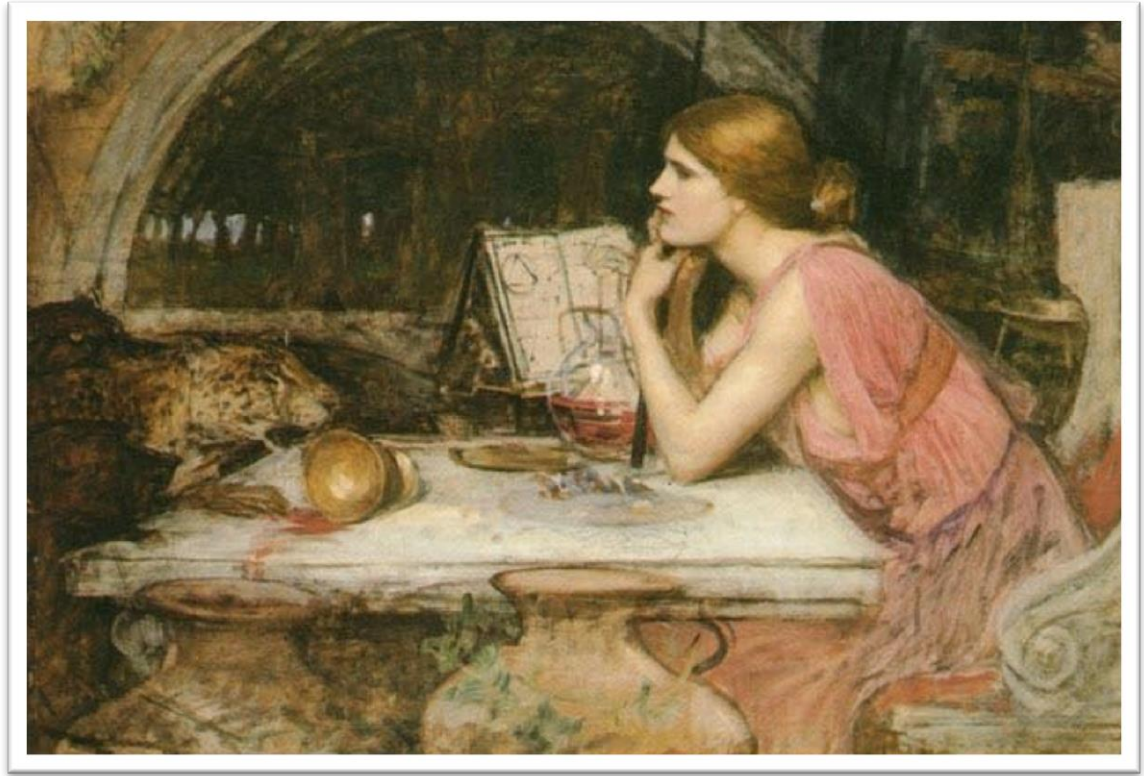


THE GREEK EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE FOR HEALER WOMEN IN THE GREEK WORLD



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Declaration

This work has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution.

This thesis conforms to the length of a doctoral thesis and is no longer than 100,000 words.



Jennifer C. Irving

Abstract

The ancient healer woman is not a well-documented phenomenon. She is seen as a silent figure who challenged the boundaries of society, based on the assumption that women were seen negatively in skilled occupations. This thesis challenges such assumptions, then demonstrates how healer women were valued in their communities and in a comprehensive catalogue of epigraphic evidence. Individual case studies create a more nuanced understanding of the Greek healer woman. The thesis explores the healer woman in her own context and in doing so, answers questions concerning her education, status, and reputation.

The evidence set forth in this thesis has shown that not all healer women were challenging the boundaries of their societies, but rather that they could be respected as professional and skilled authorities. The arguments of this thesis are supported by discussion of associated Greek terms, and show that literary evidence was not always a direct reflection of reality. This thesis also leads the way for future research on Roman evidence from later periods, and gives recognition of a public acknowledgement of the contribution of healer women.

“The art of medicine consists in amusing the patient while nature cures the disease.”

Voltaire

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Catalogue Numbers

Each designation applied in this thesis is listed below for efficient reference, accompanied by the popular designated name of the piece, and main publications.

Physicians (P)

P1: Istanbul ii/i BCE: *Istanbul Museum no.5029; IK Byzantion 128; SEG 24.811*

P2: Cios: i/ii CE: *CIG 3736; IK Kios 52*

P3: Ancyra: ii CE: *Bosch, Quellen Ankara 269, 205; Peek 1955.600, no.1945)*

P4: Constanza: ii/iii CE: *IScM II 333*

P5: Seleukeia Kalyk: ii/iii CE: *CIG IV 9209*

P6: Korykos: ii/iii CE: *CIG IV 9164; MAMA III 269*

P7: Oxyrhynchus: iii CE: *P.Oxy. 12.1586 (TM 31768)*

P8: Adana: iii/iv CE: *IGR III.376; Sterrett, WE 302,424*

P9: Attica: iv CE: *IG III 3452*

P10: Byzantium: iv CE: **Unknown**

P11: *MAMA 7 (1956) 566; Nutton, No.24*

P12: Unknown Provenance: ii/iii CE: *TMomLouvre 1088:1*

Midwives (M)

M1: Euboia: iii BCE: *IG XII, 9 1129*

M2: Hispania: iii BCE: *SEG 33.841*

M3: Athens: iii BCE: *IG II² 11655*

M4: Cyprus: ii/iii BCE: *AN40232001*

M5: Paros: i/ii CE: *IG XII 5, 412*

M6: Rome: Early i/ii CE: *IGUR 1240*

M7: Athens: ii CE: *IG II² 12019*

M8: Aigina: ii/iii CE: *EAD 30 App II, 18; IG 4.168*

M9: Korykos: iv/v CE: *MAMA III 605*

M10: Athens: Unknown date: *Peek, Att. Grabschr. II 156*

Midwife Physicians (MP)

MP1: Athens: iv BCE: *Kaibel 45, Pleket 1, IG II² 6873*

MP2: Korykos: ii/iii CE: *MAMA III 292*

MP3: Rome: iii/iv CE: *CIL 6.9477; ILS 7806*

MP4: Rome: iii/iv CE: *CIL 6.9478*

Healing Associated Women (H)

H1: Rome: i CE: *IG XIV 1751*

H2: Egypt: i CE: *PGM XX Spell 2*

H3: Egypt: i CE: *PGM XX Spell 3*

H4: Tlos: i CE: *Pleket 12.G; TAM 2.595*

H5: Pergamum: ii CE: *Pleket 20.G; IMT Kaikos 883; IvP II 576; IGR 4.507*

H6: Neoclaudiopolis: ii/iii CE: *Pleket 26.G (St.Pont. III 86[2]; JÖAI 23.1926, Beibl. 361,1; SEG 4.727; GVI 1486)*

H7: Maonia, Lydia: Unknown date: *TAM V.1 535*

H8: Cilicia Trachea: ii/iii CE: *Pleket 27*

Pharmacists (Ph)

Ph1: ii CE: *Musee Departemental des Vosges, inv. No.61*

Preface

Author's Note:

Please note that this thesis contains sections of Ancient Greek text. This text should be able to be read in both PDF and word formats.

Conventions Used Throughout:

For the following thesis I have used standard conventions found in the reconstruction of Greek epigraphic texts.

(abc) Fits an abbreviation

[abc] Lost from text

[[abc]] Erased Deliberately

{abc} Superfluous

abc Doubtful

v Vacat: Space Left Blank

Most relevant scholars:

Author	Relevant Works
Rebecca Flemming	Flemming, Rebecca (2000), <i>Medicine and the Making of Roman Women: Gender, Nature, and Authority from Celsus to Galen</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press). Flemming, Rebecca (2007), 'Women, Writing and Medicine in the Classical World', <i>Classical Quarterly</i> , 57 (1), 257-79.
Vivian Nutton	Nutton, Vivian (1977), 'Archiatři and the Medical Profession in Antiquity', <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> , 45, 191-226. Nutton, Vivian (1984), 'From Galen to Alexander, Aspects of Medicine and Medical Practice in Late Antiquity', <i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i> , 38, 1-14. Nutton, Vivian (1999), 'Healers and the Healing Act in Classical Greece', <i>European Review</i> , 7 (1), 27-35. Nutton, Vivian (2004), <i>Ancient Medicine</i> , ed. L. Taub (Series of Antiquity; London: Routledge). Nutton, Vivian (2012), 'Galen and Roman Medicine: or can a Greek become a Roman', <i>European Review</i> , 20 (4), 534-42.
Helen King	King, Helen (1986), 'Agnodike and the Profession of Medicine', <i>PCPS NS</i> , 32, 53-77. King, Helen (1998), <i>Hippocrates' Woman: Reading the Female Body</i>

	<i>in Ancient Greek</i> (London: Routledge). King, Helen (2001), <i>Greek and Roman Medicine</i> , ed. M. Gunningham (Classical World; London: Duckworth Publishers). King, Helen (2005), <i>Health in antiquity</i> (Abingdon: Routledge) xxii, 292. King, Helen (2007), <i>Midwifery, Obstetrics and the Rise of Gynaecology</i> (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited).
Holt Parker	Parker, Holt (1997), 'Women Doctors in Greece, Rome and the Byzantine Empire', in Lillian Furst (ed.) <i>Women Healers and Physicians: Climbing a Long Hill</i> (Kentucky): 131-150.
Cécile Nissen	Nissen, Cécile (2006), 'Prosopographie des Medecins de l'Asie Mineure pendant l'Antiquite Classique', PhD (Ecole Pratique des Hautes études).

Bibliography and Footnotes:

The citations in this thesis have been formatted according to the Oxford Author-Date style. The bibliography is formatted in this style according to the long form, while the footnotes are in the abbreviated forms. This thesis uses this style, as it provides direct and easy reference. The bibliography is also organised alphabetically according to ancient and modern scholars. Where there are two sources for one author please refer to dates published.

Ancient Sources:

Due to the difficult nature of citing ancient sources, this thesis follows the conventional act of giving an ancient reference one or more modern editions. In this case, works from the Hippocratic Corpus are given a Loeb Classical Library edition and a reference to the edition by Émile Littré (1839-1861). For example: 'Hippocratic Corpus, *On the Nature of the Child* 22 (Loeb 10.60, 7.514 Littré). The number 10 referring to the volume and 60 referring to the page in said edition. 7 refers to the volume of Littré's edition; and 514 refers to the page. In the case of Galen, I have followed the example of Laurence Totelin and used Karl Gottlieb Kühn (1821-1833). For example: Galen, *On the Properties of Foodstuffs* 1.37 (6.552 Kühn). 6 referring to the edition and 552 referring to the page of said edition.

Papyri References:

Trismegistos numbers have been referenced when papyri are used throughout this thesis. This will allow the reader to easily access the specific details and original text where available on the Trismegistos Database online.

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I would like to express my sincere appreciation to a number of people and institutions, who have assisted me in the process of writing this thesis. It is with the deepest gratitude that I would like to thank my Principal Supervisor and Head of Department, Dr. Ian Plant. He has been a constant support in regard to my thesis and research work. Dr. Plant always remained positive and gave me constructive criticism, which contributed to my ability to gain a greater comprehension of academia. Without his guidance and persistent advice, it would not have been possible to complete this thesis.

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two years. It has been a pleasure to have the opportunity to share my thoughts and receive feedback in different academic environments. I would also like to acknowledge the archaeological projects at Isthmia with The Ohio State University.

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Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to cast light onto the healer women of Ancient Greece and the Greek influenced world. The application of the model of gender control could be implemented to assume that there had been women healers, but the assumption would be that given a woman's self-control was considered inferior to a man's, women healers could only attend other women. This leaves the place of healer women in ancient Greek society nevertheless significant, even if it limits their role. Holt Parker argues that even now there is still "certain reluctance on the part of some scholars to believe that there really were women doctors or perhaps rather than women were ever *real* doctors".¹ This thesis will challenge this assumption and show that scholars are no longer limited by this model. The role of women in treating women was significant, but women were not limited to treating women.

Modern scholarship has addressed the issue of women in medicine, but women in healing roles have been left out of the main discussion. This may not be a conscious product, but a consequence of Hippocratic focus and the context from which scholars are presenting their studies. Fielding Hudson Garrison highlights the priorities of early modern scholars when studying Greek medicine, notably a change in focus from divinities in medicine to something more scientific at the beginning of the twentieth century. Garrison particularly notes the eminence of the Hippocratic writers and their ability to dissociate medicine from religion and philosophy and focus on the systematic science that gave physicians the highest moral inspiration.² The Hippocratic focus continues with scholars such as Jacques Jouanna, who concentrates on Greek medicinal theory from the Hippocratic Corpus and Galen,³ and James Longrigg who centres in on source material from the 'rational' side of Greek medicine.⁴ Previous scholars such as Bella Vivante, Helen King, Rebecca Flemming, Vivian Nutton, Sarah Pomeroy, Holt Parker, and Nancy Demand have led the way in taking a broader perspective on Greek medicine, but there is much more left to consider.⁵

¹ Parker (2012): 360.

² Garrison (1922): 86.

³ Jouanna (2012): 1.

⁴ Longrigg (1998): 1.

⁵ These scholars will be discussed in detail later in the work.

Healer women were associated with magic, herbalism, foreign lands, gynaecology, general medicine and surgery. Yet the evidence for them has never been brought together into one study. Women, magic, and herbs, are areas that scholars previously almost saw as taboo. Up until the 1970s, we have scholars such as Charles Kahn referring to ancient medical practitioners as simply claiming to “check the winds and raise the dead to life.”⁶ Prior to the 1970s, we also find extreme examples demonstrating the limited, often superstitious view that scholars took of the healing and the societies in which it was practiced. Thomas Allbutt asserts that it was “no wonder that magical and occult ideas and practices entered into the very framework of medicine”, due to the crude nature of the society it was set in.⁷ Even then in Allbutt’s 1909 context, it may not have been credible to write of a crude society in a Hellenistic setting. This is particularly because he was writing from his position as a physician rather than a historian, where the context of the ancient physician and their society would have seemed primitive in comparison. Healer women were particularly subject to being framed in a superstitious setting, as seen in Lynn Thorndike who emphasises the crimes of historical ‘witches’ and ‘sorcerers’ in her study of magic and experimental science which spanned 8 volumes from 1923-1958.⁸

The introduction of feminist scholarship has changed thought processes and now provides the basis to assess healing and working women in the ancient world in a very different light. Bringing together the evidence, we see that healer women were in fact an integral part of their societies.

Methodology

It is paramount that first we turn back to the base of any historical study, the primary evidence: the epigraphic, literary and archaeological material to form a typology. In conjunction, we have the valuable work of modern scholars that have paved the way for this thesis. This thesis will construct a typology, which will be able to highlight what types of healer women existed in the ancient Greek world, how prevalent they were, when and where the evidence comes from, and how to approach the material evidence for healer

⁶ Kahn (1960): 31.

⁷ Allbutt (1909): 1600.

⁸ Thorndike (1923): 203-228.

women. It will also frame an evaluation of the previous scholarship. Evidence such as Roman epigraphy has been included in the appendix for comparative and analytical reasons, but focus remains on the Greek evidence in the initial typology.

With the typology in place, this thesis focuses on six main questions:

1. How did women learn the healing arts?
2. In what types of healing did women participate?
3. How did women pass on their knowledge?
4. What was the reputation of women as healers?
5. What can terminology tell us about the reputation, opportunities, and skills of healer women?
6. How has this thesis added to previous scholarship and general studies on women in the Greek world?

The questions will be addressed by case studies. This way they can be answered in relation to specific pieces of evidence and comparative analysis. This is the most appropriate way of addressing the evidence considering the range of material for healer women.

Question one shall be answered using the Restituta inscription (**H1**) and related evidence. From this specific example we will branch out to discuss similar and disparate material in a series of comparative analysis points. Question two will be addressed by exploring different forms of evidence from the epigraphic and papyrological sources to the ancient literature, in order to analyse the recognition of healing skills. Question three will again use the epigraphic private and public evidence to address representations of healer women like Phanistrate (**MP1**) and compare them to the Hellenistic and Roman examples. Question four will address case studies to determine how individuals gained reputations and how they were viewed within their societies. Additional analysis shall be brought in to discuss underlying related topics such as magic and sorcery and questions five and six will be addressed throughout the examination of materials in relation to questions one through four. Answering these questions will allow this thesis to draw conclusions regarding the location and occurrences of female healers and evidence for ideological mobility.

The fact that the evidence has never been catalogued before further justifies the need to establish a typology. This has allowed a comprehensive analysis of the reception of healer

women by both men and women in the Hellenistic and Roman evidence from the Late Republic and Early Empire, and the establishment of roles women played. The methodology will be supplemented with the utilisation of scholarship that has made use of the epigraphic evidence, demonstrating the value of epigraphic evidence in gender studies. Mary Lefkowitz and Maureen Fant have made particularly effective use of epigraphy amongst ancient literary sources to discuss women's lives in Greece and Rome.⁹ Angeliki Kosmopoulou also brings in epigraphic examples, which complement her study of working women and female 'professionals'.¹⁰

Context

The material for healer women in the Greek world spans a large time and geographic scale, because of this it is important to first define a context for this thesis. This has the potential to cause problems concerning the comparative aspects of the thesis, but these can be combatted by defining and accepting the range early on in the process. This is done by defining the context around the largest concentration of evidence and working with comparative outliers while highlighting the issues as we continue. Specific case studies will be thus used.

The context for this thesis lies in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods with comparisons to the Late Republic/Early Empire. This spans seven hundred years (350 BCE-350 CE), however, the wide timeframe allows the examination of important elements of continuity regarding the workings of ancient Greek society over a long term. As with the large spread for chronological context, geographical context is similarly widespread, especially in regards to the epigraphic evidence. This is done to ensure that outliers are considered with the other evidence.

This time period spans political and economic changes, which shed light on women and healing. The overlap into the early Imperial period permits this thesis to benefit from the evidence and analysis by modern Roman scholars on women and healing. Rebecca

⁹ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 1.

¹⁰ Kosmopoulou (2006): 1. The term 'professional' will be discussed in **Section 2.1** in order to address issues of definition and usage in relation to medical and ancient contexts. It is used here because it is referred to directly by Kosmopoulou in her work.

Flemming examines the often contrasting opinions of Celsus and Pliny the Elder to discuss the different attitudes towards Greek physicians opposed to other medical workers such as midwives.¹¹ Ian Plant also utilises early Imperial examples in his discussion on women writers to demonstrate changes in attitudes in regards to different forms of healer and intellectual women over time and geographical locations.¹²

The Hellenistic period, generally defined as the era between Alexander the Great's death and the rise of the Roman Empire, marked a process of change, not a sudden switch of ideologies.¹³ Political turmoil, changing attitudes and boundaries marked this era, but it provides an excellent context with which to view the prevailing attitudes towards, and roles of women with societal shifts, the adoption of Greek culture throughout Hellenistic kingdoms and the assimilation of cultures within the Greek world. Peter Green provides an excellent overall study of the period in his book *Alexander to Actium* where he examines the historical evolution of the Hellenistic age. Green's work substantiates the shifting nature of the Greek world, through analysis of changing values with the inheritance of the successors of Alexander,¹⁴ life in Athens,¹⁵ and relations between cultures in Egypt, Asia Minor, the Near East and Greece itself.

The date range of this thesis extends even to the Antonine period in the second century CE. This period was one of continuing change throughout the Greek world and interaction with Roman society. Study of examples from this period allows us to explore the evolution of attitudes from the Greek into the Latin, and provides us with outsiders' opinions of the earlier Greek practices. This period boasts the highest numbers of surviving items of inscriptional evidence for working women and includes the introduction of Greek on papyri: this is reason in itself for including this period.

The geographical area studied also takes into consideration additional outliers from Egypt, the Eastern Mediterranean, and the West. Using papyrological evidence puts a focus on

¹¹ Fleming (2000): 134.

¹² Plant (2004):1.

¹³ Errington (2008): 1; McLean (2002): 4.

¹⁴ Green (1993): 16.

¹⁵ Green (1993): 46-81.

women in the Greek diaspora, living in Egypt, and inscriptions provide evidence for the Eastern Mediterranean. Anatolia holds evidence of a wealth of healing cults and associations such as those at Pergamum and is a region, which is greatly influenced by Greek, and surrounding cultures. It is an essential area of study concerning the integration of foreign practices into 'Greek' traditions.

Outside of the epigraphic evidence, it is also important to consider the ancient literature. There are many ancient sources of which we can make use. Pliny the Elder names women of medical authority and their remedies in his *Natural History*.¹⁶ A more detailed discussion of Pliny will be undertaken in **Section 2.5**. Greek playwrights and authors also mention midwives and nurses. Socrates in Plato's *Theaetetus* calls his mother Phaenarete 'the noble midwife'.¹⁷ Literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence are all valid data sources, but one can only truly profit by contextualising them. The evidence for healer women typically comes from the prose of men. Bella Vivante rightly notes that most ancient writings, including medical documents, thus reflect androcentric views and rarely record women's experiential knowledge.¹⁸

From the fourth century BCE, we find inscriptions that recognise the work of female physicians and midwives. Some of these simply name the woman alongside the title 'physician/midwife' (eg. *MAMA III* 269 **(P6)** and *CIG IV* 9209 **(P5)**);¹⁹ but surprisingly the preponderance of examples are more detailed and specific (eg. *TAM* 2.595; *Pleket* 12.G **(H4)**), especially in reference to the female physician.

Interpreting the Evidence

In the analysis of individuals in Greek society, funerary and commemorative inscriptions are a useful tool to provide evidence from both the private and public sectors. Literary sources

¹⁶ Pliny the Elder, *Natural Histories*: 28.38, 66, 82, 262; 32.135, 140.

¹⁷ Plato, *Theaetetus*: 149a, Loeb 123:30-31.

¹⁸ Vivante (2007): 75.

¹⁹ These inscriptions can be found in the following typology and are discussed in subsequent chapters in detail.

only provide part of the picture and there has not been much work done on epigraphic material in the context of the interpretation of working women in the Greek world.

John Bodel's *Epigraphic Evidence: Ancient History from Inscriptions* demonstrates the value of using epigraphic evidence in the assessment of ancient history. Bodel admits that the increasing mass of available evidence and specialised conventions of editing and publication can make the study of these crucial documents intimidating for the non-specialist. Bodel highlights the linguistic and inscriptional diversity of Greek inscriptions and the contribution that epigraphy makes to our knowledge of onomastics and prosopography, family and society, and civic and religious life. He notes that specialists find the need to delve into other areas of evidence such as papyrology, numismatics, and palaeography in order to better comprehend their own field.²⁰ Bodel's study of epigraphy also underlines some of the issues that epigraphists deal with that we need to keep in mind for the current thesis: that inscriptions seldom respond directly to the questions that are asked of them and that the information they provide is invariably filtered through the medium by which it is transmitted.²¹ Bodel tends to focus on epitaphs as the main source of evidence although he admits there is value in incorporating multiple source types.²² Epitaphs will also be the main source for this thesis.

Papyrological evidence provides part of this foundation for the analysis of healing and professional women in Egypt in the second century BCE onwards. It delivers a wealth of evidence for the lives of ordinary men and women. Jane Rowlandson uses papyri evidence to discuss women and society in Greek and Roman Egypt. These private forms of evidence are rare in the Greek world. A daughter reports about her pregnancy and other matters in *SB V 7572* (*BL III 189; IX 247*),²³ Petronilla relates the birth of her dead husband's child in *P.Gen. II 103* (*BL VIII 136*) (*TM 11251*),²⁴ and Lucretia Octavia is rewarded for nursing her husband

²⁰ Bodel (2001): 3.

²¹ Bodel (2001): 1.

²² Bodel (2001): 1.

²³ Rowlandson (1998): 285

²⁴ Rowlandson (1998): 289.

in his final illness in *P.Diog 10* (TM 10689).²⁵ With these texts, we have the deeds, the lives, of ordinary people right in front of us.

From the use of papyrological evidence, Rowlandson allows us to see women in context, sometimes in their own words. While the penmanship and grammatical features leave much to be desired that is no reason to assert illiteracy: Rowlandson disagrees with P.W. Pestman's assumption that *SB V 7572* (TM 27328) is the work of an "illiterate woman".²⁶ Rowlandson also hints at what can be gained from using this form of evidence. Rowlandson's discussion of *P.Gen II 103* (TM 11251) demonstrates her recognition of the significance of particular features within epigraphic material. In the case of *P.Gen II 103* (TM 11251) she recognises that the uses of naming patterns are significant for the comprehension of the relationships between men and women.²⁷ Alternatively, in relation to *P.Diog. 10* (TM 10689), Rowlandson provides interesting discussion on the background of the woman involved, Lucretia Octavia, by summarising the lengthy will of Lucius Ignatius Rufinus.²⁸ Rowlandson further uses the text to discuss legal rights of women in Roman Egypt and how personal sentiment is seen in epigraphic evidence.

The papyrological evidence is significant because it presents us with evidence from the private sector of society rather than the public context of the inscriptions. *P.Oxy. 12.1586* (TM 31768) (**P7**) is an excellent example of this, which we will be discussing later on in this work, documenting the existence of a female physician. These private examples illustrate the attitudes of the general population because they are not written to stress a view that one wants accepted by a broad audience but rather an individual's ideology.

Terminology

Important definitions of commonly used terms are addressed as follows. These definitions are used to avoid any confusion in the context they are used in this thesis.

²⁵ Rowlandson (1998): 343.

²⁶ Rowlandson (1998): 285; Pestman (1994): 40.

²⁷ Rowlandson (1998): 189.

²⁸ Rowlandson (1998): 343.

Healer Women: The term ‘healer women’ will be used as a general term to refer to the subjects of the thesis. A term for women in healing traditions as a whole is necessary to transmit ideas that may conform to societal and general views of women in healing roles. The term ‘women healers’ is also attested in studies on Greek medicine. Lilian Furst’s book is entitled *Women Healers and Physicians* and covers healer women briefly from ancient through to early modern times.²⁹

Other Terms for Women in Healing Roles: When referring to individual roles of healer women there are a number of terms that will be applied. ‘Female physician’ refers to a woman who practised in more than a midwifery role, over a wide range of ailments of both men and women. ‘Midwife’ is used in its modern understanding of one that assists in childbirth and gynaecological ailments. ‘Nurse’ refers to the ancient Greek meaning of the term, which will be discussed below, as a nurturer. Other used terms are ‘herbalist’ (rather than ‘sorceresses’), ‘pharmacist’ and ‘wise woman’ (a term applied by modern scholars for feminine healers). These terms are derived from the role that these women play.

‘Rational’ and ‘Irrational’:³⁰ In the discussion of ancient medicine, we commonly come across the terms ‘rational’ and ‘irrational’ medicine. ‘Rational’ medicine is used to denote the ‘scientific’ study of medicine that is primarily associated with the Hippocratic and Galenic treatises. The Hippocratic theories were formed prior to the fourth century BCE; Galen wrote around the second century CE. The term ‘irrational’ is often used for medicine that falls outside the scope of the ‘rational’ doctrine of the Hippocratic Corpus.³¹ ‘Irrational’ medicine is generally associated with what is termed a magico-medicinal and superstitious use of herbs and incantations. The ‘irrational’ term is characteristically associated with negative connotations of medicine, the categories of herbalists, witches and sorceresses, stereotypically females outside of society.³² ‘Irrational’ medicine is generally associated with what is termed a magico-medicinal and superstitious use of herbs and incantations. The

²⁹ Furst (1997): 1.

³⁰ These terms are modern definitions of the ancient concept of healing set out in modern studies.

³¹ Potter (1996: 516-17; Longrigg (1993): 1.

³² Harrison (2002): 6.

'irrational' term is characteristically associated with negative connotations of medicine, the categories of herbalists, witches and sorceresses, stereotypically females outside of society.³³

Paul Potter's critical review of Longrigg notes the limitations of his "nineteenth-century positivist duality of science:religion", seen in the separation of medical ideas into rational and irrational.³⁴ Potter posits that these terms suggest distinct separate spheres whereas medicine, like religion, was more an unbroken succession with numerous branches off a main stem.³⁵ The terms 'irrational' and 'rational' are thus inappropriate to define medicine in ancient Greece.

Schools: References to schools within this thesis refer to intellectual schools of thought rather than educational institutions. These schools of thought are a particular way of thinking usually attributed to one person or group in reference to a philosophy, belief, discipline, or movement. Particular schools that will be referred to in this thesis include: the Hippocratic and Galenic schools. Laurence Totelin also describes two other schools of thought, which will be mentioned in this thesis. These were the Cnidian School of medicine, which was centred at Cnidos and was considered as more primitive and less rational than the Coan School of medicine, which was centred at nearby Cos.³⁶

Hippocratic: Modern scholars have generally taken the idea of Hippocratic medicine as the base for modern medical thought. Hippocrates himself has been hailed as the father of "rational medicine", which illustrates why there is a focus on the Hippocratic School in ancient and modern scholarship. Spyros Marketos shows the direct link modern scholars have made between the Hippocratic and rational ideas.³⁷ Marketos explains that ancient Greek medicine combines rationalism and empiricism, but is also influenced by religious ideas. He concludes that ancient Greek medicine, specifically Hellenistic medicine, has a scientific and cultural orientation throughout its long history. Hippocratic medicine was

³³ Harrison (2002): 6.

³⁴ Potter (1996): 516-517.

³⁵ Potter (1996): 517.

³⁶ Totelin (2009): 3.

³⁷ Marketos (1993): 7-14.

based in logical reasoning, observation and belief, with the addition of ethical and moral rules.

This thesis will show that medical tradition in the European and Anatolian Greek world was complex. It will also be shown that even the Hippocratic texts themselves do not reflect a clear cut 'rational' tradition but have elements of the 'irrational'. The overarching point is that this thesis will take a broader definition of medicine than previous works and that ancient medicine was not necessarily split into two opposing forces but a mixture of attitudes.

Ideologies and Attitudes: Within an analysis involving attitudes and societal beliefs, terms like 'ideology' are not ideal words. 'Ideology' can refer to a wide range of concepts. It is better in this context to refer to 'attitudes'. 'Attitude' is more appropriate in this thesis, because we are exploring the changing thought processes of individuals and societies towards healer women, and women towards themselves and their roles. We are also exploring peoples' attitudes towards the different forms of practices and healing methods and not just the practice of healing itself.

Scholarship

The Value of Feminist Scholarship

Feminist scholarship, an increasing area of modern scholarship, is invaluable to the study of women. This feminist approach examines female status in the Greek world and owes a great deal to scholars of the 60s through the 90s.

Mary Spongberg gives us an excellent overview on the issues and focuses of feminist history. Spongberg rightly asserts that there was previously an overarching impression that women were somehow situated outside history and were not regarded as worthy of a proper history.³⁸ This thesis argues with Spongberg that this exclusion of women was not

³⁸ Spongberg (2003): 1.

necessarily a conscious one but a subconscious consideration that politics and history were the realm of men, just as was believed in the ancient world itself.³⁹

Feminist scholarship began to be written in the 1960s with female historians attempting to use women in history to display the current political climate. Griselda Pollock explains that during the 60s and successive decades, feminism and history held a political initiative with the aim of improving existing, but inadequate history.⁴⁰ Frederick Antal also asserts that the point of view of historians is conditioned by their historical place, which in turn influences the concessions they are willing to make to new ideas like feminist thinking.⁴¹

The 1960s and 70s saw a complex attempt to correct the absence of women from history.⁴² New and revolutionary movements in feminist historical writing were the product of much experimentation and it has taken many subsequent attempts to secure a place for women in the historical record, which is still evolving.

Balsdon's *Roman Women: Their History and Habits* presents us with one of the first well-rounded interpretations of the literary evidence from 1963.⁴³ The modern female scholar reading Balsdon can appreciate his interpretation of the evidence for Roman women and his attempt to form more integrated conclusions with an objective mind. Balsdon was subject to criticism though despite his valuable input. The feminist reviews of the 60s and 70s often criticise male scholars like Balsdon for daring to write on the female.⁴⁴ Brian Calvert explores male scholars in relation to the issue of Plato and the equality of women. He maintains that former arguments "could be damaging to the feminist cause" of the 1970s, considering the views of these male scholars on female inferiority.⁴⁵ He also demonstrates that it was not just female scholars in the 1970s that recognised the problems facing feminist views.

³⁹ Spongberg (2003): 1.

⁴⁰ Pollock (1987): 4.

⁴¹ Antal (1949): 187.

⁴² Spongberg (2003): 2.

⁴³ Balsdon (1963): 1.

⁴⁴ Purdy (1989): 9-14; Bennett (2006); Brown (1993): 311-28; Calvert (1975): 231-43; Conkey (2003): 867-80; Rose (1993): 89-128; Shaw and Lee (2004): 1.

⁴⁵ Calvert (1975): 235.

In 1968, Allan Bloom writes on the subject of Plato and the equality of women that “women are always inferior in capacity to the best men; it is then highly improbable that any women would even be considered for membership in the higher classes.”⁴⁶ Ernest Barker also contends, “All women, indeed, have an inferior capacity to that of men, in politics as elsewhere.”⁴⁷ However, from a modern standpoint, we know that this is of course not the case and women are just as capable as men. Calvert even in the 1970s disagrees with his forebears, saying that “the best women are equal to the best men”, the issue should be instead that the class of men were seen as superior to the class of women.⁴⁸ The position that only men were ‘the best’ would soon become a point torn apart by the introduction of feminist theory in the 1970s.

The beginning of the 1980s saw the start of more advanced forays into the historical record. Bonnie Smith argued for the first time that a women’s historical tradition should exist, separate from men.⁴⁹ While it is considered more appropriate now to look at a mix of traditions, it highlighted the real issue further. Historians felt it necessary to judge each sex as separate from the other. Male historians during this time saw it as somewhat inappropriate to include women in the masculine spheres, except in the most extraordinary cases. This was aligned with the Classical ideal, which saw the exclusion of women as morally correct, the sexes discrete, opposing forces.⁵⁰

Mary Beard demonstrates some of the initial issues with women involved in historical analysis in addition to women being the subject of said analysis. Beard’s work entitled *The Invention of Jane Harrison* discusses the work of the late nineteenth century academic Jane Harrison and how she changed the way we think about the ancient world while infuriating the academic establishment of the time by refusing to play the submissive role she was born into.⁵¹ From this example, we see the limitations that faced female historians prior to the 1960s, as well as how Beard is able to re-evaluate previous female scholars and give their

⁴⁶ Bloom (1968): 383.

⁴⁷ Barker (1964): 256.

⁴⁸ Calvert (1975): 237.

⁴⁹ Smith (1998): 1.

⁵⁰ Spongberg (2003): 15.

⁵¹ Beard (2002): xi.

work the praise it deserved. Beard explains that Harrison was about finding the truth and fresh revelation while lecturing and publishing on Greek art and archaeology.⁵² Harrison's studies revolved around a view that ritual must always come first and that the things done have precedence over the things said.⁵³ She and her female peers (notably Eugenie Strong, and later Jessie Stewart and Hope Mirrlees) revolutionised lecturing through the use of visual components, which were influenced by their attraction to history, in addition to amateur theatre, where they gained a unique perspective of the women, myths, and religions that they studied. However, Beard asserts that these views had a complicated afterlife as "regularly conscripted as the legitimating ancestor of a whole variety of contemporary approaches to Greek myth, ritual and religion."⁵⁴ Harrison's scholarly approach started as aesthetic to the visual arts with admiration for the Platonic ideal and for the Classical perfection of the age of Pheidias, but her approach changed direction with the influence of scholars like D.S. MacColl, to focusing on the origins of Greek culture, the study of folklore, religion, anthropology and ritual.

The issues Harrison faced as a new independent woman of the times are well illustrated in the reaction that University College London had to her application for the new Yates Chair of Classical Archaeology. The Committee decided that it was "undesirable that any teaching in University College should be conducted by a woman" despite her numerous backers and exceptional references.⁵⁵ This illustrates that women were not deemed as desirable in historical fields and that despite having the backing of significant male peers, the difficulties faced were much greater than men looking for similar opportunities. Despite Harrison's struggles, she was still seen in her day as an exceptional academic by men and women alike, though still defined by her sex in the society in which she lived. *The Women's Penny Paper* states, "She has shown herself equal of men in a path untrodden almost by women."⁵⁶

⁵² Beard (2002): 3.

⁵³ Beard (2002): 7.

⁵⁴ Beard (2002): 7.

⁵⁵ Beard (2002):62.

⁵⁶ Beard (2002): 102.

Beard and associated scholars are now righting the wrongs of manipulative subconscious uses of women in the historical record by re-examining the evidence. Areas such as the status of working women, and the attitudes towards healer women are still in need of much work considering there is only so much that these excellent scholars can focus on at one time.⁵⁷ In saying this, Jean Gardiner and her associates rightly comment that no social perspective can ignore the importance of sexual divisions.⁵⁸

Spongberg asserts further that the idea “that history should ‘teach men to be men’ was first derived from the writings of the Greek historian Thucydides. Histories written following Thucydides were a preparation for life, especially military and political life.”⁵⁹ She also suggests that “the lessons of Thucydides and Polybius taught man about the role of women in history and were critical to the development of history as an essentially masculinist discipline.”⁶⁰ Overall Spongberg develops the idea of ‘separate spheres’.

One of Spongberg’s initial case studies concerns Virgil’s *Aeneid*, which she approached with the idea that women are generally represented only through virtue and vice. She asserts that Virgil presented femininity in a way that was external and antithetical to the historical and thus historians of Virgil and contemporary texts had a tendency to leave out the female from social analyses.⁶¹ This leads Spongberg to the conclusion that women when identified with private life were positioned outside history. This is certainly an acceptable conclusion, especially when one considers her additional exploration into Thucydides who appears to conflate femininity with civil strife.⁶²

Spongberg’s assessments show that the ancient thought process when it came to women focused on the domestic context and the only time this was not the case was when individual

⁵⁷ Spongberg (2003): 41. “According to both Classical and Biblical authority, woman was divinely subordinated to man, so just as she could not assert her authority over her husband, nor could she be the governor of men.” Spongberg (2003): 53, 54, 55, 131, 187.

⁵⁸ Gardiner et al. (1975): 47-58.

⁵⁹ Spongberg (2003): 15.

⁶⁰ Spongberg (2003): 21.

⁶¹ Spongberg (2003): 24.

⁶² Spongberg (2003): 31.

women achieved historical placement due to acting outside of their sexual expectations and ideals. Thus, it is further evident that the more comprehensive understanding of ideals set about in case studies of the ancient literature can lead the modern scholar to a better understanding of how to approach the evidence.

Initially the feminist scholarship may have been problematic both in terms of method and of effects with attempts to add women to the historical record involving simply inserting them into the male records. Balsdon undertook this, having written women into the male records. Spongberg is again correct in the assertion that there was and still is a need to re-evaluate the ways we approach the past and methodologies.⁶³ In the current climate with the work of feminist scholars such as King, Vivante, Spongberg and many of those discussed below, we now have the rounded base for women where they can be judged in their contemporary context.

Misconceptions in the Modern and Ancient Scholarship

Misconceptions and generalisations have a tendency remain in scholarship even after they are considered inappropriate. Thus, it is only fair that we acknowledge them in order to make sure they are understood so we can move past them. In the case of this thesis, there is the generalisation that certain occupations, which are primarily associated with males in the Greek world, were specifically forbidden for women. We will see in this thesis that medicine falls into this category of occupations, which are believed to have been forbidden for women to practice. Such occupations include medicine, politics, academics, and business management. This has led to the best-attested cases of healer women in the ancient Greek world being fictional. In most of the Greek world, the practice of medicine was not governed by statute, so that the idea that the existence of women healers was in some way contrary to law is implausible. The most prevalent of these fictional cases is Hagnodice in Hyginus who is accused of illegally learning and practising medicine, which will be discussed later in the thesis. The issue is what society would allow as appropriate rather than what was legislated. This requires sensitive discussion throughout: if something was not legislated, it may have been because everyone knew it was not acceptable.

⁶³ Spongberg (2003): 3.

The study of female status has also been affected by the stress on strict matrimonial discipline. Women were believed to have lived in a distinct and isolated microcosm.⁶⁴ This generalisation has led to significant limitation in the history of women. In scholarship that is more recent the idea of female seclusion has been successfully contested. George Harris writing in 1874 asserts that newly married Greek Classical women could not go beyond the street door until they become mothers, when they were allowed to walk to the forum attended by elderly women.⁶⁵ The evidence does not support such a conclusion. In the twentieth century in the works of scholars like Flemming and Demand, this generalisation has long been subject to re-examination. Nancy Demand notes that women and slaves were not allowed full development of potential beyond the limited roles they were to play, mainly domestic in nature, but most were not privy to this ideal due to their respective backgrounds and status levels.⁶⁶ Rebecca Flemming also asserts that a more measured and nuanced assessment of the different cases of cultural contribution would be helpful to our understanding of women in the Greek world.⁶⁷ The reason that these later scholars come to different conclusions to scholars like Harris clearly stems from the development in historiographical theory and the introduction of feminist history that recognised the roles and status of women in society and moved away from antiquity's focus on military and political history that saw women as supporting characters for men's achievements and advancement.

The ancient literature is even more so subject to generalisations and misconceptions that have affected the modern scholarship. The ancient writers have provided a base for modern scholars focusing on women involved with deviant behaviour. This has led general modern studies to focus on the notorious and famous rather than on private evidence for the general population of the societies involved.

⁶⁴ Kerber (1988): 10.

⁶⁵ Harris (1874): 1-74.

⁶⁶ Demand (1998): 69.

⁶⁷ Flemming (2000): 258.

Benefits of Modern Scholarship

Modern scholarship is full of valuable studies to this current thesis. Herman Gummerus laid some of the groundwork for the modern study of the non-elite in the ancient world in the 1930s.⁶⁸ Several decades after Gummerus, Henri Willy Pleket in the 1960s does something that no other scholar had attempted before: he brings the most accessible pieces of epigraphic evidence for healer women together into a catalogue. Pleket, a Dutchman, was born in 1930 and retired in 1994. In the 1950s, when he was appointed at Leiden, it was still normal to publish epigraphical texts without translations, it being assumed that everyone who read such publications either knew Greek or Latin or at least was learning it. This only began to change in the 1970s. Even now, the majority of modern scholars, like Lefkowitz and Fant, Kosmopoulou and Demand, provide only reference and brief description of inscriptions. The only other source to supply the Greek text and some additional commentary is French academic Cécile Nissen. Nissen does not give translations.⁶⁹ Pleket also explains his reasoning for not providing translations as a deliberate action to facilitate further interpretation of what he claims to be a subjective choice of inscription texts. He supplements this facilitation by providing appropriate references for the key issues within the text, namely the social position of women in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Pleket lists thirty-two texts concerning the problem of the 'emancipation' of women, while correctly asserting that the role of women had been neglected in studies. We must consider that it is because of Pleket these pieces of evidence became the focus of scholars. Before Pleket, there is no or very little mention to them at all. His collection includes: *IG II/III² 6873 (MP1)*, the epitaph for Phanostrate; *IGR 4.507 (H5)*, an epitaph for Panthia, wife of Glykon; *TAM 2.595 (H4)*, a statue dedicated to Antiochis set up by herself; *Pleket 26 (H6)*, an epitaph for Domnina a female physician; and *Pleket 27 (H7)*, an epitaph for Obrimos and his wife, Ammeis, both physicians.⁷⁰ These form an important part of this thesis.

⁶⁸ Gummerus (1932): 1.

⁶⁹ Nissen (2006): 1.

⁷⁰ Pleket (1969): 1.

Vivian Nutton and Sarah Pomeroy, in the 1970s and 80s to the present day, provide evolving analyses of medicine and women in the ancient world respectively.⁷¹ Nutton, as with scholars such as Edelstein and Lloyd, furnishes a more comprehensive understanding of the more popular forms of medicine in the ancient literature, particularly those involved with the Hippocratic and Galenic schools. Nutton focuses on Galen and the idea of the chief physician (ἀρχίατρος) in his book *Ancient Medicine*.⁷² Nutton acknowledges that there were alternatives to these schools of medicine and starts contemplating them in his *Healers and the Healing Act in Classical Greece*.⁷³

Nutton's work is advantageous to us because of its focus on the Hippocratic traditions, which provides elucidation concerning the original ancient texts. Understanding this side of medicine, and the acknowledgement of other traditions, is of key importance as we go through to analyse the material on healer women, so we can better comprehend the types of healing they were involved in.

On the subject of ancient women, it is important to first explore in some detail the works of Sarah Pomeroy, a feminist scholar whose works have become the base for the study of women in several Mediterranean societies. Pomeroy's scholarship also provides an excellent base from which to discuss the research of women's history in the last few decades because of her critical insights into modern feminist theory and women's roles in the historical record. Pomeroy contributes general studies of women, but also provides specific analysis of women in education and transformation over time. Her article '*Technikai kai Mousikai*', does this by discussing dramatic evidence for social and economic changes for women in the Hellenistic period, with insight taken from the pursuit of "intellectual, artistic, or scientific goals",⁷⁴ which women such as Pomeroy related so clearly with in the 1960s and 70s.

Pomeroy's use of literary evidence illustrates the focus on literary sources in general studies, which is useful to the audience of her work, but must be added to in other scholarship to

⁷¹ Nutton (1969); Nutton (1977); Nutton (1984); Pomeroy (1977); Pomeroy (1978); Pomeroy (1984); Pomeroy (1990).

⁷² Nutton (2004): 1.

⁷³ Nutton (1999): 27.

⁷⁴ Pomeroy (1977): 51.

gain the maximum benefit from evidence and contextual analysis. In her book, *Goddesses, Whores, Wives and Slaves*, she presents a practical overview of women in the Greek world and how roles were altered in the progression of the Hellenistic Period. Pomeroy uses this evidence from outside the popular sphere in general works. The use of papyrus letters and contracts in her *Women in Hellenistic Egypt: from Alexander to Cleopatra* is demonstrative of this. One text she uses is *P.Cair.Zen. I 59003* (TM 665), which documents the acquisition of a slave girl child.⁷⁵ This provides us with a picture relating to common and slave women of the population, a grouping largely unrepresented in ancient scholarship.

Pomeroy also provides insight into women in particular occupations. Of Pomeroy's many articles, 'Plato and the Female Physician (*Republic* 454d2)' illustrates this area rather well by discussing attitudes towards women and feminist interpretation of the primary sources.⁷⁶ Pomeroy outlines the feminist reaction to Plato and how in recent years feminists have sometimes hailed him as a hero for his views on women's emancipation.⁷⁷ She acknowledges that this has previously had mixed reviews for it has not considered other equally plausible interpretations concerning a more misogynistic view by Plato.⁷⁸ Her article again demonstrates her ability to move away from the general and into specific studies and shows her comprehension of certain feminist premises and issues of source analysis pertaining to ancient women.

Following Pomeroy, Helen King's research career began in the 1980s and she has proceeded to fill some of the large gaps through the introduction of research on the female body in antiquity, midwifery and the connections between gender studies and health. Her works are essential to a modern understanding of how women in these times were viewed by their peers. King's most noteworthy work, in relation to this thesis, is *Hippocrates' Woman* (1998), a work that examined how ancient Greek healers read the signs offered by their patients' bodies. It presents a new argument that medicine was based on ideas about women and their

⁷⁵ Pomeroy (1984): 125.

⁷⁶ Pomeroy (1978): 496-500.

⁷⁷ Pomeroy (1978): 499.

⁷⁸ This topic will be discussed in more detail in the following chapters.

bodies found in myth and ritual. King also explores the mystical traditions associated with the healer woman and the negative connotations often applied to her.

King also provides us with a summary of the state of play for a general audience, *Greek and Roman Medicine*, in addition to her more specific texts. Comparative texts have been often used, but King is innovative in the comparison of Greek and Roman medicine, with analysis of specifics related to it, including the Hippocratic and Galenic treatises, the traditional and herbal healing methods, reality versus mythology, and most importantly to this thesis, men and women. King makes available the context for the study of medicine for anyone interested in a clear and concise manner. She answers the question of what happened if someone fell sick in the Classical world. Her look into the more traditional, herbal-based practices is useful to this thesis as it is noted as the realm of women.⁷⁹

Until the 1990s, we have a number of revolutionary works on women being penned, but few of these works make much use of the epigraphic sources in any detail. The 1990s and 2000s have seen that change though, with scholars such as Roger Brock and Angeliki Kosmopoulou,⁸⁰ who have taken it upon themselves to re-enter the epigraphic evidence and apply it to analyses of women in the ancient Greek world though not always successfully. Kosmopoulou is first beneficial in that she elucidates a common problem: that epigraphic evidence is largely used in relation to men and Classical Athens. Brock demonstrates that, while there has been an increased use of inscriptions as evidence for women, it has been relatively minor with literary evidence remaining the focus.⁸¹

Brock's 1994 work on the labour of women in Classical Athens widens what can be said of the evidence and its uses. Brock makes use of a variety of literary and inscriptional evidence in his progressive assessment concerning women's roles and includes evidence for nurses in Classical Athens.⁸² He challenges the idea that "no citizen women would shrink so low" as to

⁷⁹ King (2001): 15-16.

⁸⁰ Kosmopoulou (2006): 281-319.

⁸¹ Brock (1994): 336-346.

⁸² *IG II²* 10843, 11647, 12177, 12242, 12387, 12632, 12812-4, 12815-6, 12996, 13065; *SEG XXI* 1064, XXVI 341; *IG II²* 7873 and 9112.

do menial wage labour, and that working women were a sign of poverty.⁸³ He presents several pieces of evidence for the contrary, such as *IG II² 7873*, which is an inscription to a nurse from Athens.⁸⁴ However, Brock also demonstrates the issue of taking epigraphic sources at face value as he often makes conclusions without considering the epigraphic source in its context and in relation to contemporary inscriptions.

Kosmopoulou's 2006 article, 'Working Women: Female Professionals on Classical Attic Gravestones', follows Brock's methodology to use epigraphy to analyse women in the ancient Greek world but instead considers epigraphy in relation to comparative and contrasting inscriptions and takes into account context and audience. Kosmopoulou provides a comprehensive list of inscriptions concerning working Athenian women.⁸⁵ Her research shows that funerary sculpture is dominated by iconographic themes drawn from the private sphere of society.⁸⁶ This is valuable for the interpretation of attitudes towards working women presented in their own communities. Kosmopoulou's research does not deal with specific professions in detail but instead deals with an overall picture. While the increase in epigraphic analyses has not yet transferred over to specific discussions on women in the healing professions, we see scholars have made a point of incorporating inscriptional evidence in recognition of its interpretational value.

⁸³ Brock (1994): 336.

⁸⁴ Brock (1994): 337. *IG II² 7873* tells of a bond between the nurse and those she cared for in a tombstone epigram. It is translated best in Maclachlan (2012): 55-56. "Ἀπολλοδώρου ἰσοτελοῦ θυγάτηρ Μέλιττα. τίτθη. ἐνθάδε τὴν χρηστὴν τίττην κατὰ γαῖα καλύπτει | Ἴπποστράτης· καὶ νῦν ποθεῖ σε. | καὶ ζῶσαν σ' ἐφίλουν, τίτθη, καὶ νῦν σ' ἔτι τιμῶ | οὖσαν καὶ κατὰ γῆς καὶ τιμήσω σε ἄχρι ἂν ζῶ· | οἶδα δὲ σοὶ ὅτι καὶ κατὰ γῆς, εἴπερ χρηστοῖς γέρας ἐστίν, | πρῶτει σοὶ τιμαί, τίτθη, παρὰ Φερσεφόνει Πλούτωνί τε κείνται" (Melitta, daughter of Apollodorus the honorary citizen, nurse. Here the earth conceals the loyal nurse of Hippostrate; she now longs for you. While you were alive I loved you, nurse, and still now I honour you even as you are under the earth, and I will honour you as long as I live. I know that for your part, even beneath the earth, if there is a reward for the good, honours lies in store for you first, in the realm of Persephone and Pluto.) It dates from around the fourth century BCE, from Attica.

⁸⁵ Kosmopoulou (2006): 281-319.

⁸⁶ Kosmopoulou (2006): 281.

Lillian Furst and Holt Parker additionally provide work of value to the study of women in the Greek world. Furst's collection of essays places the Greek healer woman in a much wider context. Holt Parker contributes to this work by discussing women physicians in Greece, Rome, and the Byzantine periods.⁸⁷ Parker's worth to this thesis is particularly evident in his assessment of the terms that are used for healer women and goddesses.⁸⁸

Of all the scholars on female healers, Rebecca Flemming provides some of the most complete discussions of women and medicine. Her work on the subject of healer women started with her PhD thesis in 1997, entitled *Women as an Object of Medical Knowledge in the Roman Empire, from Celsus to Galen*. Her focus is on Roman women, but her work is significant to a wider understanding of attitudes.

Flemming discusses women who practised medicine and female patients, and the contribution that these Roman women made to medical discourse. Unlike many modern scholars, Flemming explores how these women interrelate and interact in a broader context. She even makes note of questions concerning status and credibility, which are of immense interest to this thesis.⁸⁹ Flemming stands apart from general studies by attempting to move away from the masculine focus and endeavouring to provide a rounded view of medical traditions and practitioners. Flemming aims to find the women's voice. Flemming discusses the level of education of a variety of Roman women. She explains that the evidence for female participation in the medical profession can be divided into two types: surviving texts that claim female authorship and references in extant male texts.⁹⁰ This will be discussed in later chapters alongside further categories of evidence, which Flemming does not discuss, including epigraphic and papyrological sources. Among Flemming's work on female literacy, a number of further questions come to light. Firstly, was the female physician a colleague of the male physician or even an equal? Why do females only make up five per

⁸⁷ Parker (1997): 131-150.

⁸⁸ Parker (1997): 131-138. In addition to terms that will be discussed in detail below, Parker provides detailed analysis of specific terms such as *ἰητρειούσα*, referring to 'treating one medically', *ἀκεστοῖδες*, meaning 'healers', and *ὀμφαλητόμος*, meaning to cut the umbilical cord or 'umbilical cord cutters'.

⁸⁹ Flemming (2000): 134.

⁹⁰ Flemming (2007): 263.

cent of the published inscriptions of ancient physicians? How were these women educated? Was there an oral dispersal of knowledge? What can we gain from a more measured assessment of the types of cultural contributions these women made concerning the overall dynamics of ancient medicine?⁹¹ Her approach to female physicians though has invited some criticism in terms of how she categorises women in ancient medical treatises. She rightly warns her audience that any woman's name in sources like Galen should not be taken uncritically as an indication of status and roles. She thus calls for "a more measured and nuanced assessment of the different cases".⁹² In doing this, Flemming separates two classes of female authors within medical treatises: practical authors and actual authors.⁹³ Parker disagrees with this distinction for two reasons. Firstly, that the category of practical author refers more to sources than usage of the female authority, and secondly that there is no consistency that allows one to make the distinction.⁹⁴ Though Parker does note partial agreement for other reasons, this highlights the type of scholarly debate that will be encountered in this thesis.

Bella Vivante's 2007 *Daughters of Gaia* has provided insight into how we look at the roles of women in ancient civilizations.⁹⁵ Vivante begins by acknowledging that the roles of women have been limited to traditionally held notions and thus she focuses on recent discoveries and research, which has led to insights into the great variety of ways in which women contributed to ancient cultures. She creates a base from which we can look at the epigraphic material for healer women, by analysing the use of medical documents and looking in detail at the pharmacological knowledge expressed in different evidence types within androcentric ideologies.⁹⁶ Her work acknowledges the many limitations that previous scholars have had to deal with, and attempts to work around these to demonstrate the greater value of women within their societies.⁹⁷

⁹¹ Flemming (2007): 259.

⁹² Flemming (2007): 258.

⁹³ Flemming (2007): 266.

⁹⁴ Parker (2012): 362.

⁹⁵ Vivante (2007): 1.

⁹⁶ Vivante (2007): 77-78.

⁹⁷ Vivante (2007): 78-93.

Vivante provides analysis of material inclusive of the woman's own voice. To hear the woman in the ancient world is not only extraordinary but also beneficial to the comprehension of numerous areas of society that are often ill represented by both ancient and modern writers. Vivante makes particular use of women's philosophical writings and poetry demonstrating that the voices of this often silent half of the population are available to us.⁹⁸

François Retief and Louise Cilliers' 2005 article, 'The Healing Hand: The Role of Women in Ancient Medicine' provides further help. Considering the limited literature and information on the topic, this is a significant piece. Retief and Cilliers present us with a brief yet comprehensive study of women in ancient medicine, and remain one of the most beneficial accounts of healer women because of the concise and well-researched nature of their work.⁹⁹ Their work is complemented by their knowledge of the available literature and evidence, which is demonstrated in their both well-constructed arguments and extensive bibliography.¹⁰⁰ They raise questions regarding male counterparts, family connections, feminist theory, cultural contribution and herbal tradition, albeit in a general manner. This general focus is acknowledged by Retief and Cilliers, but allows for the consideration of the need for wider studies relating to these questions.

Alongside these questions, they provide a significant grounding for the thesis itself by developing the knowledge of the healer women's contexts. Retief and Cilliers note that women were increasingly at liberty to practise medicine from the fourth century BCE onwards.¹⁰¹ They also use inscriptions to suggest an eclectic picture of the women involved, suggesting that they were honoured in the same way as men for exceptional services.¹⁰²

Retief and Cilliers suggest that one should move from a "wide-angled view to a telephoto focus" in order to better reveal the picture of these women.¹⁰³ The inscriptional and literary

⁹⁸ Vivante (2007): 155.

⁹⁹ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 165.

¹⁰⁰ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 186-188.

¹⁰¹ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 165-88.

¹⁰² Retief and Cilliers (2005): 165.

¹⁰³ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 166.

evidence for practising medical women needs to be looked into more to extract information on the roles, status and training of these females. Retief and Cillier's work provides a foundation for discussion involving the cultural contribution of women, which they themselves apply to women's contribution in the medical field. They note that women indeed contributed to cultural life in the Greek world, as seen with Sappho and other notable poets and painters,¹⁰⁴ but little is known of how medical women in particular gained their experience and education. Midwives and female physicians had to receive their training one way or another. They articulate that it could be interesting to see if any answers could be formed for this problem. This thesis sets out find some of these answers.

The twenty-first century has introduced new scholars into the fold, who continue to form beneficial studies beneficial to this thesis. Pasi Loman introduces new arguments concerning working women in relation to their mobility in the Hellenistic world.¹⁰⁵ A point discussed by the likes of Riet van Bremen, but not so much in relation to women with male-orientated skill bases.¹⁰⁶ In Loman's case, she provides an analysis of various aspects of the lives of women in the Hellenistic period and questions their independence and cultural significance. Loman acknowledges that this is a step away from previous studies that focus almost exclusively on the androcentric society rather than the family or female unit, which she makes her focus.¹⁰⁷ Loman's thesis *Mobility of Hellenistic Women* highlights key questions concerning attitudes towards foreign and citizen women as well. Notably, Loman uses the Hippocratic corpus in addition to particular case studies in the epigraphic evidence such as the funerary stele *IG II² 7873*, the tombstone of Melitta the nurse from Athens also utilised by Brock.¹⁰⁸

Questions arise from Loman's work that shall be addressed in this thesis, such as: if we can track the physical mobility of women in the Hellenistic world, can we track the attitudes towards such professional women and their roles? Do we find women involved in medical practice connected to medical schools? In these areas, would we expect limited additional

¹⁰⁴ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 166.

¹⁰⁵ Loman (2004): 1.

¹⁰⁶ Van Bremen (1996): 1.

¹⁰⁷ Loman (2004): 11-19.

¹⁰⁸ Loman (2004): 80.

healing traditions? Where were such women taught their skills? What social classes did healer women come from and were there different attitudes attached to foreign and citizen women? Loman does not focus on female healers, but her thesis provides for a greater comprehension of the freedom afforded to women in the Hellenistic world.

The Analysis Begins

The previous studies of women in the ancient Greek world have provided an excellent base from which to undertake this current study. There is a great depth of analysis that has already occurred and it is the task of this thesis to further expand that analysis and provide additional paths of study in addition to a typology of related ancient epigraphic evidence. While undertaking this task, it is important to keep in mind some of the limitations that other scholars have faced. Notably, these include acknowledgement of sexual and stereotyped roles that have previously been attributed to women in professional fields. Rosemary Joyce explains that naturally the historian and archaeologist often see individuals in terms of their sexuality. In the ancient literature, men are envisaged as self-contained, rational, masculine and in control by the Ancient Greeks and in modern social thought.¹⁰⁹ It is only recently that these stereotypical images have begun to be challenged through new perspectives brought by women in modern academia, and stemming from societal changes. The earlier perceptions of women once limited their study, but modern scholars have the opportunity to examine individual women in their own light and the exceptions to stereotypes. In this thesis, we will further challenge the image of the Greek woman by analysing the skilled healer women who do not conform to the image of the secluded, irrational female of the ancient literature.

¹⁰⁹ Joyce (2008): 82.

Chapter 1: Evidence for Greek and Greek Influenced Healer Women in the Epigraphic, Papyrological and Archaeological Record

“History is malleable. A new cache of diaries can shed new light, and archaeological evidence can challenge our popular assumptions.”

Ken Burns

This chapter contains a comprehensive catalogue of the most significant pieces of evidence for healer women in the Greek world. Evidence has been taken from the epigraphical, papyrological and archaeological records, with the intention of outlining the types of healer women that existed in the Greek world, and what roles they undertook. The collection is more extensive than previously represented in modern sources, but it does not contain the full range of examples of healer women. In order to be more efficient in the analysis of the material, especially in the case of midwives, a smaller representative collection has been established, eliminating evidence that is formulaic and repetitive.

Each piece of evidence has been arranged according to its type of healer woman, identified by terminology, or alternatively by visual elements of an image. These pieces have then been organised chronologically, and allotted an identification number for easier reference in later analysis chapters. The sections of this chapter start with a detailed discussion of the terminology that has been used to identify the healer type. Additionally, I have laid out each piece of evidence with original text and translation by myself, with brief commentary on its significant points of analysis.

The evidence has been collected via a number of sources including international databases and libraries. The main sources for the data collections include:

- Attic Inscriptions Online
- The University of Michigan Collections
- Epigraphische Datenbank Claus
- Macquarie Documentary Research Centre
- Liddell and Scott Lexicons
- The Lexicon of Greek Personal Names
- The Association Internationale de Papyrologues

- The British Library Collections
- The British Museum Collection Database
- The Centre for the Study of Ancient Documents, Oxford
- The Oxyrhynchus Papyri Collections
- The Packard Humanities Institute
- Thesaurus Linguae Graecae
- The National Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Databases
- The Magical Greek Papyri
- Trismegistos

1.1: Principles of Selection

Principles of selection had to be formulated and applied, in order to determine which pieces of evidence should be included in this catalogue for the best possible representation of healer women in the Greek world.

