

The Woman Holding a Liver from Mantinea: Female Manteis and Beyond

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A fragment of a life-size relief from Mantinea, now in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (inv. no. 226), shows a woman with a liver in her hand traditionally interpreted as a priestess or a prophetess. This article maintains that it is an important piece of evidence in discussions of gender roles in ancient Greek society because it depicts a female *mantis* concerned with the inspection of the entrails of a sacrificial animal. Inscriptions from Larissa and Sparta show that this was not an exception but in all probability a widespread and common practice. Ancient and modern systems of classifying divinitory practices differ significantly.

In the exhibition rooms of the National Archaeological Museum of Greece at Athens there is a life-size relief from Arcadian Mantinea (inv. no. 226) representing a woman holding a liver in her hand.¹ (Figs. 1, 2)

This monument has not been treated very often. Scholarly attention has focused mainly on two issues, discussing basic questions concerning the ancient function and the local context of the object on one hand, dealing with the vexed problem whether the person depicted can be identified as a historical person on the other hand. I shall first give a short description of the object itself and of previous discussions concerning it, and will then proceed to locate the relief from Mantinea in a wider context of cultural history and gender roles in ancient Greek society emphasizing its significance as an important piece of evidence for the reconstruction of gender roles.

1. The photographs are by H.-R. Goette, Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen (2000), who also supported my work by discussion and comments. An earlier version of this paper has been published, in German, in <http://www.farch.net> (16.03.2001). The relief was first published by Fougères 1888, 377-80; cf. Fougères 1898, 540-2; Svoronos 1911, pl. 199. The most detailed study is by Moebius 1934. Short discussions: Ridgway 1981, 141-2; Boardman 1985, commentary to fig. 172; Mantis 1990, 51 with pl. 18; Kron 1996, 143; Schefold 1997, 108-9.

The woman on the Mantinea relief is depicted standing, dressed in a heavy peplos, and looking to her right; the head is not preserved, and only traces remain of her elbow below the right breast, which show that the right arm was raised.

The lowest part of the relief is not damaged; it shows that the stone slab was 0.80 m wide. What remains of its height is 1.48 m, including 0.08 m for the plinth beneath the feet. The depth of the stone slab is also 0.08 m, and there are holes on the sides and on the relief ground; one hole is near her left shoulder, and there are traces of a dowel hole which cannot be seen in the photograph near her right breast, presumably to fix an object which she held in her raised, right hand.² Apart from the iconographical details of the *peplos* and the sandals there are two more distinctive elements in the representation: she holds the liver of an animal in her left hand (Fig. 3), and a palm tree was depicted in front of her right leg. The palm must have been almost equally high as the figure of the woman. Other elements of this composition are not preserved, as for example the object she held in her raised right hand and the shape of the top of the palm tree. This has consequences for the question whether the representation was continued on an adjoining slab on the left side – perhaps to give room for palm leaves on both sides. Confronted with open questions of this kind, we should be cautious when attempting to reconstruct the whole scene. The preserved elements of the image are not part of any known, typical composition to be found on grave-reliefs or on vases of classical times.³

A clear statement concerning the palm-tree is difficult to express because the meaning of the palm depends on the context in which it appears.⁴ At least in Attic iconography it can be associated with more than one god: with Apollo,⁵ presumably with Demeter,⁶ with Dionysos, Heracles, and in connection with an altar it would often indicate the sphere of female initiation rites under the

2. Hand raised in prayer: Moebius 1934, 47; Schefold 1985, 108.

3. Images of *extispicium* or hepatoscopy are rare. On Attic vases there is a series of some 20 examples from around 500 B.C. showing it as part of the scene called 'Kriegers Abschied': cf. Durand and Lissarague 1979, 92-108; Kossatz-Deissmann 1981; Bloch 1986; Van Straten 1995, 156-7.

4. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1985, 125; Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 370; Laxander 2000, 37 n. 174.

