IG II/III³ 1092*).

The dedication was found near Kephissia, in what used to be a rural part of Attica. The woman identifies herself, however, as the key-bearer of the city's temple, that is, the sanctuary of Artemis Agrotera in the Ilissos region in Athens. Uta Kron has taken this dedication to mean that this priestess not only dedicated this stele, but set up an altar to the goddess *ep'agron* (on the fields) in this rural part of Attica.¹⁶⁴ This is indeed what the inscription seems to say. At the very least she refurbished what was already there, honouring the goddess she already served. Such a dedication, like the example of Xenokrateia above (*IG I³ 987*), would have cost a considerable amount of money and so did — as we have

¹⁶³ *Agora XVIII*, 306, V584 (PL. 59).

¹⁶⁴ Kron (1996), 154.

already seen — the dedication of Menekrateia (*IG* II/III³ 1505), priestess of Aphrodite Pandemos. Together with her son she dedicated a marble naiskos adorned with statues of themselves. What we see in these examples are formidable citizen women, thriving because of their position as priestesses and sparing no expenses in honouring and thanking the goddesses they serve.

The other women in our database that give us their professions — or at least allusions to it — tell us a somewhat different story. Among these we find Philea, who as the daughter of Chairedemos dedicated a tithe of the profits of the land (*IG* I³ 800). She, as the daughter of Chairedemos of Athmonon, is the earliest attested citizen in our database. Her dedication comprised of a marble pillar and was suited for the attachment of a bronze plinth using the Samian technique.¹⁶⁵ This plinth supported a bronze statue of some sort. Given the nature of her dedication as a tithe from the profit of the land ('δεκάτην χοριόω'), she seems to be a farmer. Jim concludes that she might have paid for the dedication using the money she acquired from the sale of agricultural produce, thus warranting the expression 'a tithe of the land'.¹⁶⁶ Though not visible in our record, it is probable that some of the other women in our database may have been farmers as well, especially considering the agricultural nature of the society at the time.¹⁶⁷

Two other professions are found in dedications we have already discussed: one is the dedication by Smikythe, the washerwoman (*IG* I³ 794); the other is the dedication of Phrygia, the female baker (*IG* I³ 546). As discussed, the dedication by Smikythe was likely made further along or near the end of her professional life. The dedication by Phrygia of a small bronze shield with a gorgoneion must have cost her several years to save up for too.¹⁶⁸ If my interpretation of the following inscription is correct, we here have an example of a different kind of dedication in that of Meliteia, who dedicates from what seems to be the profit of the sale of one himation. Her inscription simply reads:

Meliteia dedicated me as a tithe from (the profit of) a himation (*IG* I³ 567).

The inscription is situated on the rim of a bronze bowl (dm. 22 cm). If it was a very luxuriously woven himation, using costly colours and fine thread, it would perhaps be possible that Meliteia could have afforded a bronze bowl from the revenue.

Lastly, we have two dedications by women who refer to their *technē*. One of them has featured throughout this analysis already and is the dedication by Melinna (*IG* II/III³ 1377). The other has not been discussed so far and is a white marble dedication by an unknown woman. It carries two inscriptions, reading:

¹⁶⁵ On this technique see, Keesling (2003), 78-81.

¹⁶⁶ Jim (2014), 109-110.

¹⁶⁷ For a discussion on the lack of agricultural *aparchai* and *dekatai* see, Jim (2014), 107-114.

¹⁶⁸ We will further explore estimated costs below in Chapter 4.

A: It is good for wise men to teach themselves in a craft, because he who has a skill has a better life.

B: [...]e to Athena a tithe [...] (*IG I³ 766*).

If the piece of marble is taken to be a pillar, inscription B would be on the front and inscription A would be on the right side. If instead it is seen as a base, which I believe could be more likely, the dedicatory inscription would be on the front, while the epigram would be on the top surface, as has been suggested by Raubitschek.¹⁶⁹ It is important to note that according to *IG* the lettering of inscriptions A and B differs and was inscribed by a different hand. This could mean several different things, none of which can be retraced.¹⁷⁰ For now, as there is no definitive indication that we should take these inscriptions as two separate dedications, we see them as one. This inscription too, points towards a dedicator who was a craftswomen or an artisan, although what exactly she did for a living remains elusive.

As stated before, it seems likely that the remaining women dedicating *aparchai* or *dekatai*, were working women as well. They could potentially have a range of professions, though jobs related to farming or the selling of self-made produce seem most likely. Of the remainder of the women we do not know, though surely the more wealthy of them rarely took on jobs apart from weaving and other household tasks, and the poorest of them — including the slaves — did menial labour of some sort. It seems inevitable that some of the metics or slaves represented in our database worked in prostitution as well. If so, probably more often as high class *hetairai*. It is however, impossible to identify these women.

ON BEHALF OF WHOM?

Now that we have established as best as we could who these women were, and why, what, where, and how they dedicated, it is the aim of this section to briefly analyse *for* whom and *with* whom they did so. The practice of dedicating 'on behalf of' someone, using the *hyper*-construction, has been briefly discussed in the previous chapter. Here we will look more closely at the persons involved in these dedications. First off, we should establish with whom these women dedicated. As stated above, the majority of these women dedicated singlehandedly: a total of 129 of the dedications were dedicated by a single female. Of the 22 remaining dedications, 5 were dedicated jointly by two women,¹⁷¹ 6 were dedi-

¹⁶⁹ *DAA*, 254-255, no. 224.

¹⁷⁰ It is possible that one of the two inscriptions was already on the stone and the other was added later. Or perhaps one was inscribed beforehand after which the dedication was installed and the second inscription was added in a different hand. None of this is certain.

¹⁷¹ *IG I³ 537, 700, 858, 1030bis, and IG II/III³ 1426.*

cated by a single man and woman together,¹⁷² 3 were dedicated by a 'group' of more than one male and female,¹⁷³ 2 were dedicated jointly by a woman with a now unknown person,¹⁷⁴ and 6 were damaged in such a way that we do not know whether they were set up individually or jointly. Under the 'group' dedications I have included the dedication by Aristomache, Olympiodoros and Theoris, who dedicated a finely executed marble relief to Zeus in Piraeus, depicting themselves in adoration before a sitting Tyche and the reclining god. The relationship between the three is open to debate. I have furthermore included the family dedication by a man and his wife and kids, and the previously discussed dedication by a group of slaves to the nymphs. The picture that emerges is — contrary to what has been stated in the past — that women commonly dedicated individually. Only in some cases did they dedicate together with other women or men. Regrettably, most of those who do, give us no indication as to the nature of their relationship.

However, among the dedications by two women, we find two instances of sisters dedicating together (*IG* I³ 858 and *IG* II/III³ 1426). The first is established more firmly because both the names of the women (Aristomache and Charikleia) and the name of their father (Glaukinos) is preserved. The second is based on the more vulnerable grounds of the remaining female plural 'αἱ' before the genitive patronymic of 'Κλεονόθο', indicating that the dedication was made by his two daughters. The remaining women give no indication of their relationship. It seems likely that they, too, could have been sisters, but this cannot be surely established. Among the dedications by a single man and woman, we find two dedications that specify the relationship between the dedicators. The first is the dedication by Meidias and Danaïs, who are evidently husband and wife, as they dedicate on behalf of their children (*IG* II/III³ 717). Second, is the previously discussed dedication of Menekrateia and her son Archinos (*IG* II/III³ 1505). In effect, all this tells us is that different collaborations were possible. Combining the evidence we have, we find that people with different familial ties dedicated together. Extrapolating from this we can say that these dedications could have been made by sisters, but perhaps also by brother and sister. They could have been made by partners, but also by mother and son and probably also by mother and daughter. Sadly, we have no way of identifying these relationships based on the evidence at hand. What we do find is an indication that these relationships were often familial. Did friends dedicate together? Or co-workers? We find no proof of this in our database, though something can be said for the group dedication of the slaves. It seems likely that they did the same kind of work and knew each other through their labour. Perhaps some of them were even owned by the same masters. At the very least it is an example of a dedication of a group of people that are probably not bound together by

¹⁷² *IG* I³ 644, *IG* II/III³ 717, 1142, 1320, 1338, and 1505.

¹⁷³ *IG* II/III³ 1219, 1358, and 1437.

¹⁷⁴ *IG* II/III³ 748 and 1285.

familial ties, but by different circumstances. As we have seen in our database, joint dedications were less common than individual ones. It would be interesting to know why exactly this was the case. Perhaps individual dedications were considered to be more pious, or were thought to secure a more profound relationship with the god.

Having now established with whom these women commonly dedicated, it is time to discuss on behalf of whom they did so. Not surprisingly, most of the dedications in our database were simply made by an individual woman on behalf of herself. The number of dedications on behalf of no one other than the dedicator(s) is as high as 133. Another 5 dedications are damaged in such a way that we cannot tell on behalf of whom they were dedicated, leaving the remaining 13 dedications made for the benefit of someone else (Appendix V). Of these dedications the majority (9 dedications) were made on behalf of someone's child or children, sometimes specified as a daughter or son, and sometimes supplemented with the addition 'καὶ ἑαυτῆς' (and herself). In one instance, the names of the children are also given (*IG II/III*³ 717), whereas in the other cases they go unnamed. We find a further 3 dedications, made on behalf of a specified person, but of an unspecified relationship to the dedicator (Appendix V). In these instances, two were made by a woman on behalf of a man (*IG II/III*³ 902 and 1715), and one was made by a woman on behalf of another woman (*IG II/III*³ 1162). Whether the relationship between these people was marital, parental, or otherwise familial is indeterminable, though given the statistics it is likely that a parental relationship is most probable. Lastly, we have one dedication made by a woman on behalf a now unknown person due to the damage on the stone (Appendix V).

To come back once more to the question of who paid for these dedications, I simply wish to stress the following. The idea that a woman's *kyrios* — at the time of dedicating most likely the woman's husband — paid for these dedications, is unsupported by the evidence. In reality, as I have pointed out in the first chapter of this research, neither the husband nor the wife had sole 'ownership' over private resources. Instead, as became clear from the evidence, their property was shared within the *oikos*. Any and all expenses by members of the *oikos* came from this shared capital. In the case of private dedications made by individual members of the household, the money likewise came from the capital of the *oikos*. The person named as dedicator should be interpreted as precisely such, the one who dedicated the object. Sometimes, as we have seen, the source of the money for the given dedication is stated, being a tithe of the income made through the women's work, indicating at the same time their contribution to the capital of the *oikos*. That the capital of a household was shared and that it at the very least *could* be the source of the dedication is further supported by a dedication found on Paros. This dedication, dating to around 500 BC, was set up for Artemis. The inscription reads:

Δημοκύδης τόδ' ἄγαλμα Τε|λεστοδίκη τ' ἀπὸ κοινῶν |

εὐχσάμενοι στήσαν παρ|θένωι Ἀρτέμιδι |
σεμνώι ἐνι ζαπέδωι κό|ρηι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, |
τῶν γενεῆν βίότον τ' α|ὔχσ' ἐν ἀπημοσύνηι.