In order to establish suitable pieces of evidence to include in the catalogue, terms had to be identified that were directly related to healer women. These terms were ascertained with the use of research in lexicons and ancient literature, and produced a list of variations of terms for physician, midwife, healer, saviour and nurse. These were then searched for in a wide range of collections and catalogues in order to produce a list of possible inclusions. From this list, material was discounted or kept based on its date and find location, in accordance with the analytical context laid out in the introductory chapter. Those considered potentially useful, or comparatively significant, were then processed individually. From the remaining data collection, criteria for inclusion had to be deduced in order to allow this catalogue to be efficient and comprehensive, and provide the best possible outcome for further analysis.

All translations of the epigraphic evidence in this typology are the author of this thesis' own.

1.2: Criteria for Inclusion

Epigraphic and Papyrological Evidence:

- The piece has to refer directly to a female described as a healer, or attributed the designation of a category of 'healer' either in the initial Greek or by ancient or

modern literature. The piece must relate to healing or medicine, or a title referring to a medical practitioner.

- If the text does not refer directly to a female healer with specific terminology, then it must provide a significant comparison point to be included.
- The text must be in Greek or contain transliteration of Greek words or names associated with known healing traditions. This means that they can be in Latin rather than Greek, but only if they have words that are directly connected to Greek healing terms. The reason for excluding Latin sources, is that the focus is on Greek women, and women directly and personally influenced by Greek traditions, rather than the overarching influence of Greek medicine on Roman practices.
- The piece must be from the geographical area of study outlined in the introductory chapter.
- The piece must be from within the time period of study, or an outlier with significant points of comparison.
- If the text does not include a relevant term for a Greek healer woman, there must be significant evidence in it to suggest or imply that a woman was involved in healing practices.
- The woman involved should be the main individual mentioned in the text or a significant secondary character. This is significant as it excludes large papyri lists from the Greek Egyptian contexts that mention a woman as a midwife among hundreds of other names, and a variety of occupations from all levels of society. These lists will be considered in comparative analysis, but would take up valuable space in this catalogue with vast amounts of unrelated information.

Other Archaeological Evidence:

- The piece must be from the geographical area of study outlined in the introductory chapter.
- The piece must also be from within the time period of study, or an outlier with significant points of comparison.
- The piece must visually represent a character in a clear healing role such as a physician or midwife.

- The character undertaking the healing role should visually be the primary or a significant secondary character that is pertinent to the composition of the piece.

1.3: The Greek Physician Woman

Term: ἰατρίνη

The term ἰατρίνη is the feminine form of ἰατρός, and means ‘one who heals’ or ‘physician/surgeon’. The term in its masculine form is prevalent in ancient literature. It is seen in *Iliad* and Herodotus.¹¹⁰ The masculine form ἰατρός can also mean ‘skilled in medical art’, as expressed in Herodotus and Plato’s *Republic*.¹¹¹ The stem of the word, ἰατρ-, is used as a prefix to indicate a medical connection in an assortment of other Greek words. The most common of these include; ἰατρεία, referring to a practical ‘healing/medical treatment’, in the Hippocratic Corpus’ *Fractures*, and metaphorically ‘curing/correcting’, in Aristotle’s *Politics*.¹¹² Other examples include, ἰατρεῖον, which refers to a place of medical business or a remedy, ἰατρολογία, meaning the study of medicine, ἰατρολογέω, denoting giving a lecture on medicine, and ἰατρόμαντις, referring to a ‘physician and seer of Apollo and Asclepius’.¹¹³

Parker argues that the “Greek language itself attests to the existence” of women physicians.¹¹⁴ He explains that the feminine version of ἰατρός appears throughout various inscriptions, papyri and ancient literature with various spellings, with a nominal suffix.¹¹⁵ Charles O’Malley agrees, though suggests that this feminine usage only occurs with the introduction of the Hellenistic period.¹¹⁶ The reasoning behind this will be discussed in the following contextual analysis chapters.

¹¹⁰ Homer, *Iliad*: 16.28, Loeb 170:12-13; Herodotus, *Histories*: 3.130, Loeb 118:160-161.

¹¹¹ Plato, *Republic*: 455e, Loeb 237:470-471; Herodotus, *Histories*: 2.84, 3.129, Loeb 117:368-369, Loeb 118:160-161.

¹¹² Hippocrates, *III (Fractures)*: 34 = 3:536 Littré; Aristotle, *Politics*: 1267.a7, Loeb 264:114-115.

¹¹³ Aeschylus *Suppliants*: 263, Loeb 145:320-321.

¹¹⁴ Parker (1997): 133.

¹¹⁵ Parker (1997): 133.

¹¹⁶ O’Malley (1970): 17.

The term in the feminine form, ἰατρῖνη, is more prevalent in the epigraphic evidence, than literature. Earliest usage of the feminine form is in the later Hellenistic period, with most notable examples in ancient literature coming from Josephus *Life of Josephus* 37,¹¹⁷ and in papyri: *P.Oxy.* 12.1586 (TM 31768) (third century CE). We find though, a number of cognate nouns and adjectives in the inscriptional evidence, and included in these variations is ἰατρική, which denotes ‘of/for a physician’, with the adjectival feminine ending ‘κή’ being used to agree with the noun τέχνη (skill), understood. This addition indicates a strong association with practical skill of surgery and theoretical medicine.

Physician P1

*Istanbul Museum no.5029; IK Byzantion 128; SEG 24.811 (ἰατρῖνη)*¹¹⁸

Istanbul

2nd-1st C BCE

Μοῦσα Ἀγαθοκλέους ἰατρῖνη.

Mousa, a physician, [daughter] of Agathocles.

P1 was found in the area of ancient Byzantium, and is an epitaph depicting a woman holding a book with an accompanying inscription. The inscription is one line long and is located at the top of the epitaph.

A patronymic was the norm in a woman’s name in an epitaph or other formal context. A woman might be called ‘X of-Y’, where Y is the name of her husband, and this usage may give rise to confusion for modern readers; but in this case it seems probable that Agathocles was Mousa’s father, not her husband. Other inscriptions also follow this formula, but here the normality of the formula and lack of additional information cannot inform us further.

Physician P2

*IK Kios 52; CIG 3736 (εἰατρῖνη)*¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Josephus, *The Life of Josephus*: 37, Loeb 186:16-17.

¹¹⁸ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 177; Firatli and Robert (1964): 175; Pfuhl and Möbius (1977): 151. Bertholet et al. (2008): 176-178; Flemming (2007): 260; Loman (2004): 84.

Empeiria, Cios in Bithynia

1st-2nd C CE

Γάιος Ἰούλιος Βεττιανὸς ζῶν ἑαυτῷ καὶ Ἐμπειρίᾳ εἰατρείνῃ ἑαυτοῦ γυναικὶ
ζησάσῃ ἔτη μθ' κατεσκεύασεν.

Gaius Iulius Vettianus, while living, erected (this) for himself and Empeiria, physician, his wife, who lived 49 years.

P2 is a previously undated inscription, which was found at Cios. The inscription is an epitaph to Empeiria, and was originally copied for modern publication by English traveller Pocock in the eighteenth century.¹²⁰ The text tells us that Gaius Iulius Vettianus erected it for himself and his wife Empeiria, who is given the title of physician. These are the only direct pieces of information we can gain from this inscription, apart from that Empeiria died at age 49.

The name Empeiria is itself interesting. The name means 'experience'. It is possible that this name was chosen by her in later life to advertise her skills as a physician, as a woman of skill and successful practice. In addition to the professional standing of Empeiria, and implications of her name, it is interesting to note her relationship with the male character, Gaius Iulius Vettianus. His name is Roman so we have a Greek-named woman married to a Roman. While this is not impossible, in a place like Cios at this date, it is more likely that Vettianus was a Greek who held Roman citizenship.

The date of the piece is difficult to ascertain. Roman nomenclature in an inscription from Anatolia is indicative of the Early Roman period. Roman citizenship was a rare occurrence in this region during the Early Roman period, which could imply that Vettianus was socially among aristocratic classes.¹²¹

¹¹⁹ Flemming (2000): 390 no.26; Furst (1997): 141; Nissen (2006): 22; Firatli and Robert (1964): 178.

¹²⁰ Nissen (2006): 22.

¹²¹ The praenomen Gaius is one of the earliest Roman praenomina. The name Iulius is attested as early as the fifth century BCE. There are many Gaii Iulii who were freedmen of Julius Caesar, or Augustus, or enfranchised by him, for example lots of Roman citizens in Carthage, which was re-

Physician P3

*Bosch, Quellen Ankara 269, 205; Peek 1955.600, no.1945 (ιατρική)*¹²²

Ancyra in Galatia

2nd C CE

Τρεβ. Ἰουλία ἰατρὴν ζῶσα φρονούσα κατεσκεύασα τὸ περίφραγμα ἑαυτῇ καὶ Αἰλ(ία) Ἀγάθη μάμμη καὶ Αἰλ(ία) Πωσφόριδι μητρὶ καὶ Στατωρίῳ Γαίου πάππῳ καὶ Αἰλ(ίῳ) Λεωνίδα ἀνδρὶ καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐμὲ κατατεθῆναι παρορίζω μηδένα ἔχειν ἐξουσίαν ἐπισενέγκαι ἕτερον σῶμα· ἐὰν δέ τις τολμήσῃ, τῷ ταμείῳ δώσει (δην.) μύρια πεντακισχίλια.

Trebia Iulia, a physician, while alive and of sound mind, erected this enclosure for herself and Ailia Agathe, her grandmother, and Ailia Posphoris, her mother, and Statorios, son of Gaios, her grandfather, and Ailios Leonidas, her husband; and, after my burial, I lay down that no one will be allowed to bring in another body, and, if anyone dares to do so he is to give to the treasury 15,000 denarii.

This inscription was found in Ancyra and was set up by Trebia Iulia, a physician, for herself, her grandmother, mother, grandfather and husband. The inscription is a curse against anyone who allows another body to be buried within the enclosure, which is common in the Greek world.¹²³

established by one of the two (probably Julius Caesar). In addition, the only other reference to the name Empeiria in the epigraphic sources comes from around the first century CE, which could suggest a similar date, especially since the appearance recorded in Rhodes is close in location to Cios.

¹²² Mordtmann (1874): 21; von Domaszewski (1885): 124 (no.84); Firatli and Robert (1964): 178; Peek (1955): 600.

¹²³ Inscriptional examples will be discussed in later chapters as we explore the reception and status of healer women in the Greek world.

An interesting feature of this inscription is the name Τρε. Ιουλίᾱ. Scholars such as Furst, Évelyne Samama and Thérèse Planiol have previously transliterated it as Treboulia.¹²⁴ The *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* provides evidence that the name Treboulia is not attested in this period. Τρε is an abbreviation of Trebia, Trebatia, Trebonia or Trebellia. Trebia occurs most frequently so I have suggested it here.

Curse formulae like this are commonly found in Anatolia. These formulae give us some perspective of retribution as understood by societies in the Greek world. Todd Wilson notes popularity of curse inscriptions, in review of the imposition of a fine if one dares defile a grave with another unauthorised body.¹²⁵ This curse formula is paralleled in several inscriptions from Asia Minor. *Strubbe No.7* from Prymnessos dating to 217-19 CE reads:

“But whoever will do harm to this grave or will place a corpse in it other than that of my slave Kosmia, he will pay 2,500 denarii to the most sacred treasury and he will be cursed, (to) his children’s children.”¹²⁶

Another parallel from the same period is seen in *Strubbe No.8*, which reads:

“...Who, however, will dare to put in it another (corpse), will pay to the most sacred treasury 1000 Attic drachmae, and nonetheless he shall be liable for the accusation of grave robbery...”¹²⁷

Physician P4

*IScM II 333 (ιατρείνη)*¹²⁸

Constanza, Scythia Minor, Tomis

2nd-3rd C CE

¹²⁴ Furst (1999): 141; Samama (2003): 421; Planiol (2000): 23.

¹²⁵ Wilson (2007): 73.

¹²⁶ Translation by Strubbe (1994b): 75.

¹²⁷ Translation by Strubbe (1994b): 117-118.

¹²⁸ Flemming (2000): 389 no.23; Furst (1997): 141; Firatli and Robert (1964): 178. Text un-translated at Tocilescu (1887): 59 (no.111).

...Μαρκ[— — — — —]

[— — — —]ΕΙΑΤΡΕΙΝΗ[— — — —]

[— — — ἀ]λλήλους [— — — — —]

[— — — σ]υνγηράσαν[τες — — —]

[— — — —] ἑαυτο[ῖς — — — — —]

[— — — — — — — — — — — — —]

..Mark...physician...each other...having grown old together...to themselves

Only one fragmentary epitaph has been found in the area of the Black Sea referring to a female Greek physician. **P4** contains only four and a half words spread through five lines. Four of these lines have one readable word in the middle, and the first line contains the start of an indeterminable name. The text is useful despite the fragmentary nature of the inscription.

The remaining fragments of words are in the plural. This indicates that the physician mentioned in the second line may have worked alongside at least one other person, possibly a male associate, whose name is at the start of the text. In this case, it is likely to have been her husband or a close relative, who was probably buried in the same location as her. Her association with a male relative, likely her husband, is also suggested by the terms συνγηράσαντες ‘having grown old together’ and ἑαυτοῖς ‘to themselves’, which remain in the fourth and fifth lines.

Physician P5

*CIG 9209 (εἰατρίνης)*¹²⁹

Cilicia, Seleukeia Kalyk

Christian; 4th C CE

¹²⁹ Horsley (1982): 17; Gardner (1885): 340-363; Firatli and Robert (1964): 178; Flemming (2000): 390 no.25; Nissen (2006): 418.

θήκη Θεκλῆς εἰατρίνης. ☩ ☩

Tomb of Thekla, a physician

P5 was dedicated to Thekla as a funerary epitaph. It was found at Seleukeia Kalyk in Cilicia, which is also known as Seleucia ad Calycadnum or Silifke, and is supposedly the burial place of a famous Christian Saint, Thekla. Thekla on the inscription was a Christian, seen with inclusion of crosses at the end of the text.

The inscription is simple and formulaic, directly telling us that Thekla was a physician. The uncomplicated formula is very common, where it only reads the name and occupation of the person mentioned. **P6** below is also representative of this simple formula. **P5** does not include a formerly common detail though, in that there is no father or husband mentioned in relation to the key individual. This would suggest that her occupation was her most important attribute, in addition to her Christianity.

Physician P6

*CIG 9164; MAMA III 269 (ἰατρίνης)*¹³⁰

Cilicia, Korykos

2nd-3rd C CE

☩ σωματοθήκη

Βασίλο<ῦ>τος

[ἰ]ατρίνης. ☩

Sarcophagus of Basilous, a physician

P6 also contains a simple formulaic text like previous example **P5**. It was found on a sarcophagus in the Christian necropolis at Korykos in Cilicia. Flemming asserts that **P6** is similar to many other inscriptions found at Korykos.¹³¹ The name in the inscription is

¹³⁰ Horsley (1982): 17; Gardner (1885): 340-363; Firatli and Robert (1964): 177; Flemming (2000): 289 no.24; Nissen (2006): 410.

¹³¹ Flemming (2000): 389 no. 24.

transliterated as Basilous, in accordance with more popular representations in previous modern scholarship. Nissen suggests that the name may have been Basile, but she also transliterates it as Basilous.¹³² The inscription demonstrates that Basilous was a Christian woman, in addition to being a physician, as seen with inclusion of the Christian cross at the start and end of the text.

Physician P7

*P.Oxy. 12.1586 (TM 31768) (ιατρίνη)*¹³³

Oxyrhynchus

3rd C CE

Ἀρποκρατίων Ἡραΐδι τῇ ἀδελφῇ χαίρειν. πρὸ τῶν ὅλων εὐχομαί σε
ὕγιαίνειν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων σου καὶ τῶν σῶν πάντων. γράφω δέ σοι καὶ ἐγὼ
ἐρρωμένος καὶ εὐχόμενός σοι τὰ κάλλιστα. ἄσπασαι Ἀπολλώνιον καὶ
Διονύσιον καὶ Πλουτογένειαν καὶ Εὐτυχίαν καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν
θυγατέρα. ἡ ἱατρίνη σε ἀσπάζεται καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἡρῶν καὶ οἱ ἐμοὶ
πάντες σε προσαγορεύουσιν. ἐρῶσθ(αι) εὐχομ(αι) [π]ανοικεῖ.

Harpocraton to his sister Herais, greetings. Above all, I pray that you, together with your children and all your people, are in good health. As I write to you, I too am strong and I am praying for all the finest things for you. Please welcome Apollonios and Dionysios and Ploutogenia and Eutychia and her sons and her daughter. The female physician sends you greetings, and so do Dionysios and Heron, and all my people say hello to you. I pray that you and all your house are faring well.

This papyrus, from the Oxyrhynchus collections, is a letter from Harpocraton to his sister Herais, offering greetings and prayers. Among those, Harpocraton sends greetings from an unnamed woman physician. This letter is the only private letter currently found that mentions a woman, who is a physician, using popular Greek terminology. It dates from around the third century CE, as suggested by the cursive hand of the writer, and

¹³² Nissen (2006): 410.

¹³³ Furst (1997): 141.

comparative dating from other pieces found near Oxyrhynchus. While mention of the physician is brief, as a case study it assists in demonstrating community views of physician women in Greek Egypt.

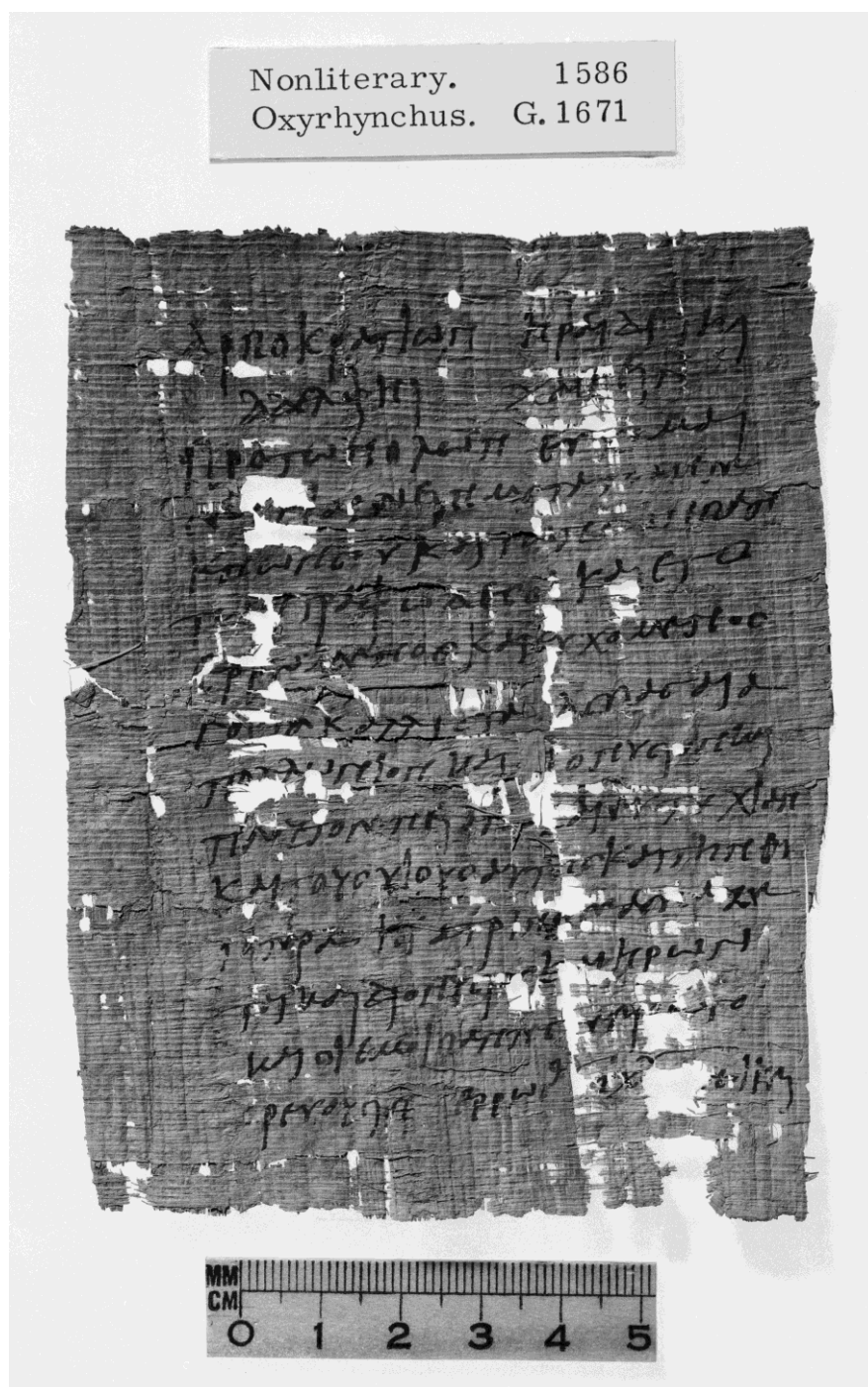


Figure 1: *P.Oxy. 12.1586* (TM 31768). Letter mentioning a female physician sending regards to female relative of author

Physician P8

*IGR III.376; Sterrett, WE 302,424 (ιατρικῆς)*¹³⁴

Adana in Pisidia (Karabaulo)

3rd/4th C CE

Αὐρ. [Α]λ[εξ]άνδοριαν

Ζ[ωσ]ίμην ἀπὸ ἐπι-

στή]μης ἱατρ[ικ]ῆς Αὐρ.

[Πομπω]νι[α]νὸς Ἀσκ[λη]-

τι[άδ]ης, ὁ ἀν[ήρ] αὐ[τ]ῆς,

καὶ

Αὐρ. [Μ]οντ[άνη]ν, τὴν

γλυκυτάτην θυγατέ-

ρα, ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀσκληπιάδης.

Aurelius Pomponianus Asclepiades, her husband, [honoured with this monument]
Aurelia Alexandra Zosime, in accordance with her medical knowledge; and the
same Asclepiades [honoured] also Aurelia Montane, his most sweet daughter.

This inscription was found in Adana on a column square with the statue missing, in the agora at the end of the nineteenth century, but is of uncertain date. It records that it was set up for Aurelia Alexandria Zosime, who is recognised for her medical knowledge. This inscription was dedicated on a public statue set up by Zosime's husband, Aurelius Pomponianus Asclepiades, dedicated to Zosime and to Aurelia Montane, their 'most sweet daughter'. Sterrett transliterates the name Pomponianus slightly differently by placing a Nu, rather than a Mu, before the second Pi to create the name Ponponianus. This name

¹³⁴ Sterrett (1888): 302-303 (no.424); IGR III.376; Firatli and Robert (1964): 175; Furst (1997): 135; Nickel (1979): 515; Gardner (1986): 240-41; Flemming (2007): 260; Nissen (2006): 494.

composition does not appear anywhere in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* unlike Pomponianus, which has multiple attestations.¹³⁵

Inclusion of the names Aurelia and Aurelius allows us to assert a possible date for the inscription. While Aurelia can be a given name, the appearance of the name in front of each character in **P8** suggests they were a family given Roman citizenship in the 3rd century. Caracalla in 212 legislated that all free inhabitants of the Roman Empire were thenceforth citizens. Those who were citizens, because of this law (the *Constitutio Antoniniana*), from that time on had a Roman *nomen* and that *nomen* (for those who had not had one before) was Aurelius. The acquisition of a Roman *nomen*, by manumission or by enfranchisement as a Roman citizen, did not necessarily though make someone part of the *gens* which had that name.

Physician P9

*IG III 3452 (ιατρίνης)*¹³⁶

Attica

4th C CE

κοιμητήριον Σωσάννας ιατρίνης----ην πλησίον τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου

Burial-place of Sosanna, physician, [...] near the archangel.

This inscription has some fragmentation in the middle of the text. The inscription is dedicated to Sosanna, a physician, who is not associated with any male relative in remaining extant text. The name Sosanna is Jewish in origin, which may suggest that the physician was Jewish herself. It appears eight more times in the current corpus of Greek inscriptions, suggesting that it was not an uncommon name. These inscriptions provide added comparative information regarding the frequent occurrence of the name in relation to Christianity in the Greek context. Only one of these, *SEG 34:219*, also has an Attic provenance; it dates to the early Byzantine period. *RIChrM 156* from Thessalonike dates to the fifth century CE and similarly includes the sign of the cross expressing Christian origin.

¹³⁵ Sterrett (1888): 302-303 (no.424).

¹³⁶ Flemming (2000): 388 no. 19.

These inscriptions illustrate that not only was Sosanna probably a Christian physician, but she held a Christian name, and thus family background. *IGLSyr IV 1578* and *SEG 38:1856* again record a Sosanna and a Holy Sosanna at the end of the fifth century CE and *IGLSyr V 2030* from Syria contains the cross symbol. *I.Ravenna 17* tells of a Sosanna of wisdom, indicating that the name was common from the early Christian period right through to the seventh century CE. Reference to the archangel implies strong religious ties; Sosanna may have been interred near a statue or an icon of an archangel in a church, or a Christian burial-ground. The religious connection raises questions concerning any link in the role of this woman as a physician and her religious denominations.

Physician P10

Unknown (ιατρίνης)¹³⁷

Byzantium

Byzantine

Ἀμαζόνη, ιατρίνης (*sic*) πιστὴ δουλὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀρέσουσα Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις

Amazone, physician, faithful servant of God, pleasing to God and to men.

This inscription is yet to be designated a number by a publication, as it does not appear yet in any corpus volume with commentary. It was found in Northern Anatolia and is for a physician named Amazone, who lived around the early Byzantine period. Considering inclusion of a singular God and date of the inscription, it is possible that Amazone was a Christian.

Physician P11

*MAMA VII 566; Nutton, No.24 (ἀρχιειάτρην)*¹³⁸

Çeşmeli Zebir, IV-VI in East Phrygia

¹³⁷ Firatli and Robert (1964): 177; Furst (1997): 144; Ebersolt (1920): 53, n.10.

¹³⁸ Horsley (1982): 16; Firatli and Robert (1964): 177; Flemming (2000): 390 no. 28.

⚡ Αὐρ. Γάϊος ἀρχιείατρος ἀνέστησα εἰστήλην θῆ συμβίου μου Αὐγούστης, ἀρχιειάτρην ἥτις πολλῶν σώμα[σι]ν ἀ[ρ]ρώσθων ἰ[α]σ[ι]ν δέδω[κε, ἥς] δώσει αὐτῆς [σ(ωτῇ)ρ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς] Χρ(ιστὸ)ς ἀμ[οιβὴν — — —]

I, Aurelius Gaius, chief physician, set up a stele for my wife, Augusta, who, as a chief physician, brought healing to the bodies of many sick people, in return for which the saviour Jesus Christ will give her...

P11 is a particularly interesting example of a pair of physicians, one male and one female, who work and live together as husband and wife. It is dated to the fourth century CE, and was found in the area of Eastern Phrygia. The inscription records that Aurelius Gaius set it up in honour of his wife Augusta. Both Gaius and Augusta have the title of chief-physician, ἀρχιείατρος and ἀρχιειάτρην respectively. The inscription states that Augusta brought healing to the bodies of many sick people, and in return for this, the saviour Jesus Christ will give her something for her services. The end of the inscription is missing from the text.

The term σύμβιος is translated etymologically as ‘life partner’.¹³⁹ Given times and context, this is not a suitable translation because the concept of a life-partner is a modern idea. It is more suitably translated as husband or wife. The terms ἀρχιείατρος and ἀρχιειάτρην refer to chief-physicians, who possess training or knowledge above other physicians.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Liddell and Scott, *Middle Liddell* edition references this term as ‘a companion/partner’.

¹⁴⁰ There were laws that decreed this in some detail. CTh. 13.3.8pr reads “Idem aaa. ad Praetextatum praefectum Urbi. Exceptis portus xysti virginumque vestalium quot regiones urbis sunt, totidem constituentur archiatri. Qui scientes annonaria sibi commoda a populi commodis ministrari honeste obsequi tenuioribus malint quam turpiter servire divitibus.” (The same emperors to Praetextatus, prefect of the City. Except for Portus, the Gardens, and the Vestal Virgins’ region, let there be as many *archiatri* appointed as there are regions of the city (of Rome). Knowing that their annual income is linked to the advantages the people receives, let them prefer to serve those of slender fortunes honourably rather than be the dishonourable slaves of the rich’). Translated by S.P. Scott (1932). CTh. 13.3.8.2 reads “Quod si huic archiattrorum numero aliquem aut condicio fatalis aut aliqua fortuna decerpserit, in eius locum non patrocínio praepotentium, non gratia iudicantis alius subrogetur, sed horum omnium fideli circumspectoque delectu, qui et ipsorum consortio et

Roman nomenclature in **P11** is useful to analysis of the status of Gaius and Augusta. The Christian character of the inscription can also be noted from the use of *nomina sacra* at the end of the text, in addition to the cross at the start of the inscription. *Nomina sacra* were developed by early Christians and used in biblical and other manuscripts to abbreviate sacred words, such as those for *Jesus*, *Christ* and *Saviour*. What has been reconstructed above as σ(ωτ)ήρ Ἰ(ησοῦ)ς Χ(ριστὸ)ς (Saviour Jesus Christ) appears in the extant text as *nomina sacra* ΣΗΡ ΙΣ ΧΡΣ.

Physician P12

*T.Mom. Louvre 1080:1*¹⁴¹

Provenance unknown

2nd-3rd C CE

Ἀπολλωνία

θυγάτῃς.

ἰατρός.

Apollonia, a physician, daughter of [...]

This papyrus is fragmentary in nature but still has significant elements for analysis. The woman named is Apollonia and is given the title of a physician in masculine form. This text

archiatriae ipsius dignitate et nostro iudicio dignus habeatur. De cuius nomine referri ad nos protinus oportebit. Dat. III kal. feb. Treviris Valentiniano et Valente III aa. cons." (If a deadly condition or some misfortune takes someone away out of this number of *archiatri*, let someone be appointed in his place not by the patronage of the most powerful or thanks to a magistrate, but by the faithful and considerate selection of *archiatri* themselves, and let him be thought worthy of our (= my) judgement: it will be correct to submit his name to me forthwith). Translated by S.P. Scott (1932). While the physicians named in *MAMA VII 566 (P11)* are not Roman *archiatri*, it has to be considered whether they had an official endorsement at the civic or provincial level, which corresponded to what is laid down in CTh. It might be suspected that there was a salary involved in these appointments, which was to allow them to treat the poor and not have to concentrate on the rich.

¹⁴¹ Also known as C. Étiq. Mom. 1478.

is somewhat elusive, as transliteration of the second word in the inscription is questionable: but daughter is a reasonable restoration. The questionable nature of the inscription has led to it being listed last in this typology, outside the main list, rather than chronologically.

1.4: Midwives

Term: $\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha$

The term $\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha$ is most commonly associated with midwives. $\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha$ is also associated with a variety of other meanings and connotations that make identifying epigraphic evidence for midwives more challenging. Outside the meaning of ‘midwife’, the term is used to refer to an old woman, a foster-mother or nurse, or on occasion an actual mother or grandmother. The sense of the word also appears to change over time in ancient literature. *Odyssey* 19.482 uses it to address Eurycleia, nurse of Odysseus, as an old woman.¹⁴² Helen Karydas asserts that Eurycleia is known for her caring and affectionate feelings, which along side the fact she is afforded biographical details in *Odyssey*,¹⁴³ makes her a unique form of servant.¹⁴⁴ This suggests that Eurycleia is of a good family, though a servant, and her representation is implicit of her importance. This is in agreement with Karydas and Scott.¹⁴⁵ Karydas actually interprets $\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha$ to mean ‘nurse’, but only as a form of address. She explains that it is an added cognate on the term for mother in the vocative case to form an address to Eurycleia.¹⁴⁶

In later Greek periods the term is used more to denote a foster-mother or a nurse, as in Euripides’ *Hippolytus*,¹⁴⁷ and a mother in *Alcestis*.¹⁴⁸ These instances of $\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha$ imply its association with a surrogate mother role, directly relating to caring for women and children. In *Hippolytus* 841-844, Hermione asks her $\mu\alpha\tilde{\iota}\alpha$ to give her back her sword and not to prevent

¹⁴² Homer, *Odyssey*: 19.482, Loeb 105:268-269. Also seen in Homer, *Odyssey*: 19.500, 23.171 (as a form of address by Odysseus); 2.349, 19.16, 2.372, 20.129 (as a form of address by Telemarchos); 23.11, 23.59, 23.81, 23.35 (as a form of address by Penelope).

¹⁴³ Homer, *Odyssey*: 1.428-429, Loeb 104:42-43.

¹⁴⁴ Karydas (1998): 11.

¹⁴⁵ Karydas (1998): 11 fn.13; Scott (1921): 168.

¹⁴⁶ Karydas (1998): 15 fn.15.

¹⁴⁷ Euripides, *Hippolytus*; 243, Loeb 484:146-147.

¹⁴⁸ Euripides, *Alcestis*: 393. Loeb 12:192-193.

her from committing suicide.¹⁴⁹ Karydas proposes that this is in comparison to Penelope's address to Eurycleia in *Odyssey* 23.11, 35, 59, 81, where the μαῖα is a caring role and additionally implied as a form of respectful address.¹⁵⁰ Euripides also tells of Phaedra, whose nurse shows concern in a different context, where she worries about Phaedra's physical health during her delirium.¹⁵¹

The later use of μαῖα to mean 'midwife' is seen in association with other words to do with midwifery. One of the most common of these examples is the verb μαיעύομαι, which means to 'serve/act as a midwife'. It can also be used to mean 'cause delivery to take place' and 'bring to the birth'. These meanings are found throughout ancient literary evidence, and can refer to both humans and animals.¹⁵² The term μαιευτική is another term that denotes a midwife. Its principal form is an adjective, in the singular feminine, meaning 'skilled in midwifery,' using the ending κή to convey that τέχνη is understood: [the *art*] of midwifery. It can also be used to denote 'of/for midwifery' or simply 'midwifery'. Its associations are related to the art of delivery, though it has been used metaphorically to convey 'Socratic method of eliciting from others what was in their minds without their knowing it', as in *Theaetetus*.¹⁵³ Nissen has attempted to catalogue occurrences of μαῖα in reference to midwives, but faces a similar issue concerning definition, the lack of definable μαῖαι based on limited context. This has led Nissen to identify only two μαῖαι in inscriptions.¹⁵⁴ In order to go beyond this number, the search parameters and criteria had to be made more specific.

Alongside these terms, we also find μαיעύτρια, which contains the same root and demonstrates acts of midwifery. This usage is seen in Galen in his *Natural Faculties* to describe the work of a midwife. He notes that "it is the work of the retentive faculty to make the uterus contract upon the foetus at every point, so that naturally enough, when the

¹⁴⁹ Euripides, *Hippolytus*: 841-844, Loeb 484:206-207.

¹⁵⁰ Karydas (1998): 88.

¹⁵¹ Euripides, *Hippolytus*: 212-214, Loeb 484:142-143. Karydas (1998): 88.

¹⁵² Iamblichus, *De mysteriis*: 8.3; Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii*: 1.5; Lucian, *Diologi deorum*: 26.2; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*: 19.34.

¹⁵³ Plato, *Theaetetus*: 161e, Loeb 123:76-77.

¹⁵⁴ Nissen (2006): 135, 562. The two midwives that Nissen identifies in the epigraphic evidence are Elpis in *I.Kyme* 37, and Myrine in *MAMA III* 605. Both of these are included in the typology below.

midwives palpate it, the 'os' is found to be closed, whilst the pregnant women themselves, during the first days – and particularly on that one which conception takes place – experience a sensation as if the uterus were moving and contracting upon itself".¹⁵⁵

Associations of $\mu\alpha\tilde{\alpha}$ as midwife, refer to the practice of midwifery and delivery, rather than healing roles undertaken by physicians. One who acts as a midwife is performing a caring and assisting role, which parallels other meanings of the word referring to a surrogate mother role. The terms used for midwives do not betray a use of specific medicine, but they do inform us about the main action the midwife undertook and health concerns.

While the $\iota\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ is recognised as also being able to perform roles of the $\mu\alpha\tilde{\alpha}$, meanings and usage of $\mu\alpha\tilde{\alpha}$ suggest a specialised occupation on the surface, but with a more complex nature on closer examination. This is an idea also touched upon by Thérèse Planiol in her overview of how women's medicine has affected today's women physicians.¹⁵⁶ Literary evidence for the $\mu\alpha\tilde{\alpha}$ and $\iota\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ indicates overlap between occupations. Retief and Cilliers do see though that the two terms have different connotations, but with related components, which contribute to our comprehension of roles women undertook.¹⁵⁷

There are few inscriptions detailing midwives from Greece, despite midwifery being such a vital profession. In epigraphic evidence, we see the term appearing in both Doric and Aeolic form as $\mu\alpha\tilde{\alpha}\varsigma$ (genitive), and less often the Ionic and Epic form $\mu\alpha\acute{\iota}\eta\varsigma$ (genitive). $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ has also been used instead of $\mu\alpha\tilde{\alpha}$ in epigraphic evidence.¹⁵⁸ It appears once in **M9** and there does not appear to be mention of it within the Greek lexica. From the context of the inscription, and similar root of the words, we can stipulate that $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ does also refer to the skilled midwife at later dates, where the $\alpha\tilde{\iota}$ was pronounced as $\acute{\epsilon}$.¹⁵⁹ Variant spellings of words are a complex area and are seen in the aforementioned term $\iota\alpha\tau\rho\acute{\iota}\nu\eta$ in inscriptions

¹⁵⁵ Galen, *On the Natural Faculties*: 3.3.

¹⁵⁶ Planiol (2000): 21.

¹⁵⁷ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 165.

¹⁵⁸ Nissen (2006): 562. Nissen designates Myrine's 'professional qualification' as $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$, which appears in the text.

¹⁵⁹ Nordhagen (1990): 329. Per Jonas Nordhagen exhibits this in the direct latinisation of the form in Byzantine monuments and paintings. He explains that it occurs in Cappadocian frescos as $\eta\ \mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$.

where the second iota is replaced with εἰ. This does not continue into the medieval manuscript tradition, demonstrating fashions of the times.

Μαῖα is often seen alongside the adjective χρηστή in epigraphic evidence. Addition of this adjective could suggest that attitudes towards the μαῖα in many cases were positive at least on a familiar level, but χρηστή is very colourless and formulaic as something said about someone on a gravestone and not necessarily indicative of an actual good person. The information from private Greek sources for midwives is limited and they only tend to record the name and occupation of the deceased on funerary epitaphs so we do not have much we can add to this description.

Midwife M1

*IG XII, 9 1129 (μαῖα)*¹⁶⁰

Euboia, Chalkis

3rd C BCE

[Α]ριστόκλεια Κλεά[ρ]-

[χ]ου Ῥηγινία ἡ μα[ῖα]

Aristocleia Reginia wife of Clearchus, the midwife

M1 is a short text from Chalkis on Euboia. It is made up of a common formula, which includes the title for midwife, name of the woman and name of her husband. This formula does not tell us much about the woman herself, apart from her occupation, but the simplicity of the inscription again provides us with some evidence concerning the status and wealth of the individuals named.

¹⁶⁰ Samama (2003): 9.

Midwife M2

SEG 33.841 (μαῖα)¹⁶¹

Hispania

3rd C BCE

[χαῖρε — — — —]νίς,
[— — — — — ή] μαῖα
[— — — — — πρὸς ἐ]μὲ τ-
[άδε — — — — — ἔ]λεξε
[— — — — — — — σ]υνδε-
[— — — — — — — —]ν καπ-
[— — — — — — — —]ν γενέ-
[θλη — — — — — εὐτύ]χει·
[(nomen)].

Greetings... -nis

... the] midwife

... towards] me

[...] said

...

...

...

...Farewell

[(nomen)]

M2 is a highly fragmentary inscription, and there is little information that we can gather from extant text. The inscription was found in Hispania on a lead lamella, which was found

¹⁶¹ Prat (1973): 12; Oikonomides (1983): 107-109.

under the church of Santa Maria de Roses, and is dated to the third century BCE. Remaining text allows us to make out some of the structure and content. It is structured as a typical address of greeting and farewell, which can be seen with the introduction χαῖρε and common ending εὐτύχει. Ἡ μαῖα (the midwife) is one of the only remaining full terms in the extant text. The fragmentary nature of the text does not leave us with any names or other details regarding this possible midwife.

Midwife M3

*IG II² 11655*¹⁶²

Athens

300 BCE

Θεοφάντη

Theophante

The lekythos is made from Pentelic marble and was found in the ancient Kerameikos cemetery in Athens; it is currently housed at the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. The inscription on this lekythos is not actually referring to a midwife figure, but a woman in childbirth (the deceased) at the forefront of the image, named Theophante. There is another woman on the left side of the image who appears to be fulfilling the role of a midwife or childbirth assistant. Christoph Clairmont has previously argued for identifying the second woman as a midwife.¹⁶³ Clairmont identifies the remaining figure on the right of the main character as Theophante's husband, who appears to be trying to assist by comforting the dying woman. The male character's hand is extended to hold the hand of the woman as she looks down forlornly.

The midwife character here appears to be an older woman who is bending down to the woman supporting her under her arms. The positioning of the character behind Theophante, instead of in front of her, may suggest that she is an assistant rather than the midwife herself.

¹⁶² Clairmont (1993): 3.463a.

¹⁶³ Clairmont (1993): 3.463a.

It is difficult to draw documentary detail from it about occupational standing of the midwife figure because the image may have been composed as a leave-taking scene, as well as recalling what it actually looked like when a woman was giving birth creating a hybrid scene.



Figure 2: IG II² 11655. Lekythos showing birthing scene with unnamed midwife involved

Midwife M4

AN40232001; Sculpture C412

Cyprus made; possibly found in Idalion

300-200 BCE

This small sculpture was made in Cyprus around the third century BCE. It measures 15cm in height and 22cm in length. Made out of limestone, the sculpture depicts the figure of a woman lying on a bed with a pillow under her head. The reclining woman has her legs spread, a larger stomach, loose hair, and her chiton pulled up around her knees. Between her legs is the head of an adult female figure that is probably representative of a midwife, alluding to a childbirth scene. The head of the midwife figure has been slightly damaged.

The sculpture is crudely rendered and lacks detail. However, this scene is reminiscent of the role of an assistant in childbirth.

The sculpture was acquired by the British Museum in 1855, when donated by Demetrius Pierides. The long period, between acquisition and the present day, has left questions concerning original context. It is known that the sculpture was made in Cyprus, due to its material and style, but further information concerning its original provenance is in contention, though the British Museum believes that it was found in Idalion, Cyprus (near modern Dali).



Figure 3: Small sculpture designated AN40232001 from the British Museum

Midwife M5

*IG XII 5, 412; IG II² 12419 (μαῖα)*¹⁶⁴

Paros

1st/2nd C CE

Παριάς μαῖα,
χρηστὴ χαῖρε.

Parias, a midwife, who was good, farewell

¹⁶⁴ Firatli and Robert (1964): 176; Samama (2003): 7.

M5 is a simple epitaph and continues a commonly seen formula in Greek epigraphy. It details the name of the woman, her occupation and says farewell. Its brevity raises questions of the status or relative wealth of midwives.

Midwife M6

*IGUR 1240 (μαῖα)*¹⁶⁵

Rome

1st-2nd C CE

Θ(εοῖς) Δ(αίμοσι).

Ἰουλία Πρειμιγένεια μαῖα πολλὰς σώσασα γυναῖκας

οὐκ ἔφυγον Μοίρας· ζήσασα καλῶς ἀνέλυσα

εἰς οἶκον, ὅπου μοι τόπος εὐσεβείης ἀπέκειτο ·

Τι(βέριος) · Ἰούλις · Ἰέραξ ἀννήρ τῇ γαμετῇ

μνημοσύνης ἀγαθῆς ταῦτ' ἐπέγραψε φιλῶν.

To the divine spirits. I, Julia Primigenia the midwife, saved many women, yet I did not escape the Fates. After a good life I departed home, where a place of piety has been reserved for me. Tiberius Julius Hierax her husband inscribed this for his wife for the sake of good remembrance, since he loved her.

M6 represents a comparative base for other inscriptions, which can be used to assess differences and similarities between Greek and Latin inscriptions for midwives. **M6** is typical of inscriptions for midwives found in Rome; longer and more detailed in comparison to those uncovered in the Greek states. **M6** was dedicated to the divine gods, a Roman formula, here rendered in Greek, as an epitaph for midwife Julia Primigenia. It was found in Rome and dates to the Early Imperial period. The text records that Julia 'saved many women', yet did not escape her own fate. She had a good and pious life with her husband Tiberius Julius

¹⁶⁵ Horsley (1987): 23; Samama (2003): 9.

Hierax, who inscribed the text for his wife for the sake of good remembrance and his love for her. That the inscription was written in Greek suggests that husband and wife were Greek in origin. Their names (Julia and Tiberius Julius) show they are imperial freedmen. Horsley argues that the couple may be Christians or perhaps even Jewish.¹⁶⁶

Midwife M7

IG II² 12019 (μαῖα χρηστή)

Athens

2nd C CE

μαῖα χρηστή

[N,] a midwife, who was good.

Another epitaph from Athens fails to name the midwife, simply telling us that she was a good midwife. This inscription is dated to the second century CE and demonstrates common simple formula used for midwife epitaphs in Athens.

Midwife M8

*EAD 30 App II, 18; IG IV.168 (μαῖα)*¹⁶⁷

Aigina

2nd-3rd C CE

**[Θ]εοξένου. Σατορνείλα γυνή αὐτοῦ,
μαῖα**

[Memorial] of Theoxenos. Satorneila, his wife, midwife, [set this up].

M8 from Aigina dating to the Early Roman period mentions Theoxenos and his wife Satorneila, who is described as a midwife. We see with this inscription the same simplicity that is witnessed in other Athenian inscriptions, but it also includes detail of a familial

¹⁶⁶ Horsley (1987): 24.

¹⁶⁷ Samama (2003): 8.

relationship between husband and wife. In this case, Theoxenos is the deceased and Satorneila is one who put up the epitaph. This is seen in the genitive form of the name Theoxenos at the start of the inscription.

Midwife M9

*MAMA III 605 (μεα)*¹⁶⁸

Korykos; Imperial East

4th-5th C CE

εὐψύχι Μυρίνη ἡ μεα
ἰς ἰσθήνην σου ἡ καλή
ψυχὴ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντά σοι.

Be of good cheer, Myrine the midwife! Your beautiful soul [is going] to peace and the things destined for you.

M9 is a funerary inscription dedicated to the midwife Myrine, dating from the fourth century CE. The inscription was found on a sarcophagus in Korykos and was originally copied in 1925. It uses a different form of μαῖα, μεα. **M9** reads as a farewell to Myrine, who had a beautiful soul but ‘these things’ were destined for her. Τὰ μέλλοντά refers to things to come, in the future or in the next life. This is paralleled in Pindar’s *Odes* and Plato’s *Theaetetus*.¹⁶⁹ Its form could also be paralleled to 1 *Corinthians* 3.22, which reads “...εἴτε κόσμος εἴτε ζωὴ εἴτε θάνατος εἴτε ἐνεστῶτα εἴτε μέλλοντα, πάντα ὑμῶν” (the world, life, death, the things, which are now, and the things which are to come, everything is yours).¹⁷⁰

Midwife M10

*Peek, Att. Grabschr. II 156 (μαῖα)*¹⁷¹

Athens

¹⁶⁸ Nissen (2006): 562; Firatli and Robert (1964): 176; Samama (2003): 9, no. 14.

¹⁶⁹ Pindar, *Olympian*: 2.56; Plato, *Theaetetus*: 178e, Loeb 123:136-137.

¹⁷⁰ *Worldwide English (WE) New Testament Translation*.

¹⁷¹ Peek (1976): 156.

Unknown Date

[Σα]ραπιάς μαῖα χρηστή χαῖρε.

Sarapias, a midwife, [who was] good, farewell.

M10 follows the recurring formula cited above of name, profession and farewell. Similarly, this inscription to Sarapias was found at Athens and is indicative of the simplicity of Athenian epitaphs for midwives. While later inscriptions maintain the formula in many cases, they often add further detail where Athenian texts do not; namely referring to family and skills of the females portrayed.

1.5: Midwife Physicians

Term: ἰατρόμαια

The term ἰατρόμαια is an amalgamation of the medical prefix (ἰατρ-) and midwife (μαῖα). King explains that the ἰατρόμαια “was a midwife as well as a healer”, which might be taken to imply that other healers with the prefix ἰατρ- did not deal with labour and childbirth.¹⁷² It is only found in a few of the epigraphic pieces of evidence, but despite its limited appearances, we find differing forms of the term in the Latin and Greek examples. Ἰατρόμαια is also seen in the genitive, ἰατρομέας, and is generally translated as ‘midwife’; such as in the original publication of *CIL* 6.9478 (**MP4**). The prefix ἰατρ- suggests that ‘midwife’ is too simple a translation for this term. The ἰατρ- suggests the medical knowledge of a physician in addition to what was expected of a midwife. Thus, the term ἰατρόμαια is more likely to refer to a woman who worked as both a midwife and a physician.

¹⁷² King (1998): 179.

Midwife Physician MP1¹⁷³

Kaibel 45 = Pleket 1 = IG II² 6873 (μαῖα καὶ ἰατρὸς)

Athens, Menidi

4th C BCE

Φανο[στράτη — — —, — — —]

Με[λιτέως γυνή]

Φανοστράτη.

μαῖα καὶ ἰατρὸς Φανοστράτη ἐνθάδε κεῖται

[ο]ὕθενι λυπη<ρ>ά, πᾶσιν δὲ θανοῦσα ποθεινή.

Phanostrate ... wife of Meliteus, Phanostrate

Midwife and physician, Phanostrate lies here, she caused pain to none, but all lamented her death.

The best-known and most often mentioned inscription for a female physician or midwife is **MP1**. It dates to the fourth century BCE from Athens, and is one of the earliest examples of a healer woman. The majority of scholars who discuss females within the topic of Greek medicine refer to **MP1**.

¹⁷³Lefkowitz and Fant, (2005): 266; Retief and Cilliers (2006): 269; Kosmopoulou (2006): 317; Slings (1979): 41-45. Lefkowitz (1983): 31-47; Pleket (1969): 10; Peek (1955): 342 (= IG II/III², 6873); Firatli and Robert (1964): 176; Kaibel (1965): no.45; Conze (1922): no.340; Berger (1970): 192, 410; Bertholet (2008): 176; Pomeroy (1977): 58-60; Pomeroy (1978): 499-500. Kampen (1981): 71; Clairmont (1970): no.53; Daux (1972): 550-4; Pircher (1979): 44-5 no.15; King (1986): 59-60; Parker (1997): 40.



Figure 4: *Athens, National Museum 993. Grave stele of the midwife Phanostrate*¹⁷⁴

It is a memorial stele with five lines of text dedicated to Phanostrate, a midwife and physician. The epitaph depicts two women with four both male and female infants. Phanostrate is seated with another woman standing before her.

¹⁷⁴ Photo from Kosmopoulou (2006): 317.

Midwife Physician MP2 ¹⁷⁵

*MAMA 3 (1931) 292 (ιατρομέας)*¹⁷⁶

Korykos in Cilicia

2nd-4th C CE

✝ σωματοθήκη Γεωργίου υίου Στεφάνου μάγκιπος καὶ Στεφανίδος ιατρομέας.

Sarcophagus of Georgios, son of Stephanos a contractor and Stephanis a midwife physician

MP2 is an inscription from a Christian sarcophagus, from Korykos in Cilicia. It is the sarcophagus of Georgios, son of Stephanos and Stephanis. This inscription is Christian, which is indicated by the sign of the cross at the start of the inscription. Nothing else is recorded about Georgios, but we do have some information regarding his parents. Stephanos is given the title μάγκιπος, the Greek rendition of the Latin 'manceps', 'contractor' or 'baker'.¹⁷⁷ This Greek rendition of the Latin 'manceps' is also seen in *MAMA III 415* from the same period and location. Stephanis is described as an ιατρόμαια.

¹⁷⁵ *Bulletino della Commissione archaeological comunale di Roma* 90 (1985) 278 (no.17) and *Inscr. Orel* 4232 both also mention an ιατρόμαια, but information for these inscriptions is limited or unavailable at the present time. These pieces could benefit from further publication and study, when they become more available.

¹⁷⁶ Firatli and Robert (1964): 177 (no.89); Nissen (2006): 408.

¹⁷⁷ Nominative form is μάγκιψ; Miklosich and Müller (2012): 259.

Midwife Physician MP3

*CIL 6.9477; ILS 7806*¹⁷⁸

Rome¹⁷⁹

3rd/4th C CE

D M

VALERIAE BERECVNDAE IATROMEAE

REGIONIS SVAE PRIMAE • Q • V • ANN • XXXIII

M • VIII • D • XXVIII • VALERIA BITALIS • FILIA •

MATRI • DVLCISSIMAE • ET • P • GELLIVS • BITALIO

COIVGI • SANCTISSIMAE • B • M • F • C • R • ET • SIBI

ET • GELLIO • CHRESIMO • FRATI • ET • IVLIAE CHRE

STE • SORORI • ET • EGO • BITALIO CHRESTEN • S • S

QVEM • VICE • FILIAE • ATTENDO • ET • LIBERIS

EORVM • HOC MONIMENTVM • ET • LOCI SCA

LARE • CVBICVLI SVPERIORIS • F • C • ET • LIB • LIB • Q •

P • T • R • Q • EORVM • PETREI • BIBAS

To the shades of the departed

Valeria Verecunda, first midwife physician

¹⁷⁸ Furst (1997): 143; Günther (1987): 105; le Gall (1970): 128, n.4; Dessau (1916): Vol 2.2, 831.

¹⁷⁹ The Latin term *medica* is also associated with female healers, from the word *medicus*. Like *ιατρίνη*, it refers to the individual having skill in medicine and healing rather than referring to a specifically child-birthing role. *Medica* is used as a prefix in many words to allude to the association between medicine and physicians.

of her region, who lived 34 years,

8 months and 28 days. Valeria Vitalis daughter

for her mother most sweet and Publius Gellius Vitalio

for his wife most respected, who was well-deserving, made [this monument], and for themselves,

And for Gellius Chresimus brother and Iulia Chreste

sister and I, Vitalio, had this monument and the stairs to the upper chamber made for the aforementioned Chreste, whom I regard as my own daughter, and for their [=her and her husband's] children, and for their freedmen and freedwomen and for their descendants...

P • T • R • Q • EORVM • PETREI • BIBAS

This last line is in contention and does not have a definite translation. *Vulgärlateinsche Inschriften* edited by Ernst Diehl expands PTRQ to p(os)te(ris)q(ue).¹⁸⁰ Petrei could be in the form of a locative, “May you live in Petreus”, but that does not seem to relate obviously to the rest of the text. *Medica – Die Ärztin*, edited by Ernst Kunzl, suggests “Die Schlussformel Petrei bibas = vivas! (Petri, Du sollst leben!) meint wohl einen Rufnamen der Toten (so Dessau)” so “Petri, you should live!” as the probable first name of the dead person.¹⁸¹ This could refer to another person in the tomb in the vocative with his name likely being Petreius or maybe Petreia but this is speculation and less likely.

CIL 6.9477 is from Rome dating to the third century CE and uses the Greek ιατρομακία in a Latin transliteration to describe the occupation of Valeria Berecunda (Verecunda), a freedwoman.

‘First’ could be taken to mean ‘best’, suggesting that others in the area held the same occupation, of ‘iatromeae’, but also testifying to the quality of her work. There is also the possibility, taking into account the references to *archiatri*, that Valeria may have had an

¹⁸⁰ Diehl (1910): 38.

¹⁸¹ Kunzl (2002): 1.

official appointment and a salary. Appearance of the term ἰατρομαῖα in transliteration in Latin inscriptions is significant to analysis of movement by medical practitioners from East to West in the Greek world.

Midwife Physician MP4

*CIL 6.9478*¹⁸²

Rome

3rd/4th C CE

D M

VALIAE CALLISTE

IATROMEAE • CA

ECILIVS LVSIMACI

CHVS COIVGI SVAE FEC

To the shades of the departed

Valia Calliste

Midwife Physician

Caecilius Lusimacichus made [this monument] for his wife.

MP4 from Rome dates to the third century CE and again uses the transliteration of ἰατρομαῖα. The inscription is for Valia Calliste, who was probably a freedwoman. Valia is referred to as a midwife physician, distinguishing her from a midwife.

¹⁸² Furst (1997): 143; Gummerus (1932): 29-30, no.63; Korpela (1987): 205, no.281; Dessau (1916): Vol.2.2, 831.

1.6: Women with Healing Associations

Healing Associated Woman H1

*IG XIV 1751*¹⁸³

Rome

1st C CE

Τι(βερίω) · Κλαυδίω Ἀλκίμω · ἰατρῶ Καίσαρος · ἐποίησε Ῥεστιτουῖτα ·
πάτρωνι · καὶ · καθηγητῇ ἀγαθῶ καὶ ἀξίῳ ἔζη(σε) ἔτη πβ'

For Tiberius Claudius Alcimus, physician of Caesar. Made by Restituta, for her patron and professor, good and worthy, he lived 82 years.

Restituta set up **H1** for Claudius Alcimus, physician to Caesar, her patron and professor. It provides some information on the training of women in medical matters. In this case, Claudius Alcimus of **H1** is not only the female physician's patron and professor but also a physician to Caesar. The Caesar here refers to the title adopted by Roman Emperors around 68 CE derived from the cognomen of Julius Caesar. It does not refer to Julius Caesar himself.

Healing Associated Woman H2

*PGM XX Spell 2*¹⁸⁴

Egypt

1st C CE

[6 missing letters]ας Σύρας Γαδαρηνῆς

[ἐπαοιδῇ] πρὸς πᾶν κατάκαυμ[α

[θεᾶς παις μ]υστοδό[κο]ς κατεκαύθη]

ὑψο]τατ[ι] δ' ἐν ὄρει κατεκαύθη].

¹⁸³ Furst (1997): 142; Korpela (1987): 166.

¹⁸⁴ Betz (1986): 259.

ἐπὰ λυ[κων] κρήνας, ἐπὶ ἄρ[κτων,]

ἐπὰ λεόντων, ἐπὰ δὲ παρ[θε]-

νικαὶ κυ[α]νώπιδες ἡ[γαγο]ν [ῥ]-

δωρ κάλπ[ι]σι κυανέαις καὶ ἔ[σ]-

βεσαν ἀκά[μα]τον πῦρ. ν

Incantation of [...] the Syrian woman from Gadara, for every fever. A child initiated in the mysteries of the goddess was burnt with fever, and was burnt with fever on the high mountain. And seven dark-eyed maidens brought the seven springs of wolves, seven of bears, seven of lions, water in dark water-urns and they quenched the unquenchable fire.

The Philinna Papyrus is comprised of two parts, *P.Amh. 2.11* (TM 65576) was first published in 1900 by Bernard Grenfell and Arthur Hunt,¹⁸⁵ while Berlin Papyrus 7504 was first edited by Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in 1907.¹⁸⁶ It was not until 1910 that Adam Abt hypothesised that the two separate pieces were part of one contiguous papyrus.¹⁸⁷ Handwriting analysis proves this continuity and these papyri now make up, what Paul Maas dubbed the 'Philinna Papyrus'. The papyrus text consists of three partial texts of hexametrical charms, though only two of them are in a condition that allows for reconstruction and interpretation. The first charm is too fragmented to identify in excess of a few partial words. The second charm is ascribed to a Syrian woman whose name is unknown

¹⁸⁵ Grenfell and Hunt (1900): 2. An image of this part of the papyrus can be found at this reference. The Philinna Papyrus, also known in the Greek Magical Papyri as PGM XX, is dated from the first century BCE and probably from Oxyrhynchus, Egypt. The text is set in two vertical columns and includes remnants of, at least, three different charms; each spell beginning marked by paragraphs and titles. Column one preserves approximately five letters of each of the eleven identifiable lines, and column two preserves the majority of twenty-two lines with an average of twenty-two letters per line. The second charm on the 'Philinna Papyrus' has been coined the 'Syra Charm', and makes up lines seven through fifteen of column two.

¹⁸⁶ von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1907): 144.f.

¹⁸⁷ Abt (1910): 150-52.

and it gives a charm for the dissipation of fever.¹⁸⁸ The proper name of the Syrian woman is lost due to the fragmentation of the text. All that remains is the ending –ας, which suggests a personal name agreeing with Σύρας Γαδαρηνῆς.

Healing Associated Woman H3

*PGM XX Spell 3*¹⁸⁹

Egypt

1st C CE

κεφα Φιλίννης Θε[σσ]αλῆς ἐπαιδιῇ π[ρὸς

κεφαλῆς π[ό]νον. ν

φεῦγ' ὀδύν[η κ]εφαλῆς, φεύγει δὲ

ὑπὸ πέτ[ρα]ν φεύγουσιν δὲ λυ-

κοι, φεύ[γουσι] δὲ μώνυχες ἵπ-

ποι [ιέμενοι] πληγαῖς ὑ[πὸ]

[ἐμῆς τελέας ἐπαιδιῇ]ς]

Heading: Incantation of Philinna the Thessalian for a headache. Flee, pain of the head, and it flees beneath a rock. Wolves flee, hoofed horses flee, hurrying beneath the blows of my perfect incantation.

This is the second spell on the Philinna Papyrus that accompanies **H3**. It is attributed to Philinna the Thessalian for treatment of a headache.

¹⁸⁸ Brashear (1996): 374.

¹⁸⁹ Betz (1986): 259.

Healing Associated Woman H4

*Pleket 12.G; TAM 2.595 (ιατρικὴν τέχνην)*¹⁹⁰

Tlos, Lycia

1st C CE

Ἀντιοχίς Διοδότου Τλωὶς μαρτυρηθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς Τλωέων βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου ἐπὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν ἱατρικὴν τέχνην ἐνπειρίᾳ ἔστησεν τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἑαυτῆς.

Antiochis, daughter of Diodotus of Tlos, awarded special recognition by the council and the people of Tlos for her experience in the healing art, has set up this statue of herself.

H4 is one of the most commonly discussed inscriptions pertaining to female healers. **H4** records that the council and people of Tlos dedicated the accompanying statue to Antiochis of Tlos in recognition of her skill in medical science. The inscription was found on a quadrangular limestone base in the southeast of the agora in the Lycian city of Tlos.

