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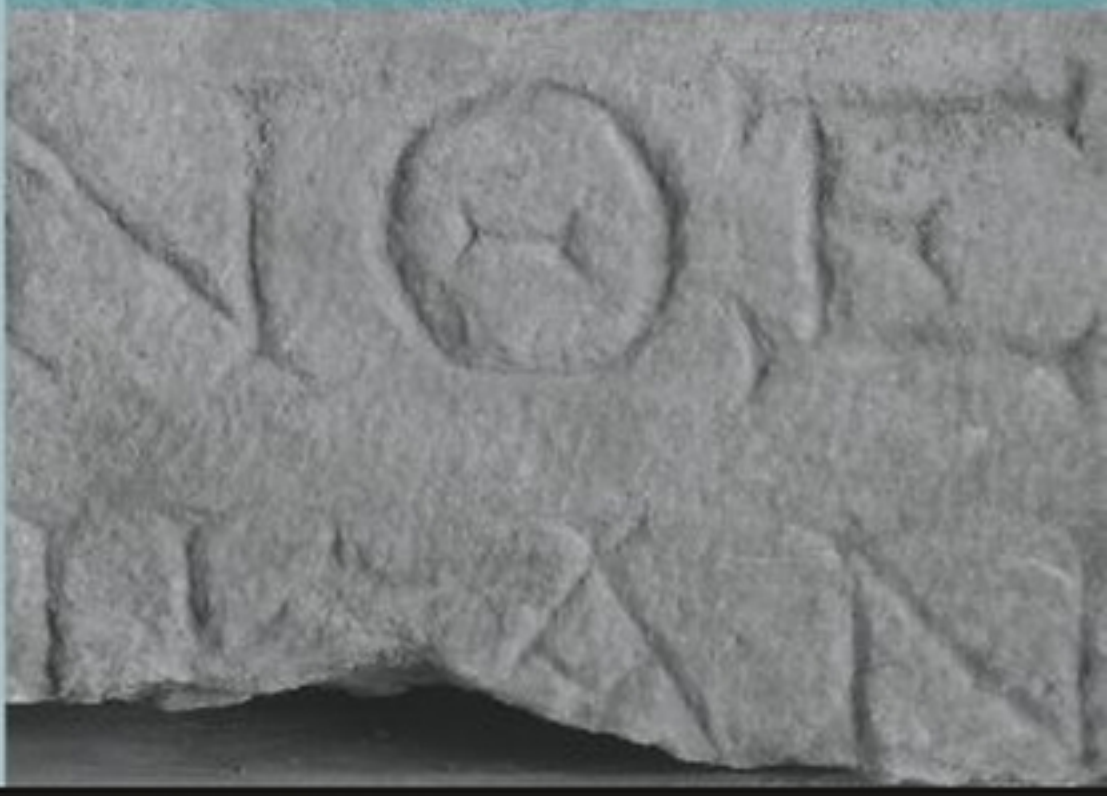
Cult and *Koinon* in Hellenistic Thessaly

Denver Graninger



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By
Denver Graninger

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Cover illustration: Larisa Museum, no. 70/117. Dedication of the Thessalian League of an honorary statue of M. Caninius Rebilius, dated to ca. 171. Ed. pr. Tziaphalias 1984b, pp. 221–222, no. 101 (*SEG* 35, 597; *BullÉp* 1988, no. 743). Cf. Habicht 1987c, pp. 26–28 (*SEG* 37, 483; *BullÉp* 1988, no. 743).

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εἰς μνήμην καὶ τιμὴν τοῦ

CHARLES DOUGLAS GRANINGER

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CONTENTS

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MACEDONIA
Mt. Olympos
PERRHAIBIA
Gonnoi
Tempe
Homolion
Mt Ossa
Gyrton
MAGNESIA
HESTIAIOTIS
PELASGIOTIS
Peneios
Larisa
Krannon
THESSALIOTIS
Kynoskephalai
Skotussa
Mt. Pelion
PHTHIOTIS
Pherai
Demetrias
Pharsalos
KROKIAN
PLAIN
Pagasitic
Gulf
Philia
(Modern Village)
Pindos Mts.
Halos
ACHAIA
PHTHIOTIS
DOLOPIA
Meliteia
Larisa
Kremaste
AINIS
MALIS
Hypata
Lamia
Malian Gulf
Spercheios
OITAIA
Herakleia
(Trachinia)
Mt. Oite
AITOLIA
EUBOIA
Land over 1,000 metres
SCALE
0 10 20 30 40 50km
0 10 20 30miles
AEGEAN SEA
22°E
23°E
24°E
40°N
39°N

INTRODUCTION

Cult and Koinon *in Hellenistic Thessaly*, examines the state religion of the Thessalian League, ca. 196–27. These were decades of political transformation and economic prosperity, and there is a perceptible effusion of cult activity throughout the region. State cults received special emphasis and I will argue that they played a central role in the successful development of a regional political identity that was vital for the Thessalian League during these years of territorial expansion and consolidation. There is, for example, considerable evidence for the adoption of a common Thessalian calendar by new members of the League, for the establishment of new regional festivals (e.g., the Eleutheria at Larisa), and for the elaboration or reorganization of older cults (e.g., that of Athena Itonia at Philia). I will also demonstrate, however, that older religious traditions of member *ethne* continued to be maintained in these newly 'Thessalian' territories that in some cases assumed new significance by encouraging the persistence of a local, cultic identity beside a regional, political ideal.

In Chapter One, 'Histories', I introduce the fundamental issues of political geography and cultural identity in ancient Thessaly. In the Archaic period, the two central plains of Thessaly were divided into four districts (*tetrads*) for administrative purposes. Tetradic Thessaly was inhabited by Thessaloi who may have exercised some form of hegemony in the Archaic and Classical period over the neighboring territories (often described as *perioikoi* in modern scholarship) of Perrhaibia, Magnesia, and Achaia Phthiotis. The residents of the latter were regarded as politically and culturally distinct from the Thessaloi. Some such relationship may also have with the *ethne* of the Spercheios valley further to the south (Malis, Ainis, Oitaia, Dolopia). From this foundation, the chapter traces the local histories of these regions beginning with the Archaic and Classical periods of Thessalian ascendency and concluding with the formal incorporation of the Thessalian League into the Roman province of Achaia in 27. Special emphasis falls on politics and society from 196, when T. Quinctius Flamininus reorganized the Thessalian League at the end of the Second Macedonian War, to 27. These 170 years witnessed the independence and sovereignty of many territories previously subordinate to Thessaly in the Archaic and Classical period and their subsequent incorporation into the Thessalian League.

Chapter Two, 'League Sanctuaries', explores in detail two Thessalian cults—those of Athena Itonia and Zeus Eleutherios—and their relationship to the development of a regional Thessalian identity during the Hellenistic era.[1] The primary sanctuary of Athena Itonia was located near the modern village of Philia in rural, western Thessaly. Although she had received cult at this site since the early Iron Age, there is no evidence that Athena Itonia was perceived as a central goddess of the Thessalian state until the second century, when her sanctuary at Philia was reinvigorated after the Flamininan settlement in 196. The decision to elevate this particular sanctuary at this time seems to have been both strategic and sentimental: It lay near the mythic invasion route of Thessaloi from southern Epiros and staked a strong claim to territory that in recent decades had been the site of friction among Macedonia, Aitolia, and Athamania. Zeus Eleutherios was, by comparison, a new cult for the region established in Larisa after the renewal of the Thessalian League in 196. The foundation elevated the prestige of the new capital city of the *koinon* and deliberately evoked the Hellenic patriotism of the Persian Wars. The Thessalians, conspicuous medizers, could here be recast as instrumental in this most recent liberation of Greek territory from foreign domination. The Eleutheria, a festival with athletic and cultural contests, attracted participants from throughout the Greek world. A handful of peculiar equestrian events in the program (e.g., *aphippolampas*, *aphippodromas*) reflect local tradition and may have been open to Thessalians alone.

While the ultimate function of Greek calendars was to keep time, such mechanisms could acquire profound ideological significance, especially at times of calendar reform. Such a process of calendar assimilation and dissemination throughout the territories of the Thessalian League is traced in Chapter Three, 'The Thessalian Calendars'. The calendar used by the Thessalian League after its refoundation may have been based on the state calendar of Larisa. The chapter charts the relatively swift adoption of this calendar throughout the tetrads and then follows its spread to the former *perioikoi* as they entered the League. The unmistakable trend is toward greater uniformity. Some regions, like Perrhaibia and Ainis, appear to adopt the league calendar relatively soon after their entrance into the League; others, like Malis and

[1] For a recent study of the politics of several local sanctuaries in second-century Thessaly (Apollo Kerdoios at Larisa, Athena Polias at Phthiotic Thebes, and Artemis Panachaia at Halos), cf. Freitag 2006.

Achaia Phthiotis, retained local calendrical traditions well over century after becoming politically Thessalian.

The varying speed with which the Thessalian calendar was adopted within the League's newly gained possessions represents in some measure the resistance of local religious identities to a regional political ideal. Such a tendency may also be reflected within the Delphic Amphictiony of the later Hellenistic period, for it is there alone that the complete Archaic-Classical spectrum of *perioikoi* is visible. Chapter Four, 'International Religion', explores the ideological significance of membership in the Delphic Amphictiony at this date and charts the institution's history ca. 196–27. In 27, Augustus installed the new colonial foundation of Nikopolis as the dominant member of the Amphictiony by reallocating the votes of the Thessalian *perioikoi*. These *perioikoi* were now regarded as Thessalian from the perspective of Delphi as well. The chapter concludes with a consideration of the broader network of international religion within which the Hellenistic Thessalian League participated.

In 'Conclusion and Postscript: Ainian Futures' the argument of the preceding chapters is summarized and reviewed: state religion was an important apparatus of the Thessalian League and proved vital in the generation of a regional Thessalian identity. At the same time, however, cult continued to provide a suitable venue for the contestation of this identity, whether locally or abroad. As a coda to the work as a whole, I offer a case study of Ainis and the subsequent religious and political history of the Ainianes within the Thessalian League during the Roman Empire. The Ainian experience illustrates remarkably well how the tension between local and regional conceptions of *ethne* and *koina* could continue to be played out in the language of cult.

The monograph is heavily dependent on inscriptions. In most cases, the citation of individual editions or the quotation and translation of passages is sufficient for the purposes of the argument. In the 'Epigraphic Appendix', I publish new editions of and commentaries on a group of victor lists associated with the Eleutheria. These inscriptions provide crucial insight into this festival which was one of the focal points of the state religion of the Thessalian League in the post-Flamininan period. Many of these texts have not received significant critical attention since the 1908 publication of *IG* 9.2, however, and it has proven possible to glean more from them via autopsy.[2]

[2] The lists were, moreover, presented in *IG* in a jumble with other victor lists from

The two foundations of modern scholarship for the history of Archaic to Roman Thessaly are O. Kern's 1908 *Inscriptiones Thessaliae* (*IG* 9.2) and F. Stählin's 1924 *Das hellenische Thessalien*.[3] Kern's corpus, which furnishes the epigraphic basis for all research on the region, made a systematic analysis of Thessalian social and political institutions possible.[4] Stählin, a practitioner of the traditional art of historical geography, put Thessalian topography on a relatively firm basis. Although not all of the readings of the former or the identifications of the latter have been universally endorsed by later generations of scholars, their work continues to be the source of much productive disagreement. The early generations of archaeologists working in Thessaly deserve mention here as well, especially A.S. Arvanitopoulos and N.I. Giannopoulos. Both scholars excavated tirelessly and published prolifically, and both made important contributions to the study of Thessalian epigraphy, topography, and history.[5] The influence of two contemporary giants in the study of ancient Thessaly (and much else besides) is felt throughout the present volume: Christian Habicht and Bruno Helly. Both can be seen to continue the work of Kern and Stählin. Habicht has tended to focus on the politics of the Hellenistic period,[6] while Helly and the *équipe thessalienne* based at the Institut Fernand Courby, Lyon, have taken a

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Larisa, an arrangement which continues to produce misunderstandings in scholarship, e.g., Miller 2004, p. 145: 'These games [the Eleutheria] were apparently not open to other Greeks; only citizens of Larisa participated. An inscription from about the time of Christ lists the events and the names of their winners (*IG* 9.2, 531). Many of these are standard competitions of the gymnikos agon: stadion and diaulos races, the pyx, and the pankration, for both men and boys. There were also competitions for trumpeters and heralds. Competitions in literary composition and rhetoric were held, but none in music—a significant difference with the Panathenaia: a torch race for boys, the apobates, and cavalry marksmanship, as well as a cavalry charge, an infantry charge, and infantry marksmanship and archery … It is curious that the Eleutheria did not seem to have any of the standard horse races'. Nearly every claim in this passage is incorrect. It is hoped that the arrangement of these inscriptions offered in the present volume will help to provide a more secure basis for future study of the festival.

[3] Major advances in the study of Thessalian history must also be ascribed to Kern and Stählin's predecessors, especially H.G. Lolling, who conducted important topographic and epigraphic research in the region. See Habicht 2007a and Habicht 2007b. For a conspectus of early travelers to Thessaly, see *IG* 9.2, pp. xxvi–xxviii.

[4] To be supplemented with McDevitt 1970, *SEG*, and *BullÉp*.

[5] For a conspectus of their research, see Gallis 1979.

[6] One of Habicht's students, H. Kramolisch, is the author of several important studies of Hellenistic Thessaly, including the fundamental 1978 *Die Strategen des thessalischen Bundes vom Jahr 196 v. Chr. bis zum Ausgang der römischen Republik*.

broader chronological and more interdisciplinary view which has allowed many problematic Thessalian institutions to come into focus.[7]

Religion, however, has remained in the background. F. Hiller von Gaertringen could comment in 1936 on the topic of Thessalian religion that 'eine klare, die Tatsachen gebende Sammlung der Kulte fehlt noch', and this remains largely true today.[8] While there are a number of useful monographs and article-length studies focusing on individual cults, divinities, or sanctuaries,[9] there are no grand regional studies the equal of F. Graf's *Nordionische Kulte* or M. Jost's *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie* or any of R. Parker's fundamental studies of Attic religion. The present work, with its focus on a subset of cults organized by official, state actors in a relatively restricted chronological frame, will not fill this void. But by drawing together strands of the political and religious history of Thessaly in the Hellenistic period, it may perhaps stimulate further synthesizing studies on Thessalian religion.

The central argument of the present study, that official state cult simultaneously fomented and fragmented the development of a regional Thessalian identity in the later Hellenistic period, can be seen to fall within the general camp of identity studies. J. Hall's important *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* put the study of ethnicity in the ancient Greek world on a far firmer methodological basis than it had previously been. Following Hall, the essential components of an ethnic group are now recognized to be a shared myth of descent and a shared claim on a territorial homeland, and neither is explicit in the case of Hellenistic Thessaly. For earlier periods, there are scattered literary references to an ethnic eponym, Thessalos, from whom one may assume all ethnic Thessalians were able to claim descent. Similarly, there are traditions of a Thessalian migration across the Pindos. On both accounts, then, in the Archaic and Classical period, there is good evidence that there was a group of 'ethnic'

[7] E.g., Helly 1995 on the social and political organization of Archaic Thessaly, and Ducat 1994 on Thessalian *penestai*.

[8] Hiller von Gaertringen 1936, col. 137.

[9] E.g., Daffa-Nikonanou 1973 on Demeter cult with special attention to votives; Chrysostomou 1989–1991 and Chrysostomou 1993–1994 on Zeus cult; Chrysostomou 1998 on Ennodia cult; Hatzopoulos 1994 on 'initiation'; Graninger 2007 on Artemis Throsia and 'initiation'; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002 on the votives from the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia. Philippson 1944 is problematic, attempting as it does to sketch Thessalian myth and religion as a fusion of Indo-European and indigenous, Aegean elements. Rakatsanis and Tziaphalias 1997 and Rakatsanis and Tziaphalias 2004 are expanded catalogues of cults.

Thessalians, and it is likely that the territory inhabited by this group of ethnic Thessalians was coterminous with that commanded by the Thessalian League. As Thessaly and the territories of the former Thessalian *perioikoi* began to cycle out of the Macedonian and Aitolian orbit in the later Hellenistic period, the dynamic between the ethnic group and the political collective had shifted. The Thessalian League now commanded considerably greater territory than that inhabited by the ethnic Thessalians of the Archaic and Classical period, and while there are indications that those living within the territories of this renewed, expanding *koinon* became politically Thessalian, some may have retained their earlier, perioikic ethnicities.

The present study, with its emphasis on identities grounded in cult, focuses rather on what Hall terms secondary indicia of ethnicity, that class of attributes which may very well attend upon an ethnic group, but need not, and which may be present among other groups that were not properly ethnic. While such indicia may indeed appear marginal and secondary from the perspective of the formal study of ethnicity, they are compelling objects of research in their own right. It is now generally accepted that there were in effect different types of identity in antiquity to which individuals could simultaneously subscribe with no inherent contradiction. This recognition of so-called 'tiered' identity has been a productive development in recent scholarship and has opened up new and potentially fruitful areas of inquiry.[10] In the case of later Hellenistic Thessaly, membership in the Thessalian League did not translate into membership in the Thessalian *ethnos*, for many individually distinct *ethne* participated in the Thessalian *koinon*. It is the relationship of these two tiers of identity in the language and practice of cult that forms the central focus of this work. Such questions have tended to be asked of the Early Iron and Archaic periods, but they are just as appropriate in later periods, for these dynamics continued to influence group formation despite the emergence of large territorial empires like those of the Diadochoi and their epigones or Rome.

[10] Cf. the programmatic treatment in Morgan 2003, *passim*, especially p. 1: 'Far from being distinct and alternative forms of state, *poleis* and *ethne* were thus tiers of identity with which communities could identify with varying enthusiasm and motivation at different times. And to these may be added extra-community class or interest bonds … Understanding the chronological development of, and balance between, often highly localized tiers of place and broader notions of people and/or geography in the construction of political identities is a particularly important challenge'.

CHAPTER ONE

THESSALIAN HISTORIES

> 'And so it comes to pass, as I have said before, that the boundaries and the political organizations of tribes and places are always undergoing changes'.[1]

Introduction

The Hellenistic history of Thessaly captures in microcosm the tensions and paradoxes which characterize the broader experience of the region. A first-tier power in northern Greece throughout much of the Archaic and Classical periods, Thessaly had probably exercised some form of hegemony over the neighboring territories (*perioikoi*) of Perrhaibia to the north, Magnesia to the east, and Achaia Phthiotis to the southeast. Such control also periodically extended further south to Malis, Ainis, Dolopia, and Oitaia in the Spercheios valley. Philip II of Macedon established a controlling interest in Thessaly, however, and throughout the early Hellenistic period, Thessaly and her former *perioikoi* endured a series of new rulers, at times Macedonian, at times Aitolian. At the conclusion of the Second Macedonian War in 196, Rome imposed a reorganization of Thessaly as a *koinon*, or 'federal league', and seems to have nurtured its development so that it might serve as a potential counterweight to the remaining major hegemonic powers of central and northern Greece—the kingdom of Macedon and the Aitolian League. Perrhaibia and Magnesia were similarly reorganized in 196, and Ainis and Oitaia soon followed, most probably at the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War in 167. The *perioikoi* had gained an autonomy not known for several centuries. Over the course of the next 170 years, however, most of these newly

[1] Str. 9.5.8, trans. Jones: οὕτω δὲ συμβαίνει τοὺς ὅρους καὶ τὰς συντάξεις τῶν τε ἐθνῶν καὶ τῶν τόπων ἀλλάττεσθαι ἀεί, καθάπερ εἴπομεν. Cf. Str. 9.5.4; 3.4.19; 4.1.1; 8.3.10.

independent leagues would be incorporated one by one into a rapidly expanding Thessalian League. By the time of the Augustan organization of Achaia as a province in 27, Thessaly had regained something of her Archaic stature, as had her former dependents.

The present chapter will sketch in broad outline the topography and history of this region, beginning with Homer and continuing down to the time of Augustus. Emphasis will fall most heavily on the period of the second and first centuries, but since the work accomplished in those years had much deeper roots in Archaic and Classical history, an account of those earlier periods must precede. The goal is not to provide an exhaustive political and military history of Thessaly, but more simply to introduce this complex and unfamiliar cast of regional actors. The *ethne* of central and northern Greece have largely been ignored in modern historiography, yet their story is worth telling, illustrative as it is of the perils of an existence seemingly ever on the margins of the great powers of mainland Greece. The reasons for their relative inconspicuousness in traditional histories of the period are not hard to seek: Hellenistic federalism is systematically underestimated and underappreciated in contemporary scholarship. The issues of political and religious identity that lie behind the formation of such federal structures have been similarly discounted, especially for the centuries after Chaironeia, and there is little sense that being Ainian or Oitaian or Malian mattered in the same was that it mattered to be Greek or Roman. Inevitably, one is unable to do little more than to sketch, for historical details are thin, and even these will not be exhaustively treated here.

The second, related goal is to provide an overarching narrative of territorial expansion and contraction. These *ethne*, with the exception of the Thessalians proper, for the most part lacked the resources to play a commanding role in the politics of mainland Greece. But for a brief window during the second and first centuries, many of these territories could and did win a political autonomy that matched their cultural individuality. This too, however, was to be relatively short-lived, as traditional patterns of dominance and subordination were reasserted throughout this period and each of these *ethne* became integrated within the Thessalian League. Against this background, subsequent chapters will develop an account of the religious changes that occurred within this transformed political framework.

Tetradic Thessaly before the Macedonian Ascendency

It is conventional in modern studies of the political topography of ancient Thessaly to distinguish between Thessaly in a 'broad sense' (the great plains plus surrounding mountainous hinterland plus the Spercheios valley) and Thessaly in a 'narrow sense' (the great plains alone). This formulation, however clumsy, serves a useful purpose and will largely be followed in the present work.

Thessaly in the narrow sense consists of a pair of large plains encompassing some 2,400 square miles and watered by the Peneios River and its tributaries. This Thessaly extends to some extent into the foothills of the massive mountains which encircle it on all sides: the Pindus to the west, Othrys to the south, and Ossa, Pelion, and Olympus to the east and northeast. To the north is the upland river valley of the Titaresos, which drained the western slopes of Olympus and the eastern slopes of Kamvouni. Access to the sea is somewhat restricted, with good harborage available only in the area of the Pagasitic Gulf. The elements of this topography, if not exactly unique for the mainland or Aegean Greek world, are nevertheless combined in such proportion and written on so grand and dramatic a scale that it is legitimate to speak of Thessaly as 'another Greece'.[2]

There are no Thessalians in Homer. Phrased in a less misleading way, there are no Thessaloi, although a host of epic's most significant characters have roots in the region. Rather, in the Homeric poems a plurality of different kings rule in the plains, commanding allegiance from very diverse populations, some clearly city- or settlement-based, some grounded in broader territory. One need not project such a vision onto early Thessaly or to assume that such descriptions necessarily correspond in some measure with early Thessalian history, yet it is curious how the image of a large territory, diverse and varied in its political organization, so well captures the experience of the region.[3] In the Classical period,

[2] The memorable formulation of J. Pouilloux, among the greatest scholars of Thessalian history, archaeology, and topography: 'La Thessalie est une autre Grèce, parfois oubliée, celle des cavaliers, non des marins.'

[3] Should one approach the Catalogue of Ships in historical perspective, however, it is notable that very many of the sites mentioned by Homer have in fact produced Protogeometric or Geometric remains. This is not to say that Homeric geography is perfect, for there are some intriguing omissions in the Thessalian portion of the Catalogue, especially Larisa. In the final analysis, it may be that what Homer offers is a vision of a pre-*ethnos ethnos*, an *ethnos in statu nascendi*. See Morgan 2003, pp. 102–105 for discussion on related lines. The consequences for the later development of the Thessalian *ethnos*

an early migration of the Thessaloi from southern Epiros into what was then known as Thessaly is well-attested in literary sources.[4] This too is suspect as an historical account of population movement, but goes some way towards explaining and legitimating the social and political dominance of the Thessalians over both the *penestai*, an agricultural serf-like class, and the neighboring *perioikoi*.

The inhabitants of this region were known in antiquity as Thessaloi, from whom the region took its name. To distinguish the narrow Thessaly of the Thessaloi from the broader Thessaly of the *perioikoi*, I will use the adjective 'tetradic'. For it was the plains of the Thessaloi which a mysterious myth-historical lawgiver-reformer figure in Thessalian tradition known as Aleuas the Red allegedly divided into four sub-regions known as tetrads.[5] A sixth-century date is often assumed for this activity, and the tetrads were known already to Hellanicus.[6] The purpose of such a land division was essentially administrative and likely made the mustering of military forces more efficient. Aleuas seems to have further subdivided the tetrads into *kleroi* upon which he imposed infantry and cavalry recruitment quotas.[7] These tetrads, Phthiotis in the southeast, Thessaliotis in the southwest, Hestiaiotis in the northwest, and Pelasgiotis in the northeast, continued to function throughout the Classical period and into the first century.[8]

That a figure like Aleuas could be imagined to effect such a territorial reform implies the existence of some form of regional government. The Aristotelian circle was able to produce a constitution of the Thessalians; some such structure is epigraphically attested in the fourth century and is assumed on the basis of literary sources to have been functioning during

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were likely considerable. That there was no unified vision of the region in so fundamental and panhellenic a text as Homer meant that Thessalian ethnogenesis would depend on bases other than epic. Historical *ethne* like the Phokians, Aitolians, and Boiotians, for example, are well-represented as such already in the catalogue and the image of unity furnished by Homer doubtless helped to crystallize and cement this identity over time.

[4] E.g., Hdt. 7.176.4; Thuc. 1.12.3.

[5] Arist. fr. 497 Rose.

[6] *FGrHist* 601a F 1. Helly 1995, pp. 170–175 offers a useful conspectus of the various scholarly opinions about the possible nature and consequences of this organization.

[7] Arist. fr. 498 Rose.

[8] For the names of the Thessalian tetrads, see Gschnitzer 1954. For evidence of the Classical and Hellenistic tetrads, see, e.g., *IG* 2^2, 175, dated to 353/2, a treaty between the Thessalian League and Athens listing four Thessalian polemarchs, one for each tetrad; ed. pr. Gallis 1976, pp. 176–178 (*SEG* 34, 558), a mid-second-century decree from Larisa that details the organization of a grain shipment to Rome by tetrad; and Str. 9.5.3, who depicts the borders of the tetrads in the Augustan period.

the fifth century as well. This League appears primarily in diplomatic and military contexts, amassing infantry and cavalry for military expeditions, forging treaties with other states, issuing decrees of proxeny.[9] Aleuas' reforms would also seem to presuppose some strong executive office within this structure, and indeed there is a well-established tradition of such leaders in early Thessalian history, of which Jason of Pherai in the 370s is perhaps the clearest and best example. The nomenclature, prerogatives, and tenure of this office remain deeply uncertain, however, nor is it clear that such a position need always to have been filled.[10] One assumes that there was some form of regional council or senate, which was likely oligarchic in organization, but there is as yet no direct evidence for such an institution at that time.[11]

Therefore, in the late Archaic and Classical period, Thessaly was like much of the central and southern Greek mainland, a region of cities (or nucleated settlements), but the relationship of these cities to the regional governmental structure is difficult to trace.[12] Like the *koinon*, individual Thessalian cities issued proxeny decrees, often, tellingly, to citizens in other Thessalian cities.[13] Coinage, too, seems to have been a city-based affair; those issues often associated with the Thessalian *koinon* have been reinterpreted by B. Helly as tetradic coinage, and were in any case never especially numerous.[14] City contingents appear fighting for the 'Thessalians', presumably the *koinon*, during the Peloponnnesian War, but there is also evidence during a period of regional unrest in the early fourth century that powerful Thessalian cities could challenge and even surmount regional governmental authority. Within these cities, literary sources reveal the political and cultural dominance of large elite families. The most powerful of these groups were the Aleuadai, based in the

[9] For treaties, see, e.g., *IG* 2^2, 116, dated to 361/0, and *IG* 2^2, 175, dated to 353/2; for a fourth-century proxeny decree of the *koinon*, see Peek 1934, p. 57, no. 15 (McDevitt 1970, p. 141, no. 1177).

[10] It is also possible that what appears as a single, unitary office in synchronic perspective was in diachronic perspective a series of distinct offices (e.g., *basileus*, *archon*, *tagos*). The issue is complex and a major point of scholarly debate. It need not detain us here. See Helly 1995, *passim*, and Sprawski 1999, pp. 15–23.

[11] Peek 1934, p. 57, no. 15 (McDevitt 1970, p. 141, no. 1177), dated to the fourth century, is the only federal decree preserved from this early period. The inscription is dated by reference to eponymous *prostatai*, and the office is clearly filled not by individuals but by a corporate body (Kotilidai and Sorsikidai, perhaps gentilicial). For the fourth-century Thessalian League, see Beck 1997, pp. 119–134.

[12] Helly 1995, pp. 154–155, 163–167.

[13] Béquignon 1964. See also Marek 1984, pp. 281–296.

[14] Helly 1995, pp. 229–230.

major city of Larisa, who likely claimed descent from Aleuas the famous lawgiver. These elites drew their power primarily from large estates in the plains, well-suited both to agriculture and stock-rearing, which were worked by a curious group known as the *penestai*, who perhaps performed a role in Thessalian society analogous to that of the helots in Sparta.[15] Despite the apparently peripheral location of these elites in the north of mainland Greece and bordering Macedon and Epiros, they were in some basic respects well within the cultural mainstream of the greater Greek world. Sophists and poets, like Anacreon, Simonides, and Gorgias, enjoyed Thessalian patronage.[16] Nor did Thessalian elites avoid the good food, strong drink, and fast horses for which their counterparts in southern Greece were known.[17] And, most significantly, the tendency toward faction and stasis was as pronounced in Thessaly as elsewhere. The politics of individual Thessalian city-states may have been often dominated by large and powerful clans, some of which seem to have attained dynastic status, but their supremacy was ever-challenged from within.

Thessaly was an early member of the Delphic Amphictiony and seems to have been a burgeoning power of northern Greece with territorial ambitions in the central Greek world in the sixth century.[18] A string of signal defeats at the hands of the Phokians and Boiotians as well as the expulsion of the Peisistratids in Athens marked the end of this phase of expansion. The region medized under the leadership of the Aleuads at the time of the Persian Wars. Although nominally supportive of Athens, the region was not a major theatre of operations in the post-Persian War period or during the Peloponnesian War. As Thucydides' description of Brasidas' trying march through the region reveals, however, internal politics were far more complex.[19] The late fifth and early fourth centuries witnessed civil war on a regional scale, punctuated by the emergence

[15] The best and most recent general study of the *penestai* is Ducat 1994. They seem to have been rural laborers who worked the fields of Thessaly's large and numerous estate-holders, under the authority of whom they lived and from whom they often revolted. Whether the *penestai* were truly a conquered population or had rather fallen into their subordinate status by constitutional means is unclear: Thessalian, Perrhaibian, Magnesian, and Boiotian origins are variously claimed for them.

[16] The most conspicuous example of such an elite is the Thessalian Meno depicted by Plato.

[17] Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 49.

[18] For the Delphic Amphictiony, see Chapter Four; for Thessaly as a northern Greek power in Archaic period, cf. Lehmann 1983.

[19] Thuc. 4.78.1–6. For lucid discussion and analysis of the passage, see Sprawski 1999, pp. 26–28.

of a series of powerful leaders from the city of Pherai with aspirations to regional leadership (and panhellenic leadership in the case of Jason of Pherai). The foundation of the region, much as Homer described, remained politically fragmented and hence unstable, and the chaos of civil war in the region attracted the interest of a series of outsiders: Boiotia, Athens, and eventually Philip II of Macedonia.

In summing up the narrative presented thus far on the topic of tetradic Thessaly in the Archaic and Classical period, we may justifiably inquire into the basis of a Thessalian identity and how such an identity could be transferred into unity of action, however ephemeral. The Thessalians, with their claim of descent from Thessalos and their claim to common ancestral territory in western Greece, can be seen to meet both of J. Hall's criteria for an ethnic group in Greek antiquity. Other features further shaped this identity. Steady, persistent opposition to the two major categories of dependent population in the region, the *penestai* and the *perioikoi*, was doubtless a factor, as was the tradition of conflict with Phokis further to the south. Internally, there was a regional governmental structure, however informal, which commanded loyalty from the Thessalians, and from time to time a titular head of this League, who, if the examples of Aleuas and Jason (to say nothing of Philip II) are at all representative, had the potential to command loyalty as well. Classical Thessalian history, especially the fourth century, is filled with examples of division within the League and opposition against strong executive leadership to be sure, but it is the potential that such institutions held for organizing and mobilizing communal efforts and resources that is most significant. Regional cult likely had a role to play as well, a point to be considered in greater detail in Chapters Two and Three, as did Thessalian interests at Delphi, to be considered in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Perioikic Thessaly before the Macedonian and Aitolian Ascendency[20]

The Thessalian Perioikoi

In the mountainous hinterlands of the great Thessalian plains lie the Thessalian *perioikoi*, literally the people who 'lived around' Thessaly.

[20] For the *perioikoi*, the older studies of Kip 1910 and Busolt 1920–1926, vol. 2, pp. 1478–1501, remain fundamental.

There were three main groups: The Perrhaiboi to the north, the Magnesians to the east, and the Phthiotic Achaians to the southeast and south.[21] The present section will sketch the history of these three groups, but it will be useful to note at the outset two political and religious factors which were shared by the Thessalian *perioikoi* in antiquity and hence allow them to be considered together. First, they were each members of the Delphic Amphictiony, allegedly from a very early date; second, each may have fallen occasionally into a subordinate relationship with tetradic Thessaly over the course of the Archaic and Classical periods. The first of these commonalities, their inclusion within the Delphic Amphictiony, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four. It is adequate to note at this point only that these *ethne* were sufficiently well-organized and networked among one another to join together in the administration of two of the most prominent sanctuaries in central Greece over the course of the Archaic period: Apollo's Delphian *temenos* and that of Demeter at Anthela. However peripheral and marginal they may appear in modern perspective, indeed even from the perspective of the fifth century, it is certain that they had not always been such.

It is their relationship with tetradic Thessaly, about which they 'dwelled around', that commands our attention at this moment. From an Amphictionic perspective, after all, these perioikic *ethne*, and those of the Spercheios valley, were the equals of the Thessalians. It is uncertain whether this status reflects an earlier political order, however ephemeral. For by the late Archaic or early Classical period, these three groups of Thessalian *perioikoi* seem to have been brought into a dependent political relationship with tetradic Thessaly. The evidence is scattered and not easy to interpret, and there is great risk that the following synchronic portrait of the status of the *perioikoi* conceals both the developmental dimension of their status as well as the possibility, likelihood even, that these individual *perioikoi* did not have identical relationships with tetradic Thessaly. But Thucydides regarded Perrhaibia, Magnesia, and Achaia Phthiotis as ὑπήκοοι of the Thessalians, and Aristotle could refer to wars by the Magnesians, Perrhaibians, and Phthiotic Achaians against the Thessalians. That fifth- and fourth-century authors could describe them in

[21] The Dolopians to the southwest are also sometimes included among this group of Thessalian *perioikoi* (cf., e.g., Xen. *Hell*. 6.1.7), but their history, as poorly known as it is, shares more features with the *ethne* of the Spercheios valley and so will be discussed with them.

similar terms, and even as a unified group, does suggest that they can be profitably compared.[22] The following general points of intersection emerge from such a comparison:

(1) It appears that the three greatest cities of Archaic and Classical Thessaly—Larisa, Pherai, and Pharsalos—maintained a special administrative role over the *perioikoi*: Larisa is linked especially closely with Perrhaibia, Pherai with Magnesia, and Pharsalos with Achaia Phthiotis.[23]

(2) The *perioikoi* may not have been fully sovereign over their entire territory. The *locus classicus* is Herodotus 5.94.1, where the Thessalians are depicted offering Iolkos to Hippias to rule in as tyrant following his expulsion from Athens. Iolkos belonged to Magnesia later in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, and it is likely that it was part of Magnesia at the time of the offer to Hippias.[24]

(3) The *perioikoi* could be assessed tribute by the Thessalians. For example, Xenophon can claim that Jason of Pherai ordered the *perioikoi* to pay tribute as it had been assessed in the era of Skopas.[25] Skopas, like Aleuas the Red, is thought to have been one of the partly myth-historical early executive leaders of Thessaly, often dated to the sixth century. It is entirely possible that Jason invented this detail of Skopas' career to justify his own current measures, but that such a claim could even be made in the 370s about an earlier period is significant. In addition, Strabo could claim that the Larisans had received tribute from Perrhaibia before Philip became hegemon of Thessaly.[26]

(4) Some sources assert that Magnesia and Perrhaibia were sources of the *penestai* who worked the large estates of tetradic Thessaly. It is uncertain whether this reflects actual historical circumstances or if it is a reflex of Thessalian migration and conquest narratives

[22] Thucydides: 2.101.2 (Magnesia), 4.78.6 (Perrhaibia), 8.3.1 (Achaia Phthiotis); Aristotle: *Pol*. 1269b7–9.

[23] For full citation and discussion of the evidence, see Hammond and Griffith 1979, pp. 540–542.

[24] Sprawski 2009, p. 136 is skeptical: '… it is not easy to determine which settlement bore the name Iolkos at the end of the 6th century. Although Skylax in the middle of the 4th century regards Iolkos as a *polis* in Magnesia there is no reason to believe that it was true at the end of the 6th century. Even if Iolkos in that time was regarded as a part of Magnesia, the control over a little scrap of the territory does not [imply] the subjugation [of the entire] *ethnos*'.

[25] *Hell*. 6.1.19.

[26] Str. 9.5.19.

which helped to legitimate Thessalian dominance over both the *perioikoi* and the *penestai*.[27]

(5) Finally, there is the military question. Xenophon's Jason could claim in the 370s that when Thessaly was united under a *tagos*, the *perioikoi* provided light armed troops to the army.[28] Again, how deep into Thessalian history such tradition can be traced is uncertain. Some perioikic forces appear fighting alongside the Thessalians during the Peloponnesian War.

Despite this scattered evidence for the subordination of the Thessalian *perioikoi* to Thessaly, it must be concluded that such subordination need not indicate the presence or absence of a formal regional political and cultural order in the *perioikoi*. They were well capable of maintaining such an organization whatever their status relative to the Thessalians.

The chronology and mechanics of this transformation from autonomous to dependent *ethne* are unfortunately difficult to capture. The Thessalian offer of Iolkos to Hippias ca. 510 would presumably mark a *terminus ante quem*, for Magnesia at least, while the original membership of each of these *ethne* on the council of the Delphic Amphictiony may well provide a *terminus post quem* of the eighth century or thereabouts. Aristotle refers to revolts of the *penestai* which 'originally' (κατ' ἀρχάς) occurred because the Thessalians were at war with their neighbors, the Magnesians, Phthiotic Achaians and Perrhaibians.[29] While such a detail provides insight only into late fourth century perceptions about the sources of penestic unrest, it is surely significant that a stage of armed conflict between Thessaly and her *perioikoi* is envisioned in the distant past. But the Thessalians did not necessarily 'master' their *perioikoi* in a manner analogous to the Spartan establishment of supremacy in Lakedaimonia or Messenia as it is conventionally envisaged, and in some cases, it may be more accurate to see the relationship between Thessaly and her *perioikoi* as a kind of hegemonic alliance.[30] Most significant for the purposes of this argument, whatever the character of their dependency, the Magnesians, Phthiotic Achaians, and Perrhaibians remained viable, salient cultural, political, and religious entities throughout the Archaic and Classical periods. I now consider these territories in succession.

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[27] For discussion of the sources, see Ducat 1994, pp. 93–98.
[28] *Hell.* 6.1.9.
[29] Arist. *Pol.* 1269b7–9.
[30] For a cogent statement of this case, see Sprawski 2009.

Perrhaibia is an upland region bordered on the north and east by Pieria and Olympus, on the west by Kamvouni, and by the Thessalian plains to the south.[31] Olympus, Pieria, and Kamvouni were part of a vast frontier between Perrhaibia and so-called Upper Macedonia. In the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, however, in addition to the core area between Olympus and Kamvouni, they are also associated with territory extending into Epiros: '… the Perrhaibians, who are steadfast in war, who set up homes about Dodona with its difficult winters, and who work fields about the lovely Titaresos [River]'.[32] Beyond Homer, however, literary sources are not of especial importance. The Perrhaibians belonged to the Delphic Amphictiony, splitting a block of two votes with the Dolopians in the fourth century, and they medized like the Thessalians at the time of the Persian Wars. Strabo indicates that in the mid fourth century the Perrhaibians were paying tribute to Larisa, but all of Perrhaibia need not have been continuously under the command of the Thessalian League through this period.[33] The Argead kings of Macedonia, for instance, are known to have had considerable interests in the region and appear to have negotiated with Larisa on one occasion and Jason of Pherai on another during the late fifth and early fourth century about territorial concessions in the region.[34] Whatever the situation of Perrhaibia in macro-political perspective, it is extremely likely that they had organized themselves in some sort of league by the first half of the fourth century at the latest. The chief evidence, a heavily restored inscription from Elassona, records a group dedication to Apollo offered by festival-attending *theoroi* from the individual cities of Perrhaibia.[35] Fifth- and fourth-century coinage issued in the name of the Perrhaiboi is also known.[36]

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[31] Kip 1910, pp. 111–125; Stählin 1924, pp. 5–39; Lucas 1997; Errington 2007.

[32] Hom. *Il*. 2.749–751. The poet links them closely with the Ainianes.

[33] Str. 9.5.19.

[34] Larisa: the principal source is [Herodes], *On the Constitution* (available in Meyer 1906). See also Hammond and Griffith 1979, pp. 140–141; Borza 1990, pp. 164–165. Jason of Pherai: Wace and Thompson 1910–1911; Helly 1979; and, for general discussion, Lucas 1997, pp. 101–108. The northernmost portion of the region, the so-called Perhaibian Tripolis, consisting of the cities of Pythion, Doliche, and Azoros, seems to have been most susceptible to Macedonian influence, although the history of the region as a whole is that of a borderland between tetradic Thessaly and Macedonia. Cf. Graninger 2010, pp. 323–324.

[35] Helly 1979 (*SEG* 29, 546; *BullÉp* 1980, 295); Lucas 1997, pp. 80–81.

[36] Gardner 1883, p. 39; Head 1911, p. 304; Rogers 1932, pp. 143–144; Liampi 1990.

The region of Magnesia consists essentially of the Ossa and Pelion massifs, extending from the Vale of Tempe in the north to Cape Sepias in the south.[37] It is bordered on the west by the eastern Thessalian plain. The southern half of the region is a fish-hook shaped peninsula which extends into the Aegean sea and curls to the west to form the Pagasitic Gulf (mod. Gulf of Volos). In Homer, contingents from Magnesian territory follow both Eumelos and Philoktetes.[38] Magnes, the eponym of the Magnesians, is mentioned in the pseudo-Hesiodic Catalogue of Women, where he appears as the son of Zeus and Thyia, brother of Makedon (eponym of the Macedonians), and is associated with territory which would in the Classical period be regarded as southern Macedonia. In addition to suggesting a perceived ethnic relationship between Magnesia and Macedonia from the perspective of Archaic genealogical epic, this association may have equally well indicated the Magnesian difference from the Thessaloi and, like Thessalian tales of conquest and migration, have helped to legitimate their perioikic status.[39] These associations with Macedonia may not have been purely genealogical, however. Like Perrhaibia, Magnesia bordered Macedonian territory, and there are telltale signs of some shared cultural, especially cultic, features between the two regions.[40] The political history of Magnesia in the Classical and Archaic period fits the general mold of the other Thessalian *perioikoi*: Magnesia commanded a two-vote block within the Delphic Amphictiony, but was in some subordinate relationship with tetradic Thessaly by 510, when Magnesian Iolkos was offered to Hippias by the Thessalians. Magnesia medized at the time of the Persian Wars and was still in the Thessalian orbit at the time of the Peloponnesian War. Presumably they would have been numbered among Jason's *perioikoi* in the 370s and would have made military and financial contributions to his regime. It is unknown to what extent the Magnesian *ethnos* at this period possessed some formal political organization.

