

Worshipping Artemis and Hera: The Healing Landscape of Ancient Greece

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ABSTRACT

This paper arises from the socio-cultural norms about female biology that are evident in the Greek medical theories and discusses what measures women could take in response to the concerns presented by them. Taking the viewpoint of individuals as ‘consumers’ of healing, it examines healing opportunities within the shrines of Artemis and Hera. Artemis and Hera are well known to us for their association with women, their biological and social maturation, and, consequently, conception, pregnancy and childbirth. A significant body of evidence potentially indicating a concern for female health exists in their sanctuaries, typically in the form of votive offerings. Did all the sanctuaries of Artemis and Hera offer protection for gynaecological problems? Did the two goddesses offer the same level of protection? Was this protection subject to regional variation? Investigating votives dedicated to the two deities, this paper surveys ways in which the healing landscape of ancient Greece may have functioned in regard to female patients. Evidence from major sites in Attica, the Peloponnese and Asia Minor is brought together to allow a better comparison of customs.

KEYWORDS

Artemis; Hera; reproduction; childbirth; ancient medicine; ancient cult; Ancient Greece; woman.

INTRODUCTION

This paper reviews attitudes of the ancient Greek medical tradition towards women’s bodies, and examines whether cultural beliefs manifested through this tradition are visible in religious activity. While all the gods of the main pantheon were associated with healing to some extent (JAYNE 1962, 201–369), Artemis and Hera are particularly known for their connection with women and their biological and social development (e.g. KING 1998, 82–98). Votive evidence from their sanctuaries, specially selected to represent different geographical areas of the Greek world, is surveyed here in order to detect possible standardisation or variation in religious belief and ritual practice that may have developed in response to the perceived medical problems of Greek women. The sites under investigation include shrines to Artemis at Brauron and Athens in Attica, the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia in Sparta, the sanctuary of Artemis at Ephesus in Asia Minor, and the Heraia at Samos and Perachora. In order to simplify the argument, those aspects of the cults of Artemis and Hera that do not explicitly denote a connection with women’s interests are omitted. Bearing these criteria in mind, three types of votives appear repeatedly in the archaeological record. These are the anatomical moulds of female body parts, terracotta figurines representing women gesturing towards the female reproductive organs, and textile dedications. The paper discusses whether it is possible to read these votives as personal reactions to the cultural beliefs about women’s bodies. It focuses on evidence from the Archaic and Classical periods (i.e. approximately from the eighth to fourth centuries BC), a phase in Greek history when science and religion were still very closely linked.

WOMEN'S BODIES IN GREEK MEDICAL THOUGHT

Pregnancy and childbirth represent important landmarks in the lives of women, but also carry serious health risks. In an attempt to minimise these risks, the ancient Greeks developed a series of 'scientific' theories with which they attempted to explain the pathological characteristics of women's bodies. The most systematic body of evidence for these theories is the so-called Hippocratic Corpus – a collection of writings that are directly associated with the medical tradition of Hippocrates of Cos, a celebrated physician of the fifth and fourth centuries BC (NUTTON 2013, 53–71; SMITH 1979, 199–204). A number of texts from this collection are exclusively dedicated to female health (e.g. *Barrenness*; *Diseases of Women*; *Diseases of Young Girls*; *Excision of the Fetus*; *Generation*; *Nature of the Child*; *Nature of Women*). Notably, these titles distinguish between the normal and abnormal conditions of women's bodies, and lay down the fundamentals for the prevention and treatment of female health issues. In particular, early marriage and regular sex, and just as importantly childbirth, are repeatedly emphasised as essential for maintaining the general well-being of women (e.g. *Diseases of Young Girls*; *Generation* 4), and neglecting this advice could supposedly lead to potentially lethal conditions (e.g. *Diseases of Young Girls*).