The statue is lost but the inscription indicates that it was originally an image of Antiochis herself. This placement in the agora, and link to her father, are significant in analysing family relations and skilled healer women. Rather than directly calling Antiochis an ἰατρίνη, the title is implied because she is praised for her medical skill (τὴν ἱατρικὴν τέχνην). The phrase, τὴν ἱατρικὴν τέχνην, is seen in texts such as Plato and Xenophon, as well as examples from epigraphy to express a character's medical knowledge.¹⁹¹ Xenophon uses the phrase to describe the qualifications of physicians and those involved in medical appointments who were appointed by the people in council.¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 264; Retief and Cilliers (2005): 169; Flemming (2007): 261; Percival (1930): 436; Pleket (1969): 12. Kalinka (1944): TAM, II, 595; Wilhelm (1931): 83-84; Firatli and Robert (1964): 175, 178; Benedum (1974): 48-49; Korpela (1987): 160 (no.28); Dean-Jones (1994): 436; Furst (1997): 134; Horsley (1982): 17; Nissen (2006): 370; Massar (2001): 201.

¹⁹¹ *IvPerge 11:104, 5* also uses the phrase τὴν ἱατρικὴν τέχνην.

¹⁹² Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 6.5.

Pleket 20.G; IMT Kaikos 883; IvP II 576; IGR 4.507¹⁹³

Pergamum

2nd C CE

χαῖρε, γύναι Πάνθεια, παρ' ἀνέρος, ὃς μετὰ μοῖραν

σὴν ὀλοοῦ θανάτου πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχω.

οὐ γάρ πω τοίην ἄλοχον ζυγίην ἴδεν Ἥρη

εἶδος καὶ πινυτὴν ἠδὲ σαοφροσύνην.

αὐτὴ μοι καὶ παῖδας ἐγείναο πάντας ὁμοίους,

αὐτὴ καὶ γαμέτου κήδεο καὶ τεκέων

καὶ βιοτῆς οἶακα καθευθύνεσκες ἐν οἴκῳ

καὶ κλέος ὕψωσας ξυνὸν ἱητορίης,

οὐδὲ γυν<ή> περ ἐοῦσα ἐμῆς ἀπολείπεο τέχνης.

τοῦνεκά σοι τύμβον τεῦξε Γλύκων γαμέτης,

ὅς γε καὶ ἀθ[ανά]τοιο δέμας κεύθει Φιλαδέλ[φου],

[ἔ]νθ[α] καὶ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ κείσομ[αι], αἶ κε θά[νω],

ὥς [ἀ]γλαῖσμον [ζῶν] σοι ἐκοινώνησα κατ' α[ἰ]σ[αν],

ᾧδε δὲ κα<ὶ ξ>υνήν {ην} γαῖαν ἐφε[σ]σάμενος.

Farewell, my wife Panthia, from your husband. After your departure, I keep up my lasting grief for your cruel death. Hera, goddess of marriage, never saw such a wife:

¹⁹³ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 265; Lefkowitz (1983): 31-47; Pleket (1969): 32; Peek (1955): n.2040; Keil and Wilhelm (1931): 73ff., esp.75/84; Vogt (1960): Treatise 2, 46; Flacelière (1962): 109 ff; Fränkel (1895): no.576; IGRR IV.507; Wilhelm (1931): 75, 84.

H5, dated to the second century CE, is a praising and intimate description of, and farewell to, lady Panthia from her husband. Panthia's husband reports that her departure means his lasting grief for her cruel death. He says that Hera, goddess of marriage, never saw such a wife of beauty, wisdom and chastity. Panthia is not called an *ιατρίνη*, but is praised for her fame in healing, and though a woman, she was not behind her husband in skill. The term for fame will be discussed in later chapters, but commonly means 'shared' as in 'with me because I am also a physician'. Another inscription made by the same husband of Panthia, Glykon, for Panthia's father Philadelphus who was also a physician (*ὅσσον γὰρ σὺ κοράτιστος ἡτροῶν ἔπλεο πάντων*), accompanies **H5**.¹⁹⁴

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Healing Associated Woman H6

*Pleket 26.G (St.Pont. III 86[2]; JÖAI 23.1926, Beibl. 361, 1; SEG 4.727; GVI 1486)*¹⁹⁵

Neoclaudiopolis, Asia Minor

2nd/3rd C CE

σπεῦ[σας] ἐς ἀθ[ανά]τους, Δομνεῖν', ἀνδρὸς δ' ἀμέλησας

ἀστράσιν οὐρανίοις σῶμα καθηραμένη.

οὐ τις ἐρεῖ μερόπων, ὅτι δὴ θάνες, ἀλλ' ὅτι Πάτρην

ῥυομένην νούσων ἄρπασαν ἀθάνατοι.

χαῖρε καὶ Ἥλυσίοις ἐπιτέρπεο, σοῖς δ' ἄρ' ἐταίροις

λύπας καὶ θρήνους κάλλιπες αἰδ<ί>ους.

You rush off to be with the immortals, Domnina, and forget your husband. You have raised your body to the heavenly stars. None of mortals will say that you died, but that the immortals stole you away because you saved your native fatherland from disease. Goodbye, and rejoice in the Elysian Fields. But you have left pain and eternal lamentations behind for your companions.

H6 is one of the most often mentioned examples of the female healer on a funerary inscription. The second or third century CE inscription was found in ancient Neoclaudiopolis in North Anatolia, and is dedicated to Domnina. Her husband, who says that she will be remembered because she saved her native fatherland from disease, gives recognition to Domnina. The text suggests that Domnina, while not called an ἰατρίνη, held a position as a female healer of great repute.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁵ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 265; Retief and Cilliers (2005): 176; Kosmopoulou (2006): 299; Lefkowitz (1983): 35; Flemming (2007): 259; Pleket (1969): 38; Peek (1955): n.1486; Wilhelm (1931): 27, 75ff; Firatli and Robert (1964): 175ff.

¹⁹⁶ Domnina is contemporary to another woman in the Latin corpus who is also described as a saviour of all through her medical art. An inscription in Latin dedicated to Gemnina (*CIL 8.806*) is briefly

Term: σώτεια

Σώτεια is seen in epigraphic evidence for female healers and females associated with male healers. Σώτεια is the feminine of σωτήρ, which means 'saviour'. It is often used in association with deities, especially as being '...of a protecting goddess'. Pindar's *Odes* uses it as an epithet for '...of Tyche'¹⁹⁷ and for '...of Themis'.¹⁹⁸ In addition to these examples, we see its use as an epithet for 'of Artemis' and 'of Hecate'.¹⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that the term can also refer to an 'antidote' such as seen in Galen and Paulus.²⁰⁰ There are two inscriptions, which refer to women as saviours in relation to healing roles, which are identified below.

Healing Associated Woman H7

TAM V.1 535

Maionia (Menye); Lydia

Unknown Date

Ἑρμογένης Μητροδώρου Διὶ Ἀριου κατ' ἐπιταγὴν σωτηρίας ἔνεκεν τῆς ἐκ
τοῦ Διὸς Ποτταν Μενε[κ]ράτου προφητίν σώτειραν γενομένην τοῦ
Ἑρμογένου.

discussed in Flemming (2007): 259. These two women demonstrate the comparison potential between Latin and Greek understandings of healer women.

¹⁹⁷ Pindar, *Olympian*: 12.2, Loeb 56:186-187. "Ἰμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σώτεια Τύχα" (Saviour Fortune, protect Himera and make her powerful). Translation by Diane Arnson Svarlian for *The Perseus Catalogue* (1990).

¹⁹⁸ Pindar, *Olympian*: 8.21, Loeb 56:138-139. "ἔνθα σώτεια Διὸς ξενίου πάρεδρος ἀσκεῖται Θέμις ἔξοχ' ἀνθρώπων. ὅ τι γὰρ πολὺ καὶ πολλᾷ ῥέπη" (There the saviour Themis, seated beside Zeus the god of hospitality, is honoured more than among all other men). Translation by Diane Arnson Svarlian for *The Perseus Catalogue* (1990).

¹⁹⁹ The connection to protecting is seen in the terms frequent epithet of protecting goddesses. For instance of Athena: Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*: 1.17, Loeb 395:26-27, *IG XXII.676.12*, and to Demeter in: Aristophanes, *Frogs*: 379, Loeb 180:76-77, to Hecate in *CIG 3827* and to Kore in *SIG 1158.5* and to Artemis in *IG XXII.1343. 24, 40*.

²⁰⁰ Paulus, *Epitomae medicae libri septem*: 3.45, 7.11.23.

Hermogenes son of Metrodorus for the Zeus Arius according to the command for the sake of salvation, which came from Zeus, [honoured] Potta daughter of Menekrates who was a prophet, and the saviour of Hermogenes.

H7 is a dedication to the priestess Potta, from Hermogenes, who claims that through her, the gods healed him. Hermogenes claims that she is a prophet and his saviour, making use of the term *σώτειρα*. This is a particularly important inscription because it illustrates to us the connection between priestesses and healing roles. We traditionally hear of healing roles in relation to Asclepius and incubation, but this opens up a new avenue concerning priestesses that deserves further analysis. How frequently are women with healing roles found in religious institutions? Is there a relationship between religious roles and medical roles such as those performed by the *ιατρίνη* and the *φαρμακίς*? In addition, questions are raised concerning the frequency that men approached women for cures and their attitudes towards females in healing professions. This inscription also provokes questions concerning the idea of divine intervention and female physicians, but this time it concerns a male deity and a human female playing the role of intermediary.

Healing Associated Woman H8

*Pleket 1969:39 no.27 (τὴν σώτειραν)*²⁰¹

Cilicia Trachea

2nd-3rd C CE

Ὀβριμον ἱητῆρα καὶ Ἀμμεῖν τὴν σώτειραν Καδου παῖς Κοπραῖς σῆμα τόδε ἀμφέβαλεν.

Obrimos, a physician, and Ammeis, the saviour, daughter of Kados: [their] child Koprais erected this sign.

H8 is from Cilicia Trachea and dates to the second century CE. The name Ammeis is engraved on the lintel of the tomb, which was discovered in the town of Kalın Ören, located

²⁰¹ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 175; Pleket (1969): 38; Nissen (2006): 396; Merkelbach and Stauber (2002): 181; Bean and Mitford (1965): 43; Robert (1966): 72, note 6; Samama (2003): n°351.

around 8km north of the ancient city of Anemourion. The inscription is in the form of an elegiac couplet, which is dedicated to Obrimos the doctor and Ammeis the saviour by Koprais the daughter of Kados. There are many names derived from *kopros* ('rubbish-heap', 'dung-pile', 'dung') in Greek: these are assumed to be chosen for children rescued from being exposed on a rubbish-heap soon after their birth.²⁰² Adrian Goldsworthy explains that people whose names begin with 'Kopr-' are in many cases foundlings.²⁰³ Women sometimes would give birth then leave babies at the dump, but still alive—and if someone picked the baby up that person might bring him or her up as a slave, or even (cf. here) as their own child. Goldsworthy asserts that it is likely that the "frequency of such exposures is exaggerated in our sources", which he suggests is due to a strong moral tone in many Christian manuscripts and the cases of Kopros as a family name in successive generations after the initial foundling had done well in her own life.²⁰⁴

1.7: Associated Terms

There is epigraphic evidence from Latin communities that suggest Greek origins of terms associated with healing. *CIL* 6.6647 is dedicated to Hygieia, Greek goddess of health, at the tomb of Flavia Sabina, midwife, who lived thirty years.²⁰⁵ Two men with Greek names, Marius Orthrus and Apollonius, dedicated it. There is a sense of respect and care for the midwife Flavia, in her description as 'dear'. A *contubernalis* ('companion') was the word used to denote the wife of a slave (given by their master).

CIL 6.8192 also contains Greek names dating from Rome in the first century BCE. It mentions Quintus Sallustius Dioges, freedman of Dioga and Sallustia Athenais, midwife, freewoman

²⁰² Liddell and Scott (1940): 979.

²⁰³ Goldsworthy (2009): 44.

²⁰⁴ Goldsworthy (2009): 44.

²⁰⁵ "HYGIAE FLAVIAE • SABINAE OPSTETR • VIXIT • ANN • XXX MARIVS • ORTHRVS • ET APOLLONIVS • CONTRVBERNALI CARISSIMAE" (To Hygia [goddess of health]. [The tomb] of Flavia Sabina, midwife. She lived 30 years. Marius Orthrus and Apollonius [put this up] to [their] dearest wife.) Translated by Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 267. Korpela (1987): no. 202.

of Artemidorus.²⁰⁶ This is indication of migration from the Eastern Greek world to the West, bringing women trained in Greek healing practices.²⁰⁷ It is through these midwives that we are able to assess attitudes towards midwives, with the turn into the Early Roman period. There are eighteen examples of epitaphs in Latin evidence mentioning, or dedicated to, midwives. While all examples use the Latin term *obstetrix* for midwife, there are women who have Greek influence in their backgrounds indicated by names, terminologies and origins.

Term: **Obstetrix**

Obstetrix is found in Latin vocabulary to describe a midwife.²⁰⁸ *Obstetrices* are found throughout Latin scholarship, for example, in Horace's *Epode* and P. Terentius Afer's *Adelphi*.²⁰⁹ *Obstetrix* is also well-attested in Plautus: "peperit sine obstetricis operā."²¹⁰ The term comes from the stem 'ob sto-' from *obsto* or *obsisto* ('I stand before...' in reference to where the midwife stands when you give birth), and we find this stem continued in its original form on the occasion that *obstetrix* is also written 'opstetrix'.²¹¹

Term: **Φαρμακίς**

The term *φαρμακίς* (the feminine of *φαρμακεύς*) refers to a woman who disperses a *φάρμακον* (drug), which may be healing or noxious. *Φαρμακίς* is often translated as 'witch' or 'sorceress', with negative connotations. Someone who works with drugs or herbs may also

²⁰⁶ "Q • SALLVSTIVS DIOGAE • L DIOGES SALLVSTIA ARTEMDORI • L ATHEN[AI]S OPSTETRIX" (Quintus Sallustius Dioges, freedman of Dioga. Sallustia Athenais, freedwoman of Artemidorus, midwife.) Translated by Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 267. Korpela (1987): no.138.

²⁰⁷ French (1986): 69-84; Pomeroy (1977): 58-60; Skinner (1987): 82.

²⁰⁸ Latin *Obstetrices* are found throughout the epigraphic evidence from Rome. The main examples include: *CIL* 10.1933, *CIL* 14.1507, *CIL* 6.37810, *CIL* 6.4458, *CIL* 6.6325, *CIL* 6.6647, *CIL* 6.6832, *CIL* 6.8192, *CIL* 6.8207, *CIL* 6.8947, *CIL* 6.8948, *CIL* 6.8949, *CIL* 6.9720, *CIL* 6.9721, *CIL* 6.9722, *CIL* 6.9723, *CIL* 6.9724, and *CIL* 6.9725.

²⁰⁹ Horace, *Odes and Epodes*: 17.51; Afer, P. Terentius, *Adelphi*: 3.1, 5, Loeb 23:284-285. "Nec quem ad obstetricem mittam; nec qui arcessat Aeschinum." Other examples include Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae*: 16.10.19; Plautus, *Captivi*: 628; Pludentius, *Cathemerina*: Poem 11.

²¹⁰ Plautus, *Cistellaria*: 1.2.22. "sine obstetricis opera et sine doloribus".

²¹¹ Lewis and Short (1879).

be a 'herbalist'. Φαρμακίς is used with the term for women like in 'γυνή φαρμακίς' and 'φαρμακιστόταται δέ εἰσι γυναικῶν',²¹² when referring to women; despite already being in the feminine.²¹³

Throughout ancient literature, the root of the word in relation to drug-lore is evident. Φαρμακοπώλης means a druggist or an apothecary (Aristophanes' *Clouds* 767 and Aeschines 3.162), and there are examples of female pharmacists in epigraphic evidence. The term πολυφάρμακος refers to knowing many drugs or charms such as in *Iliad* 16.28, and in reference to Circe in *Odyssey* 10.276. When in reference to countries, πολυφάρμακος means abounding in healing or herbs. Other terms directly related φάρμακα to include φαρμακοφόρος 'the producing of drugs' in Eustathius 1415.54, φαρμακοποιία 'preparation of drugs', φαρμακοπωλέω 'to be a druggist', φαρμακοτριβής 'one who grinds drugs or colours', such as seen in Aelian 9.62, and finally καταφαρμάσσω 'to bewitch with drugs' (Herodotus 2.181 and Plutarch, *Dion*, 14.1). Despite these roots related to the term φάρμακα, φαρμακίς is still used to portray the quintessentially negative, witch.²¹⁴ Oliver Phillips explains that the Thessalians were particularly slandered likely due to geographical determinations, and this led to a tradition of slander concerning medicine women from the area because of earlier negative connotations surrounding Thessaly.²¹⁵

The negative associations with φαρμακίς are further noticed in its use as an adjective to mean poisonous or venomous such as in Nicander's *Alexipharmaea* 538. Less sordid meanings of the word tend to relate more to males in similar occupations, such is the case with 'φαρμακίων', which Asclepiades Junior is said to have taken as a professional name.

²¹² In reference to the women of Arabia, Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 17.63.1, Loeb 410:194-195, reads "φαρμακιστόταται δέ εἰσι γυναικῶν αἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἀραβίας" (...the women of Arabia of all women are the most inclined to be poisoners).

²¹³ See appendix for literary examples.

²¹⁴ Aristophanes, *Clouds*: 749, Loeb 488:110-111.

²¹⁵ Phillips (2002): 379.

Term: Τροφός

This thesis specifically explores healing roles, opposed to caring roles attributed to wet or dry nurses, but the term τροφός does appear in relation to healing on a few occasions.²¹⁶ Τροφός refers to a feeder or rearer and is generally taken to mean a ‘dry nurse’. In this form it is a singular noun in the feminine nominal; women being the only holders of this type of role. Τροφοί make frequent appearances in ancient Greek literature, especially as characters in plays. It is imperative to understand the term τροφός in order to comprehend the skills and work of the individuals designated this description.

Τροφός is associated with contexts that refer to nourishing or raising children. In Plato’s *Statesman* it appears in the neuter to mean ‘that which nourishes’.²¹⁷ It also appears metaphorically in the literature in reference to one who nourishes or raises a city.²¹⁸ In metaphoric cases, it appears in a masculine form (τροφεύς) as in Euripides’ *Hercules* 45, *Electra* 409, Plato’s *Statesman* 268a and 268c, to refer to a foster-father. The idea that the term only refers to dry nurses is anachronistic as is seen throughout later Greek and Latin works where it is used in the masculine to portray that idea of a foster-father. Rolf Strootman explains that in the Macedonian kingdoms after Alexander, the king’s sons and high-class sons would receive education under the supervision of a dignitary called a τροφεύς, which was a position of high respect.²¹⁹ Plutarch mentions this honour in relation to the court of Philip II, emphasising that even prior to Alexander, it was an establishment of the court.²²⁰ This usage is seen in inscriptions such as *RIG 1158*. It reads that Krateros was the “foster father of Antiochos Philopator, first friend of King Antiochos, chief physician and chamberlain of the queen.”²²¹

²¹⁶ Homer, *Odyssey*: 2.361.

²¹⁷ Plato, *Statesman* (1903): 289, Loeb 164:116-117. Τροφός can be either masculine or feminine; in this case reading as a metaphor in the masculine as “λεκτέον ... ὀνομάσαντας αὐτὸ σύμπαν ἡμῶν εἶναι τροφόν” (‘... the whole of this ... as we are allocating names, should be called our τροφός [our nurse].’) Translation by author.

²¹⁸ Pindar *Pythia*: 2.2; Aeschylus *Suppliants*: 16, Loeb 145:292-293.

²¹⁹ Strootman (2013): 46.

²²⁰ Plutarch, *Alexander*: 5, Loeb 99:234-235.

²²¹ Strootman (2013): 46.

Term: Τίτθῃ

Alongside the dry nurse, we find occurrences of the wet nurse in Greek literature and epigraphy. The epigraphy rarely provides details of the women involved besides the occupation of wet nurse itself. The word τίτθῃ refers directly to the act of nursing a child. Τίτθῃ generally does not refer to any form of healing or medical tradition, but rather to a caring and rearing role. Due to this affiliation with nursing (in the Greek sense of nursing and weaning a child), it is left out of this discussion of healer women due to a lack of evidence for specific healing roles. It is important to note this term in relation to the dry nurse to understand the differences between the two roles. Especially since there are instances of the dry nurse in the role of a healer or associated with medicines or medical practices. Τίτθῃ is seen in Plato's *Republic* 343a as well as inscriptions such as *IG II² 1534, 1559, 5514, 7873, 9079, 9112 and 9271*.²²² This term is found in numerous inscriptions alongside the names of the nurse, such as in *IG II 3097*, which mentions Phanion, a Corinthian Nurse.²²³

Term: ῥίζα

Allusion to root cutters and collectors are scarce in the epigraphic evidence but are found in the ancient literature. The words 'ῥίζας ὀρύττειν' are found in close proximity to the *φαρμακίδες* and allude to the herbalist's role as a collector of herbs for the creation of medicines and formulas. Dio Chrysostomus makes mention of them twice in relation to the *φαρμακίδες* in *Oration 58* and *Oration 41*: 'καὶ καθαρίζειν: πρῶτον δέ ποτε καὶ ῥίζας ὀρύττειν, ὥσπερ αἱ φαρμακίδες'. The term ῥίζα itself is the Ionic nominative form of the word 'root'. It is often used in relation to medicine such as seen in *Iliad* 11.846 and as

²²² It is also seen in inscriptions *IG II² 10472, 10843, 11084, 11647, 12177, 12242, 12330, 12387, 12632, 12681, 12682, 12812, 12813, 12815, 12816, 12996, 13065, Agora XVII 863, 1048, Asheshire, Ath. Asklepeion 249, V, SEG 12:209, 18:36, 26:341, 40.228, 40:244, IK Knidos I 655, and IMT MittlMakestos 2525*. All but five of these are short inscriptions of 2-5 words, most with simply 2 words: the name and τίτθῃ.

²²³ *IG II 3097* is discussed further in Loman and Kosmopoulou. Phanion is described as a foreign woman acting as a nurse, which has led to debate over whether she was a slave or a free woman though neither side can be proved definitely. Kosmopoulou (2006): 289, 290, 310 (N11), for the conjecture that Phanion was a slave woman.

purgative medicine in Hippocratic Corpus, *Epidemics*, 5.34. ὀρύττειν comes from the word ὀρύσσω and means in this context 'to dig up' a plant.

Ῥίζα is associated with numerous other terms related to medicine and healing. Ῥιζοπώλης means a dealer in roots such as found in Julius Pollux 7.196, and ῥιζοτόμος means one who cuts roots in close relation to ῥιζοτομία found in Theophrastus, *History of Plants*, 6.3.2 to mean a cutting and gathering of roots, and in Oribasius, *Medical Collections*, 7.26.31 to refer to books on roots otherwise known as herbals. Βοτανολόγος is a less common word that means 'gatherer of herbs'.

Sophocles wrote the play *Rhizotomoi* (Root-cutters) some time between 468 and 406 BCE. In this case the root-cutters are the chorus of the play who specialised in plant-drug magic. Sophocles' representation of these root-cutters introduces his audience to the associations made in reference to root-cutters. His play focuses on Medea and her subsequent murder of King Pelias.²²⁴ She is described as having cropped evil plants and turning away, "so that the power of their noxious smell will not kill her, and drains the juice of the plants into bronze jars"²²⁵ (Sophocles, *Rhizotomoi*, F534-6). F535 appears to confirm that the chorus was made up of root-cutters who served Medea, as argued by Ogden.²²⁶ It tells of how Hecate is crowned with an oak branch and snakes, the chorus stating, "Lord sun and holy fire, sword of Hecate of the roads, which she carries over Olympis as she attends and as she traverses the sacred crossroads of the land, crowned with oak and woven coils of snakes, falling on her shoulders."²²⁷

²²⁴ Ogden (2002): 82; Flint et.al (1999): 180; Lesky (1931):32, 35f., 39f.

²²⁵ Ogden (2002): 82.

²²⁶ Ogden (2002): 83.

²²⁷ Sophocles, *Rhizotomoi*: F535.

Chapter 2: Acquiring Knowledge: The Education of Greek Healer Women

“Give a girl an education and introduce her properly into the world, and ten to one but she has the means of settling well, without further expense to anybody.”

Jane Austen¹

In order to understand Greek healer women, we have to look at them from the very start of their careers, their contexts, and backgrounds. This chapter aims to answer the question of opportunity and education, allowing us greater insight into these women, who they were and how they gained these opportunities. To achieve this, we have to ask how women were educated. This will be done by looking at evidence from within our typology, with comparisons with other occupations where women were involved.

There is not much evidence for the training of women. As shown, the evidence, while not extensive, does contain some indicators of how healer women gained their knowledge. This is best seen in the use of case studies and comparative material. Foremost among the types of healing education is apprenticeship and formal student-teacher training relationships. In order to comprehend fully the opportunities afforded to women, we also need to look at training within the family environment, occupations in which training women was acceptable, and theoretical and practical occupations demanding specific training practices.

2.1: Terminology

***Paideia* (παιδεία):** Modern words will be utilised in this section and will be defined below, but first it is important to comprehend that the ancient Greek idea of education/*paideia* does not securely map onto these modern definitions. Παιδεία refers to the rearing of a child that included training and teaching. Werner Jaeger equates the concept of παιδεία to education in philosophy and rhetoric utilised by the likes of Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle to mould the

¹ Austen, *Mansfield Park* (1833): 4.

ideal polis citizen.² Werner Riess explains that the idea of παιδεία was to educate to create “learned and cultivated” men, who put their “gifts at the service of the polis” throughout the Greek-speaking world.³

Παίδεια appears in Plato and plays known for their wit and social commentary, to describe education or parts of the system of education. Aristophanes uses the term in *Clouds* in reference to an ancient system of education concerning advocacy of justice and temperance.⁴ Lysias also uses the term to describe the education of the father in town.⁵ Plato uses the term in the sense of education and nurture for the soul.⁶

Techne (τέχνη): When considering ancient Greek physicians, it is important to consider how healing was seen in its context. The main issue that comes about from this is the definition of medicine as an art or a science. This is affected by modern and ancient ideologies, connected to the idea of medicine as a τέχνη.

The modern putative definition of τέχνη is expressed in the sense of an art or craft, whose guidelines have developed from procedures of applied application.⁷ Τέχνη in the LSJ (Liddell and Scott (1940)) is described as an art, skill, or cunning of hand.⁸ Homer uses τέχνη in reference to metalworking in *Odyssey*, and *Iliad* in reference to skills of a soothsayer.⁹ This confers with Serafina Cuomo’s interpretation of the term as one in reference to a craft or

² Jaeger (1939): xi.

³ Riess (2008): ix.

⁴ Aristophanes, *Clouds*: 961. “λέξω τοίνυν τὴν ἀρχαίαν παιδείαν ὡς διέκειτο...” (I will, therefore, describe the ancient system of education). Loeb 488: 140-141.

⁵ Lysias, *For Polystratus*: 20.11. “ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδ’ ἐκ παιδείας φίλος ἦν αὐτῷ: ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἀγρῷ πένης ὢν ἐποίμαινεν, ὁ δὲ πατήρ ἐν τῷ ἄστει ἐπαιδεύετο” (Nor, indeed, was he a friend of his by upbringing; for Phrynichus was a poor man, and kept sheep in the fields, while my father was being educated in town). Loeb 244: 458-459.

⁶ Plato, *Phaedo*: 107d. Loeb 36: 362-363.

⁷ Plato, *Protagoras*: 317c, uses the term to describe a learning of a thing with advanced skill, which is prevalent to the idea of the healing occupation. Loeb 165:118-119.

⁸ Liddell and Scott (1940): 1785.

⁹ Homer, *Odyssey*: 3.433, Loeb 104:112-113, 6.234, Loeb 105:396-397, 11.614, Loeb 104:444-445; Homer, *Iliad*: 3.61, Loeb 170:132-133.

skillset, in rare occurrences in Classical inscriptions, where it is found in the formula “so-and-so...is not going to harm so-and-so...through words, deeds, *techne* or *mechane*.”¹⁰ Cuomo’s study of technology and culture in Greek and Roman Antiquity provides a rich discussion of τέχνη through case-studies to set it in its political, social, and intellectual context from the point of view of a science historian. *P.Oxy. 40.5*, from the second century CE, uses the term in relation to barbers with the words ‘ιατρὸς τὴν τέχνην’.¹¹ Owsei Temkin explains that it is ancient sources like Plato and Aristotle that we have to refer to first for understanding in this context. Aristotle deems that a ‘physician’ is a master of their craft,¹² and hence a craftsman. The Hippocratic treatises say that medicine was a τέχνη, a craft, which could be learned with a theoretical element to explain ‘why’, and a practical element to explain ‘how’. To Hippocratic doctors, medicine was the τέχνη.

The *Aphorisms* begins with “Ὁ βίος βραχύς, ἡ δὲ τέχνη μακρὴ” (life is short, but τέχνη is long), more often quoted in Latin as *ars longa, vita brevis* (art is long, life is short).¹³ “The physician must be ready, not only to do his duty himself, but also to secure the cooperation of the patient, of the attendant, and externals.”¹⁴ The medical sciences were τέχνη within the eyes of the Greeks.¹⁵ Cuomo concludes in this context that the word τέχνη meant much more than an art that it also included sense of craft, trade and science in its meaning, referring to the ability of a physician to make beneficial choices.¹⁶ Dionysiac artists also called themselves τεχνῖται, practitioners of their τέχνη. Antoniou asserts that the word itself originates etymologically from the word τίκτω, meaning to ‘bring forth’, ‘give birth’, and ‘create’.¹⁷

The division between medicine as a science and as an art is ancient. Ancient Greeks themselves contrasted the non-scientific practitioner with the Hippocratic/rational/scientific

¹⁰ Cuomo (2007): 14. *Mechane* (μηχανή) meaning a constructed machine or device.

¹¹ Kortekaas (2006): 400.

¹² Temkin (1953): 214.

¹³ Translation by author.

¹⁴ Hippocrates. *Aphorisms*: 1, Loeb 150:98-99 = 4.459 Littré; Antoniou et al., (2012): 867.

¹⁵ The Hippocratic treatises refer to the τέχνη in twelve different sections. Hippocrates, *Aphorisms*: 1.1. Loeb 150:98-99 = 4.459 Littré.

¹⁶ Cuomo (2007): 15.

¹⁷ Antoniou et al., (2012): 867.

one. Emmanouil Pikoulis and his collaborators argue that this definition came from the ideas of the ruling elite and intellectuals, rather than a general population.¹⁸ Plato's *Republic* refers to medicine as a τέχνη in at least eleven different passages, including 1.342b-c; 1.346a-d; 3.407d; 3.408b; 3.409e. Socrates in Plato calls medicine an art, a τέχνη, on a number of occasions.¹⁹ The ability required to be considered a τέχνη is again well represented by Cuomo who expresses that a physician "who knows what he is doing could kill you and make it look like natural death. The real expert is the deceiver." Plato also uses the term to refer to practical skills such as cobbling and vine dressing as well as musical and political skills.²⁰ Essentially, the term requires talent and decision making in order to make the most desirable outcome.²¹

There is an extensive and ongoing modern literary debate on the meaning of τέχνη. David Roochnik explains that the concept plays a critical role as part of many analogical arguments throughout ancient Greek literature. It was even then subject to examinations in regards to its philosophical implications.²² Roochnik concludes that primary to this debate is Plato's understanding of τέχνη and the assumptions that it is in "some way identified with knowledge" and "the model of such knowledge is *technē*."²³ Roochnik agrees in the end with Terry Penner that the concept in relation to Socrates in Plato is best described as 'expertise'.²⁴ Heinrich von Staden explains also that τέχνη is often translated as art, but refers to a "result-oriented professional expertise, based on knowledge of such regularities, and a rule-based practice in accordance with this expertise."²⁵ Von Staden also makes the argument, in connection to the Hippocratic Oath that one's τέχνη is central to a creating an intellectual group identity and establishing a self-understanding. This is in addition to the term's

¹⁸ Pikoulis et al (2008): 2202-06.

¹⁹ Plato, *Republic*: 1.332c, 1.341e, 1.342a. Loeb 237:26-27, 62-63, 64-65.

²⁰ Plato, *Republic*: 1.333a-d. Loeb 237:28-29.

²¹ Cuomo (2007): 15.

²² Roochnik (2007): 89.

²³ Roochnik (2007): 89-90.

²⁴ Roochnik (2007): 89; Penner (1992): 149.

²⁵ von Staden (2007): 22.

definition as a practice based consistently on result-orientated expertise.²⁶ In the end, the definition is still up for debate, as Cuomo rightly puts it, so far the “quest for a definition of *technē* in Classical Greece has not produced a unified result.”²⁷ While there is no absolute agreement, the concept of *technē* as ‘expertise’ is a sound consensus view.

Education: In this chapter, we will be looking at how healer women received their education and experience for their healing roles. In this sense, ‘education’ refers to an act, or practice, of imparting, or acquiring knowledge or skills.²⁸ Education develops the ability to analyse and make the right decisions, preparing the student both mentally and practically for their chosen occupation. Similarly, terms such as ‘training’ and ‘instruction’ will be utilised to allude to this idea, by referring to teaching of a specific skill or skill set.

Informal Training: It is also important to understand certain types of educational training using related terminology. The terms ‘informal’ and ‘formal’ training or instruction are significant here, as they concern ways in which knowledge is transferred. The majority of the training discussed in this thesis is informal. ‘Informal’, in this context, refers to learning undertaken in a variety of places with no specific set curriculum. Daniel Schurensky and Karsten Mündel explain that it can occur in home or in a work place through daily interactions, and relationships among one’s family or community.²⁹ Informal training is set outside educational establishments, and is not specifically organised by professionals ahead in their field. It is experienced in its natural functions through exposure in everyday life.³⁰

Formal Training: Women are rarely seen in formal training in the period we are studying. Formal training refers to education undertaken within an institution, based on a specific curriculum created for the benefit of the occupation. Formal training involves institutionalised learning with a predetermined purpose based on a school of thought or branch of specific knowledge.

²⁶ von Staden (1996): 411.

²⁷ Cuomo (2007): 35.

²⁸ Ross (2013): 3.

²⁹ Schurensky and Mündel (2005): 998.

³⁰ Cross (2006): 1.

Profession: The term ‘profession’ is problematic. According to medical writer Edmund Pellegrino, ‘profession’ in its etymological roots means “to declare aloud, to proclaim something publicly”³¹ and “professionals make a “profession” of a specific kind of activity and conduct to which they commit themselves and to which they can be expected to conform.”³² This definition relates the idea of ‘profession’ to an act of “promise, commitment and dedication to an ideal”³³. It relates also the idea of an oath, which is particularly important in ancient models. While, modern medical practitioners are more often bound by an oath and a commitment,³⁴ ancient practitioners are not held by the same standard and there are fewer avenues where they could gain a ‘profession’ through taking such an oath. With this in mind, it is not reliable for the most part to use the terms ‘profession’ or ‘professional’ in an ancient context due to a lack of information pertaining to practitioner commitment and structured training.

The term is used by historians in reference to a vocation requiring knowledge, and/or skill in some department of art or science and to differentiate between definitions of the term ‘amateur’. Kosmopoulou uses the term ‘professional’ in this manner to describe an individual involved in a craft. Kosmopoulou asserts that ‘professional’ women on gravestones fit into two groups indicative of status.³⁵ The larger of these groups emphasises occupation and professional achievements, and the second group includes women of a servile status, who are subordinate figures accompanying the dead. Kosmopoulou is using ‘professional’ to emphasise the work of a craft, rather than the heightened status of an individual involved in a certain craft.³⁶ In this thesis, the term ‘profession’ is replaced by more appropriate alternatives such as ‘work’ or ‘occupation’ which are not subject to the idea of oathtaking.

³¹ Pellegrino (2002): 379.

³² Pellegrino (2002): 379.

³³ Pellegrino (2002): 379.

³⁴ Freidson (1988): 82.

³⁵ Kosmopoulou (2006): 282.

³⁶ Kosmopoulou (2006): 282.

2.2: Apprenticeships outside the Family Sphere

Christopher Forbes asserts that medical students whether slave or free learned methodically as apprentices and by observing the teacher in his actual tending of the sick.³⁷ Material from Greek Egypt demonstrates apprenticeship was an acceptable form of education for both males and females. Egypt's ability to preserve material evidence has allowed many more examples of writing to survive than in Rome or Greece. Greek Egyptian contracts have survived in papyrus form from the second century CE, recording female slaves being entrusted to skilled craftsmen for instruction. This demonstrates, not only an example for a teacher and student relationship, but also that education, in specific skilled crafts like healing, was available to females. Wessely, *Stud. Pal* (1922) No.40 from 150 CE records that the slave girl Taorsenuphis was entrusted by her mistress to the weaver Pausiris for a fourteen-month apprenticeship, to return the girl "taught in the craft just as he knows it himself."³⁸ Forbes asserts that for girls, the only apprentices are of the slave class, since "free girls were traditionally excluded from the money-earning industries",³⁹ but considering the low-economic status of a large part of Greek communities, Forbes' assertion is premature. Lower class families were likely to make females work outside the home in money-earning roles.

The apprentice system functioning without restrictions in Greek Egypt is indicative of a conventional and traditional practice throughout the Mediterranean, despite there being modest evidence.⁴⁰ I.E. Drabkin asserts that there is no mention of women engaged in the

³⁷ Forbes (1955): 330.

³⁸ Forbes (1955): 331; Wessely (1922): No.40. Text of Soknopaiou Nesos where Segathis, the daughter of Satabus, entrusts her slave girl Taorsenuphis for apprenticeship.

³⁹ Forbes (1955): 330.

⁴⁰ *P.Oxy.* 1647 (TM 29011): Platonis apprentices her slave girl Thermuthion to learn the trade of weaving under Lucius for four years. "ὁμολογοῦ[σιν ἀ]λλ[ήλ]ο[ι]ς [Πλα-]τωνίς ἢ καὶ Ὀφελί[α] Ὡρεΐω[νος] ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως μετὰ [κυ-]ρίου τοῦ ὁμογενεῖος ἀδελφ[οῦ] Πλάτωνος καὶ [Λ]οῦκι[ος] Ἰσῶνος μητρὸς Τισάσιος ἀπ[ὸ] τοῦ Ἀφροδεΐσιου τῆς Μεικρά[ς](*)Οάσεως γέρδιος, ἢ μὲν Πλ[α-]τωνίς ἢ καὶ Ὀφελία ἐκδ[εδό-]σθαι τῷ Λουκίῳ ἣν ἔχει ἀφήλικα δούλην Θερμοῦθιον περὶ[ς] μάθησιν τῆς γερδι[α-]κῆς τέχνης ἐ[πὶ] χρόνον ἔτη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ νεομηνί[ας] τοῦ ἑξῆς μηνὸς Τῦβι τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος [ἔτου]ς..." (An agreement between Platonis, also called Ophelia, daughter of Horion, of the city of Oxyrhynchus, with her full brother Plato as guardian, and Lucius

general practice of medicine,⁴¹ but Greek epigraphic evidence suggests otherwise. This assertion by Drabkin is unsurprising considering he was writing in the 1950s.

Forbes notes that there are few private records of apprenticeship outside of Greek Egypt, where the teaching of healing was more practical rather than theoretical, and thus more in line with the apprenticeship form of education.⁴² Eleni Hasaki asserts that there is a tendency in the ancient literature to place the spotlight on initial inventors, so the concept of apprenticeship is obscured and rarely considered by modern scholars.⁴³ Hasaki explains that the majority of our evidence for Greek apprenticeship comes instead from vase paintings.⁴⁴ Black-figured Corinthian scenes, show advanced stages of apprenticeship, despite there being issues of identification concerning character age and social status.⁴⁵ Hasaki's discussion of the archaeological evidence for Greek apprenticeship is an interesting window into the life of Greek apprentices, their skills, and education.

To comprehend apprenticeship and healer women, we have to interpret material in the epigraphic and literary record. Throughout history, apprenticeship has been a favourite form of instruction in all occupations, healing being no exception. Women could enter into apprenticeships and certain other teaching relationships, despite being unable to enrol in medical institutions themselves. *SB XVIII 13305* records that Aurelia Libouke of Karanis

son of Ision and Tisis, of Aphrodisium in the Small Oasis: Platonis, also called Ophelia, has apprenticed to Lucius her slave Thermuthion, who is under age, to learn the weaver's trade, for four years starting at the beginning of the coming month Tubi of the present year...) Translation by Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 208.

⁴¹ Drabkin (1957): 294.

⁴² Forbes (1955): 328.

⁴³ Hasaki (2013): 171.

⁴⁴ Hasaki (2013): 177.

⁴⁵ Hasaki (2013): 177. For instance, *Antikensammlungen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, inv. F 871 (6th Century BCE); Inv. No. F 811 (6th Century BCE), Corinthian black-figured terracotta plaque; Karlsruhe Badisches Landesmuseum, inv. No. 67/90 (6th Century BCE), Athenian black-figured lip cup with potter and assistant at work from Etruria; *Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek Munchen*, inv. No. 1717 (6th Century BCE), Athenian black-figure hydria with potters at work. Lesis lead tablet; Athenian Agora inc. no IL 1702 (4th Century BCE).

accepted a young slave-girl as an apprentice weaver in 271 CE.⁴⁶ *BGU III 617* also mentions an apprentice woman in relation to a weaver's tax in the fayum of Greek Egypt.⁴⁷ The epigraphy demonstrates the argument that women could be trained through apprenticeship.

In relation to medical education, apprenticeship would have served as an alternate to formal curriculum, such as those associated with medical institutions in the Greek world.

In discussing medical schools in ancient Greece we mean schools of thought, approaches to medicine, which led the way in the education and distribution of medical theory and practice, based on written texts, such as the Hippocratic Corpus and Galen. The Cnidian School and Coan School of medicine were the founders of rational medicine from the fifth century BCE. These centres were later superseded by the school of Alexandria in Egypt and Carthage in northern Africa.⁴⁸ There were key differences between the two schools: the Coan School focused on the treatment of patients as a whole according to the teachings of Hippocrates, whereas the Cnidian School focused on organs and disease.⁴⁹ The distinction is also made in categorising the ancient testimonies attributed to the Cnidian School: Hermann Grensemann catalogues thirty-four such testimonies in the ancient literary evidence.⁵⁰ This attribution may largely stem from assumption rather than relevance, but is not crucial in itself to this thesis.⁵¹ These schools combined Hippocratic ethic with philosophical ideas, which allows us to contrast and compare them with contemporary philosophical institutions.⁵² Robert Veatch explains that the Coan and Cnidian Schools combined Pythagorean, Epicurean, and Stoic influences.⁵³ Pomeroy asserts that although evidence for women's careers is sparse, it is

⁴⁶ Rowlandson (1998): 268.

⁴⁷ Rowlandson (1998): 269.

⁴⁸ Cilliers and Retief (2006): 34.

⁴⁹ Lonie (1978): 44.

⁵⁰ Grensemann (1975): 1-45.

⁵¹ Lonie (1978): 43.

⁵² For the argument that the Hippocratic Corpus suggests that the doctrine and medical practices of Cnidian and Coan physicians were essentially the same see Thivel (1981).

⁵³ Veatch (2000): 43.

sufficient to demonstrate that even before the Roman period, women's work was not confined to traditional domestic occupations and menial jobs.⁵⁴

2.3: Training within the Family

Evidence for female apprenticeship in the first and second centuries CE demonstrates that education had strong ties to household tasks. This is seen particularly in the evidence cited above for female apprentice weavers. This relationship is understandable considering earlier Classical and Hellenistic perceptions of female roles. Raffaella Cribiore asserts this by commenting that women's roles were generally more private and "less exposed to the demands of the outside world", their education was a "function of their social status."⁵⁵ Traditionally, education for women centred on the primary roles of wife and mother before expanding in the Hellenistic and Imperial periods. Domestic roots of female education concern women training other women, family members training within the household environment and dispersal of knowledge specifically to kin.

Xenophon examines the roles of the wife in his *Economics*:

“ἐν μέντοι τῶν σοὶ προσηκόντων, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐπιμελημάτων ἴσως ἀχαριστότερον δόξει εἶναι, ὅτι, ὅς ἂν κάμνη τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτων σοι ἐπιμελητέον πάντων ὅπως θεραπεύηται. νῆ Δί', ἔφη ἡ γυνή, ἐπιχαριτώτατον μὲν οὖν, ἂν μέλλωσί γε οἱ καλῶς θεραπευθέντες χάριν εἴσεσθαι καὶ εὐνούστεροι ἢ πρόσθεν ἔσεσθαι.”⁵⁶

“One of the duties that fall to you, however, will perhaps seem rather thankless: you will have to see that any servant who is ill is cared for. “Oh no,” cried my wife, “it will be delightful, assuming that those who are well cared for are going to feel grateful and be more loyal than before.”

The wife is told that if any one of the household falls ill, it will be up to her to care for them. Xenophon suggests that husbands were responsible for the education of their wives, and

⁵⁴ Pomeroy (1977): 62.

⁵⁵ Cribiore (2001): 75.

⁵⁶ Xenophon, *Economics*: 7.37. Loeb 168:452-453.

mothers responsible for their pre-marriage age daughters.⁵⁷ The idea of household education for women is also alluded to in Xenophon, where the training of the wife is addressed to benefit the husband and the household, rather than the woman herself. Philodemus later criticises this idea in Xenophon by denying that a wife is necessary for a happy and structured household and life.⁵⁸ This is representative of private ideals in an elite class. Xenophon will be further discussed in relation to women healing slaves in **section 4.2.3**. The accounts of Plato and Aristotle on education appear commonly in modern analyses in connection to οἶκος (household) interactions. While Plato, Aristotle and Xenophon are appealing to ideas of females in Greece, they are unrepresentative of mainstream reality.

Plato expresses an often-debated position concerning the equal training of women alongside men.⁵⁹ Modern scholars are divided as to whether Plato was either feminist or misogynist. This labelling of Plato as a misogynist is discussed in some length by the likes of Dorothea Wender, who explores the concepts of Plato as a misogynist, paedophile and feminist.⁶⁰ Plato has been labelled a misogynist because the plan to train women was designed to benefit men rather than to elevate women.⁶¹

Nancy Tuana analyses the feminist interpretations of Plato and highlights the differing views on Plato's representation of women. She notes that Elizabeth Spelman and Gregory Vlastos both argue that there is inconsistency between Plato's misogynistic remarks and his treatment of guardian women.⁶² Vlastos emphasises sociopolitical conditions versus the idealised society represented in the *Republic*, whereas Spelman grounds the argument on the interpretation that Plato uses the term "woman" ambiguously.⁶³ In doing so, Vlastos and Spelman view Plato's 'feminism' very differently. Vlastos hails him as a feminist,⁶⁴ whereas

⁵⁷ Xenophon, *Economics*: 3. Loeb 168:410-411.

⁵⁸ Asmis (1990): 2386.

⁵⁹ Plato, *Republic*: 456a, Loeb 237:470-471, 457c, Loeb 237:476-477.

⁶⁰ Peradotto and Sullivan (1984): 213. Tuana (1994): 1.

⁶¹ Calvert (1975): 231-43; Wender (1973): 75-90; Lodge (2000): 1; Lodge (1970): 1: 239; Annas (1976): 307-321; Pierce (1973): 1-11; Okin (1977): 1; Tuana (1994): 1.

⁶² Tuana (1994): 8.

⁶³ Spelman (1988): 33.

⁶⁴ Vlastos (1994): 12.

Spelman is concerned by his treatment of guardian women and proclaims him misogynistic based on his patronising tone and dualistic metaphysics.⁶⁵ Brian Calvert explains that the different views stem almost exclusively from the treatment of guardian women by Plato.⁶⁶ While it is agreed upon that this section of Plato is the most liberal sounding of Plato's suggestions, Calvert also emphasises that it is also the most inconsistent and demonstrates that the overarching theme in Plato's mind throughout the rest of his work is that men are superior to women.⁶⁷

The debate on Plato's overall view of women aside, Protagoras adheres to the idea that education should be lifelong and says, in Plato's *Protagoras* that the primary teachers of childhood learning are the mother, nurse, father and tutor.⁶⁸ The skills and values taught to one primarily in childhood are carried throughout life within the social constraints and values of their time.⁶⁹ This assertion by Plato is highlighted in an ideal form in *Republic* that children in the guardian group should be brought up in crèches under the authority of state.⁷⁰ Robin Barrow explains that what immediately concerns Plato is the influence on these children and their development of attitudes and formation of character.⁷¹ The primary objective of this is to prevent children being taught as was normal in the Greek world, in their households by female influences, to prevent them being taught things thought false.⁷² This interpretation also lends to the argument that Plato deemed women unworthy of certain responsibilities.

⁶⁵ Spelman (1988): 28, 30.

⁶⁶ Calvert (1975): 231.

⁶⁷ Calvert (1975): 231-236.

⁶⁸ Plato, *Protagoras*: 325c, Loeb 165:142-143. "ἐκ παίδων σμικρῶν ἀρχάμενοι, μέχρι οὔτερον ἂν ζῶσι, καὶ διδάσκουσι καὶ νοουθετοῦσιν. ἐπειδὴν θᾶπτον συνιῇ τις τὰ λεγόμενα, καὶ τροφὸς καὶ μήτηρ καὶ παιδαγωγὸς καὶ αὐτὸς..." (They teach and admonish them from earliest childhood till the last day of their lives. As soon as one of them grasps what is said to him, the nurse, the mother, the tutor, and the father himself...)

⁶⁹ Sichel (1983): 55.

⁷⁰ Plato, *Republic*: 377b, Loeb 237:554-555.

⁷¹ Barrow (2011): 20.

⁷² Barrow (2011): 22.

Demosthenes 59, and the case of Neaira, form a paradigm of women training women, “ἵστε δήπου καὶ αὐτοὶ ὅσου ἀξία ἐστὶν γυνὴ ἐν ταῖς νόσοις, παροῦσα κάμνοντι ἀνθρώπῳ” (you know of yourselves what value a woman has in the sick-room when she waits upon a man who is ill).⁷³ It demonstrates that the mother passes on healing knowledge to the daughter, like the older woman in an occupation would pass knowledge on to an apprentice, but within the family environment. Debra Hamel points out though that in this particular case Neaira and her daughter Phano are healing for their own ends. Phrastor is supposedly led astray by the women while ill in order to persuade him to provide for his recently divorced ex-wife and their unborn child, not to mention Neaira herself.⁷⁴ Despite the personal ministrations of the characters in this scene, the fact that they are prescribed the role of nursemaids is indicative of their abilities as women and expectations for women in a household. A similar scene is seen in Isocrates from the fourth century BCE, which tells of a court case, where the man expresses his surprise that when a man was sick, no relatives tended to him apart from the man’s sister and mother.⁷⁵

The dispersal of drug-lore within the family sphere is also demonstrated in numerous other ancient texts. Adrianus in *Declamation* (2nd century CE) explains that the man is not normally knowledgeable in drug-lore, but the female herbalist has many skills to her name and that assistance and training ran through her.⁷⁶ Φαρμακίς is often translated as sorceress in Aristophanes *Clouds* and Demosthenes *Against Aristogeiton*, which speak about Thessalian ‘sorceresses’ and Medea respectively.⁷⁷ Dickie asserts that in the Demosthenic corpus, the sense is of a sorceress, as Philochorus calls the same character, Theoris, a *mantis*.⁷⁸ Μάντις (*mantis*) means a diviner, a seer, or a prophet and it is not necessarily a negative term by itself,⁷⁹ as seen with the combination in *Iliad* ‘μάντι κακῶν’ (prophet of ill), where it required

⁷³ Demosthenes, *Against Neaera*: 59.56, Loeb 351:394-395.

⁷⁴ Hamel (2003): 88.

⁷⁵ Isocrates, *Discourses*: 19, Aigineticus, 24-8; King (2001): 23.

⁷⁶ Adrianus, *Declamation*: 44.12.

⁷⁷ Aristophanes *Clouds*: 749, Loeb 488:110-111; Demosthenes *Against Aristogeiton*: 1 25, Loeb 516-517.

⁷⁸ Dickie (2003): 79.

⁷⁹ Liddell and Scott (1940): 1080.

a negative addition.⁸⁰ These occurrences demonstrate that the *φαρμακίς* was viewed as anti-social because she was a worker of herbs, and that is why even if a person was one without personal negative associations, their relatives may not say so on their gravestone, just as they would not say if they were a thief even though thieves existed. References in these texts can help create a picture by providing information at least on the basic attitudes and representations of healing traditions in the hands of the female, where close family bonds were the means to pass on traditions.

Epigraphy recording female physicians particularly highlights women learning and working beside male relatives. The training of daughters by their fathers in specific occupations is attested throughout the Greek world. It is particularly evident in the case of artists, where the work or copies of work, have survived and left us with some biographical details of the famous creators. Most of the recorded women artists were daughters of famous male artists who influenced and taught their daughters, leading them into similar career paths. Pomeroy asserts that for these women, apprenticeship to a father was more influential than the study of art at any institution in leading them to follow careers as artists.⁸¹ Pomeroy explains that among these women was Timarete, daughter of the younger Micon, who painted an Artemis at Ephesus in an archaic style.⁸²

H4 dedicated to Antiochis of Tlos with reference to her father Diodotus of Tlos is one of the most prominent of these healer examples. Dioscorides recognises Antiochis' father as a foremost physician of fame in his own right.⁸³ This identification of the father as the physician in Dioscorides is controversial though as there is little beyond the name to suggest the connection. Galen's reference to Antiochis in relation to Asclepiades does though afford some connection as Asclepiades references her in relation to Chrysermus who followed the teachings of Heraclides of Erythrae, who was known to have written about and to Diodotus of Tlos who is named in the inscription as Antiochis' father.⁸⁴ This connection to the

⁸⁰ Homer, *Iliad*: 1.106, Loeb 170:20-21.

⁸¹ Pomeroy (1977): 53.

⁸² Pomeroy (1977): 53.

⁸³ Dioscorides, *Praef.* 2.

⁸⁴ Parker (2012): 372.

Diodotus in Dioscorides would be fitting considering Antiochis' own standing, as indicated by the inscription, where she is praised as an individual of high standing and skill.⁸⁵ The connection implies that Antiochis was either taught by or influenced by her father, considering she took up the same occupation.

Despite sons being preferred to take over the family business, daughters appear to have been sporadically prepared to continue the trade. Hypatia is an excellent example of this in the fourth century CE when her father, recognising Hypatia's intelligence, taught her mathematics and philosophy and later groomed her to take over his business as the head of his Platonist school. Maria Dzielska, on review of the evidence for Hypatia, concludes that she surpassed her father Philostorgius' talents for mathematics and in astronomy in particular.⁸⁶ This is interesting but it must be noted that the context in which Hypatia lived was very different from that of earlier antiquity, but the epigraphy also demonstrates that women were involved in the family business.

There are inscriptions that record not only the link between father and daughter, but also suggest complementary associations in the occupation between husbands and wives. **H4** implies, as previously asserted, an instructional or influential relationship between herself and her father. Galen refers to a woman physician called Antiochis in reference to Asclepiades of Bithynia, who cites Antiochis as an authority for diseases, and Heracleides of Tarentum, who Galen says wrote his book on nasal haemorrhages for Antiochis.⁸⁷ This suggests that she is in some sense arguably a respected senior colleague. **H4** dates to the first century CE and the Antiochis hails from the same area and period, and as such there is reason to infer that the two female physicians were the same individual. It is interesting that Antiochis is described as having ἐνπειρία (experience). Ἐνπειρία is the word Ἐμπειρία, meaning practical experience, which we see in **P2**.

The inscription and accompanying statue suggest that Antiochis was offered a higher admiration due to the nature of her skills.⁸⁸ The reference to Antiochis' medical skill is

⁸⁵ Pleket (1969): No.26.

⁸⁶ Dzielska (1996): 70.

⁸⁷ Galen, *CMLoc*: 13.250.9, 9.341, 12.691.

⁸⁸ Green, M. (2008): 324.

indicative of a structured theoretical education, in addition to experience.⁸⁹ This experience was probably initiated through the association with her father in an informal training environment.

H5 shows that Panthia was not only praised as a skilled healer in terms of both occupation and as part of her wifely duties. It is also possible that she was a student of her father, who is also praised as a physician in an accompanying inscription. Panthia is not called an *ιατρίνη* as such, but she is a respected individual to her peers and her community, indicated by the sentiment “καὶ κλέος ὑψώσας ξυνὸν ἱητορίης” (and raised high our common fame in healing). Mary Lefkowitz asserts that this suggests she gained a respected level of acknowledgement within her society, as she was well known to have healing skills.⁹⁰ However, a woman she was not behind her husband in skill, “οὐδὲ γυν<ή> περ εὐῶσα ἐμῆς ἀπολείπειο τέχνης” (though you were a woman you were not behind me in skill). This text is important because it indicates that both she and her husband were in the medical profession and in some sense worked together. The interesting question here is how they may have worked together.

As mentioned, a subsequent inscription made by Panthia’s husband Glykon, for Panthia’s father Philadelphus, who was also a physician, accompanies **H5**. This subsequent inscription may spread some light on how Panthia and her male relatives worked together. Retief and Cilliers argue that this is interesting proof of family connections in the medical occupation of Pergamum in the second century CE.⁹¹ The associations made in the Panthia inscription, and the accompanying acknowledgement of her father as a physician, is indicative that she was influenced by these peers and learnt skills from her father from a young age, and perhaps her husband did as well, but this we cannot know from the evidence. The evidence from the inscriptions alone is not enough to tell us more on how Panthia worked alongside her male relatives, whether she healed the female patients and they the men, or somehow else, but as we go forward with analysis of complementary working relationships and the authority of healer women elsewhere, we may be able to answer these questions.

⁸⁹ Flemming (2008): 391.

⁹⁰ Lefkowitz (1983): 41.

⁹¹ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 175.

The connection between husband and wife, where the husband is supplying or complementing occupational knowledge, appears throughout the ancient literature and archaeological evidence. Ctesibius, in the time of Ptolemy II (285-222 BCE), is recorded as the inventor of the water organ. Martin West explains that Ctesibius was a brilliant engineer who worked in Alexandria.⁹² Vitruvius indicates that his relationship with his wife included teaching her to play recitals on his inventions.⁹³ More examples come down to us through the Roman archaeological sources, showing that husband and wife interactions within an occupation were acceptable. The famous depiction of the baker Terentius Neo and his wife holding a stylus and writing tablet from Pompeii, demonstrates that in Pompeian society men and women could be associated within an occupation.



Figure 5: 1st Century Fresco dating to c.20-30 CE, *Museo Archaeologico Nazionale di Napoli (inv. nr. 9058)*, from Pompeii, House VII, 2, 6, measuring 58cm in height

⁹² West (1994): 114.

⁹³ Vitruvius, *On Architecture*: 10.7.4; “Nec tamen haec sola ratio Ctesibii fertur exquisita, sed etiam plures et variis generibus ab eo liquore pressionibus coactae spiritus efferre ab natura mutuos effectus ostenduntur, uti merularum quae motu voces atque engibatae bibentiaque et eadem moventia se sigilla ceteraque, quae delectationibus oculorum et aurium usu sensus eblandiantur.” (Nor is this the only machine, which Ctesibius has invented. There are many others, of different sorts, which prove that liquids, in a state of pressure from the air, produce many natural effects, as those which imitate the voices of singing birds, and the figurines, figures that move and seem to drink, and perform other actions pleasing to the senses of sight and hearing.) Loeb 280:312-313.

The fresco is of IV style, and its occupants are identified through graffiti inside the house (House of Terentius Neo Reg VII, Ins 2, 6).⁹⁴ The subtle features of the image demonstrate education and the concerns of each individual. The depiction suggests by the dress of the individuals that they were refined, wealthy and cultured. The presence of the stylus and diptych in the woman's hands signal her role in writing while the rotulus in the male's scroll suggests public concerns. Either way the inclusion of these components indicates that the pair wanted it to be known that they were literate and of status that they worked in complementary societal roles. John Clarke argues that there are a number of opposing ideas connected to this fresco. Matteo Della Corte has an optimistic view that Terentius Neo was a lawyer, while John Ward-Perkins and Amanda Claridge's have a pessimistic view that the couple were pretentious illiterate commoners who aspire to be better things.⁹⁵

Working couples are seen in evidence of the lower and middle classes in the Greek world. *CIL I².1221* from Rome in the first century BCE discusses the performance and duty of a butcher, Lucius Aurelius Hermia, and his wife Aurelia Philematium.⁹⁶ The working association between husband and wife is witnessed in Greek epigraphy from the Classical period onwards. *IG III App.87* records Callias the grocer and his wife Thraitta, in addition to the woman grocer Mania, who was situated near a spring.⁹⁷ Rebecca Kennedy surmises that

⁹⁴ The house was originally misinterpreted as the house of Paquius Proculus, due to political graffiti on the outside wall. This was later rectified when the significance, distribution and content of the political slogans in Pompeii and Herculaneum became better understood and studied.

⁹⁵ Clarke (2003): 264; Ward-Perkins and Claridge (1978): 2:211, no.17; Della Corte (1926): 145-54.

⁹⁶ *CIL I².1221* = *ILLRP* 793; *CIL VI.9499*; *ILS* 7472; *CLE* 959.L. It is currently housed in the British Museum.

⁹⁷ *IG III App.87*. 4th Century BCE; Athens; Bronze curse tablet.

“καταδῶ Καλλίαν : τὸν κάπηλον τὸν ἐγ γειτόνων καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ

Θραῖπταν : καὶ τὸ καπηλεῖον τὸ φαλακροῦ καὶ τὸ Ἀνθεμίωνος καπηλεῖον τὸ πλησίον ΔΑ. ΟΗ.

καὶ Φίλωνα τὸν κάπηλον· τούτων πάντων καταδῶ ψυχὴν ἐργασίαν

χειρᾶς πόδας : τὰ καπηλεῖα αὐτῶν.

καταδῶ Σωσιμένην τ[ὸν] ἀδελφόν : καὶ Κάρπον τὸν οἰκότην αὐτοῦ τὸν σινδο[νο]πώλην καὶ

Γλύκανθιν ἥν καλοῦσι Μαλθάκην : καὶ Ἀγάθωνα τ[ὸν] κάπηλον

τ[ὸν] Σωσιμένους οἰκότην : τούτων πάντων καταδῶ : ψυχὴν ἐργασία[ν β]ίον χειρᾶς πόδας.

the name Thraitta is indicative of a foreign Thracian woman.⁹⁸ This may demonstrate that women from different foreign backgrounds had the ability to work alongside their husbands in Classical Athens.