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[37] Kip 1910, pp. 78–110; Stählin 1924, pp. 39–78; Meyer 2006.

[38] Hom. Il. 2.711–728. Magnesians are not listed as an *ethnos*; but the cities mentioned in the Catalogue, e.g., Boibe, Glaphyrai, Iolkos, Meliboia, Olizon, etc., are known as Magnesian in later sources.

[39] [Hes.] fr. 7 M.-W. For discussion of this passage, see Hall 2001; Finkelberg 2006, pp. 27–29. In the *Megalai Ehoiai*, Magnes is regarded as a descendent of Pheres, the eponymous hero of Pherai ([Hes.] fr. 256 M.-W.); this is an equally suggestive association given Magnesia's occasional political dependence on Pherai.

[40] For the karpaia dance, see Xen. *Anab.* 6.1.7; Hesych. s.v. καρπαία. In the Hellenistic period, Macedonian kings would participate in some Magnesian cult; see Meyer 1936. See also Athen. *Deip.* 13.572d–e for possibly similar Zeus festivals in Magnesia and Macedonia. Cf. Graninger 2010, pp. 323–324.

The region of Achaia Phthiotis consists of the Othrys massif and is bordered by the Thessalian plains to the north and northwest, by the Pagasitic Gulf to the east, by the Malian Gulf and Spercheios valley to the south, and by Dolopia to the west.[41] This was regarded as the territory of Achilles and Protesilaus in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, its inhabitants known variously as Hellenes, Myrmidons, Achaians.[42] By the historical period, however, the Thessaloi were in possession of several key cities of this region, including Pyrasos, a major harbor on the Pagasitic Gulf.[43] Unlike Magnesia and Perrhaibia, Phthiotic Achaia had a much more pronounced southern (and in some respects tetradic Thessalian) orientation. Their territory was regarded as originally extending well into the Spercheios valley and migration tradition of the Ainianes describes warfare between the two *ethne* in the region of the Inachos river. Possessed of two votes on the Amphictionic Council, a medizing region in the Persian Wars, and aligned with tetradic Thessaly during the Peloponnesian Wars, the political history of Achaia Phthiotis nevertheless closely resembled that of her perioikic neighbors; and like Magnesia, Achaia Phthiotis was brought under Boiotian control for a short period after Pelopidas's victory over Alexander of Pherai at Kynoskephalai in 364.[44] The region fell into Macedonian control in the years after Philip II's accession to leadership of the Thessalian League.

The Spercheios Ethne

A second group of *ethne* in the Spercheios valley further south would become politically Thessalian over the course of the second and first centuries, like some of the Thessalian *perioikoi* just discussed. Some elements of their earlier history are similar as well: Like the northern *perioikoi*, most of these *ethne* seem to have been part of the early stratum of membership in the Delphic Amphictiony, a fact to which we shall return in Chapter Four; and, like the northern *perioikoi*, these *ethne* seem to have fallen into a dependent relationship with Thessaly periodically over the course of the Archaic and Classical period, although the form of dependency was variable—the word may in the final analysis be too strong—and likely much less formal than that experienced by the Thessalian *perioikoi*. The principal evidence consists of the following:

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[41] Kip 1910, pp. 57–77; Stählin 1924, pp. 150–191; Kramolisch 2007a; Cantarelli 2008.
[42] Hom. *Il.* 2.681–710.
[43] Pyrasos: Thuc. 2.22.3, on which see Helly 1995, p. 169.
[44] Diod. Sic. 15.80.6. See also Westlake 1935, pp. 151–152.

(1) A range of literary sources has enabled G.A. Lehmann to delineate a Thessalian hegemony over much of central Greece in the sixth century which extended into Phokis and Boiotia at its greatest extent.[45] The ability of Thessalian troops to move with impunity through the Spercheios valley may suggest a passive acquiescence in the hegemony on the part of those *ethne*, perhaps even active support.
(2) In the aftermath of the Spartan foundation of Herakleia Trachinia, various *ethne* of the Spercheios valley are depicted by Thucydides as fighting together with the Thessalians against the new settlement.[46]

These two major periods in the history of tetradic Thessaly and the Spercheios *ethne* probably reflect on more persistent Thessalian attraction to the region. Such interest was conditioned by several important topographic factors: Major routes from the south and southwest into Thessaly ran through the Spercheios valley, and the Othrys massif is not nearly as forbidding an obstacle as the Pindus in the west or Olympus and Kamvouni in the north. Moreover, the centripetal pull of Delphi directed Thessalian interests into this region throughout history. As in the case of the Thessalian *perioikoi*, however, a politically dependent relationship on Thessaly did not completely subsume the cultural and political identity of these *ethne*. Nor was the Spercheios valley was without natural and human resources: Good timber and able slingers (and other light-armed forces) were characteristic products of the region.[47] I now consider the *ethne* of the Spercheios region severally: Ainis, Malis, Oitaia, Dolopia.

In the historical period, Ainis occupied essentially the north slopes of Oite and the middle Spercheios valley, extending to the Othrys massif on the north and its western outrunners (Dolopia and Achaia Phthiotis).[48] The border to the east with Malis likely fluctuated throughout antiquity. To the west and southwest Ainis met Aitolia. Homeric epic recalls a different homeland for the Ainianes, however, where they, together with the Perrhaibians, are associated with the Titaresos valley in Perrhaibia as well as the region about Dodona in Epiros.[49] Later sources trace migrations of these Ainianes either by a southerly route

[45] Lehmann 1983.
[46] Thuc. 3.93.3.
[47] Xen. *Anab*. 1.2.6; Theophrast. *Hist. Plant*. 5.2.1.
[48] Kip 1910, pp. 21–31; Stählin 1924, pp. 219–226; Kramolisch 2002.
[49] Hom. *Il*. 2.749–751. Cf. Str. 9.5.22.

through Thessaly to their historical area of habitation, or more circuitously through Epiros and Amphilochia before arriving in the Spercheios valley.[50] Politically, the Ainianes were members of the Delphic Amphictiony, medized at the time of the Persian Wars, and are depicted as fighting with the Thessalians against the foundation of Herakleia Trachinia during the Peloponnesian War. Ainian coinage begins in the fourth century, and the Ainianes appear as independent actors through much of this period; for example, they forged a treaty with the Spartans in 395 and were allied with Boiotia at the battle of Mantinea in 362.[51]

Malis comprised essentially the lower Spercheios valley, bordering Achaia Phthiotis to the north, Ainis to the west, and Lokris (later Oitaia and Lokris) to the south and southeast.[52] At various periods of its history Malian territory also extended along the north shore of the Malian gulf as far as Echinos. Although the Malians go unmentioned by Homer, a narrative of Malian migration and territorial conquest seems to have been in circulation by the fifth century at the latest, although it appears in our sources in less detailed form than that of the Ainianes.[53] There was located within Malian territory at Anthela a famous sanctuary of Demeter. The Delphic Amphictiony, of which the Malians were members, may have had its origins in an earlier Amphictiony which administered only this Demeter sanctuary; the cult located there seems to have been prominent in central Greece during the Archaic period.[54] It is not clear whether the Malian relationship with this cult was as vexed as that of the Phokians with Pythian Apollo at Delphi. The Malians medized at the time of the Persian Wars. The Aristotelian school is known to have written a *Constitution of Malians*, which enumerated some innovative aspects of their polity.[55] Perhaps the most significant moment in their history came at the time of the Peloponnesian War, when the Trachinians, whom Thucydides describes as a subdivision of the Malians,

[50] For discussion of the traditions, see Béquignon 1937, pp. 148–158; Sakelleriou 1984.

[51] Coinage: Head 1911, p. 291, head of Zeus on obverse, warrior with javelin or simply sheathed sword and javelin on reverse. Events of 395: Xen., *Hell.* 3.5.6; Diod. Sic. 14.82.7. Events of 362: Diod. Sic. 15.85.2.

[52] Kip 1910, pp. 42–51; Stählin 1924, pp. 212–219; Kramolisch and Meyer 2006.

[53] For discussion of the traditions, see Béquignon 1937, pp. 158–167.

[54] See Béquignon 1937, pp. 181–187, 192–204, for a conspectus of the excavations and a discussion of the cult.

[55] Constitution of the Malians: Arist. fr. 553–554 Rose. *Pol.* 1297b14–16: current and former members of the hoplite class had citizen rights, but magistrates were drawn only from those currently serving as hoplites.

appealed to the Spartans for assistance in confronting the persistent raiding of Oitaian mountaineers into their territory. The Spartans complied by founding a colony at Herakleia Trachinia, a move which upset the political balance of the Spercheios valley and met armed resistance from the Thessalians. With the subsequent emergence of the Oitaians as a legitimate regional political force, Malian territory receded to the north, and the city of Lamia became a major Malian center, if it had not been so already. Lamia was the site of a mint and coinage was issued in the name of both the Malians and the Lamians by the late fifth century.[56] In the 370s, Herakleia Trachinia was conquered by Jason and its territory portioned between the Malians and the Oitaians.[57]

Among the *ethne* of the Spercheios valley, the Oitaians have the least prominent profile in the Archaic and early Classical periods.[58] As their name suggests, they are intimately connected with Oite, and in the historical period their territory seems to have included the eastern slopes of the mountain and extended to the Malian gulf. Not mentioned by Homer, the region of Oitaia was famous in mythology for the cremation of Heracles, which allegedly took place there, and was fittingly the site of an early and important cult of this hero.[59] The first recorded event in Oitaian history dates to the Peleponnesian War, when the Oitaian raids against Malian Trachis and into neighboring Doris led the Spartans to take a proprietary interest in the area and to found a colony at Herakleia Trachinia in 426.[60] The colony was ultimately a failure and, an unintended consequence, effectively crystallized the Oitaians into a formal regional organization capable of minting coins and conducting treaties.[61] Oitaian forces are deployed on the side of the Amphictiony during the Third Sacred War, the clearest indication that they had moved into the orbit of the Amphictiony by that time.

Dolopia is an entirely landlocked region of central Greece, bordered on the north by the western Thessalian plain, on the east by the Othrys massif, on the south by the Spercheios valley, and in the west by Pindus.[62]

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[56] Head 1911, pp. 296–297; Gardner 1883, p. 35; Rogers 1932, pp. 124–127. Dionysus, Athena, Philoctetes, and Heracles are common types.

[57] Diod. Sic. 15.57.2.

[58] Kip 1910, pp. 31–42; Stählin 1924, pp. 205–212; Kramolisch 2007b.

[59] See Béquignon 1937, pp. 204–230, for a conspectus of the excavations and a discussion of the cult.

[60] The Spartans may also have been keen to strengthen their influence with the Amphictiony; cf. Hornblower 1992.

[61] Gardner 1883, p. 37; Head 1911, pp. 302–303; Rogers 1932, pp. 136–138.

[62] Kip 1910, pp. 126–128; Stählin 1924, pp. 145–150; Kramolisch 2004.

In Homer, the Dolopians appear as belonging to the kingdom of Peleus, father of Achilles, who is based in Phthia (near Pharsalos?). Peleus gave them to Phoenix to rule.[63] Like the other *ethne* discussed thus far, the Dolopians were members of the Delphic Amphictiony and medized at the time of the Persian Wars. Little is known of their subsequent history. The Dolopians reputedly had strong associations with the island of Scyros where they allegedly practiced piracy before being driven off the island by Cimon in the 470s.[64] At the time of the Peloponnesian War, the Dolopians were fighting with the Thessalians against the Spartan foundation of Herakleia Trachinia. As *perioikoi* of Thessaly under the leadership of Jason of Pherai, they contributed light-armed forces to his army.

The Aitolian and Macedonian Ascendency

Tetradic Thessaly together with Perrhaibia, Magnesia, and Achaia Phthiotis fell under Macedonian control most likely during the Third Sacred War. The civil war which lingered in the 350s within Thessaly between the Thessalian League and the recalcitrant city of Pherai assumed an international dimension when both parties looked outside of Thessaly for military assistance. The Thessalian League summoned help from the king of Macedonia, Philip II, while Peitholaus and Lycophron, who exercised power in Pherai, invited in the Phokian general Onomarchus.[65] The two coalitions fought a pair of battles in 353; Philip and his Thessalian allies were defeated on both occasions. Campaigning resumed in 352 and at the so-called Krokian Field, probably in eastern Thessaly, Onomarchus and his allies were routed. The Pheraian tyrants and much of their mercenary army were granted passage out of Thessaly.[66] It was most likely at this time that Philip was elected *archon* of the Thessalian League.[67] Philip's newfound status probably entitled him to a free hand in the major *perioikoi*. We learn, for example, that he planned to construct fortifications in Magnesia and that he imposed a governor on Perrhaibia, the *penestes*

[63] Hom. *Il*. 9.483–484.
[64] Thuc. 1.98.3; Plut. *Thes*. 36.2, *Cim*. 8.3–6; Diod. Sic. 11.60.2.
[65] Philip had previously campaigned in Thessaly in the early 350s. Cf. Martin 1982.
[66] Diod. Sic. 16.37.3, 38.1. Cf. Buckler 2003, pp. 414, 419.
[67] The event, and its putative date, are matters of scholarly controversy. Harris 1995, pp. 175–176 makes the case against Philip's archonship. His conclusions have not won general acceptance (cf., e.g., Worthington 2008, p. 65) and I do not follow them. I subscribe to the high chronology of Hammond and Griffith 1979, pp. 220–224.

Agathocles.[68] Alexander was appointed *archon* of the Thessalian League after Philip's death, and royal control over Thessaly would continue to be passed from king to king until the time of Philip V and the Flamininan settlement of 196–194.[69] Macedonian control of the region was nevertheless precarious in the first generations after Philip II, and much of tetradic Thessaly and Phthiotic Achaia seems to have revolted at the time of the Lamian War; Phthiotic Thebes, an important city of Phthiotic Achaia remained loyal to Macedonia, as Perrhaibia and Magnesia most likely did as well.[70] Macedonian control over tetradic Thessaly and the Thessalian *perioikoi* grew steadily more secure over the course of the third century, assisted above all by the successful foundation of Demetrias in the 290s, but as the events of 229–228 revealed, when much of tetradic Thessaly and Phthiotic Achaia revolted from Macedonia with Aitolian assistance, such control was always sharply contested, both from within Thessaly and from without.

The immediate consequences of this rule for tetradic Thessaly and the former *perioikoi* are difficult to seek. Perrhaibia and Magnesia may have been formally annexed to the Macedonian kingdom and ruled as de facto Macedonian territory. The realities of power in tetradic Thessaly may have been fundamentally similar, but as Polybius relates in a controversial passage: 'For the Thessalians, though supposed to be governed constitutionally and much more liberally than the Macedonians, were as a fact treated in just the same way and obeyed all the orders of the king's ministers'.[71] And, as the famous letters of Philip V to the city of Larisa reveal, the king's will would be done, preferably through local institutions, but if necessary by direct intervention.[72]

While Macedonian control over the northern section of the geographical region in question was established by the middle of the fourth century and continued to develop over the course of the third, the politics of the Spercheios valley are more difficult to sketch. Ainis and Dolopia

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[68] For the (aborted?) fortification program in Magnesia, see Dem. 1.22 and Bakhuizen 1992. For Agathocles, see Theopompus *FGrHist* 115 F 81 and Str. 9.5.19.

[69] Polyaen. 4.1.1 records an account of abortive Thessalian resistance to Alexander at Tempe before his election as *archon*. For the election itself, see Just. 11.3.

[70] Diod. Sic. 18.11.1.

[71] Polyb. 4.76.2, trans. Paton: Θετταλοὶ γὰρ ἐδόκουν μὲν κατὰ νόμους πολιτεύειν καὶ πολὺ διαφέρειν Μακεδόνων, διέφερον δ' οὐδέν, ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὁμοίως ἔπασχον Μακεδόσι καὶ πᾶν ἐποίουν τὸ προσταττόμενον τοῖς βασιλικοῖς.

[72] *IG* 9.2, 517.

both fought the Lamian War on the side of the Greeks, while Lamia and Herakleia Trachinia, and possibly by extension Malis and Oitaia, supported Macedonia.[73] The next watershed came with the Gallic invasion of northern and central Greece in 280–279, which the Aitolians, together with a coalition of other Greeks, successfully resisted. Delphi fell under Aitolian control and as a result the Aitolians took a proprietary interest in the Delphic Amphictiony. Aitolia was able to parlay the good will from their service on behalf of Greece into a series of increasingly bold territorial acquisitions from the 270s down into the 220s. The Spercheios valley was the first target; attempts would later be made on perioikic and tetradic Thessaly. I sketch now briefly this Aitolian expansion.[74]

Pausanias describes the city of Herakleia Trachinia, at the time of the Gallic invasion of central Greece in 279, as having been forced to join the Aitolian League in the previous year.[75] As a consequence the Aitolians mounted a defense of Herakleia against Brennus and the Gauls as if the city were their own. Already by the 270s Herakleians were filling significant posts within the Aitolian League such as secretary and general.[76] Such developments indicate that Oitaia had been formally included within the Aitolian League.

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[73] Diod. Sic. 18.11.1.

[74] Aitolia had had no formal representation on the Amphictiony before the Gallic invasion, and it has become commonplace to track Aitolian territorial gains in subsequent decades, quite well-attested in Delphian epigraphy, by comparing the increase in the number of Aitolians sitting on the council with the decreasing representation of traditional Amphictionic states. See Scholten 2000, pp. 235–252, for a lucid discussion of the Delphian evidence.

[75] Paus. 10.20.9: ἔτει γὰρ πρότερον τούτων οἱ Αἰτωλοὶ συντελεῖν τοὺς Ἡρακλεώτας ἠνάγκασαν ἐς τὸ Αἰτωλικόν 'for a year previous to this [the Gallic invasion] the Aetolians had forced Heracleia to join the Aetolian League' (trans. Jones). Scholten 2000, p. 24, suggests that the Oitaians had been antagonizing the Aitolians along their eastern border and, as a Spartan foundation, that they may even have been sympathetic to Areus' invasion of Aitolia in 280. The attack and subsequent annexation of the city and its territory can thus be viewed as an Aitolian attempt to shore up its eastern border. Grainger 1999, p. 98, suggests that a pro-Aitolian party within Herakleia had brought the city over to Aitolia and that, given the quick assumption of League offices by Oitaians (implying no long-standing anger), Pausanias' characterization of the incorporation as 'forced' may be overstated. But the Herakleian support for the Gauls in 279 (Paus. 10.22.10, 13; 10.23.12) may suggest, contra Pausanias, that some such pro- and anti-Aitloian factions existed in the city by that date. See Scholten 2000, p. 37, with n. 27.

[76] Polycharmos was secretary in 273/2 (*IG* 9.1^2.1, 10–12); Trichas was general in 262/1 (*IG* 9.1^2.1, 18). For other, early Aitolian offices held by Herakleians, see Grainger 1999, pp. 97–98.

Scholars have typically located Dolopia's incorporation into the Aitolian League in the aftermath of the Gallic invasions of 280–279. In 277/6 or 276/5, Aitolian representation on the Delphic Amphictiony increased to three votes from the two which they had previously acquired in 279/8 or 278/7.[77] Topography and strategic concerns both suggest that Dolopia joined the Aitolian League in the interval and that their vote went over to the Aitolians.[78] Much in this reconstruction remains hypothetical, however, and Grainger notes only 7 Dolopians in his Aitolian prosopography.[79] Unlike the Oitaians, the Dolopians do not seem to have played an especially prominent role in the League.[80]

Independent Ainian *hieromnemones* at the Delphic Amphictiony are last attested in 273/2 or 272/1, which provides a firm *terminus post quem* for Ainian accession to the Aitolian League.[81] In an important Aitolo-Akarnanian treaty dating from the second or third quarter of the third century, an Ainian is one of seven treasurers of the Aitolian League.[82] Scholarly consensus has settled on the late 260s to early 250s for the treaty's establishment, although dates as early as the 270s and as late as the 240s have been proposed.[83] Ainian accession to the Aitolian League must therefore belong to this period as well.

A Lamian decree of 218/7 which uses the *strategos* of the Aitolian League as eponymous magistrate provides a *terminus ante quem* for Malian entrance into that *koinon*.[84] The dramatic, if temporary, gains in

[77] Amphictionic list of 277/6 or 276/5: *CID* 4, 14–15. For the date, see *CID* 4, pp. 26–28. Amphictionic list of 279/8 or 278/7: *CID* 4, 12.

[78] Scholten 2000, pp. 47–49 makes the strongest circumstantial case for reciprocal interests between Aitolia and Dolopia.

[79] Grainger 2000, p. 56.

[80] Grainger hypothesizes that the Syagros mentioned by Phylarchus (*FGrHist* 81 F 5) as general of the Aitolian League, dated by Klaffenbach to 226/5, was a Dolopian on the basis of a later homonym serving as a homonym at Delphi in 178, but this is not at all certain and the city origins of Syagros are best left open. See Grainger 2000, p. 10, for a hypothetical reconstruction of Syagros' stemma.

[81] *CID* 4, 22.

[82] Agrios son of Sosthenes (*IG* 9.1^2.1, 3A).

[83] For recent discussion, see Scholten 2000, 77–83, 253–256 (*SEG* 50, 516).

[84] *IG* 9.2, 62. The general, Hagetas from Kallipolis, held the office in 218/7 and 201/0. Since there is no reference in the inscription to Hagetas' 'second' term as general, it is safe to assume the earlier date of 218/7. See the table in Grainger 1999, p. 556, and Grainger 2000, p. 181, s.v. Hagetas (1). The Lamians later dedicated a statue of Hagetas at Thermon (*IG* 9.1^2.1, 59A). A second Lamian inscription, *IG* 9.2, 61, is also dated by Aitolian *strategos*, but only the first letter of the name, an iota, and the ethnic, Arsinoeis, are preserved. Unfortunately no known general of the Aitolian League fits there criteria.

Thessaly won by the Aitolians in 229/8 may suggest that they controlled Malian territory at that time. For a *terminus post quem*, Malis is last attested with independent representation on the Amphictiony in 270/69 or 269/8.[85] Within this roughly forty-year range of dates, 269/8–229/8, however, there are many possible scenarios for Malian accession.[86] The matter is vexed and must be considered open.

Aitolian control in the Spercheios valley thus manifested itself very differently from the Macedonian command over tetradic and perioikic Thessaly. Epigraphic and literary evidence is again slight, but the degree to which elites from newly Aitolian territories were established in key administrative posts within the machinery of the Aitolian League is striking. Such swift expansion and territorial integration posed a threat to Macedonian control in tetradic and perioikic Thessaly, especially those regions which had a traditional orientation towards the Spercheios valley. The death of the Macedonian king Demetrios II in 229 was greeted with widespread rebellion throughout Thessaly (including Hesitaiotis, Thessaliotis, Phthiotis, and Achaia Phthiotis) as well as with the concomitant invasion of those territories by the Aitolian League.[87] Antigonus Doson, regent for Philip V, was able to quell the insurrection and win back most of this territory, but much of Achaia Phthiotis remained in Aitolian hands,[88] and the residents of that region also quickly assumed positions of prominence within the Aitolian League.[89]

Fragmentation

On the eve of the Second Macedonian War, tetradic Thessaly, the Thessalian *perioikoi* and the *ethne* of the Spercheios valley were divided between the two dominant powers of mainland Greece: Aitolia and Macedonia. Philip V's adventurous diplomacy brought Roman armies to mainland Greece in 199, and by 197, he had been defeated by T. Quinctius Flamininus' legions and Aitolian allies at the battle of Kynoskephalai, setting the stage for a thorough reworking of the political borders

[85] *CID* 4, 28. For the date, see the commentary *ad loc*.

[86] Flacelière 1937, p. 247, argued ca. 235; Scholten 2000, pp. 154, 250 n. 36, suggested the mid-250s; Grainger 1999, pp. 123–124, posited the late 260s.

[87] Scholten 2000, p. 166, n. 5.

[88] Just. 28.3.14.

[89] The earliest is Archippos of Melitaia (*IG* $9.1^2.1$, 31); for further discussion of these Phthiotic Achaian office-holders, see Grainger 1999, pp. 238–239.

of central Greece. At the celebration of the Isthmian Games in 196, a famous decree was read aloud; while associated in name with the Roman Senate, it bore the fingerprints of its chief architect, Flamininus.[90] The decree stated that: 'The Senate of Rome and Titus Quinctius the proconsul having overcome King Philip and the Macedonians, leave the following peoples free, without garrisons and subject to no tribute and governed by their countries' laws—the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboeans, Phthiotic Achaeans, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhaibians'.[91] Flamininus was subsequently mobbed by those in attendance who desired to shake his hand or hail him as 'savior'.[92] After the festival, Flamininus entertained envoys from Greek cities, leagues and kingdoms and made the following revisions and clarifications with regard to Thessaly: Phthiotic Achaia, freed under the initial terms of the decree, was given over to Thessaly, while the status of Pharsalos and Phthiotic Thebes was kept separate (Aitolia had made claims to both cities previously); the Dolopians were also freed at this time.[93] This signal moment in the history of northern Greece heralded the arrival of free and independent Magnesian, Perrhaibian, and Thessalian Leagues which began to administer their own affairs for the first time in 150 or more years. Ainis, Oitaia, and Malis remained under Aitolian control.

Our historical narrative splits at this point into two parallel tracks: the first concerns the fragmentation of greater Thessaly into a plurality of free and autonomous Leagues over the course of the second century; the second, the subsequent incorporation of each of these independent polities into the Thessalian League.

Thessaly had been freed in 196, but there remained the rather serious business of ensuring that Thessaly would remain free. This was no easy bet, and Flamininus, together with a group of ten commissioners, would

[90] Cf. Eckstein 1987, who has argued that these arrangements were most likely not the deliberate plan of the Romans, but are to be attributed to Flamininus himself who, like many adventurous Roman generals of the Middle Republic operating outside of Italy, appears to have had considerable authority in the management of war and the negotiation of peace.

[91] Polyb. 18.46.5. Cf. Liv. 33.32.5.

[92] Polyb. 18.46.11–12.

[93] Polyb. 18.47.6–9. Cf. Liv. 33.34.6–7. Neither Polybius nor Livy discusses the motivation for the changed status of Achaia Phthiotis. The Lokrians and Phokians had also both technically been freed by the Isthmia declaration only to be subsequently incorporated into the Aitolian League (Polyb. 18.47.9).

prove to be a central figure.[94] In a memorable passage Livy well sums up the situation in 194, as Flamininus was withdrawing Roman forces from Thessaly: '[he] continued his journey to Thessaly, where there were the states (*civitates*) not only to be set free, but also to be brought into some reasonable condition of order after all the chaos and confusion. For they had been thrown into confusion not only by the faults of the times and the king's [Philip V] lawless and violent behavior, but also by the restless character of the people, which from the earliest times down to the present day has never conducted a meeting or an assembly or a council without dissension and rioting. He chose the senate and the magistrates mainly on the basis of the census and strove to make that element in the community more influential which found it advantageous to have everything peaceful and quiet'.[95] Livy refers to plural *civitates* in this passage, a fact which suggests that Flamininus was concerned with the local, city governments of Thessaly in 194 and that these governments had perhaps been in a state of disorder since the Isthmian declaration and the presumed withdrawal of Macedonian garrisons. The presence of Roman troops in such numbers and for such a duration must have been a boon to anti-Macedonian elements in the cities of Thessaly and some of the chaos and confusion observed by Livy may be associated with newly pro-Roman factional recriminations against pro-Macedonians. The solution for Flamininus was the establishment of a new census and its rigorous application, together with the restriction of some magistracies and council positions to members of the higher census classes. Little can be said about census classes in Thessaly, whether before or after Flamininus, but it is worth noting the pronounced aristocratic and oligarchic character of government at the level of both the city-state and the League in the Archaic and Classical periods. Flamininus does not seem to have developed new magistracies at the local level, though; there is ample evidence to suggest that the local Thessalian governing tradition remained intact—what differed perhaps was the number of citizens who had access to it.

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[94] Appointment of *decem legati*: Liv. 33.24.7.

[95] Livy 34.51.4–6, trans. Sage: … *pergit ire in Thessaliam, ubi non liberandae modo civitates erant, sed ex omni colluvione et confusione in aliquam tolerabilem formam redigendae. Nec enim temporum modo vitiis ac violentia et licentia regia turbati erant, sed inquieto etiam ingenio gentis, nec comitia nec conventum nec concilium ullum non per seditionem ac tumultum iam inde a principio ad nostram usque aetatem traducentes. A censu maxime et senatum et iudices legit potentioremque eam partem civitatium fecit cui salva et tranquilla omnia esse magis expediebat.*

An important inscription recording a letter of Flamininus to the *tagoi* and city of Chyretiai suggests other ways in which the Roman general may have been active in the local politics of Thessaly at this time.[96] Chyretiai was a city in Perrhaibia, and although Flamininus' letter to the Chyretians (discussed below) is often reckoned as evidence of his policy in Thessaly (in the narrow sense), it strictly pertains to his treatment of Perrhaibia alone. Nevertheless, it is a fair assumption that Perrhaibians and Thessalians alike were in similar states of flux and a fragmentary inscription from Thessalian Metropolis records the prescript of a Flamininan letter to the community which doubtless contained similar prescriptions.[97] The inscription must belong to the 190s, like the Chyretiai letter, but little more can be said. Although the contents of this letter are unknown, the clear implication is that Flamininus, as Livy suggests, was involved with politics at the local level in Thessaly and Perrhaibia more broadly. The Chyretiai inscription thus emerges as a possible template for the kinds of problems he faced throughout these newly independent, formerly Macedonian regions.

Following the prescript which contains the address of Flamininus, described here as consul, to the *tagoi* and city of Chyretiai, the letter proper begins with an expression of hope on the part of Rome to appear honorable and not open to slanders. The target of this opening sentence was likely the Aitolian League (and its partisans) which had been unhappy with their treatment in the Roman settlement after the Second Macedonian War. The inscription continues: 'Whatever properties have been lost by you in land and buildings, of those (now) belonging to the public (domain) of the Romans, all of them we give to your city ….'[98] Such a sentiment would seem to make most sense in the immediate aftermath of the Second Macedonian War, when former Macedonian holdings in Greece had been handed over to Rome but before the status of these possessions had been clarified by Flamininus' Isthmian Declaration. At the same time, however, it is not certain that even after the Isthmian

[96] *IG* 9.2, 338 (Sherk 1969, pp. 211–213, no. 33).

[97] Mentioned at *BullÉp* 1988, no. 689 and *SEG* 37, 495. Note as well Mastrokostas 1964, pp. 309–310 (*SEG* 23, 412), from Skotussa, where Flamininus is honored by Praulos, son of Phoxinos, a former general of the Thessalian League, for his service both to himself and the city of Skotussa.

[98] *IG* 9.2, 338, l. 8–10, trans. Sherk: ὅσαι γάρ ποτε ἀπολείπονται κτήσεις | ἔγγειοι καὶ οἰκίαι τῶν καθηκουσῶν εἰς τὸ δημόσιον | τὸ Ῥωμαίων, πάσας δίδομεν τῆι ὑμετέραι πόλει.

Declaration Macedonia's former Greek holdings would have returned to their pre-Macedonian political and social constitutions. In closing, the letter addresses a related, but different, set of property issues: 'But all those who have not recovered what belongs to them, if they notify you and if it is the truth they seem to be speaking, and if you conduct your investigation in accord with my written decisions, I decide it is just (for their property) to be restored to them.'[99] This statement takes up a more contentious issue, properties whose ownership is disputed. Given the fractious recent history of Chyretiai, one may imagine that after the commutation of Roman property to Chyretian property, there may have been several claimants to a given territory. Cases of this sort were to be handled by *polis* officials, perhaps the *tagoi* themselves, who were to investigate the claims and adjudicate matters in accordance with guidelines set up by Flamininus. There were likely many such letters issued to the cities of Thessaly and Perrhaibia, perhaps Magnesia as well.

Later epigraphic evidence suggests that, in addition to his interventions into the politics of individual cities, Flamininus was equally occupied with those of the *koinon*. An inscription from Narthakion in perioikic Achaia Phthiotis dated to ca. 140 refers to a decision about a border dispute reached 'in accordance with the laws of the Thessalians, laws which they use up to the present, laws which Titus Quinctius [Flamininus], consul, gave, after consultation with the Ten Commissioners and in accordance with a decree of the senate'.[100] This passage must mean not only that Flamininus had provided a new constitution for the Thessalian League, but that this constitution continued to be closely associated with his name in subsequent decades and presumably retained its original form.[101]

Flamininus' actions at the level of both individual *poleis* and the overarching structure of the *koinon* rendered Thessaly a relatively stable federal league which remained a staunch ally of Rome throughout the

[99] *IG* 9.2, 338, l. 13–18, trans. Sherk: ὅσοι μέν|τον μὴ κεκομισμένοι εἰσὶν τῶν ἐπιβαλλόντων αὐτοῖς, | ἐὰν ὑμᾶς διδάξωσιν καὶ φαίνωνται εὐγνώμονα λέ|γοντες στοχαιομένων ὑμῶν ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ γεγραμ|μένων ἐγκρίσεων, κρίνω δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποκαθιστασ|θαι αὐτοῖς.

[100] *IG* 9.2, 89, l. b15–19, trans. Sherk, with some modification: κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Θεσσαλῶν, οἷ̲ς γ[ό]|μοις [ἔ]ως [ν]ῦν χρῶνται, ο[ὓ]ς νόμους Τίτος | Κοΐγκτιος ὕπατος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν δέ̲κα πρεσ|βευτῶν γνώμης ἔδωκεν καὶ κατὰ δόγμα̲ | συγκλήτου.

[101] Cf. Larsen 1968, p. 283.

second and first centuries.[102] At the head of the league stood a general who was the eponymous official in dating formulae for the Thessalian League. His exact prerogatives are not clear, but in some later contexts he is depicted in a military capacity and thus the title *strategos* may effectively describe an aspect of his mandate. There is no evidence of a direct, primary assembly of Thessalians, although a *synedrion*, which is assumed to be representative, is attested. The League began to mint coins early in the second century and this coinage became dominant within the region after the revolt of Andriscus and the Achaian War in the 140s.[103] Local, city issues are unknown in this period. Inscriptions cast some further light on the activities of the League. Cult appears as a major priority and there is evidence of federal patronage of major sanctuaries of Athena Itonia at Philia and Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa (to be discussed in Chapter Two). A common calendar seems to have been established as well, a point which will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Three. Many of the inscriptions issued by the League are honorary, very often for foreigners who are recognized for their benefactions or service to the League.

Such evidence, revealing as it may be for the culture of euergetism in the later Hellenistic period, gives little sense about how the Thessalian League functioned. One inscription is distinctive, however, for the wealth of detail and unique insight which it provides. The inscription, discovered in Larisa and dating perhaps to the third quarter of the second century, reveals a federal structure that is as impressive in its ability to organize and motivate its member cities as it is in its keenness to please its Roman benefactors.[104] Quotas and delivery schedules were imposed by the general of the League upon each tetrad, although it is clear from the text that individual cities within the tetrads were responsible for the costs associated with their transport. Non-compliance with the decree was viewed severely.[105]

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[102] For an institutional overview of the new League, see Larsen 1968, pp. 281–294 (still fundamental); Solari 1912.

[103] Cf. Kremydi-Sicilianou 2004, who notes from Thessalian hoard evidence ca. 196–146 that the Thessalian League coinage was only the fourth most circulated in Thessaly (6.5%) after those of Rhodes (42.67%), Histiaia (31.79%), and the Antigonid kings of Macedon (14.24%); by contrast, Thessalian hoard evidence ca. 146–27 indicates that Thessalian League coinage was far and away the most dominant in the region (63.58%), followed by Athens (36%).

[104] Ed. pr. Gallis 1976, pp. 176–178 (*SEG* 34, 558); Canali de Rossi 2002, pp. 41–47, no. 146 (*BullÉp* 2005, no. 260). Cf. Garnsey, Gallant et al. 1984; *BullÉp* 1987, no. 262–264 (*SEG* 36, 547); *BullÉp* 1988, no. 419; *AnnÉp* 1995, no. 1377; *BullÉp* 1999, no. 300.

[105] l. 49–56 trans. Garnsey, Gallant et al.: ἐὰν δέ τις $^{vac\ 2-3}$ | $^{vac\ 2-3}$ μὴ ἀπαγάγῃ τὸν

Perrhaibia, like Thessaly, was freed by Flamininus, and it too seems to have been organized as a federal league soon after the Isthmian declaration. Although I have discussed Flamininus' letter to Chyretai under the heading of the Thessalian League, the city was in fact Perrhaibian, and Flamininus must be assumed to have been equally active in both areas ca. 196–194. Six eponymous *strategoi* of the Perrhaibian League are attested ca. 192–160, and one must assume that the office was annual, like that of the Thessalian League.[106] The prerogatives of these Perrhaibian generals are again difficult to grasp, as is the structure of the League more broadly. The League does seem to have minted coins, and it is possible that there was a federal calendar. Beyond these bare facts, however, little more is known.

Magnesia too formed a proper league in the aftermath of the Isthmian declaration. But Philip V was able to reacquire the region after his service to Rome during the Syrian War[107] and thus it is conventional to distinguish between this first, short-lived Flamininan League, and the so-called 'Second Magnesian League' which was created in the aftermath of the Third Macedonian War, when Rome further altered the political boundaries of central Greece.[108] From that point, the history of the Magnesian League begins to follow its own trajectory, for the Magnesians alone of the former Thessalian *perioikoi* resisted incorporation into the Thessalian League during the second and first centuries. They would remain an independent *koinon* until the time of Diocletian.

There remain the Dolopians. Evidence in this case is much more sparse than for either Thessaly or even Perrhaibia. If a Dolopian League was

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σῖτον ἐπὶ τοὺς λιμένας ἐν τοῖς ὡρισμένοις χρό|νοις, ἀποτινέτω τοῦ κοφίνου ἑκάστου ᵛ στατῆρας δύο καὶ ὀβολοὺς ἐν|νέα, καὶ τῆς διατιμήσεως ταύτης ποιεῖσθαι τὴν πρᾶξιν Πετραῖον | τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τούτου ἀποταγέντας ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόν|τῶν τῇ τε πόλει καὶ τοῖς κατ ᵛ οικοῦσιν ἐν τῇ πόλει καθ' ὃν ἂν τρόπον | βούλωνται, ἀνυποδίκοις καὶ ἀζημίοις οὖσιν καθ' ὃν ἂν τρ⟨ό⟩πον πρασ|σωσιν. 'If any city does not deliver the grain to the harbours by the specified times, let it be fined two staters and nine obols per kophinos; and that the collection of this assessment from the possessions of the city and of the inhabitants of the city be made, by whatever method they choose, by Petraios the *strategos* and those appointed by him, who are to be immune from prosecution or fines for the method of their collection'.

[106] For a complete list, see Helly 1973, vol. 1, p. 113. A priest of Asklepios is also mentioned in decrees dated by the general of the Perrhaibians; it is not certain whether this offical was an eponym of the league or the city (Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 40, 69).

[107] Liv. 39.33.12.

[108] Intzesiloglou 1996.

established in the 190s, its history too was ephemeral, for Dolopia, like Magnesia, seems to have been reacquired by Philip V during the Syrian War and remained a Macedonian possession until the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War.[109] If the Dolopians formed a 'Second' league at this time, it has left no trace. It is possible that the Dolopians were at that time formally included within the Thessalian League.

This brief consideration of Dolopia and Magnesia has carried our narrative down to 167 when, in addition to the removal of these two territories from Macedonian control and the refoundation of an autonomous Magnesian League, Aitolia was also stripped of some territory, including the territory of Oitaia and Ainis, both of which appear to have been refounded as *koina* as well. To these I now turn.

An Oitaian *koinon* seems to have existed already ca. 165. The chief evidence is an inscription which records honors awarded to one Kassander, son of Menestheos, from Alexandria Troas by a stunning array of Greek polities, among which are several former members of the Aitolian League, including the Dorians, East Lokrians, and Ainians.[110] Manumission decrees of the Oitaians are no longer dated by Aitolian general in the post-167 period, but by local Oitaian officials. An obvious inference is that Oitaia, previously administered by the Aitolian League, had become independent after the Third Macedonian War. Some indication of the structure of the *koinon* is offered by a group of inscriptions recording the Phokian city of Drymaia's repayment of a loan to the Oitaian League; the series is securely dated to the late 160s and early 150s.[111] The League's eponymous officials are a college of three 'boularchs at Oite' and a second college of three or four *hierothytai*. The loan was for the not inconsiderable amount of 90 mnas and reflects well on the wealth commanded by this young league. By 147, however, Herakleia Trachinia, and very likely all the territory commanded by the Oitaian League, had been forced into the Achaian League; when Rome called for the release of Herakleia, the Herakleians and Oitaians revolted from the Achaian League. In 146, the Achaian League,

[109] For Perseus' activities in Dolopia in the 170s, see Chapter Four.

[110] Two virtually copies of the inscription are known: one from Alexandria Troas (*IAlexandreia Troas* 5 (*SIG*^{3} 653A)), the second from Delphi (*FD* 3.1, 218 (*SIG*^{3} 653B)).

[111] *IG* 9.1, 226–230. Cf. Beaudouin 1881; Migeotte 1984, pp. 103–109, no. 29 (*SEG* 34, 1690); *IJG* 37. For the date, see, most recently, Mulliez 1998, pp. 235–238 (*SEG* 38, 583; *BullÉp* 1999, no. 262).

together with their Boiotian allies, laid siege to Herakleia.[112] At news of the southward advance of Metellus, Roman proconsul in Macedonia, the siege was lifted and Achaian League forces retreated into neighboring Lokris, where they were decisively defeated outside of Skarpheia.[113] The Achaian League would suffer a second, greater defeat at the hands of the Romans at the Isthmus later that year. There is thus uncertainty about the status of Herakleia Trachinia and the Oitaian League in the aftermath of the Achaian War, and it is possible, as I will discuss below, that Oitaia was incorporated into the Thessalian League at this time.

The Ainianes most likely remained under Aitolian control until after the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War in 167. The evidence for their independence at this time is circumstantial, but persuasive. Like the Oitaians, the Ainianes are mentioned in the decree for Kassander son of Menestheos, and it stands to reason that they, like the Oitaians, had been freed from Aitolian control after Pydna.[114] The administrative center of this league was in Hypata and the Ainianes vigorously embraced their new autonomy. A college of five Ainiarchs was the eponymous body.[115] This Ainian League embarked on an ambitious foreign policy and extended grants of proxeny to citizens of Corcyra and Stratos, as well as the Thessalian cities of Larisa and Krannon; a Metropolitan, perhaps from Thessaly, is also numbered among these honorands.[116] The latest extant document published by the Ainian League is the base of an honorary statue awarded to a Licinius Lucullus ca. 88–80.[117]

Reintegration

Flamininus' Isthmian declaration was a signal moment in the history of the central and northern Greek mainland. Thessaly, Magnesia, Achaia Phthiotis, Perrhaibia, and later Dolopia, were each declared independent and autonomous. As a result, the territorial basis of Macedonian hegemony in central Greece had been splintered. Yet at the Isthmus seeds of a second transformation were sown. No sooner had Achaia Phthiotis been

[112] Paus. 7.14.1; 7.15.9.
[113] Paus. 7.15.2–4.
[114] *IAlexandreia Troas* 5 (*SIG*^{3} 653A); *FD* 3.1, 218 (*SIG*^{3} 653B).
[115] E.g., *IG* 9.2, 5–6; 7b.
[116] *IG* 9.2, 5–6.
[117] *IG* 9.2, 38 (*SIG*^{3} 743).

freed than it was promptly incorporated into the Thessalian League.[118] Motives are not clearly stated, but Aitolia and, to a lesser extent, Macedonia, were probably the primary targets. Excessive territorial fragmentation could have the opposite effect intended by Flamininus' initial proclamation, especially since Macedonia and Aitolia still maintained an interest in the region. In the case of Achaia Phthiotis, Aitolia continued to lay claim to Phthiotic Thebes and Pharsalos after the conclusion of the war with Philip, and Flamininus seems to have respected the urgency of this claim, if by deferring. Certainly in the current climate, it would have been relatively easy for Aitolia to reacquire a newly independent Achaia Phthiotis from bases in those two cities. The politics of such a maneuver would be more difficult if that territory belonged to a Thessalian League whose leadership was almost certainly as hostile to Aitolia as it was to Macedonia.