Based on only a limited amount of observation, concepts presented by these treatises are instead founded chiefly on ideals about women that were grounded in philosophical thought, myth and ritual (KING 1994, 112). Strictly speaking, women were considered different from, and fundamentally inferior to, the ideal human being, which to the ancient Greeks was a man (Aristotle, *Generation of Animals* 737a25–28; Plato, *Timaeus* 90e). In other words, Greek men understood women as outside the norm. As such women were to be tamed due to fears of bringing imbalance to the clearly set order of the physical world (CARSON 1990, 135). On account of this androcentric ideology, the medical doctrine presented by the Hippocratic texts can be interpreted as highlighting attitudes towards the proper way young girls should mature and behave. It is, however, not representative of individual behaviours, and does not explain explicitly what measures women actually took to control their perceived pathological bodies. Women would most likely not read or contribute to the medical theories (DEAN-JONES 1994, 26–40), but they would still engage in other kinds of activities marking their anxiety about the abnormal conditions their bodies could contract. One way of dealing with issues surrounding female health could be to turn to the divine. While the only Greek deity exclusively associated with healing is Asklepius (see e.g. WICKKISER 2008), all the gods of the main pantheon are known to possess curative powers to a lesser or greater extent (JAYNE 1962, 201–369). The well-documented link of Artemis and Hera with young women and their biological and social maturation offers room for investigating the goddesses' roles in obstetrics and gynaecology.

ARTEMIS AND HERA

Generally speaking, Artemis, an eternal virgin and the goddess of hunt and the wilderness, also presided over the social and biological development of women, marking the transition of virgins, *parthenoi*, into mature women or wives, *gynaikes* (e.g. COLE 2004, 180–181, 209–213). In contrast to our modern understanding of virgin as signifying anyone, man or woman, who has not yet engaged in sexual intercourse, the distinction between *parthenos* and *gyné* reflected a complex shift in the social concept of female identity for the ancient Greeks with marriage at its centre (SISSA 1990, 76–78). The word *parthenos* applies to young, unmarried girls regardless of their sexual status and even to unmarried boys (LSJ s.v. παρθένος). Pindar,

for instance, describes a *parthenos* who is already pregnant in one of his *Odes* (*Third Pythian* 34). It could, therefore, become risky to characterise the transition from *parthenos* to *gyné* as merely a biological one. Nonetheless, it is crucial to note that some biological processes clearly defined the stages in the process of becoming a *gyné*, namely menarche, defloration and first childbirth (COLE 2004, 209; KING 1993, 111), and that Artemis appears to have played a vital role for the women experiencing these points of passage as attested by the etymological or metaphorical meanings of her numerous epithets. Two notable examples include Artemis Lysizonos and Artemis Lochia. The former can be freely translated as ‘the freer of the zone’, which represents the women’s belt or girdle and its undoing as symbolic of the opening of the womb during defloration or childbirth (KING 1998, 85–86). The latter, usually translated simply as ‘of childbirth’, derives from the lochial bleeding after childbirth (KING 1998, 85–86). Because women experience the lochial bleeding after childbirth, this epithet should therefore be understood as indicative of a safe delivery that was granted by the goddess. Evidence for these and other epithets often come from literary sources (see KING 1998, 82–88), and explicit references to Artemis in connection with women and childbirth appear in great numbers in epigrams from the *Greek Anthology* (e.g. 6.202; 6.271).

Hera’s primary function was as the goddess of marriage and family (e.g. CLARK 1998, 13–14). Considering marriage as one of the crucial steps in the transformation of the *parthenos* into a *gyné*, Hera stands opposite to Artemis in this transitional process, looking after new wives and mothers. Her responsibility for these matters is invoked through multiple references in ancient literature. Notably, she is the mother of Eileithyia, a childbirth goddess in her own right in Greek mythology (e.g. Hesiod, *Theogony* 920; Homer, *Iliad* XI, 270, XVI, 187, XIX, 103; JAYNE 1962, 319–23). As such Hera is sometimes portrayed as being in control over the outcome of childbirth by commanding Eileithyia to aid or to deter labour (Pausanias I, 18.5). However, Hera’s involvements in obstetrics are not always positive in nature. For instance, she is said to have obstructed the births of Heracles (Pausanias IX, 11.3) and Apollo (*Homeric Hymn to Delian Apollo* 91–104). In fact, the motif of divine disturbance in issues surrounding health is not unknown in Greek thought. In particular, an outbreak of disease is commonly rationalised as the result of spiteful malice on the part of gods or as divine punishment (e.g. Hesiod, *Works and Days* 100–104; 238–245; Homer, *Iliad* I). Beside the above-motivated examples of Hera, Artemis is described as bringing death and disease with pleasure by our sources (e.g. *Iliad* XXI, 484).