5. Cf. Steier 1941, 402-3 (Apollo of Delos); Miller 1979, 6-18; Graf 1997, 467 (Apollo or Artemis).

6. Cf. Moebius 1934, 47-8 with fig. 2 (cf. Dugas 1910). Based on this fragmentary relief (allegedly from Eleusis, now in Paris, Louvre Ma 3580) showing an incubation scene with a palm-trunk and a sitting female, Miller (1979, 29-31) maintains that the relief from Mantinea has also to be connected with the local cult of Demeter and Core. But the relief from Mantinea does not show a goddess and it does not contain any hint of the two goddesses. Demeter, Core and Egyptian gods in association with palms: cf. Bookidis and Stroud 1997, 370.

protection of Artemis.⁷ To avoid circular argumentation, we should avoid⁸ connecting it with Apollo because of the liver,⁹ or with the trias of Leto, Artemis, and Apollo, although there is an ancient text mentioning a sanctuary of the Letoides near the agora at Mantinea (Paus. 8.9.1). Moreover, for our purpose, it is not important to know which deities might have been involved. On the relief from Mantinea, the palm can be understood in a more general sense as a sign for the location of the scene: outdoors, which does not necessarily imply simply 'nature' versus 'culture', it can also indicate a sanctuary.¹⁰ To confirm a more specific interpretation, we would need more and independent evidence, for example the depiction of an altar in combination with the palm.

The representation of the liver is partially covered by the woman's thumb; it shows two liver lobes and three projections on its top, described as follows:¹¹ a pyramidal one, which might indicate the part called the 'head' of the liver in antiquity, which was of special importance for the interpretation; a drop-shaped one, which should indicate the gall-bladder; and a semicircular one, of which only traces can be observed. If compared with other ancient representations of livers,¹² we can observe almost the same elements of the liver on the top side and roughly the same shape of the liver-lobes especially in highly stylized examples from Italy.¹³ The small group of Attic vase paintings depict hepatoscopy in a radically different way: an assistant boy holding big, fleshy objects presumably representing bovine livers and perhaps other entrails as well to be 'examined' by a departing warrior.¹⁴ When compared with a modern drawing of a sheep's liver¹⁵ the representation from Mantinea seems to show this type

7. Cf. Sourvinou-Inwood 1985.

8. Cf. Jost 1985, 124; 131-2; 491.

9. E.g. Van der Meer 1979, 56 to no. 6.

10. Cf. Laxander 2000, 37 n. 174; Schefold 1997, 108 (sanctuary).

11. Parts of the liver: Thulin 1912, 2451; Rasmussen 2001, 165. Concerning the 'head of the liver', cf. e.g. Plut. *Cim.* 18.4 who explains the term. Its absence was regarded as an indicator of disasters to come; cf. Thulin, *loc. cit.*

12. Representations of livers from antiquity are rare. The nearest parallel to its shape is, as far as I know, the terracotta liver from Etruria, now in Rome, Villa Giulia, inv. 3786; cf. Van der Meer 1979, 61 fig. 7. Concerning the position of the liver in the hand of the interpreter, there are two almost exactly parallel examples: the seer on a gold-amphora from Panagjurishte (mus. Plovdiv), and an alabaster urn from Volterra (Mus. Etrusco Guarnacci 136); Van der Meer 1979, 63 fig. 13 and 64 fig. 20.

13. Highly stylized are the objects from Volterra, the famous liver from Piacenza, also the small representation of the liver on the golden amphora from Panagjurishte, the only example outside of the Italian/Etrurian context; cf. Van der Meer 1979.

14. Cf. *supra* n. 3.

15. Körte 1905, 352 fig. 1.

rather than the more complex shapes of the livers of other domestic animals,¹⁶ and thus it is presumably referring to the most common sacrificial victim in ancient Greece.

Hepatoscopy or, in a more general expression, hieroscopy as a technique of divination was not limited, as has often been assumed, to the western part of the Mediterranean. It was not a specifically Roman or Etruscan technique, but was widely used during animal sacrifice in Greece,¹⁷ and in other ancient cultures as well; in its simplest form it has only the purpose of checking that the sacrifice has been successful and will be accepted by the gods. For this reason, an image of a woman holding a liver in her hand clearly indicates her role: she is a ritual specialist trained in the examination and interpretation of entrails, a specialist who was called *mantis* in antiquity.

Previous scholarship

The woman depicted on the Mantinea relief is often described as a priestess.¹⁸ Another interpretation repeated from time to time identifies her as Diotima,¹⁹ the woman who taught Socrates according to Plato's *Symposion* (201 d). Diotima, as Plato also relates, came from Mantinea. As an instructor, she helped the Athenians to postpone the outbreak of a dangerous disease during the Peloponnesian War. But of course there is also a play on words in Plato, using the instrument of alliteration (or, better, a polyptoton): γύνη μαντική sounds like γύνη Μαντινική.²⁰ Was this a joke? Was Diotima of Mantinea a real person or a fictitious one, Plato's phantasy?