Thus Flamininus' first move was not just to free Thessaly, but to augment its territory, and over the next 170 years, the Thessalian League would steadily increase in size. While the motives behind this reintegration are never as clearly indicated by our evidence as we would like, the following three considerations were likely central in each case:

(1) (Tetradic) Thessaly had a traditional political interest in these territories stemming from the Archaic and Classical period.
(2) Thessaly emerged as a staunch Roman ally following the Second Macedonian War and was a natural recipient of territorial benefactions from Rome as a result.
(3) Aitolia and Macedonia lingered as threats in the early decades of this period, sometimes quite severely so, and a strong Thessaly was in the interests of Rome.

The experience of Malis is instructive. The territory remained in Aitolian control at the conclusion of the Second Macedonian War and was not freed by Flamininus at the Isthmus. With its strong citadel at Lamia and excellent harborage on the Malian Gulf at Phalara, whoever controlled Malis possessed a strategic foothold in central Greece. It is therefore not surprising that the region emerged as a flashpoint in the Syrian War fought by Rome with her Macedonian allies against Antiochus III and

[118] Polyb. 18.47.7. Cf. Liv. 33.34.6–7. Neither Polybius nor Livy discusses the motivation for the changed status of Achaia Phthiotis. The Lokrians and Phokians had also both technically been freed by the Isthmian declaration only to be subsequently incorporated into the Aitolian League (Polyb. 18.47.9). Pharsalos and Phthiotic Thebes were not to be included within the Thessalian League, however.

his Aitolian allies. To encourage eager Macedonian participation in the conflict, Rome had informally promised Philip V that he could retain any territory which he captured from Aitolia during the war.[119] When Philip was on the verge of taking Lamia by siege in winter 191, Glabrio ordered the Macedonian king to withdraw.[120] Glabrio subsequently took the city in 190. The city was not returned to Aitolia under the terms of the 189 treaty between Aitolia and Rome, and by 186/5, the city of Lamia was dating its decrees by the generals of the Thessalian League.[121]

A second phase of Thessalian expansion most likely took place in the 140s. A series of manumissions from Pythion in Perrhaibia is dated by generals of the Thessalians. The earliest of these inscriptions most likely dates to ca. 146–137/6, a fact which suggests that Pythion, and by extension Perrhaibia as a whole, was then under Thessalian control.[122] Although no sources explicitly discuss the date of this development, Kramolisch has cogently argued for 146, following the Achaian War.[123] Motives are uncertain. Good precedent for such expansion existed in the cases of Malis and Achaia Phthiotis, both of which had previously been incorporated into the Thessalian League. The Thessalian League had moreover proved itself a steady, if not particularly efficient, ally of Rome in the years since the Flamininan refoundation and thus was a suitable

[119] Cf. Gruen 1984, p. 400.

[120] Liv. 37.4.8–37.5.3.

[121] Polyb. 21.32.13; Liv. 38.9.10, 38.11.9. For discussion of the peace, see Grainger 1999, pp. 494–503. For the 186/5 decree, see *IG* 9.2, 64. The fragmentary prescript of the decree reads 'When Leontomenes of Pherai was general of the Thessalians and [—] were the *archons* in Lamia …'. For the date of Leontomenes, see Kramolisch 1978, p. 50. He may also be the eponymous general in another Lamian decree, *IG* 9.2, 67.

[122] Ed. pr. Arvanitopoulos 1924, p. 155, no. 400 A (McDevitt 1970, p. 123, no. 1066). For the date, see Kramolisch 1978, pp. 61–63, 65.

[123] For 146, see Babacos 1966, pp. 26–28, and Kramolisch 1979. Martin 1975, pp. 68–69, argued for 167, following the Third Macedonian War, but this is unlikely as Kramolisch has since made a good case that a decree from Perrhaibian Oloosson (Arvanitopoulos 1929–1930, pp. 119–125, no. 422 (McDevitt 1970, p. 96, no. 705)), dated by a general of the Perrhaibian League whose name is partially preserved, was published ca. 150 (Kramolisch 1979, pp. 205–206; cf. *SEG* 29, 544, *BullÉp* 1980, no. 293). Earlier scholarship dated the incorporation much later to the era of Augustus (for references, see Kramolisch 1979, p. 202, with n. 4), but Daux and Coste-Messelière 1924, pp. 373–375, and Stählin 1933 had already recognized that some Perrhaibian documents were dated by demonstrably earlier generals of the Thessalian League. Helly 1973, vol. 1, p. 104, also argues for 146 on the basis of Paus. 7.16.9–10, a passage which claims that, as part of Mummius' settlement following the Achaian War, all (mainland) Greek Leagues were disbanded. The Phokians, Boiotians, and Achaians were specifically mentioned by Pausanias. Soon thereafter, the Romans relented and allowed many of these *koina* to reform; Helly maintains that the Perrhaibian League was not among them.

beneficiary. Although the revolt of Andriskos in 148 had indeed been severe, Roman hegemony in northern Greece was not seriously challenged. Nevertheless, given the geography and former history of Perrhaibia, pro-Macedonian sentiment in the region was likely to be quite strong and potentially destabilizing in the event that another Antigonid pretender appeared.

A more circumstantial case can be made for the Oitaian League's incorporation into the Thessalian League at this time as well. The key evidence is a fragmentary decree of the Thessalian League which calls for its contents 'to be announced in all the cities of Thessaly and to be published in the marketplaces of Melitaia and Herakleia'.[124] Such instructions suggest that Herakleia Trachinia was a member of the Thessalian League at the time of the decree's publication. The orthography of the decree and the formulae deployed therein are consistent with a date in the second century.[125] Historical circumstances make a post-146 date likely, but the question must remain open.[126]

The third and final phase of territorial expansion took place probably a century later. The Ainian League is last certainly attested ca. 88–80.[127] The *terminus ante quem* for Ainian entrance into the Thessalian League is less certain. A manumission from Hypata dated to the 30s CE uses the *strategos* of the Thessalian League as eponymous official and is the earliest uncontroversial evidence for the entrance of Ainis into the Thessalian League.[128] It is possible that some elites from Hypata held the generalship of the Thessalian League, perhaps as early as the 20s BCE, and certainly by 10 CE.[129] While this broad chronological range would support

[124] Helly 2001 (*SEG* 51, 723), a reedition of *IG* 9.2, 103, l. 6–10: ἐμ πάσαις ταίς | κατὰ Θεσσαλίαν πόλεσιν, καὶ ἀναγρα|φῆναι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα καὶ ἐν τῆι | ἀγορᾶ[ι] τῶν Ἡρακλε[ιωτῶν] καὶ Μελιτ[αι]|[έων].

[125] Helly 2001, p. 270.

[126] Polyb. 38.17.3–4 notes that after Skarpheia a Thessalian Philon, perhaps a member of an elite Larisan family and later general of the League in 132/1 (cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 73–74), negotiated with representatives of the Achaian League on behalf of the Metellus for a peaceful settlements. Cf. Walbank 1957–1979, vol. 3, p. 715. According to Polyb. 38.17.5–7, these overtures were rebuffed, but his account may suggest that there was a broader alignment of Thessalian elites with Rome at the time of the Achaian War and it is on *a priori* grounds likely that the Thessalian League would have stood to profit from Mummius' victory at the Isthmus.

[127] *IG* 9.2, 38 (*SIG*^{3} 743).

[128] *IG* 9.2, 15. Cf. Kroog 1908, pp. 47–49; Kramolisch 1978, p. 32, with n. 51.

[129] See Sekunda 1997, pp. 208–214 (*SEG* 47, 741), together with B. Helly's criticism at *BullÉp* 1998 no. 218, and Kramolisch 1978, pp. 126–128. Sekunda, recognizing in

many possible dates and motives for Ainian entrance into the Thessalian League, it is striking how quickly the Ainianes find themselves in positions of great political power within Thessaly. Among other former *perioikoi*, only the Perrhaibians are conclusively known to have provided a general for the League, and this did not take place until the Augustan era. Ainian elites appear precocious by comparison.

Augustus and Provincia Achaia

Thessaly's role in the broader narrative of Rome's confrontation and engagement with the Hellenistic East grows smaller in the decades after the Achaian War. The Thessalian and Magnesian Leagues seem to have remained allies of Rome over the course of the Mithridatic Wars.[130] An attempt on Demetrias by Metrophanes, a Mithridatic commander, was rebuffed in 87; and Sulla's path to Athens to confront the rebelled city later that same year lay through Thessaly, whence he commandeered money, reinforcements, and provisions.[131] After sacking Athens and defeating Mithridatic forces in two major battles at Orchomenos and Chaironeia in 86, Sulla wintered in Thessaly.[132] R. Kallet-Marx has persuasively described a significant shift in Greek and Roman attitudes toward the exercise of Roman *imperium* in the east in the aftermath of the Mithridatic wars. The initial encounters with Mithridates had demanded the maintenance of a more extensive Roman military presence in the East, which in turn demanded more money with which to pay this military. The East was to be the source of these moneys, and it is in the wake of

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a Hypatan inscription (*IG* 9.2, 12) the name of a Thessalian League *strategos* as eponym and redating the inscription to the 40s BCE (for the general, restored as Italos, son of Philiskos, from Gyrton, cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 114–115), would push the incorporation of Ainis into the Thessalian League much earlier into the first century BCE: '… it might be more plausible to suggest that the incorporation of Ainis into the Thessalian League took place either after the Battle of Pharsalus in 48, or at an even earlier date'. It has traditionally been assumed that the Ainianes joined the Thessalian League at the time of Augustus' creation of the province of Achaia.

[130] App. *Mith.* 29 mentions that Athens, the Lakedaimonians, the Achaians, and the Boiotians (except Thespiai) joined Mithridates. Memnon *FGrHist* 434 F 22, notes that Eretria, Chalkis, and all of Euboia joined with Mithridates, and others, including the Lakedaimonians, who had been subdued. Plut. *Sull.* 11.3 is more extravagant: '[Ariarathes, one of Mithridates' generals in Greece] was bringing about the revolt from Rome of all the peoples of Greece as far as Thessaly' (trans. Warner).

[131] App. *Mith.* 29–30.

[132] App. *Mith.* 51.

the Sullan settlement of the East that, according to Kallet-Marx, *vectigalia* were imposed 'for the first time … on the mass of the Greek cities of the Aegean coast of Asia Minor and even on a number of Mithridates' onetime allies in central Greece', most likely Boiotia, Euboia and Phokis.[133] There followed a more thorough implication of Roman officials in the affairs of Greece and the end result, on Kallet-Marx' reading, was a closer Roman administration of a wider subject, Greek territory than before. Yet the Thessalian League seems not to have been unduly afflicted.

A new round of Thracian invasions followed on the heels of Sulla's retreat from Thessaly in 85/84, and Rome would be more attentive to Macedonia in the 70s as a result.[134] Roman commanders may have continued to draw on Thessalian resources in their various campaigns against piracy in the Aegean, and the eastern Mediterranean more broadly in the 70s and 60s.[135] Thessaly's role in the Roman civil wars is well known, as both a participant in much of the campaigning and theatre of operations.

Augustus appears to have undertaken a reorganization and reclassification of the provinces of the Roman Empire in 27.[136] Most significant for our purposes is the foundation of *provincia Achaia* as a senatorial province. The province included the whole of central and southern Greece, and probably included Thessaly.[137] A formal rate of exchange between Thessalian staters and Roman denarii, the so-called *diorthoma*, was soon established.[138] The new emperor himself would

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[133] Kallet-Marx 1995, pp. 279, 290.

[134] The events are discussed in App. *Illyr.* 5; Plut. *Num.* 9. For the chronology, see Daux 1936, pp. 392–397; Reinach 1910, pp. 315–321; Pomtow 1896, pp. 364–380. Macedonia as buffer: Kallet-Marx 1995, pp. 296–299.

[135] E.g., L. Valerius Flaccus, a legate of Q. Caecilius Metellus who had received the piracy command in 68, is known to have visited Thessaly, among other mainland Greek locations (Cic. *Fla.* 62–63, 100). Athens, Sparta, Achaia, and Boiotia are also mentioned. Representatives from these locations were present for Flaccus' trial on charges of mismanagement of the province of Asia, where he governed in 62–61. These Greek representatives, according to Cicero, praised Flaccus' earlier behavior, but as inscriptions from Epidauros (*IG* 4^2.1, 66 (*SEG* 11, 397)) and Gytheion (*IG* 5.1, 1146 (*SIG*^{3} 748; Sherk 1984, no. 74)) in the 70s reveal, Roman commanders could be extraordinarily demanding and dramatically impact local and regional economies. See Kallet-Marx 1995, pp. 306–307; de Souza 1999, pp. 146–147.

[136] Cass. Dio 53.12; Suet. *Aug.* 47; Str. 17.3.25.

[137] Cf. the emendation of Str. 17.3.25 proposed by Bowersock 1965b, pp. 283–285 (and since adopted by Radt 2005) which unambiguously places Thessaly in *provincia Achaia*.

[138] Helly 1997.

assume the generalship of the Thessalian League at some point after 27.[139] Although the Thessalian League since its refoundation is not known to have allowed celebrity outsiders to serve as executive, eponymous magistrate, the contemporary Hellenistic East provided ample *comparanda*.[140] Roman emperors would follow suit in many parts of the Greek east. Augustus' term as general of the Thessalian League appears to have been the first such honorary administrative post held by an emperor—Thessalian precociousness and adaptability to altered macro-political realities on display yet again. Moreover, a glance into Thessalian history before the Flamininan refoundation reveals excellent Thessalian precedent in the probable election of Philip II to the archonship of the League in 352. Recent Thessalian history may suggest more compelling motives. Though a loyal Roman ally throughout the second and early first centuries, the Thessalian League had faced a series of difficult choices during the Roman civil wars, with Roman factionalism rekindling Thessalian factionalism;[141] and a measure of Thessalian discontent with the new Augustan order is suggested in some sources.[142] It is indeed possible that Augustus' term as *strategos* 'served as a symbol of his recognition of the Confederacy and reconciliation with it, if a reconciliation was necessary'.[143]

In many respects, the most dramatic shift in Thessaly as a result of the Augustan provincial settlement concerned representation within the Delphic Amphictiony. While I will consider this issue in much greater detail in Chapter Four, some brief observations by way of a conclusion are appropriate here. This venue, where the religious identity of the constituent *ethne* of greater Thessaly had been preserved despite their political incorporation into the Thessalian League, now received a distinctly Roman coloring. The *poikilia* of Thessaly and the former Thessalian *perioikoi*, previously represented by twelve votes on the Amphictiony, was lost as ten of these votes (including those of the independent Magnesian

[139] *IG* 9.2, 415b. Cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 128–129. The specific chronology is difficult. Kramolisch prudently leaves the matter open; Helly 1997, pp. 84–91, argues that he held the generalship in 27/6, the year of the Thessalian League's inclusion within *provincia Achaia*.

[140] E.g., Alexander the Great, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Antiochus I, and Mithridates each served as eponymous official in Miletus. For discussion of this point and a collection of the evidence, see Robert 1938, pp. 143–147.

[141] E.g., Caes. *BC* 3.35.2.

[142] E.g., Plut. *Praec. rei pub. ger.* 19 (*Mor.* 815 D). Cf. Bowersock 1965a, pp. 104, 161; Bowersock 1965b.

[143] Larsen 1958, p. 127.

League), were assigned to Augustus' new foundation at Nicopolis. From an Amphictionic perspective, the territories administered by the Thessalian League were now populated by Thessaloi. The unification of the region was complete.

CHAPTER TWO

THE FEDERAL SANCTUARIES

Introduction

Soon after its refoundation in 196, the Thessalian League began to publish its decrees at a pair of sanctuaries in the region: those of Athena Itonia at Philia and of Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa.[1] The selection of these two venues strongly suggests that both sanctuaries were administered by the Thessalian League at this time. They were thus initially both important centers for the state religion of the renewed League and focal points for the development and extension of Thessalian identity within the political order of Flamininan Greece. Both would continue to play such a role over the course of the second and first centuries. The sanctuaries are a peculiar pair: the *temenos* of Zeus Eleutherios was almost certainly a new foundation in the League's capital city; Athena Itonia, by contrast, had been worshipped since ca. 800, and perhaps even earlier, at a rural site in southwestern Thessaly—the tetrad Thessaliotis—near the modern village of Philia. The latter was a distinctive figure in the panthea of the central and northern Greek mainland, while the former enjoyed a near panhellenic status. The union of the two in state religion was distinctly Thessalian and acutely reflects the League's challenges and aspirations in the later Hellenistic period.[2]

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[1] Of the earlier Thessalian League, only one decree published under its authority is known, a fourth-century award of proxeny which is unfortunately unprovenanced. I have suggested at Graninger 2009 that the major sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai was a likely venue for publication.

[2] Such a union may have been fully realized on the coinage of the second and first-century Thessalian League. The striding Athena promachos figure, helmeted and holding shield and spear, is prominent on the reverse of nearly every issue from this period and is universally identified as Athena Itonia (cf., e.g., *SNG* 3 *Thessalia* pl. 6–7, no. 269–328). The portrait of a bearded figure wearing an oak crown on the obverse of the majority of these issues is consistent with the iconography of Zeus (cf., e.g., *SNG* 3 *Thessalia* pl. 6, no. 269–299), and it is an easy inference that he would have been recognized as Zeus Eleutherios. Axenidis 1947a, vol. 2, p. 171 has suggested that the cult image of Zeus Eleutherios housed within his temple in Larisa may have provided the model for this image.

In the case of Athena Itonia, the decision to elevate the Philia sanctuary to federal status at this time was as strategic as it was sentimental. It lay near the mythic migration route of Thessaloi from southern Epiros and staked a strong claim to territory that in recent decades had been the site of friction between Macedon and Aitolia. The cult and sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios also looked to history both recent and past. This new foundation evoked the Hellenic patriotism of the Persian Wars and cast the Thessalians, conspicuous medizers in that earlier conflict, as now instrumental in both the Macedonian defeat in the Second Macedonian War and the attendant liberation of central and southern Greece from foreign domination. But this spirit of panhellenism had a strong local inflection, as the inclusion of some epichoric events in the agonistic program of the major penteteric festival celebrated at Larisa in Zeus Eleutherios' honor suggests. The Larisan setting for the cult, moreover, provided religious reinforcement to the city's status as capital of the Flamininan Thessalian League.

Before describing the history of these sanctuaries in detail, it will be useful to begin with a preliminary query: What are federal sanctuaries? A simple answer to this deceptively simple question is that a federal sanctuary is any sanctuary which is patronized by a federal league (or apparatus thereof). There should be evidence, for example, of substantial and repeated investment there in the form of dedications, publication of important league documents, festival administration, or sanctuary improvement conducted in the name of the federal league in question. This is a rough definition, for there really can be no one and precise definition that would suggest the variations to be found over the entire category; nevertheless, it may suffice for identifying many exemplars of this category of sanctuary throughout the Greek world. This is not to imply that all federal sanctuaries functioned the same or even similarly, for there is abundant evidence of strong diachronic inter- and intra-regional variation. But the fundamental need or desire of federal polities to express themselves in cult or cultic contexts remains unchanged.

Any discussion of federal sanctuaries is thoroughly, if implicitly, bound to assumptions about the character of *ethnos* religion. Few white whales in the modern historiography of ancient Greece have been as disruptive as the *ethnos*, and the reverberations from the debates surrounding its 'essence' substantially impact the present work. This is not the place to narrate evolving modern scholarly conceptions of Greek *ethne* in any great detail, but I hope that a crude sketch of the status quo and recent

challenges to it will prove useful for the studies which follow.[3] For earlier generations of scholars, Greece had two shapes—the one organized and governed under the rubric of the *polis*, the other, less sharply defined, and assumed to be more primitive in development and backward in orientation, was the *ethnos*. Among the myriad differences between these two modes of organization, special emphasis was laid on how the *polis* was organized around an urban center and drew much of its authority from an ideal of citizenship rooted in institutions, while the *ethnos*, with a population spread sparsely over large tracts of countryside, drew what authority it had from participation in a common cult located at a solitary rural shrine: 'the unity of the tribe remained alive and generally acknowledged, particularly when supported by a common centre of worship of the tribal god'.[4]

Challenges to this long dominant model of the Greek *ethnos* and its polar opposition to the Greek *polis* have been mounted on a variety of critical lines. In general, the terms of this binary analysis have begun to fragment, if not collapse altogether. Just as there were many varieties of *polis*, each reflecting essentially local circumstances of topography, population, and economy, so, too, no two *ethne* were alike. To regard either *polis* or *ethnos* as a unitary phenomenon is a mistake. And, indeed, from a material perspective, it is unsettling how closely sites associated with pre- or proto-*poleis* can resemble those found within pre- or proto-*ethne*.[5] A second important line of criticism has recognized that *ethne* were in no sense backwaters, but fully implicated in the major cultural and economic developments of the Archaic and Classical period. The forms of political organization adopted in such regions are increasingly viewed not as *polis*-style institutions that had been 'nipped in the bud', but as institutions that were especially well-suited to the local challenges of landscape and prevailing habitation pattern in each *ethnos*-area. This is above all the case for Classical and Hellenistic *koina*, where the bonds of *ethnos* identity were crystallized via more formal political institutions.

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[3] For an excellent overview of earlier scholarly approaches to the *ethnos*, see McInerney 2001. Cf. McInerney 1999, pp. 8–35.

[4] Ehrenberg 1969, p. 23. Cf. Snodgrass 1980, p. 42: 'In its purest form, the *ethnos* was no more than a survival of the tribal system into historical times: a population scattered thinly over a territory without urban centres, united politically and in customs and religion, normally governed by means of some periodical assembly at a single centre, and worshipping a tribal deity at a common religious centre'.

[5] See Morgan 2003, *passim*, a brilliant, if difficult, work.

Koina remained communities of cult, but the sanctuaries which they patronized as part of their state religion were not necessarily holdovers from an earlier, more 'primitive' period. While earlier tradition certainly played a role in the perception and function of sanctuaries in later periods, the underlying reality is that there was nothing inherently or implicitly ethnic/federal (or non-ethnic/federal) about a given sanctuary; this status had to be actively constructed by its patrons.

Athena Itonia: Etymology, Mythology, History

The sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia in its later Hellenistic phases of development is the central topic of this section. While this *temenos* has an extensive earlier history of use, beginning perhaps as early as 1000 and certainly by 800, it appears for the first time in the evidentiary record as a central sanctuary of the Thessalian League ca. 179–165. A key, and novel, point of emphasis is my argument that this federal status likely emerged in the aftermath of the refoundation of the League in 196, and that it did not represent a continuation of an earlier 'panthessalian' status. The site was to become a major focus in the creation of regional identity at this time, but such developments took place against an exceptionally rich historical and mythological background. An association between Athena Itonia and 'Thessaly' is sporadically attested in the literary record: In the course of describing one of the legendary battles fought between the Thessalians and Phokians in the Archaic period, Pausanias mentions that the watchword for the Thessalians was 'Athena Itonia';[6] an epigram on the Thessalian dedication of a group of twelve bronze cows, sculpted by Phradmon, at a sanctuary of Athena Itonia has been attributed to the third-century epigrammatist Theodoridas of Syracuse.[7] These testimonia

[6] Paus. 10.1.10: τὸ γὰρ σύνθημα κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγούντων ἐδίδοτο ἐν ταῖς μάχαις Θεσσαλοῖς μὲν Ἀθηνᾶς Ἰτωνίας. 'For the watchword given in battle on every occasion by the Thessalian generals was Athena Itonia' (trans. Jones). For the tradition of Thessalian-Phokian wars in the Archaic period, see Ellinger 1993, *passim*, and McInerney 1999, pp. 173–178.

[7] *AP* 9.743: Θεσσαλαὶ αἱ βόες αἵδε · παρὰ προθύροισι δ' Ἀθάνας | ἑστᾶσιν, καλὸν δῶρον, Ἰτωνιάδος · | πᾶσαι χάλκειαι, δυοκαίδεκα, Φράδμονος ἔργον, | καὶ πᾶσαι γυμνῶν σκῦλον ἀπ' Ἰλλυριῶν. 'These cows are Thessalian, and by the gates of Itonian Athena they stand, a beautiful gift, all of bronze, twelve in number, the work of Phradmon, all wrought from the spoil of the naked Illyrians' (trans. Paton). Cf. Gow and Page 1965, vol. 2, pp. 549–550, who regard the epigram as epideictic rather than dedicatory. On the

do suggest that a relationship between the Thessalian *ethnos* and the goddess could have existed as early as the Archaic period, but the sources are comparatively late.

While much earlier scholarship has inferred that the status of the Philia sanctuary in the later Hellenistic period was somehow inherited from the site's presumed earlier status as the capital of the Thessalian *ethnos*, this chapter will argue that, although Philia undoubtedly hosted an important sanctuary in southwestern Thessaly in the Archaic and Classical periods, there is nothing in the evidentiary record to suggest that it was a central sanctuary of the Thessaloi before the second century.[8] There are, to the contrary, substantial indications that there were a plurality of Athena Itonia sanctuaries in Thessaly and that several of them were regarded (by outsiders at least) in earlier periods as appropriate venues to reach a broader Thessalian audience. The symbolic construction of Philia as a federal sanctuary by the Thessalian League thus emerges as the product of a potentially contentious process of selection rather than inertia.

It is appropriate to begin with the mythologies of this particular hypostasis of Athena and the etymologies of her epithet. A Thessalian goddess Itonia was a topic of discussion as early as Hecataeus, although details of his account unfortunately do not survive.[9] More information is gleaned from the *Thebaika* of Armenidas, a work which Jacoby dates to the fifth century, where the Thessalian city of Itonos and Athena Itonis are alleged to have been named after Itonos, son of Amphictyon.[10] A double association is exposed, first with the hero Itonos, secondarily with the Thessalian city of Iton (or Itonos). I consider the hero and the city in succession.[11]

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career of the Argive Phradmon, cf. Corso 2001 and Neudecker 2007. Phradmon's floruit is generally reckoned in the late fifth century (cf. Pliny *NH* 34.49), but no Thessalian victory over a force of light-armed Illyrians is known from that period.

[8] E.g., Parker 1998, p. 19: 'Again it seems highly likely that though Philia does not enter our records as capitol of the federal state of Thessaly until the second century BC it had been the symbolic heart of the Thessalian *ethnos* since very early times'.

[9] *FGrHist* 1 F 2.

[10] *FGrHist* 378 F 1.

[11] I mention in passing the unconvincing analysis of Robertson 2001, p. 52: 'at Coroneia Athena has the epithet Ἰτωνία "processional" (ἰτών < "procession" < ἰτάω "go always", "proceed")'; on p. 52, n. 55, he states with excessive skepticism that 'ancient theorists predictably said that Athena Itonia came from the place Iton, which they located in Thessaly, forcing-bed of folk migrations; modern theorists of the old school have happily adopted and extended this, so that it even takes in Athens. No refutation is needed'.

While Itonos is at best marginal to the mythologies treated by ancient literature, there is every reason to suspect that he was a major figure in the local traditions of central Greece, just as his father, Amphictyon, had been. This Amphictyon, the eponymous hero of the Delphic Amphictiony (not the homonymous king of early Athens), was worshipped alongside Demeter Amphictyonis at Anthela already in the fifth century, and as the epithet of that goddess suggests, he may have been perceived as central to the establishment of the cult in the sacred time of myth.[12] J. Hall has recently demonstrated how the mythical descendants of Amphictyon may track the spread of membership in the Delphic Amphictiony. Amphictyon's three sons Malos, Itonos, and Physkos, can be linked closely with *ethne* in the area of the Spercheios valley and neighboring Anthela: Malos was eponym of the Malians, Physkos a central hero of the Lokrians, and Itonos a major figure in Phthiotic Achaia.[13] The next stage in the Amphictionic genealogy witnessed the birth of Ion and Lokros (by Physkos) and Boiotos (by Itonos), and by extension, the subsequent incorporation of Ionians and Boiotians (and Lokrians) into the Amphictiony. Thus Itonos' lineage immediately thrusts us into a much broader ambit, taking in the Spercheios valley to the south, the grand sanctuaries at Anthela and Delphi, and indeed, through his subsequent siring of Boiotos, to the northern borders of Attica.

A pair of daughters are also associated with Itonos: Athena (almost certainly a 'foster' child from Olympos) and Iodama. The genealogist Simonides records a curious tale about them: '… Itonos had two daughters, Athena and Iodama, who in contention during a battle in arms, advanced against one another in strife, and that Iodama was killed by Athena'.[14] The tale contains elements also present in the of a better-known tradition of Athena and Pallas, which may have had a near panhellenic currency.[15] Athena is here revealed as a martial goddess, albeit one whose strengths are not governed subtly by *mētis* but are brutish and destructive of the family.

The familial nexus of Itonos, Iodama, and Boiotos allows the goddess' militant character to be gleaned in broader perspective. Already in the

[12] Hdt. 7.200.2.

[13] Hall 2002, pp. 150–151.

[14] Et. Mag. s.v. Ἴτων: φησὶ δὲ ὁ γενεαλόγος Σιμωνίδης Ἰτώνου θυγατέρας δύο, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἰοδάμαν, ἃς ἐξηλωκυίας τὴν ὁπλομαχικὴν εἰς τὴν ἔριν τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας χωρῆσαι, ἀναιρεθῆναί τε τὴν Ἰοδάμαν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

[15] E.g., [Apollodorus] 3.12.3.

fifth century Thucydides knew of a tradition suggesting that the Boiotoi had migrated from western Thessaly to Boiotia following the Trojan War: 'The present-day Boiotians, in the sixtieth year after the sack of Troy, after being forced out from Arne by the Thessalians, occupied what is now called Boiotia, but was previously called the Kadmeian land'.[16] Strabo could write that the Boiotians brought the cult of Athena Itonia with them from Thessaly to Boiotia and established a sanctuary of the goddess outside of Koroneia upon their arrival. In the historical era, this sanctuary would become a principal sanctuary of the Boiotian *koinon* and site of the annual festival of the Pamboiotika: 'And so Koroneia is near Helikon founded upon a height, and the Boiotians after the Trojan War returning from Thessalian Arne took it, when indeed they also took Orchomenos. After conquering Koroneia, in the plain before it they established a sanctuary of Athena Itonia homonymous with the Thessalian, and they called the river flowing alongside it the Kouarios, which sounds similar to the one in Thessaly. But Alcaeus calls it the Kouralios …'.[17] It is unclear what historical reality, if any, lay behind this tradition. What is significant, however, in this 'Boiotian' passage is its evidence for a discourse that links Athena Itonia, Boiotia, and Thessaly, and its redeployment and elaboration of elements from Athena Itonia's Thessalian setting. Here Athena Itonia is a figure of conquest whose cult marks the entry of the migrating Boiotians into their historical homeland. According to Pausanias, there was even a tradition that a Iodama served as priestess of Athena Itonia at the Koroneia sanctuary until she (again) met an unfortunate end: 'The following is also said: Iodama, when she was priestess to the goddess, went into the sanctuary at night and Athena appeared to her, and the head of Medusa the Gorgon was on her chiton. Iodama became a stone when she saw it. For this reason, every day a woman, after putting fire on the altar of Iodama, says three times, in the Boiotian dialect, that Iodama is alive and asking

[16] Thuc. 1.12.3: Βοιωτοί τε γὰρ οἱ νῦν ἑξηκοστῷ ἔτει μετὰ Ἰλίου ἅλωσιν ἐξ Ἄρνης ἀναστάντες ὑπὸ Θεσσαλῶν τὴν νῦν μὲν Βοιωτίαν, πρότερον δὲ Καδμηίδα γῆν καλουμένην ᾤκισαν.

[17] Str. 9.2.29: ἡ μὲν οὖν Κορώνεια ἐγγὺς τοῦ Ἑλικῶνός ἐστιν ἐφ' ὕψους ἱδρυμένη, κατελάβοντο δ' αὐτὴν ἐπανιόντες ἐκ τῆς Θετταλικῆς Ἄρνης οἱ Βοιωτοὶ μετὰ τὰ Τρωικά, ὅτε περ καὶ τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν ἔσχον· κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο ὁμώνυμον τῷ Θετταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὁμοφώνως τῷ ἐκεῖ. Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον ….

for fire'.[18] A. Schachter has made the attractive suggestion that 'Iodama's fire' was the equivalent of the hearth fire for the Boiotian League.[19]

If it is in a Boiotian context that Athena Itonia appears most fully developed in our literary sources, it is equally clear that, at the level of discourse, all roads lead to Thessaly—her murder of Iodama, her genealogical associations with the hero Itonos, and her corresponding geographic connections with the homonymous city. Her direct linkage with the conquest of Boiotia by the Boiotoi likely had northern parallels, for as we have seen, the Thessalians too were imagined as invaders. Perhaps in Thessaly she in some sense legitimized the Thessalian superiority over the *perioikoi* and *penestai*, those populations which continued to bear the marks of this physical (and discursive) conquest well into historical times.[20]

The Thessalian Sanctuaries of Athena Itonia

The preceding discussion has clarified the importance of Athena Itonia to the Thessalians. In the long dominant, primitivist model of Archaic *ethne*, there ought to have been a sanctuary of such a goddess which served as the capital for the Thessalian *ethnos*, and it is not surprising that historians and archaeologists have long occupied themselves with the search for just such a sanctuary. The surviving literary, epigraphic, and archaeological evidence, however, poorly suits such a model of *ethnos* religion, several Procrustean attempts notwithstanding. There was no single sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, but a plurality of such sanctuaries: certainly near Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis; certainly near the

[18] Paus. 9.34.2 λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε, Ἰοδάμαν ἱερωμένην τῇ θεῷ νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ τέμενος ἐσελθεῖν καὶ αὐτῇ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν φανῆναι, τῷ χιτῶνι δὲ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν Μεδούσης ἐπεῖναι τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλήν· Ἰοδάμαν δέ, ὡς εἶδε, γενέσθαι λίθον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτιθεῖσα γυνὴ πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰοδάμας τὸν βωμὸν ἐς τρὶς ἐπιλέγει τῇ Βοιωτῶν φωνῇ Ἰοδάμαν ζῆν καὶ αἰτεῖν πῦρ.

[19] Schachter 1981–, vol. 1, p. 127.

[20] Distinct from Boiotia, there is a literary discourse which focuses on Athena Itonia as weaver and craftswoman in Thessaly: Apollonius of Rhodes probably attributed both the production of Jason's cloak and the construction of the Argo to the goddess. Argo: 1.549–552; cloak: 1.721–724. The textual tradition wavers between forms of Τριτωνίς and Ἰτωνίς in these passages. There are many potential sources of this confusion, including scribal error and characteristically Alexandrian play with epithets. The uncertainty may also be related to a *proekdosis* of the *Argonautica* which the scholia mention at several points in book 1.

modern village of Philia in Thessaliotis; certainly at Krannon; probably between Pherai and Larisa in Pelasgiotis; and possibly near Pharkadon in Hestiaiotis.[21]

It is perhaps not so surprising that several Itonia sanctuaries dotted the Thessalian landscape, given both the possible significance of the goddess to the *ethnos* and the vastness of the territory which it occupied. But such a realization may entail only a modest modification of the primitive *ethnos* hypothesis discussed above: one of these sanctuaries must surely have been more significant vis-à-vis the *ethnos* than the others, and this sanctuary will have served as the capital. As we shall argue, however, three of these sanctuaries at various points in their history seem to have actually served or been constructed by outsiders as powerful symbolic loci for the Thessalians, approaching 'capital' status. By isolating the key variables of chronology and constituency, however, it will be possible to impose order on these unruly data.

The Pharkadon Temenos *(?)*

At 9.5.17, Strabo writes: ἔστι δὲ καὶ Φαρκαδὼν ἐν τῇ Ἱστιαιώτιδι, καὶ ῥεῖ δι' αὐτῶν ὁ Πηνειὸς καὶ ὁ Κουράλιος · ὧν ὁ Κουράλιος ῥυεὶς παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν εἰς τὸν Πηνειὸν ἐξίησιν. Radt plausibly understands αὐτῶν to mean 'the inhabitants of Pharkadon'.[22] A diplomatic English translation might read: 'Pharkadon is also in Hestiaiotis, and through them flow the Peneios and the Kouralios, of which the Kouralios, after flowing past the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, empties into the Peneios'. Strabo's Kouralios is probably the modern Sofatidikos, which does indeed flow into the Peneios ca. 7–8 km east of what has been

[21] Callimachus at *h.Dem.* 74–75 describes the Ormenidai summoning Erisychthon to the games of Athena Itonia. The physical location of the sanctuary which hosted these games is not mentioned, nor is there an obvious candidate from the list mentioned above. Hopkinson 1984 *ad loc.* suggested that a Boiotian sanctuary of Athena Itonia was here indicated, but this seems unlikely given the broadly Thessalian setting of the hymn; these Ormenidai may be linked with Ormenos, founder of Ormenion according to Homer (*Il.* 2.734)—an unidentified site in eastern Thessaly.

[22] Citing plentiful comparanda for this type of oblique transition from place name to the inhabitants of said place at Radt 2007, p. 431. Radt 2004, p. 141 offers the following translation: 'Auch Pharkadon liegt in der Histiaiotis, und durch sein Gebiet fliessen der Peneios und der Kuralios. Der Kuralios fliesst an dem Heiligtum der Itonischen Athena vorüber und mündet in den Peneios'.

identified as the ancient settlement of Pharkadon.[23] If Strabo's topography and his Greek have been construed correctly, then it is possible that he knew a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in the *chora* of Pharkadon. There are several complicating factors, however. First, the Sofatidikos can also be plausibly described as flowing by the Athena Itonia sanctuary near Philia ca. 27 km to the south. Strabo's description is topographically precise not in absolute terms, but relative terms, and would seem to allow for either reading. Second, there is some toponymic overlap with Strabo's descriptions of Athena Itonia sanctuaries in Achaia Phthiotis and in Boiotia, and it is possible that he is simply mistaken in this instance.[24] No additional literary, archaeological, or epigraphic evidence supports (or refutes) this testimony.[25] Given these complicating factors, the existence of a *temenos* of Athena Itonia in the *chora* of Pharkadon is best regarded as merely possible.

The Pelasgiotid Temenos

Pausanias describes what may be a second sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly: '[Pyrrhus], after overpowering the native troops of Antigonus and his Gallic mercenaries, pursued them to the coast cities, and himself reduced upper Macedonia and the Thessalians. The extent of the fighting and the decisive character of the victory of Pyrrhus are shown best by the Celtic armour dedicated in the sanctuary of Itonian Athena between Pherai and Larisa, with this inscription on them: "Pyrrhus the Molossian hung these shields taken from bold Gauls as a gift to Itonian Athena, when he had destroyed all the host of Antigonos. It is no great marvel. The Aiakidai are warriors now, even as they were of old" '.[26]

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[23] For these identifications, cf. Radt 2008, p. 122.

[24] But, as Helly 2000, pp. 36–37, there is no reason why there should not have been rivers in Achaia Phthiotis, Boiotia, and Thessaliotis, each with similar names and each associated with a sanctuary of Athena Itonia.

[25] Strabo's reliability is a major concern and, like all ancient geographers, he is fallible and occasionally prone to grievous error. For an important study of Strabo's Thessaly, see Helly 2000. Dueck 2000, pp. 23, 28, has suggested that Strabo's mention of Pharsalian informers at 9.5.6 may suggest direct autopsy of the Thessalian landscape—a fact which, if true, would enhance his credibility as a witness.

[26] Paus. 1.13.2–3, trans. Jones: κρατήσας δὲ τήν τε ἰδίαν παρασκευὴν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ' αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε. δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύρρου νίκην, ὡς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, ⟨τὰ⟩ ἀνατεθέντα ὅπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐς [τε] τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτωνίας Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσης καὶ

Pyrrhus of Epiros, recently returned to Epiros from his Italian campaigns and in need of resources for his army, mounted a desperate invasion of upper Macedonia in 274. He won a great victory over Antigonus Gonatas and his Gallic mercenaries and proceeded to overrun Thessaly. He commemorated the victory by dedicating battle spoils at a Thessalian sanctuary of Athena Itonia. The dedication is also mentioned by Plutarch and Diodorus Siculus, but only Pausanias describes the sanctuary with any topographic precision: 'between Pherai and Larisa' in the Thessalian tetrad of Pelasgiotis.[27] No further literary, archaeological, or epigraphic evidence supports (or refutes) Pausanias' testimony, and many scholars have assumed that the periegete was simply in error and suggested that he meant either the Philia *temenos* or the sanctuary in Phthiotic Achaia.[28] Assuming error in Pausanias is not as easy as it once was, however. In a recent treatment of Pausanias' topographic accuracy, K. Pritchett assembled the 58 most egregious errors allegedly committed by the periegete and successfully defended him in all but four cases.[29] Moreover, Pausanias claims to have visited Larisa, and he discusses *Thessalika* at several other places in the text.[30] In short, there is no reason to doubt Pausanias' testimony on this matter.

While Pyrrhus' control over Thessaly would be ephemeral, the politics of this dedication offers insight into both the status of Athena Itonia within Thessaly and the Pelasgiotid sanctuary of the goddess. Pyrrhus clearly links his own descent with the Thessalians by way of Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, who was regarded as the founder of an Epirote royal line.

τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς · τοὺς θυρεοὺς ὁ Μολοσσὸς Ἰτωνίδι δῶρον Ἀθάνᾳ | Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασέων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν, | πάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν. οὐ μέγα θαῦμα · | αἰχματαὶ καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι. The epigram is attributed to Theodoridas in the Palatine Anthology (*AP* 6.130).

[27] Plut. *Pyrr*. 26.9.10; Diod. Sic. 22.11.1.

[28] In a creative reading of the passage supporting the latter possibility, Lévêque 1957, pp. 566–567, suggests that by Larisa Pausanias actually meant Larisa Kremaste, an important city in Phthiotic Achaia near the shores of the Malian Gulf. Thus, 'between Pherai and Larisa [Kremaste]' would mean Itonos in Phthiotic Achaia. But the two cities are not a natural pair, and their coupling here would be forced.

[29] Pritchett 1998–1999, vol. 2, p. 162. Pritchett found that the majority of these errors could be attributed either to textual corruption or to alluviation within the landscape.

[30] Visit to Larisa: 9.30.9: ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐν Λαρίσῃ λόγον; *Thessalika*: 6.5.2, 7.27.6. But it is doubtful that Pausanias' work is incomplete (cf. Habicht 1998 [1985], pp. 6–7) or that a Thessalian *logos* was planned. Cf. Hutton 2005, p. 67: 'The fact that Pausanias visited Thessaly … does not mean that he envisaged including [it] in his Periegesis, and even if he did have that intention at some point, he may never have had the opportunity to investigate [it] thoroughly enough.'

They are all Aiakids, and Pyrrhus' stunning victory recalled the earlier glory of these proto-Thessalians of myth. Pyrrhus doubtless hoped to inspire contemporary Thessalians to follow the example of their forbears by revolting from Macedon. Who was Pyrrhus trying to reach with this dedication? The Epirote did not go to one of the canonical centers of Thessalian power like Larisa or Pherai, but to a rural sanctuary between the two, and possibly used by both. Pyrrhus seems to have wanted to reach a regional audience. While it is unlikely that this audience overlapped completely with the Thessaloi *qua ethnos*, the inclusiveness of Pyrrhus' dedication does not rule out such a possibility. One might suggest that Pyrrhus ideologically constructed this *temenos* as an *ethnos* sanctuary of the Thessalians, rightly or wrongly. If he was mistaken, that such a mistake could even have been made nevertheless suggests something about the status of the goddess in general and this sanctuary in particular. In the final analysis, however, it is not Thessalian perceptions of this sanctuary which are exposed by Pausanias, but those of Pyrrhus himself. As valuable as such testimony may be, it reflects at best the assumptions of an outsider in a particular historical circumstance who made skillful political use of cult in an attempt to capitalize upon a recent victory. Indeed, Pyrrhus had attempted to pry Thessaly away from the Antigonids on two earlier occasions in the late 290s.[31] Those efforts failed, as would this one.