Demokydes and Telestodike, having prayed, have set up this *agalma* out of their common capital, to the virgin Artemis, daughter of aegis-bearing Zeus, in her sacred soil. Increase their family and livelihood in safety (*IG XII 5, 215*).¹⁷⁵

Demokydes and Telestodike specifically state that they shared the expenses for the dedication and set it up out of their common capital ('τ' ἀπὸ κοινῶν'). This is of course not proof that *all* dedications were set up from joint capital, but it does show that it is not such a far-fetched idea.

¹⁷⁵ Emphasis my own.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE DEDICATORY PROCESS

PATRONAGE

Having established in the preceding chapters that women dedicated quite substantial votives on a much more common basis than previously thought, and that they did so by themselves and often for themselves, it is time to consider once more the level of agency that was required for such dedications to be realised. This chapter will focus on the entirety of the dedicatory process in order to establish precisely what 'setting up' a dedication actually entailed. This with the aim of analysing the level of agency women had in setting up these dedications and the costs that came with it.

This first section is focused specifically on the choices that a dedicator had to make in setting up a dedication. First and foremost, the dedicator had to determine the amount of money they were willing or able to spend. Of course, they were also the one to determine *when* and *where* they wanted to make a dedication, as we have seen in the previous chapters. The next important decision, in part dependent on the budget, was the material used. As we have seen, the majority of the dedications in our database were either made of bronze or marble (or a combination of both), with a lot of the marble bases and pillars originally supporting bronze or marble objects. With the exception in our database of the few bronze vessels and mirrors, most of the dedications were originally set up either on a flat base, a pillar or a column, making marble the predominant material. The patron thus had to make choices in the kind of material they wanted and in most cases, if the circumstances allowed such a choice to be made, the kind of marble they preferred (being either for the support or the dedicatory object itself). As we have seen, different kinds of marble (and stone) were used in the dedications of our database. The most commonly used marble being from Mt. Pentelicon which, together with Mt. Hymettos, was the closest source of marble near Athens. Often however, different kinds of marble were used for the base and the dedicatory object, island marble being more popular for the objects themselves and local marble being used more often for the support.¹⁷⁶ As Helle Hochscheid states, this is in part due to the fact that Pentelic marble as opposed to island marble lends itself better to being inscribed.¹⁷⁷ The choice in marble was further influenced by the budget of the dedicator. Island marble was more costly than the local marble because of the high costs of transportation from the island to the mainland.

¹⁷⁶ The fact that the dedicatory inscription was often carved in the base rather than on the object itself, is one of the reasons why Pentelic marble features more often in our database.

¹⁷⁷ Hochscheid (2015), 156.

However, the appearance of the island marble, especially the white marble of Paros, made that it was very popular. As has been determined by Hochscheid, votive sculptures in Attica during the sixth and fifth century BC, were more often made of island marble, while bases were often made of local marble.¹⁷⁸ The popularity of island marble demonstrates that most of the dedications would have been especially expensive.

After the dedicator had set herself a budget and determined her preferred material she had to contract a specific craftsman to carry out the work. As most of the dedications were made of bronze or marble, the most obvious step was to hire a bronze-worker or a sculptor. The choice for a specific craftsman was no doubt also one influenced by budget. Some sculptors had made a name for themselves and because of this probably asked a larger fee for their work. It is reasonable to believe that these sculptors were also the ones who signed their work, as opposed to the majority of sculptors that left their work unsigned. Having the signature of a skilled sculptor on your dedication was beneficial for both parties involved. The wealth and status of the dedicator was emphasised, while for the sculptor it was a way of advertising his skill.¹⁷⁹ In our database, we find 10 dedications that mention the name of their sculptor (Appendix V). Three of them were made by Kephisodotos, a well-known sculptor of the fourth century BC. Contracting him for a dedication must have been more expensive than hiring someone from the average local workshop.

Other than the material and the sculptor/bronze-worker, one had to decide on the kind of object one wanted to dedicate. The most common of these would be statues, reliefs, and basins, but one could opt for a variety of dedications. The choice for one object over the other is of course influenced (as all choices) by the budget of the dedicator. Other than that, the location and deity to which is dedicated also influences the choice for certain objects. We have seen for instance the series of vulvae dedicated to Aphrodite at Daphni and the textiles and reliefs dedicated to Artemis in Brauron. A further choice had to be made on the accompanying dedicatory inscription. As we have seen, the inscriptions range from elaborate dedicatory epigrams to the simple and short name of the dedicator. It seems likely that for the standard dedications along the format of 'X dedicated to Y' a patron would simply state what she wanted on her dedication. It is probable that for longer or more complicated epigrams a professional poet could be hired, in which case more expenses would have been made.¹⁸⁰ It has furthermore been suggested, based on the observation that sometimes the signature of the sculptor is in a different hand than that of the dedicatory inscription, that sculptors may have carved their own signatures, while the text of the main inscription was done by a letter-cutter.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Hochscheid, 106-107, Table 3.1.

¹⁷⁹ Hochscheid, 196.

¹⁸⁰ Hochscheid, 237.

¹⁸¹ Viviers (1992), 21-51; Keesling (2005), 409; Hochscheid (2015), 237-238.

The amount of decisions required in setting up a dedication, most of which befell upon the dedicator him-/herself, suggest a certain level of agency. While this fact is well-established when it concerns dedications by men, it has always been questioned when concerning female dedications. We see dedications by men primarily as a means of self-expression, the choice for the object, the material, the sculptor, and the dedicatory inscription being conscious choices of the man in question. We gather this is how he wanted to present himself both towards the god(s) and towards his fellow citizens. I believe, now that we have established that it is highly likely that women dedicated on their own behalf, without the aid of an invisible *kyrios*, we should see the dedications by these women in the same light. It becomes clear from the examples we discussed in the previous chapters, that these women actively presented themselves in the way they saw fit, in some cases specifically focussing on their own agency, their own labour, or their own actions. They too, assert their right of self-expression through these monumental dedications. Of course not all dedications by women are prime symbols of self-expression, wealth, and prestige, but we must not forget that the same holds true for men. The majority of votives offered to the gods are not large monumental objects, but smaller and more private ones. By publicly setting up more elaborate dedications a dedicator could show both the human and the divine world one's piety and success, be it a woman or a man.

THE PRODUCTION PROCESS

The production process itself consists of even more steps and determined for a large part the costs involved. As almost all dedications required either marble or limestone, our production process begins in the quarries. Silvia Nolte has reconstructed that one block of marble for a life-size statue was possible to extract by three workers within a 'moderate' amount of time.¹⁸² Many workmen would have been extracting blocks at the same time, working for a number of days up to a number of weeks on one piece (depending on the size). This made quarrying nonetheless a very time-consuming task, involving a great number of people, including also those who were responsible for disposing the marble waste produced by the extraction of the blocks. The most commonly used method for extracting a block of limestone or marble, was to cut a trench around it using a light quarry pick, separating it from the surrounding bedrock. After this, the block was removed from its bedrock base by means of splitting, using (predominantly) iron wedges.¹⁸³ As we

¹⁸² Nolte (2010)², 220-221, cf. also page 212: extracting the now still embedded Kouros of Apollon on Naxos would have taken a group of ten men some two and a half months. Considering the extraordinary size of this statue, a little short of eleven metres tall, blocks for life-size statues would have taken a smaller group of workmen considerably less time and effort.

¹⁸³ Waelkens, Paepe, and Moens (1990); Fant (2008), 122-123; Hochscheid (2015), 118-120; cf. also Fant (1988); Herz and Waelkens (1988). Wooden wedges were also used, but very rarely. They may have been restricted to the quarrying of stone that easily split.

have seen, most of the marble would have come from the local quarries on Mt. Pentelicon and Mt Hymettos. In addition, island marble was imported, predominantly from Paros. Transporting the marble blocks required great effort and was therefore presumably more costly when greater distances had to be covered. From Mt. Pentelicon we have evidence for the use of sledges, pushed over wooden tracks, to transport the blocks of marble downhill from the quarry. On the side of the road, posts made it possible for ropes to regulate the velocity of the downward heading stone. On level areas, carts were used.¹⁸⁴ The local marble could be transported fully over land, but the marble from the islands had to be brought to Athens by sea. This was a very sensitive task as any mistake or misplacement in loading the block on the ship could cause it to capsize or break the deck. The difficulties in transport, both over land and over sea, make transportation one of the most expensive parts of the whole process. The material itself and the quarrying of it, was considerably less expensive.¹⁸⁵

As Hochscheid has stated, quarrying and transportation changed from the archaic to the classical period. This was in large part due to the major public construction projects at this time. During the fifth century BC — partly due to the Periclean building-program — a regular marble supply to the city was established, especially from the quarries on Mt. Pentelicon. On top of that, Hochscheid observed that during the fifth century BC, quarrying became more and more specialised and was more and more commercially exploited.¹⁸⁶ Moreover, according to Hochscheid, the later classical period saw more and more stock work and less work on the basis of individual commissions.¹⁸⁷ This of course, had effect on the next step in the production process, the sculpting itself.

The dedicator, through the hired sculptor, could specify the size of the marble block they needed, which would then have been communicated to the quarrymen. With the steady supply of marble to the city in the classical period, this must have changed in some respects. Excess marble blocks, left over from the construction work in the city, could be and were used by Athenian sculptors for private sales. The presence of these blocks made that sculptors would, at least more often, design their sculptures based on the available piece of marble rather than have a block extracted in the right size of the

¹⁸⁴ Korres (1995), 70-71; Hochscheid (2015), 139.

¹⁸⁵ Hochscheid (2015), 127-128, 142.

¹⁸⁶ Hochscheid (2015), 135-137.

¹⁸⁷ Hochscheid (2015), 212. Whether this influenced the price of these objects is difficult to determine, but it seems likely that stock work would have been, at the very least, a little less expensive. The same pattern, in bronze-work, is observed by Aleshire (1992), in the inventories of the City Asklepion. Here the value of the objects is based on the weight of the object. Aleshire observed that the smaller, lighter and thus cheaper objects were all listed with standard values (for instance 1 drachma), the heavier ones being valued based on a range of different weights. She suggested correspondingly, that the objects measured in standard values were likely stock-based, while the larger ones were most likely privately commissioned.

design.¹⁸⁸ Of course, privately commissioned work could still require specific pieces of marble that had to be individually quarried. Most of the dedications required at least two pieces of marble, sometimes even from different sources. It was presumably the job of the sculptor to mount the two together and of course to carve the stone in the right shape. After the sculptor had done his work, the object (especially when it was a statue or relief), had a few more phases to go through. Especially costly and time-consuming seems to have been the polishing of the stone.¹⁸⁹ Presumably after the polishing, the inscription had to be inscribed, most likely by a letter-cutter (who perhaps worked in the same workshop). After the object was polished and inscribed, it often had to be painted. The costs of this would have been in part dependant on the colours used (as we have seen in the textiles of Brauron as well), rare and difficult to acquire pigments could drive up the cost of this near final phase. The very last step was of course to transport the dedication to its final destination and set it up in the desired place.