My objection to this approach is, of course, a methodological one: it cannot be proved whether the woman depicted is or is not Diotima, the teacher of Socrates. (Furthermore, it cannot be proved – something all feminists would enjoy – that Socrates had a female teacher at all.) Using philological and historical methods, we will get no answer,²¹ and archaeology will not change this

16. Cf. Nickel, Schummer and Seiferle 1975, 114-5.

17. Cf. Blecher 1905, 173-81; Nilsson 1967, 167; Stengel 1910, 74; Van Straten 1995, 156-7.

18. Moebius 1934, 47: "eine Priesterin Apollons, die sich auf die Opferschau versteht"; Neumann 1979, 43: "Priesterin"; Kron 1996, 142: "the priestess with the divinatory liver in her hand"; Schefold 1997, 108: "eine Priesterin, die bei der Opferschau in der Linken eine Leber hält".

19. Moebius 1934, 45 (summary of different positions). Cf. Wegener 1985, 126. Repetition, not necessarily with consent: Boardman 1985, commentary to fig. 172; Kron 1996, 143; Schefold 1997, 108.

20. The variant μαντικῆς is to be found in Vindobonenses 54 and 21: cf. the edition by L. Robin 1954 (Budé). Concerning the play on words which might have occurred latently in Plato, cf. Casewitz 1992, 3. Concerning the concepts of divination used by Plato, cf. Vicaire 1970.

21. Cf. Moebius 1934, 45; Bloch 1997.

picture: we have no further information bearing on this question. But the message of the relief from Mantinea can be expressed more precisely, and this will help to clarify the picture. In Plato's *Symposium*, Diotima is described as a wise woman and a religious specialist with the ability of postponing diseases. Like Empedocles and Epimenides, she can be considered a miracle-worker and a problem-solver who would be called upon by cities in moments of crisis.²² The woman on the relief from Mantinea, on the other hand, is depicted as someone concerned with interpreting a liver; the old description "la femme au foie" – the woman with a liver²³ – is therefore far more precise and is to be preferred against vague allusions to Plato, priests and prophecy. Although the ritual roles of a priestess and of an interpreter of signs – a *mantis* – could be combined in one person,²⁴ I want to stress that our image emphasizes the second aspect, the mantic one, and not simply her function as a priestess, which could have been indicated in the system of classical iconography by keys (of the sanctuary, of sacred treasuries) or by miniature depictions of the image of a goddess. These are both objects which she could not have held in her raised hand.²⁵

Using the method of stylistic comparison, the relief from Mantinea has been dated, with sufficient certainty, to the end of the 5th century B.C.²⁶ But there are many uncertainties concerning its ancient context and function: was it used as a votive relief or as a grave-marker? It was found in July 1887 during the French excavations at Mantinea near the theatre,²⁷ although not *in situ*. 'Near the theatre' means 'at the ancient *agora*', this much can be said with certainty; but, of course, we do not know whether the monument the relief belonged to was set up at this location.

Life-size representations of individuals were common as grave-markers in classical times, but were not used as votive reliefs²⁸ – as far as we know. Burials, on the other hand, were usually located outside of the settlement area, and certainly not in the *agora*. Since hero graves represent the one and only exception from the rule of extra-urban burial in classical times, can we consider

22. Cf. Burkert 1984, 44-5; Bremmer 1993, 153.

23. Fougères 1898, 540: "La «Femme au foie»".

24. Different roles of cult personnel: cf. Rüpke 1996.

25. Iconographical conventions of holding keys and miniature images: cf. Mantis 1990, 28-65 (*kleidouchoi*); 66-9 (*xoanephoroi*) with pl. 11; 6; 28; Kosmopoulou 2001, 294.