The Krannon Temenos *(?)*

Itonia were celebrated locally at Krannon in the fourth century, as Polyaenus describes: 'During the festival of the so-called Itonia, which all of the people of Krannon celebrate, [Deinias] merged his troops in the city with the tax-collectors from the city, and by opposing sober to inebriated men, he killed more than 1,000 citizens and became tyrant of the Krannonians'.[32] Although Polyaenus does not specifically mention a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Krannon, the festival here described,

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[31] Possibly in 294, during the succession crisis after Cassander's death (cf. Hammond and Walbank 1988, p. 221, n. 1, and Errington 1990, p. 150) and probably again in 292/1 (Hammond and Walbank 1988, pp. 220–221).

[32] Polyaen. 2.34, trans. Krentz and Wheeler: ἑορτῆς οὔσης τῶν καλουμένων Ἰτωνίων, ἐν ᾗ πάντες Κραννώνιοι παίζουσιν, ἀναμίξας τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει φύλαξι τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως τελώνας καὶ νήφοντας ἐπιστήσας οἰνωμένοις πλείους χιλίων πολίτας ἀποκτείνας τύραννος Κραννωνίων ἐγένετο. For the career of Deinias, closely linked with the ambitious elites of fourth-century Pherai, cf. Westlake 1935, pp. 130, 172–173.

embracing the entire city, presupposes that the goddess was honored in a *temenos* which housed her cult, whether within the *polis*, in its *chora*, or perhaps somewhat further afield. Given the festival's appeal to all of the people of Krannon, it is difficult to imagine a lengthy procession to the putative Itonia sanctuaries near Pharkadon, between Pherai and Larisa, or at Philia. But, in truth, the festival could have taken any number of forms. Polyaenus' account is vague. What emerges most clearly, though, is that the festival is framed in terms of the *polis* of Krannon and not the Thessalian *ethnos*.

The Itonos (Phthiotic Achaia) Temenos

There is literary evidence that a city known variously as Iton or Itonos was located in Phthiotic Achaia and that a sanctuary of Athena Itonia was located nearby.[33] In the Homeric catalogue of ships, an Iton is described as 'mother of flocks' and contributes to the contingent of Protesilaus.[34] The remaining members of Protesilaus' forces hail from Phylake, Pyrasos, Antron, and Pteleon, and each of these four toponyms have been very plausibly associated with known settlements of the historical period: Pyrasos, Antron, and Pteleon were located in Achaia Phthiotis on the Pagasitic coast; Phylake, though located several kilometers inland from Pyrasos, was also in eastern Achaia Phthiotis. Given these facts, one assumes that Homeric Iton was imagined to be located in eastern Achaia Phthiotis as well.

Such a topography well suits Strabo's description of the area in the Thessalian section of his geography: 'the Krokian Plain is in the *mesogaia* of [Phthiotic] Thebes, bordering the foot of Othrys, through which the Amphrysos flows. Itonos is above this …'[35] He elsewhere observes that Itonos was 60 stades distant from Halos, another major city in Phthiotic Achaia.[36] The Strabonic stade is generally estimated at 185 meters, which would give a rough figure of 11,100 meters (11.1 km, ca. 6.9 miles).[37] This again squarely situates Itonos in the region of Achaia Phthiotis. The topographies of Strabo and Homer cohere. Beyond Homer and Strabo, though, the settlement is mentioned only occasionally in literary sources:

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[33] Henceforth Itonos, unless explicitly described by a source as Iton.
[34] Hom. *Il.* 2.696.
[35] Str. 9.5.14.
[36] Str. 9.5.8.
[37] Cf. Pothecary 1995, p. 50.

The city was known as the third most ancient in Greece, after Athens and Argos;[38] Herakles is alleged to have battled Kyknos in the area of Itonos.[39] That is all.

As demonstrated in our consideration of the epithet Itonia, the city of Itonos had strong mythic associations with both Itonos, son of Amphictyon, and Athena Itonia, his peculiar daughter. And, indeed, there is some slight trace of cult in honor of the latter associated with the settlement. Again Strabo: '… Itonos, where there is the sanctuary of Itonia, from which there is also the sanctuary of Itonia in Boiotia, and the Kouarios river'.[40] Earlier generations of topographers and archaeologists have attempted to locate both settlement and sanctuary, with no success. Yet the literary testimony, however scattered, cannot be rejected or deemed mistaken.[41]

The character of the Itonia cult at Itonos is unclear, although Strabo's inference that the legitimately pan-Boiotian sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Koroneia was somehow descended from this Itonos sanctuary has spawned much informed speculation.[42] Traditions of Boiotian migration from Thessaly were widespread in antiquity, and within the framework of the primitivist *ethnos*, it was reasonable to assume that the function of Koroneian Athena Itonia for the Boiotian *ethnos* was analogous to that played by Athena Itonia from Itonos for the Thessalians. The greatest single obstacle to such an interpretation, although rarely recognized as such, is again topographic. For, while the specific location of Itonos is unknown, the general neighborhood is clear: near the Krokian plain in Achaia Phthiotis. From the Classical period at least, this territory was formally inhabited by the perioikic Phthiotic Achaians, a group that was socially and politically distinct from the Thessaloi of tetradic Thessaly. That a major sanctuary of the Thessalians should be lodged in perioikic territory comes at the very least as a surprise, and it is difficult to produce

[38] Anon. *de incredibilibus* 1 [excerpta vaticana].

[39] E.g., Diod. Sic. 4.37.4; Nicol. Damasc., *FGrHist* 90 F 55.

[40] Str. 9.5.14: τούτου δ' ὑπέρκειται ὁ Ἴτωνος, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας ἱερὸν, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ, καὶ ὁ Κουάριος ποταμός.

[41] E.g., Kramolisch 2005.

[42] A fragmentary inscription discovered at Nea Anchialos, dated to the first half of the third century and probably originally published at Phthiotic Thebes, mentions an otherwise unattested festival of the Hoplophania (ed. pr. Giannopoulos 1932, pp. 19–21, no. 5 (McDevitt 1970, pp. 10–11, no. 33)). Robert 1935, pp. 208–209 surmised that this festival was perhaps associated with Athena Itonia, given her prominent sanctuary at Itonos (which Giannopoulos had claimed to identify, although the evidence was not

a parallel. Perhaps this is simply an index of the degree of supremacy enjoyed by tetradic Thessaly, Pharsalos especially, over Phthiotic Achaia. Perhaps the boundary between these two regions, poorly understood as it is, needs to be rethought, as does Itonos' relationship to it.

Whatever remedy is sought, some striking epigraphic confirmation of the centrality of Itonos vis-à-vis the Thessalians has come to light. Two fragmentary inscriptions from third-century Kos refer to the city, as does a third-century decree from Larisa. The earliest of the three, now dated on historical grounds to ca. 294–288, details the dispatch of Koan ambassadors to Itonos where they are to announce the award of a crown to the Thessalian *ethnos* in thanksgiving for an earlier gift of grain made by the region to Kos in time of need.[43] A second fragmentary Koan inscription, to be discussed in greater detail in Chapter Four, dated to ca. 250–200, may be a general regulation concerning the dispatch and reception of *theoroi*.[44] One group of Koan theoroi are designated as 'chosen/elected for (i.e., to go to) Itonos'.[45] There is reference in subsequent lines to Thessaly (and Argos), and so it is again clear that Itonos is viewed by the Koans at least as somehow significant to Thessaly as a whole.[46] On the basis of the limited evidence in our possession, one can surmise that the likeliest venue for such announcements at Itonos would by the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, and indeed Segré has supplemented this in the earlier inscription. But such testimony, suggestive as it may be, does not yet provide evidence of the status of this sanctuary from a Thessalian perspective.

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probative and his identification is not widely accepted today). The bellicose character of Athena Itonia's iconography and her youthful exercise with Iodama certainly suit such a festival. It is an interesting and plausible suggestion which opens the possibility that Itonia was a figure of veneration for the Phthiotic Thebans at least, and perhaps more broadly in Achaia Phthiotis as well. Note, however, that these are not Itonia, but Hoplophania, and if Robert's suggestion is correct, then it is possible that these were distinct festivals honoring the goddess.

[43] *IG* 12.4.1, 133. Cf. Segré 1934; for the date, see Habicht 2007c.

[44] *IG* 12.4.1, 207. Cf. Boesch 1908, p. 28; Bosnakis and Hallof 2003, pp. 233–234, with n. 67; Rigsby 2004 (*BullÉp* 2004, no. 211; *SEG* 53, 849). The regulation was most likely inspired by the successful attempt to upgrade the Koan Asklepeia. For upgraded festivals, see Chapter Four.

[45] l. 2: αἱρεθέντες ἐς Ἴτωνον.

[46] For Argos, see Rigsby 2004 who argues that this may actually be a reference to the Pelasgian Argos of Homer, i.e., Achaia Phthiotis. He may be right. If so, then this would be still further evidence of the somewhat hybrid status of the Itonos *temenos* of Athena Itonia which would be perceived as sacred to the Thessalians yet be located in Phthiotic Achaia.

The latest of the three epigraphic attestations of Itonos comes from late third- or early second-century Larisa.[47] This fragmentary honorary decree of the city of Larisa for one Bakchios son of Kaikos from Mytilene refers, in an especially fragmentary context, to a group traveling to Itonos.[48] B. Helly and A. Tziaphalias have plausibly identified this Bakchios as the same individual who moved a decree in Mytilene from the late 190s that honored the Thessalians for, among other things, sending a sacrifice and *theoroi* to the newly upgraded Mytilenean Asklepieia; such gestures expressed their consent and acceptance of the festival's new status. Building on this identification, Helly and Tziaphalias suggest that Bakchios was one of the Mytilenean *theoroi* appointed to announce this festival in Thessaly, and that he would have been among those ἐν Ἴτουνον ἐλθόντες, presumably to announce the Asklepieia. While the Larisan decree does not make clear the centrality of Itonos to the Thessalian *ethnos* like the Koan inscriptions, it does provide the first, and only, attestation of the site in Thessalian epigraphy.

To conclude: There is indisputable literary evidence that a city known as Iton or Itonos was located in Achaia Phthiotis, and that a sanctuary of Athena Itonia lay nearby. There is similarly indisputable epigraphic evidence that, at various points in the third century, Koans officially regarded Itonos as especially significant to the Thessalians as a collective. Of Thessalian perceptions of Itonos, we are ill-informed, but it stands to reason that the Koans, like Pyrrhos at the Pelasgiotid *temenos*, did not act randomly. This need not imply that the Itonos sanctuary of Athena Itonia was capital of the Thessalian *ethnos* or *koinon*, only that it could be construed by an outsider as an appropriate venue for reaching a broad, Thessalian audience.

The Philia (Thessaliotis) Temenos

By Ockham's razor, one would conclude that the Itonos of the Koan and Larisan inscriptions and that known from literary sources were identical. But archaeological discoveries in the 1960s revealed that Ockham's razor could in this case cut two ways. Near the modern village of Philia in southwestern Thessaly (the tetrad Thessaliotis), D. Theocharis exposed

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[47] Tziaphalias and Helly 2004–2005, pp. 378–406 (*SEG* 55, 605). For the date, see pp. 399–402.

[48] l. 29: ἐν Ἴτουνον ἐλθόντες. ἐν plus accusative in Thessalian is equivalent to εἰς plus accusative of *koine*. Cf. Tziaphalias and Helly 2004–2005, p. 388.

an extra-urban sanctuary site with a votive record beginning possibly as early as 1000 and continuing down into the Roman imperial period.[49] N. Giannopoulos had previously discovered a decree of the later Hellenistic Thessalian League there in the 1920s and had been led to suspect that the site, not yet excavated at the time, was of considerable importance.[50] Theocharis exposed more inscriptions of the second- and first-century Thessalian League, including a decree inviting a delegation of Ambacians to a festival in honor of Athena Itonia.[51] The association between the inscription's findspot, the inscription's professed locus of publication, and the festival of Athena Itonia mentioned therein, leads unmistakably to the conclusion that Theocharis had exposed a sanctuary of Athena Itonia. The presence of decrees of the post-Flamininan Thessalian League suggested strongly that here, at last, was a federal capital of the later Hellenistic League; and the rich Early Iron Age and Archaic votives fueled speculation that this same site had served as the capital of the Thessalian *ethnos* from early times.

Since the Philia *temenos* of Athena Itonia is the sole sanctuary of the goddess in Thessaly that has been excavated, it will be useful to sketch in some detail its history before returning to the question of its status vis-à-vis the Thessalians. Systematic study of the site did not take place until Theocharis' excavations from 1963 to 1967. His research into the area had been spurred on above all by illegal excavations and the subsequent flood of artifacts from the area into antiquities markets. Excavations by A. Pilali-Papasteriou and K. Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou in 1980 sought to clarify Theocharis' stratigraphy and to explore in particular the relationship between the Late Helladic III, Sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric materials.[52] Most recently, in 1988 B. Intzesiloglou opened new trenches to the northeast of the main Theocharis excavations, where farmers had been overturning large blocks of cut stone.[53]

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[49] For fuller discussion of the history of the Philia *temenos*, see below.

[50] Giannopoulos 1927–1928a; Giannopoulos 1927–1928c.

[51] Ed. pr. Theocharis 1964, pp. 247–249 (*SEG* 25, 653); Habicht 1976 (*SEG* 26, 688; *BullÉp* 1978, no. 250); Habicht 2006b. Cf. Kramolisch 1978, p. 56. Lines 19–24 read: 'and [let the general] invite [the Ambracian ambassaodors] to the festival performed for Athena Itonia and the other gods. And let the treasurer have the decree inscribed on a stone stele and published in the sanctuary of Athena' (καλέσαι ἐπὶ | [τὴν θυ]σίαν τὴν συντελουνέ-νην τῆι Ἀθη[νᾶι] | [τῆι Ἰτωνία]ι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς · τὸν δὲ τα|[μίαν ἀναγρά]ψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς κίονα λιθί|[νην καὶ ἀναθεῖ]ναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθη|[νᾶς]). Habicht's restoration τῆι Ἀθη[νᾶι] | [τῆι Ἰτωνία]ι is virtually certain.

[52] Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou 1983.

[53] Intzesiloglou 1988; Intzesiloglou 2006, pp. 229–230.

On the basis of votive, architectural, and epigraphic evidence produced by these excavations, it is possible to reconstruct a basic, if lacunose, history of the sanctuary. On the other hand, it cannot be stated emphatically enough that the physical extent of the sanctuary still remains unknown and it is likely that only a small portion of it has been exposed.

The site was in use already in the late Mycenaean period (LHIIIB, ca. 1300–1200). This period is represented by walls forming a rectangular enclosure, as well as some pottery and terracotta figurines (phi, psi, animal), but the evidence is not sufficient to determine whether this was a Bronze Age sanctuary.[54] While it is possible that use of the site was continuous from the Bronze to Early Iron Age, the transitional Submycenean pottery from the site is very fragmentary and small in quantity.[55] The earliest votive activity on site may have begun as early as 1000, but uncontroversially and in earnest by 800, and continued into the Hellenistic and Roman era. Characteristic of the Archaic period was the extensive dedication of metal votives, including pins, fibulae, and figurines, as well as prestige items such as tripods, weapons, and spits.[56] Some of this material was likely fabricated on site, including the weapons—a distinctive feature of the Philia sanctuary.[57] There were also some relatively exotic imports, including materials from as far away as Luristan in central Asia and the central Balkans.[58] The greatest period of votive activity at Philia took place ca. 750–575.[59] Votives were likely hung from trees within a grove in the *temenos*.[60]

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[54] Walls: Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou 1983; Figurines: Theocharis 1963, p. 138; Theocharis 1964, p. 246; Theocharis 1967, p. 295. In general, see Intzesiloglou 2006, pp. 228–229. Finds inconclusive for Bronze Age cult: Morgan 2003, p. 249, n. 4; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 230.

[55] Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou 1983.

[56] For a catalogue and interpretation of these votives, see Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002. On the Early Iron Age sanctuary in general, see also Georganas 2002.

[57] Risberg 1992.

[58] Schmid 2006.

[59] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2005, p. 120.

[60] Intzesiloglou's recent excavations have revealed that the thick, ashy layer, rich with late Geometric and Archaic votives, which Theocharis and Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou exposed, probably extended a considerable distance to the northeast. Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, pp. 231, 250, had previously interpreted this ash as originating from an altar, but as Intzesiloglou 2006, pp. 230–232, observes, the ashy layer is spread over an extensive area, is of uniform thickness, and has yet to produce animal bone. Such findings suggest that sacrificial ash from an altar is not a likely explanation, and Intzesiloglou persuasively suggests instead that there was a grove within the *temenos*

Votive activity continued from the mid-sixth century until ca. 350, although at a pace greatly reduced from the late Geometric – early Archaic peak, and the pattern of dedication shifts over the course of this period as iron votives disappear completely.[61] The earliest monumental architecture to be discovered on site is a fragmentary painted *sima* tentatively dated to ca. 425–375;[62] until this time, cult may have been conducted in the open air. Votive activity slows considerably beginning in 350 and remains low until ca. 100.[63] Another major building was added to the sanctuary about 300–275, a Doric stoa or temple, and the epigraphic record begins at the site ca. 230–200, when a decree ordaining *sympoliteia* between two western Thessalian cities, Gomphi and Thamiai, was published at Philia.[64] The earliest epigraphic evidence that the Philia sanctuary was patronized by the Thessalian League appears ca. 179–165, when the general of the Thessalian League invited ambassadors from Ambracia to celebrate a *thysia* in honor of Athena Itonia.[65] Another inscription from ca. 142–140 honors foreign judges, appointed by the Thessalian League, who had resolved a boundary dispute between Melitaia and Lamia.[66] A second possible decree of the League was recovered during the Theocharis excavations and has been dated to the second century.[67] An honorary statue base of Hellenistic or Roman date issued by the League was also recovered.[68] Votive activity continued during the later Hellenistic period, especially ca. 100–0, when there is clear evidence of resurgence.

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of Athena Itonia and that metal votives were hung from trees or were erected on wooden installations within the grove. At some point in the sixth century, this grove burned, and the votives were deposited in this ashy layer. Afterwards, votives continued to be placed in the area of the Theocharis and Pilali-Papasteriou/Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou excavations, but were not present in the area of Intzesiloglou's trenches, presumably reflecting a shift in deposition patterns.

[61] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, pp. 177, 190.

[62] Theocharis 1964, p. 246; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 228.

[63] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 177.

[64] Temple or stoa: Theocharis 1963, p. 137; Theocharis 1964, pp. 245–246; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 228. *Sympoliteia* decree: Helly 1993 (discovered during the Theocharis excavations, and first mentioned at Theocharis 1963, p. 138, fr. γ (*SEG* 25, 655)). Another inscription—too fragmentary to infer content—is published as Theocharis 1963, p. 138, fr. δ, and is dated at *SEG* 25, 655 to the third century.

[65] Theocharis 1964, pp. 247–249, improved dramatically by Habicht 1976, pp. 175–180.

[66] Giannopoulos 1927–1928a (McDevitt 1970, p. 91, no. 670).

[67] Theocharis 1963, pp. 137–138 (*SEG* 25, 652).

[68] Theocharis 1967.

The Roman phases of the site's history are marked by the construction of a peribolos wall built of reused blocks. The eastern portion of this feature was uncovered during the recent Intzesiloglou excavations, as was a building of Roman date (within the peribolos) and two Roman kilns (outside the sanctuary).[69] A fragmentary statue base which held an image of a Roman emperor, almost certainly dedicated by the Thessalian League, was discovered during the Theocharis excavations.[70] In the nearby village of Melissochori, Intzesiloglou also discovered fragments of several inscriptions of Roman date which were probably originally published at the Philia sanctuary and perhaps documented manumissions.[71] That the sanctuary continued to function as a major sanctuary of the Thessalian League well into the Imperial period is proved by a pair of statues awarded by the Thessalian League to M. Oulpius Eubiotos and M. Oulpius Eubiotos Leuros, the bases of which have been recovered and are dated from the mid-second to early third century CE.[72] After a spike in the later Hellenistic period, votive activity was minimal in the subsequent Roman era.[73] By 400–500 CE, a three-aisled basilica with pebble-mosaic floors and incorporating spolia from earlier installations in the sanctuary had been built at Philia, suggesting that a broader religious shift had taken place in the region.[74] About this time, perhaps later, some areas of the earlier sanctuary began to be used as a cemetery.[75]

Given this sanctuary history, would not the Philia *temenos* be a more appropriate destination for the third-century Koan and Mytilenean *theoroi* discussed above, or the third-century Koan announcement of an honorary crown for the Thessalians? Ockham's razor could thus just as easily hold that the function of the Philia *temenos* in the post-Flamininan

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[69] Intzesiloglou 1988. The excavator does not offer a more precise date. A building with mosaic floors incorporating blocks from earlier structures, probably associated with the sanctuary, was excavated by Theocharis and is dated to ca. 200–300 CE (Theocharis 1963, p. 137; Theocharis 1964, p. 246; Papazapheiri 1966; Intzesiloglou 1988, pp. 257–258; Intzesiloglou 2006, pp. 227–228).

[70] Theocharis 1963, p. 137 (*SEG* 25, 654).

[71] Intzesiloglou 1985; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 232. Cf. *BullÉp* 1993, p. 509, no. 305 (B. Helly).

[72] Ed. pr. Habicht 1987a, pp. 309–314 (*SEG* 37, 492–493). The text of *SEG* 37, 492 has recently been corrected at Zachou-Kontogianni 2003–2004, pp. 270–271 (*SEG* 54, 558). S. Follet *ap. AnÉp* 2004, no. 1317, observing that *SEG* 37, 492 appears to predate the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, would date the inscription in the middle of the second century CE.

[73] Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, p. 177.

[74] Theocharis 1964, pp. 244–246; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 227.

[75] Liagkouras 1964; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 232.

period was a carryover from the earlier function of the sanctuary, and hence there were two locations known as Itonos in greater Thessaly: The settlement in Phthiotic Achaia and the sanctuary at Philia. Such is the explicit position of Helly and Decourt: '… il est inutile de prolonger la discussion sur la réalité de deux Itônos et de deux sanctuaires d'Athéna Itônia, l'un en Thessaliotide, l'autre en Achaïe, alors que l'existence de l'un et l'autre est absolument assurée …'[76] On the problematic issue of the toponymy of the Philia *temenos*, Helly and Tziaphalias cite the inspired suggestion of D. Knoepfler: 'Ne serait-il pas tentant d'y voir une autre façon de designer le sanctuaire fédéral d'Athéna Itônia, exactement comme en Béotie Onchestos—souvent considéré, mais certainement à tort, comme une *polis* par les anciens et les modernes (ainsi encore Hansen)—désigne le sanctuaire fédéral de Poséidon Onchestios?'[77]

These are sober, clearly reasoned arguments on the whole, and they are incapable of refutation in the current state of evidence. It may nevertheless be useful to put forward an alternative reading of the history of the Itonia sanctuaries at Itonos and Philia. As I have argued in the introduction to this chapter, a sanctuary's status vis-à-vis a political or ethnic collective is not static and unchanging, but always has the potential to shed older layers of meaning and acquire new ones, as the circumstances of its constituents change. The votive record of the Philia sanctuary is astonishing, particularly in its Early Iron Age and Archaic phases, but there is absolutely nothing within that record that suggests this was a or the sanctuary of the Thessalian *ethnos* at that time. Whether there was a Thessalian *ethnos*, self-consciously perceived, at this date is moreover quite uncertain. Over the course of the Classical and early Hellenistic period, votive activity at the site declines sharply, suggesting perhaps that the function of the sanctuary had shifted. The earliest inscription from the site, dating to ca. 230–200, is not a federal decree nor does it in any way claim to represent the *ethnos* of the Thessalians. It is an emphatically supra-*polis*, but sub-*ethnos* document, attesting to the establishment of *sympoliteia* between Thamiai and Metropolis. Had one no knowledge of the second century (and later) history of the site, one would be hard-pressed to make a case for this sanctuary serving a constituency any broader than that of the western Thessalian plain. The discovery of federal decrees of the post-Flamininan League there, however, has led many

[76] *BullÉp* 2007, no. 350. They reject the other possible Itonia *temene* discussed earlier in this chapter.

[77] Tziaphalias and Helly 2004–2005, p. 397, n. 20.

to assume that the second-century status of the sanctuary was continuing its earlier status as capital of the Thessalian *ethnos*. But continuity needs to be proved, not assumed, and the evidence from the pre-Flamininan Philia sanctuary cannot yet positively support such a claim. Against this backdrop, the Koan and Mytilenean ambassadors and *theoroi* may continue to visit Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis, the sole Itonos known in the historical record, over the course of the third century. This does not confer 'capital' status upon the Athena Itonia sanctuary by default, for these documents reveal nothing of Thessalian perceptions of this sanctuary, but only those of Koans and Mytileneans.

Whichever interpretation one adopts, one must accept that the post-Flamininan Thessalian League was a conscious, deliberate actor and that its patronage of the Athena Itonia sanctuary at Philia, whether that sanctuary had from time immemorial been sacred to the Thessalians or if its catchment had previously been sub-regional, was by design. This sanctuary had to be (re)made into a symbolic center of the new federal league.

Philia in Later Hellenistic Thessaly

Against the background of the *longue durée* of the Philia *temenos* sketched above, the early second century emerges as a period of transition chiefly because documents of the Thessalian League began to be published there at that time—a practice which was to continue into the third century CE. I have suggested that the presence of this new category of evidence does indeed mark a new function for the *temenos* beginning about the time of Flamininus' reestablishment of the Thessalian League, that of a principal federal sanctuary of the League. It now remains to assess this particular phase of sanctuary use against the backdrop of the contemporary politics of the Thessalian League.

Athena Itonia's physical prominence in the Thessalian landscape in the Archaic, Classical, and early Hellenistic periods, coupled with her possible status as a chief divinity of the Thessaloi throughout that period, rendered her an obvious recipient of cult from the new Thessalian League. Although no documents survive indicating the rationale behind the use of the Philia *temenos* as League sanctuary in the later Hellenistic period, one fact of recent history was likely to have been influential: As Aitolian power grew and expanded to the Thessalian borders of greater Macedonia over the course of the third century, western Thessaly was a major

point of friction. All of western Thessaly had revolted from Macedonian rule on the occasion of Demetrius II's death in 229, and there is intriguing epigraphic evidence for conflict between pro-Macedonian and pro-Aitolian factions at Trikke in Hestiaiotis.[78] Amynander, king of Athamania ca. 220–189, a region of the southern Pindus, must also be taken into consideration. Despite the small size of his kingdom, Amynander proved adept at negotiating the new realities of power in mainland Greece and certainly had territorial ambitions in Thessaly.[79] There was thus every reason to suspect that western Thessaly would continue to be contentious with the addition of an autonomous Thessalian League as a new territorial competitor in 196. Thessalian League investment in the Philia sanctuary must be seen as a vital claim on this area and a clear sign to nettlesome Aitolian, Macedonian, and Athamanian neighbors that this was now Thessalian land.

The site's epigraphic record in the later Hellenistic period, mentioned briefly above, gives a clearer sense of how the sanctuary may have functioned as a federal sanctuary. Decrees honoring League benefactors could be published there, and it was an appropriate venue for erecting honorary statues for said benefactors.[80] For such gestures to be regarded as legitimate honors, a festival audience must be assumed. The summer month of Itonios, the first month of the year in the League calendar, was certainly the time of the Itonia. Given the presence of the month name in the Thessalian calendar, one assumes that this was an annual festival. And it is plausible that the Itonia were a 'dispersed' festival; the League would have conducted federal Itonia at Philia, but this need not have excluded the simultaneous (or sequential) conduct of Itonia at other sanctuaries in Thessaly, whether these were administered by *poleis*, as was the case in fourth-century Krannon, or some other organization.[81] The most significant inscription yet recovered from Philia, tentatively dated to ca. 179–165, offers some small insight into this federal Itonia.[82] The

[78] Helly 1991.

[79] Cf., e.g., *IG* 9.2, 208, a donation of ten talents made by the Athamanian king Amynander to the city of Melitaia for (re)building a gate and wall. For the purpose of the donation, see Maier 1959, pp. 136–138; Bringmann and Steuben 1995–2000, vol. 1, pp. 167–168. For the career of Amynander, see Oost 1957; Braund 1982.

[80] Decrees: Giannopoulos 1927–1928a (McDevitt 1970, p. 91, no. 670); statuary: Gallis 1976, pp. 176–178 (*SEG* 34, 558).

[81] E.g., Callimachus' mythical Ormenidai (*h.Dem*. 74–75). Cf. Parker 2005, pp. 28, 75–78.

[82] Ed. pr. Theocharis 1964, pp. 247–249 (*SEG* 25, 653); now superseded by Habicht 1976 (*SEG* 26, 688; *BullÉp* 1978, no. 250); Habicht 2006b.

decree records the gift of moneys by the Thessalian League to the city of Ambracia and specifically calls for the general of the Thessalian League to invite the Ambracian delegation, who are praised and awarded honors by the League, to a '*thysia* for Athena Itonia and the other gods', which most likely refers to a festival of the Itonia and not an occasional sacrifice offered to the goddess. The central role of the League general leaves no doubt that these particular Itonia were federal.

The content and timing of this decree warrant comparison with another significant event which may also have taken place at the Philia sanctuary. Polybius, discussing Perseus' initial moves upon ascending to the Macedonian throne, observes that he 'began to aim at popularity in Greece, calling back to Macedonia fugitive debtors and those who had been banished from the country either by sentence of the courts or for offences against the king. He posted lists of these men at Delos and Delphi, as well as at the temple of Itonian Athena, not only promising safety to such as returned, but the recovery of the property they had left behind them.'[83] Polybius connects Perseus' recall of debtors to Macedonia with an attempt to win popularity among the Greeks at large. Indeed, much of central and northern Greece had begun to slip into an economic crisis in the 170s and Perseus' very public treatment of his own countrymen represented one popular solution. And win influence Perseus did: Aitolia, Thessaly, and Epiros seem to have been favorably disposed to the Antigonid early in his reign, and Aitolia, perhaps Thessaly as well, sought Perseus' assistance in confronting their own economic problems in that troubled decade.[84] Selection of venue for publication impacted the speed and effectiveness with which Perseus' program could be implemented. Delphi and Delos are obvious choices for such a display. The sanctuary of Athena Itonia requires more explication. Which sanctuary did Polybius mean? The sanctuary at Boiotian Koroneia and that at Thessalian Philia are the best candidates, and scholars have been split. Reasonable arguments can be advanced for both. In Boiotia and the Boiotian League, Perseus had strong allies, particularly at Thebes, and he would conclude

[83] Polyb. 25.3.1–2, trans. Paton, with some modification: εὐθέως ἑλληνοκοπεῖν ἐπεβάλετο, κατακαλῶν εἰς τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ τοὺς τὰ χρέα φεύγοντας καὶ τοὺς πρὸς καταδίκας ἐκπεπτωκότας καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ βασιλικοῖς ἐγκλήμασι παρακεχωρηκότας. καὶ τούτων ἐξετίθει προγραφὰς εἵς τε Δῆλον καὶ Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν, διδοὺς οὐ μόνον τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τοῖς καταπορευομένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κομιδήν, ἀφ' ὧν ἕκαστος ἔφυγε.

[84] Gruen 1984, p. 404.

a formal alliance with the League ca. 173.[85] But Thessaly had been independent of Macedonian rule for seventeen short years, and given its proximity to Macedonia, it likely saw the greatest influx of emigrants in the closing years of Philip V's reign. There is moreover a pronounced interest in the 'ancestral' borders of Macedonia during Perseus' reign, and the distinction between Thessaly and the core Macedonian heartland further north had been nearly elided over the course of a century and a half of Macedonian control. It is tempting to see Perseus taking advantage of the current economic crisis to make a symbolic reassertion of Macedonian power at the southwestern frontier of the earlier, third-century Antigonid kingdom. The question cannot be solved in the current state of evidence.

With Rome's success during the Third Macedonian War, their reduction of the revolt of Andriscus, and their victory in the Achaian War, the neighborhood of Philia grew less fractious and competitive, a fact which may be revealed in the upward trend in votive activity in the first century. Otherwise, the epigraphic record suggests that the function of the sanctuary remained consistent throughout this period. Given the profusion of manumission inscriptions in Thessaly at this time, it is tempting to speculate that manumissions took place at Philia as well, although direct evidence for this in the Hellenistic period is lacking.[86]

Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa

Unlike Athena Itonia, Zeus Eleutherios was a new figure in Thessalian religion. The earliest evidence for his cult in the region dates to the 180s and is centered in Larisa. Scholars have unanimously assumed that the cult was established ca. 196 after the successful conclusion of the Second Macedonian War and Flamininus' Isthmian proclamation.[87] Zeus as liberator would indeed have been an apt figure for the Thessalians

[85] Polyb. 27.1.8; cf. now Wiemer 2004.

[86] For Thessalian manumission, see now Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005, *passim*, and Bielman 1994, *passim*, in addition to the older studies of Helly 1976 and Babacos 1961; evidence of possible manumission at Philia during the Imperial period: Intzesiloglou 1985; Intzesiloglou 2006, p. 232.

[87] E.g., Gallis 1988, p. 218: 'The Eleutheria, or "Liberation Festival," was initiated in 196 B.C., a year after the Macedonian king Philip V, under whose influence Thessaly was at that time, was defeated by the Romans in the battle of Kynoskephalai, an event considered to be the start of the liberation of Thessaly from Macedonian rule'. Cf. Preuner 1903, p. 372; *SIG*^{3} 613, n. 11; Kramolisch 1978, p. 86.

to pay their respects to after their return to autonomy at the conclusion of Macedonian hegemony in the region. Given the valence of other, earlier foundations of Zeus Eleutherios cults in the Greek world, such arguments for a 196 foundation date make good intuitive sense. There is no compelling reason to doubt their validity, but positive proof remains wanting.

The special circumstances of Thessalian liberation, in particular, the high profile of Rome and the influence of Flamininus in reorganizing Thessaly in the years after the Second Macedonian War, must have played a significant role in determining the character of this particular Zeus Eleutherios. There was probably no shortage of suitable divinities to laud after Kynoskephalai and around whom narratives of recent glory and promised future success could have been established. One can thus regard the establishment of the Larisan cult as deliberate (again perhaps bearing the fingerprints of Flamininus), and err on the side of expansiveness in reading the significance of the cult for the new *koinon*. In what follows, I examine two historical paradigms which appear to have exerted a strong influence over this new foundation—the foundation of a cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia after the Greek victory there in the Persian wars and the funeral honors awarded Pelopidas after his death at Kynoskephalai in 364—before turning to a broader consideration of the cult and its associated festival, the Eleutheria.

Plataia, Pelopidas, Flamininus

The Thessalians were conspicuous medizers at the time of the Persian Wars and thus could not participate in subsequent recollection of that glorious Greek success.[88] There is some evidence, however, that suggests that the Second Macedonian War was ideologically constructed, after the fact, as an iteration of the Persian Wars. Compare, for example, the elegiac testimony of Alcaeus of Messene: 'Both Xerxes led a Persian host to the land of Hellas, and Titus, too, led there a host from broad Italy, but the one meant to set the yoke of slavery on the neck of Europe, the other to put an end to the servitude of Hellas'.[89] Flamininus' actions in the Second

[88] E.g., Hdt. 7.172.1. Cf. Westlake 1936.

[89] *AP* 16.5, trans. Paton: Ἄγαγε καὶ Ξέρξης Πέρσαν στρατὸν Ἑλλάδος ἐς γᾶν, | καὶ Τίτος εὐρείας ἄγαγ' ἀπ' Ἰταλίας | ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Εὐρώπᾳ δοῦλον ζυγὸν αὐχένι θήσων | ἦλθεν, ὁ δ' ἀμπαύσων Ἑλλάδα δουλοσύνας.

Macedonian War, particularly his invasion of Greece with a foreign army, can be seen to parallel, in a formal way, those of Xerxes at the time of the Persian Wars. But the macro-political environment had changed—where Xerxes sought to enslave a previously free Greece, Flamininus, within the rhetoric of the epigram, intended to free a Greece that had fallen into a servile condition. The individual most currently responsible for Greece's status, Philip V, is unmentioned, but the association between him and Xerxes is unmistakable. Philip had actually accomplished what Xerxes had only imagined, and Flamininus' reversal is thus doubly sweet, a true liberation.[90]

Against this backdrop, replete with Persian War imagery, the establishment of a cult of Zeus Eleutherios in Larisa acquires an important layer of meaning. Flamininus' Isthmian proclamation was predicated on Roman victory in the Second Macedonian War. Much of the campaigning took place on Thessalian soil, including the climactic battle at Kynoskephalai, and thus this new liberation had by extension a strongly Thessalian color. Thessaly could now be recast as instrumental in the liberation of Greece. As I will argue below, the panhellenic significance of the victory was in some measure mirrored by the panhellenic aspirations of the cult and festival.

It is therefore not surprising that this new cult foundation at Larisa had an explicit parallel from the Persian War era, for a cult of Zeus Eleutherios had been established in the neighborhood of Plataia in 479, after the Greek victory there.[91] The history of the cult and its associated festival, the Eleutheria, is amply attested in literary and epigraphic sources, although it is no less problematic for being so. A complete rehearsal of the evidence is not warranted here, but a brief developmental outline may be useful. In the aftermath of the victory, perhaps in fulfillment of a vow, perhaps simply in thanksgiving or to commemorate the Greeks' stunning

[90] See Walbank 1942, p. 145, n. 1. Walbank 1943, p. 8, n. 7, and p. 9, n. 9, has attractively suggested that Philip had already been at work attempting to paint the invading Romans as new Persians, thus reviving the traditional anti-Persian role of Macedonian kings. Alcaeus' epigram can in this light be seen to anticipate just such a charge on the part of the Macedonians.

[91] The most comprehensive discussion of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia and the festival of the Eleutheria celebrated there is Schachter 1981–, vol. 3, pp. 125–143, who collects the primary sources and provides an overview of earlier scholarship. Important post-Schachter discussions include Mikalson 2003, pp. 99–101, and Rigsby 1996, pp. 49–51, who discuss the history of the site in the years after the battle; and Chaniotis 2005, pp. 238–240, who discusses the evolution of the cult and festival in the Hellenistic period.

victory, the Spartan general Pausanias established a cult honoring Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia. Possibly associated with this cult, funerary monuments in honor of those killed in battle were erected and there appears to have been a move to regard Plataia as inviolable and hallowed ground. The penteteric festival of the Plataian Eleutheria may date to this period, but was certainly observed by the third or second century, and continued until ca. 250–300 CE. Competitors hailed from throughout the Greek world. To judge from the many scattered epigraphic references to victors over several centuries, the Eleutheria seems to have followed a relatively traditional agonistic program. Especially distinctive, though, was a hoplite race from the battlefield trophy to the altar of Zeus Eleutherios. Victors in this contest won the equally distinctive title 'best of the Hellenes'. The festival was administered by a '*koinon* of the Hellenes', which was most probably a cultic, not a political, organization. The membership of this *koinon* is obscure, but some cult personnel were certainly Plataian and this *polis* likely shared administrative responsibilities. Patronage of the cult and festival varied over time, and one may glimpse various appropriations of this comparatively pure Persian War ideology by supporters and opponents of Macedonian hegemony on the Greek mainland in the fourth and third centuries to Roman emperors of the first and second centuries CE.

Another layer of history recalled by the establishment of this cult and festival looked to a later era—the mid fourth century—when another major battle fought at Kynoskephalai with Thessalian freedom at stake. In 364, the Theban general Pelopidas led a joint Thessalo-Boiotian force to victory over Alexander of Pherai. Thessaly had been a cornerstone in the development of Boiotian policy in northern Greece after the battle of Leuktra in 371.[92] By 369, Pelopidas, responding to a Thessalian League (perhaps narrowly Larisan) entreaty to intervene in the civil war being fought against Alexander of Pherai, appears in Thessaly, first negotiating with Alexander, then campaigning against him. While the final military result of this activity was inconclusive—Pelopidas was summoned north to intervene in the now full-blown crisis in Macedonia

[92] For Pelopidas in Thessaly, Buckler 1980, pp. 110–129, 175–184, 245–249; Sordi 1958, pp. 191–234; and Westlake 1935, pp. 130–152. Pelopidas' earlier ties to the region are only hinted at in the sources, but he seems to have established a formal bond of *xenia* with Jason of Pherai in the 370s (Plut. *Pelop*. 28.4). The specific occasion is unknown. Jason appears as a Theban ally in Xen. *Hell*. 6.4.20 at Leuktra (cf. Diod. Sic. 15.54.5). How much earlier this relationship can be pressed is uncertain. Cf. Sprawski 1999, pp. 67–71.

between King Alexander and Ptolemy Aloros (and their factions)—the Theban general very likely encouraged a thorough reorganization of the Thessalian League at this time.[93]

The character of this reorganization is ascertainable only through a pair of Attic inscriptions which reveal a Thessalian League arranged by different principles than the Thessaly commanded by Jason of Pherai in the 370s.[94] The most significant change is visible at the top of the regional political structure: gone is the *tagos*, replaced now by an *archon*.[95] The tone of the alliance with the Athenians suggests that the Thessalians were making a very deliberate break with the political traditions of the *tagos*. In the oath which the Athenians are to take to cement the alliance, they are to swear to oppose anyone who overthrows the elected *archon* of the Thessalian League or imposes a tyrant in the region. Alexander of Pherai is the obvious referent, but one senses that this inscription is directed against the broader circumstances which had engendered the regional conflicts of the preceding half century. That there was a formal constitution at this time cannot be in doubt, although one can do little more than speculate as to its general shape. The division of the region into the four tetrads of Aleuas is attested in this dossier, and that Thessalian military forces were organized accordingly is suggested by the presence of a college of four *polemarchs*, one for each tetrad, among the oath takers. There is reason to suspect that the institutional reformation of the Thessalian League was at root a reorganization of Thessalian military forces, both infantry and cavalry. Again, Pelopidas' hand, though not specifically attested, is not hard to perceive.

In 364, Pelopidas was again in Thessaly, leading a coalition of Thessalian and Boiotian forces against Pherai and her allies. Pelopidas' side would emerge victorious, although the general died in the encounter. At this point Thessalian sentiment toward the Theban general is clearest.

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[93] The dating of this reorganization is vexed. I follow the high chronology of Buckler 1980, pp. 245–249, who reviews the major arguments.

[94] *IG* 2^2, 116, securely dated to 361 by Athenian *archon*; *IG* 2^2, 175, fragmentary, but probably roughly contemporary with *IG* 2^2, 116. The faintest of hint at such a reorganization may be offered by Plutarch at *Pelop*. 26.3 where it is observed that Pelopidas had left the Thessalians 'in concord with one another' (πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμόνοιαν) upon departing the region to intervene in the crisis over the Argead throne in Macedonia. Cf. Westlake 1935, p. 135, with reference to earlier discussions.

[95] The issue of the titular head of the Thessalian League is among the more controversial in scholarship on Thessaly. For a thorough review of the ancient evidence, see Helly 1995, pp. 39–68.