The production process for bronze dedications would have been largely similar to those in stone. In part the process is the same, as the marble base required several of the same steps. The object itself required of course the mining of ore, and likewise the transportation of it, after which it was processed by the bronze-worker, often through casting, before finally (likewise) being polished. In the case of statues, other kinds of materials could be added to the object to add colour and liveliness as is often done for the eyes of the statues.¹⁹⁰ Of course, also this object had to be mounted to its base, which had to be inscribed and set up all the same.

The number of steps in this process required considerable collaboration between different parties. Moreover, every step brought with it its own costs, making the value of the final product highly variable. Each individually commissioned dedication could thus vary greatly in expense. It seems likely that stock-based objects were therefore less costly or at least had more steady price-rates.

REGULATIONS AND LOGISTICS

The erection of the final product carried with it a different set of concerns. Finding a proper place for one's dedication must not always have been very easy. Especially with regard to the Acropolis, it is often stated that sanctuaries were very crowded places, decades and even centuries of dedications being clustered within the *temenos*. Though this is very much true, stating so does not solve the problem that logistically speaking, such large quantities of dedications simply would not fit. Regulations must have been in place to

¹⁸⁸ Hochscheid (2015), 136.

¹⁸⁹ According to Hochscheid (2015), 222 the Parthenon building accounts list polishing as the second most expensive part of the production process, only transport being more expensive.

¹⁹⁰ Thomas (1992), 3-20.

keep the sanctuary from becoming impassable. Nothing is known about such regulations of the sixth to fourth centuries BC, but they must have existed, whether written down or not. The earliest regulations that did survive belong to the third century BC and are mostly concerned with the protection and the placement of dedications within a sanctuary.¹⁹¹ Such regulations would make sure that the temples remained accessible and that the cult statue was not obstructed from view. Sacred laws from the Hellenistic period inform us that the responsibility of finding a place for a new dedication fell either upon the priest or on an architect.¹⁹² It seems probable that during the late archaic and classical period this was similarly the task of the priest or priestess. Michael Scott likewise argues that at Delphi, officials of the sanctuary must have been able to approve or disprove of the placement of dedications.¹⁹³ Whether the placement of dedications was entirely up to the sanctuary's staff is difficult to say, but it seems reasonable to me that (in agreement with Scott), the impetus must lie with the dedicator, being supervised and corrected by the cult-personnel. To prevent overcrowding, dedications could be reused, or in the case of (small) bronzes, they could be recast. Though of this too we only have later evidence.¹⁹⁴ Similar practices must have existed in the earlier periods to prevent the sanctuary from becoming impassable and the treasuries from becoming overstocked.

The placement of a dedication was on one front very important. For the relationship with the receiving god or goddess, the placement of the offering was inconsequential, but preferably it was placed within their sacred grounds. It is however, its importance in the human sphere that makes the placement of dedications so valuable to the dedicator and makes that certain spots are more desired than others. The setting of dedications has been aptly discussed by Brunilde Ridgway, who stated that the arrangement of the dedications must have varied (among other things) according to their scale. Smaller votives would have been placed on the steps of temples and propylaea or between their columns. Larger statues and other dedications would have been placed in the open space between the buildings. Apart from the main pathways leading to the temples, shrines, and altars, the entire space within the sanctuaries' boundaries would have been completely filled. Ridgway states: "location in such instances must have largely been a case of "first come, first served," though the importance of the donor, or, more probably, the size of the dedication must have played a part in the choice."¹⁹⁵ Visibility was the main concern for the dedicator in setting up his or her offering. Placements near the roads or main pathways of a sanctuary were therefore most preferred. Visibility must also have been the

¹⁹¹ See Lupu (2009)², 31-33; *LSS* no. 74 (Loryma), no. 107 (Rhodos), and no. 123 (Miletos).

¹⁹² See Keesling (2003), 12; *LSCG* no. 65 and *LSAM* no. 74.

¹⁹³ Scott (2010), 29-41.

¹⁹⁴ See for instance, *LSCG* no. 41, 42 and 70, all from the end of the third century or later. Cf. also Lupu (2009)² and Van Stratén (1992), 273.

¹⁹⁵ Ridgway (1971), 337-338.

main incentive for the placement of dedications on higher supports, such as columns and pillars. To make sure new dedications did not obstruct the main routes, or damaged other dedications that were already present, some sort of supervision was necessary and it is likely that this befell on the cult-personnel. As rearranging the heavy marble dedications was not easily done, one can imagine that the routes, for instance on the Acropolis, must have changed paths over time, allowing new dedications to be set up in prime position.

As most of the objects were not found exactly in the place where they once stood, it is difficult to reconstruct the placement of the dedications in our database. Judging however, from the elaborate bases, columns, and pillars, and the sumptuous objects that stood on top of them, visibility for these women too must have been the prime incentive for finding a 'good' spot in the sanctuary. Based on the evidence at hand, I believe that the placement of a dedication was similarly important for both men and women. Though dedications by women were less numerous, those that were set up show no sign of being any less public in nature, any less costly, or any less self-representational, than those by men.

ESTIMATED COSTS

Reconstructing the actual costs of these dedications is a near impossible task, as we lack consistent information on the money required for the different steps of the dedicatory process. Besides the impact of the chance survival of such evidence, this may in part be due to the fact that there were no standard rates or fixed prices for these different phases in the production process.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, as we have seen, the many choices made by the dedicator greatly influenced the cost of the final product. Some studies, especially related to the study of funerary monuments, have attempted to calculate the costs of erecting such a monument. It has been stated that a simple funerary stele with small relief and inscription could be erected for 10-20 drachmai.¹⁹⁷ Though this number is probably somewhat on the low side, the upper limit seems to be supported by an analysis of the costs for inscribed documentary reliefs. Carol Lawton states that the cost for an inscribed stele carrying a relief in the fourth century BC ranged between 20-50 drachmai, gradually increasing with 10-drachmai increments from the lower to the upper limit.¹⁹⁸ Lawton furthermore reconstructs that the amount of money spent solely on the sculpting of the relief must have been between 10-15 drachmai as — according to her — inscribing must

¹⁹⁶ Cf. Hochscheid (2015), 145 on the lack of standard prices for the quarrying and transport of stone.

¹⁹⁷ Nielsen et al. (1989), 414, based on *Agora XIX*, P5 lines 25-30 mentioning a man claiming that 30 drachmai are owed to him for the double burial of a husband and wife; cf. also Oliver (2003) who argues that this number is too low and should be estimated a little higher.

¹⁹⁸ Lawton (2003), 25; cf. also Lalonde (1971), 45-49; Nolan (1981), 11-12.

have accounted for at least half the cost of the document.¹⁹⁹ Of course, the inscriptions on the document reliefs are much longer than the average dedicatory inscription and the reliefs are generally smaller. Still it gives us some indication of the costs of a marble stele. We must keep in mind however, demonstrated by Hochscheid, that the costs for public commissions are probably somewhat lower than those of private commissions, largely due to the fact that the quarries around Athens were publicly owned and it seems that for public purposes no costs were charged for the stone itself, but only for the quarrying and the transport. Private commissioners on the other hand are more likely to have paid for the stone as well.²⁰⁰

Judging from these calculations a price of two or three dozen drachmai seems reasonable for a stele of moderate size with a relief and a relatively short inscription. However, as we have seen, most of the dedications in our database are much more elaborate, ranging from large reliefs on marble pillars to bronze statues on marble bases, even including a *naiskos* with statues and the foundations of shrines. These dedications must have cost considerably more, taking into account the larger quantity of marble used and the extra time and work involved therein as well as the subsequent choices in the more final stages of production that could greatly drive up the costs. The upper range of the dedications in our database, including the most elaborate dedications offered by Athenian priestesses must have cost over a hundred if not several hundred drachmai to complete.

Bronze dedications — likewise — could differ greatly in prize, though in these cases the costs for the dedication is in large part due to the size of the statue, and not as much (as in the case of marble dedications) dependent on the variations in finishing. All in all, we can say that — depending on the kind of objects offered and the choices made therein — the majority of the dedications would have costs several dozens to several hundred drachmai. This shows that the women in our database, all with different backgrounds, possessed considerable economic agency. The picture that emerges from these sources is not that of a secluded, passive wife, but of women who — at least on some occasion — were able to express themselves through setting up a monument for the deity of their choice, in the manner of their liking, from the money they were able to spend.

¹⁹⁹ Lawton (2003), 64.

²⁰⁰ Hochscheid (2015), 149.

CONCLUSION

First and foremost, I want to emphasise that I never wish to imply that men and women in ancient Athens were equal. They were not. They were not equal to the law and they were not equal in life. That said, certain aspects which up until now were thought to be exemplary of their inequality must be reconsidered. Through this analysis of the female dedicator I have aimed to establish two main things: women *could* spend money by themselves and *did* so in great numbers. This study shows that evidence for female economic agency is too substantial to be discarded as exceptions to the rule. There is no indication that these women did not pay for their own dedications. Instead, all the evidence points in the other direction. Women dedicated to the extent of their ability; all women did so. This study shows once more, that religious agency was not restricted to the elite, but that working-class citizens, metics, and slaves likewise participated in the practice of dedicating.

The image that emerges from the analysis of the material is that women, like men, used these dedications as a means of self-representation, sometimes specifically emphasising their economic and religious agency in doing so. All the decisions involved in the dedicatory process were made by the dedicator herself, through these she could present herself in the manner of her choice. There is no visible difference in the kind of objects women dedicated as opposed to those of men, at least not in terms of *value*. As was to be expected, women *did* sometimes offer to different deities and on different occasions than men, but the *way* they did so is inherently similar. As became clear from the surviving evidence, the majority of these women dedicated independently, on their own and for their own. Often, these women did not mention any familial ties, not even in the classical period. Those who do, do so to present and identify themselves. The idea that women's dedications were always a family matter should be discarded, at least when one believes that men's dedications were not. As stated, husband and wife upon marriage both contributed to the capital of the *oikos*. It is this shared capital that is the monetary source of these dedications, both of men and women alike. Some women — through their dedicatory inscriptions — specifically point to their economic agency in setting up their dedications, showing no sign of being aided by a thus invisible *kyrios*.