In light of this evidence one might reason that women would appeal to the two goddesses simply to appease them in order to avoid divine punishment. Indeed, ceremonies performed for Artemis by her female worshippers are a familiar feature of Greek religion. The cults of Artemis Limnatis and Artemis Caryatis on the borders of Laconia are primarily associated in our sources with sacred rituals performed by young girls and women (Pausanias III, 10.7; IV, 4.2). Similarly, Artemis’s shrine at Brauron is well-known for its *arkteia* ritual, in which young girls performed a dance for Artemis dressed as she-bears, symbolising the making of amends for the supposed slaying of a sacred bear that belonged to the goddess (*Suda* s.v. ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίως). The ceremonies are thought to have acted as a means of satisfying Artemis and securing her protection for the young girls in their future crossing of stages of cultural maturation, i.e. the transition from *parthenos* to *gyné* (COLE 2004, 210).

This explanation does not, however, clarify whether all shrines dedicated to Artemis and Hera served this function. It is worth remembering that worship in the Greek world was extremely variable and would adapt itself to local customs and social needs. To understand further the nature of the healing landscape of Artemis and Hera, the crucial evidence should, therefore, not only come from literature but from the places of worship themselves, and, in particular, from votive offerings and inscribed supplications dedicated at sanctuaries. These

represent parts of reciprocal exchanges between the supplicant and the deity, and appear as a means of plea or payment for divine favours (e.g. FOXHALL 2000, 486; OSBORNE 2004, 5). In this case they provide a vital testimony to the behaviours women could adopt in order to keep their bodies in the condition dictated by the cultural norm presented in the Hippocratic texts. In other words, by reviewing the nature of the votive offerings dedicated to Artemis and Hera it is possible to ascertain whether concerns exposed by the medical theories show up in the material culture. Three types of dedications seemingly indicating female interests appear in the sanctuaries of Artemis and Hera, namely anatomical votives, terracotta figurines and items of cloth manufacture. Their potential link to the goddess' healing roles is discussed below.

THE VOTIVE EVIDENCE

ANATOMICAL VOTIVES

Models of female body parts occur frequently within the sanctuaries of Artemis and Hera. Breasts and vulvae survive in the shrines of Artemis at Athens (VAN STRATEN 1981, 116), and a golden vulva is known from her sanctuary at Ephesus (MARSHALL 1911, 71, no. 924). Likewise, the Heraion at Samos yielded a model of female genitalia (ROUSE 1902, 215). Generally speaking, votives depicting human members make it easy to ascribe a healing function to the deity. Seeing how the body parts represented by these objects may have been the subject of a search for healing, anatomical dedications appear to distinctly indicate anxieties about the supplicant's body (e.g. VAN STRADEN 1981, 100–102), as is the case with countless offerings found in all the major sanctuaries of Asklepius (e.g. ROEBUCK 1951, 114–128). On this interpretation, the items recovered in the above-mentioned shrines of Artemis and Hera can readily be understood as dedications offered in response to the perceived problems with women's bodies.

Yet female body parts do not appear in all the sanctuaries of Artemis and Hera under consideration here. In particular, no explicit imagery of female physiognomy survives in the Perachora Heraion. It is worth mentioning, however, that the sanctuary lies in close proximity to a renowned Asklepieion at Corinth, where votives in the form of female body parts are a common feature (ROEBUCK 1951, 121–122). The alleged presence of a sanctuary of Eileithyia in the area (Pausanias II, 5.4) might also have had an influence on practices within the shrine at Perachora. Be that as it may, where dedications of female reproductive organs are attested, their numbers do not stand above those of other anatomical parts that are also present. Models of feet, hands, eyes and ears are known from Artemis's sanctuary at Ephesus and the Heraion at Samos for instance (HOGARTH 1908, 107; ROUSE 1902, 215). Moreover, anatomical dedications to Artemis and Hera usually lack a dedicatory inscription that would explicitly identify them as healing votives. Strictly speaking, not all body parts in our votive collections need to have healing connotations. Imagery of ears, for example, may not involve a biological problem with these sensory organs but rather a request that the god or goddess hears the supplicant's plea (e.g. IG X, 2.1, 100). This means that while the representation of female body parts within the shrines of Artemis and Hera plausibly indicate a healing role, they might be linked to other aspects of life as well. In other words, it cannot be readily inferred that the primary function of Artemis and Hera was linked to female health based only on the evidence presented by anatomical dedications, and other types of votives have to be examined to reveal how women may have dealt with issues or difficulties relating to their bodies by recourse to the divine powers of Artemis and Hera in the chosen shrines.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