Plutarch describes a wild scene, worth quoting in full: 'The Thessalians and allies also, after exceeding in their decrees every honour that can fitly be paid to human excellence, showed still more by their grief how grateful they were to him. For it is said that those who were in the action neither took off their breastplates nor unbridled their horses nor bound up their wounds, when they learned of his death, but, still heated and in full armour, came first to the body, and as if it still had life and sense, heaped round it the spoils of the enemy, sheared their horses manes, and cut off their own hair; and when they had gone to their tents, many neither kindled a fire nor took supper, but silence and dejection reigned through all the camp, as if they had not won a great and most brilliant victory, but had been defeated by the tyrant and made his slaves. From the cities, too, when tidings of these things reached them, came the magistrates, accompanied by youths and boys and priests, to take up the body, and they brought trophies and wreaths and suits of golden armour'.[96] Cornelios Nepos supplements this account by observing that all of the Thessalian cities set up bronze statues in honor of Pelopidas and made substantial gifts of land to his children.[97] At Delphi a fragmentary statue base is preserved with an inscribed dedicatory epigram indicating that the Thessalians had dedicated a statue of Pelopidas made by Lysippos: 'After destroying Sparta … with praise … many times … to erect … Boiotian. Pelopidas [son of Hippokles, Theban] the Thessalians dedi[cated to Pythian Apollo]. Lysippos son of Lys[… of Sikyon made it]'.[98] The Thessalians argued with the Thebans

[96] Plut. *Pelop.* 33.1–4, trans. Perrin: οἱ δὲ Θεσσαλοὶ καὶ οἱ σύμμαχοι πᾶσαν ἀνθρωπίνῃ πρέπουσαν ἀρετῇ τιμὴν τοῖς ψηφίσμασιν ὑπερβαλόντες, ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπεδείξαντο τοῖς πάθεσι τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα χάριν. τοὺς μὲν γὰρ παραγεγονότας τῷ ἔργῳ λέγουσι μήτε θώρακα θέσθαι μήτε ἵππον ἐκχαλινῶσαι μήτε τραῦμα δήσασθαι πρότερον, ὡς ἐπύθοντο τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτήν, ἀλλὰ μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων θερμοὺς ἰόντας ἐπὶ τὸν νεκρὸν ὥσπερ αἰσθανόμενον, τὰ τῶν πολεμίων κύκλῳ περὶ τὸ σῶμα σωρεύειν λάφυρα, κεῖραι δὲ ἵππους, κείρασθαι δὲ καὶ αὐτούς, ἀπιόντας δὲ πολλοὺς ἐπὶ σκηνὰς μήτε πῦρ ἀνάψαι μήτε δεῖπνον ἑλέσθαι, σιγὴν δὲ καὶ κατήφειαν εἶναι τοῦ στρατοπέδου παντός, ὥσπερ οὐ νενικηκότων ἐπιφανεστάτην νίκην καὶ μεγίστην, ἀλλ' ἡττημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ τυράννου καὶ καταδεδουλωμένων. ἐκ δὲ τῶν πόλεων, ὡς ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα, παρῆσαν αἵ τε ἀρχαὶ καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ἔφηβοι καὶ παῖδες καὶ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν τοῦ σώματος, τρόπαια καὶ στεφάνους καὶ πανοπλίας χρυσᾶς ἐπιφέροντες. Cf. Georgiadou 1997, pp. 216–217.

[97] Nep. *Pelop.* 5.5.

[98] Σπάρτημ μὲγ χήρ[ωσας - - - - -] | εὐλογίαι πιστ - - - - - - - - - | [πλε]ιστάκι ΔΗ - - - - - - - - - | [στῆ]σαι Βοιω[τ - - - - - - - -] | Πελοπίδαν Ἰπ[πόκλου Θηβαῖον] | Θεσσαλοὶ ἀνέ[θηκαν Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίωι] | Λύσιππος Λυσ[- - - Σικυώνιος ἐποίησε]. For a text, cf. Bousquet 1963, pp. 206–208 (*SEG* 22, 460; *BullÉp* 1964, no. 208). For a new restoration of

for the honor of tending to Pelopidas' burial, noting that while the Thebans had lost their general, the Thessalians had lost both their general and their freedom.[99] The Theban general was presumably buried in Thessaly.[100]

And so the recovery of Thessalian freedom under the leadership of a foreign general after a culminating battle at Kynoskephalai in 197 can only have recalled these chapters of Thessalian history from the 360s. Yet, once recalled, the differences between the outcomes of the two battles of Kynokephalai may have overshadowed the similarities. Pelopidas' death during the battle ensured that the Thessalian League would not grow past its infancy, and that regional civil war would continue. The ultimate outcome would be the intervention of Philip II and his probable election as *archon* of the Thessalian League which inaugurated over 150 years of Thessalian subordination to Macedonian rule. Flamininus' victory in 197, if not on the same battlefield then certainly in the same area,[101] would in some ways put the finishing touches on Pelopidas' northern project, albeit in radically altered political circumstances.

Despite the regional, Thessalian significance of a second battle at Kynoskephalai, and the plainly panhellenic aspirations of the establishment of a Zeus Eleutherios cult in Larisa, victory in the Second Macedonian War can only be described tendentiously as narrowly Thessalian or Greek. For this was a predominantly Roman victory, fought primarily by Roman forces led by Roman generals. In 171, Livy depicts Roman ambassadors appearing before the council of the Thessalian League, where mutual courtesies were exchanged—the Romans for Thessalian support during the Second Macedonian War and the War with Antiochus, the Thessalians for the gift of their freedom.[102] Responsibility for Thessalian freedom and autonomy lay at the feet of Flamininus most of all, and it would be surprising if his memory was not honored in some way at the Eleutheria in Larisa. Roman intentions, to say nothing of broader policy, towards Thessaly and Greece more generally were receiving their first

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the epigram, cf. Gallavotti 1985, pp. 55–57 (*SEG* 35, 480; *BullÉp* 1988, no. 638). The date of the monument is somewhat controversial. I follow Buckler 1980, p. 180, in assigning the dedication to after Pelopidas' death, against the higher chronology of e.g. Wilhelm 1941, who would prefer 369. Cf. Helly 1995, pp. 256–260.

[99] Plut. *Pelop.* 33.5.

[100] Plut. *Pelop.* 34.1–3. Cf. Georgiadou 1997, pp. 218–219.

[101] For reconstructions of the two battles, see Decourt 1990, pp. 92–96, 107–114; Hammond 1988; Pritchett 1969, pp. 112–119.

[102] Liv. 42.38.6.

concrete expression in the aftermath of Kynoskephalai. In some ways, Rome was just another Hellenistic kingdom, Flamininus another (effective) general. While Plutarch presents an image of Greeks who are rapt and rapturous upon hearing his Isthmian proclamation,[103] the truth of the matter is that such sentiments were a commonplace in interstate relations.[104] Was this a case of empty rhetoric, or could Flamininus actually deliver? The following years would see him intervening directly in Thessalian affairs with great benefits to the region. Over the course of several extended stays, he put the Thessalian League on a firm institutional footing and helped adjudicate in what must have been an endless series of messy legal disputes. Despite every indication in the region's history that would suggest otherwise, this foundation held, and over fifty years later in newly Thessalian Narthakion in Phthiotic Achaia it is possible to read of the laws that 'Titus Quinctus … gave'.[105]

The Larisa Sanctuary and the Eleutheria

Federal documents of the Thessalian League published in the post-196 period regularly refer to a sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios as a locus of publication. No other sanctuary of the god is attested in Thessaly. Unfortunately, the site of the sanctuary is not precisely known. A. Tziaphalias, however, has made a plausible, if circumstantial, case that the sanctuary was near the so-called 'free agora' of ancient Larisa, where rescue excavations have exposed a number of architectural members of Hellenistic date suggestive of a large, public building of the Doric order, together with bases for votive offerings and an inscription with a preserved publication clause mentioning the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios.[106] Much of

[103] Plut. Flam. 10.3–5; cf. Polyb. 18.46.1–15; Liv. 33.32.1–10.

[104] Walsh 1996. For Flamininus' dealings with the Greek East, see now Pfeilschifter 2005. Dmitriev 2011 appeared too late for me to take into full account.

[105] *IG* 9.2, 89.

[106] On the 'free agora', see Arist. *Pol.* 1331a24–36, trans. Rackham: 'But it is fitting that the dwellings assigned to the gods and the most important of the official messes should have a suitable site, and the same for all, excepting those temples which are assigned a special place apart by the law or else by some utterance of the Pythian oracle. And the site would be suitable if it is one that is sufficiently conspicuous in regard to the excellence of its position, and also of superior strength in regard to the adjacent parts of the city. It is convenient that below this site should be an laid out an agora of the kind customary in Thessaly which they call a "free agora" (πρέπει δ' ὑπὸ μὲν τοῦτον τὸν τόπον τοιαύτης ἀγορᾶς εἶναι κατασκευὴν οἵαν καὶ περὶ Θετταλίαν νομίζουσιν ἣν ἐλευθέραν καλοῦσιν), that is, one which has to be kept clear of all merchandise and into

this evidence was not discovered *in situ*, however, and Tziaphalias' identification must remain tentative.[107] In the material record, the most conspicuous aspect of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa is the Eleutheria. Fragments of seven Eleutheria victor lists dating to the second and first centuries are preserved, and these provide important insight into the character of the festival.[108] Several commemorative or honorary inscriptions celebrating victorious competitors at the Eleutheria are known from throughout the Greek world, the latest of which suggests that the festival continued to be celebrated ca. 100 CE, if not later.[109]

I begin with a consideration of some preliminary issues—the date, sponsorship, and periodicity of the festival—before offering a systematic analysis of the festival program. I have argued above that the cult of Zeus Eleutherios was initiated in Larisa in the wake of the successful conclusion of the Second Macedonian War and Flamininus' reorganization of the Thessalian League. It is logical, though not strictly necessary, that the Eleutheria would have been closely connected with this original cult foundation. The earliest securely-dated attestation of the festival is a

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which no artisan or farmer or any other such person my intrude unless summoned by the magistrates'. Cf. Schütrumpf 2005, p. 434; Xen. *Cyropaed*. 1.2.3. For the remains of the 'free agora' of Larisa, see Tziaphalias 1994, pp. 173–174, who argues that this space changed function in the Hellenistic period from the political heart of Larisa to the city's religious center.

[107] For a brief presentation and discussion of the evidence, see Tziaphalias 1994, pp. 170–172.

[108] New editions of these inscriptions with commentary can be found in Epigraphic Appendix 1–7. A fragmentary eighth list (Epigraphic Appendix 8) may also be associated with the festival.

[109] E.g., *IG* 7, 48, a Megarian inscription dated to post-86 and mentioning victories in boxing and pankration; Zachos 1994, pp. 447–449, no. 2 (*SEG* 44, 469), an inscription from Nikopolis dated to the end of the first century CE and honoring a Nikopolitan for winning the boys *stadion* at Larisa ([ἡ π]όλις ἡ Ν[ει]|[κ]οπολειτῶν | Νεικάνορα | Τίτου νεική|σαντα ἐν |Λαρίσῃ πα[ί]|δων στά|διον). *Stadion* races were part of the agonistic program of the Kaisarea and the Po[seidon]ia, both of which were apparently sanctioned and supported by the *koinon*, in the first century CE (*IG* 9.2, 614b); and so it is possible that Nikanor's victory did not take place at the Eleutheria. Nothing further is known about the Kaisarea or the Po[seidon]ia. I pass over a number of other monuments that simply mention victories in Eleutheria; these may refer to the celebration at Plataia or Larisa or elsewhere in the Greek world (for other attestations of Eleutheria festivals, cf. Stengel 1905). Finally, several inscriptions honor competitors who were victorious at the κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν in Larisa, *vel sim*. The phrase probably refers to the Thessalian Eleutheria: *IThesp* 210–211 (*IG* 7, 1856–1857) which is dated to the first or second century CE (cf. *SEG* 53, 474); plausibly restored at Buckler and Robinson 1932, no. 79, face B, line 3 ([κοινὸν Θ]εσ̣[σα]λίας), a monument commemorating the many victories of Demostratos Damas and dated to ca. 212–217 CE.

decree of the Delphic Amphictiony dated to 184/3 which honors Nikostratos of Larisa, a Thessalian *hieromnemon* at the Amphictionic council.[110] Nikostratos' honors are to be announced at the Pythian Games, 'and also at the Eleutheria in the athletic contest, which the Thessalians organize'.[111] Two partially preserved Eleutheria victor lists also belong to the first half of the second century.[112] This earliest evidence for the Eleutheria is not at odds with a hypothetical date of ca. 196 for the establishment of the cult and games at Larisa.

Discussion of the evidence for the foundation date of the Eleutheria has already begun to merge into a consideration of festival sponsorship, and it is significant that two of the earliest attestations of the Eleutheria both closely associate the 'Thessalians' with the conduct of the festival. The Thessalians 'organize' the Eleutheria (τιθέασι) and an official holding the title of '*agonothete* of Thessalians' supervises.[113] Honorary decrees of the Thessalians were not simply to be published in the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa, but could also be announced at the Eleutheria.[114] Similarly, when foreign bodies wished to honor representatives of the Thessalian League, they could request that their honors be announced at the Eleutheria.[115] Thus both sanctuary and festival fell under the purview of the Thessalian League and can be regarded as federal.

Periodicity is a final preliminary issue. As will become clear, the Eleutheria attracted participants from throughout the Aegean and broader Mediterranean world. Such festivals were not typically annual affairs, but trieteric (every two years) or penteteric (every four years).[116] A fragmentary Eleutheria victor list from the early first century contains a partially

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[110] *CID* 4, 106. For the date, see Daux 1943, p. 50, no. L15.

[111] *CID* 4, 106, l. 47–49: ἀναγορεῦσαι δὲ καὶ ἐν | τοῖς Ἐλευθερίοις ἐν τῶι γυμνικῶι ἀγῶνι, ὃν τιθέασι | οἱ [Θε]ττα̣λοί.

[112] Epigraphic Appendix 1–2 (*IG* 9.2, 525–526).

[113] Thessalian organization: *CID* 4, 106; '*agonothete* of the Thessalians': Epigraphic Appendix 1 (*IG* 9.2, 525); this title is also present in a first century victor list (Epigraphic Appendix 3 (*IG* 9.2, 528)).

[114] Publication: *IG* 9.2, 507–508; *SEG* 34, 558; Announcement: *IG* 9.2, 508.

[115] *CID* 4, 106. *FD* 3.4, 49, a ca. 106/5 honorary decree of the city of Delphi for Isagoras of Larisa was also to be announced at the Thessalian Eleutheria. *CID* 4, 128, an honorary decree of the Delphic Amphictiony ca. 106/5 for this same individual, probably contained a similar prescription. Isagoras was likely a current or former *hieromnemon* to the Delphic Amphictiony and by extension representative of Thessaly *qua ethnos*.

[116] There is no distinction in the inscriptions between 'greater' and 'lesser' Eleutheria, i.e., between regional, annual versions of the event and the larger, 'panhellenic' versions of the event celebrated at greater intervals.

preserved preamble with language suggesting that this particular festival was anywhere between the twentieth and twenty-ninth celebration of this kind: 'When Isagoras … was *agonothete* for the twenty … contest for Zeus Eleutherios.'[117] If one assumes that the Eleutheria were indeed founded ca. 196, two ranges of dates become possible: 154–138 for a trieteric festival, 112–80 for a penteteric festival.[118] The prosopography of the list better suits the later range of dates and the Thessalian Eleutheria were thus almost certainly a penteteric festival.[119]

Much about the Eleutheria, however, remains unknown. Our evidence is silent on matters of sacrifice and procession, for example, although one assumes that both must have featured prominently. The calendar date of the festival is also unattested. The *agon* was clearly a central component of the festival and offered a suitable venue for announcing honorary decrees. From a broader perspective, to identify the Eleutheria as a 'panhellenic' festival begs the question of what precisely 'panhellenic' means in a Hellenistic agonistic context.[120] Certainly competitors from around the Mediterranean participated in the festival. But no invitations issued by the Thessalian League to outside polities to send *theoroi* to the Eleutheria or to recognize the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios as inviolable, for example, have survived, nor have outside decrees of acceptance responding to such invitations. As will be seen in Chapter Four, however, the Thessalian League was an active player in interstate cult in the later Hellenistic period, and it would be surprising if their acceptance of invitations issued by the Koans or Mytileneans, for example, were not met with reciprocal invitations on the part of the Thessalians. So developed the politics of cult in the Hellenistic period.[121]

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[117] Epigraphic Appendix 3 (*IG* 9.2, 528), l. 1–3: Ἰ̲σαγόρου τ̣ο̣[ῦ.....ca. 18.....]|.....ἀγωνοθε]|τοῦντος τ̲ὸν εἰκ̣ο̣[στον καὶ.....ca. 9....τῶν Θεσ]|σαλῶν ἀγῶνα τῶι Διὶ τ̣[ῶ][ι Ἐλευθερίωι.

[118] Trieteric: 21 × 2 = 42, 196 – 42 = 154; 29 × 2 = 58, 196 – 58 = 138. Penteteric: 21 × 4 = 84, 196 – 84 = 112; 29 × 4 = 116, 196 – 116 = 80.

[119] See the commentary on Epigraphic Appendix 3 (*IG* 9.2, 528), where it is argued that Stratios son of Melanthios from Kierion, victorious trumpeter, was also victorious at the Ptoia ca. 70–65 (Bizard 1920, pp. 249–261, no. 10); for the date, cf. Gossage 1975, pp. 122–123.

[120] See the lapidary formulation at Robert 1936b, pp. 21–22 (Robert 1969b, pp. 784–785). Cf. Slater and Summa 2006, p. 281.

[121] The language of *IG* 9.2, 508, a mid-second-century decree of the Thessalian League, in particular implies an international audience. For the text, see Kawerau and Rehm 1914, p. 377, n. 1; Canali de Rossi 2002, p. 45 (*BullÉp* 2005, no. 260). Kramolisch 1978, p. 60, proposed a date ca. 150; Helly 1973, vol. 1, p. 115, pushes the decree to ca. 180.

The most substantial evidence for the festival program of the Eleutheria is the group of fragmentary victor lists, mentioned earlier, that were recovered from Larisa. From these inscriptions, it is possible to make a partial reconstruction of the agonistic component of the festival which, from a synchronic perspective, may be sketched as follows:

(1) The melic contests: trumpeters, heralds, auletes, kitharists, kitharodes.
(2) The 'Thessalian triad': bull hunt, *aphippolampas*, *aphippodromas*.
(3) The gymnic contests: *pentathlon* (boys, youths, men), *dolichon* (boys, men), *stadion* (boys, youths, men), *diaulon* (age classes unclear, but probably boys, men), boxing[122] (age classes unclear, but probably boys, youths, men), *pankration* (boys, youths, men), hoplite race. There were probably other events in this component of the festival (e.g., wrestling), but these are not preserved in the ancient testimonia.[123]
(4) The hippic contests: foal race, horse race, two-foal chariot race, two-horse chariot race, four-foal chariot race, four-horse chariot race.

This is a relatively normative agonistic program for a later Hellenistic festival: the musical contests are sparse, but standard; the gymnic and equestrian events are fuller. The grouping of events in the victor lists may suggest a separate day for each event, hence an *agon* of roughly four days in length.

Most distinctive is the Thessalian triad, a group of three events which appears to reflect local Thessalian agonistic tradition.[124] Little certain is known of them. A variety of literary, numismatic, and epigraphic evi-

[122] This event is unattested in the fragmentary Eleutheria victor lists, but *IG* 7, 48 (Megara, after 86), a monument for an anonymous, highly decorated Megarian athlete who won victories at a number of contests, refers to a victory Ἐλευθέρια τὰ ἐν ⟨Λ⟩αρίσ[η] πυγμήν. For the date, cf. Knoepfler 1997, pp. 35–36 (*SEG* 47, 468). Another victory in the pankration at the Thessalian Eleutheria is mentioned on the same stone.

[123] For further discussion of the full possible range of gymnic events, see Epigraphic Appendix 5 (*IG* 9.2, 529).

[124] Each of the three events is also attested in the so-called Stena, a festival organized by the city of Larisa and likely commemorating Thessalian participation in a major campaign of the Third Macedonian War. Despite the conclusive arguments of Preuner 1903, 373–374, and Robert at *BullÉp* 1964, no. 227, the Eleutheria and Stena are still occasionally conflated as a single festival (e.g., Miller 2004, p. 145). The two festivals had different agonistic programs (different events, different age classes), attracted different competitors (the Eleutheria were 'panhellenic', the Stena narrowly Thessalian; cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 135–136), and were organized by different polities (the Eleutheria by the Thessalian League, the Stena by the city of Larisa).

dence may clarify partially the bull-hunt, although not in the context of the Eleutheria.[125] Heliodorus describes his 'Thessalian' hero Theagenes pursuing a bull on horseback, leaping on to the bull's back, and planting the animal's horns into the ground.[126] Pliny describes the bull's neck as being broken through the twisting fall, perhaps clarifying the sense of the word 'hunt' in the Eleutheria competition.[127] Philip of Thessaloniki describes a similar process, although conducted by a 'chorus' of Thessalian horsemen: 'The bull-chasing band of men from Thessaly, home of fine horses, armed against wild beasts with hands weaponless, brought their spur-smitten colts close to the bounding bulls, eager to fling a forehead-embrace about them. Inclining to the earth their clinch-hold at the top, bent easily downward, they overthrew the brute's mighty strength'.[128] Some Classical issues of Larisa depict either a horseman pursuing a bull or an individual actual grasping the horns of a resisting bull.[129] Finally, a series of first-century Larisan inscriptions lists the names of individuals who 'have hunted the bull' during the tenure of a particular priest.[130] Spectacles known as *taurokathapsia* are known to have come into vogue in the Aegean in the Hellenistic and Roman period and Thessalians were regarded as expert practitioners.[131] On the basis of these scattered testimonia concerning possibly parallel activities, one may presume that the bull-hunt was a team competition posing considerable risk to the participants and considerable staging challenges to the festival organizers.[132]

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[125] See Gallis 1988, pp. 221–225; Axenidis 1947b, pp. 15–24; Ziehen 1934; Nilsson 1906, pp. 80–81. For the presence of a bull-hunt contest in an unpublished victor list from Macedonian Dion, cf. *SEG* 52, 594.

[126] Heliod. *Aethiop*. 10.28–30.

[127] Plin. *NH* 8.182: *Thessalorum gentis inventum est equo iuxta quadripedante cornu intorta cervice tauros necare*.

[128] *AP* 9.543, trans. Gow and Page 1968, vol. 1, p. 333: Θεσσαλίης εὔιππος ὁ ταυρελάτης χορὸς ἀνδρῶν | χερσὶν ἀτευχήτοις θερσὶν ὁπλιζόμενος, | κεντροτυπεῖς πώλους ζεῦξε σκιρτήματι ταύρων, | ἀμφιβαλεῖν σπεύδων πλέγμα μετωπίδιον · | ἀκρότατον δ' ἐς γῆν κλίνας ἅμα κεὐροπον ἄμμα | θηρὸς τὴν τόσσην ἐξεκύλισε βίην. Cf. Robert 1982.

[129] See Gallis 1988, pp. 221–222 for images and analysis. Cf. Axenidis 1947b, pp. 15–24.

[130] *IG* 9.2, 535–536; Arvanitopoulos 1910, pp. 349–352, no. 4 (McDevitt 1970, p. 47, no. 343). Cf. *IG* 9.2, 537.

[131] See Gow and Page 1968, vol. 2, p. 359 for further references to *taurokathapsia* conducted elsewhere. For Thessalian expertise, cf. Suet. *Claud*. 21, cited below, and Pliny, *NH* 8.182, who asserts that Caesar introduced the display to Rome; this fact has led some scholars to assume that Caesar became familiar with the practice during the Pharsalos campaign. Cf. Gallis 1988, p. 225.

[132] Suet. *Claud*. 21 claims that Claudius put on games which featured Thessalian

Plato's apparent description of an *aphippolampas* at the beginning of the *Republic*, clearly a novelty for fifth-century Athens and heavily marked as 'other' by its association with the Thracian goddess Bendis, may give some slight insight into the Thessalian *agon*: '"Do you mean to say," interposed Adeimantus, "that you haven't heard that there is to be a torchlight race this evening on horseback in honor of the Goddess?" "On horseback?" said I. "That is a new idea. Will they carry torches and pass them along to one another as they race with the horses, or how do you mean?" "That's the way of it", said Polemarchus'.[133] How closely this event resembled the *aphippolampas* of the Thessalian Eleutheria is unknown. Torches, horses, and an evening setting would seem assured for both, as would the strong element of spectacle. Beyond Plato's paraphrase, the event name is unattested outside of Thessaly.

The *aphippodromas* is still more mysterious, unattested as it is outside of Thessaly.[134] Several coin types from Classical Larisa are often regarded as providing visual evidence of this event, or one related to it. The types show a dismounted rider holding the reins of a galloping horse.[135] Such a scene can only be imagined if the rider is running alongside the horse, an act which is to be expected given the apparent etymology of the word. If such an analysis is correct, the event may be related to better attested contests of *apobatikoi* which involved the dismounting and remounting of a galloping horse by its rider.[136]

Competition venues were likely spread throughout the city of Larisa. The melic contests probably took place in the primary theatre of Larisa on the southern slope of the city's acropolis, at least initially.[137] Given that several of the Eleutheria victor lists were discovered in secondary contexts on the acropolis and near the theatre, it is possible that

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horsemen *qui feros tauros per spatia circi agunt insiliuntque defessos et ad terram cornibus detrahunt* 'who drive wild bulls all over the arena, leaping upon them when they are tired out and throwing them to the ground by the horns' (trans. Rolfe).

[133] Plat. *Rep*. 327c–328a, trans. Shorey: καὶ ὁ Ἀδείμαντος, ἆρά γε, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐδ' ἴστε ὅτι λαμπὰς ἔσται πρὸς ἑσπέραν ἀφ' ἵππων τῇ θεῷ; ἀφ' ἵππων; ἦν δ' ἐγώ · καινόν γε τοῦτο. Λαμπάδια ἔχοντες διαδώσουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἁμιλλώμενοι τοῖς ἵπποις; ἢ πῶς λέγεις; οὕτως, ἔφη ὁ Πολέμαρχος. For the Thessalian *aphippolampas*, cf. Gallis 1988, p. 220; Axenidis 1947b, pp. 13–14.

[134] In general, see Gallis 1988, pp. 220–221; Axenidis 1947b, p. 14.

[135] See Gallis 1988, pp. 220–221, for images and analysis. Cf. Axenidis 1947b, pp. 13–14.

[136] See Shear 2001, pp. 299–310, for a conspectus of ancient sources and modern scholarship on the apobatic race of the Panathenaia.

[137] Tziaphalias 1994, pp. 174–176; Tziaphalias 2009.

they were originally published nearby.[138] Larisa acquired other potential venues for melic performance, however, including a second theatre located just southwest of the acropolis proper and dated to the second half of the first century, and an odeion near the putative site of the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios dated generally to the Imperial period.[139] The locations of both the hippodrome, where the equestrian competitions would have taken place, and the stadium, where the gymnic events would have occurred, are unknown.[140] The events of the Thessalian triad pose interesting staging questions. If we are correct to assume that they occupied a single day of the competition, then they probably took place in the same venue, a venue that was most likely distinct from those of the other three days of the *agon*—theatre, stadium, hippodrome.

Individuals travelled from all over the Greek world to compete in the Eleutheria. Closer analysis reveals, however, that only the melic and gymnic events display so broad a geographical range of victors. In both the Thessalian triad and the equestrian contests only Thessalians are victorious. Were these events closed to outsiders? The question is impossible to answer, given the current state of evidence. One suspects that the Thessalian triad may not have attracted any outside entrants because of the heterodox character of the events. The equestrian contests were different. While the Panathenaia of Hellenistic Athens offers a good parallel for a festival with distinct equestrian events for Athenian citizens and foreigners, these distinctions are clearly marked in the festival's victor lists.[141] Such is not the case in the Eleutheria victor lists. One must thus confront the additional possibility either that Thessalian horses consistently outraced their non-Thessalian competitors, or that the Eleutheria were not so prestigious a festival as the Panathenaia and simply did not attract foreign equestrian competition. Perhaps the reality was somewhere in between. The costs of maintaining horses were high, and transport expenses, especially to city like Larisa, must have been

[138] Helly 2010, p. 93, n. 2. Many inscriptions cut onto the surface of the theatre's seats which appear to indicate different polities within Thessaly. It is possible that they designate where regional delegations of festival-attending *theoroi* would have sat during the Eleutheria. It may also be the case that meetings of the League Council were held there on occasion and that the seats of representative delegations were so marked. In either case (the two options just sketched would not be mutually exclusive), this theatre would seem to have performed a federal function. These inscriptions remain unpublished.

[139] Second theatre: Tziaphalias 1994, pp. 176–177; odeion: Tziaphalias 1994, p. 174.

[140] Tziaphalias 1994, p. 174.

[141] Tracy 1991.

severe. Add tough local competition in a less revered venue and one can see why Attalids and Ptolemies, for example, may have stayed away.

While the question of the absence of foreign victors in the Eleutheria equestrian contests must remain open in the final analysis, more concrete details can be gleaned from the Thessalians who were victorious in these events.[142] They were, for the most part, no ordinary citizens, but members of the absolute highest stratum of regional political society. Two victor lists preserve the full panoply of six equestrian victors. In the earlier list, dated to ca. 196–175, one victor is known to have served as general of the Thessalian League (Theodoros of Atrax), another belonged to a family which produced League generals (Aristokles of Larisa), and a third was the father of a Thessalian *hieromnemon* at Delphi (Thrasippos of Larisa).[143] In the later list, dated to ca. 80–70, one victor likely served as general of the Thessalian League (Klearchos of Larisa), and another belonged to a family which most probably produced League generals (Timasitheos of Larisa).[144] That the social and economic class which sponsored participants in equestrian contests also produced political leaders provides some insight into the conservative character of the Thessalian constitution imposed by Flamininus.[145]

The women victors in these contests—two of the twelve total—also call for some comment.[146] While neither is otherwise known, and their ancestry is not clear, one can assume safely that they, too, belonged to wealthy, influential families.[147] Another Thessalian woman of the Hel-

[142] Those individuals listed as victors in the equestrian contests were the owners of the horses and chariot teams and were not actually responsible for conducting the horses in the competition proper.

[143] See Epigraphic Appendix 2 (*IG* 9.2, 526), with commentary and full prosopographic analysis.

[144] See Epigraphic Appendix 4 (Arvanitopoulos 1911, pp. 124–127, no. 27 (McDevitt 1970, pp. 47–48, no. 344)), with commentary and full prosopographic analysis.

[145] Recent scholarship on the politics of horses has tended to focus on the Archaic and Classical periods. See, among others, Golden 1997; Golden 1998, pp. 169–175; Nicholson 2005, pp. 25–116; Kyle 2007, pp. 170–174.

[146] Aristokles daughter of Megakles, from Larisa (Epigraphic Appendix 2 (*IG* 9.2, 526), l. 19); [..ca. 4..]ione daughter of Polyxenos, from Larisa (Epigraphic Appendix 4 (Arvanitopoulos 1911, pp. 124–127, no. 27 (McDevitt 1970, pp. 47–48, no. 344)), l. 17).

[147] For women victors in Hellenistic equestrian contests in general, see the useful comments of Bielman 2002, pp. 267–274 (with copious bibliography). Many were royal. Too little is known of Hellenistic Thessalian society to gauge whether or not the view of Golden 1998, p. 139, on earlier periods in Greek history holds true: 'For [women] too horse-racing was exceptional, open to their participation and victory both because

lenistic period, Mnasimacha of Krannon, was victorious in an equestrian event at the Amphiaraia and Romaia at Oropos ca. 80–70;[148] she has been identified as priestess of Artemis in a recently published dedication from Krannon.[149] The two female victors in the Eleutheria may have been similarly prominent in their home town of Larisa. If these cases can be regarded as broadly representative, the participation of Thessalian women in equestrian events at the Eleutheria was not exceptional or otherwise novel.

It was not just the equestrian victors who were distinctive in Thessalian politics, but the victors in the Thessalian triad also. A full complement of victors in these contests is known from two victor lists dated to the first half of the first century. Of these six victors, three had exceptionally close connections with the generalship of the Thessalian League: Petraios of Gyrton, victor in the *aphippolampas*, held the office of general, while Demetrios of Larisa, victor in the *aphippodromas*, and the son of Leontomenes of Pherai, victor in the *aphippolampas*, each belonged to families which produced generals.[150] Thus, in preserved Eleutheria victor lists, half of the victors in the Thessalian triad had direct or familial contact with the generalship of the Thessalian League. At one level, this is not surprising. Horses were central to each event in the Thessalian triad and there was a close connection between political power and equestrian competition throughout much of Greek history. The particularly Thessalian character of these three events is distinctive, though, as is its setting within the broadly 'panhellenic' agonistic backdrop of the Eleutheria. The festival was a centerpiece of the official state religion of the Thessalian League which emphatically recalled the 'panhellenic' victory, understood in Thessalian and Flamininan terms, at Kynoskephalai in 197. The *agon* of the Eleutheria, and above all the Thessalian triad's position within it, reflected in microcosm the festival's foundation narrative as reconstructed earlier in this chapter. In this light, it is easy to see

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they competed only indirectly, through their animals, riders and charioteers, and because superiority might be represented as reflecting resources alone'. For the broader context of female participation in public life in the Greek East, see now the important study of Bremen 1996. Palagia 2009 has instructive comments about women and Greek sport in her discussion of the Spartan Kyniska, the first female victor at Olympia.

[148] *IOropos* 529; for the date, see Gossage 1975, p. 120.

[149] Tziaphalias 1987 (*SEG* 42, 507); for the identification, which requires a plausible downdating of the inscription, see Habicht 1994, pp. 225–226.

[150] For Petraios and Demetrios, see Epigraphic Appendix 6 (*IG* 9.2, 534), l. 12–15; for Leontomenes, see Epigraphic Appendix 3 (*IG* 9.2, 528), l. 19.

how success in such events was not simply the expected demonstration of elite superiority in a local regional context, but deeply implicated in regional politics as well.

That the Eleutheria evolved over time is virtually certain, but it is difficult to build a continuous narrative given the current state of the evidence. The sample of preserved victor lists represents two chronological periods: The earlier group, comprised of two lists, can be dated to ca. 196–150;[151] the later group, containing the remaining five lists, can be dated to ca. 100–50.[152] Comparison of the two groups yields some interesting results:

(1) The dating formula is more elaborate in the later group. While the early dating formula seems to have consisted of the name of the *agonothete* alone,[153] the later formula adds the name of the priest of Zeus Eleutherios.[154] Perhaps his role within the festival had grown, whether as officiant, financial backer, or both.

(2) In the early lists, victors from the city of Larisa are designated as either Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης or Λαρισαῖος.[155] The later victor lists, by contrast, uniformly describe a Larisan victor as Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης τῆς Πελασγίδος.[156] While this added layer of specification may have drawn attention to the 'Pelasigian' prehistory of Larisa, a more prosaic need was also satisfied. Since the full inclusion of Larisa Kremaste (located in Phthiotic Achaia) within the Thessalian League in the 180s or 170s, there were now two locations whence 'Thessalians from Larisa' might originate.[157] Thus the changing political topography of the League would seem to be reflected in the ethnic formulae of the victor lists.

(3) Most significantly, the two groups of lists show some variation in the order and presence of events. An early list moves directly from the melic to the gymnic phase of the *agon*, thus skipping the Thessalian

[151] Epigraphic Appendix 1–2 (*IG* 9.2, 525–526).

[152] Epigraphic Appendix 3–7 (*IG* 9.2, 528–529, 534; Arvanitopoulos 1911, pp. 124–127, no. 27 (McDevitt 1970, pp. 47–48, no. 344)).

[153] Epigraphic Appendix 1 (*IG* 9.2, 525), l. 1–2.

[154] Epigraphic Appendix 3 (*IG* 9.2, 528), l. 1–5.

[155] E.g., Epigraphic Appendix 1 (*IG* 9.2, 525), l. 5.

[156] E.g., Epigraphic Appendix 3 (*IG* 9.2, 528), l. 9.

[157] The status of Larisa Kremaste, strategically important to Aitolia, Macedonia, and Thessaly, is somewhat unclear during the period of the Flamininan reorganization. Cf. Walsh 1993. The city was clearly pro-Macedonian in the 170s during the reign of Perseus.

triad.[158] One might suppose that those three events would have been noted after the gymnic or hippic victors, but the other member of this early group preserves the end of a list, including the transition from the gymnic events to the equestrian events, and reveals that victors in the Thessalian triad were not listed in either alternate location.[159] Several possible explanations present themselves. Perhaps the epigraphic habit in Larisa shifted within the chronological confines of this early group of victor lists. If so, then the Thessalian triad victors in Epigraphic Appendix 1 may have been listed later in the inscription, while those in Epigraphic Appendix 2 may have been present in their more accustomed location. The victors in these events may even have been listed on a separate stele. It is equally well possible that the Thessalian triad was not a part of the Eleutheria *agon* in its earliest stages and that it was introduced at a later date.[160] The question must be left open.

As a coda to this discussion of the Eleutheria, I note that another fragmentary victor list indicates that a dramatic *agon* may have taken place in Larisa and attracted international participants by the time of our second group of Eleutheria victor lists.[161] Such an *agon* may have been part of the Eleutheria proper, or it may have been housed within a different festival altogether.

Conclusion

The sanctuaries of Athena Itonia at Philia and Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa emerge as the two most prominent sanctuaries of the Thessalian League in the second and first centuries. The topography of the two sites within the region as a whole suggests that political and territorial issues were as important as the gods who would be awarded state cult. Larisa's status as political capital of the League was certainly part of the Flaminian program; the League council met there, and the establishment of a League sanctuary with a prominent penteteric festival there doubtless

[158] Epigraphic Appendix 1 (*IG* 9.2, 525).
[159] Epigraphic Appendix 2 (*IG* 9.2, 526).
[160] One may speculate about the relationship between the Stena, probably founded in the wake of the Third Macedonian War, and the Eleutheria. The Thessalian triad was common to both festivals, and it is possible that competition between the festivals was at least partially responsible for their sharing of these events.
[161] Epigraphic Appendix 8.

helped to legitimize this status. If Flamininus was in some sense finishing the work which Pelopidas started, it is important to remember that Thessalian regional politics had been exceptionally unstable at the time of the Boiotian general's reforms, and that local *polis* rivalries were quite capable of undoing even the most balanced settlement. By contrast, Philia in southwestern (tetradic) Thessaly was far removed from political centers of power, yet it helped to claim for Thessaly this important territory that had been perennially disputed by Aitolia, Macedonia, and most recently, Athamania. The young League's center and periphery were thus well defined by these selections. At the same time, the use of these sanctuaries as federal space helped to integrate the Thessalian League at the level of both politics and cult in the broader Aegean and eastern Mediterranean world. There is an international presence in both locations, where non-Thessalian benefactors were honored, non-Thessalian athletes competed, and non-Thessalian cities sent *theoroi*.

The former Thessalian *perioikoi* and newest members of the Thessalian League have been conspicuously absent from the preceding discussion. With the exception of the new rubric 'Larisan from Pelasgis' in the Eleutheria victor lists, the evidence to hand does not allow perioikic participation at either sanctuary to be reconstructed. Certainly there is no evidence that Zeus Eleutherios or Athena Itonia became figures of cult at the local level among the *perioikoi*, and, indeed, the Thessaly on display at Philia and Larisa appears as one strongly filtered through a tetradic lens. In Chapter Three, I will consider the development of another aspect of the state religion of the Flamininan Thessalian League, the official League calendar, and explore how varying rates of acceptance of this institution among new members of the Thessalian League may indicate the existence of a tier of local, cultic identity which expressed difference from the regional political ideal. If all members of the Thessalian League were somehow Thessaloi from the perspective of Philia and Larisa, the persistence of local calendar traditions among the *perioikoi* in the later Hellenistic period suggests that there could be distinct, local inflections of this developing regional identity.

CHAPTER THREE

THE THESSALIAN CALENDARS

Introduction

On November 24, 1793, the National Convention of the new French Republic put into effect a calendar that attempted to restructure profoundly the popular experience of time. The year was to be divided into twelve thirty-day months, with the addition of five festival days at the end of the year and a sixth every leap-year. New month names were coined. In place of the traditional months of the Gregorian calendar, month names now recalled the natural year and were stripped of historical or religious significance: Vendémiaire ('vintage'), Brumaire ('mist'), Frimaire ('frost'), Nivôse ('snow'), Pluviôse ('rain'), Ventôse ('wind'), Germinal ('seeds'), Floréal ('blossom'), Prairial ('meadows'), Messidor ('harvest'), Thermidor ('heat'), and Fructidor ('fruits').[1] Each month was to consist of three ten-day weeks, with ten hours in each day, one hundred minutes in each hour and one hundred seconds in each minute. The crowning touch was the abandonment of the Christian Era altogether. September 22, 1792, the day that the Republic was proclaimed, was now regarded as the first day of a new epoch, henceforth to be regarded as New Year's Day, 1 Vendémiaire (by auspicious coincidence, the day of the autumnal equinox as well). History had begun anew, albeit temporarily. Aggressively secular, hyper-rational, and deeply unpopular, this calendar had been abandoned by January 1, 1806, when at the Emperor Napoleon's urging the Gregorian calendar was reintroduced to France and its territories.

While the French Republican calendar was ultimately a failure, the metaphysical realignment that it attempted reveals the enormous power of the calendar both to inculcate its users into a particular ideology and to forge a shared identity. As E. Zerubavel has observed: 'Temporal

[1] Zerubavel 1977, p. 870. Cf. Ibid., pp. 872–873, 'The new calendar was to symbolize the centrality of natural phenomena to the life of the new society, thus expressing the belief of the French Enlightenment in the need for man to be in harmony with Nature'.

arrangements are closely related to group formation, since a temporal order that is commonly shared by a group of people and is unique to them functions both as a unifier and as a separator. On the one hand, in accentuating the similitude among group members vis-à-vis others, the calendar helps to solidify in-group sentiments and thus constitutes a powerful basis for mechanical solidarity with the group. At the same time, it also contributes to the establishment of intergroup boundaries that distinguish, as well as separate, group members from "outsiders" …'[2] Citizens of the First Republic were thus in some sense unified by (among other things) their allegiance to a new temporal order and set apart as distinct, not only from their contemporary European peers, but also from the earlier generations of the *ancien régime*.

While evidence about calendar change in Greek antiquity is unfortunately not as full as it is for late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century France, the intention of the French Republican calendar and Zerubavel's incisive comments on the relationship of group identity to mechanisms of time can help us to be more sensitive to the possible implications of calendar modifications in antiquity.[3] In the case of late Hellenistic Thessaly, the need is especially pressing, for the convolutions of politics left their mark on the calendar, and this could only have reverberated more broadly through the cultural and religious life of the region.[4] Before the Second Macedonian War, it is likely that most of the city-states of greater Thessaly, from the Spercheios Valley to Perrhaibia, utilized local city calendars which were independent of one another. Given the shared historical experience of many of these cities, in some cases many month names were also shared, but on the whole, these were distinct, local institutions, several dozen in number; by the time of Augustus' incorporation of the Thessalian League into the province of Achaia, one calendar was in use throughout the region.

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[2] Zerubavel 1982, p. 288. Cf. Stern 2001, p. v: 'The calendar provides an essential point of reference for interpersonal relations and time-bound communal activity. It determines how time is lived and utilized in the community, and sometimes shapes the community's distinctive identity. The calendar is also a way of conceptualizing the dimension of time, and hence, of "making sense" of an important facet of lived human experience'.

[3] For discussion of the mechanics of lunisolar calendars in Greek antiquity, see now Hannah 2005, pp. 1–97, and Hannah 2009, pp. 27–67. On ancient Greek calendars in general, Bischoff 1919 remains fundamental.

[4] Cf. the recent assessment of Caesar's modification of the Roman calendar in Feeney 2007, who emphasizes the acute ideological dimensions of the reform.

What's in a Month Name?