26. Moebius 1934, esp. 54; Karouzou 1979, 77; Ridgway 1981, 141; Boardman 1985, commentary to fig. 172.

27. Cf. Fougères 1888, 376; *id.* 1898, 540.

28. Cf. Moebius 1934, 54; Hausmann 1960, 47; Neumann 1979, 43; Schmaltz 1983, 139 and *passim*.

29. Neumann 1979, 43: "Grab- und gleichzeitig Weihrelief".

the relief from Mantinea to be part of a grave monument²⁹ for a heroine?³⁰ We do not know. The difficulty in interpreting a monument outside of its ancient and functional context is increased by the lack of comparable material from the Peloponnese, where votive reliefs as well as stone grave-markers were not as common in classical times as they were e.g. in Attica. I will therefore put an end here to these unsatisfactory considerations and continue with reflections on the person depicted, which will lead to more interesting perspectives.

Ancient and modern systems of classifying divination

The person on the relief from Mantinea is, as emphasized above, a person interpreting a liver, therefore identified as a person known as a *mantis* in ancient terminology. Even a superficial glance at modern books on ancient Greek culture shows the firm conviction of scholars that female *manteis* did not exist.³¹ There is a possible exception at Larisa, cited by Jan Bremmer,³² the author of the article on divination in the 1997 volume of *Der Neue Pauly*, but he seems to assume that this exception proves the rule rather than invalidate it. But now we have a second example from Mantinea, and I will give a third example later. The traditional position concerning gender roles in the field of divination which is held by Jan Bremmer, Matthew Dillon, and Philip Roth, the author of a monograph on *manteis*, and others, is based on an ancient concept of classifying techniques of divination forming two groups: we find inductive techniques like the interpretation of signs on one hand, and on the other intuitive techniques of divination like ecstatic prophecy. Over Pseudo-Plutarch³³ and Cicero's *De Divinatione*³⁴ this classification can be traced back to the school of Stoic philosophy.³⁵

Whereas the ancient concepts aimed to classify only the techniques, modern conceptualization has given this (innocent) model a social twist, stating that inductive and therefore 'rationalizing' techniques – the interpretation of lightning, earthquakes, miscarriages, animal's entrails, the observation of fire on altars and so on – were normally the task of male, migrating interpreters joining the armies in times of war when their advice was especially important. Women on the other hand acted, according to this view, in a different context of divination, mainly as ecstatic media in sanctuaries specialized in giving oracular advice

30. Moebius 1934, 58.

31. Cf. Roth 1982, 7, 31-3, 75; Bremmer 1993, 152-3; *id.* 1996, 102-3; Dillon 2002, 180.

32. Bremmer 1997, esp. 711.

33. [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 2.212 (*technikos* versus *atechnos*).

34. Cic. *Div.* 1.34 (*ars* versus *natura*); see also 1.11, 1.110, and *passim*.

35. [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 2.212; Pfeffer 1976, 57 with n. 206.

– such as the most famous example, the Pythia at Delphi. This model of classification does not fit with reality in more than one aspect – I simply refer to male ecstatic media in sanctuaries in Asia Minor, such as Klaros,³⁶ and at the Ptoion in Boiotia.³⁷ As I am concerned with women's role here,³⁸ I will now deal with two additional³⁹ examples documenting female *manteis* interpreting signs. The evidence is epigraphical.

First, there is the woman from Larisa in Thessaly, referred to by Jan Bremmer as an exception: the text of a gravemarker simply reads “Satyra, the *mantis*”.⁴⁰ (Fig. 4) The monument is a grave-stele of Hellenistic times which in the present state of investigation gives no further information about the person and the context involved; but observe the strange position of the text on the stone.⁴¹

Second, we find a female *mantis* in a catalogue of Spartan magistrates (*IG* V.1, 141), dating from Augustan times.⁴² Under the heading “*hierothytai*” – the first, defect line of column I – which describes people organizing sacrifices, we find the names of six persons. The first three names are male names, the fourth is Alkibia Teisamenou, then again two male names, Nikokleidas Theodorou and Eutychidas. At their beginning the last three lines have ligatures – abbreviations of terms describing their functions. (Fig. 5) They mean in the case of Nikokleidas *GRAMmateus*, scribe; in the case of Eutychidas, in the last line, *MAGeIros*, which might be translated as ‘butcher-cum-cook’; and in the case of Alkibia Teisamenou *MAN* – *mantis*. There is no doubt involved in this reading,⁴³ and this woman comes from a family of *manteis* at imperial Sparta⁴⁴ which continued to use the name of their famous ancestor, the seer Teisamenos of Elis.

36. Tac. *Ann.* 2.54; cf. Picard 1992, 112-3. A male ecstatic medium may also have been active at early Didyma, possibly reflected in the myth of Branchos: cf. the texts interpreted by Parke 1985, 3-10.