The interaction of husband and wife as a source of increasing knowledge and professionalism is also seen in relation to political instruction. Averil Cameron and Amélie Kuhrt assert that while women “neither had, nor sought, political power, they could [work through or with] their husbands under certain closely defined conditions.”⁹⁹ Women holding political power through male relatives are seen in examples such as Hortensia in the late Roman Republic, daughter of consul and advocate Quintus Hortensius Hortalus. Hortensia benefitted from her father being well known, and presented herself as a skilled orator, being praised for works such as her speech before the Second Triumvirate.¹⁰⁰ *Vindolanda tablet 257* further illustrates the working of women with men. It gives greetings from a woman named Valatta to her Cerialis and asks for relaxation of severity through Lepidina.¹⁰¹ Alan Bowman explains that Cerialis was the commanding officer of the military unit based at Vindolanda but the inscription indicates little more than favour or concession but does demonstrate how the woman saw fit to ask for such concession.¹⁰² This further suggests that women could act as mediums in certain areas of society, and benefit from the relationship to powerful men such as husbands and fathers. These are both Roman examples.

καταδῶ Κίττον τὸν γείτονα τὸν καναβιο(υ)ργὸν καὶ τέχνην τὴν Κίττου καὶ ἐργασίαν καὶ ψυχὴν
καὶ νο(ῦ)ν καὶ γλῶτταν τὴν Κίττου.

καταδῶ Μανίαν τὴν κάπηλιν τὴν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ καὶ τὸ καπηλεῖον τὸ Ἀρίστανδρος Ἐλευσινίου καὶ
ἐργασίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ νο(ῦ)ν.

ψυχὴν χειρὰς γλῶτταν πόδας νο(ῦ)ν : τούτους πάντας καταδῶ ἐμ μνήμασι ΑΣΦΑΡΑΓΙΑΙ
κ πρὸς τὸν κάτοχον Ἑρμῆν. τοὺς Ἀριστάνδρου οἰκέτας.”

⁹⁸ Kennedy (2014): 155-156.

⁹⁹ Cameron and Kuhrt (1993): 49.

¹⁰⁰ Appian, *The Civil Wars*: 4.5.34.

¹⁰¹ *Vindolanda Tablet 257* (Vindolanda Inv. No. 85.117). “Valatta [Ceriali suo / s[alutem / rogo domine re] / teritt[e]m tuam [/ et per Lepidinam quod [/ mihi concedas *uacat* /].[...]” (Valatta to her Cerialis, greetings. I ask my lord that you relax your severity (?) and through Lepidina that you grant me what I ask (?)...)

¹⁰² Bowman (1994): 76.

Within the catalogue of healing women, **P11**, set up by Aurelius Gaius, is an interesting example of an *ιατρός* and an *ιατρίνη* working together. Aurelius Gaius set it up for his σύμβιος Augusta, who is described as an *ἀρχιειάτρηνα*. This word is generally seen in the masculine, and in its first attestations it refers to a chief physician or personal physician of a ruler, as it does in Pseudo-Herodianus, Galen, and Aretaeus.¹⁰³ Gaius in this case, is not a praenomen because the *Constitutio Antoniniana* enfranchised him or an ancestor, which is why the name Aurelius appears. Therefore, the name is not in the standard Roman citizen pattern. The name Augusta demonstrates that an Anatolian woman in the Roman Empire was capable of holding a high medical role, which would have no doubt involved theoretical knowledge, in addition to practical experience (which was the focus of an apprenticeship position). Whether Augusta was trained in a similar fashion to Gaius, or even by him, is unknown. What is seen is the relationship between a male and female in the same profession with the possibility of shared knowledge and education.

P4 was found at Constanza and is dated to the second or third century CE. It is unfortunate that the text is so fragmentary, but it still has useful material in the remaining fragments. The remaining text is plural, which is seen in the terms for ‘having grown old together’ (σ]υνγηράσαν[τες]¹⁰⁴ and ‘to themselves’ (ἀ]λλήλους), which remains towards the end of the text. The plurals suggest that the female physician worked alongside a male physician, likely her husband.

H8 from Cilicia Trachea further demonstrates the complementary relationship between male and female physicians. Dating from the second century CE, it records the names of another medical couple: Obrimos the doctor and his wife Ammeis the ‘helper’ or ‘saviour’ (σώτειρα). Ammeis’ title as σώτειρα, suggests that she was a medical practitioner of some description, despite not directly being called an *ιατρίνη*. The title choice is not directly indicative of a

¹⁰³ Pseudo-Herodianus, *De prosodia catholica*: 3,1, 229.11. “τὸ δὲ ἰατρός φιλίαςτρος ἀναβιβάζει καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀρχιατρός καὶ ἱππιατρός φυλάττει. τὸ δὲ κλειτός καὶ κλυτός εἰ μὲν μετὰ ἀπτώτου συντεθῇ ὑπὲρ μίαν συλλαβήν”. Galen, *De antidotis libri ii*: 14.2. “ὕστερον δὲ Ἀνδρόμαχος ὁ Νέρωνος ἀρχιατρός”. Aretaeus, *De curatione acutorum morborum libri duo*: 2.5. “ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ θνήσκειν τοῖς μὲν ὧδε πονέουσι εὐδαιμονίῃ· τῷ ἀρχιιτρῷ δὲ οὐ θέμις πρήσσειν.” (to die is happiness, but to impart it is not permitted to the respectable physician).

¹⁰⁴ Liddell and Scott (1940): 1660. Appears similarly in Herodotus, *Histories*: 3.134.

subordinate position to her husband, but the sense of σώτειρα as a 'helper' may suggest an apprentice and teacher relationship, or a complementary working association on an equal footing.¹⁰⁵ Σώτειρα is more appropriately translated as saviour, which indicates that she was praised for her skills and not seen lower in skill to Obrimos. Merkelbach and Stauber additionally make brief suggestion of this and agree with this argument by asserting that Ammeis is presented on an equal footing to her husband.¹⁰⁶ Rather than being described as an assistant, she is complimented for the effectiveness of her healing.

The evidence from the Eastern Mediterranean for the female physician, including the use of the word ἰατρῖνη, exhibits forms of instruction in more abundance. This is because the epigraphic examples for the physician from Anatolia, number over double those recorded from mainland Greece. As we move towards Anatolia and the Eastern areas of the Greek world, there is an expansion of evidence and range of training types in relation to other categories of healer women as discussed above. To become physicians, women would have had to train under a physician. Of the inscriptions recording physicians from Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, thirty percent record some form of male and female interaction on some level, which could be further indicative of ἰατροί training ἰατρῖναι. The husband and wife relationship is suggestive of complementary interaction between the male and female healers.

2.4: Occupations in which Female Training was Acceptable

Evidence for the philosophical schools contains the most abundant information for educated women in the Greek world, with females taking after their male relatives. Pythagorean essays attributed to female authors are included in the Hellenistic corpus, but there is some debate concerning whether the authors were women, or rather men using female pseudonyms.¹⁰⁷ The Pythagorean (sixth century BCE), Stoic (c. third century BCE) and Neopythagorean (c. first century CE) Schools boasted educated females, with Pythagoras'

¹⁰⁵ Liddell and Scott (1940): 1751.

¹⁰⁶ Merkelbach and Stauber (2002): 181.

¹⁰⁷ Plant (2004): 68-86.

own wife, Theano, being named as a follower among many other women.¹⁰⁸ Arete of Cyrene is also recorded as learning philosophy from her father, Aristippus, and taking over the helm of a philosophical school upon her father's death.¹⁰⁹ Diogenes Laertius even says that she passed her knowledge on to her own son who was nicknamed 'μητροδίδακτος', meaning 'mother-taught'.¹¹⁰

Annette Huizenga provides translations of five letters attributed to Pythagorean women in Composite A. *P.Haun. II.13* (TM 64078).¹¹¹ These include letters of Melissa and Myia, from Melissa to Kleareta, and Myia to Phyllis, and letters of Theano to Eubole, Nikostrate, and Kallisto.¹¹² *P.Haun. II.13* (TM 64078) is a Koine copy of original Doric letters starting with correspondence from Melissa to Kleareta, and then following with correspondence between Myia and Phyllis, dating to the third or fourth centuries BCE.¹¹³ Stephen Llewelyn ascribes the date due to a third century style with a mixture of cursive forms and Koine paraphrasing.¹¹⁴ Huizenga asserts that the letters are Pythagorean in that they bear the names of women from that school, and because they concentrate on household management themes that correspond to other Neopythagorean texts ascribed to male authors that address topics like virtue-training, marriage, childrearing, and slave supervision.¹¹⁵ These similarities to other letters are also noted by David Balch, who draws upon comparisons to male-authored letters, such as that by Archytas *On Law and Justice* and *On Moral Education*.¹¹⁶ Wilhelm also

¹⁰⁸ Winter (2003): 72; Ferguson (2010): 163-180; Pomeroy (1984): 61, 64-71; Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 167-169. No.31. Huizenga (2013): 1.

¹⁰⁹ Strabo, *Geography*: 17.3.22, Loeb 267:204-205; Aelian, *Nat. Anim.*: 3.40, Loeb 446:200-201; Theodoret, *Therapeutike*: 11.1.

¹¹⁰ Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*: 2.72, Loeb 184:200-201, 83, Loeb 184:210-211, 86, Loeb 184:214-215.

¹¹¹ Huizenga (2013): 57-64.

¹¹² Huizenga (2013): 64-77.

¹¹³ *P.Haun. II.13* (TM 64078) is attested to Pseudo-Pythagoras and is currently housed in Copenhagen at the Institute for Greek and Latin.

¹¹⁴ Llewelyn (1992): 18.

¹¹⁵ Huizenga (2013): 43.

¹¹⁶ Balch (1992): 380-411.

makes such comparisons to Kallikratides *On the Happiness of Households*, Charondas, the Lawgiver, Damippus, Diotogenes *On Sanctity*, and Ecclelus *On Justice*.¹¹⁷

Theano and Myia are known as historical women of the past, members of Pythagoras' family and students of his philosophy. Huizenga asserts that the name Melissa draws on not only historical personages, but appeals to the personification of her namesake, the bee.¹¹⁸ The bee is noted for its associations, especially in relation to virtue, efficiency, and hive society. These women are noted as teachers and role models and serve to elevate common sense advice into the realm of a moral philosophy for women. The female authorship theory came about in the mid-1980s, with the likes of Pomeroy, and motivated by a change in opinion due to the modern feminist realisation of the text's significance.¹¹⁹

The expectation among these men was that their female relations be well educated in the ways of the philosophic school. The Stoic Diodorus Cronus demonstrates this, as he is said to have had five daughters, who were educated and skilled logicians in the third century BCE. These women illustrate that females could be trained in theoretical occupations or pastimes under certain circumstances. The five daughters of Diodorus Cronus (Argeia, Theognis, Menexene, Pantacleia and Artemisia) and the daughters of Pythagoras (Myia, Damo and Arignote), show us that the dispersal of knowledge from father to daughter, in male orientated and intellectual occupations, was practiced in communities from at least the third century BCE.¹²⁰

Women philosophers are also seen in the epigraphical evidence. *Pleket 30* describes an honorary inscription for Magnilla, a female philosopher, dating to the second or third century CE, from Apollonia in Mysia. Plato's female pupils also are attested. Diogenes Laertius records that Hipparchia fell in love with both Crates' discourses and his way of life. "She paid no attention to any of her suitors, their money, their high birth or their good looks."¹²¹ Antipater of Thessalonica *AP VII.413* finds similar sentiment in an epigram on

¹¹⁷ Wilhelm (1915): 161.

¹¹⁸ Huizenga (2013): 77.

¹¹⁹ Pomeroy (1984): 1.

¹²⁰ Pomeroy (1977): 57.

¹²¹ Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*: 6.96.8, Loeb 185:98-99.

Hipparchia. Another learned woman is mentioned in *The Suda*, Pamphile was an Epidaurian, the daughter of Soterides.¹²² Other documents include Agrippina's memoirs in Tacitus,¹²³ *CIL* VI.33898 (*ILS* 7783) for Pious Euphrosyne a twenty-year old philosopher,¹²⁴ and Sulpicia in Martial.¹²⁵ Maria Caldelli asserts that Euphrosyne's designation as *notaria* shows that she at least was educated in writing or shorthand.¹²⁶ Women's eloquence is also noted in Cicero, in relation to Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, Laelia, Gaius' daughter and her two daughters and granddaughters, the Mucia and the Licinia respectively.¹²⁷ These comparisons and the attestation of female authorship indicate that women had access to education and schools of thought through such channels as the philosophical institutions in this period.

Prostitutes and companions were believed to have some healing knowledge too in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. This included knowledge of love spells, with love-sickness believed to be a physical ailment. King explains that the medical construction of love-sickness in Western medicine drew on representations of desire in Classical Greek and Latin texts such as Sappho 31, while setting these in a physical context of humoral disturbance influenced by the theories of Galen.¹²⁸ King asserts that Sappho's poem 31 describes the sensations she experiences when seeing the woman she loves talking and laughing with a man.¹²⁹ This description is made up of physical reactions. Sappho describes that her heart trembles in her breast, her senses are affected, and she is near death, unable to speak, she feels a fire beneath her flesh, her sight fails, her ears hum and she sweats and trembles.¹³⁰

Lower class women had informal training opportunities in female-based occupations such as prostitution. Records of 'prostitutes' in Greek literature show that women and girls were

¹²² Wider (1986): 22. *The Suda*. Adler No. pi.139.

¹²³ Tacitus, *Annals*: 4.53, Loeb 312:96-97.

¹²⁴ "[D(is)] M(anibus) s(acrum) / Hapateni / notariae / Gr(a)ec(a)e / vix(it) ann(is) XXV / Pittosus fe/cit coniugi / dulcissim(a)e."

¹²⁵ Martial, *Epigrams*: 10.35, Loeb 95:348-349.

¹²⁶ Caldelli (2014): 595.

¹²⁷ Cicero, *Brutus*: 58.211.

¹²⁸ King (1998): 191.

¹²⁹ King (1998): 191.

¹³⁰ Sappho: 31.13-14. King (1998): 191.

trained or apprenticed under older women.¹³¹ These occupations would have required some basic knowledge of healing due to the risks of ailments based on sexual health, gynaecological issues, and childbirth. Distinction is made between *pornai* and *hetairai* that *pornai* performed a primarily sexual role, whereas *hetairai* performed an important companionship role in addition to a sexual one. Nikarete, a fellow prostitute, alongside a number of other young girls, trained Neaira in Demosthenes 59 in her earlier years.¹³² Those often described as prostitutes were not just trained in sexual matters. ἑταῖραι appear to have been educated in other skills including music,¹³³ writing and conversation.

This tradition of occupation based healing, despite the focus on sexual health, stretches to all areas of healing. Aristophanes' character, Lysistrata, provides an interesting example of a magical link. Lysistrata borders the line of association between hetaera and priestess with the use of an erotic spell disc (*iynx*), which is usually associated with prostitution.¹³⁴ Christopher Faraone asserts that Lysistrata is not a prostitute of any sort, identifying as a citizen matron and conducting herself as such, demonstrating that the association between the *iynx* and prostitutes is not supported in the ancient literature.¹³⁵ He comes to this conclusion based on his studies of the different categories of love magic that he identifies in ancient Greece, namely two main contrasting categories: men using magic to instill erotic passion and women using magic to instill affection in men.¹³⁶ Faraone uses this distinction well to discuss what these different forms of love spells can reveal about social construction of gender.¹³⁷ This is an interesting subject that contradicts ideas of hypersexuality that have created a "monolithic misogynist model"¹³⁸ in favour of discussing women and their magic use in

¹³¹ When referring to prostitutes, this thesis is mainly referring to those classified as *pornai* and *hetairai*.

¹³² Demosthenes, *Against Neaira*: 59.18, Loeb 351:364-365.

¹³³ Goldhill (2005): 281.

¹³⁴ Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*: 130-175, Loeb 179:286-287; Nock (1929): 225; Faraone (2002): 403; Faraone (2008): 207.

¹³⁵ Faraone (2008): 207.

¹³⁶ Faraone (2002): 400.

¹³⁷ Faraone (2002): 401.

¹³⁸ Faraone (2002): 403.

relation to more natural desires. Stephen Halliwell supports this model of interpreting women's magic use in reference particularly to Aristophanes, as he notes that within his comedies there is a theme of shamelessness which is the "comic violation of norms and public decency and inhibition prevalent in Athenian culture."¹³⁹

An iynx is also seen in Socrates' dialogue with Theodote in Xenophon's *Memorabilia*.¹⁴⁰ Here it is expressed as a means for a prostitute to gain employment when age takes hold and charms fade. Theocritus in turn, outlines three acknowledged categories of magic and healing workers: the hetaera (Simaetha), the old woman expert and an Assyrian Stranger,¹⁴¹ the prostitute, the wise old woman (or man), and the foreigner.

This regard and the link prostitutes had to female health, places prostitutes among a number of possible healing authorities based in other occupations. In the fourth century BCE, Athens was in an unparalleled golden age for courtesans. Monuments dedicated to hetaerae do not represent any healing skill, but they do show that they could be esteemed members of their communities. Athenaeus accounts for sixteen such monuments in Book 13 of his *Deipnosophistae* alone.¹⁴² Among these is a bronze portrait set up by Harpalus for his mistress Glykera at Rhossos in Syria, beside portraits of himself and Alexander.¹⁴³ Another is a statue of Aphrodite on Samos dedicated to the hetaerae who accompanied the army of Pericles.¹⁴⁴

Outside the better-publicised jurisdiction of philosophy, midwifery was a strictly female occupation that required knowledge and experience. Inscriptional evidence for midwives comes from Anatolia, in addition to more limited examples from Athens and Rome.

¹³⁹ Halliwell (2002): 125.

¹⁴⁰ Xenophon, *Memorabilia*: 3.11.16-17, Loeb 168:262-263.

¹⁴¹ Theocritus, *The Greek Bucolic Poets*: 2nd Idyll.

¹⁴² Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*: 13. Book 13 also includes mention of monuments to Stratonice (13.576), Cottina (13.574c), Phryne (13.591b), Pythionice (13.594e), two to Bacchis a courtesan (13.595b), temple of Aphrodite the prostitute at Abydos (13.572e), temple of Aphrodite the courtesan at Ephesus (13.573a) and the tomb of the Lydian courtesan (13.573a).

¹⁴³ Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*: 13.586c, 595c.

¹⁴⁴ Athenaeus, *The Deipnosophists*: 13.572f.

CIL 6.9723 of Poblizia the Obstetrix, records that she died at the age of 21, long before she would have been past childbearing age herself.

CIL 6.9723 (1st/2nd century CE, Rome):

“VIXIT • ANNOS • XXI”

(she lived 21 years)

CIL 6.6647 (1st/2nd century CE, Rome):

“VIXIT • ANN • XXX”

(she lived 30 years)¹⁴⁵

Being past childbearing age is prescribed as an important criterion for the ancient midwife in modern, and some ancient, literature. Plato is the source for this, asserting that no woman attends another woman while she is still capable of conceiving herself.¹⁴⁶ These Roman inscriptions suggest otherwise.

CIL 6.9720 (1st/2nd century CE, Rome):

“VIX • ANN LXXV M • V”

(She lived 75 years and 5 months)¹⁴⁷

The evidence also illustrates that midwives could be past childbearing age, indicating that there was not a strict age for the occupation and training of midwives, despite what Plato suggests. Plato also mentions accepted or preferred requirements for being a midwife elsewhere in his work. He notes in particular the importance of experience. This is a recognition of a factor that distinguishes practitioners from each other. In fact, Plato describes it as a universal rule that people must have personal experience in a field in which they want expertise. Thus barren women cannot be midwives because “ὅτι ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη

¹⁴⁵ Translation by author.

¹⁴⁶ Plato, *Theaetetus*: 149b. Loeb 123:30-31.

¹⁴⁷ Translation by author.

φύσις ἀσθενεστέρα ἢ λαβεῖν τέχνην ὧν ἂν ἡ ἀπειρος” (human nature is too weak to acquire an art which deals with matters of which it has no experience).¹⁴⁸

The evidence in the Greek record for the training of midwives is lacking. Inscriptions tend to record only the name and profession of the midwives. **M5** (1st/2nd century CE, Paros) reads “Παριὰς μαῖα, χρηστὴ χαῖρε” (Parias, a midwife, who was good, farewell). Inscriptions providing more detail for midwives are rare, but there are exceptions. In **M6**, the midwife Julia Primigenia is remembered in a Greek epitaph as having “πολλὰς σώσασα γυναῖκας | οὐκ ἔφυγον Μοίρας· ζήσασα καλῶς” (saved many women, yet I did not escape the Fates. After a good life...). This example, though in Greek, again comes from Rome, rather than Greece itself.¹⁴⁹ Loman and Michael Rostovtzeff, who describe Hellenistic male physicians in particular as ‘highly nomadic’, discuss the mobility of healers from East to West.¹⁵⁰ Loman suggests that there is a possibility that female physicians were just as mobile, but we lack the evidence.¹⁵¹

Young or old with personal experience, an apprenticeship position as a midwife and assistant, either formal or informal, would be necessary for the acquisition of knowledge for the next generation of midwives. Midwives or birth assistants were a fundamental part of a woman’s life in her role as a child-bearer and mother. Some training by either formal or informal means would have been required for a woman to be designated as a midwife.

2.5: Theoretical and Practical Occupational Training: Case Studies

2.5.1: The Restituta Inscription:

H1 (here on called the ‘Restituta Inscription’), is a unique inscription dedicated by the woman Restituta. Restituta dedicated this inscription to a physician of Caesar, Claudius Alcimus, her

¹⁴⁸ Plato, *Theaetetus*: 149c. Loeb 123:30-31.

¹⁴⁹ The lower esteem held for midwives and physicians in the West is seen in the legal commentary on the 3rd Century BCE ‘Lex Aquila’ *Codex Justinianus* 6.43.3.

¹⁵⁰ Rostovtzeff (1941): 1089.

¹⁵¹ Loman (2004): 85. There are also Inscriptions that indicate physician mobility, such as *IG II² 722* [*c.* 252/1 BCE] = *Edelstein and Edelstein*, 1998: no. 552; *cf.* *Burstein*, 1985: no. 27), which describes so-called public physicians.

professor and patron. The inscription is unique because it is the only currently excavated epigraph that expresses a relationship between a female student and her male professor (καθηγητής) in the healing arts.

Restituta is not titled as an ἰατρίνη within the inscription. The professional relationship between herself and the physician of Caesar suggests that she was associated with healing, and was a physician herself, as she had been a student of Claudius Alcimus. That Restituta could afford and was afforded the opportunity, to dedicate this detailed inscription to Claudius Alcimus, suggests that she had the means to fall into the more experienced of the implied roles that of a physician, which was accompanied by some respect and financial benefit. The connection between professor and student in the 'Restituta Inscription', also indicates that this role is appropriately implied, where a theoretical and practical knowledge was being taught. The designation of physician can thus be connected to Restituta through comparison to other women in epigraphic evidence that hold the title and their described roles and associations.

Use of the term καθηγητής (professor) suggests a more complex relationship between Restituta and Claudius. Καθηγητής means 'guide, professor or teacher', and applied to both theoretical and practical areas of instruction. The term comes from καθήγησις meaning a rule or principle. Καθηγητής is used in Philodemus, Fragment 17, 19.14, and used in reference to Plato himself by Dionysius of Halicarnasus, *De Thucydide*: 3.24. Manetho uses the term to again reference a teacher or professor in *Apotelesmatica* 2.300 and Philumenus, *De venenatis animalibus eorumque remediis* 5.6. It has been used to indicate the role of guide or teacher as well as professor; in *IG XIV 2454* and *P.Oxy. 6.930* (TM 28341) from the second or third centuries CE.¹⁵² *IG XIV 2454* reads "Τίτος · Πομπήϊος Ἀπολλωνίδης Τίτω Φλαουῖω Νεικοστράτῳ τῷ καθηγητῇ μνήμης · χάριν" (Titus Pompeius Apollonides, Titus Flavius Nicostratus [set this up] in memory to his teacher, farewell from Gallia Narbonensis).

Restituta's role as the student of Claudius Alcimus suggests that she was trained by him in Rome and was not herself necessarily from the Eastern Mediterranean. Restituta as a freedwoman was certainly in a position, and associated with a household, which would have allowed her to study in such an occupation. Paul Weaver asserts this in his discussion of the

¹⁵² Hutchinson (2013): 121.

status of slaves in the Imperial household and their greater opportunities due to their associations with that household.¹⁵³ Wealthy Romans hired well-trained physicians and midwives, or purchased well-trained slaves, from the Hellenized East.

The designation of Claudius as a professor and patron to Restituta, demonstrates that he was not a blood relation of hers. We can be sure that such a designation would have been mentioned. This demonstrates that a male outside the sphere of blood-related family could be involved in the training of a woman in the healing occupations.¹⁵⁴ Not just this, but a male of considerable reputation and status, could be recognised as a teacher, who instructed a woman in medical knowledge and whose attitudes accommodated the education of women as healers and their subsequent work.

While Greece has a long tradition of physicians, the Roman period sees a change in attitude. Martial states, "I felt a little ill and called Dr. Symmachus. Well, you came; Symmachus, but you brought 100 medical students with you. One hundred ice-cold hands poked and jabbed me. I didn't have a fever, Symmachus, when I called you, but now I do."¹⁵⁵ The numbers illustrate an interesting point, but are no doubt exaggerated.

Pliny the Elder voices uncompromising hostility to physicians when he quotes the epitaph of an unfortunate victim of medicine, "turba se medicorum perisse".¹⁵⁶ Pliny was writing in the first century CE in a time of political unrest. He is writing from the perspective of the wealthy municipal governing class.¹⁵⁷ Pliny wrote with the interests of the state and its leaders in mind, as a member of the Emperor Vespasian's advisory council, and his political views are displayed plainly in his *Natural History*.¹⁵⁸ He is though an excellent example of an interdisciplinary author.

¹⁵³ Weaver (1972): 48.

¹⁵⁴ See next chapter for further discussion on this relationship type.

¹⁵⁵ Martial, *Epigrams*: 5.9, Loeb 94:336-337.

¹⁵⁶ Pliny, *Natural History*: 29.3, Loeb 418:184-185.

¹⁵⁷ Healy (1999): 2.

¹⁵⁸ Healy (1999): 32; Stannard (1982): 3-23.

In the Roman period, physicians were often Greek or Greek influenced. The personal physician of Augustus was a Greek freedman in the Roman world named Antonius Musa.¹⁵⁹ In remembering this, one can see further, how the Restituta Inscription contributes to this thesis. The geographical context is Roman and the cultural context is Greek.

Gummerus concludes that Restituta is Claudius Alcimus' freedwoman.¹⁶⁰ Korpela expresses strong doubt of this, but does not further explain his doubt.¹⁶¹ The argument that Restituta was indeed a freedwoman is backed up by her position as the student of a physician to Caesar and her name. Claudius Alcimus' position was as high as a physician of Caesar, but ancient authors, such as Suetonius, suggest that he may have been one of many nonetheless. Suetonius records that Augustus wrote, "I'm sending a doctor from among my slaves, and I've written to Germanicus to keep him if he wants to." Augustus here, clearly presents that he can spare the physician permanently, implying that there were a number of others on his staff.¹⁶²

What is easier to interpret is the educational association between Restituta and Claudius. Suetonius' explanation does indicate that they were slaves, whereas Claudius Alcimus, while a slave originally, was probably manumitted by an emperor whose family name was Claudius (Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, or Nero).

The term *πάτρωνι* (patron) is significant in itself. Its use in parallel with Claudius Alcimus' name suggests that Claudius was indeed a freedman who became a patron to his own slaves and former slaves. Claudius Alcimus is not only Restituta's patron and professor, but also a 'Physician to Caesar' (*ἰατρῶ Καίσαρος*). This indicates that his status was higher than the average freed or slave physician. There are no other known instances of this phrase in the Greek epigraphic evidence. There is reference though to physicians of Caesar and rulers in relation to the term 'Chief physician'.¹⁶³ This is especially possible because the title is used in place of the typical nomenclature describing of whom he is a 'freedman'. Alcimus is a Greek

¹⁵⁹ Forbes (1955): 345.

¹⁶⁰ Gummerus (1932): 43.

¹⁶¹ Korpela (1987): 166.

¹⁶² Forbes (1955): 345. Suetonius, *Lives*: Caligula. 8.4, Loeb 31:428-429.

¹⁶³ See previous typology.

name and is accompanied by the traditional praenomina suggestive of freedman status (Tiberius Claudius), which was typically taken from a former master. The lack of a paternal nomen advocates that he was personally freed, rather than coming from a freed family. Hers was a Roman name. Sandra Joshel explains that nomen suffices to indicate citizenship and free status opposed to slave status.¹⁶⁴ Restituta's name is interesting in that the lack of the name Claudia in relation to Restituta suggests that she was not a freed woman of Claudius Alcimius.

It would be easy to assume that the dedication by Restituta was due to a lack of family on the part of Claudius, but this may not have been the case. Henrik Mouritsen provides a study into proportions of epitaphs dedicated to different members of Roman societies in the first centuries CE, with which Restituta is contemporary. Mouritsen explains that epitaphs in many respects present a very peculiar profile of the Roman population, and are unlikely to present a direct reflection of socio-demographic structures and development.¹⁶⁵ Lily Taylor makes the assertion in addition to Mouritsen's that the large majority of Romans commemorated in stone appear to come from a servile background.¹⁶⁶ Thus, the dedicator situation of the Restituta inscription is more likely to have been a specific cultural practice, than a representation of family relations. It appears that freed persons, and lower class members, were more likely to dedicate to themselves and their patrons than the patron's families. Mouritsen makes this conclusion by looking specifically at the cities of Ostia and Pompeii.

In Ostia, virtually everybody who commissioned tombs and monuments appears to be associated with unfree birth.¹⁶⁷ The situation is similar in Pompeii that the behaviour of the local curial elite showed a tendency to promote themselves in life through patronage and monuments, rather than in death. In Pompeii, Mouritsen points towards particular examples that appear to highlight this point. In the epitaph of Eumachia, who is not otherwise known

¹⁶⁴ Joshel (1992): 169.

¹⁶⁵ Mouritsen (2005): 38.

¹⁶⁶ Taylor 1961): 113-32

¹⁶⁷ Mouritsen (2005): 41.

to shy away from self-publicity, it does not even mention her public priesthood.¹⁶⁸ The epitaphs demonstrate that for freedmen and women, the best opportunity for self-display was in death, whereas this need did not exist for the elite.

There are instances of elite burials organised by freedmen and women for their patrons, contemporary to the *Restituta* inscription. An example involves a freedwoman setting up an epitaph to her patron, the duovir Q. Veranius Rufus, and including him in her burial site.¹⁶⁹ Such epitaphs, in relation to Mouritsen's study, appear to be more indicative of people from humble beginnings, who wished in death to make a personal statement of prosperity.

The professor and student affiliation was increasingly considered the paramount type of medical education, in substitution of master and apprentice. It appealed to the theoretical side of medical practice in addition to the practical. Drabkin asserts that it thus became preferred from the Early Hellenistic period onward in medical spheres, because of the structured teaching techniques undertaken by the likes of Erasistratus and Herophilus.¹⁷⁰ Nikolaos Lazaridis also argues that with culminating of bilingual Egyptian-Greek education in the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods led to a pedagogical theory based education system involving a school like environment opposed to strictly an apprenticeship one.¹⁷¹

The professor and student association seen in the *Restituta* Inscription was centred on the evolving relationships in centres of medical education in the Greek world. Lazaridis argues that despite this, Greek women were still subject to home education in the majority, as there is no solid evidence that they could ever enter educational institutions themselves, despite unconvincing arguments from Betsy Bryan and Jaana Tovari-Viitala.¹⁷² The problem with Lazaridis' use of Tovari-Viitala and Bryan is that they focus on Egyptian women, not Greek. These arguments are made even less likely by the comparative discussion of Pomeroy on the education of Greek women. Pomeroy argues that the Hellenistic period was one of manifold changes including in relation to education of women and girls began to "obtain a formal

¹⁶⁸ Mouritsen (2005): 47.

¹⁶⁹ Mouritsen (2005): 49.

¹⁷⁰ Drabkin (1957): 291.

¹⁷¹ Lazaridis (2010): 1.

¹⁷² Tovari-Viitala (2001): 190-194; Bryan (1984): 17-32.

education in the fourth century”, as evident from terracotta figurines showing women and girls reading and writing from throughout the Greek world.¹⁷³

In the Restituta Inscription, we have a male professor, apparently of Greek background, teaching a female in an instructional relationship. This environment would likely have been the imperial palace considering the title of Claudius, where it would not be up to Claudius to choose whom he trained. If some manager decided a woman physician was needed, to treat females in the organisation (up to and including the women of the actual imperial family), or if the emperor himself decided so, a suitable person would then be chosen and trained.

Restituta’s dedication indicates that she was personally affected by Claudius Alcimus’ death, and was of a status that allowed her to dedicate an elaborate epitaph in the absence of the deceased’s family. There are many gravestones put up by freed persons of the deceased. This does not prove that the deceased did not have a family, though perhaps in many cases it was the situation. In most other surviving inscriptions to female physicians we have mention of a familial relationship between the woman and a man, husband and wife or father and daughter.

While there was apprenticeship and professional institutions that could provide training, considering the economic status of the majority of the population in the Greek periods, it would have been more likely for a young person to learn his set occupation directly from a family member or family friend. The normal expectation was that a physician would teach his son[s].

2.5.2: Hagnodice

The most well known story regarding a woman in an apprenticeship, or student and teacher relationship, is fictional. Fiction and artistic license do not mean that truthful contextual details do not remain within a record. Hyginus’ account of Hagnodice, the virgin who wished to learn medicine, dressed as a man, and apprenticed under Herophilus,¹⁷⁴ illustrates that this type of formal instruction was recognised as fundamental but not normal for a woman. The story provides aetiology for the treatment of women by women, explaining a

¹⁷³ Pomeroy (1977): 52.

¹⁷⁴ Hyginus, *Fabulae*: 274.

role for women in medicine that reflects the sensibilities of Greek society. The role is historical while the story that explains it is fictional.¹⁷⁵

The consensus that Hyginus' account is fictional is based on the lack of comparative pieces in the ancient literature and the use of a female's voice. King asserts that while the name is often read as Agnodice, it should be read as Hagnodice because of its Greek origins.¹⁷⁶ This name would coincide with the theory that she was a fictional woman because it means 'chaste before justice', relating to her innocence on the charge of seduction. King also correctly points out that while Hagnodice's teacher has been determined as a real person, Herophilus' reality does not prove hers.¹⁷⁷ Hagnodice's story does demonstrate literary ideals towards women practising medicine.

Hyginus' story goes that the ancients did not have obstetricians, and thus because of modesty women perished frequently.¹⁷⁸ He explains, "Athenians forbade slaves and women to learn the art of medicine" (*nam Athenienses cauerant ne quis seruus aut femina artem medicinam disceret*).¹⁷⁹ A certain woman named Hagnodice, whom he describes as a virgin (*uirgo*), desired to learn medicine so cut her hair and donned male attire and went to Herophilus in Alexandria for training. Once she had learnt the art she returned to Athens, and on hearing the suffering of a woman in labour went to her. First, the woman refused her help, until Hagnodice revealed she was a woman and treated her with her trust.

This idea of women's shame did not start with Hyginus. Monica Green in her study of making medicine masculine reminds us that the subject was broached as far back at the

¹⁷⁵ Swanson (2005): 1; Green (2008): 1. Hyginus wrote in Latin in Roman Spain in the first century CE.

The *Fabulae*, is one of two collections of fables that have been attributed to him, the other being *Astronomica*.

¹⁷⁶ King (1986): 54. Surviving Latin translations include one by Pseudo-Dositheus, some papyrus fragments, and passages preserved from the twelfth century Arnulf of Orleans, in addition to comparative vase paintings.

¹⁷⁷ King (1986): 54.

¹⁷⁸ Hyginus, *Fabulae*: 274.

¹⁷⁹ Hyginus, *Fabulae*: 274.

Hippocratic writers in *Diseases of Women*, Book 1.¹⁸⁰ The writer makes a point to remind physicians that one must not forget to thoroughly question the woman and that women's diseases are not to be treated like men's.¹⁸¹

Hyginus continues by relating that Hagnodice became popular among the women of Athens, and that when other physicians in Athens saw this they accused Hagnodice thinking she was a man. They accused her of being a seducer and corrupter of women, and said that women were pretending to be ill to get her attention (*<H>agnodicen accusare coeperunt, quod dicerent eum glabrum esse et corruptorem earum, et illas simulare imbecillitatem*). On being forced in front of the Areopagus council to address her crimes, Hagnodice removed her garments and revealed that she could not be guilty of the charges as she herself was a woman. The men began to accuse her more vigorously as a result, claiming she was thus breaking the law that forbade women to learn and practise medicine. The women of Athens then make an appearance and tell the court and the men that they "are not husbands, but enemies, because you condemn her, who discovered safety for us" (*Vos coniuges non estis sed hostes, quia quae salutem nobis inuenit eam damnatis*). Hyginus claims that on this argument the Athenians amended the law so that freeborn women could learn the art of medicine.¹⁸²

While this story is renowned as a work of fiction, there are certain aspects that modern analysis can find beneficial to the analysis of women and healing. Note the concerns over modesty, seduction, and the fact that one of the greatest Greek physicians, Herophilus, appears prominently in the story. The story also highlights the narrow domain accorded to women in the health field.¹⁸³ Marion Conti-O'Hare goes on to assert that women practised primarily as midwives or as caregivers for women and children, and continued to use folk measures for healing because as the story illustrates, other forms of medical education were not open to them.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸⁰ Green (2008):

¹⁸¹ Hippocrates, *Diseases of Women*: 1, Loeb 520:192-193 = 8:10 Littré.

¹⁸² Hyginus, *Fabulae*: 274.

¹⁸³ Conti-O'Hare (2002): 11.

¹⁸⁴ Conti-O'Hare (2002): 11.

The ability to gain access to medical education in Egypt is another plausible outlet for Greek physicians, which is explored in Hyginus' Hagnodice. Herodotus states that these Egyptian educated healers included physicians, exorcists and priests of Sekhmet, thought to be surgeons or specialists in feeling the pulse and treating diseases of vessels.¹⁸⁵ Egyptian women are well known to have been part of healing traditions. In Egypt, women had been part of the medical system for millennia and served as nurses (in the modern sense as healers), wound dressers, and sometimes as physicians. The tomb of the physician Peseshet from the fourth dynasty (around 2400 BCE), speaks of its occupant as the "lady overseer of the lady physicians".¹⁸⁶ In Hyginus' fictional setting, Hagnodice's expedition to Egypt to gain knowledge is logical in light of the limited availability at home. In the real world, it is understandable considering the moral of Hyginus' story that women would have presented themselves elsewhere for the appropriate learning.

The idea of modesty is also a significant part of this apocryphal tale. Athenian women were too embarrassed to discuss their problems with a man. Hyginus' fictional tale also demonstrates just how much male physicians of this period were involved in gynaecological care, so the story runs counter to what may have been happening at the time. Despite this, Hyginus does appear to be touching on a known issue, the reluctance to discuss intimate matters with anyone, let alone a member of the opposite sex. We must then consider what options were available for women to learn medical techniques in connection to childbearing and specific female issues, as the demand for women with such skills existed.

2.6: Women as Teachers

Women were not allowed to be part of the Hippocratic Schools, which is clear from the records that are available. *Sterile Women* and *Diseases of Women*, record female ailments, but do not cite female physicians directly. This is not to say that women were not influenced or taught Hippocratic material. Additionally it does not mean that women did not influence Hippocratic material.

¹⁸⁵ Herodotus, *Histories*: 2.84, Loeb 117:368-369.

¹⁸⁶ Harer and el-Dawakhly (1989): 960-961 will be discussed in more detail later in the thesis.

Parker explains that centres of medical tradition include the famous schools of thought that were established in Cos, Cnidos, Alexandria, Rome, Pergamum, Smyrna and Ephesus, with additional authoritative centres in areas containing vast libraries.¹⁸⁷ Strabo reports of a great Herophileian school of medicine at Alexandria, which had been established by Zeuxis and was later taken over by Alexander Philalethes.¹⁸⁸ These schools of thought and the physical institutions set up to teach them, may explain the greater number of women healers in inscriptions in Anatolia, through the influence of these areas on healing traditions throughout the Hellenistic period. Louise Wells asserts that Cos was among these centres that formed a “convenient centre for the study of the healing language of the body of medical writings known as the Hippocratic Corpus, for it was out of the teachings of the Coan School of thought that they originated.”¹⁸⁹ The idea of physical institutions based on these schools of thought, is further proved by the understanding that Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle, and related authorities, taught for a fee.¹⁹⁰ Matthew Dillon explains that the societies, which these institutions were in, would have had greater exposure to the higher levels and philosophies of medicine.¹⁹¹

Metrodora was a Greek physician who wrote about gynaecology and diseases among a wider range of medical knowledge. Parker explains that she is the earliest recorded female author of a medical treatise,¹⁹² and was widely referenced in the ancient Greek and Roman world throughout to the medieval period.¹⁹³ There are similarities, both in theoretical exposition and in practical recommendations, between Metrodora’s extant treatise and the Hippocratic treatises on gynaecological matters. In particular, similarities are noted between two pessaries against inflammation of the womb mouth, which are noted by Laurence Totelin.¹⁹⁴ Metrodora’s treatises are very difficult to date and there have been estimates

¹⁸⁷ Parker (1997): 135.

¹⁸⁸ Strabo, *Geography*: 12.8, Loeb 211:484-485.

¹⁸⁹ Wells (1998): 71.

¹⁹⁰ Wells (1998): 71. Plato, *Protagoras*: 311b-c, Loeb 165:98-99; Plato, *Phaedrus*: 270c; Plato, *Politics*: 1326a.

¹⁹¹ Dillon (1997): 74.

¹⁹² Parker (1997): 138.

¹⁹³ James and Dillon (2012): 123, 112-114.

¹⁹⁴ Totelin (2011): 277; Metrodora, *περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας*: 51.12-16 Metrodora 4.

anywhere between the first and sixth century CE. However, most scholars date Metrodora to the sixth century CE,¹⁹⁵ long after the Hippocratic Treatises dating to the fifth century BCE. This leaves a large period of time in which Metrodora could source additional information to add to her summaries of the Hippocratic corpus. Totelin does suggest that Metrodora's treatise dates to the first century CE based on the larger selection of scholar's suggestions.¹⁹⁶

The name Metrodora does bring a question though of whether Metrodora was in fact a woman. Flemming explains that the name could derive from the Greek term for the womb 'μήτρα' or mother 'μήτηρ'.¹⁹⁷ The 'Lexicon of Greek Personal Names' suggests that the name is not uncommon with 53 examples. Dean-Jones suggests that Metrodora would then mean 'gifts of the mother or womb'.¹⁹⁸ The existence of the male equivalent, Metrodorus, though suggests that the mother in question is likely a deity such as Demeter or Cybele rather than a human woman. We will see that practitioners were known to take names to do with their occupation to advance their own reputation, but this also causes debate on the reliability of author identification. We will also see this problem in relation to the female-authored Greek Magical Papyri. Flemming explains that Metrodora, in addition to Cleopatra, might have been a woman writing under a pseudonym for the same reasons that may apply to men.¹⁹⁹ Flemming argues that, while we cannot be certain whether any of these women were actually women, Metrodora, on her own, appears to be a good prospect. Flemming explains that while "her name may share its first four letters with the Greek for womb; it is still very respectable as the feminine of Metrodorus, which is well-attested in the epigraphical and literary records."²⁰⁰ Holt Parker though disagrees with Flemming and argues that Metrodora should not be seen as anything more than the feminine form of Metrodorus which was a well-attested theophoric in line with names such as Apollo-dora/us, Hermo-dora/us, and Theo-dora/us.²⁰¹ This is backed-up by the attestations seen in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal*

¹⁹⁵ Congourdeau (1993); Kousis (1945); Gómez (1995); Touwaide (2000).

¹⁹⁶ For suggestion of the first century CE: Deichgräber (1932); Nutton (1995): 49.

¹⁹⁷ Flemming (2007): 258.

¹⁹⁸ Dean-Jones (1994): 33.

¹⁹⁹ Flemming (2007): 276.

²⁰⁰ Flemming (2007): 278.

²⁰¹ Parker (2012): 380.

Names, which number fifteen separate individuals dating from the fourth century BCE to the first century CE.²⁰² Parker argues that Flemmings assertion is the work of feminist criticism alongside “old-fashioned philology” that would not have happened if the name in question was masculine because men were not subject to the same level of disbelief as women.²⁰³

Metrodora’s extant treatise also demonstrates that females could be cited as medical authorities. Unlike the formerly discussed women, Metrodora’s works present us with more information about her influences. Her treatise has similarities, both in theoretical exposition and in practical recommendations, to Hippocratic treatises on gynaecological matters, suggesting they influenced Metrodora. Laurence Totelin analyses one particular similarity in the case of two pessaries against inflammation of the mouth of the womb.²⁰⁴ Totelin explains that certain Metrodora uses similar phrasing and expressions to those found in Hippocratic recipes, while others have distinct differences.²⁰⁵ This may suggest that the Hippocratic authors and Metrodora were both influenced by a third text similar to the idea of Q in the context of biblical sources. Metrodora appears to be more likely a summarised version of the Hippocratic recipes with additions made either through her own experimentation or from sources written after the Hippocratic corpus, suggesting that she was familiar with the texts and simply adjusted the recipes as she saw fit.

Similarities can clearly be seen when one compares Metrodora’s recipe to *Diseases of Women* 2.158.

Metrodora:

“Take the milk of a woman who has borne a male child and rose perfume; chop together the same amount of each, heat, take up into a pessary and apply to the mouth of the womb. Or crush the yolk of an egg with rose [oil], take up into a pessary and apply”

²⁰² Also well-attested in the epigraphic evidence at Rome in *CIL* 6.22472, 29722 and 34883.

²⁰³ Parker (2012): 381.

²⁰⁴ Totelin (2009): 277; Metrodora, *περὶ τῶν γυναικείων παθῶν τῆς μήτρας*: 51.12-16 Metrodora 4.

²⁰⁵ Totelin (2009): 277.

Hippocratic Recipe:

“If the mouth of the womb does not take up semen, but is hard and closed... Or peel fifteen berries, let there also be, if it seems necessary, a portion of Indian [grains]; crush in the milk of a woman who has borne a male child, and mix with deer marrow and all the other [ingredients] that have been listed, add a little honey. Let the wool be soft and clean, and apply for the day. If you want to make it stronger, add a little myrrh. What is best: a yolk of an egg, goat suet, honey, rose oil; mix these, warm slightly over a fire, and collect the drops onto wool. Apply.”

Similarities encourage further questions concerning how Metrodora and Hippocratic practitioners gained the knowledge. Metrodora’s remedies are simpler and sometimes vary the ingredients and she does not mention Hippocratic treatises at all. Totelin asserts that it is unclear whether Metrodora read and was influenced by Hippocratic writings, or was responding to an oral tradition that was based on Hippocratic treatises.²⁰⁶ She may also have been responding to other treatises and recipes influenced by Hippocratic ideas. Metrodora’s treatises are indicative of Hippocratic links and influences upon healer women and illustrate at least a theoretical tradition among women learning through the transmission of knowledge, if not an oral transmission among women. Totelin rightly infers that Metrodora’s case at least testifies to “the continuing success of the gynaecological recipes”, long after they were originally composed.²⁰⁷ Either way, Metrodora does not mention Hippocrates by name. The suggestion of an oral tradition is supported by the similarities in content having differences in vocabulary. Totelin highlights one particular example in the phrase γαλάκτι γυναικὸς κουροτρόφου, which is found in the Hippocratic recipe, in comparison to γυναικὸς ἀρρενοτόκου γάλα in Metrodora.²⁰⁸ On the other hand, it may be that Metrodora was replacing a rare expression with a more familiar one for her audience.

The Hippocratic Treatises themselves include three collections, which may contain traces of female knowledge, collectively known as the *Gynaikeia* (Diseases of Women). The large number of gynaecological recipes in this work may be indicative of female informants. Whether there were informants, is something that we cannot definitely determine. The

²⁰⁶ Totelin (2009): 277.

²⁰⁷ Totelin (2011): 278.

²⁰⁸ Totelin (2009): 278.

Hippocratic Treatises themselves do though suggest that some Hippocratic writers drew upon knowledge from women within the *gynaikeion*. Hanson highlights this in her comparison of Hippocratic writers writing on gynaecology. She explains that *Epidemics* and *Diseases of Women* both “contain material and patterns of association probably familiar in the Greek household.”²⁰⁹ She also argues that different authors’ reasonings behind women’s diseases led them to obtain information from different sources. For instance, in *Epidemics* describes diseases in terms of “morbid fluids” and circumstances, whereas another author in *De morbis mulierum* 1 criticises any cause that is not ‘utero-centric’.²¹⁰ This leads to a juxtaposition within the Hippocratic corpus of how women’s diseases were dealt with and reported.

The evidence for the training of women in healing also extends back to the base of womanly knowledge, the household. Many non-citizen and lower class women worked in occupations that were extensions of household skills. These extensions included work as nurses, midwives, laundresses and cooks.²¹¹ In regards to healing occupations, there is some evidence in Homer of women with traditional knowledge of medicine. Agamede in *Iliad* is rumoured to know every remedy of the earth.²¹² Archaeological excavations on Crete have turned up further evidence of pharmacological knowledge in the form of tripod cooking pots of various shapes and forms. Holley Martlew and Martin Jones record that tripod pots with herbal residue have been uncovered in domestic and industrial settings in Crete, Mycenae, Triyns and Midea. These vessels have also been prescribed usages based on their shape and size and additional features and date from the Early Bronze Age through the Late Minoan II period onwards.²¹³ There may be some historical foundation to the world described by Homer.²¹⁴ This foundation is seen in comparisons between elements such as the structure of the nationalities involved, battle tactics, societal hierarchy, and everyday living and archaeological evidence dating to the archaic period in which Homer sets his epics. Homer

²⁰⁹ Hanson (1989): 41.

²¹⁰ Hanson (1989): 39.

²¹¹ Pomeroy (1977): 51.

²¹² Homer, *Iliad*: 11.668, Loeb 170:542-543.

²¹³ Martlew and Jones (2008): 24-26.

²¹⁴ Petrakis (2006): 371-396.

presents us with a preliminary idea from the start of Greek literary traditions that women could act as successful healers within communities.

We do have more evidence for the training of women in skilled occupations in regards to their roles. This is the case for non-citizen and foreign women. The evidence that we have for skilled occupations is gender biased and does not demonstrate the variety of women involved (or even the men). On occasions, most notably in the Classical period, we find evidence for women both having been taught by, and having practised as, teachers. Aspasia is recorded as an exceptional woman of learning. Socrates explains that she was his teacher of rhetoric, she delivered orations, and she herself composed the funerary speech that Pericles delivered.²¹⁵ Aspasia, as a foreigner, was not restricted by the same ideals as Athenian citizen women and hence could express herself and her knowledge largely. Menexenus exclaims that if Aspasia can compose a speech like that, despite being a woman, she is indeed fortunate!²¹⁶ Praise like this for Aspasia, is indicative of a respect for the intelligent woman while maintaining her in a place subordinate to any man.

Franco Trivigno explains that scholars of Plato's *Menexenos* face three major difficulties. Firstly, how to understand the intention of the funeral oration recited by Socrates, secondly, why Plato attributes this oration to Aspasia, and lastly, how to understand the anachronism of the dialogue in which Socrates relates the history of Athens up to the King's Peace in 386 BCE, thirteen years after he has died.²¹⁷ Lucinda Coventry addresses these issues in her discussion of philosophy and rhetoric in the *Menexenus*. She asserts that Plato's admiration for Aspasia and her speech suggests that there is at least some uncertainty and inconsistency in his position.²¹⁸ Trivigno asserts that one can resolve these difficulties by understanding the rhetoric of parody in *Menexenus*. The dialogue's parody targets not only Pericles' funeral oration in particular, but funerary oratory, rhetoric, and Athens as well, with critical and constructive philosophical implications.²¹⁹

²¹⁵ Plato, *Menexenus*: 235e, Loeb 234:336-337.

²¹⁶ Plato, *Menexenus*: 249e, Loeb 234:380-381.

²¹⁷ Trivigno (2009): 29-58.

²¹⁸ Coventry (1989): 1.

²¹⁹ Trivigno (2009): 29.

The epigraphic evidence from Athens is valuable for showing that women, especially of lower class and metics, could perform skilled occupations. While this material presents little information on the training of professional women, it does emphasise their existence in certain important roles. Ancient Greek ideals valued the exclusion of women, but their seclusion was only possible in households of certain means.²²⁰ Kosmopoulou outlines 26 inscriptions specifically that refer to women in skilled occupations. She listed 12 occurrences of nurses, 10 priestesses, 1 midwife and 3 examples of woolworkers in the epigraphy.²²¹ In Athens, the professional woman was often the result of economic necessity and these epitaphs show that women acted in a range of roles. This is indicative that previous scholars' assumption of seclusion has limited value considering the economic status of the majority of the population.

The dispersal of knowledge between women within occupations is demonstrated in Classical artwork. Depictions of dancing girls and musicians are common through from the Classical to the Roman period. The primary evidence for this training is scarce and is interpreted from depictions of entertainer women in action. One particular red figure hydria (*British Museum Catalogue number: Vase E203*) from circa 400 BCE illustrates the training of dancing girls. This hydria was manufactured in Attica and exported to Nola in Campania. It illustrates a dancing lesson with a woman in a chiton directing girls dancing; the right hand girl stands with left hand on her hip and right hand arched over her head; the left hand girl is playing castanets with her right hand arched over her head.

Women worked together with much more fluidity in the Ancient Greek world because societal ideals saw the worlds of men and women as separate regarding numerous roles in the home. The first call for training in certain occupations would stem from the demands of their family and household. Home based education, in particular occupations such as healing, would have involved one of, or a range of, training relationships between husband and wife, father and daughter, or mother and daughter. The epigraphy shows that segregation of the sexes in the training environment was not a reality one could economically

²²⁰ Kosmopoulou (2006): 306-319.

²²¹ Kosmopoulou (2006): 306-319.

contend with, and men and women could be involved in complementary instruction and occupations.

2.7: Conclusions

The question of how healer women acquired their knowledge is essential to our overall understanding of their lives, and the attitudes and influences of their society. This chapter has established that there were multiple ways that women could gain training in medical traditions, spanning from family, non-formal training, to structured apprentice-like relationships. What has become clear is that personal relationships with healer men in their lives led to an abundance of recorded healer women of repute, such as physicians, in comparison to less formal types of healers such as wise women and so-called sorceresses.

Inscriptions suggest there was opportunity for a woman, of particular background in some cases, to gain fame and authority in the medical profession as we have seen from the likes of Antiochis and Domnina. We have seen a number of pieces of evidence that exhibit familial interactions. The training of children in the professions of their parents is a well-attested form of endowing knowledge and skills. Alongside the evidence for healing and caring responsibilities in the household, this evidence for healing women as the students of their fathers or mothers is not extraordinary and follows a long-standing tradition of succession. **H4** and **H5**, where the female physician is the daughter of a male physician are re-exhibiting a trend that follows throughout the Greek world. Hygieia herself, daughter of Asclepius, stands as an example of the healing traditions being passed down from father to daughter.

We cannot determine to what extent apprenticeship outside the family was used to train women in the healing occupations. The student and professor teaching relationship was apparent in the Hippocratic traditions and the medical schools, but the Restituta inscription illustrates the use of this training method outside the medical school environment. The Restituta inscription is unique and significant. The terms used point towards a more established and acceptable form of healing such as those related to physicians, both male and female. This suggests that the student and professor relationship was available as a source of instruction for females.

Chapter 3: Portraying Knowledge

“Healing is a matter of time, but it is
sometimes also a matter of opportunity.”

Hippocrates¹

This chapter explores the means by which healer women could gain reputation and the trust of their patients. It is important to consider this aspect of healer women’s lives because there was no indicator of qualification, apart from reputation, throughout the Greek world from the Classical period to the fourth century CE. By determining how the community valued the healer women, who they treated and why, we can expand our understanding of healer women within their social contexts.

Healer women gained reputation in a similar manner to men; however, their sex placed limitations they had to overcome. This chapter explores concepts of namesakes, portraying knowledge, patients, and financial choices that allowed healer women to gain a standing as a necessary part of society and transmit their knowledge over time and place.

3.1: Transmission of Knowledge in the Ancient Literature

Dispersal of knowledge in Greek medical traditions is first illustrated in Homer. It is indicative of how women could gain reputation through advertisement of their skill and authority in healing. In Homer’s *Iliad*, we hear of golden-haired Agamede, who is said to have known “the virtues of every herb which grows upon the face of the earth.”² Homer also venerates Egyptian authorities on herbalism. In *Odyssey*, he explains that Helen had been given a drug by Polydamna, wife of Thon, a woman of Egypt, a source for all sorts of herbs. He describes the people of Egypt as a race of skilled physicians because they are of the race of Paieon, the physician of the Olympian gods.³

¹ Hippocrates, *Precepts*: 1, Loeb 147:312-313 = 8.250 Littré.

² Homer, *Iliad*: 11.668, Loeb 170:542-543.

³ Homer, *Odyssey*: 4.4.

Pausanias talks of one particular chest he witnessed that illustrated women with pharmaceutical knowledge. The chest of Cypselus was on display in the temple of Hera at Olympia, it has inscriptions of an archaic date on it, as well as carved pictures.⁴ On this chest, Pausanias notes two women pound in mortars with pestles, an activity they do due to their wisdom in medicine-lore, although there is no accompanying inscription.⁵ Pausanias' observation shows that women were known to have healing knowledge including the ability to make medicines.

3.2: Medical Treatises Written by Ancient Greek Women

The most interesting sources for analysis of female knowledge are treatises by women themselves. Many of these treatises are now only known through references made by other ancient writers. The existence of women medical writers shows that women not only could learn medicine, but also could strive to pass on their medical knowledge and succeed.

3.2.1: Artemisia

Artemisia, queen of Caria, is recorded as a physician, botanist and herbalist. Artemisia is estimated to have died around 350 BCE, and her work influenced later ancient male authors including Strabo,⁶ and Pliny. Pliny the Elder credits Artemisia with the discovery of the medicinal value of wormwood as a drink, thus naming the herb after her.⁷ The diverse genus of wormwood still carries her name in the scientific nomen of many of its three hundred

⁴ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*: 5.17.5-6. "τῶν δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ λάρνακι ἐπιγράμματα ἔπεστι τοῖς πλείοσι, γράμμασι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις γεγραμμένα: καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ αὐτῶν ἔχει, σχήματα δὲ ἄλλα τῶν γραμμάτων βουστροφηδὸν καλοῦσιν Ἕλληνες." (On most of the figures on the chest there are inscriptions, written in the ancient characters. In some cases the letters read straight on, but in others the form of the writing is what the Greeks call boustrophedon.) At 5.18.2 two women are shown, "δύο δὲ ἄλλας γυναῖκας ἐς ὄλμους καθικνουμένας ὑπέροις, φάρμακα εἰδέναι σφᾶς νομίζουσιν, ἐπεὶ ἄλλως γε οὐδὲν ἐς αὐτάς ἐστιν ἐπίγραμμα" (pounding in mortars with pestles; they are supposed to be wise in medicine-lore, though there is no inscription to them.) Loeb 188:484-485.

⁵ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*: 5.18.

⁶ Strabo, *Geography*: 14.2.16, Loeb 188:484-485.

⁷ Pliny the elder, *Natural History*: 25:36, Loeb 393:190-191.

plants, as a testament to her work. These include *Artemisia Nilagirica* (Indian Wormwood), *Artemisia Pontica* (Roman Wormwood) and *Artemisia Pynocephala* (Beach Sagewort).⁸

3.2.2: Aspasia

Aetius of Amida's works, dating to the sixth century CE, have survived in a relatively complete state. Aetius provides us with information for, and extant fragments of, the Greek woman physician Aspasia, who practised around the fourth century CE. While it is easy to assume on first reading that Aetius may be referring to the Aspasia in relation to Pericles, he does not make any identification as such and the name was common as the feminine form of *Aspasia*.⁹ Thus, this Aspasia is unlikely to be related to the Aspasia of Pericles. John Scarborough refers to her as being "an experienced midwife" or "an experienced physician in her own right", but her exact designation is not recorded in the ancient literature.¹⁰ Aspasia is referenced in Aetius' chapter 15 and is noted by him as an authority called upon for teaching purposes. Aetius demonstrates this teaching purpose by quoting passages like: "...removal [of the afterbirth] will be done in a manner that we will teach later."¹¹

Aetius further demonstrates the extent of Aspasia's knowledge in his reference in chapter 12. She had a grasp of regimen and rationality, in addition to a genuine care for the wellbeing of women and gynaecological issues.¹² Similar demonstration is witnessed in Aetius' recognition of her throughout the rest of chapter 15, where she exhibits specific gynaecological knowledge concerning labour difficulties and childbirth, in addition to decoctions and herbs to aid delivery.¹³ The value of Aspasia's knowledge is further demonstrated throughout the rest of Aetius. Chapter 18 includes medicaments ascribed to Aspasia, taking "a sitz bath in a decoction of fenugreek, mallow and mugwort" and letting the woman "rub herself with old oil or with the juice of rue or honey".¹⁴ In chapter 77

⁸ Wright (2002): 50-59.

⁹ Parker (2012): 380.

¹⁰ Scarborough (2013): 752.

¹¹ Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 15 (1.23 Ricci).

¹² Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 12 (1.22 Ricci).

¹³ Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 15 (1.23 Ricci).

¹⁴ Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 18 (1.26 Ricci).

Aspasia is referred to as having remarked on the use of herbal suppositories for the uterus and rectum, saying that after three days one should insert lukewarm iris oil or lily oil, while she remarks on the benefits of specific regimen.¹⁵

The importance of regimen, alongside Aspasia's understanding of temperament, suggests that she was aware of Hippocratic therapeutic and anatomical theories. Her grasp of surgical techniques and anatomy, such as seen in her explanation of blood flow,¹⁶ indicates a practical application, in addition to a theoretical understanding. This suggests that she received some form of structured instruction. Aspasia's explanation of the technique to cure a distention of the veins (varicose veins) is specific and detailed through the process of access and amputation.¹⁷ The exact nature of the education of Aspasia is unknown, but the ten fragments in Aetius show that she was thought to be an authority for medical knowledge. Even in the modern day, Aspasia's techniques are hailed as innovative in medical journals, demonstrating just how knowledgeable she is deemed. Gregory Tsoucalas and his associates recognise in her work surgical cases of hydrocele,¹⁸ which resemble typical modern hydrocelectomies.