M. Nilsson influentially observed that 'the names of [Greek] months appear in sharp contradistinction to the world-wide method of nomenclature in that they all, in so far as they are explainable, are derived from festivals.'[5] The evidentiary record, though fragmentary, does not contradict such a conclusion and morphological analyses of Greek month names demonstrate such relationships again and again. Two basic patterns of derivation are prevalent. Months of the Ionian calendars almost always end in -ών or -ιών (e.g., Attic, and other, Ἀνθεστηριών). This form is analyzable as an original genitive plural of a festival name in -ια (festival names are regularly neuter plural),[6] and it is possible to reconstruct the linguistic relationship between month name and festival name as follows:

(1) The full, 'original' expression of a month name will have been μήν/μείς plus a genitive plural of the festival name ending in -ών/-ιών ('month of festival x').
(2) Over time, there was an ellipse of μήν/μείς and the genitive plural stood alone, although it was still in some sense dependent upon this unexpressed μήν/μείς ('[month] of festival x').
(3) Finally, the genitive plural in -ών/-ιών came to be regarded as a nominative singular of the month name in question and was declined accordingly ('month x', e.g., nominative singular Ἀνθεστηριών, genitive singular Ἀνθεστηριῶνος).

In other calendars of the Greek world (including Thessaly), month names end in -ιος (e.g., Lakonian, and other, Καρνεῖος). This appears to be an adjective formed from the name of a festival and it doubtless followed a similar line of development to what was has been suggested for the Ionian calendars.[7]

The governing assumption is that the festivals in question would have been celebrated during the month of their name. It necessarily follows that, given the essentially lunar character of Greek lunisolar calendars,

[5] Nilsson 1920, pp. 363–364. Certain federal calendars which used a sequence of ordinal numbers to indicate the sequence of months (e.g., 'First', 'Second', 'Third', etc.) prove the rule insofar as they do not fit Nilsson's pattern. These cases will be discussed below, as will other problematic examples.

[6] Cf. Parker 2005, p. 160, n. 14.

[7] Trümpy 1997, pp. 1–2.

these 'month festivals' will not have been tied to the solar year in a meaningful way.[8] Thus, even the barest sequence of month names can provide some useful insight into the kinds of festivals celebrated in a given locality. As the month festivals of the city of Athens reveal quite clearly, however, there is no guarantee that these month festivals were especially prominent or significant in the religious life of the community. The twelve months of the Athenian calendar (and their associated month festivals) were: Hekatombaion (Hekatombaia), Metageitnion (Metageitnia), Boedromion (Boedromia), Pyanopsion (Pyanopsia), Maimakterion (Maimakteria), Poseideon (Poseideia), Gamelion (Gamelia/Theogamia/Hieros Gamos), Anthesterion (Anthesteria), Elaphebolion (Elaphebolia), Mounichion (Mounichia), Thargelion (Thargelia), Skirophorion (Skira/Skiraphoria). While most of these twelve festivals are independently attested in ancient literary and epigraphic sources, many remain mysterious and were likely small scale celebrations with little direct public involvement. For every Anthesteria, Thargelia, or Pyanopsia, there were Maimakteria, Metageitnia, or Boedromia. It is possible, however, that these twelve festivals had originally been significant at an earlier period in Archaic Athenian history, hence their original association with calendar months. Cult and festivals evolve over the course of time and convention probably maintained the original association of the festival with the month, long after some of these festivals ceased to play an important role in the life of the community.[9]

The Hellenistic and Roman vogue for honorary month names is related to the issue of month festivals and in general provides additional support for Nilsson's hypothesis. The earliest such honor appears to have been issued in honor of Demetrius Poliorcetes by the Athenians, who

[8] One possible exception, observed by Nilsson 1962, p. 58, is the month Heliotropios, attested at Illyrian Apollonia, Epidamnos, and possibly Dodona (cf. Trümpy 1997, pp. 155–159). The month name implies a month festival of the Heliotropia, which Nilsson suspects never took place. He associates the month name with the summer solstice, instead. This analysis is accepted by Trümpy 1997, p. 156. The winter solstice would seem as likely a candidate, but one inscription mentioning Heliotropios indicates that *theoroi* from Magnesia on the Maiander were present in Apollonia and Epidamnos requesting a festival upgrade for the Leukophryenia and *asylia* for the sanctuary and city during that month (*IMagnesia* 45–46, dated to ca. 208). Such travel is more comprehensible in the summer rather than the winter (cf. Wilhelm 1916, p. 26). The two other possible exceptions to this 'rule' observed at Nilsson 1962, p. 58, Dithyrambios and Poesios from Perrhaibian Gonnoi, will be considered below.

[9] Cf. the lucid discussion at Trümpy 1997, pp. 282–283.

renamed Mounichion Demetrion in honor of their 'savior and benefactor'.[10] The practice is better attested outside of Athens, where honorary months with corresponding honorary festivals occur throughout the Hellenistic and Roman East. In Laodikeia on the Lykos and Smyrna, for example, there are attested Antiocheia which took place in the month Antiocheon; Demetrieia in Demetrion are known from Euboean Histiaia.[11] Other months which clearly honor Hellenistic monarchs are well known and it is very likely that festivals in their honor would have been celebrated at this time.[12]

Individual months could carry associations that extended far beyond their eponymous month festivals, however. Hesiod warned his audience of 'the month of Lenaion, evil days, ox-flayers all of them—avoid it, and the frosts that are deadly upon the earth when Boreas blows'.[13] Anacreon associates clouds and savage storms with the month Poseideon.[14] Some authors make more substantial claims on the types of activities that were appropriate to a given month. The example of Demetrius Poliorcetes is again illustrative. In 302, fresh from a successful campaign in the Peloponnese and after securing Greek recognition for his leadership of the League of Corinth, Demetrius sent advance word to Athens that he would like to participate in all stages of initiation at the Eleusinian mysteries. Plutarch continues: 'Now, this was not lawful, and had not been done before, but the lesser rites were performed in the month Anthesterion, the great rites in Boedromion; and the supreme rites (the "epoptica") were celebrated after an interval of at least a year from the great rites. And yet when the letter of Demetrius was read, no one ventured to oppose the proposition except Pythodorus the torchbearer, and he accomplished nothing; instead, on the motion of Stratocles, it was voted to call and regard the current month, which was

[10] Plut. *Demetr*. 12.2. Cf. Scott 1928, pp. 158–159; a not unproblematic example, as Mikalson 1998, pp. 92–94, notes that Attic inscriptions of the period continue to use Mounichion. Demetrion is not epigraphically attested in Athens as a month name.

[11] Cf. Habicht 1970a, p. 148, n. 43.

[12] For a full conspectus of these honorary months, cf. Scott 1931; Habicht 1970a, p. 155.

[13] Hes. *Erga* 504–506, trans. Most: μῆνα δὲ Ληναιῶνα, κάκ' ἤματα, βουδόρα πάντα, | τοῦτον ἀλεύασθαι, καὶ πηγάδας, αἵ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν, | πνεύσαντος Βορέαο δυσηλεγέες τελέθουσιν. The presence of Lenaion, an Ionian month name, in a Boiotian poem was a crux already for Plutarch and remains so today. Cf. West 1978, pp. 26–27, 285, who suggests that Hesiod was influenced by the Ionian diction of the epic.

[14] Anacr. fr. 362 Page.

Mounichion, Anthesterion. The lesser rites at Agra were then performed for Demetrius; after this Mounichion was again changed, becoming Boedromion instead of Anthesterion, and Demetrius received the remaining rites of initiation, and at the same time was admitted to the highest grade of "epoptos"'.[15] Plutarch's anecdote reveals that the months of the Athenian calendar were closely associated with major festivals which were to take place in them. In the Athenian religious mind, the month Anthesterion signaled, among other things, the time of the lesser mysteries at Agra. In the case of Boedromion, a clear relationship with the great mysteries at Eleusis (Mysteria) is marked. The Athenians were able to meet Demetrius' extraordinary demand and maintain their *nomos* only by twice changing the name of the current month. Were the calendar less of a factor in Athenian life, presumably Demetrius could have received all three stages of initiation without these temporal gymnastics. As it was, Anthesterion, and Anthesterion alone, was the time of the Lesser Mysteries, Boedromion, that of the Great Mysteries.

The same dynamic is at work in an important inscription from Chalkis in Euboia which relates to the hiring of *technitai* for the Dionysia and Demetrieia festivals that were to be held in the Euboian cities of Chalkis, Karystos, Eretria, and Oreos.[16] These festivals had been scheduled in accordance with local custom for specific days in a specific month. Given the hazards of travel and the distances involved, it was foreseen that these *technitai* might arrive late vis-à-vis the traditional calendar date for the Dionysia or Demetrieia. The inscription thus makes allowances for both the intercalation of individual days and, if needed, months.[17] Here too we find Greek cities taking important precautions to ensure that religious festivals take place at the appointed times.

Such external associations were not solely religious, however, but extended to other areas of human experience, including war. Plutarch

[15] Plut. *Demetr*. 26.1–2, trans. Perrin, with some modification: τοῦτο δὲ οὐ θεμιτὸν ἦν οὐδὲ γεγονὸς πρότερον, ἀλλὰ τὰ μικρὰ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ἐτελοῦντο, τὰ δὲ μεγάλα τοῦ Βοηδρομιῶνος · ἐπώπτευον δὲ τοὐλάχιστον ἀπὸ τῶν μεγάλων ἐνιαυτὸν διαλείποντες. ἀναγνωσθέντων δὲ τῶν γραμμάτων μόνος ἐτόλμησεν ἀντειπεῖν Πυθόδωρος ὁ δᾳδοῦχος, ἐπέρανε δὲ οὐδέν · ἀλλὰ Στρατοκλέους γνώμην εἰπόντος Ἀνθεστηριῶνα τὸν Μουνυχιῶνα ψηφισαμένους καλεῖν καὶ νομίζειν, ἐτέλουν τῷ Δημητρίῳ τὰ πρὸς Ἄγραν · καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν ἐξ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος ὁ Μουνυχιὼν γενόμενος Βοηδρομιὼν ἐδέξατο τὴν λοιπὴν τελετήν, ἅμα καὶ τὴν ἐποπτείαν τοῦ Δημητρίου προσεπιλαβόντος.

[16] *IG* 12.9, 207, dated to ca. 294–288. Cf. *IG* 12.9, *add*., p. 176; *IG* 12 *suppl*., p. 178.

[17] Intercalation of days, l. 28–29; intercalation of months, l. 49–51.

describes Alexander readying his forces to meet the Persians at the Granicus in 334. The Macedonian army was distressed at the timing of the campaign, for it was Daisios in the Macedonian calendar and it was not customary for the kings of Macedon to go on campaign then. Alexander responded by proclaiming that the current month of Daisios was to be renamed Artemisios, another Macedonian month which presumably lacked such a stigma.[18] This solution appears to have satisfied the rank-and-file and Alexander would proceed to win a signal victory. Nonetheless, there is a speciousness to the complaint that allegedly caused the change in name, and, indeed, there were several other non-calendrical reasons to avoid battle asserted by the Macedonian army at this stage.[19] What is important is that such a complaint could have been made at all and that Alexander could have taken it seriously enough to alter the name of the month. Such a course of action implies that these beliefs about appropriate activities in a given month could be widespread and influential among the populace.

Finally, returning to Zerubavel's observations on the French Republican calendar, mechanisms of time-keeping could be vital instruments of local self-definition. Greek calendars, like coinage and dialect, for example, could be powerful markers of difference among communities and unity within them. One gains some small perspective on this potential of the calendar by reading the numerous synchronisms deployed in Classical and later epigraphy—'in the month Hermanios as the Skarpheians reckon … in the month Hippeios as the Thronions reckon'.[20] Such formulations allow one to infer that a diagnostic characteristic of a normative Athenian at that point in antiquity was their use of the Athenian calendar. Of course the calendar will not have been as central to this Athenian's social and political makeup as, for example, membership

[18] Plut. *Alex.* 16.1–2. Hamilton 1969, p. 39, suggests that 'this prohibition was probably connected with the need to get in the harvest at this time'.

[19] Loosely parallel to this problem, Pritchett 1971, pp. 122–123, tabulates the festivals which hampered campaigning in Greek antiquity. Plutarch's description of Alexander's solution may in fact be an extension of the practice observed by Pritchett, viz., moving from a prohibition against campaigning during certain festivals (or during certain times of the month) to a prohibition against campaigning during the month in which that festival took place.

[20] *FD* 3.4, 159, l. 2–4, from Delphi, dated to ca. 100–50: ἐμ μηνὶ Ἑρμανίωι, ὡς Σκαρφεῖς ἄγο[ντι], … ἐμ μηνὶ Ἱππείωι, ὡς Θρονιεῖς ἄγοντι.

in a tribe or participation in the Panathenaia, but it will have helped marked him as distinctively 'Athenian' as opposed to 'Delphian'.

As much potential as the calendar had to mark difference between communities, there was equal potential to mark similarity. It has long been observed that some months are especially common in 'Dorian' communities, others in 'Ionian' communities. C. Trümpy's recent *Untersuchungen zu den altgriechischen Monatsnamen und Monatsfolgen*, which tabulates all of the known month names from Greek calendars, has argued that the similarities visible in Ionian calendars are due to the existence of a common *Urkalendar* used by all Ionians in prehistory, before the so-called Ionian migration (which Trümpy, not unproblematically, regards as fact).[21] J. Hall, as part of his ongoing reevaluation of ethnicity in Greek antiquity, has recognized the same calendrical similarities as Trümpy, but has cast this evidence in a very different light: 'What is harder to establish is whether these correspondences are due to a common historical inheritance or whether, say, the names of the Athenian months have been borrowed from those in use at Miletos …'[22] For Hall, the category 'Ionian' had little to do with issues of historical and biological descent. The contingencies of the present were rather more pressing in determining whether or not a given community self-identified as such. From this perspective, the adoption of month names broadly viewed as 'Ionian' could be an act of conscious emulation and an attempt to claim membership for one's community within a broader identity-based network.

Individual month names thus communicated significant information beyond the month festival celebrated within it, and even seemingly banal alterations to the calendar like changing month names should not be taken lightly. Against this background, I now consider the history of the calendar traditions of those territories that would come to be administered by the later Hellenistic Thessalian League, with special focus on the second and first centuries. This was a period of intense change and two developments are especially noteworthy. First, it is possible that the city calendar of Larisa was adopted as the calendar of the Thessalian League in the wake of Flamininus' reforms; whatever the ultimate source of the calendar, though, it is very likely that it was part of the constitution which Flamininus gave to the Thessalians. Second, as the League expanded,

[21] Trümpy 1997, pp. 10–38.
[22] Hall 2007a, pp. 53–54.

this calendar was put into use with varying speed by the League's new members, a fact that may suggest that adoption of the common Thessalian calendar by newly Thessalian territories was not mandated by the League. While the use of a common calendar by all of the members of the Thessalian League could have played an important role in generating a common and inclusive Thessalian identity, extended periods of adherence to local calendar traditions may indicate that new members of the League desired to maintain their local, religious identity alongside their new political identity.

Building a Regional Thessalian Calendar

Over the course of the second century, beginning most likely with the Flamininan reforms of the 190s, there is inescapable evidence that the original, tetradic membership of the reorganized Thessalian League began to use a common calendar. One can reconstruct the twelve months of this calendar and their order on the basis of inscribed manumissions and League or *polis* decrees. Synchronisms, usually in Delphian inscriptions, have additionally made it possible to roughly correlate these months with the solar year. The new year for the Thessalian League began in summer with the month Itonios (equivalent to modern June/July or August/September).[23] Itonios was followed by Panemos (July/August or September/October), Themistios (August/September or October/November), Agagulios (September/October or November/December), Apollonios (October/November or December/January), Hermaios (November/December or January/February), Leschanorios (December/January or February/March), Aphrios (January/February or March/April),

[23] The variable relationship with the solar year evidenced by, for example, Phyllikos' range of dates as May/June or July/August, is based on a pair of Delphian synchronisms that give different Delphian equivalents for the same Thessalian month: *SGDI* 1720, dated to ca. 170–157/6, makes Thessalian Thuios correspond to Delphian Endyspoitropios (equivalent to Attic Mounichion, modern April/May), while *FD* 3.2, 213, dated to ca. 124, makes Thessalian Thuios correspond to Delphian Busios (equivalent to Attic Anthesterion, modern February/March). The motivation for such a shift is unclear. Samuel 1972, p. 84, observes that 'the most reasonable hypothesis would explain the variant equations as arising from a lack of permanent accord between the two calendars [Thessalian and Delphian]. The Thessalian calendar must have been entirely independent of the Delphian in the second century BC so that coincidences between months changed over a period of about forty years'. Cf. Trümpy 1997, p. 217.

Thuios (February/March or April/May),[24] Homoloios (March/April or May/June), Hippodromios (April/May or June/July), and Phyllikos (May/June or July/August).[25] While there is no single document from this relatively early date in which all twelve months are attested, the degree of correspondence among month names in use throughout tetradic Thessaly at this time increases our confidence in its reconstruction.

The origins of this calendar are difficult to seek in the current state of evidence. Every approach must be provisional. Among the pre-Flamininan calendars of tetradic Thessaly, only those of Larisa and Pharsalos can even be partially reconstructed. The months Hippodromios, Panemos, Themistios, and Thuios are known from Larisa;[26] Dipsios is known from Pharsalos.[27] Each of the four months from Larisa is also attested in the later League calendar. Such a high degree of correspondence indicates at the very least that the two calendars were related. Given Larisa's prominent position in the political and cultic landscape of the Flamininan Thessalian League, it is even possible that the two calendars were identical.[28] Dipsios, however, is attested only at Pharsalos and, curiously, on a Linear B tablet from Pylos.[29] Unlike the Larisan months, it would have no future in the common calendar of the Flamininan Thessalian League. Early second-century evidence from Kierion and Skotussa amplifies this picture. At both locations, while the calendar in use broadly agrees with that of the standard calendar of the Thessalian League, there was a lingering difference: another month is in use, Iuggios.[30] The month is not described as intercalated in either location, and at Skotussa, it

[24] Although the spelling alternates in Thessaly between Thuios and Thuos, I use Thuios throughout this chapter. For the alteration, visible already in early epic (θύω vs. θυίω) see Chantraine 1968, p. 448.

[25] For the Thessalian months, see Samuel 1972, pp. 83–87; Trümpy 1997, pp. 216–224. Hiller v. Gaertringen's 'Index VI., *Res sacrae*' in *IG* 9.2 remains instructive, even if not completely up-to-date now.

[26] Hippodromios: Gallis 1977 (*SEG* 27, 202), dated to ca. 220–210. Panemos: *IG* 9.2, 517, dated to ca. 217. Themistios: *IG* 9.2, 517, dated to ca. 215 (for the date of *IG* 9.2, 517, see Habicht 1970b). Thuios: *IG* 9.2, 522, dated to ca. 225–175.

[27] Dipsios: Béquignon 1935, pp. 514–519 (Giannopoulos 1934–1935, pp. 145–149, no. 1; McDevitt 1970, p. 25, no. 165; *IThessEnip* 50), dated to ca. 300–250.

[28] A position supported by Trümpy 1997, p. 223.

[29] Cf. Trümpy 1989.

[30] Skotussa: Pouilloux 1955, pp. 442–459 (*SEG* 15, 370; McDevitt 1970, p. 31, no. 197), dated to ca. 200–100; Kierion: *IG* 9.2, 258 (*IThessEnip* 15) dated to ca. 168 (for the date, cf. Kramolisch 1978, p. 56).

significantly occurs in place of one of the months known from third-century Larisa: Thuios.[31] Although Iuggios is not attested again after the middle of the second century, its continuing use in the generation after the Flamininan refoundation strengthens the idea that there were a plurality of calendar traditions in use in pre-196 Thessaly and suggests additionally that the calendar of the Flamininan League was not necessarily implemented with the same speed or stringency in all locations in tetradic Thessaly. As J. Pouilloux observed: 'Est-il excessif de voir dans ces particularités du calendrier la persistance de l'individualisme des cités, que la création du *koinon* en 196 ne fit pas immédiatement disparaître?'[32] In sum, such evidence suggests that there probably was no tradition of a common, regional Thessalian calendar in the pre-196 era and it is noteworthy that the calendar of the Flamininan Thessalian League shares a number of months with the calendar in use in pre-196 Larisa.

Although the ultimate origins of this League calendar, whether directly descended from the Larisa calendar or a hybrid of some sort, are uncertain, it is not implausible that it was a part of Flamininus' Thessalian constitution. The adoption of the League calendar throughout the region required members of the League to adjust or perhaps even abandon their earlier calendar traditions, and Flamininus and his advisors may have played a mediating role between *koinon* and *polis* on this issue.[33] If the sole purpose of a common calendar was to facilitate administration, however, it is worth noting that several contemporary Greek leagues, when faced with this same problem, made different choices. For example,

[31] Both months probably hosted festivals sacred to Dionysus. For Iuggios, see Hesych. s.v. Ἰυγγίης, where the word is regarded as synonymous with Dionysus. Cf. Trümpy 1997, pp. 217–218. For Thuios, see below.

[32] Pouilloux 1955, p. 451. The Kierion text does not allow for the reconstruction of even a partial sequence of months. The order of months in the Skotussa text, which differs radically from that of the *koinon* calendar, can best be attributed to scribal indifference. This same inscription suggests that, in Skotussa at least, the first month of the year was not Itonios, but Panemos. It is entirely possible that while the new year began in Itonios from the perspective of the *koinon*, the new year in Skotussa, from the perspective of the *polis*, officially began in Panemos.

[33] It remains quite likely that, while the template of the regional calendar may have had its roots in the local calendar of Larisa, many of these months may have been in use already throughout the region. Given the observed similarities among the calendars of northwest or Ionian Greece, or, as we will see, among the calendars of Phthiotic Achaea and Malis, it would not be surprising if the Archaic and Classical city-calendars of Thessaly also shared some month names.

beginning in the second century, the West Lokrian League reveals that a common federal calendar with neutral, utilitarian, and aggressively secular month names (e.g., Πρῶτος 'First', Δευτέρος 'Second', Τρίτος 'Third') was used alongside the local calendars of the member cities. While these local calendars overlap in many cases, the divergence among the city calendars as a collective is sufficient to show that they were formally distinct.[34] Similar federal calendars are attested for the Phokian and Achaian Leagues and local calendars continue to appear alongside the federal calendar for some time in both regions before falling out of use in general.

The example of the West Lokrian, Phokian, and Achaian *koina* suggests that while there was a clear imperative for federal leagues to operate within a unitary temporal framework, there was at the same time an interest on the part of member cities in maintaining their local calendar traditions. These calendars still mattered, whether for purely practical purposes or more generally to preserve local identity in the face of regional political pressures. Thessaly is somewhat distinct both in its preference for a regional calendar which had clear associations with cult and in the relatively swift ascendency of this regional calendar over local calendars. Such observations lead naturally to an inquiry into the significance of the months and month-festivals of the Thessalian League calendar. What divinities and festivals gained a regional orientation as a result of this calendar reform?

Itonios transparently refers to a festival of the Itonia celebrated in honor of Athena Itonia, one of the patron deities of the renewed League. Both goddess and festival are well attested in literary and epigraphic sources. In the case of the festival, it is nearly certain that there were both federal celebrations of the Itonia held at the Philia sanctuary and local celebrations elsewhere in the region.[35]

Despite having an exceptionally broad distribution among the calendars of the Greek world, Panemos as a month name is morphologically heterodox and lacks a satisfactory etymology.[36] In Thessaly, it was presumably the month of the Panemia, although in this case the festival name would appear to be derived from the month name—the reverse of what is expected. Such a festival is unknown in the region. An important

[34] Cf. Samuel 1972, pp. 75–77; Trümpy 1997, pp. 203–207.
[35] See Chapter Two.
[36] Cf. Trümpy 1997, pp. 26–29.

manumission inscription from Hellenistic Thespiai (Boiotia) stipulates that the manumitted is to lay crowns on the tombstones of his former owners, once they have died, on the occasion of the Panemia (as well as the Thuia and Herakleia).[37] At the very least, one may infer that the Panemia was a fitting occasion for such tomb cult in Thespiai, and festivals with similar elements are known throughout the Greek world.[38] Given that the calendars of both Boiotia and Thessaly had Panemos as a month, and that the position of the month within these two calendars was similar vis-à-vis both the solar year and the other months in the calendar, it may not be too extreme to speculate that cult at the tombs of family ancestors was also a feature of the Thessalian Panemia.[39]

Trümpy has suggested that Themistios 'was evidently dedicated to a divinity whose jurisdiction lay in the preservation of the divine-natural orders (*themistes*)' and has adduced Zeus Themistios as a likely candidate.[40] In the case of Thessaly, however, it is far more likely that the Themistia were celebrated in honor of the goddess Themis. Epigraphic attestations of her cult in the region, both tetradic and perioikic, are early and widespread, and continue into the second century. That we do not possess evidence for her Thessalian cult from later periods is surely due to chance.[41] She is among the most significant members of the Thessalian pantheon, and seems to have had a sharply defined character in the region, in contrast to the rather lifeless abstraction which emerges

[37] *IThesp*. 215 (cf. Darmezin 1999, pp. 104–105, no. 139), l. 11–13: ἐν τῦς Παναμί|υς κὴ ἐν τῦς Θούυς κὴ | ἐν τῦς Ἡρακλείυς.

[38] Cf. Burkert 1985, p. 194; Georgoudi 1988; Parker 2005, pp. 27–32 (on Athens). Jacoby 1944 remains useful.

[39] The presence of the month in both calendars, each of which was formally that of the federal league and had a regional distribution, suggests some degree of state involvement in the festival.

[40] Trümpy 1997, p. 224. Zeus Themistios is mentioned at Plut. *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* 14 (*Mor*. 1065 E), but otherwise unattested.

[41] On Themis in Thessaly, cf. Graninger 2006, pp. 222–244. Epigraphic evidence: *IG* 9.2, 1236, from Phalanna, dated to ca. 600–500; Gallis 1974, pp. 273–277 (*BullÉp* 1976, no. 339; *SEG* 27, 183; *SEG* 45, 553), from Atrax, dated to ca. 600–500; Magoulas 1985, pp. 89–94 (*SEG* 37, 491), from Magnesia, dated to ca. 500–400; Arvanitopoulos 1911, pp. 300–301, no. 49 (McDevitt 1970, p. 118, no. 1040), from Magnesia, dated to ca. 500–450; Miller 1974 (*SEG* 45, 645), from Pherai, dated to ca. 400–300; Arvanitopoulos 1908, p. 171 (McDevitt 1970, p. 12, no. 50), from Phthiotic Thebes, dated to ca. 250–217. A sanctuary of Themis at Mondaia is known from Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 69 (an inscription from Gonnoi dated to ca. 178) and Lhôte 2006, pp. 47–51, no. 8 (an oracular inquiry from Dodona, dated to ca. 300–167). Strabo 9.5.14 refers to a still unidentified sanctuary of Themis Ichnaia in Thessaliotis.

from the literary record and from other areas of the Greek world. She had strong associations with political life in Thessaly, and her Delphian orientation may also have contributed to her popularity.[42]

Agagulios is of uncertain etymology, but a recently discovered third-century inscription from a sanctuary complex of Apollo Pythios and Poseidon Patroos at Pythion in Perrhaibia preserves Agagulaia as the epithet of a female divinity, perhaps Artemis.[43] While Artemis was extremely popular throughout Thessaly in a variety of aspects. The Agagulia festival remains unattested in Thessaly and elsewhere.

Apollonios transparently corresponds to a festival in honor of Apollo, the Apollonia, unattested in Thessaly. Although further details of the festival are not forthcoming, Apollo was a major cult figure in every period of Thessaly's history.

The month Hermaios suggests a festival of the Hermaia which must be connected with Hermes, although such a festival is unknown in Thessaly. Hermes is not a major cult figure in Thessaly, but the region has produced a large corpus of funerary inscriptions which are curiously configured as both a monument to the deceased and a dedication to Hermes Chthonios.[44] Certainty is unattainable, but one may speculate that the Thessalian Hermaia celebrated Hermes in this underworld aspect.[45]

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[42] Rose 1958 overstates the matter in claiming that 'the cult of Themis is … early and important … in Thessaly, that is, on the border of barbarism, the very region where the characteristic of which the Greeks from early times were proud, their regard for what is fitting and right, should be emphasized'.

[43] Linguistic analysis: Trümpy 1997, pp. 224–225, very tentatively compares the Boiotian month Alalkomenios which bears a reduplication similar to that of Agagulios and seems to derive from a place name, Alalkomene. A Thessalian toponym Agagule is unknown. Pythion dedication: Tziaphalias 1997 (*SEG* 51, 737); cf. *SEG* 53, 566 and Rakatsanis and Tziaphalas 2004, p. 77 (*SEG* 55, 616).

[44] For useful discussion of these funerary stelai, see Avagianou 2002. Outside the month name and the funerary monuments, Hermes is an object of cult within tetradic Thessaly only in fifth-century Pharsalos, in mysterious but possibly psychopompic aspect (*IThessEnip* 69; cf. Avagianou 1997); in the *perioikoi*, he is known at Larisa Kremaste in Achaia Phthiotis, where his cult is conjoined with that of Polis (*IG* 9.2, 94, undated), and at Hypata in Ainis, where he is again paired with Polis (*IG* 9.2, 31, undated; cf. *SEG* 15, 367).

[45] Hermaia are known from other areas of the Greek world. The best attested Hermaia are in Beroia (Macedonia) where a second-century sacred law has provided new insight into the funding and program of the festival. There, as elsewhere, the festival was tightly bound to the workings of the gymnasium and took place at the end of the Macedonian year in Hyperberetaios (modern September). The Hermaia at Sestos, Pergamon and Eresos (Lesbos), perhaps at Eretria, also took place at the end of the calendar year. A month

Trümpy plausibly analyzes Leschanorios, the next month of the Thessalian calendar, attested also at Knossos on Crete and presumably related to the Leschanasios known at Tegea, as either a compound of λέσχη and ἀνήρ, with a possessive sense of 'having men in the *lesche*', or an adjective formed from *Λεσχάνωρ, 'patron of the *lesche*'.[46] Plutarch suggests that Apollo was addressed as Leschanorios 'when people have active enjoyment of conversation and philosophic intercourse with one another' and Cleanthes observed that *leschai* were set aside for Apollo and that he was known as Leschanorios among some.[47] A connection with Apollo in Thessaly is suggested by a fifth-century dedication from the *chora* of Larisa where he is honored as Leschaios by a group of ritual laurel-bearers (συνδαυχναφόροι).[48] Findspot, epithet, and the mention of laurel may suggest a relationship with a region in the Larisaia known as Deipnias: 'an area of Thessaly near Larisa where they claim Apollo first took sustenance when he returned from Tempe after being purified; and it is customary for the boy who escorts the laurel to eat when he is present in this place'.[49] In this passage, Stephanus describes the Septeria (or Stepteria), a peculiar enneateric, Delphian festival in which a boy was pursued from Delphi to Tempe after setting fire to a temporary building constructed for this

Hermaios/Hermaion is not present in the calendar of any location where the Hermaia are attested. Cf. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993, pp. 96–97. By contrast, in those locations which use a calendar that contains the month Hermaios/Hermaion, including Thessaly, the month invariably falls in the first half of the year. While we must be cautious in drawing anything other than the most provisional conclusion from this datum, it is possible that the festival significance of the month Hermaios/Hermaion lay outside the gymnasium. Cf. Nilsson 1906, pp. 392–394, for a synopsis of the Hermes festivals (surprisingly few in number) which are unconnected with the gymnasium.

[46] Trümpy 1997, pp. 256–257. Cf. Burkert 1993.

[47] Plut. *De E apud Delph.* 2 (*Mor.* 385 C), trans. Babbit: καὶ Λεσχηνόριος ὅταν ἐνεργῶσι καὶ ἀπολαύωσι χρώμενοι τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους; Cleanthes *ap.* Harpocr., Phot., and Suda, s.v. λέσχαι. Cf. Cornutus, p. 69, l. 14–17 Lang.

[48] *IG* 9.2, 1027a, dated to ca. 500–400. Woodward 1910, p. 157, no. 9 (McDevitt 1970, p. 87, no. 651), a second-century inscription from Gyrton, is occasionally restored as a dedication to Apollo Leschaios, but this is extremely uncertain. For the curious phonology of 'laurel' in Thessalian (also in Cyprian and perhaps Aitolian) δαυχν-, opposed to the more common δαφν-, cf. Windekens 1986, p. 64; Chantraine 1968, pp. 254–255; Frisk 1960–1972, vol. 1, p. 353. For other dedications by laurel-bearers in Thessaly, cf. *IG* 9.2, 1234, a first-century dedication to Apollo Kerdoios from Phalanna in which the dedicator is described as 'having served as head laurel-bearer' (ἀρχιδαυχναφορείσας).

[49] Steph. Byz. s.v. Δειπνιάς · κώμη Θεσσαλίας περὶ Λάρισσαν, ὅπου φασί τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δειπνῆσαι πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῶν Τέμπεων καθαρθεὶς ὑπέστρεψε, καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τῷ διακομιστῇ τῆς δάφνης ἔθος εἰς τήνδε παραγενομένῳ δειπνεῖν.

purpose within Apollo's *temenos*.[50] The journey imitated Apollo's mythic flight to Tempe for purification after killing Python, and the Apolline boy and his pursuers/co-*theoroi* offered sacrifice to the god and culled laurel that would be used to crown victors at the Pythia. On the return trip in both myth and cult there was a rest stop outside Larisa (a *lesche* would be an appropriate venue). It is plausible that there was some further cultic reflection of the enneateric festival at the local level and on a more regular, chronological basis and that it is within such a context that the Larisan dedication to Apollo Leschaios belongs. Leschanoria are unattested as a festival in Thessaly, but it is likely that they were connected in some fashion with the broader mythic-cultic complex of the Septeria.

Trümpy connects Aphrios with Aphrodite, but a cult of Zeus Aphrios is attested in Thessaly and it is likely that the Aphria were celebrated in his honor.[51] The god is not elsewhere worshipped under this aspect and it is unclear what functions this 'foaming' Zeus performed.[52]

There is no unambiguous link between the month Thuios and Thessalian cult. Outside of Thessaly and the Thessalian *perioikoi*, the month is present in the calendar of Boiotia, where the Thuia were a suitable occasion for performing cult at family tombs,[53] and that of Elis, where the Thuia festival has a close connection with Dionysus and wine.[54] It is possible to associate these Thuia with a college of Elean women who seem to have performed some state-sanctioned maenadism.[55] Maenadic Thuiads

[50] The principal ancient source is Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 12 (*Mor.* 293 B–F). Cf. Nilsson 1906, pp. 150–157; Farnell 1895–1909, vol. 4, pp. 293–295; Graninger 2009.

[51] For the association between Aphrodite and Aphrios, see Trümpy 1997, p. 225; cf. Costanzi 1913–1914. Giannopoulos 1913, pp. 219–220, no. C4 (McDevitt 1970, p. 36, no. 242) and *IG* 9.2, 452, are a pair of undated Pheraian dedications to Zeus Aphrios. Chrysostomou 1998, p. 232, mentions a third dedication to Zeus Aphrios from Pherai, still unpublished. Note also the theophoric name Aphrios, attested in Hellenistic Pherai (*IG* 9.2, 371; cf. LGPN 3B s.v. Ἄφριος 1).

[52] For a very speculative interpretation of Zeus Aphrios, cf. Chrysostomou 1998, pp. 232–233. A dedication to Zeus Thaulios from early Hellenistic Pherai (Chrysostomou 1998, p. 236 (*SEG* 48, 669)) indicates that the cutter confused the epithets Thaulios and Aphrios. This evidence suggests that the in the mind of the cutter at least, Zeus as Thaulios was somehow related to Zeus as Aphrios. Zeus Thaulios is somewhat better attested in Thessaly, but equally mysterious in terms of his function. Cf. Graninger 2006, pp. 256–270. Chrysostomou 1998, pp. 236–243, is again speculative on the matter of Zeus Thaulios.

[53] See the discussion of Panemos above.

[54] Paus. 6.26.1–2.

[55] Elean maenads: Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 36 (*Mor.* 299 A). Relationship with the Thuia festival: Nilsson 1906, pp. 291–293.

from Delphi and Athens are described by ancient authors as wandering over the heights of Parnassos every other year.[56] Evidence for Thessalian wine-festivals is non-existent; that for maenads or maenadic activity is slightly better, if still slender. An important inscription from Magnesia on the Maiander details the import of three Theban maenads to Magnesia on Maiander in the third-century.[57] One of these women is named Thettale, a fact which may suggest a general association between Thessaly and maenads.[58] These maenads are described as belonging to the *genos* of Ino, 'the archetypal maenad' who received cult throughout Thessaly, whether as Ino or as her divine alter-ego, Leukothea.[59] Dionysus was worshipped widely in Thessaly as Karpios, and it is not inconceivable that the god was associated with Thuiads in this aspect.[60]

The month Homoloios indicates the celebration of Homoloia, unattested in Thessaly. But the cult of Zeus Homoloios is known from Atrax, Larisa and Metropolis of tetradic Thessaly, and it is very likely that the Thessalian Homoloia were celebrated in his honor.[61] The laconic

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[56] Sources collected in Puig 1986, whose study remains fundamental. Cf. McInerney 1997.

[57] *IMagnesia* 215a.

[58] Cf. Henrichs 1978, p. 131.

[59] 'Archetypal maenad': Henrichs 1978, pp. 137–143. Ino's change of name: Homer, *Od.* 5.333–335. Ino cult in Thessaly: Spyropoulos 1970, pp. 240–241 (*BullÉp* 1977, no. 255; *SEG* 26, 683), from Melitaia, dated to ca. 250–200. Leukothea (or Leukathea) cult in Thessaly: Tziaphalias 1984b, p. 200, no. 33 (*SEG* 35, 501), from Atrax, dated to ca. 200; Arvanitopoulos 1910, pp. 378–382, no. 25 (McDevitt 1970, p. 50, no. 358), from Larisa, dated to ca. 300–200; Tziaphalias 1989 (*SEG* 45, 617), from Larisa, dated to ca. 300–200; *IG* 9.2, 422, from Pherai, undated; Arvanitopoulos 1908, p. 175 (McDevitt 1970, p. 12, no. 48), from Phthiotic Thebes, dated to ca. 400–200.

[60] Karpios: *IG* 9.2, 287b, from Gomphi, dated to ca. 27–25 (?); Kontogiannis 1985 (*SEG* 35, 590a), from Larisa, dated to ca. 450–425; Mastrokostas 1964, pp. 318–319, (*SEG* 23, 445; McDevitt 1970, p. 88, no. 653), from Mikro-Kiserli, dated to ca. 100–0. In Larisa, his cult was shared with Demeter Phylaka in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods (Oikonomidis and Koumanoudis 1956–1957, pp. 17–22, no. 1 (*SEG* 17, 288); Arvanitopoulos 1911, p. 123, no. 26 (McDevitt 1970, p. 51, no. 361); *IG* 9.2, 573). For further discussion of Dionysus Karpios, cf. Graninger 2006, pp. 167–182.

[61] Trümpy 1997, pp. 225–226, 229 n. 923, does not take a position on the divinity honored in the Thessalian Homoloia. Homoloia are also known from Boiotian Orchomenos, where they were celebrated in the first century as a festival with choral and dramatic events (*IG* 7, 48; 3195–3197). Scholars have traditionally been reticent about the divinity honored in these Homoloia as well because the epithet is applied to Athena, Demeter and Zeus in Boiotian contexts, while the character of the events themselves may suggest Dionysus. Cf. Schachter 1981–, vol. 3, pp. 120–122. Other gods in Thessaly are not known to have shared this epithet, however, and the dominant strand in the ancient etymologies connects the epithet with Zeus.

dedications to the god from Thessaly unfortunately give little indication of the nature of his cult there.[62] Ancient and modern etymologies of the epithet Homoloios have contributed little: the word has been variously associated with Homole, a mountain situated between Ossa and Olympus in Magnesia, or a Boiotian/Thessalian hero(ine) of related name, or, most ingeniously, the Aiolian word for what is agreeable and peaceful.[63] It is certain, however, that the cult was of great importance, not only in Thessaly, but throughout central and northern Greece and into the Aegean.[64]

An association between the as yet unattested Hippodromia of the Thessalian month Hippodromios and Poseidon seems virtually certain. The god's exceptional importance in regional mythology likely corresponded with a strong presence in cult. It was as Petraios that Poseidon was most renowned in Thessaly. The epithet refers to his drainage of the Thessalian plains by breaking the rock of Tempe, and to his siring of the first horse after ejaculating on a rock while sleeping.[65] Petraia are attested in honor of Poseidon. These feature horse races, but there is as yet no explicit evidentiary connection with the Hippodromia.[66]

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[62] Tziaphalias 1984a, pp. 197–198, no. 65 (*SEG* 35, 493), from Atrax, dated to ca. 250–200; Tziaphalias 1977, p. 137, no. 3, from Atrax, dated to the late third – early second century (on this inscription, cf. Helly 1983, pp. 163–164 (*SEG* 33, 452)); Tziaphalias 1984b, pp. 216–217, no. 96 A (*SEG* 35, 608), from Larisa, dated to ca. 100; Intzesiloglou 1985, p. 195 (*SEG* 40, 482), from Metropolis, undated.

[63] Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 1891, pp. 214–216, discusses the relevant sources. Helly 2004b, pp. 274–278, has recently offered a new etymology of Homole, the mountain from which the settlement Homolion took its name, and hence the month Homoloios. Helly identifies Homole as a spur on the southern slopes of Ossa, not the northern as it is often regarded, and sees in the word Homole a reference to the topography of the region. It is that part of southern Ossa 'which has the same slope' ('qui a le meme versant').

[64] The cult is attested at Boiotian Thebes (*IG* 7, 2456; dated to ca. 600–400) and Eretria (*IG* 12.9, 268, dated to ca. 300), for example, and the month Homoloios is present in the calendars of the Boiotian League, Aitolian League, Eresos, and Kyme (cf. Trümpy 1997, pp. 201–203, 244–246, 250–251). If the cult was originally a kind of peak cult localized at Thessalian Homole, it later became unmoored from its surroundings and spread to large areas of north-central Greece and Aeolis in Asia Minor. In this sense, then, and on a much smaller scale, it may be seen to mirror the spread of the cult of Zeus Olympios, which perhaps also began as a peak cult but eventually grew to panhellenic proportions, chiefly through the prestige of Olympia in Elis (cf. Nilsson 1906, pp. 12–13, where the author suggests that Zeus Homoloios was overshadowed by Zeus Olympios).

[65] The principle ancient sources are *schol. ad* Pind. *P.* 4.138a–b and *Et. Magn.* s.v. Ἵππιος ὁ Ποσειδῶν. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Λυταί. On Poseidon Petraios in general, see Graninger 2006, pp. 207–222.

[66] E.g., Bacchyl. 14. Cf. Nilsson 1906, p. 71.

Phyllikos bears an uncertain relationship with Thessalian cult. A lacunose passage of Strabo may discuss the cult of Apollo Phyllios at Thessalian Phyllos which is possibly associated with the month name.[67] The god is otherwise unattested in Thessaly in this aspect, however.[68]

To sum up: While there may have been a common, baseline calendar tradition to which many of the cities of tetradic Thessaly subscribed, local variation in the pre-Flamininan and early post-Flamininan period was most likely the norm. By the third quarter of the second century, however, a single calendar appears in use throughout tetradic Thessaly, and earlier evidence strongly suggests that much of this calendar was already in place soon after the Thessalian League's refoundation in 196. This calendar appears to have been closely related to that of Larisa, although were more evidence to hand, it is likely that other early city calendars of tetradic Thessaly will have born some relation to it as well. The month names of this calendar suggest that the governing festival cycle honored divinities that were well known for the most part throughout the region and not specific to one city or sub-region alone.[69] It is striking in broader perspective just how pan-Thessalian this calendar appears. Whether the calendar was directly inherited from the earlier calendar of Larisa or a completely new creation, it is reasonable to assume that the decision to use this calendar was influenced by Flamininus and his advisors, if not directly made by them. While the need for a common temporal framework was acute in Hellenistic federalism, such demands could be accomplished with little impact on local calendar traditions. As the Phokian, West Lokrian, and

[67] Str. 9.5.14. Kramer plausibly supplements the passage as follows: ὁ Φύλλ[ος, ὅπου Ἀπόλλω]νος τοῦ Φυλλίου ἱερόν 'Phyllos, where there is a sanctuary of Apollo Phyllios'. The city of Phyllos remains poorly attested; for a survey of the problems cf. Decourt 1995, pp. 35–41 and Decourt 1990, pp. 174–181.