Similar to the anatomical votives, representations of women in terracotta figurines also have the potential to be interpreted with healing connotations. Terracotta was relatively accessible both in price and abundance in the Greek world, and for this reason it offered a means of expressing oneself to individuals regardless of one's position in the social strata and one's region of residence (KYRIELEIS 1988, 215; PICAZO 2008, 60). While the subject matter and purpose of terracotta-made items varies considerably, its use for the creation of votive offerings is attested in most Greek sanctuaries (PICAZO 2008, 60). Those terracottas that appear in the sanctuaries of Artemis and Hera provide a wealth of data to help us appreciate the context of personal manifestation through the symbolism of the image. Their interpretation, however, proves problematic.

Baumbach's research into votives dedicated to Hera at both the Samian Heraion and the sanctuary at Perachora yields examples of terracotta figurines portraying women holding items such as doves and pomegranates to their breasts and belly (BAUMBACH 2004, 176). While the explicit gesture of pointing towards the female reproductive organs may indicate a medical concern for these areas, Baumbach (2004, e.g. 17, 19, 31) also emphasises the meaning of the doves and pomegranates as symbols of fertility on several occasions. In the case of the pomegranate this is no doubt because of the fruit's wealth of seeds. Indeed, the possibility that pomegranates represented fertility to the ancient Greeks is often discussed in secondary literature (e.g. FARNELL 1896, ii. 696–697; IMMERWAHR 1989, 407; KYRIELEIS 1988, 219). Explicit evidence of such an explanation in the primary data, however, does not exist. For this reason, it might not be justified to consider the representation of the fruit on the terracotta figures, as well as its numerous models found at the sanctuary at Samos (IMMERWAHR 1989, 407), as representing dedications made by women for the purpose of gaining help from Hera with fertility. The same should apply to the evidence for the dedication of pinecones and poppies in the Samian sanctuary, which, due to their high amounts of seeds, are usually interpreted in a similar fashion to the pomegranates (e.g. KYRIELEIS 1988, 219). Likewise, except perhaps for a late and debatable reference in Varro (*On Agriculture* III, 7.9), no explicit mention in the ancient sources indicates that the dove was considered a fertility symbol. For these reasons, nothing beyond the explicit body language portrayed by these dedications suggests that the terracotta figurines should be taken as evidence for Hera's function in procreative matters at Samos and Perachora.

Nonetheless, rationalising images through the depiction of specific symbols can be helpful in instances where a clear analogy is available. The cult statue of Artemis at Ephesus is a good example of this. When compared to the portrayal of Artemis in the rest of the Greek world the difference is striking, and a prolific scholarly debate has developed around her multiple adornments. These are understood, variably, as breasts, eggs, or even bull's testicles, but in any case as fertility symbols. A connection has also been made to the Anatolian mother goddess Cybele (e.g. FLESCHER 1973, 85–87; LIDONNICI 1992, 410). Whatever the actual meaning of the unique dress of the Ephesian Artemis, it seems at first sight to indicate a fertility function. This explanation, however, is not satisfactory. It does not account for any possible medicinal functions of the goddess or the cult, and it could not testify to the range of roles that might be invoked by Artemis's female worshippers in response to concerns regarding their bodies.

Be that as it may, a consideration of both the historical and the archaeological context of the area of origin can further help the interpretation of an image. In Laconia, the cult of Artemis Orthia provides an important source of information for the study of Spartan society (e.g. CARTLEDGE 2002). For our purpose, however, it is important to notice the ways in which the Spartan cult represents a close link to fecundity through a clue offered by Pausanias. He

tells us that a sanctuary of Eileithyia was located in close proximity to that of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (III, 17.1). We have already mentioned that Eileithyia was a childbirth goddess by definition, and indeed, among the votives recovered from the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia are not only bronze dies inscribed with her name but also a group of terracotta figurines representing the birth goddess assisting a young mother and her newborn child, and another of a mother and baby (DAWKINS 1929, 51, Fig. 29).