That Aspasia was writing these treatises herself, is evident by her understanding of a woman's world and condition, which is displayed in her empathetic writing. This is illustrated by her list of additional reasons why a woman may lack a menstrual period; "weighty cares, excessive fears and great griefs suppress the menses".¹⁹ Aspasia's knowledge of other theorists and practitioners extends to Asclepiades and medicaments for the noma of the uterus.²⁰ Aspasia was also recognised as a medical authority for surgery. Her techniques to disperse hernias, in both males and females, are particularly detailed.²¹

¹⁵ Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 77 (1.81 Ricci).

¹⁶ Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 77 (1.81 Ricci). "During the suppression of the menses, the veins and arteries to the uterus become engorged. For the blood runs up to the very mouth of the vessels..."

¹⁷ Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 102 (1.107 Ricci).

¹⁸ Tsoucalas (2012): 337.

¹⁹ Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 51 (1.54 Ricci).

²⁰ Aetius, *Iatricorum liber*: 92 (1.99 Ricci).

²¹ Tsoucalas et al. (2012): 337.

3.2.3: Cleopatra the Physician

The first centuries CE continue the trend of female authors of treatises. Cleopatra the physician demonstrates this acknowledgement of female knowledge. Aetius references her; however, he confuses her with Cleopatra VII of Egypt. Cleopatra VII was known to have connections to medicine, Gabriele Marasco for instance examines Plutarch's claim that Cleopatra the Queen experimented with human guinea pigs and returned from Actium with poisons to test on prisoners.²² This does not mean though that she and Cleopatra the Physician were the same. In fact, there is far more reason to not identify her with the queen of Egypt because the name is one of the most common in the period with 163 references to it in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. In addition, no one in the literary material identifies Cleopatra the physician with the queen until Aetius in the sixth century CE, not even Galen who also draws from her works many centuries prior to Aetius.²³

Cleopatra the physician's work dates to the first or second century CE and six fragments of her *Cosmetics* survive.²⁴ Four of these fragments can be found in Galen, one in Aetius, and one in Paulus of Aegina.²⁵ Galen's references to Cleopatra contrast his other references to female writers in that he appears to be quoting either directly from her work or from a closely associated source. This is seen in that each time he references her he not only names the book, but also claims to be following her diction.²⁶ This is a similar introduction to those he gives of his most prevalent primary sources, including Asclepiades, Archigenes and Andromachus.²⁷ Cajus Fabricius, Flemming, and de Nardis have suggested that Galen may have been using an intermediary source such as Crito.²⁸ Parker disagrees with this though arguing that they base this assertion on incorrect interpretation of source order within Galen, claiming that Cleopatra is always followed by reference to Crito. Parker points out that this is

²² Marasco (1995): 317.

²³ Parker (2012): 379. Galen would have had a fair knowledge of the queen and her death considering his context and the manner of her death.

²⁴ Plant (2004): 135-136.

²⁵ Plant (2004): 137.

²⁶ Parker (2012): 377.

²⁷ Parker (2012): 377.

²⁸ Fabricius (1972): 190-192, 201-202; Flemming (2007): 268.

not always the case, instead arguing that Galen uses Crito as a comparison to demonstrate a later and lesser source.²⁹ This seems a reasonable argument based on the comparison of source order within Galen.

Cosmetics was intended as a manual concerning preparation and application of remedies for medical practitioners. Plant asserts that her personal recommendations accompany her remedies for hair disease,³⁰ and the working of remedies for generating hair, show that the work was for the instruction of others. The reference in Galen reads:

“Another [remedy against alopecia]. The power of this [remedy] is better than that of all the others, as it works also against falling hair and, mixed with oil or perfume, against incipient baldness and baldness of the crown; and it works wonders. One part of burnt domestic mice, one part of burnt remnants of vine, one part of burnt horse teeth, one part of bear fat, one part of deer marrow, one part of reed bark. Pound them dry, then add a sufficient amount of honey until the thickness of the honey is convenient, and then dissolve the fat and the marrow, knead and mix them. Place the remedy in a copper box. Rub the alopecia until new hair grows back. Similarly, falling hair should be anointed every day.”³¹

Cleopatra does not mention any surgical techniques; this may be for two reasons. Firstly, Cleopatra may have only trained in herbal and traditional remedies, with little or no direct influence from the Hippocratic and scientific based theories (though the Hippocratic practitioners were principally physicians, not surgeons). Secondly, Cleopatra may have possessed surgical skill and written on that subject too, but this aspect of her knowledge does not appear in the extant fragments. It must be remembered that there are relatively few fragments left from Cleopatra, so this second reason is definitely a possibility. This is especially so when one looks at testimonies outside the Greek corpus, such as in the case of Jewish texts that indicate that she experimented in medical procedures during surgery and in the case of pregnant women. These Jewish texts though often confuse Cleopatra the physician with Cleopatra the queen and it is difficult to ascertain to whom exactly they are

²⁹ Parker (2012): 378.

³⁰ Plant (2004): 138-139.

³¹ Galen, *CMLoc*: 1.2, (12.404 Kühn).

referring. For instance, Joseph Geiger refers to Cleopatra the queen despite mentioning clear references to Cleopatra the physician, such as her *Cosmetics*. This is likely because Geiger comes to the topic from the Hebrew texts rather than the Greek. If these Talmudic sources are referring to the physician,³² they note that she would experiment with surgery through the vivisection of slaves.³³

In the range of fragments of her work we have we see that they are very different from the work of Aspasia. Cleopatra's knowledge developed outside Hippocratic influence. Despite this, it is significant to note that Galen's mention of her suggests that he was satisfied with the efficacy of her medicines.³⁴ Cleopatra may have been influenced by traditions similar to those of Galen, or those that also influenced Galen himself, but that is difficult to distinguish with the limited information we have on Cleopatra and her background.

Cleopatra's wish to hand down her knowledge is further evident from Soranus' references to her. He is believed to have extensively copied her works and reproduced them in his own style within his *Gynaecology*. Nutton asserts that the connection between Soranus and Cleopatra has previously been misunderstood due to confusion in ancient and medieval sources.³⁵ Similar to the fragments of Aspasia, and the physician Metrodora, there are no references in Cleopatra's fragments to where she gained her knowledge. Soranus will be discussed in more detail in **Section 4.2**.

A significant issue with the physician Cleopatra is that references to her cannot be taken at face value. One of the reasons for this is the apparent identification of her in antiquity as Cleopatra VII. Green points out that, references to Cleopatra have been used through the Medieval and Renaissance periods into the modern day for authors' own agendas and these are the references that survive. Green asserts that Cleopatra was not published in full in either of these periods, but rather maintained authority only by distance.³⁶ Green explains

³² *BNid.* 30b, *Tos.Nid.* IV. 17.

³³ Geiger (2001): 28.

³⁴ Plant (2004): 139-143.

³⁵ Nutton (2004): 199.

³⁶ Green (2008): 282.

that during the Renaissance, “late antique legacy of midwifery literature was condensed.”³⁷ Caspar Wolf compiled a *Harmony of Gynaecologies* in 1566,³⁸ Conrad Gesner compiled *Bibliotheca Universalis* in 1545, and Israel Spach compiled *Nomenclator Scriptorum* in 1591.³⁹

Cleopatra and other ancient authorities were included briefly as gynaecological authorities, but woman contemporaries of these male compilers were not mentioned in the sixteenth century. Green notes that Trotula is only mentioned as the “absurd false attribution of the work of Eros.”⁴⁰ The creation of lists of gynaecological authority was limited to a handful of ancient and mythological women because the elevation of Hippocratic ideology secured the position of gynaecology in the works of male authorities.

3.2.4: Male Comparisons

Dioscorides’ *Materia Medica* and the Hippocratic Corpus demonstrate that men had knowledge of female ailments. Dioscorides never mentions any woman as an informant, but the extent of ailments mentioned and the detailed nature of these mentions, suggests detailed knowledge of gynaecological issues. Out of 959 medical recipes in the five books of *Materia Medica*, 277 are for gynaecological and specifically female ailments. This makes up 28.88% of the whole.

Dioscorides records general female issues alongside more specific issues to do with menstrual flow, ailments of the vulva, womb, breasts, and uterus, problems and support in childbirth, abortives, female contraceptives and feminine aesthetic products. Aesthetic products refer to beauty products such as perfume and makeup rather than health products. Twelve records reference general female issues. Of these general references, six reference the uterus. Problems of the vulva and womb are noted 34 and 51 times respectively, and

³⁷ Green (2008): 281.

³⁸ Green (2008): 282.

³⁹ Hurd-Mead discusses that Spach’s large volume contains more than 1000 pages on women’s diseases by twenty-one writers. Hurd-Mead (1930): 360.

⁴⁰ Green (2008): 282. Hurd-Mead explains that Trotula has been known “since the eleventh century as one of the great medical teachers of the famous school at Salerno.” Hurd-Mead (1930): 349. She asserts correctly that her various names and designations have puzzled historians over the centuries, and that some of them doubt she even existed.

childbirth 42 times. Breasts are alluded to 34 times, and abortives and contraceptives for females, 66 times. Aesthetics are alluded to only 10 times. Menstrual problems are mentioned in over half of the records noting a gynaecological trauma, 146 instances.

Occurrences of Female Ailments in Dioscorides' <i>Materia Medica</i>	
Focus/Ailment	Number of Mentions in Recipes
Uterus	6
Vulva	34
Womb	51
Childbirth	42
Breasts	34
Abortives/Contraceptives	65
Aesthetics	10
Menstrual Issues	146
Non-Specific Female Issues	12
Total Mentions:	400

These occurrences add up to four hundred mentions of female specific ailments and body parts, within two hundred and seventy-seven individual recipes.

Dioscorides does also directly mention the dispersal of female knowledge in relation to specific groups of women. Dioscorides explains in his description of *Katananke* that Thessalian women use it in love medicines.⁴¹ He also records that women work as root-collectors in the description of *Phukos Thalassion*, where it is explained that Sicacer says that women use the root, also called *Fucus*, against snake poison.⁴² The allusion to women as witches and herbalists is recorded in his description of Chrysanthemon. It is suggested that Chrysanthemon be hung around the neck to avert enchantments and the work of witches.⁴³

⁴¹ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*: 4.134. *Katananke* (*Catananche* L. *Asteraceae*) is a word used by Pliny and Dioscorides for a kind of vetch, used in making philtres/magical love potions. It is also known in the English as Cupid's Dart.

⁴² Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*: 4.100. Grieve (1971): 112-114; *Fucus* is likely a form of Bladderwrack (*fucus vesiculosus*), a seaweed found around Europe. It is also known as Sea-Wrack, Kelp-Ware, Black-Tang, Quercus marina, Cutweed, Seetang, Meeriche, and Blasentang.

⁴³ Dioscorides, *Materia Medica*: 4.58.

In addition, Pliny the Elder makes multiple uses of female practitioners as medical authorities and further promotes the dispersal of female knowledge.⁴⁴ Pliny records that Olympias of Thebes adds hyssop and nitre to hall's gall in unwashed wool as a pessary to promote menstruation. Pliny presents 'a well-known fact' that sterility often occurs after suffering in childbirth, and explains that Olympias of Thebes assures us that this evil can be averted by rubbing the private parts before intercourse with bull's gall, serpent's fat, verdigris, and honey.⁴⁵

3.2.5: Greek Magical Papyri

Outside of ancient literature and medical treatises, there are few references to female medical writers. The Greek Magical Papyri do provide an example of women authors within wider medical handbooks. The Philinna Papyrus (*P.Amh* 2.11 (TM 65576)) (**H2, H3**) provides us with the most direct reference to female authorship within the Greek Magical Papyri. The Philinna Papyrus appears to be part of magical handbook tradition and includes two healing spells attributed to female authors, one of which, the Syrian woman from Gadara, has lost its author's name due to fragmentation. The remaining author is called Philinna from Thessaly.

The formula utilised in the Philinna Papyrus adheres to magical handbook tradition. This tradition was a means of handing down and distributing knowledge to practitioners within healing and magical occupations. Magical handbook spells appear throughout the Greek and Demotic papyri corpus.⁴⁶ Healers and magic workers used handbooks containing condensed wisdom of past traditions, and were themselves placed in a variety of roles, including healers, councillors, and crisis managers.⁴⁷ These handbooks held, and passed on, information vital to fulfilling these roles, giving the practitioner added authority. The market

⁴⁴ Pliny the Elder also refers to the works of Lais, Salpe, and Elephantis, which have been discussed elsewhere in the thesis.

⁴⁵ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.77.

⁴⁶ *PGM I, PGM II, PGM III, PGM IV, PGM V, PGM VII, PDM xii (PGM XII), PGM XII.1-343, PGM XIII.734-1077, PDM xiv, PDM xiv.670-674.*

⁴⁷ Betz (1996): 320.

for healing spells would have been maintained by a 'placebo effect'.⁴⁸ People used these handbooks with the expectation that things in them *might work*.

3.3: Advancement of Reputation

Healers would have to attract patients through demand and reputation within their community. They would need to present themselves as suitable, knowledgeable, and effective practitioners, in a world where there was no legislation concerning qualifications. How healer women presented themselves to gain clients is difficult to determine. Case studies are found within the epigraphic evidence that provide some indication of reputation enhancement. Primary to these indications is the use of names with specific connotations that promoted the idea of healing expertise to the client. Whether these women were given names at birth or when they were adults is still up for debate. If they were given them at birth, this could pertain that they came from a medical family. However, unless mentioned by ancient authors or the women themselves, it is not possible to determine which was the case. Either way, these names were beneficial to the practitioner and demonstrate a wish by themselves or their families to provide an initial impression of good repute in medical practice.

Before exploring these specific case studies, it is important to comprehend the significance of names and how they can be used to promote reputation. Naming could be taken from different sources in order to best represent the individual. It is rare to detect the process of naming in relation to an occupation, but the following case studies demonstrate that it may have been an effective means of gaining clientele and were common. The term, which I will use in this section, is 'namesake'. 'Namesake' is a suitable designation for this renaming as it invokes less-colloquial associations that may be invoked with a term like 'nickname'. This is appropriate considering the occupation of these practitioners and their wish to remain reputable. 'Namesake' is used to define a term used to characterise a person, place, thing or quality by giving them the name of another who possesses similar qualities or qualities they wish to hold. One could also argue for the use of the term 'professional name' or 'title', but

⁴⁸ The placebo effect has been much studied in modern literature in relation to modern medicine and medical techniques. Little has been done in relation to the ancient world, but some interpretation can be found in Shapiro and Shapiro (1997): xi, 280; Vyse (2000): 135-137.

considering the issues mentioned above with the term 'professional', this has been discounted as inappropriate.

Ancient Greeks took names that functioned to classify their owners in a meaningful manner or highlighted part of their given names with the same intent. This is well documented. Anna Morpurgo Davies asserts that in ancient Greek evidence, the primary role of a personal name was to identify an individual, but names could also be given to endow one with a strong classificatory function.⁴⁹ Matthew Novenson also presents this argument and establishes that people were endowed different names at different stages in life dependent on their aspirations and requirements.⁵⁰ Scott Smith-Bannister asserts that this is similar to what happened elsewhere in human history, such as in England in the Middle Ages.⁵¹ Anne Thompson has also undertaken studies on the topic of nicknames and naming. She asserts that personal names offer a picture of ancient Greek society, as name choices reflected language, landscape, population movement and mixture, family tradition and relations, and the highest occupations and humblest trades. Thompson notes additional indications in names of events, politics, cultural values, and physical and mental attributes that only become prevalent later in life.⁵²

The importance of nicknames and namesakes is demonstrated further looking at ancient literary evidence. Steve Mason notes that Josephus and orators of his time played upon the meaning of names both in hostile and friendly ways.⁵³ Strabo demonstrates this usage when he says that the name of the philosopher Theophrastus was a nickname given to him by Aristotle for the divine qualities of his discourse.⁵⁴ Herodotus also demonstrates nicknaming in the case of the Spartan King Zeuxidamos in the fifth century BCE, who took the name Kuniskos, from his love of hunting with dogs.⁵⁵ Cratinus uses nicknames in a comic sense.

⁴⁹ Morpurgo Davies (2000): 15-40.

⁵⁰ Novenson (2012): 71.

⁵¹ Smith-Bannister (1997): 1.

⁵² Thompson (2007): 677-692.

⁵³ Mason (2001): 8n20.

⁵⁴ Strabo, *Geography*: 13.618.

⁵⁵ Herodotus, *Histories*: 6.71, Loeb 119:220-221.

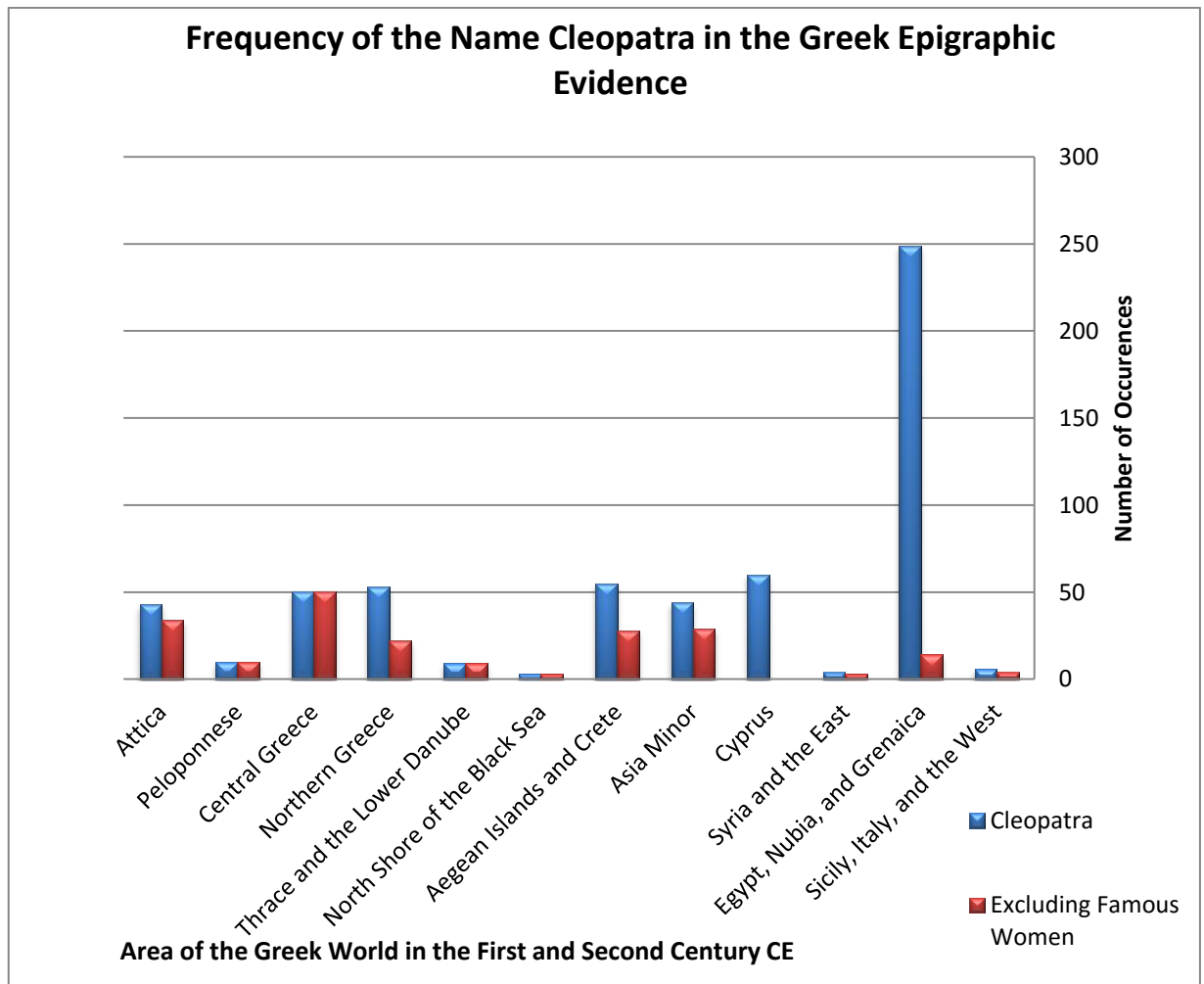
He uses the comic name of Pericles, which translates to 'with squill-shaped head/peaked head'.⁵⁶

Cleopatra the Physician was writing around the second century CE, and is attributed medical and cosmetic knowledge by Galen himself.⁵⁷ The name Cleopatra was common around the first and second centuries CE and included several women of high class and authority, notably Cleopatra VII of Egypt and Cleopatra of Macedonia, daughter of Philip II from the Classical Period. We see in **Graph 1** below that the name Cleopatra was common in the epigraphic evidence in the first centuries BCE to CE. This graph encompasses 586 occurrences of the name in the Greek epigraphic material recorded in the Packard Humanities Institute Inscription database. Two hundred and six of these occurrences regard women who are not famous in ancient literature. A few of these occurrences refer to the famous queens of the Ptolemaic period, but the frequency of occurrences outside Egypt and Nubia indicate that the name was not uncommon in the Greek world.

⁵⁶ Cratinus, fr.73 K-A.

⁵⁷ Note also that Cleopatra the physician should be distinguished also from Cleopatra the Alchemist mentioned by Olympiodorus and Zosimus. Plant (2004): 135-147.

Graph 1: Frequency of the Name Cleopatra in the Greek Epigraphic Evidence



Blue indicates the number of occurrences of the name in the inscriptional evidence, red indicates the number of occurrences that do not directly relate to Cleopatra VII or another Ptolemaic royal.

Parker notes the frequency of the name Cleopatra in the first five volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Parker notes 163 instances of individuals recorded in these volumes.⁵⁸ SEG 43.298 from Thessaly, dating to between 200-25 BCE, is an epitaph in the form of a stele of greyish white marble, dedicated to a 'Kleopatra, daughter of Kyranos'.⁵⁹ The graph and data show that the name was most common in inscriptions from Attica prior to the Ptolemaic period, and that inscriptions from Delos and Cyprus mostly refer to Cleopatra the queen,

⁵⁸ Parker (1997): 379.

⁵⁹ Found in Tziaphalias (1992): 132, 3. Reading Κλεοπάτρα Κυλάνου. Epitaph has at the top an anthemion decoration inside a curved crowning element and two rosettes below the inscription. Pleket, et al. (1993): 90.

rather than a namesake. All sixty instances in the data collection from Cyprus refer to Queen Cleopatra. The association with Cleopatra would have expressed an authority and reputation associated with healing and cosmetics because of the reputation of the famous example in the first century CE.⁶⁰

One can surmise that the name association may have been beneficial to the reputation and demand for the healing of the physician. Cleopatra VII was known for being a well-educated and intelligent woman of standing. Duane Roller explains that the intellectual environment of Alexandria, coupled with the efforts of Ptolemy XII (Cleopatra's father) to restore intellectual prominence in the city, contributed to Cleopatra's education and subsequent reputation.⁶¹

Plant explains that the link made between the physician and Queen Cleopatra may have been a later association by ancient authors. The association is made by Aetius and Tzetzes, but not by Galen and thus may not have been a direct claim by Cleopatra the physician herself.⁶² This is not to say that the audience of the physician did not acknowledge the association orally or sub-consciously. The commonness of the name makes it much harder to substantiate the idea that it was adopted as a matter of namesaking.

The name Mousa in **P1** is a name that refers to, or is associated with, the idea of the Greek muse. Again, we have a physician woman whose name could have conveyed positive skills and thus reputation. Muses in Greek mythology represent arts, especially singing. Considering Mousa's occupation as a physician, this name could have been beneficial to her image. Medicine in Greece was equated with the arts and crafts rather than sciences.⁶³ The association with singing may be connected to the idea of chanting or incantations that appear in relation to Classical healing traditions. On the other hand, there is a certain amount of commonness with the female name Mousa, it being identified sixty-eight times in the epigraphic inscriptions recorded in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*. Associations with

⁶⁰ 'Famous' here is defined as those women with multiple attestations on a national and wider Greek world level.

⁶¹ Roller (2010): 43.

⁶² Plant (2004): 135.

⁶³ See Chapter 2 on medicine in terms of 'Techne'.

these ideas and the continually increasing number of examples of female physicians with possible namesake names, is suggestive that Mousa was a namesake for the sake of reputation, as were the names Empeiria and Restituta.

The use of Empeiria in **P2** is more directly indicative of a form of namesake or name illustrating to the public that this was a woman of skill and successful practice. The name Empeiria comes from a term for ‘experience’, ἐμπειρία, and could apply to any field of medicine in the ancient world. Only one other example of this name has been previously found in Greek epigraphy. *IG XII 3, 19* dates to the first century CE from Syme on Rhodes.⁶⁴ It simply reads ‘Ἐμπειρία χρηστὴ χαῖρε’.⁶⁵ Due to the context of the name and occupation, Empeiria would likely have been a chosen name associated with the woman’s medical experience.

The associations of the name with experience are clear in the meaning of the word in the literary corpus. Aristophanes uses ἐμπειρία when he explains a lack of experience with the appropriate negative addition μὴ, ‘ἢ μὴ ‘μπειρία’.⁶⁶ Plato’s *Republic* uses ἔμπειρος to convey ‘having experience in’ or ‘acquaintance with’.⁶⁷ Ἐμπειρος is also used for a person who has experience in practice, without knowledge of principles, especially in relation to medicine. However, because ἔμπειρος is used in addition to the term ἰατρὶνῃ it could equally be conveying both a practical and theoretical experience.

A similar expression can be seen in Plato, “εἰ καταλάβοι ποτέ τις ἰατρὸς τῶν ταῖς ἐμπειρίαις ἄνευ λόγου τὴν ἰατρικὴν μεταχειριζομένων” (if any of the physicians who practice medicine by purely empirical methods).⁶⁸ Nissen asserts that the occupational name refers to practical experience. Nissen notes that we should not suppose that the name meant that the woman was particularly more qualified than others in her field.⁶⁹ It is also possible that her parents had in mind an ideal of competence and experience as something they

⁶⁴ Fraser and Matthews (1987): 151.

⁶⁵ *IG XII 3,19* (Empeiria the good, goodbye).

⁶⁶ Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*: 115. Loeb 180:258-259.

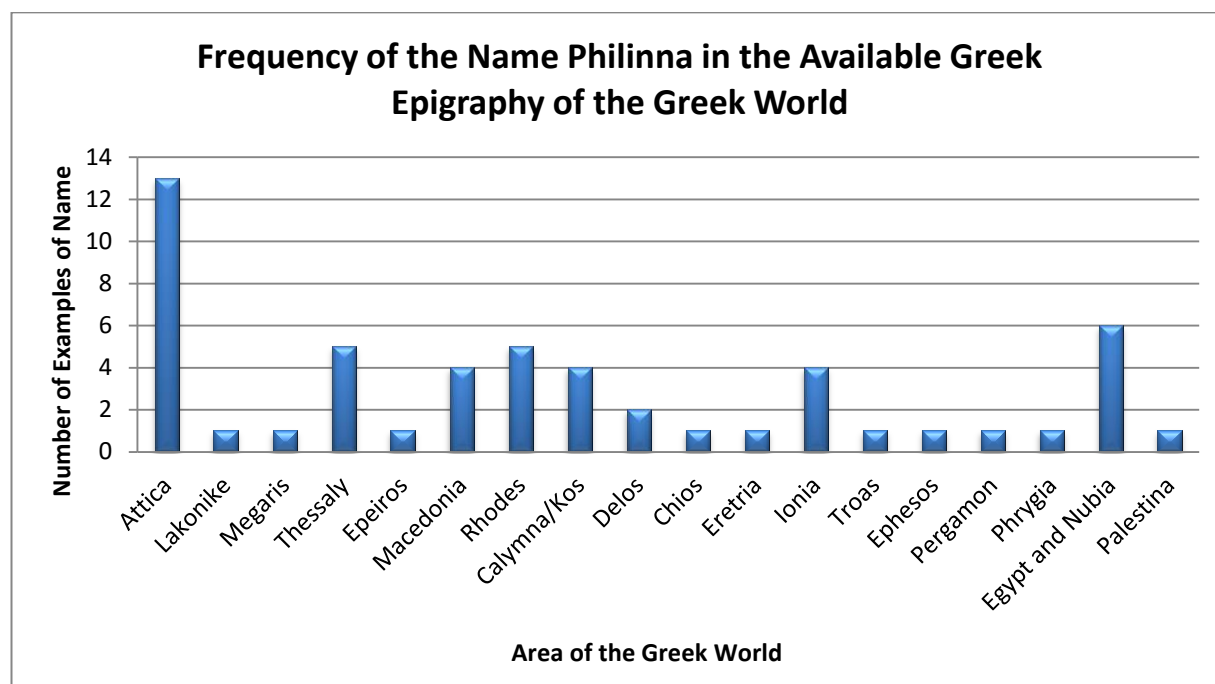
⁶⁷ Plato, *Republic*: 582b, Loeb 276:348-349; Liddell and Scott (1940): 544.

⁶⁸ Plato, *Laws*: 857c-d. Loeb 192:212-213.

⁶⁹ Nissen (2006): 9.

hoped she would attain in life. This could suggest that one of her parents was also a physician or that a patron or owner gave the name.

Graph 2: Frequency of the Name Philinna in the Available Greek Epigraphy of the Greek World



The Philinna Papyrus has been a subject of debate over her name. Maas and Dickie have both argued that it exhibits qualities that may be associated with conscious choice of naming in order to promote authority. This is a hypothesis that requires further thought. The use of the name Philinna in the Greek Magical Papyri is unique, as is the designation ‘Syra’ also on the *P.Amh.* 2.11 (TM 65576) (**H2**, **H3**), but if we look at a wider published set of data detailing inscriptions and papyri we see that the use of the Philinna name is not an isolated case. From the chart above, we observe that the name Philinna was most common in Athens, Thessaly, Rhodes and Egypt, relative to the size of the populations. The higher numbers are as one would expect considering the populations. When these numbers are converted to percentages based on populations, there is no indication that the name Philinna was particularly significant in any one particular location, such as Thessaly, which was ascribed healing and magical connotations. Thus, it is not that she is from Thessaly that is most significant, but rather her name itself in relation to the location.

There is debate over the designation of the name Philinna. Maas admits that Philinna was indeed a typical female name.⁷⁰ Dickie spends more time on the subject of her identity and why she could have chosen the name Philinna. He hypothesises that the name, while common in Athens and among the lower social strata, could also be found among higher classes. The key example that Dickie uses is Arridaios' mother.⁷¹ Dickie is referring in this case to the mother of Philip Arridaios, the half-brother of Alexander the Great. Dickie admits that the tradition of Philinna "has nothing to say about her being a sorceress", but does mention that there is one story from Plutarch that suggests that Philip conceived a passion for a Thessalian woman, who was accused of bewitching him.⁷²

Aristophanes' *Clouds* demonstrates commonness: when Socrates asks Strepsiades to list familiar female names, he lists Philinna. The supplementary names Lysilla, Clitagora and Demetria are not related to any particularly famous characters either, so it is discernible that Strepsiades is referring only to common, not necessarily famous, names.⁷³ This thesis argues that the name Philinna was a common female's name, but it cannot be connected to any one Philinna based on the evidence available. This suggests that the author, if fictional or renamed as Maas asserts, was named due to familiarity and relatability rather than fame and notoriety.

Syra also holds similar difficulties in determining the significance of her name. There are 7 inscriptions, 27 papyri and 3 ostraca that mention Syra. These have been taken from 18 different collections, including the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, the Tebtunis Papyri, the Zenon Papyri and the Greek Ostraca from Kellis. They have been selected as they represent the most identifiable occurrences of Syra. A careful look of the data set had to transpire to detach the occurrences of Syra, referring to a Syrian woman, and those referring to the Island Scyros (often known as Syra). The occurrences of Syra in reference to Scyros have been omitted from the data set.

⁷⁰ Maas (1942): 38.

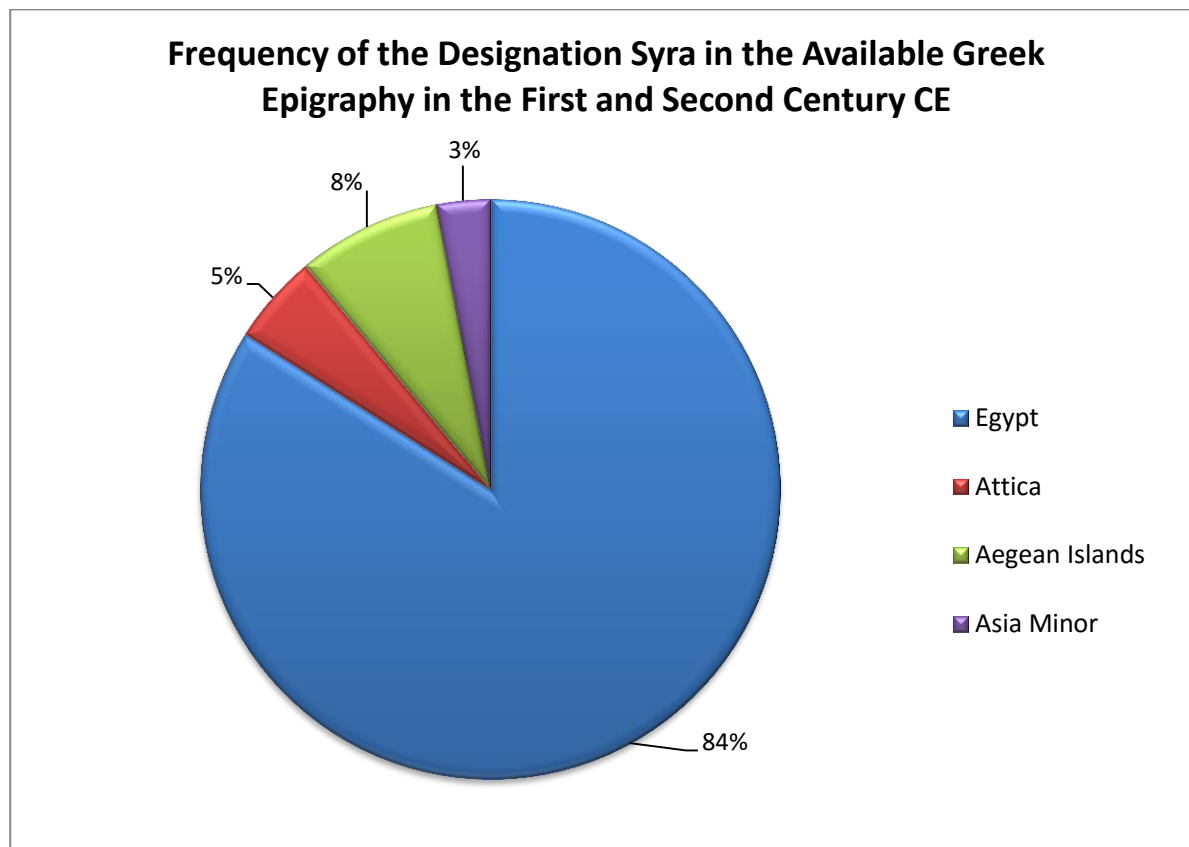
⁷¹ Dickie (1994): 121. The Philinna associated with Arridaios is discussed in Diodorus Siculus: 18.2, Loeb 377:12-13; Justin: 13.4.6; and amplified by Plutarch, *Alexander*: 77.5, Loeb 99:438-439.

⁷² Dickie (1994): 121. Plutarch, *Coniug. Praecept*: 141b, Loeb 222:314-315.

⁷³ Aristophanes, *Clouds*: 658, Loeb 488:96-97.

Graph 3 shows the occurrences of the title Syra in different geographical locations. The percentages demonstrate that the name occurs most frequently within Egypt.

Graph 3: Frequency of the Designation Syra in the Available Greek Epigraphy in the First and Second Century CE



The Philinna Papyrus came from Egypt. If Syra was fictional or pseudonym, then this proportion could indicate that the name was included in the charm due to its familiarity. Syria was known for its prophets and magicians and a *Syrian Book of Medicine* suggests that their acquaintance with healing came originally from Egypt.⁷⁴ The high percentage could indicate that Syra was indeed a real person as the designation was common enough, and its connection with Gadara in the Philinna Papyrus does not appear to have any conventional association. The frequent occurrence implies that the name Syra alone, as with Philinna, may not be an international branding technique. In turn, it may have significance when allied with other aspects of the transcript. Without the first name associated with Syra it is difficult to assert whether the formula that introduces the Syra charm as a whole had a particular association with the magical tradition.

⁷⁴ Anonymous, *A Syrian Book of Medicine* (1914): 80.

This form of gaining reputation is seen throughout the Greek world from the Classical period onwards, but we have to be careful where we assert it. Heikki Solin explains that there were two physicians in particular in the literary corpus, whose names can both be characterised as so-called *nomina artis*, using pseudonyms or namesakes to promote themselves. One tombstone in Latin describes two physicians, a father and son, where the son put up the tombstone for himself and his father.⁷⁵ The name of the son, the physician Soterichus, is an onomastic derivative from *soter*, which means saviour.⁷⁶ The feminine onomastic derivative from *soter*, Sotira in Pliny is also demonstrative of this usage.⁷⁷ Solin hypothesises that the name of the father, the physician Herophilus may derive from the great Alexandrian doctor Herophilus.⁷⁸

Turning back to the epigraphic evidence for healer women, we see examples of names that could very well have been obtained later in life, or utilised for their connotations to increase practitioner reputation. **P5** to Thekla is indicative of the possible conscious change or utilisation of names to heighten reputation and authority for a healer woman. While we cannot be sure that this was the case, we can show how the name may have been linked with healing authority in this case.

The name Thekla had an obvious referent: Saint Thekla. **P5** was found in Seleukeia, Anatolia, where Saint Thekla is also said to have spent the remainder of her days after the trials and tribulations she suffered while following the teachings of Saint Paul. It would have been beneficial to healer Thekla to be associated with Saint Thekla, who had a reputation for her healing skills and temperament.

The possibility of usage for the sake of reputation is made possible when we look at the reputation of Saint Thekla. Saint Thekla is described as a well-born woman from Iconium in the Greek apocryphon, *Acts of Paul and Thekla*, written around the turn of second century

⁷⁵ Solin (2012): 528; Braccio, *Inscriptiones Italiae* I: 1, 23. "Diis Manib(us). / Ti(berio) Claudio Diogenis / f(ilio) Quir(ina tribu) Diogeni; / vixit ann(is) LXXXIII, / mens(ibus) X, dieb(us) VI. / Claudia Vera lib(erta) / patrono ben(e) mer(enti), / medico clinico; sibi / posterisque eius."

⁷⁶ Solin (2012): 531.

⁷⁷ Pliny the Elder, *Natural Histories*: 6.4, Loeb 352:348-349, 28.23, Loeb 418:62-63.

⁷⁸ Solin (2012): 531.

(referred to in Tertullian around 190 CE).⁷⁹ Saint Thekla moved to Seleucia, where she is said to have performed many miracles and was venerated as a holy healer. Nissen agrees that it is not surprising that a woman doctor in Seleucia may have taken this professional name to advertise her own medical knowledge.⁸⁰

Saint Thekla was a popular focus of religious veneration and admiration in Seleukeia, later in Egypt and around the Eastern Mediterranean. Theodoret of Cyrrhus attests to this by noting the popularity of Thekla cult for pilgrimages, especially at the turn of the fourth century onwards.⁸¹ Thekla's popularity is displayed in Egeria's pilgrimage journal dating to May 384 CE.⁸² Egeria writes that "a tremendous number of pilgrimage cells for men and women" were located around the church of the cult of Thekla at Seleukeia.⁸³ She writes that there was a great wall around the very beautiful martyrion, and that a deaconess Marthana, also a pilgrim to Jerusalem, was the superior of some cells of apotactites or virgins.⁸⁴ Saint Thekla was well established as a holy woman of superior reputation and wide acclaim.⁸⁵

Saint Thekla had a significant association with healing which makes the adoption of her name the perfect choice in the case of this female physician. In the *Life and Miracles of Thekla*,

⁷⁹ Tertullian, *De baptismo Liber*: 17:5. *The Acts of Paul and Thekla* became popular not long after it was penned and remained popular through the next few centuries. *The Acts of Paul and Thekla* are praised by Methodius as early as the third century CE. Methodius wrote about it in his Symposium. Gregory of Nyssa in the fourth century also writes that Thekla undertook a sacrifice of herself.

⁸⁰ Nissen (2006): 418.

⁸¹ Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *The Acts of Paul and Thekla*: 29. Cartlidge (2001): 113-126, 195-200.

⁸² Johnson (2006): 1.

⁸³ Egeria, *Diary of a Pilgrimage*: 23.254.

⁸⁴ Johnson (2006): 1; Wilkinson (1999): 140-141.

⁸⁵ Tertullian, *De baptiso*: 17.5. "[5] quod si quae Acta Pauli, quae perperam scripta sunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendant, sciant in Asia presbyterum qui eam scripturam construxit, quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum id se amore Pauli fecisse loco decessisse." (But if the writings which wrongly go under Paul's name, claim Thecla's example as a licence for women's teaching and baptising, let them know that, in Asia, the presbyter who composed that writing, as if he were augmenting Paul's fame from his own store, after being convicted, and confessing that he had done it from love of Paul, was removed from his office.)

dating to the fifth century by an unknown author, Saint Thekla's death is described not as a death, but rather as a "living" disappearance.⁸⁶ In becoming part of the earth of Seleukeia, Saint Thekla:

"...dispens[ed] fountains of healings for every suffering and every sickness, her virginal grace pouring out healings there, as if from some rushing stream, upon those who ask and pray for them."⁸⁷

The author of the *Life and Miracles* illustrates forty-six miracles that occurred in the name of Thekla. Twenty of these miracles involved healing.⁸⁸ The healing involved has connections to both Christian and Pagan tradition, which may have appealed to the Christian female physician in **P5**, who is described using the traditional Greek term *ιατρίνη*. Miracle 12 in the *Life and Miracles* asserts that healing through Thekla was carried out using incubation, a technique often ascribed to Asclepius.⁸⁹ Scott Johnson asserts that this cross over is very significant for those who study the patterns of cultural exchange between Greek and Roman beliefs and early Christianity.⁹⁰ It is also significant to note that the Thekla of **P5** was a Christian and that several of the miracles of Saint Thekla involve the triumphing of Christian Thekla over pagan deities. In these miracles, Saint Thekla triumphs over even the powers of established pagan gods, and claims their temple and territories as her own. It is easy to see how a Christian female physician may have wished to use this authority to benefit her own reputation, or her parents'. If they were physicians too, they could have chosen it for her.

A secure date for the inscription is difficult to propose because of the limited text. If indeed the Thekla in **P5** is using the name in association with Saint Thekla, then we can suggest a *terminus post quem* of the second century CE, when the *Acts of Paul and Thekla* were written.

⁸⁶ *Life and Miracles of Thekla* in Johnson (2006).

⁸⁷ *Life and Miracles of Thekla* 28.5-14 in Johnson (2006): 7.

⁸⁸ Johnson (2006): 7.

⁸⁹ Asclepius and incubation and Miracle 12, life and miracles of Thekla; Other miracles of Thekla detailing healing: Corrects a vertebra in miracle 7, four broken legs in miracles 8, 17 and 18, cures a tumour in miracle 11, cures anthrax in miracle 12, restores sight in miracles 24, 25 and 37, cures a kidney malady in miracle 40, heals an ear infection in miracle 41, cures animals in miracles 36, several cases of spiritual healing.

⁹⁰ Johnson (2006): 8.

P5 contains 1 of 25 known recordings of the name Thekla in Greek inscriptions.⁹¹ The 24 other inscriptions contain 18 out of 19 instances from Asia Minor, which are yet to be dated.⁹² *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 170, which is the only dated inscription, is a reference to the martyr Thekla herself in the form of a prayer. Ten of these inscriptions from Asia Minor also exhibit Christian symbolism, indicating a similar cultural context to **P5**. Frank Trombley explains that the Christianisation of Axylon occurred around the fourth century.⁹³ Seven of these inscriptions are from the Axylon Villages in Galatia, which may help us to suggest a date for the **P5** if her name was a result of popularity, rather than occupational purposes. The use in the more central area suggests an earlier date, due to the rate and movement of influence.

P5 is not the only case recorded where a woman may have been assigned, or adopted, the name of Saint Thekla to benefit her own reputation. Gregory of Nyssa explains in his *Life of Macrina* that Macrina's mother was visited by a divine being in a dream three times, where she was told to name her child Thekla in recognition and prediction of the life that she would come to lead.⁹⁴ This shows that the choice of name for a physician would stand near the start of a long popular tradition in association with the saint.

The cult's popularity in Egypt is indicative of this popularity from the third to at least the seventh century CE. Roger Bagnall made a comprehensive study of use of the name Thekla in Christian societies along the Nile.⁹⁵ Bagnall isolated a large frequency usage, and a number of specific examples, indicating that women of the period took or were given the name Thekla, in order to gain association with the saint.⁹⁶ The evidence includes two ostraca unearthed at Kysis in the Southern part of the Kharga Oasis in Egypt.⁹⁷ Stephen Davis backs

⁹¹ Fraser and Matthew (1997): 200.

⁹² MAMA 1 327; MAMA 1 328; MAMA 1 383; MAMA 7 567; MAMA 7 574; MAMA 7 578; MAMA 7 581; *KILyK* I 204; MAMA 1 209; MAMA 7 74; MAMA 8 45; *Sterrett, EJ* 214, 235; *JHS* 19 (1899) 291, 200; *JHS* 19 (1899) 292, 200; *MDAI(A)* 13 (1888) 259, 81; *CIG* 9234; MAMA 3 486; *BE* 1958: 492, 8; *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 170 (Dated to the sixth century CE).

⁹³ Trombley (2001): 99.

⁹⁴ Gregory, Bishop of Nyssa: 2.21-34; Johnson (2006): 4.

⁹⁵ Bagnall (2006): 84.

⁹⁶ Bagnall (2006): 84; Bagnall (1996): 274.

⁹⁷ *O.Douch* I.20.1. 306-430 CE.

up Bagnall's argument in his acknowledgment that Christians of the period imitated the saints, in the hope that they would gain access to the power of Christ manifest in the saints.⁹⁸ While it is probable that her parents gave her the name Thekla, the name may have been chosen because the family was both Christian and involved in healing themselves.

When we look at the material and literary evidence for female healers, we often see familiar names: Cleopatra, Thekla, Sotira, Empeiria, Maia, and Mousa. These names have associations with healing and are beneficial to reputations. The evidence for these women as healers and the possibility of using names as means of inspiring connotations is indicative of attempts to gain authority and influence the perceptions of other people about a person. The choice in name can be beneficial as it relates positively to a client's experiences and/or conceptual background. It provides meaningfulness to the clients concerning female physicians and other types of healers.

3.4: Choosing Women Practitioners

Apart from the reputation of an individual practitioner, clients would have had other reasons for choosing a particular type of healer. A question deserves to be asked: why one would hire a female healer over a male one? The reasons of choice come down to several factors outside of personal reputation, which we still factor in to our choices today and are based around the general building blocks of ones' life: Financial means and access, ideology,

Παύλῳ Θέκ<λ>α ὑ(πὲρ) []

Πέτρῳ ὑ(πὲρ) . . . ()

Παπνούθῃ Ἡράμ(μῶνος)

Σουροῦς ὑ(πὲρ) Πάλου

Οὐ . . . ἰς ὑ(πὲρ) Παπνούθ(ιος) Ταχῶις

Παχουμσάϊτ(ι);

O.Douch III 226.2. 4th century CE

[-ca.?-]θις ἀρματοῦρ(α)

[-ca.?-] . Θέκλα

[-ca.?- Παν]ίσκος ρι()

The Kharga Oasis is the southernmost of Egypt's five western Oases. It is located in the Egyptian Desert and was known in ancient times as the 'Southern Oasis'.

⁹⁸ Davis (2008): 4.

gender, and ones' own health. It is likely that gender played a part, but it is harder to interpret how from the epigraphic evidence.

3.4.1: Financial Considerations

The average per capita income in ancient Greece was low and the distribution of wealth was uneven. The common level of pay is estimated at close to one drachma a day in the Classical period, which Aristophanes mentions as typical for skilled workers in *Wasps*.⁹⁹ In the New Testament, a denarius (= a drachma) a day in the second century CE was still normal for unskilled work in *Matthew* 20.1-16. This is a much-discussed subject, and other estimates indicate that the income of skilled workers was closer to twice that amount at around 700 drachmae a year. Fred Kleiner's research into Athenian wages indicates that unskilled workers would receive as little as three to four obols a day in the Hellenistic period, and that poor, unemployed people received only two obols in relief care if they were lucky.¹⁰⁰

There were no wages in the Greek world in a modern sense and we do not know what people paid to physicians, let alone anyone else, until the third century CE. We must remember here that the wages were directly related to costs to hire due to the lack of standardised practice and legislation. *P.Oxy.* 1273 (TM 21791) specifies that the wage for a midwife in the third century CE was approximately 40 drachmae for the one delivery. The Justinian code indicates a high price for physician slaves and wages of free slaves, equalling that of a high-paid land guardian, at between 60 and 120 drachmae per slave. Even if a citizen earned the suggested 700 drachmae a year, the midwife bill indicated in *P.Oxy.* 1273 (TM 21791) would total 6% of their total earnings, 12% at the 1 drachma a day suggestion. On the other hand, to earn 360 drachma (a sufficient annual wage), the midwife would only have to attend 9 births (at 40 drachma each), so if we can take the figure in *P.Oxy.* 1273 (TM 21791) as normal, we find that the midwife was very well paid. Different people with

⁹⁹ Aristophanes, *Wasps*: 692, Loeb 488:310-311. Also seen in Demosthenes, *On the Navy*: 14.19, Loeb 238:392-393; Isocrates, *Antidosis*: 15.288, Loeb 229:344-345; Xenophon, *Hellenica*: 1.5, Loeb 88:42-43; Thucydides, *The Peloponnesian War*: 6.31, Loeb 110:234-235, 7.27, Loeb 169:46-47; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*: 6.5, Loeb 185:88-89.

¹⁰⁰ Kleiner (1975): pages unrecorded, Image 9.

different incomes would have had to resort to varying levels of medical skill, just as today, where financial means must be taken into account when seeking medical treatment.

A community may not have had access to Hippocratic physicians. People would have gone to the person who was most available, and whom they could afford. It is also important to note that not all areas, even in the Roman world, operated fully on a monetary economy. Payment via trade and goods was common in the first centuries CE, but is hard to trace. Richard Duncan-Jones consults Roman agricultural investment references, and asserts that two-way trade with neighbours was profitable.¹⁰¹ Dio Chrysostom records such profitable gains in the rural sphere. He was a substantial landowner in Bithynia under Trajan and says that all his income came from wine and cattle trade, though some of his income would likely have come in cash.¹⁰²

Clients would have also gone to healers in line with their own religious beliefs whom they trusted, and whom they thought most likely to cure them, perhaps regardless of sex.¹⁰³ Leanne McNamara notes that the Greek medical system was pluralistic throughout its entire existence.¹⁰⁴ Practitioner choice would have been based on needs of the individual and the specific skills of the multitude of folk and scientific practitioners that existed. McNamara asserts that among less defined practitioners were various purifiers, diviners, and diviner healers, who employed divination as their principal healing methods based on their specific deities, clinical functions, and focuses.¹⁰⁵

While it appears that most folk treatments dealt most often with treatment, Hippocratic medicine also focused on prevention and diagnosis as important clinical functions. Those who classified themselves as non-Hippocratic traditional healers, herbalists, wise women and sorceresses, may have been the cheaper or closer form of healing available. McNamara

¹⁰¹ Duncan-Jones (1982): 37.

¹⁰² Dio Chrysostomus, *Orationes*: 46.5-8.

¹⁰³ Dean-Jones (1994): 32 also notes that “While it is difficult to imagine female doctors treating male patients in antiquity, there is no reason to assume that they were trained in or practiced a different type of gynaecology from their male counterparts.”

¹⁰⁴ McNamara (2003): 2.

¹⁰⁵ McNamara (2003): 2.

correctly asserts though that their lack of focus on prevention and diagnosis would likely have resulted in damaging techniques that would require the patient to seek further treatment.¹⁰⁶ It is hard to tell if Hippocratic practitioners had any higher credibility in the community.

In order to get a sense of whether society thought females were worthy of being hired as healers, we can turn back to evidence for wages and structured education. *The Justinian Codex* outlines that if a child had a desire to learn, there were practitioners who were in a position to teach them without fee or contract. "I will regard the children of my teacher as equal to siblings, and teach them this science, if they desire to learn it, without fee or contract." The wording of this commitment could suggest that daughters were also eligible for instruction in medicine, because it does not specify male children, but a more generic term in the masculine plural, similar to ἄνθρωποι being used to mean humanity. 'Without' fee may regard the male students as equal to those of high respect in one's family.¹⁰⁷

This is also seen in the Hippocratic Oath, where the student becomes the teacher's responsibility, and therefore he swears to teach his teacher's children without charging a fee (as if they were his own brothers).¹⁰⁸ Hippocratic influence was very close to ground zero of fee-paying education. It brought in a system, where a practitioner could take a student or apprentice, who was not a relative (and he paid a handsome fee), but he then had to teach his teacher's children for nothing, treating them as family members, not paying pupils.

Nutton explains some of the issues in the Hippocratic Oath. The Oath has been altered throughout the centuries in order to cater for the changing audience over time. The oldest surviving fragment we have of it is on papyrus from around the start of the fourth century CE, *P.Oxy. 2547* (TM 60187).¹⁰⁹ Nutton asserts that by this time, there are indications of standard wording in the text, such as normalisation of wording,¹¹⁰ but the modifications from then on are extensive. One of the areas most often subject to change is this section on the

¹⁰⁶ McNamara (2003): 25.

¹⁰⁷ *Justinian Codex*: 4.628.6-4.630.2.

¹⁰⁸ Hippocrates, *The Hippocratic Oath*: Loeb 298-299 = 4.39 Littré.

¹⁰⁹ Nutton (1995b): 518. *P.Oxy. 2547* (TM 60187) is now located at the Wellcome Institute in London.

¹¹⁰ Nutton (1995b): 518.

physician and his teacher, which is referred to as section two. Nutton elucidates that this idea of swearing honour to one's teacher as a "partner in his own livelihood" and to share money and educate his sons, is fine in a more ancient context where society was more tied to family and craft.¹¹¹ The idea in later periods though is subject to removal due to the growing lack of willingness to "subsidise their old teachers, let alone their children."¹¹² These issues are pertinent, but the assertion by Nutton that section two would have been acceptable in the ancient Greek context is supported by our argument that physicians valued their teachers as partners and provided teaching to the next generation.

However, we have no evidence that the Hippocratic Oath was ever imposed strictly as a qualification for practice.¹¹³ We have already established that there were no qualifications for practicing medicine in the Greek world, but Scribonius Largus makes an interesting implication in regards to its value in the first century CE.¹¹⁴ Scribonius called for a return to the Oath and the discipline it implied. Nutton explains that this is a plea for 'deontological ethics'.¹¹⁵ The word 'deontological' comes from the Greek *deon* 'duty' and *logos* 'reason'. Torbjörn Tännsjö explains that deontological ethics imparts certain prohibitions and obligations on members of a group.¹¹⁶ Nutton emphasises that despite this, Scribonius is well aware of the overall lack of medical discipline and moral rules, thus the importance such an oath would have on providing a binding factor within the Greek medical world.¹¹⁷

It is recorded in *The Justinian Codex* that a slave with a trade is valued at thirty solidi, a slave who has training as a scribe is valued at fifty solidi, and both male and female slaves, with

¹¹¹ Nutton (1995b): 519.

¹¹² Nutton (1995b): 519.

¹¹³ Jerome, *Epistles*: 52.15 states "Hippocrates, before he will teach his pupils, makes them take an oath and compels them to swear fealty to him. He binds them over to silence, and prescribes for them their language, their gait, their dress, their manners. How much more reason have we to whom the medicine of the soul has been committed to love the houses of all Christians as our own homes."

¹¹⁴ Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones*: 5.

¹¹⁵ Nutton (1995b): 520.

¹¹⁶ Tännsjö (2013): 59.

¹¹⁷ Nutton (1995b): 520, 523.

training as a physician or a midwife, would be valued at sixty solidi.¹¹⁸ Justinian's Codex reveals an interesting point regarding the worth of physicians and midwives who were slaves. Even as slaves, they were valued higher and cost more than other slaves with notable trades and skills as we see in the Greek Egyptian Papyri.

The worth of the physician can be garnered by the expense of hire. Social class, reputation, availability and trust in the profession determined this. Material evidence is limited for this analysis, but we do have some. Most of the literary evidence comes from outside of the Greek mainland, but is probably indicative. It is particularly useful for analysing physicians' worth during Hellenization in the Roman world. The *Digesta* says that Roman law established that any physician who practiced exorcisms or incantations could under no circumstance sue his patients for unpaid fees.¹¹⁹ This distinguishes healthcare into 'magical' and non-magical – excluding the magical from the support of the law.

Lefkowitz and Fant place nurses with midwives in a medical category, rather than a nurturing one though they do not supply reasoning for this decision.¹²⁰ This is an interesting choice as ancient Greeks viewed nurses as carers and nurturers, rather than the medical practitioners that we associate with the term 'nurse' today. They can though be compared in order to understand the ancient understandings of the terms and the differences between the the roles of nurturing and healing.

Egyptian papyrological evidence also provides analytical points based on financial considerations. Such evidence is usually in reference to nurses and midwives.¹²¹ *P.Oxy. 1273* (TM 21791), lines 33-34, is a marriage contract recording that in the case of a separation between a husband and wife, where the wife is pregnant, the husband is required to pay

¹¹⁸ Justinian *Codex*: 6.43.3. "Sive masculi sive feminae sunt, exceptis notariis et medicis utriusque sexus, cum notarios quinquaginta solidis aestimari volumus, medicos autem et obstetrices sexaginta."

¹¹⁹ Rufus, *Digesta*: 50.13 1:3.

¹²⁰ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 225.

¹²¹ Even though nurses are carers rather than healers, they are still significant to the understanding of professional working women in the period and the types of women who undertook caring and nurturing roles.

forty drachmae to pay for the expenses of the birth.¹²² This papyrus dates from 260 CE and gives us some idea of the cost to deliver a baby in that period. From such papyri, we can tell that midwives could be paid quite a substantial sum payment for their services.

We have more evidence for nurses than midwives, which can be used for comparative analysis of financial worth for services. *P.Mich. 2.123* (TM 11967) demonstrates conditions of a nursing contract, including associations with male relatives, the amounts given as payment and fees for drafting the documents and the status of the child in care.¹²³ *P.Oxy. 91* (TM 20750) is one of several papyri that demonstrate that children even at the higher social levels were often cared for in the home of the nurse, rather than by their parents.¹²⁴ *P.Tebt. 2.399* (TM 28423) records that 500 drachmae was paid, with the child being looked after in the home of the nurse, to be returned to the house of its owners (being a slave child) after three years. While this appears to be a high amount for a wet-nurse, this is for full-time care and expenses, leaving very little to the wet-nurse herself, or at all if the woman is a slave herself.¹²⁵

A nurse in *P.Mich.Inv. 133* received fifteen drachmae a month for the care of an infant slave girl plus expenses.¹²⁶ This is very a small amount compared to the 40 drachmae that the

¹²² *P.Oxy. 1273* (TM 21791), Lines 33-34. “[ἐὰν]ν. [δὲ] καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς ἐγκυος ἧ(*) ἢ γαμουμένη, δότω αὐτῇ. ὁ γαμῶν εἰς λόγον δαπάνης λοχείας δραχμὰς τεσσαράκοντα.” For the full translation of *P.Oxy. 1273* see Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 270-272. *P.Oxy. 1273* (TM 21791) was written in 260 CE.

¹²³ *P.Mich. 2.123* (TM 11967) dates to between 45 and 46 CE and Tebtynis. It was authored by Kronion, Son of Aprion and is a register of documents prepared at the grapheion of Tebtynis during the month of Neos Sebastos of the seventh year of Emperor Claudius, with indication of a writing fee charged for each document preparation.

¹²⁴ *P.Oxy. 91* (TM 20750) dates to 187 CE, October 13. It is a receipt of wages for nursing. Translation can be found in Rowlandson (1998): 214.

¹²⁵ *P.Tebt. 2.399* (TM 28423), dates to 100-199 CE. It is also a receipt for nurse’s wages from Tebtynis, authored by Thenkebkis. Thenkebkis acknowledges receipt from Isidoros of 500 drachmae of silver for wages and expenses of a female slave, Sarapias, as the nurse of the child of Isidoros.

¹²⁶ *P.Mich. Inv. 133* dates to July 25, 154 CE. It was purchased by Grenfell and Kelsey in 1920 and its original provenance is unknown. It is a contract in which Senosiris and Metis-Tapsais agree to

midwife of the same period received for a single act in *P.Oxy.* 1273 (TM 11967). What becomes clear is that the midwife was worth more for her services and regarded differently to the nurse. It is also important to note that any excess money in these papyri contracts goes directly to the nurse's dominant male relative, rather than to the nurse herself. Other occupations in the Greek papyri received less payment, but were not required to use the funds to pay for the care of another. This also suggests that associating ancient Greek midwives and nurses is premature.

P.Oxy. 1273 (TM 11967) suggests that the potential income for midwives compared favourably with other wages from this period and region. On the higher end, *P.Lond.* 1226 (TM 11769),¹²⁷ and *P.Flor.* 321 (TM 11169) and 322 (TM 11170),¹²⁸ show the average wage for stewards was only 40 drachmae per month.¹²⁹ On the lower end, common labourers are recorded as receiving only between four and eight drachmae a month.¹³⁰ The midwife received higher than even the estate managers in *P.Oxy.* 1577-78 (TM 31764, 31765), who are recorded as receiving between sixty and one-hundred and twenty-eight drachmae annually; especially considering the demand for midwifery skills and the number of women who would have made use of them.¹³¹ While the amounts cannot be directly correlated due to the

nurse a slave-child found in a garbage dump. "Year 17 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrian Antoninus Augustus Pius, Mesore 1. M..ter-Senosiris, a Persian, the daughter of Psennesis, her mother being Thaesis, aged 4x, with a scar on the left shoulder, with her guardian being her husband Pisechthis, the son of Psennesis, aged 45, agrees with Metis-Tapsais, the daughter of Psennesis, granddaughter of Ps..., her mother being Tbekis, to nurse the infant slave girl from the garbage dump, whose name is Thaesis, who was entrusted to her by her (Tapsais), for two years, receiving from her each month . . . twelve drachmae. . ."

¹²⁷ *P.Lond.* 1226 (TM 11769) dates to 254 CE from Theadelphia and is now housed in The British Library.