[68] The -ikos suffix is peculiar, paralleled only by the Macedonian Xandikos in the corpus of Greek month names.

[69] For an interesting Near Eastern comparandum, cf. Cohen 1993, p. 13: 'It is likely that the Standard Mesopotamian calendar was an artificial creation commissioned by Samsuiluna of Babylon as a means to unify a heterogeneous and rebellious empire. It might have been difficult to impose the currently used Sumerian calendar … outside of southern Mesopotamia. However the economic and political advantages of a single, standard calendar were … obvious … Rather than selecting one city's non-Sumerian calendar as the new Reichskalender, a move which might have alienated not only those cities on whom another city's calendar would have been imposed, but also the proud, and necessary scribes of the south, the Babylonian administration invented a hybrid Reichskalender, gleaning months from various calendars throughout the realm and beyond, thereby, it was hoped, gaining the acceptance of everyone'.

Achaian League calendars reveal, local calendars could easily be accommodated within a neutral temporal framework that was conspicuously secular. The Thessalian League solved this problem differently, and hence opened up further possibilities for the interweaving of Thessalian political and religious identity. The cities of tetradic Thessaly for their part seem to have participated in this project at a relatively early date, but as the following discussion will show, the *perioikoi* were more varied in their response as they joined the League.

Expanding the Regional Calendar

Chronologically the earliest perioikic *ethnos* to enter the Thessalian League was that of the Phthiotic Achaians. The late Hellenistic and Roman evidence shows that individual cities in the region used individual calendars which in some cases overlapped with one another as well as with the calendar of the Thessalian League, and such an arrangement possibly continued earlier tradition. Full use of the calendar of the Thessalian League by the cities of Phthiotic Achaia comes surprisingly late, in the second half of the first century at the earliest, at least one hundred and fifty years following the territory's entrance into the Thessalian League.

The best understood of these cities is Phthiotic Thebes. Here a single stele containing two well-preserved manumission inscriptions and dated by generals of the Thessalian League allows us to establish the months of the calendar that were in use by the city ca. 47–45:[70] Hadromios, Euonios, Pythoios, Hagnaios, Genetios, Dionysios, Megalartios, Themistios, Dematros, Hekatombios, Homoloios, Thuios. Three months are common with the calendar of the Thessalian League: Themistios, Homoloios, Thuios; their month festivals have been discussed in some detail above. Of the remaining months, Pythoios must have witnessed Pythia in honor of Pythian Apollo, Dionysios Dionysia in honor of Dionysus, and Dematros Dematreia in honor of Demeter.[71] The Hekatombia of Hekatombios

[70] *IG* 9.2, 109. Kern included the inscription with those from Halos on the basis of its findspot in Halmyros. Habicht 1972, pp. 118–120, whom I follow, has since argued on prosopographic and historical grounds that the inscription belongs instead to Phthiotic Thebes.

[71] For a linguistic explanation of Δέματρος for an expected Δημήτριος, see Trümpy 1997, p. 238, who regards the root as an attempted archaism, and the suffix as either the result of scribal error (-ρος for -ριος) or perhaps as evidence that the sequence -ριος was by this time coming to be pronounced as -ρος.

were likely celebrated in honor of Apollo and the Megalartia in honor of Demeter, while the Genetia of Genetios most probably were an annual festival of the dead. Less certain are the remaining three months of the year—Hadromios, Euonios, and Hagnaios—and the honorands of their month festivals. Hadromios may suggest that a festival with a race of some sort took place at that time, while Euonios and Hagnaios are almost completely opaque.[72] A series of manumissions from the first and second century CE suggests that the full calendar of the Thessalian League was then in use: Apollonios, Aphrios, Phyllikos, Agagulios and Leschanorios are all newly attested; Homoloios and Thuios continue from before; no months not attested in the League calendar are known at that time. It is reasonable to conclude that Phthiotic Thebes was using the calendar of the Thessalian League during the first century CE.

The impression given by other cities in Phthiotic Achaia, though fragmentary, fits the pattern of Phthiotic Thebes. A plurality of calendar tradition are in use for much of the second and first centuries, while in the Roman period, only months from the calendar of the Thessalian League are attested. For example, the following months were in use in the important city of Melitaia ca. 80 or before: Homoloios, Thuios, Tragios, Boutragios, Agrionios, Gen[etios].[73] Again there are shared months with the Thessalian League (also shared with Phthiotic Thebes): Homoloios and Thuios. Further overlap with Phthiotic Thebes may be visible in the month Genetios.[74] Of the remaining three, Agrionios was presumably the month of the Agrionia held in honor of Dionysus Agrionios, a festival especially well-attested at Boiotian Thebes, and known elsewhere. Tragios and Boutragios are mysterious; the latter is attested only at Melitaia, the former perhaps also at Lamia. From the Roman period, while Homoloios continues in use, there are newly attested Aphrios, Itonios, and Leschanorios.[75] No months are attested at this date which did not belong to the calendar of the Thessalian League. Still more exiguous is evidence from Halos, Xynias, Thaumakoi, and an as of yet unnamed site near the modern village of Kophi.[76] Yet even these fragmentary cases

[72] Trümpy 1997, pp. 236–237.

[73] *IG* 9.2, 206. Another month, [Pyth]oios, has been plausibly restored at *SGDI* 2138, dated to ca. 150–140.

[74] If the month has been correctly restored at *SGDI* 2138, Pythoios was also present in both the Melitaian and Phthiotic Theban calendars.

[75] Homoloios, Aphrios, Itonios: *IG* 9.2, 206; Leschanorios: *IG* 9.2, 207.

[76] *IG* 9.2, 132, attributed to Pyrasos by Kern, is of uncertain *Standort*, but certainly belongs to Phthiotic Achaia. The inscription preserves the following sequence: Hagnaios,

comfortably fit the template of Phthiotic Thebes and Melitaia. For the second and first centuries, some months overlap with other calendars from Phthiotic Achaia,[77] some with the calendar of the Thessalian League,[78] and some are entirely local.[79] By the first century CE, however, only months known from the Thessalian League are in use.[80]

Judging from inscriptions of the two most important cities of Malis, Echinos and Lamia, the Malians, like the Phthiotic Achaians, did not use a common regional calendar in the later Hellenistic period, and they likely did not do so earlier in their history. The following ten months are known for the city of Lamia in the second and first centuries: Chryttaios, Bomios, Areos, Geustos, Themistios, Thuios, Hippodromios, Itonios, Panemos, [T]ra[g]ios.[81] While five of these ten months overlap with the calendar of the Thessalian League (Themistios, Thuios, Hippodromios, Itonios, Panemos), the remaining five are quite idiosyncratic. Areos appears to have been sacred to Ares. Chryttaios and Bomios are unattested elsewhere; the latter likely bears some relationship to the chief Greek word for altar, βωμός, but it is unclear for whom the Bomia would have been celebrated. Even less can be said about Chryttaios. Tragios is shared with Melitaia, and Geustos with Echinos, but little that is concrete can be said about either. Unfortunately, no Lamian inscriptions of Roman date indicate the calendar in use at that time. The evidence from Echinos is similar.[82] In the second and first century, the following

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Kouralios, Itonios, Hippodromios, Megalartios. Helly 1973, vol. 2, p. 78, proposes a date ca. 181/0–178/7 (or shortly thereafter). *LGPN* 3B s.v. Νίκιας 112, follow Helly in assigning a date of 182–170. Kramolisch 1978, p. 94, on the basis of similarities in formulae with a well-dated inscription from Phthiotic Thebes, *IG* 9.2, 109, prefers a date ca. 70–60.

[77] Hadromios and Kouralios are attested at modern Kophi, after 70 (*IG* 9.2, 102).

[78] Itonios and Apollonios are attested at modern Kophi ca. 70–60 (*IG* 9.2, 102); Hermaios is attested at Thaumaki in the third century (Kern) (*IG* 9.2, 221), as is Itonios ca. 160/159 (*IG* 9.2, 218); Homoloios is known from Halos ca. 184/3 (*IG* 9.2, 107).

[79] A fragmentary month ending in -oimnos is attested at modern Kophi ca. 70 (*IG* 9.2, 102).

[80] Hermaios is attested at Xynias, ca. 131/2 CE (ed. pr. Giannopoulos 1926, pp. 53–54, no. 12 (McDevitt 1970, p. 24, no. 161)); Hippodromios at Halos (*IG* 9.2, 111).

[81] Chryttaios: e.g., *IG* 9.2, 71, dated to ca. 70–60. Bomios: e.g., *IG* 9.2, 71, dated to ca. 70–60. Areos: e.g., *IG* 9.2, 72, dated to ca. 50. Geustos: *IG* 9.2, 66a, dated to ca. 170. Themistios: *IG* 9.2, 66b, dated to ca. 125/4 (?). Thuios: *IG* 9.2, 69, dated to after 146. Hippodromios: e.g., *IG* 9.2, 72, dated to ca. 50. Itonios: *IG* 9.2, 71, dated to ca. 70–60. Panemos: e.g., *IG* 9.2, 72, dated to ca. 50. [T]ra[g]ios: *IG* 9.2, 72, dated to ca. 50.

[82] The evidence for the pre-Roman calendar of Echinos is somewhat vexed. I follow

seven months were in use: Thrixallios, Lykeos, Apellaios, Geustos, Hippodromios, [Bou]katios, Homoloios.[83] There is again substantial overlap with the calendar of the Thessalian League and again the remaining months of the calendar are quite idiosyncratic. Lykeos probably and Apellaios certainly are associated with Apollo. Riddling Geustos is shared with Lamia. The Boukatia of Boukatios are perhaps to be associated with a Bouphonia-type festival. Thrixallios is completely unique and completely mysterious. Evidence from Echinos is especially useful in that some Roman inscriptions have survived which indicate the months in use at that later date: Themistios, Aphrios, Hippodromoios and Agagulios are all attested.[84] A partial sample, to be sure, but very suggestive. With Hippodromios continuing in use and three new months attested, each of the four months belongs to the calendar of the Thessalian League. It is of course impossible to demonstrate that these months had not already been present in the calendar of Echinos or that other, distinctive months of the city's calendar did not continue in use into the Roman period. But such evidence is consistent with the paradigm of Phthiotic Thebes, and it is more likely that Echinos too maintained a calendar independent of the Thessalian League into the first century and adopted the League calendar only during the Roman period.

To sum up: Malis and Achaia Phthiotis were the earliest territories to be incorporated into the Thessalian League. Neither region appears to have had a regional calendar tradition. Rather, independent, local calendars were the norm. Their political and territorial incorporation into the Thessalian League did not immediately extend to the calendar in use. The best known calendars from these regions, Melitaia, Lamia, Echinos, and, above all, Phthiotic Thebes, share a number of significant characteristics. First, in the second and first centuries, they are independent

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Trümpy 1997, p. 232, in regarding *IG* 9.2, 74–76, and the new inscription published at Koumanoudis 1980 (*SEG* 30, 531c; *BullÉp* 1981, no. 306), as belonging to Echinos, not Lamia.

[83] Thrixallios: *IG* 9.2, 74, dated to after 125. Lukeos: *IG* 9.2, 75, dated to after 125. Apellaios: *IG* 9.2, 76, dated to after 125. Geustos: *IG* 9.2, 75, dated to after 125. Hippodromios: e.g., *IG* 9.2, 75, dated to after 125. [Bou]katios: *IG* 9.2, 76, dated to after 125. Homoloios: Koumanoudis 1980 (*SEG* 30, 531c; *BullÉp* 1981, no. 306), dated to after 125.

[84] Themistios: Reilly 1971, pp. 673–674, no. 2, dated to the Roman period, possibly ca. 131/2 CE; Aphrios: Gounaropoulou 1987 (*SEG* 36, 545; *BullÉp* 1988, no. 110; 1991, no. 314), dated to ca. 133/4-ca. 150 CE; Agagulios: e.g., Reilly 1971, pp. 669–673, no. 1, dated to the Roman period, possibly ca. 131/2 CE; Hippodromios: Gounaropoulou 1987 (*SEG* 36, 546; *BullÉp* 1988, no. 110; 1991, no. 314), dated to ca. 133/4–150 CE.

of one another, revealing an admixture of months—some local, some shared with other cities in the region, some shared with the Thessalian League. Second, in the Roman era, only months shared with the Thessalian League calendar are in use. The clear implication is that the calendar of the Thessalian League had been adopted by that time.

The evidence assembled above admits of two possible reconstructions of the transition between local and regional calendar. Since all Malian and Phthiotic Achaian calendars known in any detail from the second and first century share an often significant portion of their months with the Thessalian League, it is possible that this situation represents an intermediate stage in a gradual period of transition from what had been wholly independent local calendars in, for example, the third century, to a single regional calendar in complete conformity with that of the governing political structure in, for example, the first century CE. But it is equally possible that there was already considerable overlap among the calendars of tetradic Thessaly, Malis, and Achaia Phthiotis in some earlier historical period, and that at some point in the late first century, perhaps at the time of the creation of the province of Achaia, the remaining months of the League calendar were put into use in those previously perioikic territories. The second of these two alternatives is on balance more likely given the extent to which different regions in the Greek world share month names; whether this is due to conscious emulation or to prehistoric migrations, it is in any case clear that the calendar of the Thessalian League was not actively in use at the local level in a large territory politically administered by the League during the second and first centuries. Such a finding in turn suggests either that the League did not impose the federal calendar upon newly 'Thessalian' states or that it was completely unsuccessful in doing so. If the genesis of a regional Thessalian calendar in the aftermath of the Second Macedonian War had opened up the possibility for entwining the political and religious identities of the member cities of the League, the Malians and Phthiotic Achaians can be seen to have rejected this possible outcome and to have retained their local calendars.

Next in chronological order after Achaia Phthiotis and Malis in terms of its incorporation into the Thessalian League is Perrhaibia. Freed by Flamininus in 196, the Perrhaibians appear to have been organized as a federal league soon thereafter, most likely by Flamininus; the league's subsequent history was difficult, marked by later Macedonian and Roman invasions. Ultimately, most probably after the Roman defeat of the Achaian League in 146, the league was formally incorporated into the Thes-

salian League.[85] Unlike Malis and Achaia Phthiotis, the Perrhaibians appear to have employed a common regional calendar after the Flaminian settlement. Such use was perhaps a reflection of the territory's more formal constitution as a league after 196, which in turn may reflect the strength of earlier traditions of regional government. Also unlike the Malians and Phthiotic Achaians, evidence strongly suggests that the Perrhaibians adopted the calendar of the Thessalian League soon after their incorporation into that *koinon*.

The use of a common Perrhaibian calendar in the first half of the second century is indicated by an inscription which records the settlement of a boundary dispute between the cities of Mondaia and Azoros. The beginning of the inscription reads: 'When Hippolochos son of Alexippos of Larisa was general of the Thessalians for the second time, on the thirtieth of Themistios as the Thessalians reckon, and when Demetrios son of Demainetos of Gonnoi was general of the Perrhaibians, on the thirtieth of Dios as the Perrhaibians reckon …'[86] The language of the inscription mentions the Perrhaibian and Thessalian institutions of the eponymous *strategos* and regional calendar in tandem, suggesting that the Perrhaibians, like the Thessalians, were organized as a league with a common calendar which, on the Thessalian model, member cities presumably made use of for official purposes.

In addition to Dios, a series of months is attested in a variety of Perrhaibian cities during the time of the independent Perrhaibian League: Artemisios, Dithyrambios, Poesios, Xandikos, Hyperoios.[87] While the month Daisios, attested at Gonnoi in a late third-century inscription, does not technically belong to the independent Perrhaibian League, the large number of Macedonian months attested in independent Perrhaibia

[85] See Chapter One.

[86] *IG* 9.1^2.4, 795 (*SIG*^{3} 638), l. 1–8, from Corcyra, dated to ca. 178: [στραταγο]ῦντος Θεσσαλῶν | [μὲν Ἱππο]λόχου τοῦ Ἀλεξίππου | [τὸ δεύτ]ερον Λαρισαίου, μηνὸς | [ὡς Θε]σσαλοὶ ἄγοντι Θεμιστίου, | [ἁμέρ]αι τριακάδι, Περραιβῶν δὲ στρα|[ταγο]ῦντος Δημητρίου τοῦ Δημαινέ|του Γ]οννέως, μηνὸς καθὼς Περραιβοὶ | [ἄγο]γτι Δίου, ἁμέραι τριακάδι.

[87] Artemisios: e.g., Arvanitopoulos 1917, pp. 1–7, no. 301 (McDevitt 1970, p. 134, no. 1130), from Chyretiai, dated to ca. 191–190. Dithyrambios: e.g., Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 36, Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 61 and 63, from Gonnoi, also mention Dithyrambios, but they are dated to ca. 150–100 and 'fin du IIe s. av. J.C.' respectively. Poesios: Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 40, from Gonnoi, dated to ca. 180—160. Xandikos: Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 69, from Gonnoi, dated to ca. 178. Hyperoios: *IG* 9.2, 1231, from Phalanna, dated to ca. 180–160.

warrants its inclusion here.[88] There is not enough evidence to determine decisively whether these months belonged, like Dios, to the calendar of the Perrhaibian League or if they originated from distinct, local calendars. Either possibility is conceivable. It is worth noting that none of these months is known from the calendar of the Thessalian League. If there is any outside influence visible here, it is rather from Macedonia to the north. Artemisios, Dios, Daisios, and Xanthikos (surely related to Perrhaibian Xandikos)[89] are all known from the Macedonian calendar: Artemisios clearly reflects an Artemisia, Dios perhaps a festival in honor of Zeus, and Xandikos was likely the month of the Xandika, which included a purification ceremony for the Macedonian army. Daisios is less clear.[90] Such evidence may reflect shared calendrical traditions between Perrhaibia and Macedon or deliberate borrowing by one from the other. Of the remaining months Dithyrambios would appear to have a Dionysiac association, while Hyperoios and Poesios are unclear.[91]

No months belonging to local Perrhaibian calendars or that of the Perrhaibian League are attested after 100 and most are not attested after 150. For example, at Pythion in Perrhaibia during the 130s and 120s, only months from the Thessalian League calendar are in use.[92] If it is fair to assume that the remaining cities of Perrhaibia followed the lead

[88] Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 93. Cf. Helly 1973, vol. 1, p. 138, where the author rightly observes that 'it is difficult to know whether this inscription originated from the city [of Gonnoi] or if it concerns a document of the royal Macedonian administration'.

[89] See Trümpy 1997, p. 227, for the phonology of the spelling differences.

[90] See Trümpy 1997, p. 262, with n. 1077.

[91] For Dithyrambios, cf. Helly 1973, vol. 1, p. 137, where the author observes that the month was probably the last in the year of Gonnoi, possibly in autumn. For Hyperoios, see Trümpy 1997, p. 227, who notes a possible relationship with the Cretan month Hyperboios and its associated festival, the Hyperboia. Details about this festival are sparse. Cf. Nilsson 1906, p. 468. Trümpy also suggests a possible derivation from an as yet unattested adverb *ὑπέρω and would mark the month as intercalary. For Poesios, Helly 1973, vol. 1, p. 137, connected the month name with ποά ('grass, meadow') and suggested that it would have been a spring month. Trümpy 1997, p. 227, would prefer to derive the month name from ποίησις. Nilsson 1962, p. 58, speculated that both Poesios and Dithyrambios were late introductions to the calendar at Gonnoi and perhaps reflected some relationship with the solar year.

[92] Thuos, Themistios, Homoloios, Aphrios, Leschanorios, Agagulios, Hippodromios, and Hermaios. See, e.g., Arvanitopoulos 1924, pp. 155–172, no. 401–405 (McDevitt 1970, pp. 123–124, no. 1067–1071). Compare Chyretiai, ca. 100–90, where Aphrios, Apollonios, Leschanorios, and Hermaios are attested (Arvanitopoulos 1917, pp. 18–22, no. 309 (McDevitt 1970, p. 136, no. 1143)), and Phalanna, ca. 49–48, where Itonios and Hippodromios are attested (*IG* 9.2, 1232).

of Pythion in the decades after 146, then the contrast with the reception of the Thessalian League calendar in Malis and Phthiotic Achaia could not be more striking. While the perioikic south continued to maintain their local calendars, the perioikic north appears to have assimilated rather quickly to the new temporal community of the Thessalian League. From the host of possible explanations that present themselves, two are especially attractive. First, the Thessalian League's political center of gravity was unquestionably Larisa at this time, and Larisa seems to have enjoyed a traditional hegemonic relationship over Perrhaibia in the Classical period.[93] Although the Perrhaibians were now politically Thessalians and hence notionally equal to the other members of the League, perhaps the dynamics of the earlier, dependent phase of the relationship reasserted themselves here. Second, Perrhaibia's proximity to Macedonia and the Macedonian flavor of the calendar(s) in use may have had some ambiguous resonances that the Perrhaibians wished to avoid. What is certain, amidst this speculation, is that Perrhaibia presents another model of calendar adoption, antithetical to that of the Phthiotic Achaians and Malians.

The evidence in the remaining territories is very thin indeed. No common calendar of the Dolopians is known, but months shared with the Thessalian calendar may be in use there as early as the second century.[94] The Oitaians are known to have used a common calendar in the second century, and a single month, Apellaios, is known from it.[95] A mysterious month name from second-century Herakleia Trachinia is known, Eatos.[96] The calendar of Herakleia was possibly identical with that of the Oitaians. Neither Dolopia nor Oitaia have furnished evidence for the calendar in use during later periods. Finally, several months are known from the second-century calendar of Hypata in Ainis.[97] The Hypatan calendar may also have been identical with that of the Ainianes. An imperial-era inscription makes use of a Thessalian month and it is likely that the Thessalian calendar was in use in Ainis following the region's entrance into the Thessalian League.[98]

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[93] See Chapter One.

[94] *IG* 9.2, 224, a manumission from Ekkara (?) or Angeiai (?), mentions Thuios and Phyllikos.

[95] *SGDI* 1529.

[96] *SGDI* 1895.

[97] *SGDI* 1435, Artemitios and Arno[–], of uncertain significance.

[98] *IG* 9.2, 20: Themistios.

Conclusion

This chapter has describeed two stages in the geographical expansion of the calendar of the Thessalian League: the first stage is represented by the adoption of a common regional calendar throughout tetradic Thessaly soon after the refoundation of the League in 196; the second stage is marked by the spread of this regional calendar into the territories of new members of the Thessalian League: Perrhaibia, Achaia Phthiotis, Malis, Oitaia, Ainis, and Dolopia. I have demonstrated that the geographical expansion of the Thessalian League and that of the calendar of the Thessalian League were not chronologically coterminous. While the first, tetradic stage seems to have been accomplished with little difficulty, some evidence for local calendrical idiosyncracies persists decades after the League's refoundation. Outside of the tetrads, we find a broad range of responses to the Thessalian calendar. In Perrhaibian Pythion there is compelling evidence for use of the Thessalian calendar shortly after the putative incorporation of Perrhaibia into the Thessalian League. The cases of Phthiotic Thebes, Melitaia, Lamia and Echinos in the territories of Malis and Achaia Phthiotis to the south could not be more distinct. There we find local calendars still in use a century or more after their political incorporation into the Thessalian League. It is not until the Roman period that the Thessalian calendar is fully in use there.

This regional Thessalian calendar had a foundation in the regional religion of the tetrads, which on occasion was shared with some of the former *perioikoi*. While there is no evidence that new month festivals were widely celebrated in newly Thessalian territory (or celebrated at all—an objection which, we must admit, can be made of the tetrads as well), one must assume that the popular experience of time had been affected by this transition. Given the interpretive framework sketched at the beginning of this chapter, we may conclude that there was rather more at stake in the longstanding rejection of this regional calendar by the Phthiotic Achaians and Malians, or its speedy acceptance by the Perrhaibians. All were politically Thessalian, but such a political identity was far from monolithic.

CHAPTER FOUR

INTERNATIONAL RELIGION

Introduction

According to Philostratus, while traveling through Anatolia in the first century CE, the philosopher-hero Apollonius of Tyana spent a night atop a mound in the Troad where Achilles was reputedly buried; eschewing Homeric modes of necromancy, Apollonius instead turned to the prayers that Indians directed towards their heroes.[1] Achilles appeared to Apollonius that evening, wearing a traditional Thessalian chlamys and growing from five to twelve cubits in height before his eyes.[2] The two conversed at length over the course of the night. Apollonius was keen to gain clarification about some notorious problems in Homer and the epic cycle, while Achilles expressed his anger that the Thessalians were no longer sending sacrifices to his grave in the Troad and exhorted Apollonius to counsel them to change their behavior; for if they did not do so, they might meet at his hands a fate worse than that of the Trojans.[3] On his return to Greece, '[Apollonius] … went as Achilles' emissary to the Thessalians at the time of the meetings in Pylaia, at which the Thessalians do business with the Amphictiony, and he frightened them into voting to resume the due rites for the tomb'.[4] The passage reveals an interesting nexus of assumptions held during the Roman Empire about Thessaly, Delphi, and the Delphic Amphictiony, as well as the dispatch of Thessalian *theoroi* to perform cult in an international setting. Philostratus' association of Thessalian *theoroi* traveling abroad and Thessalian influence within the Delphic Amphictiony well captures the fundamental themes of the present chapter.

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[1] Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* 4.16.1.

[2] Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* 4.16.2.

[3] Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* 4.16.3–6. A much fuller description of the Thessalian *theoria* occurs in Philostrat. *Hero.* 53.8–21, to be considered below.

[4] Philostrat. *Vit. Apoll.* 4.23.1, trans. Jones: Ἐπρέσβευσε δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοὺς Θετταλοὺς ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Πυλαίᾳ ξυλλόγους, ἐν οἷς οἱ Θετταλοὶ τὰ Ἀμφικτυονικὰ πράττουσιν, οἱ δὲ δείσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο ἀναλαβεῖν τὰ προσήκοντα τῷ τάφῳ.

'Not even at the level of practice, still less of the imagination, was Athenian religion restricted within the confines of Attica'–so writes R. Parker in his influential *Polytheism and Society at Athens*.[5] The observation could easily be extended to all *polis*, *ethnos*, and *koinon* religions of the ancient Greek world, and the present chapter will attempt to sketch just such an international dimension of the religion of the Thessalian League in the later Hellenistic period. The preceding two chapters have traced the relationship between cult and the establishment of a regional Thessalian political identity in the second and first centuries from the perspective of both the two major federal sanctuaries of the Thessalian League and the League's common calendar. The picture that has emerged thus far has been varied, with cult now reinforcing Thessalian political identity (particularly in the case of the League sanctuaries), now perhaps offering an alternative to it (particularly in the case of the local calendars). The present chapter looks at the same set of issues from the perspective of international religion, for major international sanctuaries offered an important supplement to domestic venues for the cultic expression of political identity. Membership in amphictionies and sending *theoroi* to sanctuaries of this type were two of the chief ways in which Greek states became entwined in a network of international religion in antiquity, and in the following pages, I will consider the travels of Thessalian participation in such a system.[6] I begin with Thessalian interests in the Delphic Amphictiony before shifting to consider the travels of Thessalian *theoroi* beyond Delphi. The findings will be as varied as they have been in the preceding two chapters. The very existence of a regional political Thessalian identity was greatly complicated by the Delphic Amphictiony, for the *ethnos* was the primary constituent element of this Amphictiony; this institution regained its Archaic and Classical *poikilia* of members ca. 190–167 and maintained it until 27. Thessalian political identity was thus somewhat fragmented in this venue. While the Thessalian League appointed representatives for the Thessaloi to the Amphictiony, territories formally administered by the Thessalian League continued to send representatives to the Amphictiony in the guise of their 'original' *ethnos* membership. Thessalian *theoroi* sent abroad, the topic of the second half of this chapter, present a vivid contrast: in this dimension of international religion, the Thessalian League is positively ubiquitous in the second and

[5] Parker 2005, p. 79.
[6] Cf. Parker 2005, pp. 79–82.

first centuries, dispatching *theoroi* to major sanctuaries at Samothrace, Mytilene, and Kolophon, among others. Such behavior appears innovative against the backdrop of earlier Thessalian *theoroi* who seem to have been dispatched at the level of individual cities and not of the broader *ethnos* or *koinon*.[7]

Thus again, as in Chapters Two and Three, there is a marked temporal or historical aspect to the types of Thessalian identity on display in international sanctuaries during the later Hellenistic period. The Amphictiony at Delphi presents an image of broader Thessaly straight out of the fourth century, if not earlier—a Thessaly of many and diverse *ethne*. On the other hand, the new or recently augmented festivals of the second and first century find the Thessalians *qua* formal league established by Flamininus taking a lead role in matters of international cult.

Amphictionic Membership and Discourse

If *ethne* are the most mysterious residents of the modern historiography of ancient Greece, amphictionies run a close second. While the very etymology of the word remains in doubt, the attested amphictionies seem to have been constituted by several communities which shared in the administration of a common sanctuary.[8] Most famous among these and by far the best attested is the Pylaio-Delphic Amphictiony (henceforth referred to as 'the Delphic Amphictiony' or simply 'the Amphictiony'), an association of several communities charged with the administration of the sanctuary of Demeter Amphictionis at Anthela (or 'Pylaia') and that of Apollo Pythios at Delphi.[9] It is possible that the ranks of the 'original' Amphictiony were filled by *ethne* surrounding the Anthela sanctuary, and that by 586 when the Pythia was reorganized as a penteteric festival under Amphictionic administration, this Amphictiony expanded to include the Delphian sanctuary and accordingly

[7] The comparative weakness of earlier incarnations of the Thessalian League, or indeed, its complete absence—as is often suspected for the third century (cf. Polyb. 4.76.2)—may be partially responsible for this image.

[8] Etymology: Hall 2002, pp. 148–149, with further bibliography; for a general overview of amphictionies and salutary discussion of their functions, see Tausend 1992, pp. 8–63, esp. 57–63.

[9] Hence the cumbrous moniker 'Pylaio-Delphic'.

incorporated *ethne* in the neighborhood of Delphi into its membership.[10] Such a reconstruction is likely enough, but stands far short of constituting a history of the Amphictiony. This can only begin in earnest in the fourth century when our literary sources begin to provide details about Amphictionic membership and the epigraphic record begins to illuminate Amphictionic prerogatives.[11]

This fourth-century Amphictiony was made up of twelve *ethne* of northern and central Greece and one *polis*; these members had the privilege to send representatives, known in Amphictionic parlance as *hieromnemones* or 'sacred remembrancers', to semiannual meetings that took place in the autumn and the spring, with each meeting including sessions at both Anthela and Delphi. There were twenty-four *hieromnemones* in all, each of whom exercised a vote.[12] Thessalians, Magnesians, Phthiotic Achaians, Ainianes, Malians,[13] Phokians, Delphians, Lokrians,[14] Boiotians, Ionians,[15] and Dorians[16] each sent two *hieromnemones*, while the Perrhaibians and Dolopians each sent one. Tenure and mode of appointment varied from *ethnos* to *ethnos*. Both single- and multi-year terms are known in the fourth century.[17] The prosopography of *hieromnemones* indicates that while most *ethne* dispatched the most elect of their elite, *hieromnemones* do not as a rule seem to have been religious experts or the like. Indeed, the Athenians in the second century selected their *hierom-*

[10] Evidence for the reorganization of the Pythia festival and its date: Miller 1978; Christesen 2007, pp. 179–202.

[11] For a critical appraisal of the early history of the Delphic Amphictiony based in part on material evidence, see Morgan 2003, pp. 123–131.

[12] Cf. Sánchez 2001, pp. 37–41, and Lefèvre 1998, pp. 24–93, with copious citation of earlier scholarship.

[13] It is noteworthy that beginning in the fourth century, the cities of Lamia and Herakleia Trachinia each furnished one of the votes for the Malians. See Lefèvre 1998, pp. 92–93 and Sánchez 2001, p. 468. As a result, the Oitaians appear to have lacked formal recognition at Delphi as an independent Amphictionic *ethnos* at this time, despite being well within the Amphictionic orbit. The Oitaian position within the Amphictiony was thus mediated via their capital city of Herakleia, and this overall arrangement has more in common with the hybrid Ionian or Dorian membership on the Amphictiony (see below) than that of the northern *ethne*.

[14] The East Lokrians sent one *hieromnemon*, and the West Lokrians the other.

[15] Athens dispatched one Ionian *hieromnemon*, the cities of Euboia the other.

[16] The metropolitan Dorians, viz., Dorians who lived in the territory of Doris in central Greece, dispatched one Dorian *hieromnemon*; Dorians of the Peloponnese appointed the other.

[17] Cf. the overview of member *ethne* in Lefèvre 1998, pp. 24–134.

nemones by lot.[18] Alongside these *hieromnemones*, our sources occasionally mention other officials, also dispatched by member *ethne*, known as *pylagoroi*,[19] a title which seems to mean 'those who speak at the Pylaia', who may have possessed special judicial and political expertise;[20] their numbers varied from session to session. Since so many of the member *ethne* of the Amphictiony were within the political ambit of tetradic Thessaly over the course of the Archaic and Classical period (Perrhaibia, Magnesia, Phthiotic Achaia, Dolopia, Malis, Ainis), it is possible that the Thessalians exercised an influence within the Amphictiony which exceeded their formal representation by two *hieromnemones*. Thessalians are certainly important in Amphictionic mythology, and one notes as well that Thessalian *hieromnemones* are traditionally set at the head of the lists of *hieromnemones* which often accompany Amphictionic decrees.

One might assume that alterations to this geographic arrangement of *hieromnemones* and *pylagoroi* were regarded as anathema to tradition, but the historical record indicates that change was regular. Some scholars have suggested not implausibly that the fourth-century list described above was the product of considerable evolution,[21] and changes in membership are attested as beginning at the conclusion of the so-called Third Sacred War in 346. At this time, the Phokian right to send two *hieromnemones* was stripped from them and awarded to the Macedonian king Philip II and his successors.[22] The Aitolians would in turn over the

[18] Lefèvre 2005. For Athens, see additionally Habicht 1987b, p. 68.

[19] During the period of Aitolian control of the sanctuary, they seem to have been known as *agoratroi*. Cf. Sánchez 2001, pp. 497–498; Lefèvre 1998, p. 206, n. 203; Habicht 1987b, p. 68, n. 43.

[20] Lefèvre 2005, pp. 30–31; Habicht 1987b, p. 68.

[21] These scholars distinguish, for example, between a 'primitive core' of *ethne* that had been charged with administering the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela (viz. Thessalians, Dolopians, Perrhaibians, Magnesians, Phthiotic Achaians, Malians, Ainians, Dorians, Lokrians), and new members that joined the Amphictiony after the alleged First Sacred War and the expansion of the Amphictiony to Delphi (viz. Phokians, Boiotians); they also suggest, for example, that the Perrhaibians and Dolopians each initially sent two *hieromnemones* to Amphictionic meetings, but one *hieromnemon* was stripped from each of these *ethne* and awarded to Delphi. Cf. Sánchez 2001, pp. 32–41; Lefèvre 2005, p. 16; Hall 2002, pp. 134–154. For an early failed attempt to manipulate Amphictionic membership, cf. the possibly dubious testimony of Plut. *Them*. 20.3–4, where it is noted that in the 470s the Spartans wished to remove from the Amphictiony those who had fought on the side of the Persians, but were prevented from doing so by Themistocles.

[22] Diod. Sic. 16.60.1. Cf. Dem. 19.327; Paus. 10.3.3, 10.8.2; Sánchez 2001, pp. 205–206; Lefèvre 1998, p. 94.

course of the third century acquire the *hieromnemones* of the territories that joined their league, all the while preventing the Macedonian kings and the territories in the Macedonian sphere of influence from sending their *hieromnemones*.[23] The process peaked in 217/6 when fifteen Aitolian *hieromnemones* are attested at an Amphictionic meeting.[24] Amphictionic membership could thus clearly be made to respond to changed political realities. Further transformations were to take place in the second and first centuries that will be discussed in some detail below.

At their semiannual meetings, the *hieromnemones* possessed from the fourth century onwards a relatively stable core of prerogatives:[25] management and protection of the territories administered by the sanctuaries at Anthela and Delphi; maintenance and upkeep of monuments in both sanctuaries; organization and oversight of the festival market, especially at Anthela; honoring Demeter at Anthela and Apollo at Delphi, together with the other divinities who received cult in the two sanctuaries; and administration of major festivals conducted therein, especially the penteteric Pythia. The legislative and judicial functions of the Amphictiony, and the processes by which laws were passed and judgments enacted, are more nebulous by contrast. These seem often to have centered on 'religious' matters, particularly the infringement on those areas over which the Amphictiony had direct oversight, but they occasionally reflect more expansive ambition.

So far the practical realities of the Amphictiony. There were present already in the fifth century the beginnings of a trend which would later intensify, especially in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods—the glorification and idealization of this work as not simply synonymous with panhellenism in practice, but indeed among the highest heights attainable by Greeks working together.[26] In contrast to the actual, hard power exercised by the Amphictions in matters of cult, market, and

[23] The correlation between the territorial expansion of the Aitolian League and the growing number of Aitolian *hieromnemones* within the Amphictiony was first observed at Beloch 1902, a fundamental study. For the period of Aitolian domination at Delphi, exceptionally well documented by the sanctuary's epigraphy, see *CID* 4, 12–102; and, in addition to Beloch, Flacelière 1937; Nachtergael 1977; Lefèvre 1998, pp. 102–123; and Sánchez 2001, pp. 270–363.

[24] *CID* 4, 79.

[25] For the functions listed in this paragraph, see the thorough discussion at Lefèvre 1998, pp. 179–269. Cf. Sánchez 2001, pp. 472–485. These functions probably evolved considerably during the Archaic and early Classical periods.

[26] Sánchez 2001, pp. 16–30.

territory, prescribing rules for behavior and handing out fines when they were not observed, this was a symbolic, soft power and consequently not wholly in the control of the Amphictiony itself.[27] Thus one finds the Amphictiony often upon the grand stage of Mediterranean history, if peripherally so, in a position which bears little relation to the actual, practical functions performed by this body.

Nowhere is this tendency more marked than in the lengthy string of wars, 'sacred' and otherwise, that concerned the Amphictiony in some manner. Modern scholarship recognizes four 'sacred wars' fought over the course of the Archaic and Classical periods that impacted the control and administration of the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo at Delphi.[28] The First, about which there was little agreement in antiquity and no consensus today, may have arisen from an initially localized conflict between Delphi and Krisa/Kirrha over access to the sanctuary and control of its possessions and territory. Different sources present a host of different allies for the Delphian cause, and the end result of the conflict was the destruction of Krisa/Kirrha, perhaps in the first decades of the sixth century, and the introduction, perhaps solidification, of Amphictionic control over the sanctuary.[29] The Second, meagerly attested, took place ca. 449 during the so-called First Peloponnesian War, when a Spartan army is alleged to have gained control of the sanctuary and handed it over to the Delphians. A Spartan retreat was followed by an Athenian advance, and the sanctuary was subsequently returned to the Phokians.[30] The Third, the 'mother' of all sacred wars, is of somewhat uncertain chronology but probably dates ca. 355–346. It witnessed Philip II, king of Macedon, entering into a dispute between the Amphictions and the Phokians. The latter had seized control of the sanctuary and were spending liberally from its treasures. Philip took the side of the Amphictions, subsequently defeated the Phokians in battle, and won for himself representation on the Amphictiony (again at the expense of the Phokians, who were excluded from the council as

[27] Cf. Hornblower 1992, *passim*, esp. p. 180.

[28] Pownall 1998, pp. 42–44. Cf. Brodersen 1991; Rousset 2002, pp. 283–286.

[29] From the voluminous scholarship, see the recent and useful studies of Hall 2007b, pp. 276–281; Howe 2003; Sánchez 2001, pp. 58–80, with copious references to primary sources and secondary studies. Among earlier studies, see especially Davies 1994 and Robertson 1978.

[30] Thuc. 1.112.5 is the principal ancient source. See now Sánchez 2001, pp. 106–115. See also Hornblower 1997, pp. 181–183, and Gomme 1945, pp. 337–338.

a result).[31] The Fourth occurred in 339, a prelude to Chaironeia, and saw Philip himself leading an army against Amphissa on behalf of the Amphictiony because the Amphissans had intruded upon Apollo's sacred plain and harbor.[32]

But only the Second and Third Sacred Wars were ever designated 'sacred' in antiquity, often with qualification,[33] and the idea of a numbered sequence of wars fought for control of the Delphic sanctuary is a modern scholarly construction with origins in the early twentieth century.[34] While the macro-political context of each of these wars, to the extent that it can be reconstructed, is distinct, the proximate causes are identical: Apollo's interests at Delphi had in some way been threatened by an offending party.[35] In this light, sacred is not an entirely inappropriate description of the conflicts; and indeed, Lefèvre rightly draws attention to other conflicts which could be portrayed as sharing the same proximate cause and could just as easily lay claim to the title ἱερός.[36] For example, the joint Aitolo-Phokian repulsion of the Gallic invaders in 279 could well be regarded as a sacred war,[37] and Philip V certainly attempted in 220 to frame his upcoming war with Aitolia, the so-called 'Social War', as a sacred war with the explicit goal of removing the sanctuary and the Amphictiony from Aitolian control.[38] Practically any conflict where

[31] Worthington 2008, pp. 53–73; Buckler 2003, pp. 397–429, 442–452; Sánchez 2001, pp. 173–199. Buckler 1989 remains fundamental.

[32] Worthington 2008, pp. 136–138, 140–147; Buckler 2003, pp. 489–494; Sánchez 2001, pp. 227–243.

[33] E.g., Thuc. 1.112.5: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν ἱερὸν καλούμενον πόλεμον ἐστράτευσαν.

[34] Pomtow 1901, col. 2547, 2557, 2563–2565, mentions a series of three sacred wars, leaving out the 'fourth' fought against Amphissa; Parke 1939, pp. 246, 251, may be the earliest scholar to call the Amphictionic war with Amphissa the 'Fourth Sacred War'. Cf. the useful discussion of Pownall 1998, pp. 42–44.

[35] Lefèvre 1998, p. 170.

[36] Lefèvre 1998, pp. 170–171.

[37] Sánchez 2001, pp. 281–283; Nachtergael 1977, pp. 3–205; Flacelière 1937, pp. 93–112.

[38] Philip V's proclamation: Polyb. 4.25.8. Although Philip was victorious in the Social War, Aitolian control of the Amphictiony was not challenged. I will discuss in greater detail below other candidates: the Syrian War (which Lefèvre does not include in his catalogue) and the Third Macedonian War (which he does). Other possible candidates: Lefèvre includes Philochorus *FGrHist* 328 F 34a, the lone account of a Boiotian-Athenian conflict over the sanctuary preceding the Second Sacred War. Philochorus' testimony warrants skepticism, however; cf. Sánchez 2001, pp. 106–109, who surveys scholarly opinion. Areus' disastrous campaign in 280 against the Aitolians who were allegedly

central Greece served as a theatre of operations could acquire overtones of sacred war despite having little to do with the Amphictiony or the Delphian sanctuary. Apollo offered no shortage of pretexts, and in the context of broader Greek or Mediterranean power struggles, the Amphictiony was rarely, if ever, the most influential voice in defining Apollo's interests.