37. Hdt. 8.135 with Burkert 1977, 190.

38. This article summarizes a section of a more extended study on gender roles in the context of ancient divination.

39. There might exist a fourth example: *ArchEph* 1945-47, 106 no. 35 deals with a woman called a *hieromantis*, a holy seer, in an unclear, perhaps Christian context.

40. *SEG* 35, 1985, no. 626: Σατύρα ἄ μαντίς.

41. The photograph has kindly been provided by A. Tsiaphalias, the director of the museum at Larisa.

42. *IG* V.1, 141; Tillyard 1905-06, 468-70 no. 23, with a drawing.

43. Cf. also Winand 1987, 155. *IG* V.1, 141, col. I line 5 has the right solution, but prints the drawing *BSA* 1905-06, 469 which does not show that the ligature in line 5 combines three letters instead of two: M, A, and N can be read with certainty. A is inscribed in M (autopsy; cf. my sketches Fig. 5). I wish to thank A. Panagiotopoulou, ephor of antiquities of Arcadia and Laconia, for the permission to study the stone (inv. no. 818) at the museum of Sparta and the staff of the museum at Sparta, especially E. Sabbou.

44. *IG* V.1, 465, 578, 599. Cf. Spawforth 1992, 234; Hupfloher 2000, 142.

In this case we know the social context and the actual function of a female *mantis*: she is a member of a team charged with the official task of organizing and carrying out sacrifices.⁴⁵ Other members are a *mageiros* concerned with the cutting and cooking of the animals,⁴⁶ a *mantis* for the examination of the entrails, and a scribe for documentation, probably on behalf of the *polis* financing the sacrifices. Similar tasks can be assumed for the woman with the liver from Mantinea, and we cannot exclude the same possibility for Satyra from Thessaly, of whom we know nothing more than her name and function. The context ‘public sacrifice in the *polis*’ as documented in the text from Sparta reveals a situation where a woman could act as an interpreter of signs.

Beyond images

Now we know of three female *manteis*, the documents spanning wide chronological boundaries: from classical times – the relief from Mantinea, and Hellenistic times – the Thessalian grave marker, to the early Imperial period – the last case from Sparta. Were these repeated exceptions to a rule of gendered distinction? Or do these examples indicate a special situation in the Peloponnese, demonstrating an exceptional degree of freedom for Spartan and Arcadian women?

We do not know much about women in ancient Arcadia,⁴⁷ and the idea of women’s liberty at Sparta is part of the so-called legend of Sparta, at least in most of its content, as articles by Paul Cartledge, and, more recently, Lukas Thommen have shown.⁴⁸ But, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that most of the ancient sources of information refer to male *manteis*: a prosopographical analysis by Philip Roth (1982) lists 53 male seers,⁴⁹ which is quite considerable when compared with three attested female ones. Moreover, as the lists of

45. Cf. Winand 1987.

46. Cf. Berthiaume 1982.

47. *Contra* Fougères 1898, 326-9. As a reader of J.J. Bachofen, Fougères applied ideas of ancient *gynaiokratia* to the newly excavated monuments of Mantinea thus reconstructing an exceptional influence of women in the field of religion. Considerations concerning the social structure and population of Mantinea: Hodkinson and Hodkinson 1981, 271-9.

48. The legend: cf. Tigerstedt 1965, 272; Cartledge 1981; Thommen 1999. Concerning women holding priesthoods in imperial Sparta cf. Hupfloher 2000, 220-1 (summary).

49. Roth 1982, 268-87: Appendix A: “A Prosopography of Greek Manteis” which includes 53 persons, whereas Kett (1966, 17-80) has listed 69 persons. Roth’s list is based on Kett’s, but does not include persons called *chresmologoi* and persons from families of seers not explicitly called *manteis* or prophets by ancient texts. Roth has also excluded two Pythiai of Delphi, an “official medium” at the Ptoion, and one “Sibyl-type”, one “Diotima-type”, one “witch”, and one “textual variant” (Roth 1982, 268).