Through this study it has become clear that the effect of the law cited by Isaios needs thorough reconsidering, and with it the function of the *kyrios* as economic, rather than legal guardian. It is evident that modern conceptions have influenced our interpretation of the evidence. As shown, the material sources do not support the view that women lacked economic agency, or could spend no more than a few drachmai without the aid of their husbands or fathers. The dedications here analysed were vastly more expensive and were dedicated and paid for by individual women whose economic agency — at least in the religious sphere — was not as curtailed as previously thought.

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PLATES

PLATE 1



IG II/III³ 1086 | Marble votive relief of Aristonike. Dedicated to Artemis Brauronia, Brauron, ca. 340-330 BC. Archaeological Museum of Brauron (BE 1151). Photo: author.

PLATE 2



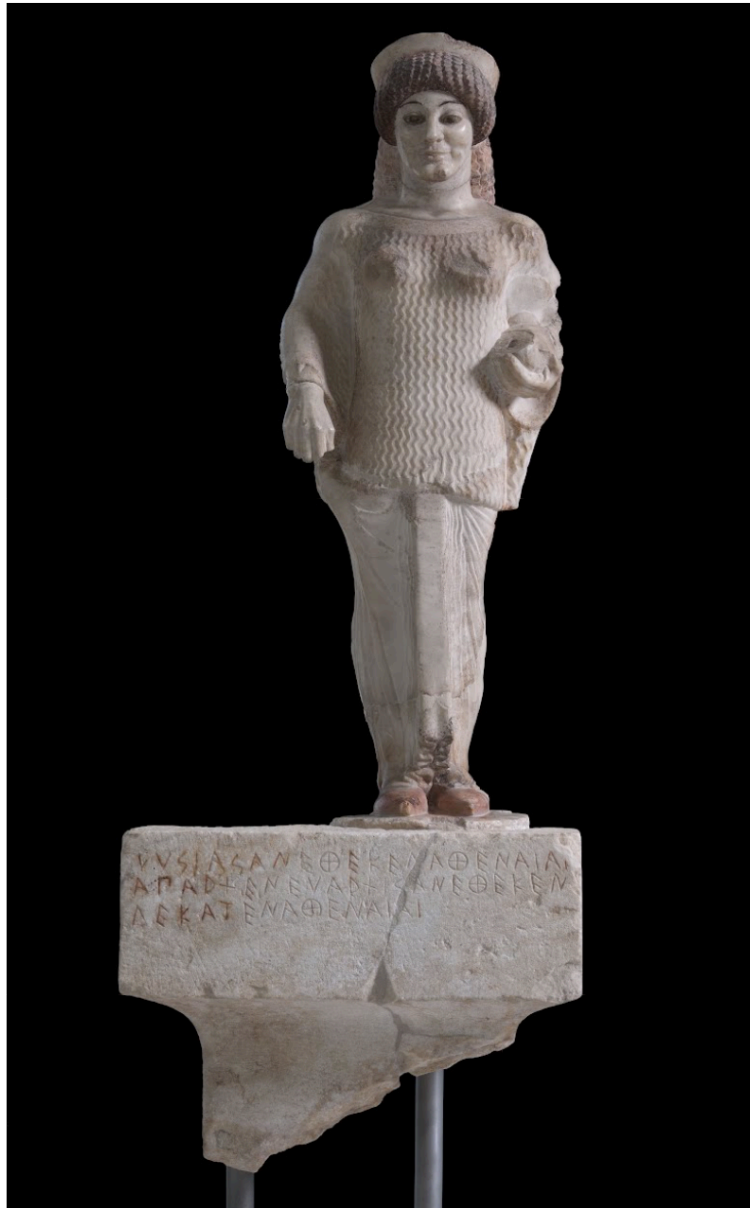
IG II/III³ 1087 | Marble votive relief of Peisis. Dedicated to Artemis Brauronia, Brauron, ca. 340 BC. Archaeological Museum of Brauron (BE 1152). Photo: Wikimedia.

PLATE 3



IG I³ 987 | Marble votive relief of Xenokrateia. Dedicated to Kephisos, New Phaleron, ca. 405-400 BC. National Archaeological Museum Athens (NM 2756). Photo: Cohen and Rutter (2007).

PLATE 4



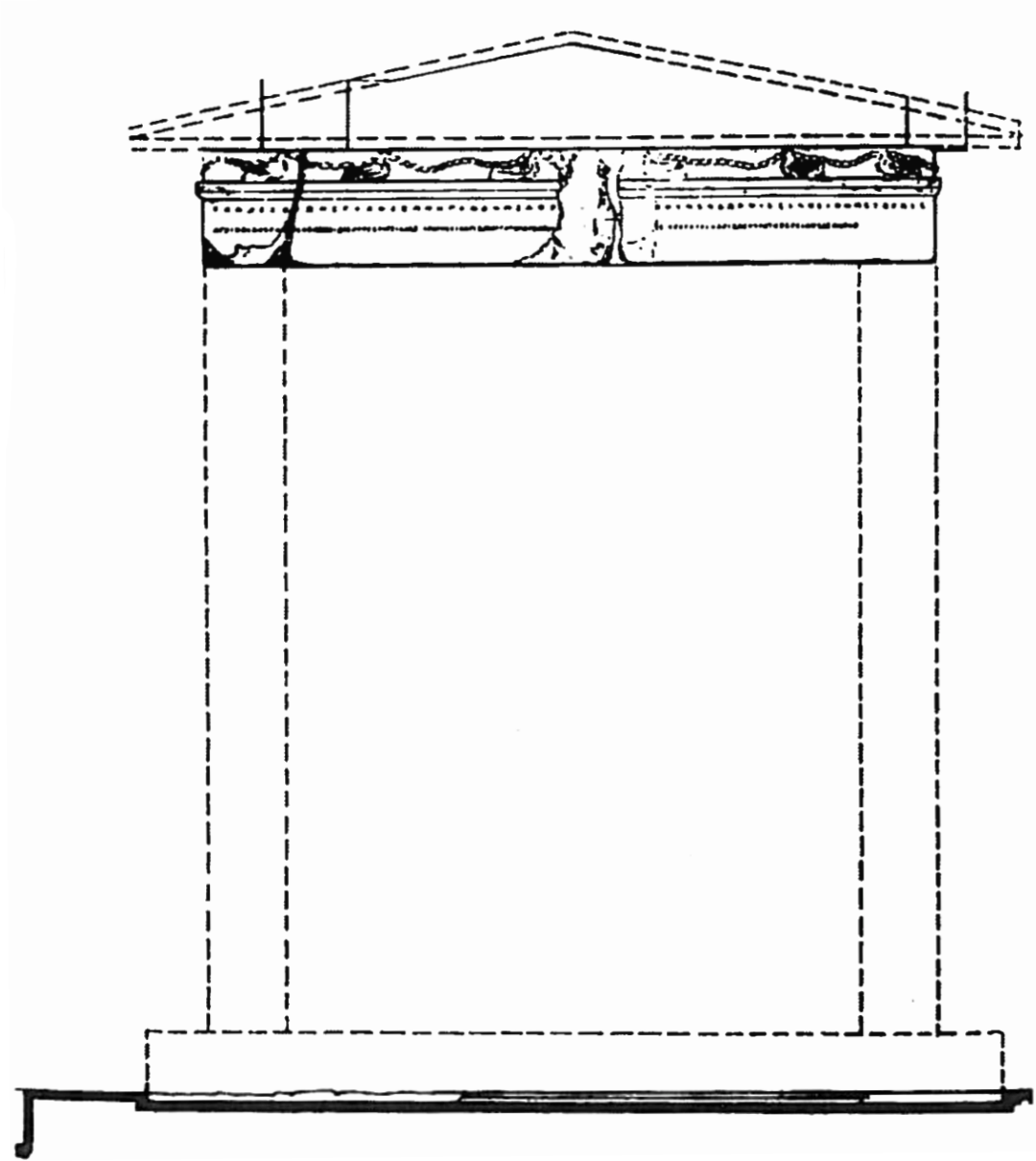
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PLATE 5



IG I³ 540 | Bronze statuette depicting Athena Promachos of Meleso. Dedicated to Athena, Acropolis, ca. 480-470 BC. Acropolis Museum (NAM X 6447). Photo: Acropolis Museum Collection.

PLATE 6



IG II/III³ 1505 | Reconstruction of the *naiskos* of Menekrateia and her son Archinos. Dedicated to Aphrodite Pandemos, Athens, ca. 350-320 BC. Photo: Kron (1996).