These objects appear to have been dedicated to Eileithyia, but the context in which they were found suggests the contrary. The fact that the finds come from the vicinity of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia might indicate a close link between the cults of Orthia and Eileithyia through both the proximity of the shrines and their function. On the other hand, there might not be any connection at all. This scenario would mean that the objects were deliberately dedicated to Artemis. With this in mind we might conclude that Artemis Orthia could act as Eileithyia, and served, in fact, as a childbirth goddess in her own right under the proper name of Artemis Eileithyia (DAWKINS 1929, 402). The lack of evidence verifying either view does not need emphasis. The dedicators of the votives and their purposes can only be guessed at, as the objects lack detailed dedicatory inscriptions. Nonetheless the imagery of the terracotta figurines and the explicit mention of the name Eileithyia clearly indicate concerns about the female reproductive cycle at Sparta.

CLOTHING DEDICATIONS

Offerings in the form of clothing and artefacts used in cloth production represent a category of votives commonly associated with women. This is without a doubt because women are portrayed as the main producers of cloth in our sources, whether in literary works (e.g. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* VII, 35.6) or on images painted on pottery (e.g. LEWIS 2002, 62–65). The association of these items with female health is partly established in literature, especially in regard to the cults of Artemis. According to some ancient sources, women often dedicated garments they had worn during pregnancy to Artemis as an offering of thanks after they had given birth, or after they recovered from disorders in the menstrual cycle (e.g. Callimachus, *Hymn to Zeus* 77; Hippocrates, *Diseases of Young Girls*).

Naturally, fabrics from the ancient world rarely survive, but tools used in cloth making did. Spindle whorls and loom weights are a usual feature in the sanctuaries of both Artemis and Hera (for Brauron: COLE 2004, 214; for Laconia: KOURSOU MIS 2014, 196–217; for Ephesus: HOGARTH 1908, 201 and 234; for Perachora: DUNBABIN 1962; and for Samos: ISLER 1973). Similarly, series of inscriptions listing garment dedications indicate this was a common practice across the Greek world. While dresses offered to Hera are known from the Samos inventories (IG XII,6 1:261), suggesting a pronounced significance of the textile dedications for the cult practice there, clothes presented to Artemis are especially frequent and are attested at the Athenian Acropolis and at Brauron (IG II² 1514–1530; see CLELAND 2005; LINDERS 1972), as well as at Miletus in Asia Minor (COLE 2004, 216–217), and possibly at the sanctuary of Artemis Limnatis in Laconia (see KOURSOU MIS 2014, 217).

The Attic inventories are especially interesting due to their prominent presentation at the Athenian Acropolis. The inscriptions encompass a detailed catalogue of dedications to Artemis Brauronia, and apart of the votive items also record the dedicator's names and date each dedication by an archon name (CLELAND 2005, xi). Cole argues this meticulous way of display is evidence of the continuing concerns for women's health by the whole society. In particular, she sees the stelai as a means of promoting childbearing for women who have not yet had a child (COLE 2004, 230). It is plausible that the prominent display of such inscriptions

could have had an encouraging effect, but since these were clearly private dedications it is equally appropriate to seek a more personal explanation. Strictly speaking, dresses offered to Artemis were not only worn by the women who dedicated them or on whose behalf they were dedicated, but it is likely they had also been produced by them (e.g. Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* VII, 35.6; LEWIS 2002, 62–65). For these reasons, dedicating clothing should be seen as an offering of a highly personal nature that is specific to the woman's feminine identity. These items then pertain to a socially attributed gender role while showing a bodily expression of the self, which could be translated into a biological purpose. By dedicating a piece of her body to the goddess a woman is consciously dealing with a problem that might have been denoted by cultural norms. In other words, while the dedication of clothes worn in pregnancy might symbolise a perceived gynaecological problem, items used by women in cloth manufacture emphasise the feminine nature of the task. Votives of this type could therefore represent the physical manifestation of the bodies of their dedicators, and for this reason may be considered as material representations of the concerns seen in the medical texts.