manteis published by Kett and Roth include persons of pre-Hellenistic times only, chronologically stratified statistics based on these works would lead to the relation 53 : 1 in archaic and classical times. To put this male-female ratio into its proper context it is important to examine the sources upon which it is based. Male seers are referred to mainly in the literary sources; they were noticed by the ancient historians (Herodotos, Thucydides, Xenophon) who were chiefly interested in the description of wars, and it is in this context that we find the large numbers of male seers accompanying armies. The seer of this type was part of the army, he was consulted to help with the decision as to where and when to start the action – the foremost example being the battle at Plataiai where Greek and Persian armies confronted each other for days without receiving any encouraging signs, despite the large number of sacrificial animals that were slaughtered.⁵⁰ We should not wonder that in this male-dominated context – war – there is no mention of a female *mantis*. Yet, we do find them in the context of daily life of the ancient Greek poleis, like Alkibia Teisamenou in Sparta, who was associated with a public gremium of *hierothytai*. In the administration of cult in Greek cities, women were traditionally well represented. Priestesses are well documented in the sources since archaic times;⁵¹ they were mainly concerned with the organization of cult and the administration of sanctuaries, hence the key as a symbol and distinctive object mentioned above. This context – the organization of cult activities at a sanctuary – could lead to further specialisation in the examination of entrails as well. A second way of taking up the function as a *mantis* is provided by family tradition: special knowledge passed on exclusively in a family of ritual specialists – like the Iamidai of Elis⁵² and Sparta – could have led to the education of girls in this ‘profession’ also, as demonstrated, again, by Alkibia Teisamenou.

In conclusion, I would like to stress that we can reconstruct not only the social contexts which could lead women to acquiring the role of a *mantis*: the administration of a sanctuary and/or family tradition. It is also possible to describe the specific situation in which they acted; we find this type of *manteis* in the context of bloody sacrifice in sanctuaries, mainly in cities. Therefore it is – with high probability and primarily – not a division of divinatory techniques (rationalizing versus ecstatic) that is reflected by statistics in the large number of males and small, almost negligible number of females. Gender roles divided, of course, the situations in which men and women could act: war on the one hand, daily life in the sanctuaries on the other. It is the perspective of writers like

50. Hdt. 9.33-41.

51. Cf. Kron 1996.

52. Cf. Weniger 1915; Kett 1966, 84-93.

Herodotos, Thucydides, and Xenophon that has led to a distorted picture. Epigraphic sources show a more balanced picture: only five male *manteis* are documented by inscriptions in classical times,⁵³ against two female ones (Larisa, Sparta) plus the relief from Mantinea.⁵⁴ Therefore I would argue that it was not unusual, but actually common in the ancient Greek cities to see a female ritual specialist holding a liver in her hand.

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53. Roth 1982, nos. 13, 15, 31, 42, 44. No. 44, a casualty list, reflects the context of war again.

54. For the moment, there is a problem in acquiring proper statistics. I do not agree with the selection of Roth 1982, 268 in all respects and would include Kett 1966, 63 no. 54 (Onymastos), for example. As there is an obvious need for prosopographical analysis of *manteis* in Hellenistic and Roman imperial times, I am preparing such a list as a basis for further study. Concerning imperial times, there are epigraphical data available in Sparta and Olympia. Sparta, cf. Spawforth 1992, 234; Hupfloher 2000, 141: 11 persons, at least one female. Olympia, cf. Zoubaki 2001, 118-22: exclusively male *manteis* with special duties in a pan-Hellenic sanctuary.

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Fig. 1. Athens, NM inv. no. 226: general view, front. (Photo: H.-R. Goette, DAI Athens.)



Fig. 2. Athens, NM inv. no. 226: general view, diagonal. (Photo: H.-R. Goette, DAI Athens.)



Fig. 3. Athens, NM inv. no. 226: detail, the liver. (Photo: H.-R. Goette, DAI Athens.)

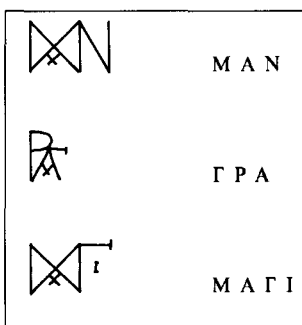


Fig. 5. Sparta museum: ligatures in the inscription *IG V.1*, 141 col. 1, lines 5-7: M A N, Γ P A, M A Γ I. (Drawing: author.)

Fig. 4. Larisa museum: the grave-stele *SEG 35*, 1985, no. 626. (Photo: courtesy of Dr. A. Tsiaphalias, Larissa Museum.)