APPENDICES

IG volume	IG numb er	Inv. No.	Name (Greek)	Name (English)	Date	Object	Current size (h x l x w) cm	Location	Deity	Stoiche don	Lettering	Inscription	Translation
IG II/IIIP	898	TE 68.1	[...]ηλα	[...]Ila	ca. 400-300 ?	Stone tablet [Lime]	22 x 61,5 x 3,5-5 cm	Sanctuary of the Medical gods (Thoricos)	Hygieia	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[...]ηλα θυγατήρ Θεοπόρου υἱοῦ Πρωκίτου ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	[...]Ila daughter of Theoporus of Procos [...] To Hygieia having prayed, dedicated on behalf of her children.
IG II/IIIP	902	NM 6585	Μνῆσιπτόλεμν	Mnesiptoleme	ca. < 350 ?	Marble pillar with abacus [Hymettian]	119 x 25 x 19 cm abacus 19 x 32 cm (h x l)	Sanctuary of Amynos (Athens)	Asklepios and Amynos	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Μνῆσιπτόλεμν ὑπὲρ Διονυσίου Ἀσκληπιάδου, Αἰώνου ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	Mnesiptoleme on behalf of Dikaiophanes dedicated to Asklepios and Amynos.
IG II/IIIP	906	NM 6422	Ἡδῆστια	Hedestia	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble tablet with relief [Pentelic]	17 x 8,7 x 6,5 cm	Sanctuary of Amynos (Athens)	Asklepios	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἡδῆστια Ἄσκληπιον ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	Hedestia to Asklepios.
IG II/IIIP	908	NM 6436	[...]ἰωνίς	[...]Ionis	ca. 300 ?	Marble relief [Pentelic]	31 x 17 x 4 cm	Sanctuary of Amynos (Athens)	Amynos	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic ?	[...]ἰωνίς ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	[...]Ionis [...] to Amynos [...]
IG II/IIIP	923	inv. 27 A	Εὐθίων	Euthion	ca. 350-300 ?	Marble base [?]	9 x 18 x 18 cm	Amphiarosion (Rhamnous)	Amphiaros ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Εὐθίων ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	Having prayed, Euthion, daughter of [...] of Trikorynthos, dedicated.
IG II/IIIP	963	NM 0 26	Ἥπποκλεία	Hippokleia	ca. 320 ?	Marble relief [Pentelic]	26 x 38 x 7 cm	Sanctuary of Kallista (Athens)	Kallista	<input type="checkbox"/>	?	Ἥπποκλεία.	Hippokleia.
IG II/IIIP	970	ME cat. n. 770 Inv. E 987	Δημιονίκη	Demonike	ca. 325-300 ?	Marble base [Hymettian]	38 x 46 x 55 cm	Eleusis	Dionysos	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Δημιονίκη Ἀλοπαίου Πιθέου θυγατὴρ Διονυσίου ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	Demonike daughter of Alchmaios of Pitheos dedicated to Dionysos.
IG II/IIIP	995	Ag. 15802 (a) and EM 12415 (b)	-	-	ca. < 350 ?	Marble base [Pentelic]	Fragment at: 23 x 47,2 x 19,5 cm Fragment at: 22 x 30 x 16 cm	City Eleusinion (Athens)	Demeter and Kore	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	ἡ ἱέρεια Δημιονίκη καὶ Κόρη Ἐμμένος ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	The priestess of Demeter and Kore, mother of Epigenes of Acharnai, dedicated. [...]os son of Aristaios made it.
IG II/IIIP	1013	EM 8790	[Θ]ήλη	Phile	ca. 350 ?	Marble tablet with relief [Blue]	22 x 30 x 5 cm	Athens	Demeter and Kore	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἀναγίγνηται ὅτι τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν.	Phile to the two goddesses, having prayed, on behalf of her child.
IG II/IIIP	1021	ME cat. n. 19 and Inv. E 409	Κεκεροπία	Kekeropia	ca. 375 ?	Marble base [Pentelic]	34 x 42 x 21 cm	Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Eleusis)	Demeter and Kore	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	τῶν θεῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε. Κεκεροπία Κεκεροπίας θυγατὴρ Κεκεροπίας καὶ Κόρης Ἐμμένος ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	To the two gods dedicated Kekeropia, daughter of Kallias son of Hippionikos, wife of Autolides. Kekeropias made it.
IG II/IIIP	1023	NM 11036	Νι(ὄ)ννιον	Ninnion	ca. > 350 ?	Painted tablet with fronton and acroterion [clay]	44 x 32 cm (h x l)	Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (Eleusis)	Demeter and Kore	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Νι(ὄ)ννιον τῶν θεῶν ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν.	Ninnion dedicated to the two gods.
IG II/IIIP	1054	EM 12567	Σμίκρα	Smikra	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble tablet with relief [white]	36 x 23,5 x 9 cm	Telthras (deme of Attica)	Demeter and Kore ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Σμίκρα ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	Smikra dedicated.
IG II/IIIP	1059	Ag. 11349	Ἀριστωνίκη	Aristonike	ca. 300 ?	Marble cippus with cymation [pentelic]	29 x 8,4 x 7,7 cm	Agora (Athens)	Athenis Soter	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἀριστωνίκη Ἀρτέμιδι Σωτῆρι ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν.	Aristonike to Artemis Soter.
IG II/IIIP	1074	MP 3562	Θεοδότη	Theodote	ca. 350-300 ?	Marble base [Hymettian]	9 x 37 x 33 cm	Piraeus	Artemis	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[...] Θεοδότη ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	[...]Theodote [...] dedicated to gracious Artemis.
IG II/IIIP	1083	BE 1150	Ξενοκλεία	Xenokleia	ca. 400-375 ?	Marble column [?]	ht. 11 cm dm. 32 cm column dm. 21 cm	Sanctuary of Artemis (Brauron)	Artemis Brauronia ?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ξενοκλεία ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε. θυγατὴρ γυναικὸς Μισοβίανης Πουλαροῦ θυγατὴρ Ὀψίβου.	Xenokleia dedicated, wife of Philomeios of Marathon, daughter of Polyoros of Oe.
IG II/IIIP	1084	MG Inv. n. 552	Ἀθηναίς	Athenais	ca. 350 ?	Marble relief [?]	75 x 119,5 x 11,2 cm	Attica ?	Artemis Brauronia ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	[...] Athenais
IG II/IIIP	1086	BE 5 and 1151	Ἀριστωνίκη	Aristonike	ca. 340-330 ?	Marble relief (sacculum) [?]	58 x 102,5 x 11 cm	Sanctuary of Artemis (Brauron)	Artemis Brauronia	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἀριστωνίκη Ἀρτέμιδι ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	To Artemis, having prayed, dedicated Aristonike wife of Antiphates of Thoria.
IG II/IIIP	1087	BE 83 and 1152	Πεισις	Peisis	ca. 340 ?	Marble relief (sacculum) [?]	59 x 114,5 x 10 cm	Sanctuary of Artemis (Brauron)	Artemis Brauronia	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Πεισις ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	Peisis wife of Lykolion dedicated.
IG II/IIIP	1089	BE 1310	Ἡδίστη	Hediste	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble base [?]	8 x 23 x 14,5 cm	Sanctuary of Artemis (Brauron)	Artemis Brauronia	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἡδίστη ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	To Artemis Hediste dedicated.
IG II/IIIP	1092	-	-	-	ca. 350 ?	Marble tablet with cymation [?]	64 x 99 cm (h x l)	Kephissia	Artemis Agrotara	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[...] ἠγείμενη ὑπὲρ τῶν παιδῶν ἀνέστη ἡ κ.ε.	To you Agrotara, daughter of Zeus and Leto with the purple girdle [...], the fields, has glorified this altar, mother of the children of Dionysios, key-bearer of the city's temple, Mistress, your servant.

IG numb er	Inv. No.	Name (Greek)	Name (English)	Date	Object	Current size (h x l x w)	Location	Deity	Stoiche don	Lettering	Inscription	Translation
IG II/III/ 1086	-	Κράταια	Krateia	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble stele (hymnetian)	?	Salamis ?	Artemis	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Κράταια Ἀρτέμιδι	Krateia to Artemis.
IG II/III/ 1141	ΠΛ 2328	-	-	ca. < 350 ?	Marble relief (aedicularium) [Pentelic]	20,7 x 18 x 7,5 cm	Athens	Eileithya	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[— — — — —]	[...] of Thespias to Eileithya.
IG II/III/ 1142	PA 637	Χαρίτω	Charito	ca. 350 ?	Marble base with cymation (white)	46 x 23 x 13,5 cm	Athens ?	Eileithya	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[Α]ξιόνως, Χαρίτω Ἰαυθόται, ἐπι φησοει- πάτης ἑταί- ρας.	Axionikos and Charito to Iytheia, during the priesthood of Philostrate.
IG II/III/ 1159	EM 8793	Λυσιστράτη	Lysistrate	ca. 325-300 ?	Ovoid shaped piece of marble [Pentelic]	48 x 27 x 10 cm	City Herakleion (Athens)	Herakles	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Λυσιστράτη — — — — ὑπὲρ τῶν τραγῶν [αὐτῶν] Ἡρακλέϊ ἀνέθηκε.	Lysistrate [...] on behalf of her children dedicated to Herakles.
IG II/III/ 1161	EM 8794	Ξένισ	Xenis	ca. 325-300 ?	Ovoid shaped piece of marble [Pentelic]	24 x 15 x 3 cm	City Herakleion (Athens)	Herakles	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ξένισ Ἡρακλέϊ.	Xenis to Herakles.
IG II/III/ 1162	Ag. I 6351	Μαίθακη	Malthake	ca. 400-300 ?	Ovoid shaped piece of marble [Pentelic]	20,5 x 12,5 x 7,5 cm	City Herakleion (Athens)	Herakles	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Μαίθακη ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐταίρων.	Malthake on behalf of Thraitis.
IG II/III/ 1190	Ag. I 4707	Χρυσίς	Chrysis	ca. 370 ?	Marble relief (white)	23 x 24 x 5 cm	Aeopagos (Athens)	Hera	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Χρυσίς Ἡρα.	Chrysis to the hero.
IG II/III/ 1206	Ag. I 2638	[...]η	[...]η	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble relief (aedicularium) [Pentelic]	20,5 x 15 x 7,5 cm	Agora (Athens)	Hera	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	— — — — — η — — — — Ἡρα.	[...]η (to the) hero [...]
IG II/III/ 1212	-	Ἀρχεστράτη	Archestrate	ca. 350 ?	Marble Herm [Pentelic]	77 x 14,5 x 12,5 cm	Roman Forum (Athens)	Hera	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἀρχεστράτη Εὐρυπιδὸς θυγάτηρ Ἡρακλέως ἀνέθηκε Ἡρῆ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐταίρων.	Archestrate daughter of Eurypides of Pallene dedicated to Hera, rejoicing.
IG II/III/ 1214	AM 4047	Φιλίη	Phile	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble throne [Pentelic]	53 x 46 cm (h x l)	Acropolis (Athens)	Dione	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	τῆς Διῶνῆς θυγατρὸς Νικητοῦ ἀνέθηκε — — — —.	To Dione, Phila daughter of Niketes dedicated [...].
IG II/III/ 1219	n. 234	Ἀριστομάχη καὶ Θεοσίς	Aristomache and Theosis	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble relief (aedicularium) [Pentelic]	43 x 58 x 13 cm	Piraeus ?	Zeus Epitelaos Philios, Phila, and Agathe Tyche	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἀριστομάχη Θεοσίς : ἀνέθεσαν Διὶ Ἐπιτελείω Φίλιω καὶ τῆς μητρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ Φιλίαι Ὀλυμπιόδορος : καὶ τῆς Ἀγαθῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γυναικί.	Aristomache, Olympiodoros and Theosis dedicated to Zeus Epitelaos Philios, and the mother of the god Phila, and Agathe Tyche, the god's wife.
IG II/III/ 1221	EM 10593	Μαμμία	Mammia	ca. 350-250 ?	Stone base (pumice)	53 x 44 x 38 cm	Shrine of Zeus (Athens)	Helios and Zeus Melichios	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἥλιω καὶ Διὶ Μελλίχιω Μαμμίαια.	To Helios and Zeus Melichios, Mammia.
IG II/III/ 1226	AM Inv. NAF 89-1957	Ἥδεα	Hedea	ca. 300 ?	Marble tablet with cymation and relief [?]	45 x 22 x 3,5 cm	Shrine of Zeus (Athens)	Zeus Melichios	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἥδεα Διὶ Μελλίχιω.	Hedea to Zeus Melichios.
IG II/III/ 1277	NM 1431	Ἀριστάρχη	Aristarche	ca. 350 ?	Marble relief (aedicularium) [white]	28 x 45 cm (h x l)	Piraeus	Zeus Melichios	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἀριστάρχη Διὶ Μελλίχιω.	Aristarche to Zeus Melichios.
IG II/III/ 1278	MP 3	[...]τοβούλη	[...]toboule	ca. 350-300 ?	Marble relief (aedicularium) [white]	24 x 36 x 6 cm	Piraeus	Zeus Melichios	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[...]τοβούλη Διὶ Μελλίχιω.	[...]toboule to Zeus Melichios
IG II/III/ 1279	EM 8795	Ἡδέστιον	Hedestion	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble tablet with relief [Pentelic]	20 x 18 x 6 cm	Piraeus	Zeus Melichios	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἡδέστιον Διὶ Μελλίχιω. σερπεν.	Hedestion to Zeus Melichios.
IG II/III/ 1281	MP 9631 (was NM 1405)	Μύμνιον	Mynnion	ca. 325 ?	Marble relief (white)	22 x 21 x 3,5 cm	Piraeus	Zeus Philios	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Μύμνιον Διὶ Φίλιω ἀνέθηκε.	Mynnion dedicated to Zeus Philios.
IG II/III/ 1282	-	Νικαγόρα	Nikagora	ca. 325-300 ?	Column [?]	?	Piraeus	Zeus	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Νικαγόρα θυγατρὸς γυνὴς Ἰαυθόδο- σοῦ καὶ ἑταίρων ἀνέθηκε.	Nikagora wife of Philistidos of Palaima setup for Zeus a gift in accordance with an oracle.
IG II/III/ 1285	-	Ἡδέθυλη	Hedthyle	ca. 300 ?	Marble tablet with relief [?]	?	Piraeus	Zeus Melichios ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	— — — — — Ἡδέθυλη [ἀνέθηκε].	[...]n Hedthyle have dedicated.
IG II/III/ 1299	MC Inv. n. 352	Ἡγέσω	Hegesos	ca. 350 ?	Marble relief (aedicularium) [white]	53,5 x 35 x 10 cm	Piraeus ?	Zeus Melichios	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἡγέσω Διὶ Μελλίχιω vacat	Hegesos to Zeus Melichios.
IG II/III/ 1301	NM 12124	Κρατήσιον	Kratesion	ca. 300 ?	Relief [?]	?	Shrine of Zeus Melichios at Agrai (Athens)	(Zeus) Melichios	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Κρατήσιον Μελλίχιω.	Kratesion to Melichios.
IG II/III/ 1320	NM 1554	Μίκα	Mika	ca. 325-300 ?	Marble relief (aedicularium) [?]	46 x 30 x 12 cm	Piraeus	Mother of the Gods	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	in ante sinistra καὶ Μίκα Μητέρα Θεῶν.	Manes and Mika to the Mother of Gods.