¹²⁸ *P.Flor.* 321 (TM 11169) and 322 (TM 11170) date to 254-260 CE from Theadelphia.

¹²⁹ Duncan-Jones identifies wages in the first century CE was dependent on the type of occupation. Day wages for levels of occupation such as stewards sat at around 25-50 denarii according to the papyrological evidence. ie. *P.Lond.* 1914 (TM 16852). Duncan-Jones (1982): 367.

¹³⁰ French (1986): 231.

¹³¹ French (1986): 231.

midwife earning a fee compared to estate managers earning a wage, the demand for midwives makes the amount earned considerably higher either way.

Midwives in this Graeco-Egyptian context, appear to be well paid. Nurses on the other hand appear to receive a large amount, but on closer observation we see that the pay is relatively little when the time and resources required by the nurse are considered. In papyri evidence of nursing contracts, we see that the nurse's payment is largely to benefit and care for the child, rather than the nurse. This is seen in *P.Oxy. 91* (TM 20750), where the payment of 400 drachmae over two years is received by Chosion (her husband), son of Sarapion, rather than the nurse herself. This sum is earmarked to cover the needs of the child, Helena.¹³² The nurse is dealing with an infant, rather than a patient, so in terms of the nurse it is better to recognise the difference between patient and client, the client being the infant's father or guardian. Women had to have a male *tutor* in Roman law and after 212 in Egypt everyone lived under Roman law, so all contracts have to be between males. A nurse may take on more than one child.

The Greek disapproval of nurses may be confirmed in the ancient literary evidence. Demosthenes 57 and Antiphanes praise the Scythians because they give their infants the milt of cattle or horses rather than that of 'malignant nurses'.¹³³ This is in contrast though to some interpretations of epigraphic evidence for nurses. Brock for instance believes that the epigraphic evidence shows that many of them were praised and the occupation was one of the best attested.¹³⁴ However, he uses the terms 'beloved' and 'thanks' as evidence for this, which is not a fair indication of praise or attestation because these were well-used common terms on a vast number of grave stones as part of a simple formula from which we gain little to interpret. It is certainly not enough to confirm what he states is an obvious "conflict here

¹³² *P.Oxy. 91* (TM 20750) . "I, Chosion, son of Sarapion, have received the 400 drachmas for the nursing and have no complaint to make, as previously stated. I, Tanenteris daughter of Thonion, with Demetrius, son of Orion, assent and have received my daughter as previously stated. I, Ploution, son of Hermes, have written the contract for them because they do not know letters."

¹³³ Antiphanes Fr. 157; Brock (1994): 336.

¹³⁴ Brock (1994): 336.

between the overt ideology and attitudes reflected in some literary sources and the reality reflected by the evidence of epigraphy.”¹³⁵

3.5: The Reception of Healer Women as First Points of Call

The rural areas and other city-states were not necessarily governed by the rules that bound the behaviour of women in a city like Athens. Availability of trained physicians from within medical schools was probably limited. Due to this, the majority of people would have turned to reputable local healers in their area, whether men or women. Yet availability and choice were also subject to status and wealth. Medical physicians of schools were well educated and would expect to be paid. Individuals may have turned to female physicians and healer women based on individual concepts of gender appropriateness and availability.

While we cannot isolate every person or population’s attitudes toward healer women and healing, we can see some attitudes. The story of Hagnodice is an unusual text that provides aetiology to explain the treatment of women by women.¹³⁶ Midwives are seen in explicit detailed funerary inscriptions in Rome, and demonstrate another such view that these funerary inscriptions suggest a higher respect and level of status, indicated by the nature and cost of the memorial. **M6** was erected for the midwife Julia Primigenia in the Early Imperial period. Julia is said to have saved many women, with the use of the term ‘σώσασα’ in the aorist. This indicates that Julia was viewed as a saviour either by her patients or her family, an attitude similar to that portrayed in Hyginus in regards to Hagnodice.¹³⁷

The connection to herbs allowed for folk healers to have drugs such as analgesia available to them and their patients.¹³⁸ This would have encouraged both men and women to seek their

¹³⁵ Brock (1994): 337.

¹³⁶ Hyginus, *Fabulae*: 274.

¹³⁷ Hyginus, *Fabulae*: 274.

¹³⁸ Opium poppies and Willow tree bark were among the plant material used by the ancient Greeks as an analgesic. Note Greek terms relating to Opium including *μηκώνειος* ‘flavoured with opium’, *μηκωνοφόρος* ‘opium-bearing’, *ὄπιον* ‘poppy-juice, opium’, and *ὀπικός* ‘made of opium’. Pliny the Elder also makes nineteen references to opium usage. Key among these includes Pliny, *Natural Histories*: 20.76, Loeb 392:114-115, which reads that opium is productive for sleep to the point of death if too much is taken.

services over other healers who did not have the same access or knowledge.¹³⁹ Midwives were particularly known for their knowledge and use of drugs and this encouraged both women in labour to seek their skill and other individuals who sought a herbal cure to their ailments.

One of the most basic ideas in the Hippocratic corpus is that of dryness and dampness, which is projected throughout 'scientific' theory down to Galen and beyond. Hui-Hua Chang explains that this is based on the idea of separation and exchange.¹⁴⁰ The author of *Regimen* in the Hippocratic texts states that all things throughout the universe are constituted of fire and water, respectively the concepts of hot and dry, and cold and wet.¹⁴¹ This is one example of a medical theory that extends the idea that women are not designed for healing roles. Dampness and coldness were considered feminine and so it was seen as detrimental for the patient if they were to attend them.¹⁴² The idea was that heat destroyed foreign and invading bodies, whereas cold would compact them. *Places in Man* demonstrates this by attributing pain to excesses or deficiencies in cold or heat.¹⁴³

However, folk healers were a legitimate and acceptable option. Different forms of ailments and beliefs called for patients to seek different niches of health care. Gynaecological texts, even in the Hippocratic corpus, refer to female assistants, who were possibly midwives or fellow physicians.¹⁴⁴ King explains that many of these tasks did not require specific skills, but were necessary, even if as simple as holding the patient down or providing a calming influence.¹⁴⁵ They are acting in complement to the male physician. This cooperation extends the idea that there was a need as well as a demand for female healers, especially in regards to women's health where the nature of the woman's body and society's attitudes towards modesty demanded a female attendant.

¹³⁹ McNamara (2003): 18.

¹⁴⁰ Chang (2008): 235.

¹⁴¹ Hippocrates, *Regimen*: 1.3-5, Loeb 150:224-225 = 6.472 Littré.

¹⁴² Hippocrates, *Fractures*: 1.34, Loeb = 3.536 Littré; King (2002): 33.

¹⁴³ Hippocrates, *Places in Man*: 42.1, Loeb 482:80-81 = 6.334 Littré.

¹⁴⁴ Hippocrates, *Fleshes*: 19 Loeb 482:156-157 = 8:608 Littré.

¹⁴⁵ King (1998): 167.

Healers were not always out to exceed one another. McNamara agrees that the naturalistic explanations of disease provided by the Hippocratic and the theological aetiologies of some folk healers were not mutually exclusive.¹⁴⁶ Richard Blum and Eva Blum expand this understanding by showing how this demand transferred into the rural ideologies of twentieth century Greece.¹⁴⁷ They assert that the propitiation and respect for certain gods and traditions still operates in relation to the ideas of protection to ward off illness.¹⁴⁸ They also explain that beliefs still vary and rural communities still establish healer choice based on ideas of purification, sensitivities and taboos, which female healers, and wise women especially, are believed to be able to overcome.

¹⁴⁶ McNamara (2003): 21.

¹⁴⁷ Blum and Blum (1965): 1.

¹⁴⁸ Blum and Blum (1965): 21.

Chapter 4: Attitudes towards Healer Women in Ancient Greece and Rome

“There is no art in turning a goddess into a witch, a virgin into a whore, but the opposite operation, to give dignity to what has been scorned, to make the degraded desirable, that calls either for art or for character.”

J.W. von Goethe (from posthumous papers)¹

We have discussed how healer women could gain their knowledge of medicine and herbal skills, but how were these skills viewed within their individual contexts? This chapter will analyse attitudes towards different types of healer women through systematic examination of the typology, and contemporary literature. What value the healer woman had in her society is paramount to understanding the concept of feminine healing and medicine in ancient Greece and Rome from the Classical period into the first centuries CE. This chapter will explore the concept of the sorceress or wise woman, in comparison to the physician or midwife, how they were viewed in literature versus epigraphy, and how they were viewed by different societies.

4.1: The Φαρμακίς

Among the healer women of the Greek world is the little discussed φαρμακίς. How the φαρμακίς is defined is subject to debate. We see different representations in the literature and material sources. The φαρμακίς has been interpreted as a sorceress, herbalist and healer. Euripides, Aristophanes, Homer, Demosthenes, and Apollonius all refer to the φαρμακίς. The length of time and range of contexts give us an interesting picture of how such women, who had some medicinal knowledge, were viewed from the Classical Period through to the first centuries CE.

¹ von Goethe (1998): 113-114.

4.1.1: The Archaic Φαρμακίς as a Wise Woman in Herbs and Magico-Medicine

The evidence we have for the φαρμακίς mostly comes from ancient literary evidence. Within ancient literature, collected in the *Theasaurus Linguae Graecae*, we have over two hundred separate references to the term φαρμακίς, with three quarters of these coming from prior to the third century CE. Sixty references come from past our time frame, or are repetitions of previous works.

Women with knowledge of herbs and magic are attested in the epic tales of Homer. In *Odyssey*, Hermes cautions Odysseus that his comrades have been turned into pigs and penned by the malevolent Circe.² The description Homer applies to Circe is that she is “πολυφαρμάκου” (skilled in drugs) while giving her the title φαρμακίς in *Odyssey*, in the sense of a sorceress.³ Here we are dealing with the character Circe though, who is a goddess.

Homer’s writings are in the world of imagination, but his works do relate to the real world of the eighth century BCE and prior. Ruth Scodel asserts that our knowledge of the exact dates of Homer’s works is limited, and there is some danger of there being an endless loop of circular argument on the exact nature of the texts, and how political and social structures within the epics reflect real societies.⁴ She explains that the emphasis has changed over time to counter issues of discussing Homer as a historical source, so that now Homer is instead examined as an ideological production to appeal to the audience.⁵ Scodel emphasises that in order to achieve this appeal, Homer’s world had to be relevant to a contemporary.⁶ It is with this outlook that we can look at the terminology and ideology in Homer, and use it to better cognise his contemporary world.

The φαρμακίς is not easily defined as a ‘sorceress’ when one looks at other references to women using magic and herbs in Homer. In *Iliad*, Homer speaks of the virtues of plants

² Homer, *Odyssey*: 10.261, Loeb 104:376-377.

³ Πολυφαρμάκου literally means “knowing many drugs or charms.” It is also used in relation to countries to refer to “abounding in healing or poisonous herbs.”

⁴ Scodel (2009): 174.

⁵ Scodel (2009): 175.

⁶ Scodel (2009): 175.

known to Agamede,⁷ and in *Odyssey* he speaks of Helen and herbal knowledge given to her, of sovereign power and virtue, by the women of Egypt.⁸ While certain women, like Circe, in *Odyssey* are ascribed knowledge of herbal lore and are considered negative, others are viewed in a more neutral or positive, sometimes praising, tone. This positive or neutral tone is suitable if we consider what we, as modern scholars now know about the origins of agriculture and medicine. Valerie Abrahamsen asserts that women in prehistory were traditionally the inventors of agriculture, and thus natural drugs, and thus were the most involved in death and burial rituals.⁹ The original nature of the goddess and wise woman, concerns a respect for nature and assistance between women to bring forth new life, attend to their own bodies and their children's, and have a responsibility to look after others as productive citizens in a larger society.¹⁰ This is representative of this prehistoric idea that women were the harvesters of the earth. Being temporally closer to traditional prehistoric roles, could have led to the role of the *φαρμακίς* being more recognised in archaic society. The use of drugs could be seen as positive (healing) or negative (poison). The issue that appears to gain the majority of the negative connotations is not so much the connection with herbalism, but that of magic.

4.1.2: The Classical *Φαρμακίς* as a Foreign Sorceress

When it comes to the attitudes towards the *φαρμακίς* in the ancient literature, we have a wide range of examples throughout a long period of time. In saying this, we need to be particularly sensitive to context and chronology to best come to any conclusions concerning societal attitudes. The majority of references to the *φαρμακίς* come from fictional works and display differing views on women skilled in magic and medicinal herbs. To demonstrate this range and more common negative tones, we can look at some of these key works in particular.

Change over time can be illustrated by popular authors, like Euripides and Aristophanes in the fifth century BCE, Demosthenes in the fourth century BCE, and Apollonius of Rhodes in

⁷ Homer, *Iliad*: 11.668, Loeb 170:542-543.

⁸ Homer, *Odyssey*: 4.4, Loeb 104:118-119.

⁹ Abrahamsen (1997): 18.

¹⁰ Abrahamsen (1997): 22.

the early third century BCE. These demonstrate a change in attitudes from more positive and neutral tones in the earlier periods, to more negative tones with differing focuses, which we can then compare to less fictional based works to achieve a comprehensive sense of definition.

In the Classical period, we see foreign women increasingly being at the centre of questionable magical and herbal skills. Foreign Thessalian women are associated with magic and potions. In Aristophanes' *Clouds*, Strepsiades considers purchasing a Thessalian witch with the power to draw down the moon from a Thessalian sorceress.¹¹ Demosthenes tells of a *φαρμακίς*, who abuses her skills leading to the threat and death of men, the infamous Theoris of Lemnos, who is to be put to death.¹² In the Classical period, the definition of women with knowledge of potions and magic became far less ambiguous than previously seen in Homer. As time went on, the representation of these women became decidedly more negative with few exceptions in the ancient literature. The *φαρμακίς* as a herbalist becomes the *φαρμακίς* as a sorceress. This definition becomes clearer as we look at the later works of Apollonius of Rhodes and his representation of Medea opposed to the earlier representation in Euripides.

The Medea presented by Apollonius is an eclectic character representing the foreign and magical world within the epic.¹³ Her initial representation concerns her use of magic to assist the main hero of the story, playing the role of the helper maiden, as described by Joseph Campbell's categorisation of heroines.¹⁴ As the epic progresses, we soon learn that Medea is capable of using her skills for her own means, such as with the death of King Pelias, which in the case presented by Apollonius is not in the interest of the main male characters. Medea's use of magic is justified because of her foreign nature within the Greek context, but she also represents the Hellenistic ideologies that appear in fictional literature that magic is associated with the realm outside sophisticated and acceptable Greek society and is thus barbaric. Thomas Harrison asserts that potions used by barbarians like Medea were just as

¹¹ Aristophanes, *Clouds*: 731, Loeb 488:108-109.

¹² Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton* 1: 79, Loeb 516-517.

¹³ Apollonius, *Argonautica*: 1.9, Loeb 1:2-3.

¹⁴ Campbell (2008): 81.

likely to work as the Greek was;¹⁵ it is rather the nature of the barbarian, which makes the matter of potions frightening to the Greek rationale.¹⁶

The earlier Euripides, on the other hand, presents us with an image, which represents the earlier Classical and Archaic comprehension of foreigners and magic use, through the character of Medea. Euripides' representation of Medea and her use of magic is connected more to her role as a woman, than as a foreigner. Her emotional and irrational side is revealed with the betrayal she sees when Jason divorces her to marry another. Euripides constructs Medea as contrast to the rational hero. Jason represents the logical political side of the argument and claims that Medea should be pleased as she is rewarded by Greek civilization and fame, whereas Medea represents the emotional side, which is a threat to the social structure of society, as she claims she has been greatly wronged by Jason's decisions.¹⁷

The Hellenistic idea represented by Apollonius, is immersed in the Greek attitude towards foreigners as barbarians. Ronald Marchese explains that the Near Eastern mind to the Greeks was suffused in lore, superstition and magic that thus clouded all reason and the quest for betterment.¹⁸ This is combined with the idea that foreign women can accomplish things, which Greek women cannot and thus foreign knowledge is threatening. To the Greeks, foreign knowledge was not only morally threatening, but also threatening in the sense that it might overturn the structure of power.

The Greek idea of the barbarian was based on a distinction to do with the ability of the mind to achieve rational understanding.¹⁹ To the Greek scholars, foreigners were irrational. However, this is not the whole story, as we have seen in the early case of Medea in Euripides. In Homer, foreigners in the shape of the Trojans have the same values and qualities as Greeks. In the pre-Socratic philosophical context, Greeks were learning from foreigners. Thales learnt to predict the eclipse of 28 May 585 BCE, with knowledge that came to him

¹⁵ Euripides, *Medea*: 385, Loeb 12:318-319, 709, Loeb 12:348-349, 806, Loeb 12:356-357, 1126, Loeb 12:384-385, 1201, Loeb 12:390-391.

¹⁶ Harrison (2002): 84.

¹⁷ Euripides, *Medea*, 465-540, Loeb 12:324-325.

¹⁸ Marchese (1985): 1.

¹⁹ Marchese (1985): 1.

from somewhere to the East.²⁰ Herodotus also says that he dealt with learned Persians and Egyptian priests.²¹

It appears that it is with the rise of Persian power (middle of the sixth century BCE) that the Greeks became much more afraid of foreigners than before. This may explain the change in emphasis from the neutral or positive attitudes towards foreign knowledge in earlier works like Homer to the more directly negative attitudes that we see in later literature like Apollonius.

The Greek mind could accept the use of foreign ideas through rationalisation and they did this because they acknowledged the inherent qualities of an irrational world, where certain attributes could be put to good use within their society, or already were used in rationalised ways. Therein lies the fine line in Greek thought between organised and rationalised ideas, and magic and foreign ideas. Eric Dodds makes an analysis of foreign rationalisations within Greek society in the Classical period, with mention of a reversion in the fashion for foreign cults, which developed with surprising suddenness during the Peloponnesian War.²² This analysis of foreign cults is indicative of Dodds' overarching ability to compare and contrast influences within the Greek world, which adds to our knowledge of hybridity.

Dodds notes that a generation after the Peloponnesian war, attitudes towards magic took an even cruder form. In Athens, there was plenty of magic for the many in the literal sense of the term, with the practice of *defixio*.²³ Dodds' use of the *defixio* as a point of comparison, demonstrates his ability to use material evidence and little discussed concepts while highlighting their immense value to the interpretation of day-to-day ideologies within the Greek world. *Defixio* was a kind of magical attack that a person would inscribe on a durable tablet or potsherd and place in an area of influence to their cause. Hundreds of these *defixiones* have been excavated in many parts of the Mediterranean world, but it is significant to see them in Athens during the Classical period in such abundance because of the general

²⁰ Guthrie (2012): 25.

²¹ Herodotus, *Histories*: 2.2, 2.3, 2.36, 2.63, 2.90, 2.99, 2.100, 2.107, 2.113, 2.116, 2.118, 2.122, 2.144, 2.168, 3.29. Loeb 117.

²² Dodds (1951): 193.

²³ Dodds (1951): 194.

literary consensus towards magic stemming from Athens. Plato makes it clear that people were afraid of magical aggression and legal action would be severe.²⁴

4.1.3: The Classical Woman of Ill-Repute

The representation of women, as a threat to men and social order that is readily associated with the φαρμακίς and previously mentioned in relation to Euripides, is explained well by Simon Goldhill's in his discussion of Clytemnestra in Aeschylus' *The Oresteia*. This representation of Clytemnestra demonstrates the stereotypical associations made by the Classical Greeks in reference to women who displayed skill or power and especially women from foreign lands. *The Oresteia* consists of three plays by Aeschylus: *Agamemnon*, *The Libation-Bearers*, and *The Eumenides*. The issue of women Goldhill discusses is mostly represented within *Agamemnon* with the character of Clytemnestra. Goldhill concludes, based on *The Oresteia*, that every point in the narrative expresses conflicts between male and female, which influenced later narratives and was representative of an overarching theme of authority in the Classical period. *Agamemnon* opens with Clytemnestra's posting a watchman. The significance of this act is highlighted through the phrase: "ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ" (such is the authority of the man-plotting heart of the woman).²⁵ Goldhill asserts that to describe a woman as a figure of authority immediately points to a strange connection of gender and power in this narrative, with the addition particularly of the juxtaposition of the terms 'woman' and 'man-plotting', emphasising that a woman's authority is out of place.²⁶

The theme of gender conflict within *Agamemnon* is conveyed through Clytemnestra and her transgressive construct, in addition to her use of language and sexual behaviour. Through these aspects of her character, she is portrayed as a continual threat to the world of men by challenging expectations set down for women by ancient authors. The combined analyses of Foley and Gould are indicative of the significance of a woman like Clytemnestra appearing as a speaker in public. They assert that, except within a closely controlled religious context, women in public were deemed a sign of displacement and social discord. Clytemnestra takes

²⁴ Plato, *Laws*: 933a, Loeb 192:454-455, 909b, Loeb 192:382-383; *Republic*: 364c, Loeb 237:144-145.

²⁵ Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*: 10. Loeb 146:4-5.

²⁶ Goldhill (2004): 34.

this discord to an extreme through her use of language, which is based in expressions that inspire fear and power.²⁷

Clytemnestra is also seen as a sexually corrupt woman, as Goldhill explains, as she works outside the common ideological association of women with the inside of the house.²⁸ This ideology of women and the household is described by Goldhill as a necessary response to the threat of women's desires leading to adultery, which represented a threat to the secure pattern of male inheritance within a patriarchal social system.²⁹ Joan Bamberger acknowledges the threat in *The Oresteia*, by summarising that it becomes a complex example of what anthropologists have called the 'myth of matriarchy overturned': An overthrowing of female authority as a way of justifying the continuing status quo of male authority in society.³⁰ Goldhill's exploration of *The Oresteia* highlights one of the main issues in the analysis of healer women. Healer women work outside the realms of society regarded as ideologically female, and take on a role that is masculine in the work of ancient fiction, like Clytemnestra in *The Oresteia*. Through this revelation, we can further comprehend why the *φαρμακίς* was considered a dangerous individual in the minds of intellectual elite, who penned influential works in the Classical and Hellenistic periods.

The concept of magic and herbalism to the Greeks was the combined work of foreign influence and traditional ideals. Herodotus uses the term *pharmakeusantes* in the sense of superstitious magic in his report of the horse sacrifice by the Magi during the Persian crossing of the Thracian river Strymon.³¹ This shows not only that the root of the word *φαρμακίς* was considered to involve both healing and sorcery in the fifth century BCE, but also that the sorcery connotation was implied in regards to foreigners. Schmidt asserts that citizen women of Classical Athens were not sorceresses, since they lacked the social space to perform sorcery. Whenever sorcerers are mentioned, they are foreigners, such as Medea or the Thessalian sorceresses of the *Clouds*.³² This Athenian social condition was probably the

²⁷ Goldhill (2004): 35; Foley (1982): 1-21; Gould (1980): 38-59.

²⁸ Goldhill (2004): 35.

²⁹ Goldhill (2004): 36.

³⁰ Bamberger (1975): 263-280.

³¹ Herodotus, *Histories*: 7.114, Loeb 119:416-417.

³² Aristophanes, *Clouds*: 749, Loeb 488:110-111; Schmidt (1995): 60.

influence for the ideal that magic and related herbalism were the work of foreign negative powers, leading Aristophanes and his audience to consider the role of the *φαρμακίς* to be less than reputable.

4.1.4: The Hellenistic *Φαρμακίς* in Egypt and Greece

Outside of the ancient literature, our main source for magic is the *Papyri Graecae Magicae* (PGM), which was most famously addressed by Preisendanz in the 1920s and 30s and later by Betz.³³ Many of the actual papyri were lost in the bombings of World War II, in Berlin more than anywhere, so our knowledge is more complete by supplementing this with additional works, such as Brashear's work on the Theban Magical Library and Nock's 1933 review of the papyrological evidence. Samson Eitrem asserts that the reputation of these scholars is probably the reason that additional studies have not asked new questions of this material.³⁴ Eitrem concludes that our modern understanding of magic is mostly based on the ancient Greek, yet where did the ancient Greeks get their understanding?

The modern understanding of 'magic' is an interesting topic in itself. Keith Thomas analyses it in regards to medieval comprehensions based on the rise of Christianity. Thomas asserts that by the sixteenth century, John Bale complained that the links that had previously been made between the holy host and a magical being of healing and magic³⁵ were turning the host into a remedy for diseases employed by "sorcerers, charmers, enchanters, dreamers, soothsayers, necromancers, conjurers, cross-diggers, devil-raisers, miracle-doers, dog leeches and bawds."³⁶ The concept of magic, as seen today, does indeed stem from the Greek and

³³ Betz (1986) compiled his list of papyri from Preisendanz' collection, which he expanded by adding as many newly discovered and published magical papyri as possible. Betz also drew his list from sixteen contributors, twenty published editions of Greek papyri, four editions of Demotic papyri and forty-nine major published titles concerning the Greek Magical papyri. Preisendanz compiled his list by collecting a disparate lot of papyri with the help of collaborators, Papyri collected by Preisendanz mostly come from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin and the British Museum, as well as from the Louvre, Bibliothèque universitaire et regionale Strasbourg and Leiden. This is indicative of the range and variability of the papyri selected.

³⁴ Eitrem (1941): 39-83.

³⁵ Thomas (1971): 210.

³⁶ Bale (1849):239

Egyptian ideas, but is also an evolution over time based on the development of Christian ideas. We see the influence from the ancient times within medieval examples. Thomas explains that because of the magical power ascribed to objects, a continuous association from ancient origins that transmitted into Christian ideologies, the ecclesiastical authorities found it necessary to take elaborate precautions against their theft.³⁷ This changed to some degree with the reformation, which changed policies in places the reformation was important, but not everywhere.

When it comes to influences on ancient Greek magical ideas, if we look at the papyrological evidence from first and second century CE Greek Egypt, we see a differing view of magic and herbalism for healing. This is probably as a result of more traditional Egyptian attitudes, rather than those influenced by Athenian ideals. This material evidence does not generally call a healer woman a *φαρμακίς* with the negative connotations discussed above, but instead implies she was a wise woman, who healed with herbs and magic and was not a negative character. The literary evidence certainly shows healer women in Egypt in a positive light, showing that they were often respected for their skill and knowledge. Euripides says that Egyptian women were known for their skills in medicine and their intellectual abilities.³⁸ Females in Egyptian remedial traditions are known from as far back as the Old Kingdom.

Peseshet is recorded in a stele, which describes her as an overseer of physicians. The female physician Merit-Ptah was also immortalised in the tomb of her son, who describes her in a hieroglyphic inscription as a 'chief physician' around 2700 BCE.³⁹ From Hellenized Egypt we have already encountered Cleopatra the Physician. Far before Cleopatra there is believed to have been a woman's college of medicine at Sais dating back to around 3000 BCE.⁴⁰ George

³⁷ Thomas (1971): 210

³⁸ Euripides, *Helen*, Loeb 11. For more on Euripides and Herodotus and the women of Egypt see Campbell Hurd-Mead, K. (1979), *A History of Women in Medicine* (Boston: Longwood Press): 16 and Homer, *Odyssey*: 4.4, 4.219.

³⁹ Merit Ptah is the earliest female physician we have direct evidence for in Ancient Egypt. Her image was found at Saqqara in a step pyramid. Herzenberg et al. (1991): 101-05.

⁴⁰ David (2004): 143. Inscription from the Temple of Sais reads "I have come from the school of medicine at Heliopolis, and have studied at the women's school at Sais, where the divine mothers have taught me how to cure diseases." Translation by Alic (1986): 21.

Sarton and Heinrich Schäfer both assert that Darius was said to have restored the Egyptian medical college at Sais.⁴¹ Alic states that this institution at Sais was known to have included female faculty members based on the Kahun medical papyrus (c.2500 BCE), which may have been written at Sais.⁴² The papyrus states that “women specialists diagnosed pregnancy, guessed at the sex of the unborn child (if the mother’s face was green it would be a boy), tested for sterility and treated dysmenorrhoea (irregular menstruation).”⁴³ What becomes most clear in the earlier periods of Egyptian epigraphy is that society’s attitude gave Egyptian women the opportunity to act independently and to pursue careers involving practical and theoretical medicine.⁴⁴ The influence of the former Egyptian periods and attitudes suggests that healer women in first and second century CE Egypt were thought of with approval as they continued occupations already ordained as acceptable within their societies.

The Philinna Papyrus (**H2, H3**), which is found in the Greek Magical Papyri, is an indication of this. Here we have supposedly female authors writing healing spells. Authority for them as magic workers is conveyed in their geographical origins. Dickie argued that Thessaly and Syria had strong associations with sorcery, and Maas concludes that Thessalian or Syrian origins are just what an editor would be likely to invent for the author of such charms even if they were not real women.⁴⁵

4.1.5: Contrasting Meanings in the Roman Periods

On the other hand, ancient literature depicting the idea of the wise herbalist as negative can also be traced.⁴⁶ From the Hellenistic period onward, we see the term *φαρμακίς* used to denote women in the company of other women of questionable morals and values, such as

⁴¹ Sarton (2012): 331; Schäfer (1899): 72-74.

⁴² Alic (1986): 21.

⁴³ Alic (1986): 21.

⁴⁴ van Sertima (1984):155-156; Tyldesley (1994); Herodotus, *Histories*: 2.171, Loeb 117:484-485; Diodorus Siculus: 5.57, Loeb 340:250-251; Plutarch, *Isis and Osiris*: 9.

⁴⁵ Dickie (1994): 119; Maas (1942): 38.

⁴⁶ Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon*: 2, 12.144.

the drunken woman, the wanton woman, and the prostitute.⁴⁷ Artemidorus places the *φαρμακίς* among the evils of society, the hyena woman, the hermaphrodite, the catamite man, and the general feeling of ill.⁴⁸ This demonstrates that the overarching emphasis on the *φαρμακίς* was that she was a threat to men through social order.⁴⁹ This continues into the Roman era where Phrynichus, in the second century CE, places the woman herbalist again alongside the wanton and drunken woman in *fragment* 215.⁵⁰ Aelian in his *Histories* says that the Athenian Areopagus arrested a *φαρμακίς* who happened to be pregnant, then waited until she delivered the baby before putting her to death.⁵¹

Maximus emphasises the threat in his understanding of the *φαρμακίς* as a sorceress or witch by comparing them to mythical creatures who readily present a threat to any humans that they encounter. Maximus places his *φαρμακίς* within the same context as the Cyclopes, who slay their guests, Hades, and the Charybdis and Scylla, mythical sea monsters who were great threats to any men who passed through their domain.⁵² Cassius Dio tells of the 'sorceress' Lucusta in association with 'others of the scum that had come to the surface in Nero's day'. He says that these 'scums' should be led through the streets in chains and executed.⁵³

Lucian of Samosata describes the skills of Thessalian herbalists, and how women can bewitch men with drugs in their drinks and use them for their will.⁵⁴ Lucian tells of witches from Syria who drew back men with their spells.⁵⁵ Here again we have the examples from Syria and Thessaly suggesting that magical knowledge is primarily associated with foreign powers.

⁴⁷ Pollux, *Onomasticon*: 4.178.6, 6.151.6.

⁴⁸ Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon*: 2.12.144.

⁴⁹ Aelian, *De natura animalium*: 1.54.8 in relation to Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*: 1.9, Loeb 1:2-3.

⁵⁰ Phrynichus, *Praeparatio sophistica*: 215.2.

⁵¹ Aelian, *Varia Historia*: 5.18, Loeb 486:224-225.

⁵² Maximus of Tyre, *Dialexeis*: 16.6c.6.

⁵³ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*: 64b.3.4.2, Loeb 176:200-201. Galba also executed Helius. Bunson (1995): 62.

⁵⁴ Lucian, *Diologi Meretricii*: 1.2.10, Loeb 431:356-357.

⁵⁵ Lucian, *Diologi Meretricii*: 4.4.1, Loeb 431:376-377; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*: 2.4, Loeb 1:114-115.

Lucian is a complicated example because he was a Greek from the Syrian area, who was influenced by varying ideologies. Daniel Richter asserts that Lucian's tendency towards excesses of biographical criticism echoes his Syrian and diverse background, while demonstrating his excessive personalisation of characters and concepts.⁵⁶ Notably, Lucian had a habit of inserting his personality into the characters he created to be further poignant towards scholars he criticised.⁵⁷

This concept of foreign influence and magic is in itself a complex subject. Before we go into this further, we can establish that in ancient literature, the *φαρμακίς* is continually portrayed as an evil villain of the ancient Greeks from the Classical period onwards, but that is not to say that this was the reality of the *φαρμακίς* within society.

This negativity, especially in the progression into the Roman periods, is again to do with the Greek perception of females of learning as potentially malevolent. Alison Innes asserts that the consensus was that women were not to be relied upon to understand and use herbalism in a manner beneficial to men.⁵⁸ This is particularly seen in the use of herbs by women in love magic, as discussed by Dickie and Fritz Graf. Graf's explanation of why in literature it is "always the women who perform erotic magic", is that such tales take magic out of the sphere of men, where it ought to have no place, since a real man does not use magic to attain his ends.⁵⁹ Is Graf correct? Essentially Graf is saying that these stories have a moral purpose, where women are irrational in nature, and men should have nothing to do with them in this way, as their nature will lead the women to do ill rather than good. Women were seen as experts in erotic magic throughout Greek literature from the Classical period onwards; the

⁵⁶ Richter (2005): 75.

⁵⁷ In particular, Lucian inserted himself into the names of his characters, in addition to their personal traits: Lukianus (*True History, Peregrinus Proteus, The Solecist, Affairs of the Heart*), the Syrian (*The Dead Come to Life*: 19; *Bis Accusatus*: 25; *Adversus Indoctum*: 19; *De Syria Dea*: 1; *Mistaken Critic*: 20), Lucius (*The Ass*), and Lukinos (*The Lapiths, Essays in Portraiture, Essays in Portraiture Defended, The Dance, Lexiphanes, the Eunuch, A Conversation with Hesios, Hermotimus, The Ship, The Cynic*) are a few of these instances. Richter (2005): 94.

⁵⁸ Innes (2011): 1.

⁵⁹ Graf (1997): 199; Dickie (2000): 564.

nurse in Euripides' *Hippolytus*,⁶⁰ the old women as experts in incantations who were consulted by Simaetha in the *Idylls of Theocritus* 2.90-1,⁶¹ Niko, the Thessalian sorceress in *AP*.5.205,⁶² the mother of Amyntas and Mycale in *Nemesianus Eclogues* 4.68-73, and the courtesans of Bacchis and Melitta in Lucian *Dialogi Meretricii*,⁶³ among many others. In *Nemesianus' Bucolica*, Lycidas sings:

“Round me also this self-same dame, Mycale, carried threads of varied colour and a thousand strange herbs. She uttered the spell which makes the moon grow large, the snake to burst, rocks to run, crops to change their field, and trees to be uprooted: yet more, lo! Still more beautiful is my Iollas.”⁶⁴

In the first and second centuries CE, the negative trend of literary attitudes continues. Quintilian tells of a case against an old woman, who has been accused of giving a love-philtre to a prostitute.⁶⁵

In the areas of outside influence, such as in Romanised Egypt, love spells by women are not very different from the binding-spells attested to men for similar purposes.⁶⁶ It seems to be a matter of who holds power in society, whether they were fully influenced by Roman traditions or maintained a strong sense of their Egyptian origins. The psychological process behind holding of power and use of magic appears to surround the men's thinking that legally they had authority and thus, how could women gain what they wanted? The ideals of the time surrounding a woman's role, suggested to the male powers that she could not have

⁶⁰ Euripides, *Hippolytus*: 638-668, Loeb 484:150-151.

⁶¹ Theocritus, *Idylls of Theocritus*: 290-1.

⁶² Paton (1916): 231; *AP*.5.205, Loeb 67:342-343: “ἴνυγξ ἡ Νικοῦς, ἡ καὶ διαπόντιον ἔλκειν ἄνδρα καὶ ἐκ θαλάμων παῖδας ἐπισταμένη, χρυσῷ ποικιλθεῖσα, διαυγέος ἐξ ἀμεθύστου γλυπτῇ, σοὶ κεῖται, Κύπρι, φίλον κτέανον, πορφυρέης ἀμνοῦ μαλακῇ τριχὶ μέσσα δεθεῖσα, τῆς Λαρισσαίης ξείνια φαρμακίδος” (Niko's love charm, that can compel a man to come from overseas and boys from their rooms, carved of transparent amethyst, set in gold and hung upon a soft thread of purple wool, she, the witch of Larissa presents to thee Cypris, to possess and treasure).

⁶³ Lucian, *Dialogi Meretricii*: 4, Loeb 431:370-371.

⁶⁴ Nemesianus, *Bucolica*: 485. Loeb 434:484-485.

⁶⁵ Quintilian, *Minor Declamations*: 3.85.6.

⁶⁶ Dickie (2000): 566.

gained simply from persuasion and must have used some illicit means, as she was not capable of logical thought processes. It is comprehensible then that they were accused of magic use in relation to the ideological understanding in the period that women were irrational.

In ancient literature, divine females were associated with supernatural or herbal means of healing in a generally positive manner. We have evidence for healing principles with major Greek goddesses, including Artemis, Isis, and Hygieia. Many shrines existed to these deities due to the belief commented on by Abrahamsen that bodily sickness and psychic pain were inseparable.⁶⁷ One could assume that with the connection between the divine, supernatural and nature based connotations of healing, the Greeks would be more accepting of the *φαρμακίς*, but Pomeroy correctly points out, comparison cannot be made between divine and mortal women in the ancient Greek world because they were not judged by the same criteria.⁶⁸

Kee asserts that it would be a serious historical error to assume that the medical approach to health was the province of intellectuals, while religion and magic were left to the ignorant, or that intellectuals universally respected the medical profession and shared its basic outlook.⁶⁹ Outside of the creative literature, we find an array of authoritative Greek women in herbal medicine matters, especially in the works of Pliny the Elder. Pliny quotes the advice of Salpe in 28.18, who recommends a cure for eye ailments. She is recorded as recommending that the eyes should be fomented with an application as a means of strengthening the sight.⁷⁰ Salpe is again used as an authority in 28.7, where she is said to advise that when any part of the body is asleep, the numbness may be got rid of by the person spitting into their lap. It is interesting that this remedy is repeated even though it is falsifiable, and that Pliny's experience would have proved its falsity.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Abrahamsen (1997): 12.

⁶⁸ Pomeroy (1975): 15.

⁶⁹ Kee (1986): 5.

⁷⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.18, Loeb 418:46-47.

⁷¹ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.7, Loeb 418:22-23.

Pliny relates the negative idea of the *φαρμακίς* more to the abominable practices of harlots and quacks, to which he strongly objects. Pliny states that:

“The remedies said to be derived from the bodies of females closely approach the marvellous nature of prodigies; to say nothing of still-born infants cut up limb by limb for the most abominable practices, expiations made with the menstrual discharge, and other devices which have been mentioned, not only by midwives but by harlots even as well!”⁷²

There were obviously quacks among the healing practitioners, but the use of the term *φαρμακίς*, in relation to the wanton and the murderess in opposing literature, suggests that writers were responding to an idea that they were often the same, rather than a reality.⁷³ Pliny’s objections to magic in the hands of quacks are mostly related to the practitioners’ claims that they “promote health under the guise of a higher and holier system.”⁷⁴ Kee asserts that Pliny objected to the alleged fact that magic had increased its appeal by adding “both religion and astrology to its approach to human health.”⁷⁵ Even in our modern age, we still deal with pseudo-sciences and do not necessarily have clean hands in relation to quacks, who claim that they promote health, so we can certainly understand Pliny’s dislike for frauds.

Pliny was not particularly concerned with the magic and herbs, because as we have seen, he knew of their worth, but rather the motivations of the practitioner. This is not surprising considering that there was no basis for quality control for healers’ services of any kind. The only known base for repute was the apprentice system giving some form of recognised standing, suggesting regularised procedures and the conveyance of knowledge derived from longer experience.⁷⁶

⁷² Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.20, Loeb 418:52-53.

⁷³ Examples of the association of *φαρμακίς* with the wanton are also found in Pherecrates Comic, *Fragmenta*: 17.1 where Pherecrates in the fifth century BCE adds ‘drunken women’ and ‘slaves’ to the mix.

⁷⁴ Kee (1986): 7.

⁷⁵ Kee (1986): 7.

⁷⁶ Kee (1986): 28.

Pliny and the works of Cato both illustrate that there were stereotypical images of women herbalists as poisoners or healers.⁷⁷ Strabo notes imitations of Medea and Circe's enchantments throughout the countries he visits.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, Strabo also attributes divine skill to some healer women. He says that Erythae was the native city of Sibylla, where a woman who was divinely inspired had the gift of prophecy, alongside her; others invoked the healing powers of the gods.⁷⁹ Pliny also ascribes a divine nature to some practitioners. Pliny asserts that the matrons of Thessaly practiced an art taught to them by Chiron and influenced by the lightning of Mars.⁸⁰

The ancient literature may focus on these negative depictions, but there are occasions where the healing side is at least viewed more positive. Virgil expresses both sides in his *Aeneid*, saying that a Massylian priestess' spells promise to set free what hearts they will, or visit cruel woes on men afar.⁸¹ Innes argues that these pieces of literature reflect underlying social anxieties.⁸²

Outside of the more scientific works, the Greek influenced Romans still subscribed to the negative stereotype, especially in romantic and epic style literature. Lucan's *Pharsalia* reads that deadly herbs grew in Thessaly, and that the sorceress Medea of Colchis gathered fatal roots for impious incantations.⁸³ Ovid denotes similar themes in his *Amores* in reference to faithless witches in Thessaly, with envious tongues and poisons.⁸⁴ Josephus, who writes what he takes to be non-fiction, explains that the Arabian women are skilful in using drugs for poisons.⁸⁵ Most of the difference with Josephus stems from the fact that he was a Jew with differing ideologies, rather than the routine polytheist author of the time.

⁷⁷ Lawrence (2013): 196.

⁷⁸ Strabo, *Geography*: 1.2.39.10, Loeb 49:166-167.

⁷⁹ Strabo, *Geography*: 14.1, Loeb 223:196-197.

⁸⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 30.2, Loeb 418:280-281.

⁸¹ Virgil, *Aeneid*: 4.474.

⁸² Innes (2011): 1.

⁸³ Lucan, *Pharsalia*: 6.413.

⁸⁴ Ovid, *Amores*: 1.14.

⁸⁵ Josephus, *Antiquitates Judaicae*: 17.4.1, Loeb 410:194-195.

4.1.6: Influence from Early Christian Thought

In the first century BCE, there is a particular movement of attitudes in the ancient literature towards viewing supernatural ideas as negative, which would explain the differences in the historical annals of Josephus.⁸⁶ Abrahamsen and Marija Gimbutas, explain that archaeological evidence at shrines links mineral waters with healing. The early Christians, demonstrating the survival of ancient, even prehistoric, healing heritage, appropriated these waters.⁸⁷ It is important to remember that Christian thought only began to be influential on the literary tradition from the time of Constantine onwards, so not much can be said about Christian attitudes in this early context.

4.2: Midwives and the Texts of Soranus

Having discussed the concept of the *φαρμακίς* in some detail, we now have a greater comprehension of some of the prevalent issues that face the identification of attitudes towards healer women. In order to establish a comparative picture of healer women as a whole, this section will look at midwives. Specific to this discussion is the change in terminology to represent the roles of the midwife and how these roles were viewed over time. Notably, Plato's metaphor use of midwifery terms and Soranus' literal usage is informative to changes in attitudes.

In order to ascertain a sense of attitudes towards midwives, we must first look at how they are represented in day-to-day language and how the terminology used to represent them was indicative of their accepted roles. The first issue is the classification of appropriate terminology. The first term to consider is the previously discussed *ιατρὴν*, which is best translated as 'physician', but has also been subject to translation as 'midwife'. We have already determined that the term *ιατρὴν* is representative of a wider medical role, so we need to consider the more appropriate terms to describe what we understand as a midwife. The most notable of these terms is *μαῖα*. It is *μαῖα* and related terms, which are the base for identifying midwives in the ancient Greek literature.

⁸⁶ Kee (1986): 4.

⁸⁷ Abrahamsen (1997): 17; Gimbutas (1991): 256-258.

Before we can discuss intellectual treatises, it is important to comprehend where else our information for midwives comes from. The majority of our information for how the population may have viewed the midwife comes from works of comedy, drama, and epic. Like all points of literary analysis in the Greek world, the concept of the midwife is first considered in relation to the epic works of Homer. In Homer, we see the aforementioned term *μαῖα* in a different original definition, which would later command the use of the term in relation to the midwife. This original use is as an early form of address to an old woman. *Μαῖα* is seen at intervals throughout Homer in this sense, but is particularly notable in *Odyssey* 19.482 onwards, where it is used to address the nurse of Odysseus, Eurycleia, as a respected older woman.

4.2.1: The Classical *Μαῖα* in Plato

Plato presents us with an interesting point of analysis, as he uses the *μαῖα* in a uniquely metaphoric sense to comprehend the philosophies ascribed to Socrates. In this sense, it becomes difficult to use Plato to analyse the attitudes towards midwives, but it is necessary to assert his value, in terms of understanding how the role and terminology changed over time from the archaic period.

Plato's metaphoric employ of midwifery is seen in *Theaetetus* 157c and 151c:

“πρὸς με ὡς πρὸς μαίας ὑὸν καὶ αὐτὸν μαιευτικόν, καὶ ἃ ἂν ἐρωτῶ προθυμοῦ ὅπως οἷός τ' εἶ οὕτως ἀποκρίνασθαι: καὶ ἐὰν ἄρα σκοπούμενός τι ὧν ἂν λέγῃς ἡγήσωμαι εἰδῶλον καὶ μὴ ἀληθές, εἴτα ὑπεξαίρωμαι καὶ ἀποβάλλω, μὴ ἀγρίαινε ὥσπερ αἱ πρωτοτόκοι περὶ τὰ παιδιά.”⁸⁸

“...and have myself a midwife's gifts, and do your best to answer the questions I ask as I ask them. And if, when I have examined any of the things you say, it should prove that I think it is a mere image and not real, and therefore quietly take it from you and throw it away, do not be angry as women are when they are deprived of their first offspring.”

In this first case, Socrates presents the idea of a midwife as a comparison for someone who can question and analyse situations in order to handle them accordingly.

⁸⁸ Plato, *Theaetetus*: 151c, Loeb 123:38-39.

“Σωκράτης:

οὐ μνημονεύεις, ὦ φίλε, ὅτι ἐγὼ μὲν οὔτ’ οἶδα οὔτε ποιοῦμαι τῶν τοιούτων οὐδὲν ἐμόν, ἀλλ’ εἰμὶ αὐτῶν ἄγονος, σὲ δὲ μαieiύομαι καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα ἐπάδω τε καὶ παρατίθημι...”⁸⁹

“Socrates

You forget, my friend, that I myself know nothing about such things, and claim none of them as mine, but am incapable of bearing them and am merely acting as a midwife to you, and for that reason am uttering incantations and giving you...”

Socrates twice uses the image of the midwife at the birth of a child to represent his contribution to eliciting knowledge from others. Knowledge of the midwife’s role is taken for granted. The first example suggests that the midwife has authority in the process; she may throw away a child should it be necessary, even in face of anger from the mother. Here Socrates is using the midwife to enact a sense of bringing forth and presenting, in this case knowledge. David Leitao discusses this in some detail, noting that Socrates spins the image of the midwife to make it fit himself, which is the base for the difficulty ascribed to using Plato as a source for literal midwifery.⁹⁰

4.2.2: The Hellenistic Μαῖα as a Role and Metaphor

Continuing in literary tradition from Homer and Plato, we see the definition change to suit the evolving connotations of μαῖα. Μαῖα evolved to include a number of additional roles, including that of a midwife or foster mother. This is particularly apparent from the Classical period onwards. Euripides becomes one of the key sources for female roles in his many plays in the Classical period. Among these, we see the use of μαῖα in reference to more complex roles. In *Hippolytus* 243, Euripides uses μαῖα to refer specifically to a foster-mother or nurse, rather than as a generic title for an older woman. Euripides also uses the term occasionally to refer to an actual mother, such as in *Alcestis* 393, demonstrating the connotations surrounding the idea of a mother figure evolving to include more complex caring roles.

The use of the term μαῖα to refer to a midwife first appears in abundance in the literature of the early Hellenistic period. This hypothesis is based on analysis of later Classical and

⁸⁹ Plato, *Theaetetus*: 157c, Loeb 123:60-61.

⁹⁰ Leitao (2012): 227.

Hellenistic works, which prescribe the term with reference to particular midwifery skills, instead of in relation to a mother or foster-mother character.

The evidence for Hellenistic Athenian midwives suggests several sets of attitudes. Two categories of inscriptions are identified, which show a distinct contrast to previous Classical attitudes. The first category is made up of inscriptions that follow a short and simple formula and the second shows midwives as secondary characters on epitaphs to women who have died in childbirth. These forms are indicative of the limited value placed on midwives in Athens during the Hellenistic period. The majority of the epigraphic evidence for midwives in Anatolia comes from Cilicia and the Western coastline, including major healing hubs such as Cos and Cnidos.

There are two particular inscriptions within our typology, which illustrate these two types of representation. The first is **M10**, which presents a picture of the midwife in the epigraphic corpus during the Hellenistic period. The inscription is dedicated to Sarapis and utilises a common formulation for midwife inscriptions: name, profession and farewell. While inscriptions for midwives further afield, particularly in Rome and Anatolia, provide more detail of the woman, Athenian midwife inscriptions are formulaic and brief. The Sarapis epitaph is actually more elaborate than the usual formulaic inscription for a midwife, because it names the midwife, rather than simply calling her 'a midwife'. The lack of name, usual for this period and location, is additionally illustrated in inscriptions like **M7** to an unnamed midwife from Athens.⁹¹ **M5** uses the same formulation as the Sarapis inscription by naming the midwife, but surrenders to the brief and simple formulation, which does not give us any more information about the woman involved. These inscriptions demonstrate that the Athenian midwife was of relatively low status and recognition.

The second type of epitaph representing midwives in Hellenistic Athens is seen in **M3**. Death was a popular theme in this second group. Childbirth was often sculpted into scenes on Greek women's epitaphs. Athens National Archaeological Museum 749 from the 320s BCE shows Plagon, wife of Tolmides, from Plataea, in a scene depicting death in childbirth.⁹² *Istanbul Museum Inv. 1136 T (Mendel Cat. 534)* is a funerary epitaph featuring a birth scene

⁹¹ *IG II² 12490* in Firatli (1964): 176. Peek *Att. Grabschr.* II.156.

⁹² Clairmont (1993): 4.470.

with a midwife and female assistants. It was originally carved in marble around the sixth century CE and was found in the area of Yeldeğirmeni, Istanbul. **M3** is dedicated to Theophante, and pictures a midwife in the background, who remains unnamed.

Evidence is not well documented in relation to secondary figures in reliefs, but several examples are found within major collections, of midwives represented in scenes. The Piraeus Museum contains steles showing women who died in childbirth with relatives holding the newborn baby in grief. The National Archaeological Museum in Athens also contains examples. One tombstone shows a young mother on the right, who has died, and a nurse/midwife holding her baby. Examples of birthing assistants and midwives in the background of Attic stele include the Archaeological Museum of Piraeus, *Athens 21*, *Paris Louvre 799*, *Athens Kerameikos Museum P.290 I 174*, and *Athens National Archaeology Museum 749*.⁹³ These examples also depict scenes that focus on the death of the woman in labour and leave the midwife in the background as a necessary part of the overall scene. Funerary Lekythoi also include this attribute, including *Copenhagen Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek 226a*, *Athens National Archaeological Museum 1077*, *Paris Louvre 3115*, *Athens National Archaeological Museum 1055*.

This category, showing midwives as part of a working scene, is represented elsewhere throughout the Greek world, demonstrating that midwives were recognised, even where the mother had died. *Istanbul Museum Inv. 1136 T. (Mendel Cat. 534)* is a gravestone with birth scene featuring a midwife and female assistants, originally painted on marble from the area of modern Yeldeğirmeni, Istanbul, in the 6th century CE.

The length and detail of the description or dedication to a Greek midwife in Anatolia, is generally greater than those from Athens are in any period. This suggests that they held a higher status as working women. **M2** from the city of Rhode in Hispania is dated to the third century BCE.⁹⁴ While also fragmentary, **M2** is directed at a named midwife (though her name is lost). It suggests that this woman was of high enough status to warrant and afford an epitaph with, or within, a lengthy inscription. *I.Kyme 37* includes the midwife Elpis among

⁹³ Beaumont (2013): 46 and Fig. 3.2.

⁹⁴ “vacat | [Χαῖτε - - - -]νίς, vv | [- - - -] ἡ] μαῖα | [- - - -] πρὸς ἐ]μὲ τ- | [άδε - - - -] λῆξε | [- - - -] σ]υνδε- | [- - - -] ν καπ- | [- - - -] υ γενέ- | [θλη - - - -] Εὐτύ]χει vv | [name] vacat.”

the names of many other professionals, including priests, in the inscription's 60 lines over four columns. In these cases, which are typical of many occurrences of midwives in the epigraphy, the midwife is recorded in relation to many other occupations in census like format. This suggests that midwifery was treated in the area and period as a defining occupation in its own right.⁹⁵

When looking at the epigraphic evidence for midwives in the Eastern Mediterranean, we see a very different format and scene from the few simplistic pieces from Athens. The inscriptions concerning the midwife in the east have a tendency to be considerably longer and non-comparable to any particular formula in all periods.⁹⁶ The epitaphs are not necessarily dedicated to the midwife herself, and she is often seen in lists pertaining to other forms of occupation and/or family members.

4.2.3: Soranus and Established Connotations in the First Century CE

Of all the terms to describe healer women, *μαῖα* has been used most frequently with the greatest variety of meanings. This causes some issue with the epigraphic evidence, where it is sometimes difficult to identify those instances referring to primarily midwifery roles. What is continuous with the term *μαῖα* is a sense of caring for women and children in relation to a surrogate mother role. Soranus gives us a comprehensive view of the role of the midwife and expectations in the first century, which provides a comparative standpoint within what Hanson identifies as the two different types of women distinctly depicted in Greek writing: "the woman of experience and the woman who lacks experience."⁹⁷ Medical writers contrast non-medical writers by generally portraying women of experience in a positive role and a source of oral tradition from among women.⁹⁸

⁹⁵ *I.Kyme* 37, from Kyme in Asia Minor dated to the 1st Century CE.

⁹⁶ For instance, **M9** from Korykos in Cilicia dating to around the 4th century CE. **M9** reads "εὐψύχι Μυρίνη ἡ μεα {μαῖα}, ἰς ἰσθήνην σου ἡ καλὴ ψυχὴ καὶ τὰ μέλλοντά σοι." See typology for translation.

⁹⁷ Hanson (1990): 309.

⁹⁸ Hanson (1990): 309.

Soranus studied medicine in correspondence with Hippocratic theories in Alexandria, before practising in Rome in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian (98-138 CE).⁹⁹ His works include detailed suggestions of what is required of a woman to best fulfil the role of midwife, in comparison to a woman who would make the poorest midwife. He portrays both the midwife and the patient as possible sources of knowledge if they are deemed women of experience and often assigns them as “the intelligent layperson who works with the doctor to maintain health or to combat illness.”¹⁰⁰ In *Gynaecology* 1.4 he writes that:

“...generally speaking we call a midwife faultless if she merely carries out her medical task; whereas we call her the best midwife if she goes further and in addition to her management of cases is well versed in theory. And more particularly, we call a person the best midwife if she is trained in all branches of therapy (for some cases must be treated by diet, others by surgery, while still others must be cured by drugs); if she is moreover able to prescribe hygienic regulations for her patients, to observe the general and the individual features of the case, and from this to find out what is expedient, not from the causes or from the repeated observations of what usually occurs or something of the kind.”¹⁰¹

Soranus highlights the expected roles of the midwife within the birthing process itself, as well as making numerous mentions of attitudes towards fallacy and herbal remedies within the realms of gynaecology. He expected these midwives to be so-called women of experience and like most medical writers focusing on gynaecology; he spends much time devoted to contrasting that experience by discussing the woman who lacks experience. These women of inexperience were portrayed as “unaware of the mechanical capabilities of her body”, as interpreted by Dean-Jones,¹⁰² and as immature in nature. Soranus explains that a good midwife was:

“a suitable person will be literate, with her wits about her, possessed of a good memory, loving work, respectable and generally not unduly handicapped as regards

⁹⁹ Hanson (1975): 567.

¹⁰⁰ Hanson (1990): 310.

¹⁰¹ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 1.4.

¹⁰² Hanson (1990): 310. Dean-Jones (1995): 42.

to her senses, sound of limb, robust, and, according to some people, endowed with long slim fingers and short nails at her fingertips.”¹⁰³

This introduction to the most suitable of midwives begins Soranus’ two-part discussion: firstly, on the midwife herself; and secondly “on the situations with which she is faced.”¹⁰⁴ The second section also particularly explains the complex nature of the role, with description of the various materials one requires to fulfil it. Soranus explains for instance that one requires “olive oil, warm water, warm fomentations, soft sea sponges, pieces of wool, bandages...”¹⁰⁵ The complex nature demonstrates that by this period, the role of the *μαῖα* had evolved into one concerning the medical side of caring, as well as the nurturing. Soranus’ comprehension and acknowledgement of these complexities and the tasks undertaken, is indicative that the role of the midwife was respectable in the intellectual mind of his time and by extension, the mind of the population in the first century CE.

Soranus also provides us with a comprehensive view of what is considered ‘normal’ in regards to childbirth. The reminder to keep in mind here is as Hanson best puts it that “the medical writer is projecting upon the woman a man’s experience.”¹⁰⁶ His works demonstrate that the midwife role was part of the everyday workings of society, even if the exact undertakings of the role changed over time and place. The appropriate measures taken in the childbirth environment make up a large section of Soranus’ thesis, as he illustrates the proper scene expected. He notes that the scene was devoid of men unless it was deemed necessary for a physician to be present under extreme circumstances, when there was danger to the life of the mother or child.¹⁰⁷

It is understandable that women and men would both prefer females to attend to specifically female ailments, considering the cultural ideologies of impurity surrounding childbirth throughout the Greek world. This impurity has been analysed in depth by Valentina Gazzaniga and Caria Serarcangeli, who assert that it is likely “mimicry of the forced virginity

¹⁰³ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 1.3.

¹⁰⁴ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 1.1.3.

¹⁰⁵ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 2.2.2.

¹⁰⁶ Hanson (1990): 314.

¹⁰⁷ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 2.2-6.

of Artemis". There was a need for "ritual purification for both the puerperal and assistant women". Men preserved their own purity by staying away from the event.¹⁰⁸ Gazzaniga and Serarcangeli go on to argue that women had no access to any formal medical culture, despite female ailments being the realm of women.¹⁰⁹ They assert that midwives were seen as a way of overcoming the obstacles intended to preserve female decency, allowing "the physician to acquire knowledge of any pathological signs before the illness became incurable". This is not entirely the case, as we see in previous chapters, in regards to medical education. Gazzaniga and Serarcangeli attempt to justify their arguments by asserting, "No medical school provided such a competence". That may be the case, but that does not mean that formal training was not available outside of the medical school environment in the form of apprenticeships and structured practical training.

Apart from the use of healer women by women for reasons of dignity, healer women held connotations that men did not. Such connotations include links to nature, caring, domesticity, and motherhood. These allowed them to be seen in a differing light, which promoted clients to come specifically to them. The concept of purification was also connected to women, dependent on particular religious and medical contexts. To men, the birthing chamber and the concept of childbirth were impure, so only women were generally permitted to assist in the delivery of a child because they were themselves impure.¹¹⁰

Communication also appears to have been a factor concerning attitudes towards women as suitable practitioners in certain contexts. *On the Diseases of Women* illustrates a barrier of communication between men and women. It explains that women were ashamed to speak even when they knew what was wrong with them. They thought the disease to be shameful through inexperience and lack of knowledge.¹¹¹ Not necessarily because of the disease itself, but because it effected their body or particular parts of their body, which a physician would

¹⁰⁸ Gazzaniga and Serarcangeli (2000): 39.

¹⁰⁹ Gazzaniga and Serarcangeli (2000): 39. "No medical school provided such a competence. On the contrary, the schools reversed their statutes, as testified by the *Corpus Hippocraticum* using midwives and prostitutes as qualified sources to obtain useful information in order to treat cases of abortion, difficult delivery or gynaecological disease."

¹¹⁰ Hanson (1994): 157-202.

¹¹¹ Hippocrates, *On the Diseases of Women*: 126.12ff = 8.270 Littré.

then have to examine. The authority of women to attend and treat women would have dispelled much of that shame and inability to communicate ailments.

The midwife and healer woman present us with an interesting conundrum, as they appear as authoritative and necessary members of society in the time of key intellectuals like Soranus, but are still clearly seen on a very different level to their male healer counterparts. The question arises as to whether there was any rivalry between practitioners that would have affected their standing within that society. The previous typology highlights that women could be valued as complementary healers, rather than rivals for clientele with male healers. With midwifery being a purely female occupation, this again could be seen as true. It is the wider role of the midwife as a medical practitioner that broadens the debate.

The subject of the complementary nature between midwives and male practitioners is again discussed in more detail in Soranus. Soranus implicitly suggests the women dealing with women, were essential to the medical world as a whole, as assistants and practitioners in their own right, because they were capable of allaying anxiety in women which would have been the bane of male practitioners in similar situations.¹¹² Soranus continues to express the essential role of the midwife when he writes that there should be three women helpers capable of gently allaying the anxiety of the gravida, even if they do not happen to have had any personal experience with birth. Soranus says that two assistants should be at the sides and one behind holding the parturient woman so that she would not move with the pain.¹¹³

“But if the midwife's stool is not at hand, the same arrangement can also be made if she sits on a woman's lap. However, the woman must be robust, that she may bear the weight of the woman sitting upon her and be able to hold her firmly during the pangs of labour. Moreover the midwife, after having covered herself properly with an apron above and below, should sit down opposite and below the labouring woman; for the extraction of the foetus must take place from a higher towards a lower plane.”¹¹⁴

¹¹² Retief and Cilliers (2005): 171.

¹¹³ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 177.

¹¹⁴ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 2.5.