Yet, further evidence suggests that not all dedications of this type were made to mark the requests or thanks for a successful delivery or recovery from a gynaecological ailment. In particular, Iphigenia, the mythical first priestess of Artemis at Brauron, became a revered deity of that sanctuary in her own right after she died, and also received clothing offerings. These, however, were dedicated to her when a woman did not survive the labour (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1465–1470). After dying in childbirth, women, it should be understood, could never complete their cultural transformation into a *gyné* (KING 1998, 23). Iphigenia, once a mortal woman to the Greeks, found herself in similar situation, dying before attaining the status of *gyné* (Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris* 1460–1465), and so dedicating to her on behalf of those, who, like her, cannot accomplish the status of *gyné*, seems appropriate (DOWDEN 1989, 43–44). Whether such an interpretation is true or not, however, making a dedication for someone who is already dead clearly could not indicate a plea for assistance. This means that while we may consider clothing dedications to be healing votives in one context, we cannot apply that same symbolism to all scenarios, even within the same sanctuary. Unless, therefore, the context for these offerings is explicitly articulated to us, it is not appropriate to attribute them with a healing role.

CONCLUSION

We observed that concerns in regard to female physiology appear as an important theme in the Hippocratic texts. Bearing in mind that the medical theory presented in these texts derived from a common cultural belief in the ancient Greek world, we examined possible ways in which women could gain control over their bodies without the interference of scientific medicine. Religious practice, and especially the close connection of Artemis and Hera with women, was an obvious choice for investigation. All the sanctuaries under consideration yielded some form of evidence for potentially feminine interests. Of the three types of votives examined in this study, however, only models of female body parts seemingly offer us a clear understanding of the nature and the purpose of the act of dedication: they pertain to appeals for healing. But this interpretation is plausible only if we accepted the analogy of body parts as healing dedications, which, as has been shown, is not without a problem. Among the votives that do not depict bodily parts, terracotta figurines offer the most uncertain possibilities for interpretation in connection with women's bodies. The problem lies in the lack of detail about the contexts in which they were dedicated, as well as in the frequent misunderstanding of

the symbolism they portray because interpretation has been based on non-existing evidence. The third type of votive considered in this paper was the textile dedications. But, as with the figurines, these items also bear no clear indication of connotations relating to female biology. If, however, we pose the crucial question of the circumstances under which they were dedicated, a link to healing can be unequivocally established, at least in the case of Artemis.

Despite these difficulties, there can be no doubt as to the importance of the cults of Artemis and Hera in the matter of protecting against exclusively feminine medical conditions. This applies, almost universally, regardless of region. The ways in which women invoked the powers of the two goddesses are mostly consistent in the different shrines examined here. There are, however, some discrepancies. In particular, the lack of features characteristic of protection in medical issues in the case of the Heraion at Perachora, where neither anatomical votives nor clothing dedications exist, indicates the absence of the protective powers of Hera in that region. The final remarks should therefore consider the possible causes for this variant. For one, it is possible that due to the common Greek practice of worshipping multiple deities in close proximity to one another, women from this area consulted other shrines in the region. As noted, the famous sanctuary of Asklepius at Corinth would seem an obvious choice in such a scenario. It does not mean, however, that Hera at Perachora did not possess the relevant power in the eyes of her worshippers. It was either not necessary for the local population to invoke these powers because of the other means available to them, or the cult practice might have been specific to that particular sanctuary and we may not yet understand the relevant evidence for this. For these reasons we may conclude that the cultural concerns about individuals of specific age groups and sexes, in this case women of childbearing age, that are visible in the medical texts show up, at least to some extent, in the material culture at shrines of Artemis and Hera irrespective of area. In other words, the same age group and sex that is portrayed by the Hippocratic treatises as especially prone to contracting apparently threatening medical ailments clearly manifested their concerns about the vulnerability of their bodies through items dedicated to the two goddesses.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- IG II² = *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, 2nd ed., Parts I–III, ed. Johannes Kirchner. Berlin, 1913–1940.
- IG X,2 1 = *Inscriptiones Graecae X: Inscriptiones Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae. Pars II, fasc. 1: Inscriptiones Thessalonicae et viciniae*, ed. Charles Edson. Berlin, 1972.
- IG XII,6 = *Inscriptiones Graecae XII, fasc. 6, pars 1: Inscriptiones Sami Insulae. Decreta. Epistulae, sententiae, edicta imperatoria. Leges. Catalogi. Tituli Atheniensium. Tituli honorarii. Tituli operum publicorum. Inscriptiones ararum*, ed. Klaus Hallof. Berlin, 2000.
- LSJ = Liddell, H.G. – Scott, R. – Jones, H.S.: *A Greek-English Lexicon*. 9th ed. Oxford, 1940.

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