IG volume	IG numb er	Inscr. No.	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Date	Object	Current size (h x l x w) cm	Location	Deity	Stoiche don	Lettering	Inscription	Translation
IG II/IIp	1337	SK 1612	Τιμοθέα	Timothea	ca. 300 ?	Marble stele with relief [white]	61,3 x 30 cm	Piraeus	Aglatis and Attis	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	ΑΝΥΔΙΟΤΕΙ καὶ Ἀττίδι Τιμοθέα ὑπερ τῶν ποταμῶν κατὰ προαγοραία. vaseat 0,05	To Angdatis and Attis, Timothea on behalf of her children in accordance with a command.
IG II/IIp	1338	EM 10599	Βαβυλία	Babylia	ca. 300 ?	Marble base [Pentelic]	15 x 75 x 66 cm	Piraeus	Men	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Διονύσιος καὶ Βαβυλία τῶν Μηνῶν τὸ ἔργον ἀνέθεσαν. vaseat 0,05	Dionysios and Babylia have set up this offering for Men.
IG II/IIp	1356	AM 13783	Κλεαγόρα	Kleagora	ca. 400-375 ?	Marble stele [Pentelic]	30 x 14 x 11 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Κλεαγόρα (ἡ μήτηρ) Μελίμνα (ἡ θυγάτηρ) ἀφείλετον τῆν ἀργύραν. vaseat 0,18	Kleagora [...] daughter of Meliteus dedicated [...] a tithe to Athena.
IG II/IIp	1358	AM 13191	-	-	ca. 400-350 ?	Marble base [Pentelic]	26,5 x 54 x 83,5 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena Ergane Polias	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[Α θ η γ α ι ε ρ γ α ν η ν η] Π ο λ ι δ ε ι ἀ ν ε θ η κ ε --- κ α ο καὶ ἡ γ υ ν ῆ καὶ οἱ παῖδες. vaseat 0,025 [---] δ ῖ ο υ μ ε ν, ἑ δ ῆ Ἐ ρ γ α ν η, εὐ χ ἄ ρ η σ ἄ ρ ο υ [---] μ ἔ ρ η σ ὁ μ ἄ ρ η ν ἀ γ ὶ α μ ἄ τ ὸ ἄ.	To Athena Ergane Polias dedicated [...] her and his wife and his children, goddess Ergane, after having prayed to you [...] has set up this agalma.
IG II/IIp	1361	EM 9043	[Καλλι]στῶ	Kallisto	ca. 400-350 ?	Marble base [Pentelic]	49 x 30 x 15 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena Ergane ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[Καλλι]στῶ [ἀνέθε]κεν δ ῶ δ ὰ τ ῶ ν Σιβυρτίο γυνῆ.	Kallisto dedicated a tithe, wife of Sibyrtios.
IG II/IIp	1364	EM 6305	-	-	ca. 350 ?	Marble pillar with abacus [Hymettian]	40 x 35 x 26 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena Ergane	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[Α θ η ρ α ἰ ο ς θ υ γ ἄ τ ρ η] Α θ η ἡ Ἐ ρ γ α ν η ἀ ν ε θ η κ ε vaseat 0,15	[...] daughter of [...] of Acharnai dedicated to Athena Ergane.
IG II/IIp	1367	EM 10693	Μενεΐα	Menela	ca. 350 ?	Marble pillar with abacus [Pentelic]	101 x 22,5 x 17,5 cm abacus 26,8 x 28 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἀ θ η ν ἄ ι Μ ἑ ν ε ἰ α ἀ ν ε θ η κ ε ὄ μ ῶν ἰ ὄ σ ο υ ἀ ρ ε τ ῶ ν τ ῆ ς β ο ῦ. vaseat 0,18	To Athena, Menela dedicated, having seen with her own eyes the arete of the goddess.
IG II/IIp	1369	EM 8751	[Ἡδύ]α	Hedyle	ca. 350 ?	Marble base with cymation [Hymettian]	23 x 35 x 14 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena Ergane	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[Ἡδύ]α (ἡ Ἐὐφροῦς) [Ἀθῆναι]. Ἐργάνη (ἡ). vaseat	Hedyle daughter of Euphron to Athena Ergane.
IG II/IIp	1373	AM 2970	Φιλομένη	Philoumene	ca. > 350 ?	Marble base [Pentelic]	32 x 81 x 73 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Φιλομένη Λεωσθένης (ἡ μήτηρ) θυγάτηρ τῆς Ἀθῆναι. vaseat 0,039	Philoumene daughter of Leosthenes of Kephale to Athena. Kephaisototos made it.
IG II/IIp	1376	EM 9004 and 4354	[...] and Μυρία	[...] and Myria	ca. > 350 ?	Marble base [Hymettian]	14 x 26,5 x 19 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[---] θυγάτηρ, Κυδα [...] [---] ἔχοντες ἀνέθεκε [...] [---] Μυρία [...] of Aristaeus [...] during the priesthood of [...] vaseat 0,028	[...] daughter, Kyda [...] [...] having prayed, dedicated [...] [...] Myria [...] of Aristaeus [...] during the priesthood of [...]
IG II/IIp	1377	EM 8804	Μελίμνα	Melinna	ca. > 350 ?	Marble pillar with abacus [Hymettian]	33 x 32 x 23 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	(Athena) Ergane	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	χ ε ρ ο ῖ τ ε καὶ τ ῶ ν ἔ ρ γ ῶ ν τ ὄ λ ο υ κ τ ε δ ι κ α ῖ α ῖ ς / θ ρ α σ π ἰ μ ἔ ν η τ ἔ σ ο υ ν γ ε ν ῆ τ ῶ ν ἀ ν ε θ η κ ε Μ ε λ ῖ μ ν α / ὡ ἡ ἔ σ τ ῶ ν τ ε μ ῶ ν, ἑ δ ῆ Ἐ ρ γ α ν η, μ ἔ ρ ῶ ν ἀ ν α ρ κ ἄ ρ ἰ ο υ ἡ ἡ κ ἄ ἄ ν ο ν, τ ἰ μ ἄ ρ α χ ε ρ ὸ ν ὄ ν. vaseat 0,10	Through her hands and skills of her labours, with righteous courage, having raised her children, Melinna dedicated to you, goddess Ergane, this rmenie of her labour, having offered a share of her possessions, honouring your charis.
IG II/IIp	1379	EM 6295	[...]η	[...]e	ca. 350-300 ?	Marble base [Pentelic]	29 x 27 x 49 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	--- η : Κεάστρου [---] Ἀθῆναι [ἀνέθε]κε.	[...]e daughter of Keastos [...]. to Athena, dedicated.
IG II/IIp	1381	AM 2438	Κεσκρίτη	Keskkrite	ca. 350-300 ?	Marble relief (pedicium) [white]	14,5 x 16,8 x 8 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	Athena ?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[Κε]σκρίτη ὑπὲρ --- [---]	Ktesikrite on behalf of [...]
IG II/IIp	1408	I 136	Πλαγών	Plaggon	ca. 350 ?	Marble base with cymation [Hymettian]	35 x 23 x 40 cm	Kerameikos (Athens)	Athena	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Πλαγών --- θυγάτηρ, ἀδελφὸς Ἐπιμανέως γυνῆ Αδελφίνας.	Plaggon daughter of [...], wife of Phanos of Theraikos to Athena.
IG II/IIp	1426	NM 3529	-	-	ca. 390-380 ?	Marble relief [Pentelic]	33 x 25 x 5 cm	Areopagos ? (Athens)	Nymphs	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	[---] καὶ [...] [---] Κισσινόβο Νύμφας.	[...] and [...] daughters of Kissonthos to the nymphs.