G.E.R. Lloyd asserts that the norm was that other women when delivered and sick attended to women.¹¹⁵ This claim though is a generalisation that requires more thought. Note for instance Xenophon's *Economics* 37-38 previously translated in **section 2.3**.¹¹⁶ The expectation here is that Ischomachus' wife will look after any slave, female or male, who gets sick. Ischomachus and his wife are pictured as living on a rural estate (in effect Xenophon's estate in Elean territory), which would be too remote for it to be easy to call a physician. Lefkowitz explains that Ischomachus boasts to Socrates that when his wife married him she only knew about handling wool, making clothes, and about food, but he educated her;¹¹⁷ and because of this, he is free to have leisure, as she is capable of managing his estate.¹¹⁸ Socrates pushes Ischomachus to explain how he educated her. Donald Richter argues that the reasoning for this education was not because she had grown up in seclusion, but because she was not yet grown up.¹¹⁹ We cannot judge the quality of the care that Ischomachus' wife could have provided for someone who was ill or suffered physical injury, but we can assert that she was in charge of the situation and thus women were not restricted to only treating women.

Soranus notes in 1.16 that women who have already menstruated often, must be allowed to do according to their own custom.¹²⁰ This is indicative that it was an accepted notion that a woman knew her own body, despite what many ancient authors idealised, and that women were suited to treat women. Lloyd and Aline Rousselle stress that most of the information about women's diseases came from women, including the patients themselves.¹²¹

Soranus' appreciation of midwifery and gynaecology is attested in his discussion of specific practitioners. Soranus may have also replicated the work of Cleopatra the physician, demonstrating this appreciation. Hurd-Mead asserts that being a contemporary of Cleopatra, it is at least plausible that Cleopatra was the source of Soranus' materials or he was the

¹¹⁵ Lloyd (1983): 79.

¹¹⁶ Xenophon, *Economics*: 7.37-38, Loeb 168:452-453.

¹¹⁷ Lefkowitz (1990): 809.

¹¹⁸ Xenophon, *Economics*: 7.1-3, Loeb 168:438-439.

¹¹⁹ Richter (1971): 4. Xenophon, *Economics*: 3.13, Loeb 168:412-413, also records that Critobulus also married a young girl she had seen and heard the least that was possible.

¹²⁰ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 1.26.

¹²¹ Rousselle (1980): 1089-1115; Lloyd, et al. (1983): 70.

source of hers.¹²² Autumn Stanley surmises that Hurd-Mead mentions no specific innovations, but asserts that it would be rare for an esteemed physician not to make some “improvement, refinement, or true innovation in medications or treatment regimens.”¹²³ The esteem that Soranus shows in drawing from Cleopatra, demonstrates that Soranus valued the knowledge of women and those in the medicinal occupations, including the midwives that he makes the focus of much of his work.

Authors like Soranus demonstrate that certain attributes and characters were reputable. Soranus explains that the best midwife is one that is trained in all branches of therapy including those associated with diet, surgery and drugs. Soranus continues by explaining that a reputable and effective midwife was one who is able to prescribe hygienic regulations for her patients, to observe the general and the individual features of the case, and from this to find out what is expedient.¹²⁴ He further elucidates that she must be respectable, since she is entering the homes of others and the secrets of their lives, and because women of bad character may use medical instruction as a cover for evil scheming.¹²⁵

Galen, like the majority of ancient medical writers, focuses on males, but he does emphasise that nature is personified as feminine and that there are some remedies that naturally belong to women. In *On the Natural Faculties* 1.12 he explains that “...she (Nature) also provides for the creatures after birth, employing here other faculties again, namely, one of affection and forethought for offspring, and one of sociability and friendship for kindred.”¹²⁶

The female practitioner is less evident in Galen than in the earlier work of Soranus, but it is apparent that Galen was at least aware of female informants. *Natural Faculties* 3.3 reads, “The midwife, does not make the parturient woman get up at once and sit down on the [obstetric] chair, but she begins by palpating the os as it gradually dilates, and the first thing she says is that it has dilated “enough to admit the little finger,” then that “it is bigger now,” and as we

¹²² Hurd-Mead (1938): 58.

¹²³ Stanley (1995): 231

¹²⁴ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 1.4.

¹²⁵ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 1.3.

¹²⁶ Galen, *On the Natural Faculties*: 1.12, Loeb 71:42-43.

make enquiries from time to time, she answers that the size of the dilation is increasing.”¹²⁷ French explains that in Galen, the male physician gave directions and the midwife did the work.¹²⁸ Here in Galen 3.3, an unnamed midwife is relating events to the author, and completing the measuring of dilation.

4.2.4: Influence of Shame Culture

An important reason for female practitioners is the concept of the shame culture. The concept of a shame culture or society revolves around the use of social pressure to maintain control, with shame and the threat of ostracism. Dodds explains that shame cultures tend to involve a tension between “individual impulse and the pressure of social conformity”.¹²⁹ This analysis seems particularly fitting, and demonstrates the realisations of the period, considering that Dodds was writing in the 50s, in the aftermath of World War 2. The concept of shame in the ancient Greek world was different to the one we have today. David Konstan suggests that it represented a wider notion of emotion that included guilt, as the separate concept of guilt was not fully isolated until the development of Christian ethos.¹³⁰

Lloyd asserts from Galen that the internal examination of the female patient was sometimes undertaken by someone other than the male physician,¹³¹ notably a female assistant. While the idea of a shame culture reveals much in terms of attitudes towards women in general, particularly negatively, it is also paramount to our comprehension of midwives and healer women, as it further establishes their need to exist and function within their societies.

Ole Eldor explains that the lean towards shame concerns a cultural hierarchy of health values.¹³² A society internalises values during socialisation, which are later expressed in relation to health care as well as other areas of society. Eldor argues that in the Ancient Greek Mediterranean, the core values included honour and shame, gender-based social

¹²⁷ Galen, *On the Natural Faculties*: 3.3, Loeb 71:228-229.

¹²⁸ French (1986): 83.

¹²⁹ Dodds (1951): 18.

¹³⁰ Konstan (2003): 1032.

¹³¹ Lloyd (1983): 70.

¹³² Eldor (2003): 11.

division, client patron-relations, and attitudes towards pain.¹³³ The shame culture is also expressed in the ancient evidence with Caelius Aurelius opening his discussion of women with mention of the “shameful parts” (*pudendorum loca*).¹³⁴ Caelius states that because of the “condition of the female body, their organs are receptive to all diseases, which women often render quite severe from their shame of being touched.”¹³⁵ He goes on to explain that for this reason, ‘the ancients’ instituted female physicians, “so that women would not have to expose the diseases of their shameful parts, when they needed to be examined, to the eyes of men.”¹³⁶ Green goes on to list other writers from the late antique Mediterranean who held similar opinions on the earlier Greeks, notably Theodorus and Muscio.¹³⁷ With this in mind, it is easy to ascertain that there was a strong cultural need for female physicians, midwives, and nurses, in healing roles.

We must also consider when it was thought inappropriate for male physicians to treat women. The Hippocratic authors write in *Epidemics* 1.16 of treating women at Thasos, where he writes that though many women fell ill, they were fewer than the men and less frequently died. Instead, the common cause of death in women was childbirth. They tell of the case of the daughter of Telebulus, who six days after giving birth died.¹³⁸ A Hippocratic author continues with other cases of women in relation to the appearance of menstruation during illness. He notes that with many maidens menstruation first appears with a fever, as in the case of the daughter of Daitharses, who had her first menstruation during a fever and a violent discharge from the nose.¹³⁹ King asserts that the daughter of Daitharses’ experience

¹³³ Eldor (2003): 11.

¹³⁴ Green (2000): 8.

¹³⁵ Caelius Aurelianus, *Gynecia*: 1.2-13.

¹³⁶ Caelius Aurelianus, *Gynecia*: 1.2-13.

¹³⁷ Green (2000): 7-9. Theodorus is noted as sharing his views on practical reasons why gynaecology should be set apart from other types of medical knowledge. Muscio from North Africa in the 5th century CE is also examined in regards to his justification for the gendered divisions of medical knowledge.

¹³⁸ Hanson (1994): 172. Hanson explains that the daughter of Telebulus is cited as a specific example out of the general category of women birthing with difficulty, which also includes a woman who bore twin daughters, and a primipara birthing and postpartum illnesses lasting two years.

¹³⁹ Hippocrates, *Epidemics*: 1.6, Loeb 147:156-157 = 2.636 Littré.

with the combination of first menses and a nosebleed is also seen in the case of a young girl in Larissa and another in Abdera, who had similar symptoms including a fever, thirst, and insomnia.¹⁴⁰

The accounts of such illnesses and women's issues in the Hippocratic Corpus, demonstrates that the male physician seems to be aware of gynaecological/obstetrical matters. This appears alongside knowledge of the progress of infectious disease in the Classical period, suggesting that male physicians were aware of female ailments, but the tone of the text suggests that they may have been hearing much of this second hand. In the last section of the aforementioned text, for instance, he notes that when women are ill and with child, 'to his knowledge' all had abortions/miscarriages. This tone in addition to the patronymic use typical of the fifth century BCE, instead of personal names, could suggest that the male physician was removed from the personal situation of the ill woman surrounding childbirth, when the ailment was not life threatening.

The patronymic use in the Classical period was to avoid disrespect and needs to be considered more carefully in regards to using it as a point of analysis.¹⁴¹ The use as a point of respect is suggestive though in itself. David Schaps asserts that in court at Athens one might refer to a woman by her personal name if she was on the opposing side, but women on one's own side were always referred to through some periphrasis.¹⁴² It was less respectful to call someone by her name, and the Hippocratic texts follow the more respectful convention of referring to women through their relationship to men. This is in direct contrast to modern ideas regarding references to women in an indirect manner, and so it is necessary to be careful about any application of this way of thinking to the ancient Greek world. If we are to view this usage in an ancient Greek context within the Hippocratic texts, it suggests that though the female practitioners were outside the Hippocratic institution, they could be respectable sources of information for the Hippocratic scholar.

¹⁴⁰ King (2002): 70; Hippocrates, *Epidemics*: 3.12 = 3.62 Littré, 3.7 = 3.52 Littré.

¹⁴¹ Dickey (1997): 7.

¹⁴² Schaps (1977): 325.

4.2.5: Roman Attitudes towards Greek Midwives

We can also gain insight through comparative exploration of the Greek influenced Roman writers. The Roman attitude toward midwives is particularly illustrated in the works of Pliny the Elder. On a number of occasions, he refers to midwives as resources for medical knowledge.

Pliny informs us that the midwife Sotira suggested very efficient cures for tertian and quartan fevers. Sotira is hailed for her medical authority in matters beyond the gynaecological. The allusion to a woman applying the cure herself supports the idea that women could perform healing actions. Pliny further refers to midwives using potions and drugs where he details the midwife's use of lotions, alluding to the midwives' use of female goats' urine in curing various ailments.¹⁴³ Salpe is noted in Pliny as being able to provide aphrodisiacs,¹⁴⁴ cure weak eyes,¹⁴⁵ remove excess hair,¹⁴⁶ and stop dogs barking.¹⁴⁷

Pliny names Lais and Elephantis as authorities on abortives and fevers.¹⁴⁸ Retief and Cilliers conclude that these women were contemporaries, who taught at Rome in the first century CE and both wrote on menstrual problems, but with radically different views on successful agents for abortion, fertility and infertility.¹⁴⁹ King explains that the authority of the midwives, Lais and Elephantis, is undercut by Pliny's remark that one gives a recipe to cure sterility, while the other says that precisely the same substance causes barrenness.¹⁵⁰ Pliny writes that it is better not to believe them (*melius est non credere*).¹⁵¹

Demand argues that midwives either listened to, or read for themselves, the material given by the Hippocratic physicians, demonstrating an influential relationship between the male

¹⁴³ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.77, 28.28, Loeb 418.

¹⁴⁴ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.80.262.

¹⁴⁵ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.18.66.

¹⁴⁶ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 32.47.135.

¹⁴⁷ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 32.51.140.

¹⁴⁸ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.23.

¹⁴⁹ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 172.

¹⁵⁰ King (1998): 178.

¹⁵¹ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.23.81; Retief and Cilliers (2005): 172.

and female practitioners within the Hippocratic texts.¹⁵² It is significant to note that what we deem gynaecology is different to the ideas expressed in the ancient texts. King explains that the role of the gynaecologist was based on the thought that women's disorders affected the whole body.¹⁵³ In comparison, Soranus states that the public is wont to call in midwives in cases of sickness, when women suffer something peculiar, which they do not have in common with men.¹⁵⁴ King makes a further valuable comparison concerning this revelation in Soranus and Scribonius Largus. She notes that, with the idea expressed in Soranus in mind, when a recipe for dentifrice is ascribed to a female practitioner in Scribonius,¹⁵⁵ this does not mean that she is 'branching out' as teeth too could be under her remit.¹⁵⁶ King asserts that in Hippocratic ideology, a woman's body consisted of a tube linking mouth and nostrils with vagina.¹⁵⁷

Literary evidence does not only express the perception of wisdom and advice as a theme for midwives and physicians, but also in a few cases sorceresses and herbalists. The majority of literature concerning midwives is functional and there are significant positive examples of midwifery roles. Greek women were considered by mixed standards and 'midwife' could refer to both a woman with additional medical knowledge about women and midwifery knowledge. This is demonstrated through Pliny's use of Salpe and his mixed view of the *obstetrix*.¹⁵⁸

4.3: Female Physicians: Mobility and Acceptance

Having explored the attitudes towards the *φάρμακίς* and midwife, we come back to the concept of the physician as a woman. The Roman physician has been analysed in some depth by various scholars, such as Flemming, Demand, and Hanson. The Greek female physician still requires analysis if we are to ascertain how she was viewed by the general population, in

¹⁵² King (1998): 178, Demand (1994): 66.

¹⁵³ King (1998): 179.

¹⁵⁴ Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 3.3.

¹⁵⁵ Scribonius Largus, *Compositiones* : 59.

¹⁵⁶ King (1998): 179.

¹⁵⁷ King (1998): 179, Hippocrates, *Epidemics* 1.6 = 2.636 Littré.

¹⁵⁸ Bain (1997): 262-68; Davidson (1995): 590-92.

comparison to the attitudes that come across to us in the ancient literature. Attitudes towards female physicians become clearer when one considers their mobility and relationships with male physicians. This section will explore the inscriptional evidence in the hope of ascertaining whether there were various levels of acceptance for female physicians in different areas of the Greek world as hypothesised.

4.3.1: Classical Athenian Roles

Ancient literature presents us with biased and popularised attitudes towards female physicians if they are mentioned at all. As discussed previously, the majority of literature based examples of healer women, focus on sorceresses and nurses with healing abilities with the aim of either assisting the main male characters or providing a contrasting character. In order to gain a picture of the attitudes towards female physicians, it is important to turn back to the epigraphic evidence, where they are presented in more abundance, with fewer agenda. The terminology used in reference to these female physicians in epigraphy, is an excellent starting point to determine attitudes over place and time, as different emphasis is placed, and terms used, in relation to understood roles and expectations in societies.

Further analysis of the Phanostrate epitaph (**MP1**) may be significant in answering some of the many questions that revolve around female physicians. Were they an acknowledged part of Athenian society in the Classical Period? Does terminology reflect earlier attitudes towards whether women were considered capable of undertaking physician roles in Athens? Is there evidence that these attitudes were changing as Athens moves towards the Hellenistic Period?

MP1 records that Phanostrate was the 'wife of Meliteus' (Με[λιτέως γυνή]), and she is said to have caused 'pain to none' ([ο]ὐθενὶ λυπη<ρ>ά) and that 'all lamented her death' (πᾶσιν δὲ θανοῦσα ποθεινή). The inscription is written in the voice of either her husband or a family member, but not Phanostrate herself. The first thing to notice though in the Phanostrate inscription is the titles that are used to identify Phanostrate. Phanostrate is called a midwife and a physician (μαῖα καὶ ἰατρὸς). This is unique to the Athenian corpus, and the only known example of these terms being used together in any way to describe the role of a woman in the Classical Period. The pride of place of her occupation could be indicative of pride in the family towards her choice of lifestyle and accomplishments.

Before further analysing the terminology, we can assert a few simple points about Phanostrate's family and her place in society from the memorial itself. Nutton explains that the epitaph is "a masterpiece of elegance and a sure sign of wealth."¹⁵⁹ The elegance of the memorial shows it was expensive. Therefore, this was a woman of some wealth who did not remain secluded. It raises questions regarding connotations associated with female healers in the Classical period. Phanostrate appears within a positive environment supported by her family.

The inscription mentions the name Phanostrate twice. Once within the inscription itself and again in a title placed over her figure. Greek epitaphs are typically portrayed from the point of view of the bereaved. Demand suggests that the inscription presents us with two Phanostrates:¹⁶⁰ one who is dedicating the inscription and is likely a relative of the other, and the other who is the subject of the epitaph. Philip Van der Eijk and his collaborators also support this interpretation.¹⁶¹ If these are two separate women, then the epitaph becomes even more telling. If the dedicator is also a Phanostrate then it is probable that this was a close family relation as she bears the same name. Therefore, we can read this as the other women in this family showing respect for the deceased. The suggestion of two Phanostrates though is questionable. The relief shows a seated woman (the deceased) with the name inscribed above her. The placement of the name in relation to the figure is indicative of a heading for the epitaph naming the deceased, rather than text indicating separate women.

Kosmopoulou explains that what is most unusual about the Phanostrate gravestone is the excessive number of children.¹⁶² Demand suggests that these could be the children of Phanostrate's patron whom she delivered and cared for.¹⁶³ It is not possible to tell this for certain, but Demand is correct that at any rate these children act as attributes of Phanostrate's profession.¹⁶⁴ As discussed above, in Classical Athens, midwives are often anonymous in the background of images portraying death in childbirth, or they receive little recognition in

¹⁵⁹ Nutton (2004): 101.

¹⁶⁰ Demand (1995): 287.

¹⁶¹ Van der Eijk et al. (1995): 288.

¹⁶² Kosmopoulou (2006): 299.

¹⁶³ Demand (1995): 288.

¹⁶⁴ Demand (1995): 288.

short inscriptions. In other Classical examples of midwives or female helpers on gravestones there are also accompanying attributes, as on the funerary marble lekythos of Killaron in the Louvre,¹⁶⁵ where the female helper is in servant dress with cropped hair.¹⁶⁶ In the case of Phanostrate, there is a distinct lack of specific attributes: instead she is depicted in a “characteristic lady-like pose and attire”¹⁶⁷ suggesting that she is more than the usual midwife character. In fact, the appearance of the children has led to suggestions by Clairmont and Berger that she was a paediatrician,¹⁶⁸ though more commonly as by Kosmopoulou, Norton and Scholl, she is determined to have gynaecological roles and these are examples of the children she helped to come into the world.¹⁶⁹

The fact that Phanostrate is given two different titles in this period (μαῖα καὶ ἰατρός), is significant to understanding the roles she undertook, as well as the expectations of who fulfilled these roles in the Classical period. Firstly, the two titles indicate two distinct roles, of a midwife and a physician. Secondly, the lack of feminine equivalent for ἰατρός, suggests that the idea of a female physician was foreign to the minds of the Classical Athenians. The placement of these titles as defining factors of Phanostrate, also serves to illustrate the importance of their associated roles in her life. In addition to the image engraved on the epitaph that has been discussed in detail previously, these titles show that Phanostrate’s occupation as a midwife and physician was not just a sideline, but an occupation that defined her life. Phanostrate demonstrates that an ἰατρός could be female in the Classical

¹⁶⁵ Demand (1994): 123-124; Dated to circa 370/360 BCE. “A woman with loosened hair and clothing sits on a chair staring into space; her arms hang inertly. She is supported on the right by a less than full-sized female figure, while another female figure standing to the left reaches out to touch her and supports her right arm with her right hand.”

¹⁶⁶ Kosmopoulou (2006): 299. Other examples include the Lekythos of Theophante (Athens, National Archaeological Museum; NM 1055), the Lekythos of Pheidestrate and Mnesagora (NM 1077), the stele of Plangon and Tolmides (Athens, NM 749), and the stele of Nikomeneia (Athens, Kerameikos Museum, P290).

¹⁶⁷ Kosmopoulou (2006): 299-300.

¹⁶⁸ Clairmont (1970): 131; Berger (1970): 162.

¹⁶⁹ Kosmopoulou (2006): 300; Norton (1897): 86; Scholl (1996): 124.

Period. The use of male terminology to refer to female healers indicates that female healers were equivalent to male ones and female physicians were distinct from midwives.

The content that the epitaph would have had with a large audience goes further to demonstrate that the description given to her was acceptable, despite her gender. The audience for this particular inscription can be inferred from the effort put in by the dedicator in the design, size, and elaborateness of the epitaph. The case of Phanostrate shows that women in the Classical Period in Athens could be more than simply midwives, even if the evidence for the number of such female physicians is not forthcoming. This separation is so far unique in the epigraphy and ancient literature, but is significant due to the ideas of feminine and positive healing forces not being opposed. The nature of Phanostrate's epitaph suggests a different view of female physicians in the fourth century BCE, where female physicians are gaining acknowledgement, but are perhaps yet to be popular enough to gain an independent terminology.

Phanostrate provides a point of comparison with later female physicians and midwives. She is described as having *εὐκλεία*, 'favourable renown'.¹⁷⁰ *Εὐκλεία* is a praise, which is traditionally won by men,¹⁷¹ but is sometimes attributed to women. This may be considered an example of a male virtue being applied to Phanostrate. Julia Lougovaya-Ast explains that formulaic and general expressions of praise were seldom seen in Classical Athens on epitaphs, even related to Athenian men.¹⁷² Yet here we see a woman praised for her nature and diverse skill. This presents a startling challenge to the idea that anonymity was the only positive recognition available to Athenian women, which will be discussed below in reference to challenging boundaries.

The case of Phanostrate provides some issues of interpretation in that it is unique to the Athenian corpus, but the terminology and representation used demonstrate that there were at least some cases where women in healing roles were acknowledged in Classical Athens. The use of masculine form demonstrates that these roles were new or rare, but additional interpretation of the epitaph shows that Phanostrate appears acknowledged in her roles.

¹⁷⁰ Liddell and Scott (1940): 718.

¹⁷¹ Homer's *Iliad*: 8.245, Loeb 170:368-369, 10.254, Loeb 170:466-467.

¹⁷² Lougovaya-Ast (2006): 221.

Phanostrate hence provides an excellent source of comparison between female physicians in Classical Athens, Athens in successive periods, and the Greek world elsewhere, in addition to the ancient literature of the period and the preceding Archaic Period.

4.3.2: Evolving Roles and Attitudes from the Classical to Hellenistic Periods

Other contributing factors have to be taken into account when analysing the changing attitudes towards women as physicians in Athens and throughout the Greek world. In regards to Athens, changes in economics and politics in the Classical and Hellenistic periods influenced attitudes. One example of such change are the laws instituted by Pericles. Understanding influences like Pericles' laws are valuable to understanding why Phanostrate was in a position to gain deference within her community through her occupation despite it taking her outside of the home. Susan Biesecker argues that a law instituted in 451/450 BCE by Pericles, opened up a possibility for resisting women's exclusion from the public sphere.¹⁷³

The law created a potential space for contesting social, political, cultural, and/or economic conditions. Pericles' law stated that if a child was to be guaranteed full rights to citizenship, not only the father but also the mother had to be an Athenian.¹⁷⁴ Implicitly admitting that women were citizens and that the name of the father was no longer by itself sufficient for transmitting citizenship and that women's genealogies were crucial in questions of citizenship, this law created the potential for a social tension between traditional and possible roles for women.¹⁷⁵

The law did not change much in Athens as women's participation in religious cults may be demonstrative of how much women were viewed as citizens in a polis already, but it did allow ideals to be challenged. Biesecker agrees with Pomeroy that, change was "a symptom

¹⁷³ Biesecker (1992): 101.

¹⁷⁴ Amemiya (2007): 27. The decline in population during the Peloponnesian War did see the law ignored more until it started to be enforced again with population growth at the end of the war and remaining in effect until the end of Athenian democracy. In order for a father to register a child as a citizen in his *phratría*, he has to swear that the child was born from a citizen wife through marriage.

¹⁷⁵ Biesecker (1992): 101.

of a psychic dynamic in the male Athenian collective unconscious.”¹⁷⁶ Pomeroy writes that, “After the class stratification that separated individual men according to such criteria as noble descent and wealth was eliminated, the ensuing ideal of equality among male citizens was intolerable. The will to dominate was such that they then had to separate themselves as a group and claim to be superior to all non-members: foreigners, slaves, and women.”¹⁷⁷ Biesecker argues that change was not a fluid movement caused by unidirectional trends but rather the result of a series of events and thought processes that were sometimes continuous and sometimes discontinuous.¹⁷⁸ Biesecker’s argument has merit in relation to the epigraphic evidence, where we see changes in attitude from the Classical to Hellenistic periods.

Healer women receive greater acknowledgement elsewhere in the Greek world. They were generally not well represented in Athens, and where they were, little is said about them. Outside of Athens, we are presented with a different picture, especially in relation to physicians. Unlike people in rural areas and other city-states, Athens kept a strict hold on older ideals, which limited a woman’s ability to perform certain roles that she may have the opportunity to perform elsewhere.¹⁷⁹ Dean-Jones asserts that it is possible that in Classical Greece the figure of the physician in some cases could be the same as female informants used by Galen and the Hippocratic writers.¹⁸⁰ In Athens, we may never know whether this was the case because of the limited evidence for healer women in the epigraphic and literary corpora.

The typology of evidence reveals that a large section of the epigraphic material for healer women comes from Anatolia in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The oldest of the epigraphic examples of a female physician in the East comes from modern Beyazit, Istanbul, and is designated **P1**. It is a dedication to Mousa and is from around the second century BCE. The term *ιατρική* is attested here in Eastern Europe later than in mainland Greece. **P1** illustrates attitudes towards, and the status of, Mousa within her society through its imagery and text. The image depicts Mousa holding a book roll that shows respect for her knowledge

¹⁷⁶ Biesecker (1992): 100.

¹⁷⁷ Pomeroy (1975): 78.

¹⁷⁸ Biesecker (1992): 100.

¹⁷⁹ Loman (2004): 80.

¹⁸⁰ Dean-Jones (1994): 31.

and learning. The book roll is a symbol of learning, status and wealth, as seen on other stelae of the period from Beyazit in Istanbul, such as *Inv. 4965 T*, which depicts Marcus Antonius Fronto clutching a book roll to his chest. The inscription on *Inv. 4965 T* is yet to be published (like many of the inscriptions and stelae in the collection).¹⁸¹



Figure 6: *IK Byzantion 128 (P1)*. Grave stele of Mousa in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums

Mousa is represented as literate and the stele shows that her skill was valued. The text on the epitaph is brief, but it does name the female physician and her family, which suggests further that she was a well-respected member of her peer group and family while occupying her profession.¹⁸² The records at the Istanbul Museum translate the text as ‘Mousa, the

¹⁸¹ Photos of the Mousa Stele are the author’s, taken while surveying stelae in the museums in August 2012.

¹⁸² Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 1.3.

Midwife,' but as this thesis has argued, the term *ιατροίνη* is more appropriately translated as 'female physician'. This choice of translation by the museum, demonstrates the modern misconception that women's roles were isolated to midwifery.

The Mousa stele resembles many of the stelae that have been uncovered in the Beyazit area. The composition is typical: details focused on a central figure or figures, with other characters shrunk and placed in the corners of the scene. The inscription is placed in Greek above the scene. Comparisons can be made with the style, from which the Mousa inscription comes, during the first and second centuries BCE, in the Istanbul Archaeological Museums, with *Inv. 82.193*,¹⁸³ *85.3*,¹⁸⁴ *4958*,¹⁸⁵ *5005*,¹⁸⁶ *5027*,¹⁸⁷ *5293*,¹⁸⁸ *5491*,¹⁸⁹ and *5779*.¹⁹⁰ *Inv. 3046*, a gravestone for a mariner from the Istanbul Archaeology Museums, depicts a family in a dining scene with ship pieces engraved above the figures and inscription underneath. Three main seated figures are accompanied by three miniature figures in the bottom left corner, who are children or slaves. It is the gravestone of a mariner in marble from Beyazit in the 2nd century BCE.

¹⁸³ *Inv. 82.193*: Gravestone of Person in the name of Hercules, Istanbul, 2nd-1st Centuries BCE.

¹⁸⁴ *Inv. 85.3*: Gravestone with farewell scene belonging to Quintus Attius Herakleides, Istanbul, 2nd-1st Centuries BCE.

¹⁸⁵ *Inv. 4958*: Gravestone belonging to Marcus Venuleius, son of Marcus, Istanbul, 1st Century BCE.

¹⁸⁶ *Inv. 5005*: Grave stele of Phulis and Artemidoros, Istanbul, 1st Century BCE.

¹⁸⁷ *Inv. 5027*: Gravestone with farewell scene, Istanbul, 2nd Century BCE.

¹⁸⁸ *Inv. 5293*: Gravestone of Protion, Istanbul, 2nd Century BCE.

¹⁸⁹ *Inv. 5491*: Gravestone of Gaius' daughter, Istanbul, 2nd-1st Centuries BCE.

¹⁹⁰ *Inv. 5779*: Gravestone of Heras and Corris, Istanbul, 2nd Century BCE.



Figure 7: *Inv. 4965 T*

Further, into the Eastern Greek world, we find numerous comparable examples, which indicate a higher respect for healer women in the Hellenistic period. In an epigraph dating to the first century CE, Antiochis of Tlos is recognised by the council and shown respect from the whole community at the highest level through the erection of the epitaph in the town centre.¹⁹¹ Antiochis is a rare example in epigraphic evidence for women because of the detailed and elaborate text that accompanies her inscription. If Antiochis and her father Diodotus are those declared by Galen, as is probable, then their status is further heightened by their exceptional reputation.

P3 (second century CE) from Galatia in Anatolia, is an epitaph for the physician Julia, which she erected herself for her whole immediate family including her grandmother, mother, grandfather and husband. The inscription is written in the voice of Julia herself. This suggests that she is the head of the family and that it may have been her occupation (the first thing she says about herself) that gave her this status. Julia is described in the text as possessing a wise or prudent mind (Τρε. Ιουλία ἰατρικὴν ζῶσα φρονούσα). She expresses qualities worthy of a physician.¹⁹² The elaborate nature and length of the inscription indicates that she was a wealthy woman of standing, who could afford to procure an enclosure for her

¹⁹¹ *Pleket (1969): 27.*

¹⁹² Note qualities discussed in previous chapters in regards to Hippocrates, Pliny and other ancient authors. See also the typology chapter in relation to the ancient literary evidence and connotations.

family.¹⁹³ **P3** shows that women acting as physicians could hold prominent standing within their families, in addition to personal wealth.¹⁹⁴

The inscriptions continue to be revealing. **H5** to Panthia, praises her for her fame in her community as a valued member of the population of Pergamum. Pergamum has a long, solid tradition of healing. Panthia's inscription acknowledges her for her healing role and holds her in high regard.¹⁹⁵ The dedication to Panthia records that not only was she a pillar in the community, but a wise and chaste wife who cared for her family. The inscription recognises that Panthia contributed to and shared the fame of her husband as a healer in acknowledging that her skill was equal to her husband's. The text perhaps implies that this might be considered unusual.

Her husband and her community in the epitaph praise Domnina in **H6**. It is said that men will say that she did not die, but was stolen by the gods, and that she saved her fatherland from disease. This expresses positive attitudes towards Domnina and suggests that her reputation was high enough to be associated with the divine. Retief and Cilliers assert that her death is seen as a great loss, not only to her family, but also to Neoclaudiopolis.¹⁹⁶ Flemming on the other hand, compares her to a possible contemporary in an attempt to demonstrate that this type of sentiment was not unknown concerning the healer woman in the Greek world. Flemming notes the example of a North African woman, Gemina, who is

¹⁹³ Fines, such as laid out in the Julia inscription for 15,000 denarii, were a way of discouraging violators with high amounts and the legal incentive that a part of the fine was to be paid to the informer, who reported the culprit to the authorities. Retief and Cilliers explain that in the late fourth century BCE, Demetrius of Phalerum passed laws which restricted excesses at funerals and allowed for the appointment of special functionaries to impose fines. Retief and Cilliers (2006): 52.

¹⁹⁴ Julia follows the common 'fine' formula which is seen throughout Anatolia. See above. For instance, the epitaph *Inv. 1225 T* from the Istanbul Archaeological Museums reads: "Nicephoros, son of Moschion (made) (this grave) for his wife Glyconis and in his own memory while still alive: if anyone buries another body (here) without my permission, he will pay 2500 denarii to the city and will be responsible for the crime of grave robbery." *Inv. 1225 T* is from the end of the 2nd century CE from Conane in Anatolia.

¹⁹⁵ Lefkowitz (1983): 42.

¹⁹⁶ Retief and Cilliers (2005): 176.

also commemorated as a saviour of all, through her medical art, on her third century CE tomb in Avitta Bibba.¹⁹⁷ It is written that the only pain Domnina ever caused was in the eternal lamentation left behind for her. The text refers specifically to her 'companions': possibly referring to pupils or fellow-healers. While family grief is to be expected, the addition of her 'companions' suggests she may have been a member of a particular group of healers.

The recognition given to Domnina by the epitaph is similar to that given to Panthia, in that it demonstrates that women could be accepted and given the opportunity to perform healing techniques, which brought pride and respect to their families and themselves. It shows approval of their occupation and their decision to practice outside the immediate family and household. This recognition is particularly seen in Greek Anatolia, where there are examples of women holding important positions within communities.

4.3.3: Attitudes in the West in the First Centuries CE

The movement of Greek influence into the West, brought with it ideologies and attitudes that would have mixed with the local ones. During the first centuries CE, the Greek and Greek influenced woman becomes more visible in Rome and Italy as a whole. These Western based examples of healer women, provide an excellent source of comparison for changing attitudes as Roman and Greek attitudes continued to intertwine.

Transition into the first and second centuries CE sees examples of that respect in the West. Junia Theodora in *Pleket 8*, is one such an example from Corinth around 43 CE. Junia is a Roman resident, who held honours and acted as a patron to citizens.¹⁹⁸ Other instances are found throughout Anatolia. Flavia Publicia Nicomachis is recorded, in *Pleket 19* from the second century CE, as the founder of the city and a "president for life" by the council and people.¹⁹⁹ Women are also hailed as benefactors and unofficial office holders in relation to their influential husbands. Aurelia Leite from Paros around 300 CE in *Pleket 31* is recorded as

¹⁹⁷ Flemming (2007): 259.

¹⁹⁸ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 160.

¹⁹⁹ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 160.

the wife of the foremost man in the city and as a gymnasiarch of the gymnasium of which she was the patron.²⁰⁰

Eumachia of Pompeii demonstrates the trend for the recognition of influential women in the West as well as the East. Eumachia, in the first century CE, is recorded as a priestess and prominent citizen, who was the patroness of the guild of fullers, one of the most influential trade-guilds in the economy.²⁰¹ Eumachia demonstrates her prominence by making appearances on three inscriptions within Pompeii. These include *CIL X.810 (ILS 3785)*, a dedication as public priestess and patron,²⁰² *CIL X.813 (ILS 6368)*, a statue dedication by the fullers,²⁰³ and *Maiuri (1965) 83.L*, her tomb in the cemetery outside the Porta Nuceria.²⁰⁴

Influences on Greek Anatolian society are paramount to understanding the attitudes we see in the cases above. Areas in Southern Anatolia such as in Cilicia, Lycia and Pamphylia maintained some original identity despite Greek influx.²⁰⁵ Side in Pamphylia and Lamos in Cilicia maintained a Luwian identity, while also being influenced by the incoming of Hellenistic culture. The Luwian culture is associated with the Hittite culture and managed to retain its foothold in the region long after the Hittite Empire fell.

²⁰⁰ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 161.

²⁰¹ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 159.

²⁰² "EUMACHIA L F SACERD[os] PUBL[ica], NOMINE SUO ET M NUMISTRI FRONTONIS FILI CHACIDICUM, CRYPTAM, PORTICUS CONCORDIAE AUGUSTAE PIETATI SUA PEQUNIA FECIT CADEMQUE DEDICAVIT." (Eumachia, daughter of Lucius (Eumachius), public priestess, in her own name and that of her son, Marcus Numistrius Fronto, built with her own funds the porch, covered passage, and colonnade and dedicated them to Concordia Augusta and to Pietas.)

²⁰³ "EUMACHIAE L F SACERD PUBL FULLONES" (To Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, public priestess, the fullers [dedicated this statue].)

²⁰⁴ "EUMACHIA L F SIBI ET SUIS" (Eumachia, daughter of Lucius, [built this] for herself and for her household.)

²⁰⁵ In the fourth and fifth centuries CE we see a continuation of attitude evolution in the inscriptional evidence. An undesignated inscription from Byzantium to Amazone, describes her as a "faithful servant of God" and "pleasing to both God and to people" (ἀρέσουςα Θεῷ καὶ ἀνθρώποις). The references to Amazone as a servant of 'God' in the singular, suggests that from at least the fourth century CE, Christians were not unfavourable towards women as physicians. The Greek in this inscription exhibits emphasis through the use of the dative and placement of the nouns.

The upholding of cultural identities in the southern regions is not surprising considering the natural boundary provided by the Taurus Mountains along almost the entire length of Anatolia.²⁰⁶ Jan Houwink explains that the region of Anatolia was likely never fully pacified in the centre and South, and it was with great difficulty that the Romans finally succeeded in subduing the coastal strip and the local Cilician pirates.²⁰⁷ Herodotus gives particulars on Lycians and their matriarchal form of society.²⁰⁸ These influences may have been a contributing factor to the diversity and number of examples in the cases discussed from here. What we often fail to realise is that Greek influences stood hand in hand with the traditional social ideologies that originated in the area. When we examine the context of the inscriptions recording healer women, it is important to remember traditional ideals that were also a factor in their societies.

Antiochis provides us with another example. Her Lycian context suggests that the communities Antiochis interacted with were in part Lycian rather than wholly Greek or Roman. Houwink substantiates our knowledge of this cultural identity by referring to the use of the Lycian language in many Hellenistic inscriptions, despite Greek names being adopted locally.²⁰⁹ He suggests that with the exception of a period of dependence on Athens, Lycia was subject more to Persian dominion.²¹⁰ We can deduce that the societies that women healers from Lycia were a part of, contained Eastern influences as well as Western. This cultural difference may have made it easier for women of some regard to become medical

²⁰⁶ Houwink (1965): 1.

²⁰⁷ Houwink (1965): 2.

²⁰⁸ Houwink (1965): 4; Herodotus, *Histories*: 1.173, Loeb 117:216-217. "[Their customs are partly Cretan and partly Carian. But they have one which is their own and shared by no other men: they take their names not from their fathers but from their mothers, and when one is asked by his neighbour who he is, he will say that he is the son of such a mother, and rehearse the mothers of his mother. Indeed, if a female citizen marries a slave, her children are considered pure-blooded; but if a male citizen, even the most prominent of them, takes an alien wife or concubine, the children are dishonoured."

²⁰⁹ Houwink (1965): 8.

²¹⁰ Houwink (1965): 8.

workers. Later Anatolian inscriptions indicate an upwards movement in status and respect for the physician, as they also do for midwives and other skilled healer women.

4.4: Roman Attitudes towards Medical Practitioners

Modern Latin scholars provide us with a comprehensive catalogue of the Latin inscriptions detailing Roman healer women.²¹¹ This evidence can be used to compare Roman attitudes towards healer women, with earlier Greek attitudes. Flemming's interpretation of the evidence demonstrates that Roman evidence for women on inscriptions provides a broad understanding of attitudes.²¹² Flemming discusses the women who practised medicine as well as female patients who were practiced upon, and the contribution that these Roman healer women made to medical discourse.²¹³ On the contrary, Danielle Gourevitch presents us with one interpretation of Roman inscriptions, which asserts that on the graves of these women, "sometimes a word of tenderness escapes,"²¹⁴ but no certain set of attitudes towards them has been preserved. Don Todman rightly notes that while few inscriptions exist for the Classical and Hellenistic female physician, there is a greater amount for the Roman Imperial period, which includes 30 inscriptions referring to women as *medicae*.²¹⁵ These inscriptions can be utilised to compare the earlier Greek attitudes to the emerging dominance of Roman views.

4.4.1: Attitudes on Greek Inscriptions in Romanised Contexts

Inscriptions from Rome, in addition to those found in Romanized Anatolia and Greece provide points of comparison from which to assess changes in attitudes from the Classical period onward. Comparison between these inscriptions and earlier inscriptions may be able to demonstrate changes in attitudes towards healer women as well as the opportunities presented to them. It is important to consider also the Roman attitude towards physicians as

²¹¹ Gourevitch (1984): 1; Flemming (2007): 257-279.

²¹² Flemming (2007): 257-279.

²¹³ Flemming (2007): 257-279; Flemming (2000): 1.

²¹⁴ Gourevitch (1984): 1.

²¹⁵ Todman (2008): 108.

a whole, as recorded by the likes of Pliny and Cato, and how they affected the movement and acceptance of Greek physicians.



Figure 8: Musée Archæologique inv. No.25. Metz inscription

The inscription for a *medica* found in Metz is an interesting example of a Latin inscription that can be utilised as a comparison between Greek and Roman contemporary terminology and attitudes. The likeness on the epitaph is well carved and detailed, and is deeply set in bold forms, which adds to the stature of the subject. The inscription is found on a tombstone dating to around the first century CE in Gallo-Roman France. While the inscription is short, the tombstone has been carved to include an elaborate image of the woman commemorated with detailed attire. Todman asserts that the use of *medica* in the inscription is comparable to the use of *ιατρούνη*, in that it suggests a role greater than simply a midwife.²¹⁶ Flemming's analysis suggests that the Metz inscription is an appropriate example of the use of inscriptions as indicators of attitude.²¹⁷ It is evidence of the noble attitude towards the

²¹⁶ Todman (2008): 108.

²¹⁷ Flemming (2007): 259.

Roman female physician. Other epitaphs reveal additional indicators, such as the one for Primilla at Rome, where she is noted in the inscription as being of freeborn status.²¹⁸

P2 from Anatolia in the Imperial period is revealing in terms of Roman and Greek relations. The Roman connection is seen in relation to the female physician Empeiria's husband, Gaius Iulius Vettianus (Γάιος Ιούλιος Βεττιανός). Empeiria, as discussed in the previous chapter concerning reputation advertisement, may have been an adopted name taken by the woman to express her skill to customers and mark a link to the Greek healing traditions, which were so popular.²¹⁹ The connotations of the name Empeiria, suggest that this physician was a woman of skill and had a long successful career. The tria nomina of her husband identifies him as a Roman. Whether Empeiria was a Greek or Roman woman by birth cannot be determined but it seems unlikely that a Roman would take a Greek name. The text is in Greek: this indicates that the couple had a Greek background. Romans did have a preference for Greek healers.

Greek inscriptions from Romanized Anatolia are again indicative of changing attitudes and influences. **P8** is a Greek inscription from Adana Pisidia to the physician Zosime. Of an uncertain date, the inclusion of the names Aurelius suggests it is from after 212 CE. The text itself includes Asclepiades, which has been discussed in reference to this inscription earlier in the preceding typology. Zosime is associated with Asclepiades, who we note has taken a name associated with healing himself suggesting he too worked in medicine. The occupation of Zosime suggests that there may have been a greater association than simply a name.

P8 shows that the physician woman could be held in high regard. The inscription is on a public statue, which indicates that Zosime has been honoured publically. She and Asclepiades were possibly Montanists, considering they name their daughter Montane.

²¹⁸ *CIL VI.7581* dates to the 1st or 2nd Century CE from Rome and reads "DEAC • SANCTAE • MEAE PRIMILLAE • MEDICAE • L • VIBI • MELITONIS • F(ILIAE) • VIXIT • ANNIS • XXXXIII EX EIS • CVM • L • COCCEIO APTHORO • XXX • SINE QVERELLA • FECIT • APTHORVS • CONVIG(I) OPTIMAE • CASAE ET SIBI •" (To the sacred spirits of my Primilla Medica, daughter of L.Vibius Melito, she lived 44 years, 30 of them with L.Cocceius Apthorus, without complaint. Apthorus made (this) for his best and chaste wife and himself.) Translation by the author.

²¹⁹ See typology chapter.

Montanism (after its founder Montanus) is also referred to as New Prophecy and was an early Christian movement originating around the second century CE. Pierre de Labriolle explains that the Montanists were orthodox in all matters of doctrine and were hostile to any compromise with sin.²²⁰ William Tabbernee describes Montanists as “living witnesses” claiming an ethical lifestyle.²²¹ The placement of the column square on which the inscription was engraved, in the agora at Adana, is indicative that the individuals were respected to a great extent within their own community.

In Rome herself, the Greek inscriptions to healer women indicate a level of acceptance and status. **H1** set up by Restituta is again a significant example in the epigraphic corpus of the healer woman’s status. The name Restituta is typical of the types of slave-name given to describe a person’s role. Restituta means ‘restored’ that could be pertaining to a role that she played in the household of which she was originally a part. There is evidence for the name ‘Restituta’ among both freeborn and lower status Roman women, who may or may not have been free. Appearances include five instances in the Pompeian corpus of informal inscriptions, where Restituta is believed to be a prostitute²²² and one recording an instance of a wealthy Roman woman from Beneventum by the name of Crispia Restituta, who set up an alimentary program in 11 CE.²²³ The difference between the high status Crispia Restituta and the prostitutes of Pompeii is clear from the praenomen. Restituta of **H1** parallels the Pompeian corpus examples. The Pompeian Restitutas can safely be said to be prostitutes judging from the content of the various inscriptions. *CIL* 3951 reads “Restutus (dicit): Restituta pone tunica; rogo, redes pilosa co(nnum)”; “Restitutus says: Restituta, take off that dress; come on, give us your hairy cunt.”²²⁴

²²⁰ de Labriolle (1913): 1;

²²¹ Tabbernee (1993): 149.

²²² *CIL* IV.1374 (*Restituta roga II sus*), 1338 (*Restituta tuis choreis*), 1361, 1665 (*Restituta . cum Secundo domno suo*), 2202 and 3951.

²²³ Lewis and Reinhold (1966): 346. *ILS* 6675 reads “By Crispia Restituta: The Pomponian farms, in the territory assigned to Beneventum, Aequan district in the Ligurian area, adjoining Nasidius Vitalis, values at 50,000 sesterces for [a loan of] 3,520 sesterces...88 sesterces.”

²²⁴ Varone (2002): 98.

Rome of the first century CE saw an abundance of skilled slaves in large and imperial households, such as the household of Caesar. Livia, in the first century CE, is well known for having a huge contingent of slaves for all manner of tasks.²²⁵ Slaves and freedmen were trained as physicians, and we have records of *valetudinia* (infirmaries for slaves).²²⁶ The Greek origin of Claudius Alimus is further testified by his Greek name 'Alimus'.

4.4.2: Roman Understanding of Greek Medicine

A Roman view of Greek physicians is well attested in Cato and Pliny, who believed in a specifically Roman sort of healing that included herbs, chants and prayers, rather than the scientific ideas revolving around Hippocratic traditions. Nutton asserts that they viewed the Roman traditional idea of healing as practical in contrast to the "worthless theorizing and restrictive specialisations of [the] Greek doctors".²²⁷ This Greek idea of healing in Pliny and Cato refers to the urban intellectual theories of medicine (notably Hippocratic medicine), rather than the nature-centred healing traditions, which are usually associated with Greek healer women, in addition to Roman medical views.²²⁸ While Roman literature often displays a complete lack of trust in Greek physicians' skill, as seen in Plautus *Menaechmi* 875,²²⁹ what was actually being distrusted was the scientific ideas of the medical schools.

One of the main reasons for Roman unease about Greek physicians may have been due to a misunderstanding on the Romans' part. The Hippocratic Oath is at the centre of this misinterpretation. Pliny the Elder claims that Greek physicians had taken an oath together against those foreign to them, the oath to murder all foreigners.²³⁰ Plutarch cites Cato's fear of Greek physicians, who have taken an oath against all non-Greeks.²³¹ Not all Greek physicians were distrusted in the eyes of the Romans. King notes that in the second century BCE, the

²²⁵ The slaves of Livia are particularly seen in funerary memorials, for instance *CIL VI. 8741, 5745, 3951, 4430, 4304, and 4301*. Tacitus, *Annals*: 6.8, Loeb 312:164-165; Treggiari (1975): 48-77.

²²⁶ Forbes (1955): 345; Baker (2009).

²²⁷ Nutton (1995a): 39.

²²⁸ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 29.6, Loeb 418:192-193, and 29.14, Loeb 418:220-221, (citing Cato).

²²⁹ Plautus *Menaechmi*: 875.

²³⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 29.14, Loeb 418:220-221.

²³¹ Plutarch, *Marcus Cato*: 23.3, Loeb 47:372-373.

Greek physician Asclepiades of Bithynia set up a thriving practice in Rome.²³² Forbes expresses the dislike towards Greek physicians by the higher classes of Roman society, suggesting that Cato and Pliny were not the only ones who distrusted their practices.²³³ Martial writes, "Until recently, Diaulus was a physician; now he is an undertaker. He is still doing as an undertaker, what he used to do as a physician."²³⁴

Other evidence for the distrust of physicians in Roman thought comes from the *Greek Anthology*, which states "Socles, promising to set Diodorus' crooked back straight, piled three solid stones, each four feet square, on the hunchback's spine. He was crushed and died, but he became straighter than a ruler."²³⁵

The epigraphic and literary evidence from Greece and Anatolia has one defining feature that particularly stands out in comparison to the Latin examples. This is the mention of slaves. Restituta is a prime example in the Greek of this difference from East to West, as the role of the healer woman was generally regarded in Rome as reserved for foreigners and slaves. *CIL VI.9723* from Rome is a grave stele to Poblivia Aphe, a midwife and freedwoman manumitted by a citizen woman owner.²³⁶ Women did not have praenomina. This is a difficulty because the convention was that 'freedman of Gaia' became part of one's official name after manumission. The convention was that a person freed by a woman owner was referred to in a gravestone as L, backwards C, freedman of Gaia, which is to say that every woman's praenomen is Gaia. The female physician Valia Calliste in *CIL VI.9478*, is also interpreted as a freedwoman by Korpela,²³⁷ in addition to in *CIL VI.8926*,²³⁸ Minucia Asste in

²³² King (2001): 33.

²³³ Forbes (1955): 345.

²³⁴ Martial, *Epigrams*: 1.47, Loeb 94:72-73.

²³⁵ *Greek Anthology* XI, 120.

²³⁶ "POBLICIA • C • L • APHE OPSTETRIX • OSSA • TIBI BENE QVIESCANT • VIXIT • ANNOS • XXI"

²³⁷ Korpela (1987): 205.

²³⁸ "[DIS]MANIBVS [CRESCEN]TI • A FRVMENTO [MINIST]RATORVM • AVG(VSTI) [ANONYMA] CAESARIS • MEDICA [EX FAMILIA C]ASTRENSI • CONIVGI [OPTIMO F]ECIT • ET • SIBI • POSTERISQVE SVIS."

CIL.VI.9615,²³⁹ Venuleia Sosis in *CIL VI.9617*,²⁴⁰ and Terentia Nice in *CIL VI.9616*.²⁴¹ It is significant to note that most of these examples are for *medicae* (female physicians) (**Appendix 1**).

While there was a vast number of slave and freed midwives and physicians, there was also a number of higher class and citizen working women, who appear in the epigraphic evidence. Take for example Claudia Trophima, who was a wealthy woman and was 75 when she died, a midwife and grandmother, who was praised and regarded affectionately by her male descendants in *CIL VI.9720*.²⁴² That around half the available evidence from Rome in the Latin mentions freedwomen illustrates that the norm was that the female (and male) healer was one of low or slave status. Kelly has gone some way in providing extra analysis on the subject by asserting that in actual practice, the women and the slaves were the ones who tended to ailing people, and each household maintained a stock of various herbs for that reason.²⁴³ Kelly argues that the first Greek physicians arrived around 200 CE as prisoners of war and became a part of Roman medical tradition, while Romans who wanted to practice medicine had to take a Greek name in order to gain the same reputation.²⁴⁴ The occupation was not viewed as an honourable one, so Romans did not go into the practice of medicine and instead, when they required assistance, they approached outside help from a person with knowledge of healing trained in another country, usually Greece.²⁴⁵

²³⁹ "MINVCIA C.L.ASTE MEDICA"

²⁴⁰ "VENVLEIA (MVLIERIS) • L(IBERTA) • SOSIS MEDICA."

²⁴¹ "D(IS) M(ANIBUS) TERENCEIAE NICENI TERENCEIAE PRIMAES MEDICAS LIBERTAE FECERVNT MVSSIVS ANTIOCHIVS ET MVSSIA DIONYSIA FIL(II) M(ATRI) B(ENE) M(ENERETI)." Others associated with freedwomen include, *CIL XII.3343*, *CIL V.3461*, *CIL IX.5861*, *CIL X.3980*; Korpela (1987): 285.

²⁴² "CLAVDIAE TROPHIM OBSETRICI T • CASSIVS • TROPHIMVS • F MATRI • PIENTISSIMAE ET TI • CASSIVS • TROPHIMIANVS AVIAE ET POSTERISQVE SVIS FECERVNT VIX • ANN LXXV M • V."

²⁴³ Kelly (2009): 145.

²⁴⁴ Kelly (2009): 146.

²⁴⁵ Kelly (2009): 145-146.

In comparison to Greek inscriptions, the Latin inscriptions with Greek elements are fuller and richer in information. *CIL X 1933* is dedicated by the Greek man Marcus Zosimus to his wife, the midwife, with much affection and expressions of piety. This suggests that, in Roman culture, the midwife could be given greater recognition than in the Greek world. Osiek, MacDonald and Tulloch assert similarly that midwives in the Latin communities could be either slaves or respected women, due to the nature of women's lives being determined by the realities of procreation.²⁴⁶ The same can be said for the Greeks, but it appears that the Eastern Hellenized world was more vocal and accepting of the midwife role, and thus deemed it worthy of more praise in inscriptions. Perhaps it suggests too that the class – freedman and freedwoman – desired such recognition and had the means (wealth) to buy it. Ulpian expresses the point of respected birthing assistants in a case concerning the birth of a child, where there were issues of status or family. He asserts that in this case the house of a woman of excellent reputation was sought in order to gain repute for the mother and child.²⁴⁷ On the Greek mainland, even in this period, a midwife remained lower class in the majority of cases, as the detail of inscriptions show.

4.5: Early Christian Attitudes

Healing traditions in the Christian faith of the Greek world, contribute information on societal attitudes towards women, as nurturers, physicians and midwives. The identification of early Christian texts is based on the content of the text itself and associated symbols, such as crosses. Names and geographical context are taken into account alongside dates. This section explores the Christian attitudes interpreted in epigraphy in relation to ancient literature and later ecclesiastic sources.

4.5.1: Christian Attitudes in Greek Epigraphy from the First Centuries CE

Modern scholars have sometimes assumed that there was a banning of women in Early Christian medical tradition, and cites as evidence later medieval bans and restrictions, which

²⁴⁶ Osiek et al. (2006): 50.

²⁴⁷ Ulpian, *Digest*: 25.4.1.10.

were legislated.²⁴⁸ Greilsammer lists a number of statutes and laws in Western Europe in the 1600's, where the role and authority of midwives were gradually, but significantly, reduced to near nothing in comparison to male clerical 'professionals'. Ecclesiastical decrees added to bans and limitations of the midwife and female healer roles in the middle ages and medieval periods, such as the ecclesiastical decree on the 1st June 1587, which considered midwives unfit for the roles unless supervised closely or approved of by clerical authorities.²⁴⁹ The statute in Bruges, 5th February 1697, accused midwives of abandoning children and siding with wanton women.²⁵⁰

In the epigraphy, we can gain some idea of the attitudes, status and wealth of certain healer women. The first of these early Christian female physicians is found in the Greek inscription dedicated to Thekla on a Christian sarcophagus **P5**, found at Seleukeia Kalyk in Cilicia. The use of simplistic formula indicates that her profession defined Thekla. She was of high enough status to warrant and afford a sarcophagus and inscription. Thekla and her counterparts show a very different picture in the first centuries CE.²⁵¹

The increasing number of Christian inscriptions around the third and fourth centuries CE demonstrates the Christian movement. For instance, **P6** is a sarcophagus inscription for the physician Basilous. As with Thekla, her occupation defines who she is. This inscription is again Christian, as indicated by cross inclusions and formulaic nature typical for its context of Korykos in Cilicia. The formula of name and title/occupation is simple and typical of short inscriptions, which at first appear to reveal little before they are examined in their wider context. More can be seen from other Christian inscriptions, such as **P11**, which details the chief physicians Gaius and his wife Augusta. The inscription from Jesus the saviour himself for her success in healing others, intimates approval for her occupation

Augusta was an ἀρχιειάτρην, a chief physician, alongside her life-partner Gaius the ἀρχιείατρος. This shows that in Anatolia at this time, women had the opportunity to be not

²⁴⁸ Børresen and Vogt (1993): 21; Nutton (1995a): 171; Bullough and Bullough (1984): 89; Greilsammer (1991): 320.

²⁴⁹ Greilsammer (1991): 311.

²⁵⁰ Greilsammer (1991): 320.

²⁵¹ Gusfield (2009): 53.

only physicians, but also chiefs within their trade. The prominent position of chief physician indicates that Augusta was a respected member of her community, having “brought healing to the bodies of many” sick people. The association with her husband, who is a physician of high regard, also heightens her status.

Nutton asserts that usually in law codes such as the *Justinian Code*, *archiater* denotes an imperial physician, while civic physicians were addressed as *medici*.²⁵² It was not until the fifth century CE, with the freedom from billeting, that *archiatri* was gradually used to refer to all civic physicians. The *Justinian Code* compiles the specific provisions given to the few *archiatri* prior to this change.²⁵³

Augusta is not only recorded as a respected female physician, but as a chief physician using terms on par with that of her male counterpart. This indicates that Augusta held at least a near equal if not equal status to Gaius. Nutton explains that while Augusta and Gaius were likely to have status and legal privileges, their wealth and status would not have been as high as physicians in the palace, as say Stephanus, who in the *Theodosian Code* 13.3.12 is described as a glorious divine palace physician.²⁵⁴ This text suggests that early Christian women could rise to positions of prominence and not be considered a threat, or rival, to men, but rather partners and professionals in their own right.

Stephanis in **MP2**, a midwife and physician, is recorded as the mother of Georgios on his sarcophagus; alongside her husband Stephanos the contractor. The inscription is written in the voice of family members in relation to their son and his parents. This shows that the family was proud of the professional status of this woman. The term used, *ιατρόμαια*, indicates that Stephanis worked as both a midwife and a physician. Again from Korykos and including Christian insignia in the form of crosses, the epitaph shows that Stephanis is from a Christian background and involved in a professional working family, as indicated by her husband’s career as a *μάγκιπος* (contractor).²⁵⁵ This demonstrates that it was acceptable

²⁵² Nutton (1977): 198.

²⁵³ *Justinian Code*: 12.40.8.

²⁵⁴ Nutton (1977): 198.

²⁵⁵ Also seen in the Latin *manceps* meaning ‘a purchaser of anything at a public auction, a renter, farmer, or contractor’.

within the Christian environment to become a healer woman and be given such titles indicative of the roles played in this profession. **MP2** indicates that a Christian woman may choose to be defined by her occupation rather than by whose daughter or whose wife she was.

P9 to Sosanna is an interesting piece of evidence to add to this discussion on the attitudes towards female healers. The name Sosanna is a Jewish or Christian name, and the reference within the inscription to the archangel (...πλησίον τοῦ ἀρχαγγέλου), demonstrates that she was probably Christian. This in itself is significant, as it demonstrates that a woman within the early Christian Greek world could continue to be a physician despite changing attitudes to women and religion in the fourth century CE.²⁵⁶

It is interesting to note that outside of the biblical sources there are no discernible sources for Christian midwives or nurses in the epigraphic sources despite the number of cases of Christian female physicians. While there are no particularly definitive Christian inscriptions for midwives, some study has been done into the early Christian views on and roles of midwives using the biblical texts. The procreating woman's body became a key point of reference for early Christian identity.²⁵⁷ The New Testament is silent on midwifery and childbirth. Osiek and MacDonald argue that the absence in the New Testament itself is due to the late antique editors wanting to take a higher moral ground.²⁵⁸ Osiek, MacDonald and Tulloch continue their discussion by explaining that even in the third and fourth centuries, when celibacy and virginity were becoming increasingly prized, childbirth continued to appear in texts to communicate early Christian ideals.²⁵⁹ Healing could be seen as a respectable and defining occupation for a woman. Class difference may have been the main factor: midwives may not have had the means to afford a memorial.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁶ Kee (1986): 121.

²⁵⁷ Osiek et al., (2006): 50.

²⁵⁸ Osiek et al., (2006): 50.

²⁵⁹ Osiek et al., (2006): 59.

²⁶⁰ Mouritsen (2005): 50.

4.6: The Mortal and the Divine: Associated Roles and Terminology

Archaeological evidence exists for hundreds of shrines, temples and sacred springs to male and female healing deities. Many of these sites were appropriated by Christians in the Early Christian period and continued in use. If we compare the attitudes towards the mortal healer woman and the divine healing deity, it allows us a greater comprehension of the significance of women in healing traditions.²⁶¹

Three epitaphs from Athens address goddess physicians. These examples may provide a sense of the differing attitudes in Attica towards mortal and divine healers. The first of these three inscriptions is *IG II² 4759*, which was dedicated by Himertos of Marathon to the ‘Mother of the Gods, gracious physician’ (Μητρί θεῶν εὐαντήτῳ ἰατρεΐνῃ). Himertos’ use of a goddess physician over a male god physician (such as Asclepius, who was particularly popular in this period)²⁶², indicates that the sex of the healing god does not seem to have been significant.²⁶³

Himertos’ use of the divine female physician indicates a choice made on his part. One was not obliged to pray to deities of the same gender as oneself, so in a polytheistic system, devotees’ reasons for choosing one deity rather than another, are complex and personal.

IG II² 4760 was dedicated by Polynike to a goddess physician (Μητρί θεῶν εὐαντήτῳ ἰατρεΐνῃ εὐχίῃ) in Athens in the same period as *IG II² 4759*, around the first century BCE. This inscription is written in the voice of Polynike, and is further indicative of personal devotion to a female physician goddess: in this case, by a woman.

²⁶¹ Modern folklore and rituals demonstrate the survival of ancient healing heritage (Gimbutas (1991)); an interesting successive study would be to look at the transmission of ancient to modern healing/religious traditions and ties.

²⁶² Bieber (1945): 277. Bieber explains that Asclepius and Hygieia became salutifers, deities who give health. Asclepius is referenced throughout archaeological records and historical texts. Pausanias notes that in Sparta, Asclepius was known as “Agnitas the chaste” and was represented in wooden statues; Brussell (2004): S200.