IG volume	IG number	Inv. No.	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Date	Object	Current size (h x l x w)	Location	Deity	Stoicheidon	Lettering	Inscription	Translation
IG II/IIP	1551	-	Φανώ	Phano	ca. 400-375 ?	Small marble base [Pentelic]	4 x 11,8 x 9,4 cm	Veri ?	Hermaphroditos	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Φανώ Ἑρμαφροδίτῃ- ται ἀφιερῶται.	Phano to Hermaphroditos, having prayed.
IG II/IIP	1562	-	Ἱππάρχη	Hipparche	ca. 400-350 ?	Marble base [Pentelic]	48 x 90 cm (h x l)	Acropolis (Athens)	?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἱππάρχη Ἱππάρχειο Θεοῦ ἐπιεὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ, καὶ θεῶν, ἀφιέρηκεν, ἄεσσι	Hipparche daughter of Maribos of Thebes dedicated on behalf of her son and herself.
IG II/IIP	1567	AM 13260	Νικαρέτη	Nikarete	ca. 350 ?	Marble pillar with abacus [Pentelic]	127 x 42 x 18 cm	Acropolis (Athens)	?	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Νικαρέτῃ ἐκ Πηγήων ἀφιέρηκεν.	Nikarete from Paleles dedicated.
IG II/IIP	1611	Ag. 14374	Μελίττα	Melitta	ca. 400-300 ?	Small marble base [Pentelic]	23 x 20,1 x 6,5 cm	Agora (Athens)	?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Μελίττα Σίμωνος ἀφιέρηκεν. ἄεσσι 0,16	Melitta daughter of Simon dedicated.
IG II/IIP	1612	Ag. 16535	-	-	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble fragment ? [Hymettian]	8,5 x 17 x 6,3 cm	Agora (Athens)	?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	----- [----- ἐπιεὶς ἀφιέρηκεν ----- ----- ἄεσσι]	[...] having prayed, dedicated, [...] wife of [...]
IG II/IIP	1684	ME inv. E 587	Ἡδύλη	Hedyle	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble base with lower cymation (white)	13 x 35 x 46 cm	Eleusis	?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Ἡδύλη ἀφιέρηκεν -----	Hedyle dedicated [...]
IG II/IIP	1715	-	Παμφίλη	Pamphile	ca. 350-300 ?	Small marble base [Parian]	4,5 x 12,5 x 8,5 cm	Aitica ?	?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Παμφίλη ὑπὲρ Εὐφρανῶς ἀφιέρηκεν, ἐπὶ Διονυσιαρχίας ἐπέσσι.	Pamphile, on behalf of Euphranos, dedicated, during the priesthood of Demostrate.
IG II/IIP	1716	-	Αἰνέσα	Ainosa	ca. 400-300 ?	Marble base [Hymettian]	20 x 108 x 78,5 cm	Eleusis	?	<input type="checkbox"/>	Ionic	Αἰνέσα ἀφιέρηκεν.	Ainosa dedicated.

APPENDIX II – GENDER DISTRIBUTION IN /G I³

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
526	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
527	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
528	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
529	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
530	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
531	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
532	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
533	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
534	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
535	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
536	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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538	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
539	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
540	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
541	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
542	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
543	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
544	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
545	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
546	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
547	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
548	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
548bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
549	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
549bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
550	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
551	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
552	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
553	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
554	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
554bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
555	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
556	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
557	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
558	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
558bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
558ter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
559	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
560	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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561ter	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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583 d	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
583 e	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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589bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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621bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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649bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
735	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
736	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
736bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
737	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
738	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
739	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
740	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
741	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
742	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
743	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
744	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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747	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
748	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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763	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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765	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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767	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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770	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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771	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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774	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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785	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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791	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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794	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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796	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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798	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
799	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
800	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
801	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
802	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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804 a	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
804 b	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
804 c	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
804 d	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
804 e	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
804 f	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
804 g	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
805	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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807	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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809	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
810	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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812	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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830	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
830bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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832	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
833	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
833bis	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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841	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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844	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
845a	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
845b	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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859	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
589bis	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
860	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
860bis	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
861	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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863	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
864	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
865	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
866	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
866bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
867	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
868	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
868bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
869	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
870	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
871	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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892	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
892bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
893	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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894bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
895	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
896	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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898	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
899	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
900	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
901 a	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
901 b	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
901bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
902	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
902bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
903	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
904	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
905	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
905bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
906	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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923	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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925	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
926	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
927	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
928	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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930	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
931	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
932	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
933	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
934	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
935	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
936	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
937	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
938	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
939	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
940	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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952	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
953	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
954	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
954bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
955	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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962	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
963	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
964	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
965	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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967	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
968	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
969	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
969bis a	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
969bis b	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
970	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
971	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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974	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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976	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
977	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
978	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
979	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
980	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
981	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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984	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
985	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
986	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
987	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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991	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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993	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
994	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
995	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
996	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
997	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
998	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
999	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1000	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1000bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1001	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1003	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1004	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1006	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1007	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1008	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1009	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1010	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1011	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1012	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1014	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1015	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1015bis	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1016	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1017	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1018	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1018bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1018ter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1018quater	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1018 quinquies	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1019	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1020	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
1020bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1021	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1022	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1023	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1024 a	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1024 b	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1025	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1026	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1027	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1027bis	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1028	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1029	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1030	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1030bis	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	267	45	1	293

APPENDIX III – GENDER DISTRIBUTION IN /G II/III³

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
665	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
666	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
667	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
668	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
669	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
670	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
671	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
672	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
673	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
674	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
675	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
676	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
677	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
678	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
679	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
680	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
681	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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683	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
684	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
685	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
686	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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688	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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691	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
692	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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695	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
696	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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698	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
699	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
700	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
701	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
702	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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713	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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716	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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718	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
719	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
720	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
721	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
722	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
723	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
724	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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732	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
733	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
734	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
735	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
736	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
737	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
738	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
739	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
740	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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742	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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744	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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869	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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891	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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902	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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904	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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906	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
907	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
908	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
912	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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994	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
995	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
996	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
997	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
998	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1004	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1005	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1012	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1013	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1021	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1022	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1024	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1030	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1031	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1032	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1054	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1059	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1060	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1072	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1073	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
1074	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1075	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1076	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1083	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1084	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1085	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1086	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1087	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1088	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1089	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1090	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1091	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1092	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1093	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1094	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1106	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1107	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1108	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1138	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1141	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1142	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1155	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1160	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1161	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1162	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1165	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1167	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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1170	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1171	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1172	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1173	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1174	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1175	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1176	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1177	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1178	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1179	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1180	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1181	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1189	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1190	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1191	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1192	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1193	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1194	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1195	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1196	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1197	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1198	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1199	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1200	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1201	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1202	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1203	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1205	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1212	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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1217	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1218	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1219	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1220	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1221	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1222	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1223	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1224	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1225	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1277	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1278	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1279	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1286	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1287	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1297	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1301	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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1319	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1320	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1321	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1329	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1330	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1336	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1337	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1338	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1344	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1351	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1360	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1371	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1372	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1373	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1375	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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1377	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1378	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1379	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1380	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1381	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1382	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1408	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1409	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1410	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1411	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1419	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1426	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1427	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1429	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1447	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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1466	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1470	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1471	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1472	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1473	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1474	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1475	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1476	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1481	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1482	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1483	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1484	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1485	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1486	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1487	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1488	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1499	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1502	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1506	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1508	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1513	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1514	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1517	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1518	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
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1520	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1521	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1522	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1523	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1524	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1536	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1538	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1539	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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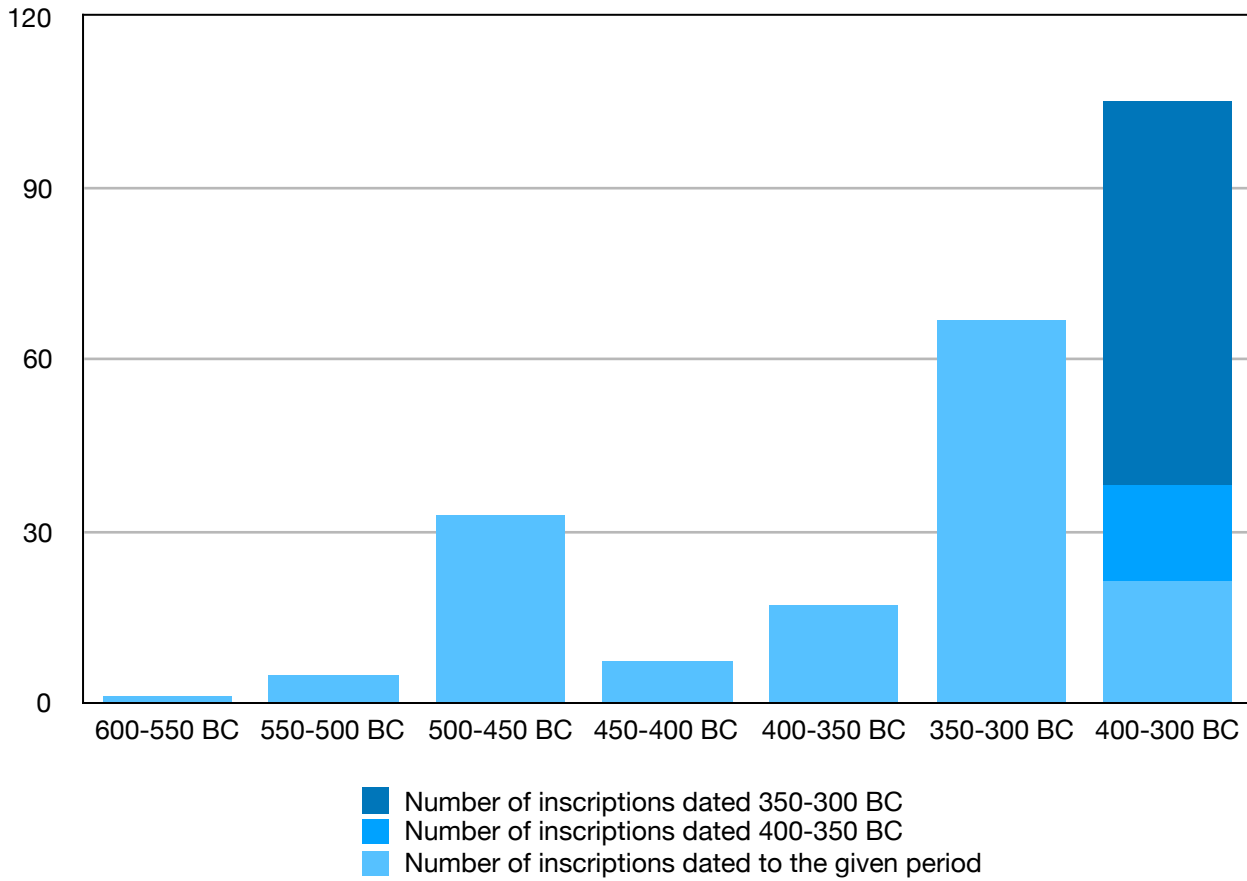
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1572	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1576	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1579	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1581	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1582	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1583	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1606	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1607	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1608	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1609	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1610	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1611	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1612	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1613	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1614	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
1615	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1617	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1618	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1619	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1672	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1673	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1676	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1677	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1681	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1682	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1683	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1684	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1686	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1687	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1688	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
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1690	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1702	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1704	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1708	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1712	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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1714	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
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IG Number	Male	Female	Joint M/F	Uncertain/ Indeterminable
1719	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1720	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1721	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1730	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1731	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
1732	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
1733	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
	218	96	9	158

APPENDIX IV – DISTRIBUTION OVER TIME

The distribution of women's dedications over time



APPENDIX V – THE DEDICATING WOMEN

Citizens

IG volume	IG number	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Father	Husband	Child(ren)	Sculptor	Profession	On behalf of
IG I ³	800	Φιλέα	Philea	Chairedemos of Athmonon	-	-	-	Farmer?	-
IG I ³	888	-	-	-	Eumelides of Sphettos	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	894	-	-	-	Prepis of Xypete	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	953	Λυσιστράτη	Lysistrate	-	-	-	-	Priestess of Demeter and Kore	-
IG I ³	987	Ξενοκράτεια	Xenokrateia	Xeniades of Cholleidai	-	Xeniades of Cholleidai	-	-	-
IG I ³	1000 bis	Πλαθίς	Platthis	Dionysios of Kydathenaion	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	1030 bis	[Ἀρ]συλλα καὶ Ἀριστομάχη	Aristylla and Aristomache	Timon of Eiresidai	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	679	Μυρρίνη	Myrrine	Euphanes of Prospalta	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	736	[Π]αμφίλη	Pamphile	Antiphanes of Pallene	-	-	Apollonios?	-	-
IG II/III ³	898	[...]λλα	[...]lla	Thouphanes of Poros	-	-	-	-	Children
IG II/III ³	923	Εὐθίων	Euthion	[...] of Trikorynthos	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	970	Δημονίκη	Demonike	Aischraios of Pithos	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	995	-	-	-	-	Epigenes of Achamai	[...] son of Aristeidos	Priestess of Demeter and Kore	-
IG II/III ³	1021	Κεκροπία	Kekropia	Kallias son of Hipponikos of Alopeke	Autokles	-	Kephisodotos	-	-
IG II/III ³	1083	Ξενοκλεία	Xenokleia	Polyoros of Oe	Philomelos of Marathon	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1086	Ἀριστονίκη	Aristonike	-	Antiphates of Thorai	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1092	-	-	-	Dionysios	-	-	Priestess of Artemis	-
IG II/III ³	1212	Ἀρχεστράτη	Archestrate	Euripides of Pallene	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1282	Νικαγόρα	Nikagora	-	Philistidos of Paiania	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1364	-	-	[...] of Achamai	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1373	Φιλουμένη	Philoumene	Leosthenes of Kephale	-	-	Kephisodotos	-	-
IG II/III ³	1408	Πλαγγών	Plaggon	[...]	Phanos of Themakos	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1463	[.]αυσώ	[.]auso	-	Eumnestos of Paiania	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1505	Μενεκράτεια	Menekrateia	Dexikrates of Ikarion	Alypetos of Skambonidai	Archinos of Skambonidai	-	Priestess of Aphrodite [Pandemos]	-
IG II/III ³	1514	Καλλίστιον	Kallistion	Onesandros of Piraeus	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1562	Ἰππάρχη	Hipparche	Manitheos of Thorikos	-	-	-	-	Son and herself

Possible Citizens

IG volume	IG number	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Father	Husband	Child(ren)	Sculptor	Profession	On behalf of
IG I ³	534	Κλε(ο)φάνε	Kleophane	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	536	Γλύκε	Glyke	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	538	Κλεαρέτε	Klearete	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	547	Λύσιλλα	Lysilla	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	548 bis	Γλύκε	Glyke	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	555	Τιμαγόρα	Timagora	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	572	Μυρτό	Myrto	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	574	[Σ]μικόθε	Smikythe	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	577	Σμικρά	Smikra	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	644	Εύαρχις	Euarchis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	700	Φρύνε και Σμικ(ύ)θε]	Phryne and Smikythe	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	767	Έμπεδία	Empedia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	794	Σμικόθε	Smikythe	-	-	-	-	Washerwoman	-
IG I ³	803	[Μ]υρίνε	Myrine	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	934	Καλλιστό	Kallisto	Naukydes	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	985	Ίππυλλα	Hippylla	Onetor	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	1029	Καλλό	Kallo	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	680	Πόλλις	Pollis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	704	Άρχεστράτη]	Archestrate	-	-	-	-	-	Daughter
IG II/III ³	709	[Καλλ]ίοπη	Kalliope	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	717	Δαναίς	Danaïs	-	Meidias	Hediste, Sosikles, Olynpiodoros	-	-	Hediste, Sosikles, Olynpiodoros
IG II/III ³	727	Φίλη	Phile	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	737	Ρόδη	Rhode	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	742	[Αν]τίκλεια	Antikleia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	902	Μνησιπτολέμη	Mnesiptoleme	-	-	-	-	-	Dikaiophanes
IG II/III ³	906	Ήδεΐα	Hedeia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	963	Ίππόκλεια	Hippokleia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1013	[Φ]ίλη	Phile	-	-	-	-	-	Child
IG II/III ³	1023	Νί(ι)ννιον	Ninnion	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1054	Σμίκρα	Smikra	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1059	Άριστονίκη	Aristonike	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1074	Θεοδότη	Theodote	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1084	Άθηναίς	Athenais	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1087	Πεισίς	Peisis	-	Lykoleon	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1089	Ήδιστη	Hediste	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1159	Λυσιστράτη	Lysistrate	-	-	-	-	-	Children
IG II/III ³	1190	Χρυσίς	Chrysis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1214	Φίλη	Phile	Niketes	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1219	Άριστομάχη and Θεωρίς	Aristomache and Theoris	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1221	Μαμμία	Mammia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1226	Ήδέα	Hedeia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1279	Ήδιστιον	Hedistion	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1281	Μύννιον	Mynnion	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1285	Ήδύλη	Hedyle	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1299	Ήγησώ	Hegesō	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1301	Κρατήσιον	Kratesion	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1337	Τιμοθέα	Timothea	-	-	-	-	-	Children
IG II/III ³	1356	Κλε[α]γόρα]	Kleagora	Meliteus	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1358	-	-	-	[...]	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1361	[Καλ]λιστώ	Kallisto	-	Sibyrtios	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1367	Μένεια	Meneia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1369	[Ή]δ[ύ]λη	Hedyle	Euphron	-	-	-	-	-

IG volume	IG number	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Father	Husband	Child(ren)	Sculptor	Profession	On behalf of
IG II/III ³	1376	[...] and Μυρτιά	[...] and Myrtia	[...]	Aristeus?	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1477	Άγνοθέα	Agnothea	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1480	Μίκα	Mika	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1518	Εύαν[ν]δρία	Euandria	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1519	Φιλουμένη	Philoumene	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1520	Παμφίλη	Pamphile	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1528	Γαλήνη	Galene	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1532	Δωριάς	Dorias	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1533	Φίλη	Phile	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1537	Ἡδίστη[η]	Hediste	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1546	Εὐφροσύνη	Euphrosyne	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1551	Φανώ	Phano	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1611	Μέλιττα	Melitta	Simon	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1684	Ἡδύλη	Hedyle	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1715	Παμφίλη	Pamphile	-	-	-	-	-	Euphranor

Metics

IG volume	IG number	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Father	Husband	Child(ren)	Sculptor	Profession	On behalf of
IG I ³	858	Ἀριστομάχη Χαρίκλεια	Aristomache and Charikleia	Glaukinos of Argos	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	748	[Κ]αλλιστόνη	Kallistone	-	[...] of Thebes	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1141	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1513	Ἀριστοκλέα	Aristoklea	-	-	-	-	-	-

Possible Metics

IG volume	IG number	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Father	Husband	Child(ren)	Sculptor	Profession	On behalf of
IG I ³	537	Χαλχίς και Θέθις	Chalchis and Thethis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	546	Φρυγία	Phrygia	-	-	-	-	Bread-maker	-
IG I ³	571	Ἡμέρα	Himera	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	683	Ἰφιδίκε	Iphidike	-	-	-	Archermos of Chios	-	-
IG I ³	857	[Μ]ικύθη	Mikythe	-	-	-	Euphron	-	Children and herself
IG II/III ³	1567	Νικαρέτη	Nikarete	-	-	-	-	-	-

Slaves

IG volume	IG number	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Father	Husband	Child(ren)	Sculptor	Profession	On behalf of
IG II/III ³	1162	Μαλθάκη	Malthake	-	-	-	-	-	Thraittis
IG II/III ³	1320	Μίκα	Mika	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1338	Βαβυλία	Babulia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1437	[Σω]τηρίς	Soteris	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1530	Αἴγ[υπτ]ία	Aigyptia	-	-	-	-	-	-

Unknown

IG volume	IG number	Name [Greek]	Name [English]	Father	Husband	Child(ren)	Sculptor	Profession	On behalf of
IG I ³	540	Μελεσό	Meleso	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	543	Πείσις	Peisis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	557	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	560	Νικαττάνέθεκεν	Nikatta?	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	565	Καπανίς	Kapanis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	567	Μελί[τε]α	Meliteia	-	-	-	-	Weaver?	-
IG I ³	573	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Herself and children
IG I ³	615	Ἐργόκλεια	Ergokleia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	656	[Φ]ρακύθε	Phsakythe	-	-	-	Hemippos	-	-
IG I ³	766	[...]ε	[...]e	-	-	-	-	Artisan/ Craftswoman?	-
IG I ³	813	Ἐιδό	Heido/Pheido	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	814	Κάλις	Kalis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	830 bis	-	-	-	[...]	-	[...] of Chios	-	-
IG I ³	838	[Λυ]σίππω	Lysippo	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	921	Καλικρίτε	Kalikrite	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG I ³	1025	Ἄνοσις	Anosis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	681	-	-	-	-	[...]	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	682	-	-	-	-	[...]	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	686	-	-	-	Dionchides	-	Kephisodotos	-	-
IG II/III ³	705	[...]ῆππη	[...]ppe	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	744	Λάκαινα	Lakaina	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	753	-	-	[...]	-	-	[...] of Thria	-	-
IG II/III ³	908	[...]ωνίς	[...]onis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1096	Κράτεια	Krateia	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1142	Χαριτώ	Charito	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1161	Ξένις	Xenis	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1206	[...]ῆ	[...]e	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1277	Ἀριστάρχη	Aristarche	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1278	[...]τοβόλη	[...]toboule	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1377	Μέλιννα	Melinna	-	-	-	-	Artisan/ Craftswoman?	-
IG II/III ³	1379	[...]ῆ	[...]e	Kteatos	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1381	Κτησακρίτη	Ktesikrite	-	-	-	-	-	[...]
IG II/III ³	1426	-	-	Kleonothos	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1471	[...]λίνη	[...]line	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1485	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1521	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1524	[...]ῆ	[...]e	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1536	[...]μάχη	[...]mache	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1538	[...]ῆ	[...]e	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1539	[...]ῆ	[...]e	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1547	Πανκράτιον	Pankration	-	-	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1612	-	-	-	[...]	-	-	-	-
IG II/III ³	1716	Αἰνήσα	Ainesa	-	-	-	-	-	-