²⁶³ Bieber (1945): 270-77; Caton (1914): 57-70; Compton (2002): 312-29; de Waele (1933): 417-51; Edelstein (1945): 88-90; Jackson (1990): 1-13; Wickkiser (2008): 14.

These inscriptions are also indicative of another important feature, the change in the terminology within Athens from the Classical to the Hellenistic period. Like *IG II² 4759*, and the following *IG II² 4714*, *IG II² 4760* does not mention a human female healer. The term *ἰατρίνη* is used to describe the goddess herself. These inscriptions mark the earliest instances of the use of a female version of the term *ἰατρός* in Athens. This may be indicative that Hellenistic Athenians transferred the roles of the male physician onto the divine healer woman, which led to the development of a feminine form. The transition to a feminine version of the term *ἰατρός* can also be extrapolated from the changes in Anatolia. **P1** concerning Mousa, dates from earlier in the first century BCE and is the earliest epigraphic use of *ἰατρίνη*.

The third of the physician inscriptions from the first centuries BCE in Athens is *IG II² 4714*, which is dedicated by Megiste to the physician goddess Aphrodite (Μητροὶ θεῶν εὐαντή(τω) *ἰατρίνη* Ἀφροδίτη). Megiste speaks in her own voice and presents us with a clear view of her attitude towards the physician goddess. This inscription and Polynike's dedication *IG II² 4760* demonstrate that women held the physician goddess in high regard. We can learn something about Megiste from her portrait, her dress indicates her wealth and that she was probably a priestess. The form of the statue and inscription, suggest that Megiste was a well-respected woman and from a high class. Geoffrey Schmalz identifies the woman as the well-known Augustan priestess of the same name, which is certainly possible.²⁶⁴

IG II² 4714, and the statue associated with it, demonstrate some of the issues with equating the divine to the mortal. The statue is now headless and missing its right arm, which would have originally extended above the figure's torso to around shoulder level. It would have held an attribute. The statue itself is of a female figure wearing a sleeveless thin tunic belted around the waist and a mantle, which drapes around the body from the left shoulder, across the back and around the front just below the hips. While the right arm is missing, the left arm remains and is decorated with an armlet and a spiral bracelet. The tunic, which the figure wears, is similar to those worn by Aphrodite statues and Classical epitaphs to women. We cannot be sure whether the statue was of Megiste or Aphrodite.

²⁶⁴ Schmalz (2009): 135.

The statue is believed by Sue Dillon and Ridgway to be of Megiste, rather than Aphrodite, because of the lack of the attributes of the goddess, but considering that the head and right arm are missing, this is questionable, as we cannot tell what has been lost.²⁶⁵ This thesis asserts that the idea Dillon offers that the woman is Megiste based on lack of attributes, is possible, but there are other alternatives: Aphrodite or Kybele. Dillon does not commit to the identification, which is wise considering the current state of the statue. Dillon hazards that if the woman is Megiste, then it is an early example of the representation of a woman's body in her portrait statue as the body of a goddess, which became common practice in the later Roman world.²⁶⁶

Ridgway argues that other options for the woman depicted include Kybele. A lion would likely have accompanied her, and Aphrodite would have been represented in a more revealing dress.²⁶⁷ The absence of the lion suggests that this is not Kybele, and further indicative that this is a mortal woman. Paolo Moreno explains that the statue and inscription belong to each other because the cutting on the top surface of the pedestal is shifted towards its front, and serves to anchor only part of the figure. The folds in her skirt at the back rest directly on the rear projection, which was left in place to accommodate them.²⁶⁸ Elizabeth Walters suggests that Megiste is attired in the dress of Isis, another goddess closely identified with healing and obstetrics.²⁶⁹ None of these can be established due to the incomplete nature of the top half of the statue. However, the nature of the statue and dedication as a whole, demonstrate that Megiste was of high wealth and status within her society.

The description of Aphrodite in *IG II² 4714* as 'mother of the gods' (Μητρί θεῶν) indicates that she may be the same goddess physician mentioned in *IG II² 4759* and *IG II² 4760*. The identity of the mother of the gods is still debatable, but is addressed elsewhere in Greek

²⁶⁵ Ridgway (2008): 293-4. Dillon, S. (2010): 82.

²⁶⁶ Dillon, S. (2010): 82. *TAM V.1 318* where Apphias, daughter of Theodotos, thanks Mother Leto for making the impossible things possible, for she had been punished with a disease in the buttock.

²⁶⁷ Ridgway (2008): 144.

²⁶⁸ Moreno (1994): 519, fig. 641.

²⁶⁹ Walters (1988): 68.

literature.²⁷⁰ There is little evidence for the identification of the ‘Mother of the Gods’, because inscriptions give little further account of who she is. The term ‘Μητρὶ θεῶν’, which we find in all three of the above inscriptions, is also found in seventeen other inscriptions from Attica.²⁷¹ *IG II² 1474* is the only example recorded in the *PHI* databases of an actual goddess attached to the term which makes the inscription unique. One hundred and nine examples of the term in inscriptional evidence are found in Northern Greece, and sixty-three from Asia Minor, but still few of these mention any god by name and have to be interpreted on individual context.²⁷² She appears to have been a deity in her own right.

What we can assert is a certain attitude towards the physician goddess in the minds of these members of Hellenistic Athenian society. In this inscription, Aphrodite acted as a healer to the suppliant. The gods Asclepius and Hygieia, in particular were noted for their ability to cure diseases and other physical complaints. Emma Stafford asserts that the figure of Hygieia by herself is attested from at least 400 BCE at Epidauros and elsewhere throughout the Peloponnese.²⁷³ Prior to this period she is directly associated with Asclepius at places like Tegea. Some of the earliest representations of Hygieia by herself are attributed to the Athenian Meidias Painter, such as *London E224*.²⁷⁴ Stafford hypothesises that the entry of Hygieia as an independent deity was probably preceded by the importation of Asclepius’ cult into Athens and the pre-existence of the cult of Athena Hygieia.²⁷⁵

²⁷⁰ In the Homeric *Hymns* is a hymn to the unnamed ‘mother of the gods’ which reads: “Εἰς Μητέρα Θεῶν: μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ’ ἀνθρώπων ὕμνει, Μοῦσα λίγεια, Διὸς θυγάτηρ μέγαλοιο, ἧ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ’ ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν εὖαδεν ἠδὲ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων. Σοῦρεά τ’ ἠχήεντα καὶ ὑλήεντες ἔναυλοι. καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε θεαί θ’ ἄμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῇ.” *h.Hom.14*. Loeb 496:194-195.

²⁷¹ *IG II² 1257, IG II² 2950/1, IG II² 3184, IG II² 3220, IG II² 3489, IG II² 4563, IG II² 4609, IG II² 4703, IG II² 4710, IG II² 4773, IG II² 4870, Kerameikos III A 12, SEG 17:89, SEG 32:268.*

²⁷² Aphrodite as a goddess physician is yet to be studied in any detail and would benefit further study outside the limitations of this thesis.

²⁷³ Stafford (2004): 126.

²⁷⁴ Stafford (2004): 126.

²⁷⁵ Stafford (2004): 134.

Were only divine female healers acceptable in this period? Alternatively, is it by chance that all the inscriptions of this period refer to similar divine individuals and not real women? Phanostrate held a status and role worthy of an elaborate memorial in the Classical period, but in Hellenistic Athens, the use of the *ιατρίνη* term is only in relation to gods. Hellenistic Athens held less opportunities and mobility for women than elsewhere in the Hellenistic world and women were seen differently in Athens than the way they were viewed in Anatolia and the Eastern Mediterranean.²⁷⁶ The physician woman in Hellenistic Athens was a role left to the divine at least as presented in the epigraphic evidence. It is not to say that female healers did not exist, but the status afforded to them was not one that has survived in the epigraphic evidence.



Figure 9: *CIL VI.19128. Inscription to the Physician Goddess*

²⁷⁶ Loman (2004): 7.

The idea that gods could punish through disease and cure it is well attested in the ancient epigraphic evidence. *TAM V.3.1539* expresses the regulation of private cult associations with the will and punishment of the gods. It dates to around 100BCE from Philadelphia and expresses the idea that everyone in the household should swear by the gods not to be guilty of any deceit against man or woman nor harm them, as the gods will not tolerate these things and will be gracious to those who obey and punish those who do not. Chaniotis asserts in his works on divine justice that healing was engrained as the dominion of the Gods.²⁷⁷ It is through such epigraphic texts as *TAM V.3.1539* that we can further comprehend the importance of the divine and the relationship they had to the mortal.²⁷⁸

4.6.1: Priestesses

While goddesses cannot be analysed to determine attitudes towards mortal healer women but only as a point of comparison between mortal and divine attitudes, priestesses can be. Priestesses acted as mediums, healers, and purifiers, which were deemed healing roles.

TAM V.1 331 records a vow from Charite, the daughter of Apollonios.²⁷⁹ Charite records that she had had a disease, but the priestess of Artemis Anaitis through the prayer had cured her. This is one of many inscriptions to Artemis Anaitis, but the only that directly relieves the participation of a priestess. While, the inscription records that the Charite was cured through prayer. Chaniotis infers that this prayer was a form of incantation that was often accompanied or replaced with magical spells and ritual actions.²⁸⁰ Chaniotis comes to this conclusion by comparing propitiatory inscriptions that directly mention purifications and sacrifices. Despite these parallels, it is best inferred from the inscription itself that prayer was the main means of mediation to the goddess by the priestess in this case and there is no

²⁷⁷ Chaniotis (2009): 115-153; Chaniotis (2010): 208-233; Chaniotis (2012): 205-234; Chaniotis (1995): 323-344.

²⁷⁸ *SEG xliii 1186, SEG LIII 1344, BIWK 5, BIWK 3.*

²⁷⁹ *TAM V.1 331* comes from the area of Kula in Lydia. It reads: “Ἀρτέμιδι Ἀναίτι Χαρίτη Ἀπολλωνίου περίπτωμα σχοῦσα καὶ ἐξασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς ἱερείας εὐχήν.” (To Artemis Anaitis, Charite, daughter of Apollonius, having had an accident, and having been by the priestess restored through prayer, [has paid her vow].) Translation by Wright (1895): 58.

²⁸⁰ Chaniotis (1995): 333.

evidence for further rituals. Chaniotis' inference does relate to the fact that these inscriptions suggest something of the methods of mediation between morals and the divine for healing purposes. John Wright hypothesised, in relation to the writings of Strabo,²⁸¹ where there is mention of priests of Anaitis; this suggests "something of the methods employed by the servants of the goddess in fulfilling her petitioner's desires."²⁸² Here we more clearly see a connection between the roles of the divine with the mortal as a medium to heal. Charite states that she has been healed through prayer of the priestess of Artemis. Chaniotis argues that in this case we have a mix of practices that are not recognised as medical in the modern sense, but fall into the ancient category of health through purification and sacrifice.²⁸³ Chaniotis notes three comparative inscriptions studied by E. Varinlioglu, referring to healing due to uncleanness.²⁸⁴ These comparisons demonstrate that inscriptions show a healing bond between the divine and the mortal with a medium, but this was not necessarily thought of as a medical practice, but one of purification of sin.

Priestesses were praised as mediums of healing and are also illustrated in *SEG 55.929* (*BMusImp* 3 (1932) 28, 25; *IG XII.4.2.978*), which is dedicated to Kallistrate the priestess from the Asklepieion at Cos from c.190-160 BCE,²⁸⁵ and *TAM V.1 535* dedicated to the priestess Potta by Hermogenes, from Menya in Lydia. Joannis Mylonopoulos draws comparison to this from a similar dedication in Priene, where the "two children of Apolloros, son of Poseidonios, a priest of Zeus and the Kouretes, honoured their father with a bronze statue"

²⁸¹ Strabo, *Geography*: 15.3.15, Loeb 241:176-177.

²⁸² Wright (1895): 58.

²⁸³ Chaniotis (1995): 333.

²⁸⁴ Varinlioglu (1989): 45-49.

²⁸⁵ *SEG 55.929*, Cos, Asklepieion, 190-160 BCE, "Παρμενίσκος Ἰέρωνος Καλλιστράτην Κλευμάχου τὰν γυναῖκα καὶ Ἰέρων καὶ Ἀρισταγόρη τὰν ματέρα, καὶ Ναννακίς Ἰέρωνος τὰν ἀνδρὸς ματέρα, καὶ Παρμενίσκος Ἰέρωνος καὶ Παρμενίσκος Σωστράτου τὰν μαῖαν, ἰέρειαν Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Ὑγιείας, Ἠπιόνας, Ἀπόλλωνος Δαλίου, Λατοῦς, βασιλέως Εὐμένους." (Parmeniskos, son of Hieron for Kallistrate his wife, the daughter of Kleumachos, and Hieron and Aristogore, their mother, and Nannakis, the mother of her husband and wife of Hieron, and Parmeniskos, son of Hieron and Parmeniskos son of Sostrates, for their grandmother, the priestess of Asklepios, Hygieia, Epione, Apollo of Delos, Leto and King Eumenes). Translation by author.

in the early second century BCE.²⁸⁶ Connelly argues that *SEG 55:929* demonstrates that Kallistrate was typical of wealthy women, who purchased priesthoods.²⁸⁷ Her high standing is proven by the ability of Kallistrate to gain so many significant positions. It is implicit that she was an individual of high social standing and financial means, who could provide a client-patron beneficial relationship to the temples she was associated with.

Chaniotis also analyses the inscription to Potta in *TAM V.1 535*, asserting that she provided a means of communication between the sick and the deity. He concludes that this role played by Potta as a prophetess must have been substantial, as Hermogenes praised her as his saviour.²⁸⁸ This shows that while there is limited information concerning the healing roles of priestesses, they were accepted as mediums of healing, using the skill and power of the healing goddess, and continuing the traditional ideals of patronship. The association with the goddess no doubt increased the social standing of the women too.

The divine interaction with healing and sickness is seen throughout the archaeological and literary evidence. Sickness as divine punishment and demonic attack is seen in *P.Oxy. 8.1151* (TM 61652), *P.Lund 4.12* (TM 69043), and *P.Oxy. 6.924* (TM 64394), and the thanks for cures in *P.Lond 6.1926* (TM 32659), 1928 (TM 32661), 1929 (TM 32662); *P.Oxy. 6.939* (TM 33344), 8.1161 (TM 33632), 10.1299 (TM 33637), and 31.2609 (TM 32695), and in earlier pagan evidence like *BGU 2.615* (TM 28191), *SB 16.12589* (TM 26738), *P.Giss 20* (TM 18229), and *P.Mich. 8.514* (TM 30514). Cult service is linked to social status throughout all Greek periods, proving that these healer priestesses were valued as mediums, despite the actual healing powers being thought to come from the goddess, rather than themselves. This places them in a separate category from other healer women.

Priestesses, in turn, sometimes had an affiliation with purification and initiation rituals, and there is some debate as to whether this was a form of magic or not. Michael Compton asserts that magic and religion are seldom mentioned in the Greek medical treatises before the time

²⁸⁶ Mylonopoulos (2014): 129. *I.Priene 186*. Other instances include *I.Priene 162B*, *IG II² 3462*, *I.Priene 162A*, *I.Priene 177*, *I.Priene 174* which also deals with the sale of a priesthood, *I.Priene 160*, and *I.Pergamon II 484*.

²⁸⁷ Connelly (2007): 55.

²⁸⁸ Chaniotis (1995): 333.

of Galen.²⁸⁹ Joan Connelly suggests that priestesses were involved with, or at least accused of, magic workings.²⁹⁰ The outlining definition for magic is based around how the ritual was performed.²⁹¹ Matthew Dickie asserts that the priestesses, who belong to this group associated with magic, are said to be apart from the temple and main cult priestesses, but are holy women.²⁹²

Strabo's *Geography* records prophets as healing personages known to invoke the healing power of the gods. Strabo's allusion refers to the males, but we are aware of prophetesses in the historical record that filled similar roles, like the Pythia at Delphi. Strabo records that men who invoked the healing power of certain gods, would often bring the sick into a sacred place and assist in the application and interpretation of dreams.²⁹³ Strabo 14.1.6 includes a specific reference to the Milesians and the Delians who invoke Apollo 'Ulius' as the god of health and healing, alongside Artemis, Helios and Selene since they are the causes of the temperature of the air.²⁹⁴ Holt Parker asserts that this relates directly the Greek miasma theory of health.²⁹⁵ Strabo explains that both pestilential diseases and sudden deaths were imputed to these gods.²⁹⁶

The most famous association between a prophetess and the healing tradition is between the Pythia at Delphi and the god Apollo. The myth of Apollo recounts that Apollo reveals his knowledge to prophets and prophetesses, especially at the centre of his domain at the oracle at Delphi. The Pythia was consulted on all forms of important matters and problems and was believed to be the mouthpiece of the god himself.²⁹⁷

²⁸⁹ Compton (1998): 307.

²⁹⁰ Connelly (2007): 216.

²⁹¹ Dickie (1994): 91.

²⁹² Dickie (1994): 92.

²⁹³ Strabo, *Geography*: 14.1.44, Loeb 223:258-259.

²⁹⁴ Strabo, *Geography*: 14.1.6, Loeb 223:204-205.

²⁹⁵ Parker (1983): 1.

²⁹⁶ Strabo, *Geography*: 14.1.6, Loeb 223:204-205.

²⁹⁷ Budin (2004): 269.

There is debate over whether the Pythia herself imparted knowledge or not. Lisa Maurizo argues that the Pythia's utterings were intelligible.²⁹⁸ An argument based on Joseph Fontenrose's review of the ancient evidence for the Pythia, who also argues that the Pythia did indeed give oracles herself.²⁹⁹ Fontenrose contends that despite popular opinion, there were no vapours and the Pythia instead had mantric inspiration from the god.³⁰⁰ This argument is based on the mixed representation of the Pythia in the ancient evidence. Plato states that the Pythia presented the greatest of blessings through the guise of madness sent to her by the gods.³⁰¹ Yet, elsewhere in the evidence, the Pythia is presented speaking clearly and intelligibly. Herodotus reports that the Pythia spoke to Eetion, addressing him with the words “Ἡετίων, οὗτις σε τίει πολύτιπον ἔόντα. Λάβδα κύει, τέξει δ' ὀλοοίτροχον: ἐν δὲ πεσεῖται ἀνδράσι μουνάρχοισι, δικαίώσει δὲ Κόρινθον” (Eetion, worthy of honour, no man honours you. Labda is with child, and her child will be a millstone, which will fall upon the rulers and will bring justice to Corinth).³⁰² While this debate is pertinent still, the consensus remains that the Pythia herself uttered nonsense and was interpreted by the male priests.

There are few definite references in the Greek corpus to prophets and prophetesses practicing healing themselves in a practical form. The poetess Anyte is believed to have been a medium of Asclepius in Pausanias. At the sanctuary of Asclepius, Pausanias explains that Phalysius had an eye complaint and when he was almost blind, the god at Epidaurus sent to him the poetess Anyte, who brought with her a sealed tablet. The woman thought that the god's appearance was a dream but it was a waking vision. When Phalysius looked at the wax, he recovered his sight and rewarded Anyte.³⁰³ The connection between the gods, women and ailments is also seen in Pausanias' tale of Helen as the cause of Achilles' blindness that he says was caused by her wrath.³⁰⁴

²⁹⁸ Maurizo (2001): 39.

²⁹⁹ Fontenrose (1978): 196-232.

³⁰⁰ Fontenrose (1978): 197.

³⁰¹ Plato, *Phaedrus*: 244a-b.

³⁰² Herodotus, *Histories*: 5.92b, Loeb 119:104-105.

³⁰³ Pausanias, *Description of Greece*: 10.38.13, Loeb 297:604-605.

³⁰⁴ Stesichorus, on Helen of Troy blinding Achilles, in Pausanias, *Description of Greece*: 3.19.13, Loeb 188:124-125. “Ἐλένην δὲ Ἀχιλλεῖ μὲν συνοικεῖν, προστάξαι δὲ οἱ πλεύσαντι ἐς Ἰμέραν πρὸς

The Delphic oracle is recorded as a medium in Herodotus where Alyattes fell ill and he sent to Delphi to inquire of the Oracle.³⁰⁵ The Pythian priestess would not answer the messengers before they restored the temple of Athena at Assesos, which they previously burnt. Alyattes made plans and he offered a truce to the Milesians. The temple was rebuilt, the truce became peace and Alyattes recovered from his illness.

Prophetesses appear as mediums between the people and the healing gods, in the belief that the gods themselves will provide the actual healing. Considering that the prophets would be likely fabricating advice and interpretations themselves we can believe that some had knowledge and authority of healing traditions despite a lack of practice. The practice of healing itself is more well known by prophets with the expansion of Christianity into and around Africa.³⁰⁶

4.7: Conclusions

Throughout time, the opportunities for women to act as healers changed. The assumed negative attitudes towards all women involved in healing in ancient literature, does not match the evidence presented in the epigraphy and ancient medical texts. The ancient literature does demonstrate a change of attitudes over time and a change in terminology and role. This is seen in Plato with the use of the midwife in the metaphorical sense in the Classical period before it becomes a more defined role in later literature. Soranus and Pliny represent continuing variations of the midwives as a reputable source of healing and a vital part of society.

We have determined that many healer women were in a position of authority. Alic asserts that women have always been healers and midwives because as gatherers they discovered the medicinal properties of plants and learned how to dry, store and mix botanicals.³⁰⁷ The

Στησίχορον ἀγγέλλειν ὡς ἡ διαφθορὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐξ Ἑλένης γένοιτο αὐτῷ μηνίματος. Στησίχορος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὴν παλινωδίαν ἐποίησεν.” (Helen was wedded to Achilles, and had bidden him sail to Stesichorus at Himera, and announce that the loss of his sight was caused by her wrath. In response to this, Stesichorus composed his *Palinode*)

³⁰⁵ Herodotus, *Histories*: 1.19, Loeb 117:2-3.

³⁰⁶ Oosthuizen (1992): 16.

³⁰⁷ Alic (1986): 13.

Greek ideal, as understood by modern scholars, suggests that a woman was not meant to aspire to be involved in medicine as an occupation. This has led to modern scholars suggesting that the female medical authorities were in fact men taking pseudonyms, which Flemming rightly infers could be for very good reasons. Such reasons include the more direct authority of a particular type of female being referred to in pseudonym, for instance a historical person known for her authority, reputation, or personality.³⁰⁸ This demonstrates that scholars like Flemming are aware that women had an important role to play in ancient healing both directly and indirectly as men clearly recognised the benefit of taking on a female pseudonym.

Some individual scholars have though quickly disregarded the idea that women wrote such works, in favour of the idea of a male author because a woman would not be capable. These particularly earlier modern scholars are usually responding to their own personal bias against women. Judith Hallett emphasises that Sulpicia's elegies were often regarded as the work of a male Sulpicia-impersonator, who instructs her how to 'do it right' as an amatory elegist.³⁰⁹ By the 1980s, the female authorship of Cornelia of the Gracchi's letter to her son Gaius Sempronius was a matter of serious dispute among scholars because they believed a woman was not capable of the imperious and angry tone and the impressive Latin style.³¹⁰ This belief is the basis of the argument that healer women, who were unarguably women, were challenging the boundary. The epigraphy, literary evidence, and our understanding of Greek society, show a different picture, as we now know that the educated woman was not rare necessarily in the Greek world. Hallett also argues that Cornelia was a paragon of "matronal and maternal excellence" because she had inspired her own contemporaries, so whether she penned the letters found extant in Cornelius Nepos or not, may be a moot point in relation to her intelligence and abilities.³¹¹ Cicero even establishes the beneficial influence

³⁰⁸ Flemming (2007): 269.

³⁰⁹ Hallett (2007): 61.

³¹⁰ Hallett (2007): 62.

³¹¹ Hallett (2002): 15.

of her maternal habits and eloquence, which she passed on to the Gracchi, by portraying his friend Atticus as arguing for the powerful impact of mothers on children's speech.³¹²

From the evidence available, women were not necessarily challenging the boundaries by being authorities or by being educated. That has already been seen in the fact that men would take female pseudonyms to establish authority. In Athens especially though, there was an ideal that a woman be confined to the private space of the household and an assumption that she did not understand civic virtue and function as a full citizen.³¹³ Philip Siddons is correct in asserting that the assumption is that women were intellectually and morally inferior to men valued only for their part in the propagation of the human race and satisfying a man.³¹⁴ Athens' ideal certainly influenced the opportunities afforded to women within Athens, but attitudes elsewhere in the Greek world may have been different. The Hellenistic period saw increased opportunities for women and Egypt never had the boundaries for women set in Athens.

This chapter has shown that attitude to and statuses of healing women varied. Women certainly had fewer opportunities than men did, but most do not appear to have been challenging any boundaries in the general population. The epigraphy shows that their communities praised these healer women but that status varied. Wealth, healer type, geographical area and time period made a difference. We see that there was an overlap of different healing practices between physicians, midwives, and herbalists. The reputation of healers was based on individual accomplishment. This chapter has expanded the study of ancient healer women by supplying a broader understanding of context and practices, in a holistic view of medicine.

In Athens, healer women of higher status are seldom attested throughout all periods. During the Hellenistic period, there was an emphasis in the epigraphy on the divine female healer. Midwives in Athens were accepted, but of relatively low status and wealth. To be a nurse was to indicate a person was of low status or a foreigner. In Anatolia, we only see Greek influence and healer women from the Hellenistic period onwards, and examples are far more

³¹² Cicero, *Brutus*: 211.

³¹³ Kerber (1988): 18.

³¹⁴ Siddons (1981): 19.

abundant. This is because of the local cultures, mobility and different opportunities for women in the East. Midwives outside the Greek mainland are also of higher status, and they are displayed on epigraphy with more reverence.

The primarily negative attitudes in some ancient literature contrast the primary evidence of epigraphy and papyri, and more positive references in other instances in the literature. While we have much evidence of negative attitudes, we also have evidence for attitudes that display certain healer women as the result of divine teaching, as experienced wise women. The most significant difference is that the negative connotations appear mostly in relation to fictional women, while the more neutral and positive attitudes relate to real women. We see that certain attitudes and attributes are seen in both. Healer women of Greek societies had the opportunity to become valued, highly regarded, members of their community. The status held by healer women varied depending on context, but maintained some linear features due to societal attitudes and anxieties. Women were not rivals nor a threat to men in this occupation, contrary to the appearance of women generally formed in the ancient literature. This chapter has permitted us to recognise the woman as a skilled worker, rather than simply an extension of a household. It has further assisted in creating a picture that does not compartmentalise the female healer because of her sex.

Conclusions

The purpose of this thesis was to cast light onto the healer women of Ancient Greece and the Greek influenced world. Antecedent discourse has led to the idea that women healers could only attend to other women. This thesis determined that this model no longer limits us and that women were not in all cases limited to treating women.

The introduction set out questions that this thesis has now been able to answer to varying degrees. These questions were:

1. How did women learn the healing arts?
2. In what types of healing did women participate?
3. How did women pass on their knowledge?
4. What was the reputation of women as healers?
5. What can terminology tell us about the reputation, opportunities, and skills of healer women?
6. How has this thesis added to previous scholarship and general studies on women in the Greek world?

In the answers to these questions, in addition to the typology set out in the first chapter, this thesis has gone beyond previous studies. The fact that women have been somewhat neglected in discussion of Greek healing, has been a consequence of the somewhat limited nature of the evidence available. Yet, on closer inspection of that evidence, healer women we find were associated with magic, herbalism, foreign traditions, gynaecology, and general medicine and surgery. They were an integral part of their societies.

1. How did women learn the healing arts?

The first of these key questions concerns how women were taught healing arts and what opportunities for learning were afforded to them over time and place. From the use of case studies, such as the Restituta Inscription (**H1**), we were able to ascertain that training was indeed available to women. There is evidence that apprenticeship was a probable learning strategy

which prior to this study has been considered most often to be a male centred training relationship and not compatible with the idea of teaching women in this field.

The Classical and Hellenistic periods supply us with little evidence of apprenticeship in relation to healer women, and yet there are examples of women being trained in multiple other occupations, in addition to indications that it was an evolving form of education in relation to male healers. Within the first and second centuries CE particularly, examples demonstrate women were trained as apprentices. This method of study provided an alternative to attendance at a more formal medical institution. Availability plays an important part in this analysis considering that the practice of apprenticeship tends to be developed in the lower strata of societies. The Restituta inscription demonstrated that apprenticeship of women could be undertaken in imperial palaces among the higher classes in Rome in the first century CE in a more formal student and professor relationship.

The evidence in Egypt and Eastern areas supported this too, demonstrating that apprenticeship became an acceptable way to train healer women. Greek evidence from Egypt, in the form of papyri and more complex inscriptions from Anatolia, reveal that apprenticeship was a training method that was available not just to men, but to women. Epigraphic evidence can only give us a limited view of social constructs, but the examples do indicate that apprenticeship was available for female physicians and assistants.

As mentioned, student and professor training interactions could also be utilised to educate potential healer women. The evidence comes from inscriptions and testifies to a learning method used by men and women. This is particularly seen in Rome, where Greek medicine was imported and testified to by freedmen and women. Evidence for a student and professor relationship illustrates that some women had more formal means of education.

It has become clear in this thesis that the interaction between healer men and women is fundamental to our comprehension of the training opportunities for healer women. In the typology alone, there are five definite examples of married couples who were both healers. Evidence collected in the typology has shown such interactions could be complementary. This demonstrated the acceptability of women being trained in healing traditions. Knowledge was

replicated in family contexts as least as much as in apprenticeships to persons who were not family members.

Epigraphic evidence has shown that husbands and wives, fathers and daughters participated in the same or associated occupations. This evidence has shown that families could pass down occupations to female offspring in addition to male. The limited evidence for healer types other from midwives and physicians makes analysis of training for them harder to comprehend. This may be battled in the future by drawing in comparative anthropological studies. This thesis has also gone beyond previous studies by drawing together evidence and concluding that women were offered the opportunity to become successful healers in their own right alongside their male counterparts.

2. In what types of healing did women participate?
3. How did women pass on their knowledge?

This thesis has added to our knowledge of how women represented themselves as skilled healers and generated clients and income. It has been determined that healer women did not just attend women, but also men and children. The choice of healer was determined by patient circumstance and practitioner reputation, as would be the case for a male healer. These aspects of choice are represented in our epigraphic and literary evidence.

Xenophon's *Economics* emphasises that women were thought to have had a natural role as a healer within the household, which included male and female offspring, slaves, and extended family. This is especially noted within households occupied by slaves under the mistress' jurisdiction, and in lower class households where women had to fulfil additional roles. In both of these cases, healing would not have involved gender distinctions, but would be based on the need of patients and the availability and capability of practitioners. This suggests that choice of practitioner, whether inside or outside the household, would not have been based just on gender but financial concerns and the reputation of local healers.

Women treated women but women also treated men. This is seen particularly in the epigraphic evidence from Anatolia in the first and second centuries CE. These inscriptions record the fame of female practitioners within their societies. Domnina is praised for saving her native

fatherland and Panthia is acclaimed as equal to her husband and father in fame within her society as a healer and saviour. In addition to the epigraphic evidence, the terminology used for these healer women suggests no discrimination for sex in their role.

Roman evidence from the first to fourth centuries CE has also indicated that women were hired even at the highest levels of society. This is evident in the case of Augusta and the titles used to portray women such as her. The Roman evidence emphasised that healer choice was based on financial means, availability and experience, rather than popularised political ideals. This is particularly seen in evidence for wages, which demonstrate that physicians were paid at the rate of skilled labourers. Women could also increase their reputation through their own written and oral works and the use of advertisement through namesakes and associations.

4. What was the reputation of women as healers?

This thesis examined the public perception of healer women over an extended period of time. It has achieved an analysis of attitudes towards healer women that has not been attempted on this scale previously. It has shown that attitudes towards healer women and their respective statuses varied and that overall they were well respected members of the community. Women who applied themselves to the healing occupation appear not to have been challenging boundaries though they may have been considered to be taking masculine roles. Elise Boulding listed medicine among occupations specifically forbidden to women, stating that there were records of illegal practice and punishment demonstrating a common misconception referred to by non-medical historians, but this thesis has shown that the evidence does not support that conclusion.¹ In comparison to other masculine based occupations, such as those involving politics, there is no indication in the historical records to suggest that there were any major issues of acceptance or restriction within the general population, especially outside of Athens. Whereas the spread of the typology shows that there were varying levels of acceptance, partly perhaps due to the nature or amount of extant evidence, there are no records showing opposition.

¹ Boulding (1975): 102.

In terms of reputation and attitudes, this thesis has shown that healer women could be well regarded in their communities and that status varied dependent on type, geographical area, and time period. The associations of terms and healing methods that have been discussed support this. This thesis also expands comprehension of the context and medical traditions that women were associated, demonstrating a more holistic view of Greek medicine.

The analysis has determined that Athens had the greatest distinction from other areas concerning attitudes towards healer women. In Athens, healer women are not seen in any period in higher classes. There is only one example of an Athenian woman physician in the Classical period, and in the Hellenistic period, there are only references to female deities as physicians. Midwives are pertinent in every period as a vital part of society, but in Athens, their epitaphs demonstrate relatively little overall wealth and status, with the exception of Phanostrate, who is not only a midwife, but also a physician, which may explain this discrepancy. This is in contrast to Rome and the Eastern Greek world, where inscriptions to midwives and physicians attest to a higher status and wealth through lengthy texts and significant recognition by their community.

The evidence from the Hellenistic period has shown a rise in inscriptional evidence for healer women. This is illustrative of a mix of Greek and Eastern influences, mobility and differing limitations and opportunities, which allowed it to become more acceptable for women to be associated with healing occupations. The exception to this increase is again Athens, where ideas appear to change little from period to period. In Classical Athens, there is a rare exception, where male terminology is applied to a female, but this is more indicative that the rarity of women in a physician role meant that no female terminology existed, so male terminology had to be used. Mobility and status of midwives also appears to increase in Eastern Hellenized areas over time. The epigraphy demonstrated that there was more respect for healer women in these areas than to the Greek mainland.

This thesis has also shown that Greek Egypt held differing attitudes to that displayed in Athens, and provided more opportunities for women in healing roles. Papyrological evidence is the main source for analysis within Egypt and with this evidence we are able to assess worth of nurses and midwives through wages and contracts between individuals. Healing spells in Greek

also provide us with significant points of analysis that reveal that women could be considered healing authorities within the Greek Egyptian context.

The initially negative attitudes, which are often the focus of scholars, do not stand up to the evidence that is displayed through epigraphy and other ancient literary sources. In fact, the negative connotations of healer women are overwhelmed when one looks at the wider array of ancient sources for healer women, which instead represent a more complex variety of attitudes. Socrates in Plato used the midwife in the metaphorical sense, showing that what she represented was an integral part of Greek culture. Soranus and Pliny demonstrate that midwives were reputable authorities on healing. A negative view is understandable considering the lack of a structured legislation defining healers, meaning that charlatans did exist and the ideals connected to women, especially Athens, were not always positive.

This thesis also demonstrated the flaws in more specific generalisations. Aelius Dionysius claimed that female physicians were not Greeks. Instead, it has been shown that this was not the case. The concept of segregation additionally comes into question, as the information on training opportunities becomes more apparent. It was not the law that sexes remain segregated, more an ideal in the minds of ancient scholars, who placed women's roles strictly within the household environment. This ideal became popularised, but in reality, women were not challenging any boundaries. This is evident by how complementary occupational relationships between men and women do not appear to have been disputed.

Additional inferences can be made based on the analysis that unfolded during the researching and writing of this thesis. This has led to subsequent questions being answered concerning terminology that has contributed to the overarching analysis.

5. What can terminology tell us about the reputation, opportunities, and skills of healer women?

Analysis of terminology has been pertinent to understanding healer women as individuals and as a social concept. The Typology Chapter allowed a foundation to be set for the following analysis and has proven central to the establishment of this thesis. The epigraphy is fundamental to our comprehension of women in healing roles. The typology provided a base for

analysing attitudes, movement of culture, and the significance of geographical locations and time periods. It highlighted the availability and quality of evidence. Significantly, the typology also discussed Greek terms and their associations with the wider medical sphere. The connotations of these terms for physician and midwife are indicative of their medical knowledge and theoretical training.

It is now evident that male and medically associated terminology has been incorporated into feminine forms. This shows an accepted usage in common language, which is displayed even in the ancient grammatical discussions in Aelius Herodianus and Pseudo-Herodianus.

The aim of the typology was to gather evidence for the subsequent analysis and it has achieved this. It assists in exhibiting the wealth and status of the individuals and their families, and in establishing geographical areas and time periods where evidence is prevalent. By achieving this, the thesis was able to establish certain trends and correct previously accepted assumptions. It also exhibits names and relationships and the cultural associations and interactions of those involved.

This terminology is important. The term *ιατρίνη* is interpreted in modern scholars as ‘female physician’ and ‘midwife’. Earlier understanding of the term translated it simply as ‘midwife’ whereas the typology demonstrated that it is representative of a wider medical role. The term ‘midwife’ can no longer be considered as appropriate to translate *ιατρίνη*.

The *ιατρίνη* must be viewed in the context in which she occurred. The translation as ‘midwife’ is not so much a downplaying of the *ιατρίνη*, but an assumption of women’s opportunities, roles and expectations upon them. The lack of female physicians in popular ancient sources, such as Galen and the Hippocratic Corpus, despite the citation of Cleopatra, also influenced this translation.

The phrase *μαῖα καὶ ἱατρὸς* used in relation to Phanostrate (**MP1**) has also revealed to us that further discussion was necessary for the terms *ιατρίνη* and *ιατρόμαια*. While previous scholars describe Phanostrate as a midwife, the two terms used suggest that she possessed skill in medicine beyond the gynaecological and worked in the position of a female physician. The concept of medical knowledge in terminology extends into the Roman period with Latin

epitaphs using the transliteration (*iatromaea*) to describe women instead of the usual Latin *obstetrix* (midwife) or *medica* (physician).

The term *φαρμακίς* has also been discussed within this thesis. We found that one called a *φαρμακίς* might be associated with herbs and healing or evil and wickedness. The term is not always used negatively for a 'witch'. The negative or positive connotations of the term are likely the result of differing attitudes towards magic – that it could be beneficial or noxious. This is a significant point regarding the place of these women in society and their clients.

6. How has this thesis added to previous scholarship and general studies on women in the Greek world?

This work has added to the previous scholarship by providing a comprehensive catalogue of epigraphic evidence and demonstrating its value. It has also moved away from common assumptions to show that individual case studies and over all trends can be identified to create a wider understanding of Greek healer women. This thesis leads the way for future research on Roman evidence from later periods and the treatment and care of slaves in skilled roles. It identified the roles for women in medicine. It provides and shows a public acknowledgement of various women healers.

This thesis has gone beyond previous studies of women and medicine by bringing together and analysing the specifically Greek epigraphic evidence for healer women. The use of the Greek epigraphy has allowed this thesis to frame the different types of healer women within their specific periods and circumstances. In doing, this it has allowed us to perceive these women as individuals and as products of their societies and to expand our comprehension of the skilled woman throughout the fifth century BCE to the fourth century CE.

While previous scholars have touched on a few of the examples of healer women, it has not taken into account all the epigraphic evidence produced here and viewed these women within their own contexts. Before the undertaking of this thesis, the picture of skilled healer women was limited to few isolated examples, which were viewed as challenges to the boundaries of a male-orientated and dominated world. The evidence discussed in this thesis has shown that there is far more to these individuals than previously noted.

APPENDIX 1: Related Latin Epigraphy

Translations are by the author of this thesis.

CIL 2.497; ILS 7802²

Emerita, Spain

2nd Century CE

D[IS] M[ANIBVS] S
IVLIAE • SATVRNINAE
ANN • XXXXV
VXORI • INCOMPARABILI
MEDICAE • OPTIMAE
MVLIERI • SANCTISSIMAE
CASSIVS • PHILIPPVS
MARTVS • OBMERITIS
H • S • E • S • T • T • L

Sacred to the divine dead, Iulia Saturnina. Lived 45 years. An incomparable wife. The best physician. The most holy woman.³ Cassius Philippus Martus established [this monument] on account of her qualities. She lies here (may the earth rest lightly on you).

CIL 13.2019⁴

Lyons

1st/2nd Century CE

METILIA • DONATA • MEDICA
DE • SVA • PECVNIA • DEDIT ///

² Furst (1997): 135-137, 143; Gummerus (1932): 84, no.323. This inscription has an image of a baby in swaddling clothes carved into the back.

³ One could also translate “most chaste woman” for *mulieri sanctissimae*.

⁴ Furst (1997): 135, 144; Remy (1984): 138-39, no.18; Jackson (1988): 191 n.4.

L • D • D • D

Metilia Donata, a physician. Gave [this monument] at her own expense site provided by a decree of the decurions.

CIL 13.4334⁵

Metz

2nd/3rd Century CE

INI • FIL • MEDICA

[X,] daughter of ---inius, physician.

CIL 6.6851⁶

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

MELITINE

MEDICA APPVLEI

Melitone, a physician, [slave] of Appuleius.

CIL 6.8711⁷

Rome

2nd Century CE

SECVNDA

LIVILLAES

MEDICA

TI • CLAVDIVS

CAESARIS • L

CELER • AEPITVS

⁵ Furst (1997): 135, 143; Gummerus (1932): 91, no.358; Kampen (1981): 157 (Catalogue III.52).

⁶ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 265; Gummerus (1932): 23 (no.29); Korpela (1987): 163 (no.42).

⁷ Gummerus (1932): 26, no.42; Korpela (1987): 179, no.140.

A VESTA

To Secunda Livilla, physician. Tiberius Claudius Celer Aepitus, freedman of Caesar in the wardrobe department [set this up].

CIL 6.8926⁸

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

[DIS] MANIBVS

[CRESCEN]TI • A FRVMENTO

[MINIST]RATORVM • AVG(VSTI)

[ANONYMA] CAESARIS • MEDICA

[EX FAMILIA C]ASTRENSI • CONIVGI

[OPTIMO F]ECIT • ET • SIBI • POSTERISQVE SVIS

To the divine dead [Crescentius], attendant on the imperial food supply, [Anonyma], (slave) of Caesar, physician of the imperial household, made (this) for her excellent husband and herself and their descendants.

CIL 6.9614⁹

Rome

1st/2nd Century

IVLIA

PYE

MEDICA

Julia Pye, a doctor

CIL 6.9615¹⁰

⁸ Furst (1997): 142; Gummerus (1932): 28 (no.59); Korpela (1987): 185 (no.176).

⁹ Furst (1997): 142; Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 265; Gummerus 36, no.111; Korpela (1987): No.135.

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

MINVCIA

C.L.ASSTE

MEDICA

Minucia Asste, freedwoman of a Roman citizen woman, physician.

CIL 6.9617¹¹

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

VENVLEIA

(MVLIERIS) • L(IBERTA) • SOSIS

MEDICA

Venuleia Sosis, freedwoman of a woman, physician.

CIL 8.24679¹²

Carthage

1st Century CE

ASYLLIA • L • F • POLIA

MEDICA • H • S • E •

VIXS • A • TXV •

EVSCIUS • L • D • S • F

Asyllia Polla, physician, Daughter of Lucius is buried here. She lived sixty-five [?] years.¹³

Euscus supplied a burial place and made [this monument].

¹⁰ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 265; Furst (1997): 142; Gummerus (1932): 36 (no.112); Korpela (1987): 163 (no.43).

¹¹ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 265; Furst (1997): 142; Gummerus (1932): 36 (no.114); Korpela (1987): 163 (no.44).

¹² Furst (1997): 142; Gummerus 82, no.316.

CIL 12.3343¹⁴

Nîmes

1st/2nd Century CE

FLAVIAE

HEDONES

MEDICAE

EX • T •

[Burial-place of] Flavia Hedone, a foreign physician.

CIL 5.3461¹⁵

Verona

1st Century BCE-CE

C • CORNELIVS

MELIBOEVS

SIBI • ET

SENTIAI

ELIDI • MEDICAI

CONTVBER

SENTIAI • ASTE

Caius Cornelius Meliboeus [set up this monument] for himself and Sentia Elis, his wife, a physician and for Sentia Aste.

CIL 6.7581¹⁶

¹³ This third line is difficult as there does not seem to be a known logic for the letters as we do not know exactly what it is trying to say. This is likely an abbreviation or an error that cannot be determined at this point.

¹⁴ Gummerus (1932): no.343; Remy (1984): no.5; Le Gall (1970): 128, n.4.

¹⁵ Furst (1997): 142; Gummerus (1932): 73 (no.273); Le Gall (1970): 128 n.4; Kampen (1981): 116 n.40.

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

DEAC • SANCTAE • MEAE
PRIMILLAE • MEDICAE •
L • VIBI • MELITONIS • F(ILIAE) •
VIXIT • ANNIS • XXXXIII
EX EIS • CVM • L • COCCEIO
APTHORO • XXX • SINE
QVERELLA • FECIT •
APTHORVS • CONVIG(I)
OPTIMAE • CASAE
ET SIBI •

To the sacred goddess of my Primilla, a physician, daughter of L.Vibius Melito, she lived 44 years, 30 of them with L.Cocceius Apthorus, without complaint. Apthorus made (this) for his best and chaste wife and himself.

CIL 9.5861¹⁷

Ostimo

1st/2nd Century CE

DEIS • MANB
IVLIAE • Q • L
SABINAE
MEDICAE
Q • IVLIUS • ATIMETVS
CONIVGI
BENE • MERENTI

¹⁶ Furst (1997): 143; Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 264; Korpela (1987): No.256.

¹⁷ Furst (1997): 143; Gummerus (1932): no.203.

For the divine dead Iulia Sabina, freedwoman of Quintus. A Physician, Quintus Iulius Atimetus [made this] for his well-deserving wife.

CIL 8.806¹⁸

Avitta Bibba, North Africa

3rd Century CE

SALVS OMNIVM
MEDICINE GEMI
NIA ///INKSVP
DATIVICVR ///
ITER ////////
VNIV¹⁹ ////////
NEAC ////////
PERP ////////
VS /////////

Geminia, the health of all through medicine,²⁰ made this for herself while alive...

CIL 6.9616²¹

Rome

1st Century CE

D(IS) M(ANIBUS) TERENCEIAE NICENI TERENCEIAE
PRIMAES MEDICAS LIBERTAE FECERVNT MVSSIVS

¹⁸ Furst (1997): 143.

¹⁹ May be VNIVERA.

²⁰ The literal translation “The health of all belonging to medicine” does not sit well in context. ‘Medicine’ has thus been taken as an ablative with a misspelled with a third declension ending. This would allow for a better translation that has been provided above.

²¹ Furst (1997): 143.

ANTIOCHIVS ET MVSSIA DIONYSIA FIL(II) M(ATRI)

B(ENE) M(ERENTI)

For the divine dead Terentia Nice, freedwoman of Terentia Prima, physician. Mussius Antiochis and Mussia Dionysia, her children, to their well-deserving mother.

CIL 10.1933

Puteoli

2nd Century CE

D • M

COELIAE HAGNE

OBSETRICI

M • VLPIVS • ZOSIMVS •

CONIVGI • SANCTISSIM

For the divine dead. To Coelia Hagne, midwife. Marcus Ulpius Zosimus (put this up) to his most holy wife.

CIL 6.37810²²

Rome

31 CE

SEX • TEIDIV[S SEX • L]

ANTE[ROS]

TEIDIA • SEX [L]

OPSTETRI[X]

Sextus Teidius freedman of Sextus Anteros and Teidia, freedwoman of Sextus, midwife.

CIL 6.4458²³

Rome

²² French (1986): 69-84; Korpela (1987): 162, No.45.

²³ French (1986): 69-84; Korpela (1987): No. 134.

1st/2nd Century CE

HYGIA

MARCELLAE • L

OBSTETRIX

Hygia freedwoman of Marcella, midwife.

CIL 6.6325²⁴

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

SECVNDA

OBSTETRIX

STATILIAE • MAIORIS

Secunda, the midwife, [slave] of Statilia the Elder.

CIL 6.6647²⁵

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

HYGIAE

FLAVIAE • SABINAE

OPSTETR • VIXIT • ANN • XXX

MARIVS • ORTHRVS • ET

APOLLONIVS • CONTRV BERNALI

CARISSIMAE

For Hygia Flavia Sabina, midwife. She lived 30 years. Marius Orthrus and Apollonius [put this up] to [Apollonius'] dearest wife.

CIL 6.6832²⁶

²⁴ French (1986): No.141.

²⁵ French (1986): 69-84; Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 304; Korpela (1987): No.202.

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

SEMPRONIA • PELORIS

ATRATINAE • OPSETRIX

///RIS • V • A///

Sempronia Peloris Atratinae, midwife.

CIL 6.8192²⁷

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

Q • SALLVSTIVS

DIOGAE • L

DIOGES

SALLVSTIA

ARTEMDORI • L

ATHEN[AI]S

OPSTETRIX

Quintus Sallustius Dioges, freedman of Dioga. Sallustia Athenais, freedwoman of Artemidorus, midwife.

CIL 6.8207²⁸

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

SALLVSTIA • Q • L • IMERITA • OPSTETRIX

Q • SALLVSTIVS • Q • L • ARTIMIDORVS

P

²⁶ French (1986): 69-84.

²⁷ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 405; Korpela (1987): No.138.

²⁸ French (1986): 69-84; Korpela (1987): No.139.

Sallustia Imerita Freedwoman of Quintus, a midwife, Quintus Sallustius Artimidorus P[?], freedman of Quintus.

CIL 6.8947²⁹

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

ANTONIAE • AVG • L

THALLVSAE

OPSTETRIC

Antonia Thallusa, freedwoman of Augustus, a midwife.

CIL 6.8948³⁰

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

PRIMA LIVIAE • OBSTETRIX ASTEROPE • MAXIMI

EPICHARIS • MAXIMI MATER

Prima, slave of Livia, Asterope, midwife. Epicharis wife of Maximus. Maximus' mother.

CIL 6.8949³¹

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

[IVL]IAE

[DIVA]E • AVG • L

SIAE

[OBS]TETRICI

To Julia Sia, freedwoman of the deified Augusta, a midwife.

²⁹ Korpela (1987): No.142.

³⁰ Korpela (1987): No.136.

³¹ Korpela (1987): No.136.

CIL 6.9720³²

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

CLAVDIAE TROPHIM
OBSETRICI
T • CASSIVS • TROPHIMVS • F
MATRI • PIENTISSIMAE ET
TI • CASSIVS • TROPHIMIANVS
AVIAE ET POSTERISQVE SVIS
FECERVNT
VIX • ANN LXXV M • V

To Claudia Trophima, midwife. Titus Cassius Trophimus, her son, to his most gentle mother, and Tiberius Cassius Trophimianus to his grandmother, and to their descendants. She lived 75 years and 5 months.

CIL 6.9721³³

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

C • GRATTIVS
HILARAE
OPSTETRICIS • L
PLOCAMVS
A MONTE
ESQVILINO

Gaius Grattius Plocamus, from the Esquiline Hill, freedman of Hilara, the midwife.

³² Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 405; Korpela (1987): No.175.

³³ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 405; Korpela (1984): No.133.

CIL 6.9722³⁴

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

D M

IVLIAE • VENE

RIAE • OPSTETRI

CI • B • M

FECIT •

IVLI • VS • HF

For the divine dead. To Iulia Veneria, the midwife, well-deserving. Iulius, he put this up.

CIL 6.9723³⁵

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

POBLICIA • C • L • APHE

OPSTETRIX • OSSA • TIBI

BENE QVIESCANT •

VIXIT • ANNOS • XXI

Poblicia Aphe, midwife, freedwoman of a Roman citizen woman. May your bones rest peacefully. She lived 21 years.

CIL 6.9724³⁶

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

ANTIV //// ALERIAE SYRE

QVE VIXIT ANNIS XXXI

³⁴ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 405; Korpela (1984): No.162.

³⁵ Lefkowitz and Fant (2005): 405.

³⁶ Korpela (1984): No.285.

[Q]VO • FECIT ANNOS • VIII • ET

[DE] POSITA • PRI • IDVS • NOVEM

A • FILIA • OBSETRICIS

Antius to Aleria Syre. She lived 31 years [she lived with him] nine years and [was] buried on the day before the Ides of November [i.e. 12 November], daughter of a midwife.

CIL 6.9725³⁷

Rome

1st/2nd Century CE

S[ACRVM]

OENI

[O]PSETRICI

ME

[BENE MER]ENTI

To my Oenis, midwife, who was well-deserving.

P.Diog.10 (TM 10689)³⁸

Ptolemais Euergetis

3 June 211 CE

L(ucius) Ignatius Rufinus Ant(inoites) t(estamentum) f(ecit). L(ucius) Ignatius

Nemesianus fr[a]t̄er meus

ex asse mihi heres esto(*) o(mnium) b(onorum) m[(eorum)]. c(eteri) o(mnes) exheredes

sunto†1(*), cernītoque

hereditatem meam infra diē̄m centesimum proximis qua sc̄iet

poterit heredem esse s(ine) d(olo) m(alo). d(o) l(ego) Lucretia<e> Octauia<e>[c]ōniu-

gae meae, qui multum lāborauerī̄t in infirmitatē̄m meā̄m, iug(era)

fr(umentaria) v semis in loco Potamoni secundum Serēni lā[t]uș et

³⁷ Korpela (1984): No.163.

³⁸ Rowlandson (1998): 70-72; Youte, et al. (1937): 64.

partem dimidiam domum meam qui appellatur i()p\i/ ari
 secundum Antonium Didumianum ueteranum(*) si q[uid] ue-
 nerit debiti(*) causa aut aliquem rationem, ex[aequa]bi-
 tur ab herede me[o], et si quid habeo in domu mea [id uolo u]-
 xoris mea esse. vac. corpus m[e]um funerari uolo fid[. . per]
 fratrem meum et heredem meum s(upra) s(criptum) in uico Philad[elphia]
 nomi Arsinoitu Heraclidu partis, v Nonas Martia[s Fau]-
 stino et Rufino co(n)s(ulibus), anno xviii Imp(*) (eratorum) Caesarum L(ucii) Sep[timi]
 Seueri et M(arci) Aureli Antonini: et P(ublii) Septimi Getae Aug(*) (ustorum), [men]-
 se Phamenoth die vii ἀ(ντίγραφον) ὑπογράφης· Λούκιος Ἰγνάτιος Που[φίνο]ς
 διεθέμην ὡς πρόκειται apert(um) et rec(itatum) Aug(usto foro) Ars(inoitu)
 met(ropoleos) iii Non[as Iunias,]
 Quintiano et Basso co(n)s(*) (ulibus), anno eodem, mense Pauni die v[iiii]
 praes(ente) pl(urima) part(e) signat(orum) f(igentium) sig(na). L(ucius) Valerius
 Lucretianus adg(noui). M(arcus) L[. . .]
 nus adg(noui). Fl(avius) Didu(*) \Diogenes/ adg(noui). Arrius Nigerus adg(noui)
 M(arcus) Aurel(ius) Anubion. L(ucius) A[. . .]
 Cottarus

Lucius Ignatius Rufinus Antinoites made this will.

Let Lucius Ignatius Nemesianus my brother be sole heir to me (heres mihi ex asse) of all my property. Let all other be non-heirs (disinherited). And he will be able to be my heir without bad sorrow, having been entered into my inheritance after the hundredth day and, in a way that he will know (?), [pass property?] to the following people.

I select and give to my wife Lucretia Octavia, who will have laboured greatly against my sickness, grain producing iugera [of land],³⁹ five and half [iugera] in the place of Potamo next to the boundary edge of Serenus and the half part which is called my home...[?]. . . next to Antonius Didumianus of the veterans.

³⁹ Roman unit of measurement of area, 240 pedes (Roman feet) or 71m in length and 120 pedes or 35.5m in breadth.

If anything should be sold because of debt or for any other reason and if I have anything in my home that I want to be my wife's, it will be compensated by my heir. [vac?] I want my body to be buried (faithfully?) by my brother and my heir, as written above, in the village Philadelphia in the Heracleides part (?) of the district Arsinoite (?).

[I made this] while alive on the nones of March, in the consulship of Faustinus and Rufinus, in the 19th year of the emperor Lucius Septimius Severus and of the emperors, M[arcus] Aurelius Antoninus and Publius Septimus Geta in the month of Phamenoth on the seventh day ἀ(ντίγραφον) ὑπογράφ(αφῆς)· Λούκιος Ἰγνάτιος Ρου[φῖνος] διεθέμην ὡς πρόκειται (Copied by one who writes under another's orders, Lucius Ignatius Rhoupheinos arranged this to be set before one), opened and read in the Imperial Forum of the metropolis Arsinoitu on the third day before the nones of June.

In the consulship of Quintianus and Bassus, in this same year, in the month of Paunus on the ninth day, with a great part of the signatories present, Lucius Lucretianus verified the marks of those sealing [the will]. Marcus L...nus verified the marks, Flavius Didu Diogenes verified the marks. Arrius Nigerus verified the marks, Marcus Aurelius Anubion. Lucius... Cottarus.

APPENDIX 2: List of Related References in the Ancient Literary Evidence

Female Physicians

Direct References

ιατρός γυνή:

Aelius Dionysius Attic., *Ἀττικά ὀνόματα*: 1:1.

ιατρικήν:

Plato, *Republic*: V.454 d2.

ιατρίναι:

Galen, *De locis affectis libri vi*: Vol. 8, 414. 7, 425.2.

ιατρίναις:

Galen, *De locis affectis libri vi*: Vol. 8, 425.2.

Josephus, *Life of Josephus*: 37.185.

Aelius Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus, *Περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* : Vol. 3,2, 456.27.

Alexander Phil., *Problemata (lib. 1–2)*: 2.64.8.

Palladius Scr. Eccl., *Historia Lausiaca (recensio G)*: 68.3.5.

Grammatical References

ιατρίνη:

Aelius Herodianus et Pseudo-Herodianus *De prosodia catholica*: Vol. 3,1, 533.4; 333.13; Vol. 3,2, 13.27; 456.27.

Orus, *Vocum Atticarum collectio (fragmenta ap. alios auctores et in aliis Ori scriptis)*: 80.1.

Related References of a Later Date (9-12th C)

ιατρίναις:

Michael Attaliates, *Πόνημα νομικὸν ἥτοι σύνοψις πραγματική*: Epigram-proem-title 33.6

ιατρίνη:

Basilica, *Basilica*: Book 35.8, 39.4.

Epanagoge, *Epanagoge Aucta*: Title 27, 28.4.

Georgius Choeroboscus, *De orthographia (epitome) (e cod. Barocc. 50)*: 171.2; 270.7.

Leo Medicus, *Conspectus medicinae*: 6.16.4.

Prochiron, *Prochiron Legum vel Prochiron Calabriae*: Title 40, 11.2.

Typicon Magnae Ecclesiae, *Typicon menaeum*: 9.298.5.

Suda, *Lexicon*: Alphabetic letter iota entry 64.1

Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopoleos, *Synaxarium mensis Maii*: Day 22, 3.2.

Etymologicum Gudianum, *Additamenta in Etymologicum Gudianum* (ἀάλιον—ζειαί): 24.21.

Michael Psellus, *Opusculum*: 55.1113.

Eustathius Thessalonicensis *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem*, AD 12: 3.244.17-18

Midwives

Direct References

μαίας:

Plato, *Theaetetus*: 149a.

Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosopher*: 2.5.

μαιεύεσθαι:

Plato, *Theaetetus*: 149c; 150b.

μαιεύεται:

Plato, *Theaetetus*: 149b.

μαιευτρίαις:

Galen, *On the Natural Faculties*: 3.3.

μαίης:

Aretaeus, *De causis et signis acutorum morborum* (lib. 2): 2.11

μαία:

Herophilus, *Maientikon*.

Plautus, *Miles Gloriosus*: 697.

Hyginus, *Fabulae*: 274.

Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*: 2.205

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*: 28.20, 28.23, 28.28, 28.77, 35.40.

Soranus, *Gynaecology*: 1.1.3, 1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 2.2.2, 2.2.3, 2.3.5, 2.3.6, 2.5.7, 4.2.2.

Pseudo-Plutarch, *de Fluviiis*: 20.

Codex Justinian: 6.43.3.

P.Terentius Afer, *Andria*: 1.4, 4.4.

Metaphoric References

Plato, *Theaetetus*: 210c, 150d, 160e, 157c, 184b, 151c, 161e. 149e.

Aristophanes, *Lysistrata*: 683.

Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of the Eminent Philosopher*: 3.1.

Plato, *Statesman*: 268b.

Plutarch, *De sollertia animalium*: 32.

Related References of a Later Date

Vindicianus, *Gynaecia*.

Nurses Directly Related to Medicine

ταῖς τίτθαις:

Aristotle, *Rhetoric*: 3.4.

τροφός:

Euripides, *Hippolytus*: 170-200, 267-310.

Herbalists and Sorceresses

Direct References – Negative

γυνή φαρμακίς:

Maximus Soph., *Dialexeis*: Lecture 16.6c.6.

γυναῖκα καὶ φαρμακίδα:

Heliodorus Scr. Erot., *Aethiopica*: 8.9.17.2.

γυναῖκα φαρμακίδα:

Scholia in *Aristophanem*, *Commentarium in Nubes*: 746.6.

πολυφαρμάκου:

Homer, *Odyssey*: 10.261.

φάρμακα:

Homer, *Odyssey*: 4.219.

φαρμακίδα:

Demosthenes, *Against Aristogiton*: 1.25.79.

Adrianus, *Declamatio*: 44.12.

Artemidorus, *Onirocriticon*: 2.12.144.

Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historiae Romanae*: 60.34.2.6; 64b.3.4.2

Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Historiae Romanae*: 145.29; 187.29

Origenes, *Commentarium in evangelium Matthaei* (lib. 12–17) : 14.24.82.

Scholia in *Lycophronem*: 1393.6.

Aelian, *Varia Historia*: 5.18

φαρμακίδας:

Pausanias, *Description of Greece*: 9.11.3.3.

Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica*: 4.1.

Gregorius Nyssenus, *De pythonissa ad Theodosium episcopum*: 105.8.

φαρμακίδος:

Gregorius Nyssenus, *De pythonissa ad Theodosium episcopum*: 105.8.

φαρμακίδων:

Nicander, *Alexipharmaea*: 538.

Maximus, *Dialexeis*: 38.7e.6.

Anonymus de Viribus Herbarum, *Carminis de viribus herbarum fragmentum*: 13, 165, 180, 216

φαρμακιστόταται δέ εἰσι γυναικῶν:

Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*: 17.4.1

φαρμακίς:

Pherecrates, *Fragmenta*: Fragment 17.1.

Aristophanes, *Aristophanis historiae animalium epitome sub iunctis Aeliani Timothei aliorumque eclogis*: 2.384.2.

Aelius Theon, *Progymnasmata*: 94.28.

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φαρμακίδι:

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