When the dust had settled (and, often enough, before), the Amphictiony could be utilized by the victors to justify and legitimate the outcome of such conflicts. This is most explicit during Delphi's Aitolian century, from roughly the 290s to 189, when the Aitolian League projected its proto-hegemony over central Greece through traditional and novel forms of cult at Delphi and by dominating Amphictionic membership. The presence of Philip II within the Amphictiony too had previously made Macedonian territorial acquisitions in northern Greece more palatable to the major powers of central and southern Greece.[39] And if the fact of Roman predominance on the Greek mainland was already well established by the time of Augustus' accession, it is also true that his victory in the Roman civil wars marked a distinct stage in the formalization of Roman control over Greek territory—the creation of a provincial order south of Macedonia. The Amphictiony again played a central legitimizing role for this new arrangement as Augustus' city foundation at Nikopolis, which commemorated his victory at Actium, was received within the Amphictiony and awarded ten positions on the council.[40] The circumstances of the Aitolian, Macedonian, and Roman acquisitions of influence within the Amphictiony may differ in individual details, but this should not obscure their essential similarities. In each case, monumental political re-ordering on the Greek mainland was accompanied by re-ordering within the Amphictiony.

The preceding background sketch helps to contextualize the events of the 190s and 180s, when the political and military fault lines dividing Aitolia, Macedonia, and Rome extended throughout much of central and northern Greece. While Glabrio and Aemilius Paullus tend to receive the most credit for ending Aitolian and Macedonian hopes for hegemony over central Greece, it was the Flamininan settlement in the

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cultivating the sacred plain of Apollo at Kirrha is occasionally referred to as a 'Fifth Sacred War' in modern scholarship; cf. Sánchez 2001, pp. 280–281; Flacelière 1937, pp. 83–84.

[39] Worthington 2008, p. 103.

[40] Paus. 10.8.3.

wake of the Second Macedonian War that had done the heavy lifting in checking Aitolian and Macedonian territorial ambitions. However ineffable and nebulous Amphictionic authority appears throughout its history, given the larger political transformations taking place in the first decades of the second century, it was seemingly destined to play a central role. But where Macedonian, Aitolian, and Roman encroachments into central Greece entailed innovations in Amphictionic membership, the Flamininan reorganization of central and northern Greece was essentially retrospective in character. The historical clock of the region was wound back to the period before Philip II had initiated the southward expansion of Macedonia. Over the course of the first half of the second century, the Amphictiony would come to mirror this territorial transformation in its membership. At the conclusion of the Roman War with Antiochus (Syrian War) in 188, the Amphictiony returned to its membership ca. 300; after the ultimate battle of the Third Macedonian War at Pydna in 167, the membership would resemble quite closely that of the pre-Third Sacred War Amphictiony.

Roman 'Sacred Wars'

Although the Second Macedonian War did not have an immediate, dramatic impact on the Amphictiony, it prepared the ground for subsequent transformation of that institution. Aitolia remained a Roman ally after Philip V's defeat at Kynoskephalai in 197, albeit increasingly disgruntled, and continued to control the Amphictiony. Aitolian control of Phokis seems to have been formally sanctioned by Rome after 196 and Aitolian representation on the Amphictiony increased as a result from nine votes to eleven.[41] By 193, however, disenchantment with the Flamininan settlement had led the Aitolians to break with Rome and ally with Antiochus III, king of the Seleucid kingdom. A war with Rome soon followed which resulted in the defeat of the Aitolo-Seleucid alliance. The event had particularly grave consequences for Aitolian territorial holdings and, by extension, their supremacy within the Amphictiony. The most important Roman general during the war, M'. Acilius Glabrio, wintered in Phokis in 191/0, by which time the eventual defeat of the Aitolians and Seleucids was no longer in doubt. He busied himself not simply with

[41] Polyb. 18.47.9; *CID* 4, 101.

planning for the spring campaign, but also with specifically Delphian issues. All could see that an Aitolian defeat would result in a vacuum in authority at Delphi and within the Amphictiony.

Initially, citizens of Delphi seem to have won the most influence with Glabrio. Plutarch could regard the Roman general as a friend of Delphi on a par with Flamininus and Aemilius Paullus, and with good reason.[42] An important letter of Glabrio's was published in the sanctuary and indicates that he confiscated Aitolian-held properties in the neighborhood of Delphi and returned them to the *polis* and 'the god'. The same monument reveals that Glabrio had dealt with an initial wave of legal challenges to these confiscations, and that he had instructed the Delphians to set up a court to arbitrate anticipated future disputes.[43] The work represents a concrete first step in undoing nearly a century of Aitolian influence in the region, and would have provided sufficient reason for the Delphians to honor their newest benefactor with a monumental statue.[44]

There was more. The Delphians may have sensed an opportunity to reduce the power not simply of Aitolia, but of the Amphictiony within which the Aitolians had wielded so much power. Glabrio's letter

[42] Plut. *Sull.* 12.9–10. Flamininus had dedicated his long shield, silver bucklers, and a gold crown at Delphi after his victory at Kynoskephalai (Plut. *Flam.* 12.6–7). Cf. Hintzen-Bohlen 1992, pp. 152–153, with further bibliography. Aemilius Paullus appropriated an unfinished dedication of Perseus' at Delphi and converted it into a monument celebrating Rome's victory over Macedonia in the Third Macedonian War (*FD* 3.4, 361). Cf. Jacquemin 1999, p. 350, no. 424, with further bibliography.

[43] Sherk 1969, pp. 221–224, no. 37 (*SIG*[3] 609–610), to which must be added the new fragment published in Michaud 1977. Glabrio's name is not preserved, but there can be little doubt that he was its author; see Roussel 1932, pp. 6–7; Daux 1936, pp. 227–229; Sherk 1969, p. 224. The fundamental discussion of these documents is now Rousset 2002, pp. 250–269. Szemler 1989 stresses the strategic and tactical gains of such confiscations in the context of a still hot war with Aitolia and observes that Glabrio gained control of much of the Isthmos corridor as a result, as well as Delphi's substantial harborage at Krisa. Ager 1996, pp. 238–247, no. 88, argues that Glabrio was not simply involved in land confiscations, but in border disputes more broadly among Delphi, Amphissa, and Antikyra.

[44] *SIG*[3] 607: [ἁ] πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν Μάνιον Ἀκίλιον | Γαΐου υἱόν, στραταγὸν ὕπατον Ῥωμαίων, | ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας τᾶς | εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὰν πόλιν Ἀπόλλωνι. 'The city of Delphi [dedicated a statue of] Manius Acilius, son of Gaius, consul of the Romans, because of his excellence and good work for the sanctuary and the city, to Apollo'. Edmonson 1993, p. 177 observes that Glabrio's letter is inscribed on the Delphian statue base honoring him, physically demonstrating that Delphi was under the power of Rome: '… a letter or senatus consultum, even if elicited from the periphery, provided an excellent opportunity for the Romans to impose their will on their Greek subjects, but also to create an image of themselves as political masters, powerful, but pious and fair'.

concludes: '[and concerning] matters relating to the sanctuary, if the Thessalians or any others send envoys, I will try [in Rome (?) with all] my power to see to it that your ancestral rights that existed from the beginning will be yours forever, [the] autonomy of your city and your sanctuary [kept safe (?)]'.[45] The concerns of the Delphian *polis* are complex and expressed with some compression in Glabrio's letter. Clearly the Delphians imagine that the Thessalians will attempt to reassert themselves within the Amphictiony and to resume their traditional position of influence within that body. Such fears were legitimate. The Aitolians had used the Amphictiony as a way to control and dominate local Delphian politics, and so the Delphians were in no mood to exchange one master for another. It is possible, perhaps likely, that Glabrio had already received at Delphi that winter a Thessalian delegation claiming as much; and it was certainly no stretch for Glabrio or the Delphians to imagine Thessalian envoys at Rome debating Amphictionic prerogatives before the Senate. Doubtless other Amphictionic voices were heard as well at this time, and the Amphictiony may even have dedicated their own honorary statue for Glabrio within the sanctuary.[46] But Glabrio's letter reflects the ambition of Delphi to curtail not simply the expansive use which the Aitolians made of the Amphictiony but even the customary Amphictionic functions of sanctuary and festival management.[47] By default the Syrian War had become a kind of Sacred War, and Rome its arbiter.

The initial victor would appear to have been Delphi, and indeed the Delphians promptly sent an embassy to Rome to gain official Senatorial confirmation of Glabrio's *ad hoc* arrangements. In 189 and on behalf of the Roman Senate, the praetor Spurius Postumius Albinus sent one letter to the city of Delphi and another to the Amphictiony, each with identi-

[45] Sherk 1969, pp. 221–224, no. 37 A, l. 7–10, trans. Sherk, with some modification: [Περὶ δὲ] | [τ]ῶν κατὰ τὸ ἱερόν, ἐάν τε Θεσσαλοί, ἐάν τε ἄλλοι τινὲς πρεσβεύωσι, πειράσο[μαι ἐν Ῥώμῃ? κατὰ] | [τ]ὰ ἐμ[α]υτοῦ φροντίσαι ἵνα ὑμῖν κατάμονα ᾖι τὰ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπάρχοντα πάτρ[ια, σωζομένης? τῆς] | τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ αὐτονομίας.

[46] *CID* 4, 103 (ed. pr. Bousquet 1964, pp. 387–388 (*SEG* 22, 465)) is often (heavily) restored as such: [τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων] Μάν[ιον Ἀκίλιον] | [Γαΐου υἱόν, στρατηγὸν ὕπατο]ν Ῥωμ[αίων, ἀρετᾶς] | [ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐεργεσίας τᾶς] εἰς αὐ[τοὺς Ἀπόλλωνι]. Jacquemin 1999, p. 48 is cautious. But the arguments of Bousquet 1964, p. 387, are not implausible: 'il est normale qu'elle aussi ait dédié elle [viz., the Amphictiony] aussi une statue d'Acilius, quels que soient les malaises que l'on devine au sein de l'assemblée à ce moment précis, particulièrement entre Aitoliens et Thessaliens'.

[47] Cf. the important discussion at Habicht 1987b, pp. 59–60.

cal content:[48] 'and so know that it has been decided by the Senate that the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo be inviolable and the city and countryside of the Delphians, and that the Delphians be free and autonomous and not subject to taxation, living and governing themselves independently, and having control over the sacred *chora* and the sacred harbor, just as was customary for them from the beginning'. As in Glabrio's letter, while the overall target is the Amphictiony, one can distinguish between the relationship of this institution with the *polis* of Delphi in periods of relative normalcy and during the recent Aitolian domination.[49] The clause guaranteeing Delphian autonomy clearly targeted the Aitolian-dominated Amphictiony, but Delphian control of the sacred *chora* and harbor would have intruded upon the traditional prerogatives of the Amphictiony, and thus the phrase 'from the beginning' may appeal to a status quo before the Amphictiony began its administration of the Delphian sanctuary, conventionally about the time of the First Sacred War.[50] Such concessions at a time of institutional instability and transition must have severely threatened the finances of the Amphictiony and presaged the institution's rapid decline at Delphi.[51]

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[48] *FD* 3.4, 353 A, l. 4–6; B, l. 4–7. I print the text from side B: γινώσκετε οὖν δεδογμένον τῆι συγκλή[τ]ωι τό τε ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Πυθίου ἄσυλον, εἶναι καὶ | τὴν πόλιν τῶν Δελφῶν καὶ τὴν χώραν, καὶ Δ[ελφοὺς] αὐτονόμους καὶ ἐλευθέρους κ[αὶ ἀνεισφόρους, οἰκοῦν]|τας καὶ πολιτεύοντας αὐτοὺς καθ' αὑ[τοὺς καὶ] κυριεύο[ν]τας τῆς τε ἱερᾶς χώρ[ας καὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ λι]|μένος, καθὼς πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀρχῆς [ἦν]. Cf. Holleaux 1930, pp. 38–39; *CID* 4, 104; Rousset 2002, pp. 269–271. These privileges were reinforced in a subsequent letter issued by C. Livius Salinator in 189/8 (*SIG*^{3} 611; Sherk 1969, pp. 225–228, no. 38). The initial Delphian embassy which secured the concessions mentioned in Postumius' letter had been murdered while returning to Delphi and the letter lost; the event forced the Delphians to send a subsequent embassy to secure (again) confirmation of Glabrio's *ad hoc* arrangements, and much else besides (e.g., M. Fulvius Nobilior (cos. 189), then pursuing a siege of Same, was, upon its completion, directed to investigate the murder of the Delphian envoys; the Aitolians were ordered to stop removing property from Delphi, and to return what they had taken; and the Delphians were further encouraged to remove undesirables from their town and *chora*).

[49] Rousset 2002, pp. 270–271, adds an important, additional layer of context. This new dispensation of authority effectively secured Delphian access to the sea and offered it a more formal boundary with Aitolian-controlled Lokris to the west; and to Rome, the actions of the Amphictiony, within which Aitolian proxies were still numerous, probably seemed much less predictable than those of the city of Delphi.

[50] Lefèvre 1998, p. 49. Rousset 2002, p. 272, regards the phrase as 'pure rhétorique diplomatique'.

[51] *CID* 4, 105 is a curious letter of the Roman senate to the Amphictiony on the matter of the 'judgments and votes of the Amphictiony', or possibly 'Amphictionic judgments

But less than five years later, Rome shifted course. In 184/3 the Amphictiony could honor a Thessalian *hieromnemon*, Nikostratos of Larisa, for displaying great energy in helping to return the Amphictiony to its primordial condition; for ensuring that the Pythia of 186/5 was conducted appropriately; and for undertaking an embassy to Rome where he spoke before the Senate on Amphictionic business.[52] The embassy to Rome cannot be disentangled from the restoration of the Amphictiony to its 'original' condition, and on his return to Greece, Nikostratos addressed the Delphians about Rome's decisions and cryptically 'invited the Delphians to preserve their goodwill towards all the Greeks and not to do anything counter to the previous resolutions of the Greeks'.[53] Nikostratos' embassy to Rome will certainly have won sanction for this organization of the Amphictiony, and the tone of the decree suggests that such an arrangement was counter to the wishes of the Delphians.

What did Nikostratos' Amphictiony look like? What were its prerogatives? The earliest evidence is an Amphictionic decree of 178 which sets aside certain areas of Apollo's *hiera chora* for grazing by Apollo's sacred cattle and horses.[54] The Senate had previously awarded oversight of sanctuary territory to the city of Delphi, but this decree shows the Amphictions comfortably exercising power in this domain.[55] One may infer that Nikostratos' mission to Rome was at least partially concerned with the restoration of this Amphictionic privilege, and if Nikostratos had secured concessions from Rome regarding Amphictionic management of the sanctuary's territorial holdings, he may very well have won in addition the reinstatement of Amphictionic management of, and access to dues from, Delphi's sacred harbor. The matter of membership is more clear. The 'traditional' Amphictiony on display in this decree is at least partially that of ca. 346 vintage, after Philip II's successful prosecution of the Third Sacred War: two *hieromnemones* from the Macedonian king

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and votes' (the text is fragmentary; cf. *CID ad loc.*). The Romans counsel for the maintenance of the status quo. Unfortunately, the letter cannot be closely dated. A bare possibility, suggested by the prosopography, is 186, a date that admittedly fits well with the general atmosphere of uncertainty surrounding the Amphictiony in the wake of Glabrio's arrangements.

[52] *CID* 4, 106. Athenians seem also to have played an important role; cf. Habicht 1987b.

[53] *CID* 4, 106. The base of the statue of Nikostratos promised by the decree is partially preserved (*CID* 4, 107).

[54] *CID* 4, 108; cf. Rousset 2002, pp. 193–197. For another, more fragmentary Amphictionic decree of 178, cf. Daux 1939, p. 159 (*CID* 4, 109).

[55] Rousset 2002, p. 273.

Perseus are present, while the Phokians are conspicuously absent; Aitolia too is absent,[56] although it continues to exercise proxy control over the votes of those Amphictionic *ethne* which remained as members of the Aitolian League (Ainis,[57] Lokris,[58] Oitaia,[59] and possibly Dolopia[60]). The removal of the Aitolians as a member *ethnos* may already have been featured in the Delphians' and the Amphictions' initial parleys with Glabrio. Thessaly and the Thessalian *perioikoi*, absent throughout the period of Aitolian control at Delphi, returned in full force.

Looking back on the letters of Glabrio and Spurius Postumius to the Delphians from the perspective of the Amphictionic decree for Nikostratos, one realizes how precipitously Delphian fortunes vis-à-vis the sanctuary of Apollo had fallen. Delphian fears in 190 about Thessalian intervention at Rome on behalf of the Amphictiony had been well-founded. Macedonian, Aitolian, and Thessalian factions seem to have been somewhat evenly balanced in the Amphictiony in 178, however, and there is no evidence that Nikostratos' mission impacted Delphi's autonomy as a *polis*.[61] This last point was very likely the most critical complaint

[56] Cf. Habicht 1987b, pp. 60–61; Giovannini 1970.

[57] Ainis formally remained a member of the Aitolian League in 178 and it is not surprising that both Ainian *hieromnemones* are from Aitolia: Lochagos son of Hagetas from Kallipolis and Nikias son of Alexander from Kalydon. Both belonged to powerful Aitolian families. Cf. Grainger 2000, p. 181, p. 216, s.v. Lochagos (4); p. 249, s.v. Nikias (13); *LGPN* 3A s.v. Λόχαγος 4; s.v. Νικίας 17.

[58] Both east and west Lokris remained Aitolian in 178, and both Lokrian *hieromnemones* were Aitolians: Proandros son of Proandros from Pholas and Nikandros son of Bittos from Trichonos. Both served as general of the Aitolian League over the course of their political careers. Cf. Grainger 2000, p. 289, s.v. Proandros (2); p. 245, s.v. Nikandros (6); *LGPN* 3A s.v. Πρόανδρος 2; s.v. Νίκανδρος 9.

[59] The tentative division between Malian and Oitaian votes which developed in the fourth-century Amphictionic lists is now fully realized. The 'Malians' send one hieromnemon, as do the 'Herakleians'. Later Amphictionic lists use the ethnic 'Oitaians'. The Herakleian-Oitaian contingent in 178 belongs in a slightly different category than those of the Ainianes, Lokrians, or Dolopians. Herakleia was still a member of the Aitolian League in 178, and its *hieromnemon*, Phaineas son of Nikias, unlike those of the Ainianes and the Lokrians, did not come from the Aitolian heartland, but from an elite Ainian family based in Sosthenis. For Phaineas, see Grainger 2000, p. 266, s.v. Phaineas (5); *LGPN* 3B s.v. Φαινέας 9.

[60] It is possible that the Dolopian *hieromnemon*, Syagros son of Datyiadon, originated from a family that had been influential in Aitolian politics: Grainger 2000, p. 313, s.v. Syagros (1), (2), and p. 10, has plausibly suggested that his grandfather was the Syagros known to have been general of the Aitolian League in 226/5 and *hieromnemon* soon thereafter. Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Σύαγρος 1.

[61] Sánchez 2001, p. 376; Daux 1936, pp. 305–314.

that the Delphians had made to Glabrio about the Aitolian domination of the Amphictiony—that the Aitolians used the Amphictiony to impose their will on the *polis* of Delphi. The net result for Delphi may have been a virtual return to the Amphictiony of Philip II and Alexander in both membership and priorities, and while short of what they had temporarily attained from Glabrio and Spurius Postumius, this was a certain improvement over the Aitolian-era Amphictiony. If the order of Amphictionic *ethne* in the 178 list is any indication, the Delphian *hieromnemones* may have attained through these negotiations a temporary position of greater prestige within the Amphictiony. The Delphians are listed first in the decree, the Thessalians second, and in official Amphictionic documents of the later Hellenistic period, Delphians and Thessalians seem to alternate between first and second position. In the fourth-century Amphictiony, it is the Thessalians who invariably appear first in these lists of *hieromnemones*, with the Delphians usually appearing third, after the representatives of the Macedonian king.

But the Pandora's Box opened by Glabrio cannot be considered closed by 178. The Macedonian king Perseus, much like his father Philip V, had made Delphi a centerpiece of Macedonian policy in central and southern Greece and he dexterously exploited the sanctuary to maximize his influence in those regions.[62] We have already considered in Chapter Two Perseus' publication of notices of debt-amnesty for Macedonian exiles at Delphi, Delos, and a sanctuary of Athena Itonia. According to Polybius, the gesture was designed to win favor among mainland and Aegean Greeks, and to this end it may be considered a success.[63] Perseus dedicated several large pillar monuments at Delphi in the 170s intended to advertise his munificence, and perhaps that of Macedonia more broadly.[64] Rather more spectacular and potentially threatening to Rome was Perseus' combination of a military mission in Dolopia[65] with

[62] Cf. Miller 2000, pp. 278–281.

[63] Polyb. 25.3.1–2.

[64] Plut. *Aem. Paul.* 28.4 mentions an unfinished monument designed to hold a gold equestrian statue. Polyb. 30.10.1–2 and Liv. 45.25.7 mention several pillars. One was converted by Aemilius Paullus into a monument commemorating his recent victory over Perseus at Pydna. Another seems to have been used by Perseus to (re)publish documents advertising a tendentious, pro-Macedonian version of earlier Delphian history (for the inscription, see *CID* 4, 11). For full bibliography on both monuments, cf. Jacquemin 1999, pp. 340–341, no. 348–349.

[65] Dolopia, although freed by Flamininus at the time of the Isthmian proclamation, had fallen back into Macedonian control by the 180s. Livy 42.41.13 has Perseus claim

a visit to Delphi in 174, both to offer sacrifice in fulfillment of a vow and to consult the oracle.[66] The inescapable symbolism of the gesture was balanced with a practical, demonstrative purpose: Macedonia under Perseus' leadership was part of the broader religious community of mainland Greece and, at a time of contracting Aitolian influence, his presence at Delphi with an army offered a none-too-subtle reminder of the continuing power of the Macedonian state. At a closed-door meeting of the Roman Senate in 172, the Attalid king Eumenes could list Perseus' armed *theoria* to Delphi among other indicators of the Macedonian king's menacing intentions.[67] Such testimony prompted Rome to send a letter to Delphi that detailed the threatening behavior of Perseus and was published within the sanctuary of Apollo.[68]

Delphi thus emerged as a symbolic front in the buildup to the Third Macedonian War and Rome seems to have deployed 'sacred war' rhetoric. Although the major campaigning took place further north, it is not surprising that Aemilius Paullus visited Delphi soon after his victory at Pydna in 168. While there, he converted one of Perseus' dedications in the sanctuary into a monument commemorating Perseus' defeat. The post-war settlement of Macedonia by Rome terminated for good the Antigonid kingship and divided the traditional territory of Macedonia into four separately administered republics. Amphictionic membership was adjusted accordingly. As expected, the next fully preserved Amphictionic list reveals no *hieromnemones* from the Macedonian king; instead the Phokian delegation appears again.[69] The Aitolian League's territorial losses in the wake of Pydna resulted in the total eclipse of any continuing

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that Dolopia had been awarded to Philip V by Roman decree; if such testimony is true, the Syrian War provides a suitable context, for Macedonia reacquired a commanding interest in Magnesia at Roman behest as compensation for Macedonian support of Rome during that conflict. In any case, Perseus could regard Dolopia as a dependent possession of Macedonia in the 170s. Liv. 41.22.4, 23.12 suggests that the Dolopians wished to refer a matter in dispute to Rome rather than Perseus for adjudication; Liv. 42.41.13–14 and App. *Mac*. 11.6 both refer to the murder of the Macedonian governor in Dolopia, Euphranor, by Dolopians.

[66] Fulfillment of vow: Liv. 42.42.1; consultation of oracle: Liv. 41.22.6.

[67] Liv. 42.11.1–13.12; App. *Mac*. 11.1–2.

[68] *FD* 3.4, 75 (Sherk 1969, pp. 233–239, no. 40) + *FD* 3.4, 367, first associated at Bousquet 1981. The text is heavily supplemented on the basis of Livy 42.13.5–9.

[69] *CID* 4, 114, dated to 134 or 130. *CID* 4, 111, dated to ca. 190–140, is too fragmentary to allow for detailed reconstruction. Those Amphictionic territories still formally controlled by Macedonia or the Aitolian League in the list of 178 were by this time independently dispatching *hieromnemones*.

proxy influence within the Amphictiony after the Syrian War. Traditional Amphictionic prerogatives squared with traditional Amphictionic membership. A pre-Third Sacred War status quo had been reached.

Thessalian Variations

As the Amphictiony developed throughout the first half of the second century and reacquired its original contours—contours that were remarkably in keeping with the spirit, if not the letter, of the Flamininan territorial reorganization of central and northern Greece—the character of that Flamininan reorganization had itself begun to shift. As discussed in Chapter One, Rome seems to have supported the peaceful territorial expansion of the Thessalian League. Achaia Phthiotis entered the League already in the 190s, and Malis followed in the 180s; Perrhaibia joined in the 140s, as perhaps did Oitaia. The conservatism of the Flamininan settlement was thus ephemeral, while that of the Amphictiony was considerably less so.

In the case of the Thessaloi *tout court*, the honorary decree for Nikostratos[70] makes it clear that the Thessalian League had selected him as *hieromnemon*. Other Amphictionic *ethne* that were politically constituted as independent *koina* also most probably selected their own *hieromnemones* in a similar fashion. But when the Phthiotic Achaians and Malians joined the Thessalian League, they continued to enjoy independent *ethnos* representation within the Amphictiony. The Thessalian League does not seem to have followed the lead of the Aitolian League in usurping the right of individual Amphictionic *ethne* to dispatch *hieromnemones*. The *ethnos* remained the functional unit of membership within the Amphictiony, a reality which presupposes an underlying *ethnos* organization capable of nominating *hieromnemones* in the absence of a formally autonomous polity. There thus arises a gap at Delphi between Amphictionic Thessaloi and the expanding Thessalian League. In the final analysis, however, such a gap may have been only apparent. Those who had access to positions of power within the Thessalian League were for the most part residents of tetradic Thessaly—Thessaloi from the perspective of the Amphictiony. It was not until the Imperial period that residents of the previously perioikic territories of Perrhaibia or Ainis found

[70] *CID* 4, 106.

themselves holding high office within the Thessalian League. For the second and first centuries, the Thessaloi and the Thessalian League are coterminous categories not simply from an Amphictionic perspective but also as practical political reality.

Subsequent Amphictionic lists suggest that the Thessaloi usurped on occasion the rights of neighboring *ethne* to send *pylagoroi* to meetings of the Amphictionic council. A substantial if fragmentary dossier dated to the last quarter of the second century details a messy dispute between rival factions within the *polis* of Delphi over mismanagement of sanctuary possessions. The Roman senate, the proconsul of Macedonia, and the Amphictiony each became involved, and a varied record of their interactions was inscribed on the orthostates of the temple of Apollo within the sanctuary.[71] There is a list of the members of the Amphictionic council in attendance, and quite exceptionally this list includes not just the names of the expected twenty-four *hieromnemones*, but also those of forty-eight other individuals, who can only be *pylagoroi*. In two cases it is clear that residents of tetradic Thessaly were serving as *pylagoroi* for *ethne* whose territories formally belonged to the Thessalian League, but which continued to send their own *hieromnemones*: two citizens of Gyrton served as *pylagoroi* for a *hieromnemon* from Phthiotic Thebes in Phthiotic Achaia; and a citizen of Pherai served as *pylagoros* for a *hieromnemon* from Perrhaibia.[72] Athens offers relatively certain evidence that *hieromnemones* and *pylagoroi* from that city at least were appointed by distinct methods. By the late second century, and perhaps earlier, such a situation may have obtained in Thessaly as well, with the *ethne* of Perrhaibia and Phthiotic Achaia electing their own *hieromnemones* and the Thessaloi, or more likely the Thessalian League, electing *pylagoroi* on their behalf.

One final Thessalian curiosity among these lists warrants mention. An Amphictionic decree concerning the Dionysian *technitai* of Athens and dated to ca. 121–117 contains a list of attending *hieromnemones*. In place of the expected Perrhaibian rubric, however, there is listed a 'Magnesian from Thessaly', an otherwise unknown Parmeniskos son of Amyntas from the Magnesian city of Homolion.[73] In subsequent lists, the

[71] *CID* 4, 118–119.

[72] *CID* 4, 119B, l. 10, 23. Possibly one from Larisa as well served for the Perrhaibians.

[73] *CID* 4, 117, l. 9–10 (= *IG* 2^2, 1134, l. 14). Simple 'Magnesians' are attested earlier in the list at l. 5–6. For the date, cf. Lefèvre on *CID* 4, 117. Both stones read Παρμενίσκου καὶ Ἀμύντου. The ethnic is not fully preserved on either stone and so it is impossible to know if it was singular or plural. The absence of patronymic would be anomalous;

Perrhaiboi return, but the Magnesians are described as 'Magnesians from Demetrias'.[74] A range of possible explanations has been suggested, although none rises above the level of speculation. Was 'Magnesians of Thessaly' simply equivalent to 'Perrhaibians'?[75] Do the shifting Magnesian ethnics perhaps reflect deeper stresses within the Magnesian *koinon* at this time?[76] Most significant for the purposes of this chapter is the evidence of the continuing vibrancy of *ethnos* discourse at the level of the Amphictiony, and the curious partition of the Magnesian *ethnos* between two distinct, mutually exclusive political and territorial categories—Thessaly and Demetrias.

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accordingly, Daux 1936, p. 374, corrected καί to τοῦ (already suggested at Colin 1903, pp. 130–131). The shared error indicates that the blame lies not with the cutter, but with the copyist of this decree.

[74] *CID* 4, 119.

[75] Colin 1903. While Perrhaibians would return in subsequent lists, Colin ascertained a darker underlying reality (p. 130): 'le people perrhèbe étant alors à son déclin'. He adduced Str. 7, fr. 14 for evidence of confusion about the borders of Magnesia and Perrhaibia in the Late Republican and early Augustan period, and observed that at 9.5.22, Strabo could claim, as he was fond of doing, that there was scarcely a trace of the Perrhaiboi preserved.

[76] Kip 1910, pp. 107–108 cast doubt on Colin's use of Strabo, adducing other passages that clearly reveal that Homolion, the home city of the 'Magnesian from Thessaly', was in Magnesia, not Perrhaibia; he argued instead that the Magnesian League had split: a southern *koinon* centered on Demetrias and a northern *koinon* which included Homolion. Northern Magnesia, according to Kip, may have united with Perrhaibia and the region as a whole would be known from an Amphictionic perspective as 'Thessalian Magnesia'. While the now broadly accepted hypothesis of Kramolisch 1979 concerning the end of the Perrhaibian League (cf. Chapter One) obviates some of Kip's argument, the recognition that the curious bifurcation of Magnesia attested at *CID* 4, 117 may have had a domestic, Magnesian basis, did advance scholarly understanding of the possible political implications of this (still only clerical) event. In particular, Kip adduced *IG* 9.2, 1100a, an honorary decree for Demetrios, son of Aitolion, from Demetrias, a general of the Magnesian League. The inscription details a period of faction bordering on *stasis* throughout the region that Demetrios managed to quell; the cities of Magnesia were thus put into a state of concord. Letter forms broadly suggest a second-century date for this decree. There are unfortunately no details in the inscription which can be more closely located in a political context. The relevance of the decree for our purposes consists in the contentious image of Magnesia which it presents. Daux 1936, p. 346 is equivocal, though he finds hypotheses like Kip's satisfying, even likely. He observes that the Magnesians from Thessaly rubric occurs precisely where the Perrhaibian rubric would have occurred, that is, after the Dolopians and at the end of the Amphictionic catalogue. Such a datum does suggest that there was more than a casual or accidental relationship between Perrhaibia and the Thessalian Magnesians. Lefèvre 1998, p. 90 supports Daux's position. Sánchez 2001, p. 395 goes further: 'C'est donc par faveur spéciale des Thessaliens que les Magnètes de Thessalie—le titre est révélateur—ont obtenu de siéger à la place des Perrhèbes à cette session'.

Augustus substantially reshaped the composition of the Delphic Amphictiony and established his new foundation on the Greek mainland, Nicopolis, in a position of extreme prominence: 'The emperor Augustus wished that Nikopolis near Actium also participate in the council of the Amphictions. Accordingly, while Magnesia, Malis, Ainis, and Phthiotic Achaia joined Thessaly, the votes that belonged to them and the Dolopians (for the Dolopians were no longer a people) were taken by Nikopolis'.[77] The Perrhaibians, though absent from this list, doubtless 'joined' Thessaly as well.[78] Thessaly was thus linked with all its former *perioikoi*, including the politically independent Magnesians, from the perspective of the Delphic Amphictiony. Cult here rendered an even more expansive definition of the region than it had attained politically.

Thessalian Theoroi, Theorodokoi, *and* Theoriai*: From Fifth to Third Century*

The first half of this chapter has explored the relationship of the several Thessalian and perioikic *ethne* with the Delphic Amphictiony, and set the Amphictionic transformations of the second and first century against the broader backdrop of Archaic, Classical, and early Hellenistic history. In the second half of this chapter, I shift to consider the dispatch of *theoroi* from Thessaly to a variety of international sanctuaries, again with special focus on the later Hellenistic period.

The word *theoros* has a surprisingly broad range of uses in Greek antiquity.[79] From these several meanings, two are especially important in the context of international religion. First, *theoros* denoted those individuals who represented a sanctuary or festival and traveled to different areas of the Greek world to announce that a major festival had been scheduled

[77] Paus. 10.8.3: βασιλεὺς δὲ Αὔγουστος μετεῖναι καὶ Νικοπολίταις τοῖς πρὸς τῷ Ἀκτίῳ συνεδρίου τοῦ Ἀμφικτυόνων ἠθέλησε · Μάγνητας μὲν οὖν καὶ Μαλιεῖς καὶ Αἰνιᾶνας καὶ Φθιώτας Θεσσαλοῖς συντελεῖν, τὰς ψήφους δὲ ὅσαι τούτων τε καὶ Δολόπων—οὐ γὰρ ἔτι ἦν Δολόπων γένος—Νικοπολίτας φέρειν. Cf. Daux 1975, pp. 352–360, and Daux 1976 where the earlier misunderstandings of Larsen 1953, p. 93, and Bowersock 1965a, pp. 96–98, are corrected.

[78] Cf. Lefèvre 1998, p. 127, no. 615; Daux 1976, p. 68. The Perrhaibians are also absent in Pausanias' earlier list of the aboriginal Amphictions (10.8.2).

[79] Dimitrova 2008, pp. 9–16; Boesch 1908.

and to solicit the participation of the communities where they made these announcements. I refer to these *theoroi* as 'festival-announcing *theoroi*'. *Theoros* could also describe those individuals sent to those festivals as representatives of said communities. I refer to these *theoroi* as 'festival-attending *theoroi*'. Both types of mission could be described as *theoriai*, and for both festival-announcing and festival-attending *theoroi*, hosts were appointed by the communities or sanctuary in question to receive and tend to the *theoroi*. These hosts are known as *theorodokoi*. Appointment as *theorodokos* carried some cachet and there are substantial catalogues of *theorodokoi* for festival-announcing *theoroi* known from several major sanctuaries.[80] There is some scholarly dispute as to whether the *theorodokoi* of these catalogues lived in locations where festival announcers could recuperate for one or more evenings over the course of their often lengthy journeys or if every place listed in the catalogue also witnessed an announcement of the festival in question. The current state of evidence does not allow a clear answer, but a plausible case can be made for individual announcements of the festival in each of the communities listed, and likely in many others besides.[81] It is another question whether every city whose *theorodokoi* are listed in such catalogues sent festival-attending *theoroi* of their own to the festival that had been announced. A recent comparison of coinage recovered during the Nemea excavations with the Nemean *theorodokoi* catalogue sheds some light on the problem: 'When the geography of these *theorodokoi* is plotted on a map and compared with the provenience of coins found from afar at Nemea, there is a striking correlation: even though distant mints are often represented by a single coin in the finds, in 19 of 32 cases in which a town known to mint bronze during the 4th century BC is represented in the *theorodokoi* lists, a coin turns up at Nemea'.[82] Similar analyses have not been conducted for other sanctuaries that have produced *theorodokoi* catalogues, but if the Nemea pattern holds, and there is no reason to suspect that it is somehow exceptional, then it is quite likely that a majority of the cities listed in the *theorodokoi* catalogues sent festival-attending *theoroi*. Thessalians are listed in

[80] Motives for inscribing *theorodokoi* catalogues are uncertain, although Perlman 2000, p. 34, has suggested that such activity may in some cases be associated with the reorganization of the festival in question.

[81] Perlman 2000, pp. 32–33.

[82] Knapp and Mac Isaac 2005 (*SEG* 55, 405), pp. 44–45.

theorodokoi catalogues from Delphi and Epidauros, and perhaps as well from Argos. These catalogues belong to the late Classical and early Hellenistic period and so offer useful perspectives on Thessalian *theoriai* in the pre-Flamininan age.

From the late third century, there survives from Delphi a lengthy catalogue of *theorodokoi* who entertained festival-announcing *theoroi* presumably associated with the sanctuary of Pythian Apollo.[83] Among Delphian festivals, only the Soteria or the Pythia could have warranted the dispatch of *theoroi* on such ambitious itineraries. The cities represented in the catalogue overwhelmingly belong to old Greece, while the new foundations of the Hellenistic period have a low profile with the Anatolian interior and Syria-Mesopotamia conspicuously under-represented or absent.[84] Such a fact may just hint at the Pythia. Thessalian *theorodokoi* are especially well-attested in the inscription. One group is formally introduced by the heading τᾶς ἐπὶ Θεσσαλίας καὶ [Μ]ακ[εδονίαν] and includes cities in tetradic Thessaly, Perrhaibia, and northern Magnesia.[85] The second partially represents *addenda* to the first group and is scattered over sections of three columns on the stone. It includes cities from throughout tetradic Thessaly, and both the Thessalian and Spercheios *perioikoi*.[86] Although the late third century was high tide for Aitolian domination of the Amphictiony and witnessed the exclusion of the *ethne* of Thessaly and the Thessalian and Spercheios *perioikoi* from the administration of the sanctuaries and festivals at Delphi and Anthela, this catalogue suggests that individual cities in these regions continued to entertain festival-announcing *theoroi* and were at least thought willing by the Aitolian-dominated Amphictiony to send festival-attending *theoroi* of their own to Delphi. The format of the inscription parallels other, roughly contemporary *theorodokoi* catalogues known from Epidauros and Nemea.[87] The major, continuous section of the Thessalian

[83] Plassart 1921 remains the standard reference. A new edition is being prepared by J. Oulhen.

[84] Robert 1946, pp. 515–516.

[85] col. III, l. 10–50.

[86] col. III, l. 125–139; scattered lines in col. IV; col. V, l. 6–48; col. V C (b), l. 1–16; col. V D (b), l. 1–22.

[87] For the catalogue from the Asklepieion at Epidauros, dated to ca. 360–359, see Perlman 2000, pp. 74–78, and Ep. Cat. E. 1 (*IG* 4^2.1, 94). For the catalogue from Argos, perhaps connected with the Heraion, dated to ca. 316–193, see Perlman 2000, pp. 100–104, and Ep. Cat. A. 1 (ed. pr. Charneux 1966).

itinerary preserved on the Delphian catalogue has considerable parallels in the Peloponnesian comparanda. The route of festival-announcing *theoroi* from central and southern Greek sanctuaries through Thessaly was in some sense traditional.[88]

If it is correct to assume that the relationship between Delphian *theoroi* and individual Thessalian cities attested by the late third-century *theorodokoi* catalogue had much earlier roots, then it is possible to grasp even more fully the innovative stroke of Jason of Pherai, who in 370, 'as the Pythian festival was drawing near, ordered the cities to contribute cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs for the festival. And they said that he, despite asking very little from each city, had no less than one thousand cattle, and more than ten thousand of the other animals. He announced that there would even be a victory prize, a gold crown, for whichever city raised the most beautiful bull to be leader [of the procession] for the god'.[89] The *theorodokoi* catalogue would lead one to suspect that many Thessalian cities had been visited by *theoroi*, and that these cities promised to send ambassadors to attend the Pythian festival and most probably to offer a sacrifice there, either purchased at Delphi or conveyed from Thessaly. The overwhelmingly positive response from the Thessalian cities to Jason's request may have either represented an additional contribution for the festival or, as is more likely, effectively replaced the contribution which was promised at the time that the Delphian *theoroi* were entertained in individual cities. In either case, Jason's planned *theoria* can be seen to represent the Thessaly under his control at that time, and so to realize however ephemerally in the language of cult a Thessalian *ethnos* greater than the sum of its often-squabbling *poleis*.[90]

Jason's *theoria* never left Pherai, however, and the evidence to hand does not suggest that the Thessalians *qua ethnos* ever sustained a meaningful relationship in cult with Delphi, beyond their participation in the Amphictiony. The festival dynamic was overwhelmingly *polis*-centric. A similar picture is offered by the Epidaurian and Argive *theorodokoi* catalogues. In each case, it was individual Thessalian cities that entertained

[88] Perlman 2000, pp. 74–78.

[89] Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.29: ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρήγγειλε μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι βοῦς καὶ οἷς καὶ αἶγας καὶ ὗς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν· καὶ ἔφασαν πάνυ μετρίως ἑκάστῃ πόλει ἐπαγγελλομένῳ γενέσθαι βοῦς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοσκήματα πλείω ἢ μύρια. ἐκήρυξε δὲ καὶ νικητήριον χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἔσεσθαι, ἥτις τῶν πόλεων βοῦν ἡγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψειε.

[90] Graninger 2009, pp. 111–114.

festival-announcing *theoroi* and presumably sent in return festival-attending *theoroi*. Over the course of nearly a century and a half of Thessalian history, the region appears throughout as a collection of *poleis* from the perspective of these three festivals attested by theorodokic catalogues.

Other categories of evidence from the pre-Flamininan period present a similar image of the region. The epigraphic record of Gonnoi in Perrhaibia is particularly distinctive with regard to *theoroi* and *theorodokoi*, for three documents from the city dated to the late third century help to flesh out processes that are merely suggested by the catalogues of *theorodokoi* discussed above. The first, a fragmentary decree of the city, stipulates that the *hipparch* and *hippeis* are to escort festival-attending *theoroi* sent by Gonnoi;[91] the name of the festival in question is not preserved. In addition to the honor and security afforded to festival-attending *theoroi* by such a gesture, equestrians could perhaps have participated in processions within the festival proper and may even have competed in equestrian events if there were hippic games.[92] A second, fragmentary decree appoints one Praxias as *proxenos* and *theorodokos* of Gonnoi.[93] Although Praxias' ethnic is not preserved, his appointment at *proxenos* indicates that he was not from Gonnoi. As *theorodokos*, this Praxias would presumably have entertained *theoroi* from Gonnoi when they visited to attend major festivals in Praxias' home city.[94] The third inscription, a nearly complete stele, records the selection of a *theorodokos* to receive Athenian *theoroi* who were proclaiming the sacred truce associated with the Eleusinia, Panathenaia, and Mysteria—an event which can only have served as a *de facto* announcement of those festivals.[95] This same stele records in turn an Athenian decree which promised honors in Athens for all *theorodokoi* who hosted Athenian *theoroi* associated with these festivals.[96] Although Gonnoi was a prized strategic possession of the Antigonids, it was nevertheless in many respects

[91] Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 108.
[92] Helly 1973, vol. 2, pp. 119–120.
[93] Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 110.
[94] Cf. Perlman 2000, pp. 17–18. This inscription constitutes one of the best pieces of evidence for the appointment of *theorodokoi* for *festival-attending theoroi*.
[95] Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 109.
[96] The Athenian decree can be associated with the religious efflorescence that took place in Athens in the decades following the withdrawal of Macedonian garrisons from the city in 229. For a sketch of the religious history of this period, see Mikalson 1998, pp. 168–208. For a detailed examination of the politics of this era, see Habicht 1997, pp. 173–193.

an average Thessalian city, and its particularly well-documented investment in *theoroi* and *theorodokoi* of various types may be reflective of the broader range of activities undertaken by the cities, Thessalian and otherwise, listed in the *theorodokoi* catalogues.

I have sketched thus far Thessaly's position within the itineraries of festival-announcing *theoroi* dispatched from traditional, mainland Greek sanctuaries. Over the course of the Hellenistic period, however, a new set of international festivals developed which added greater complexity to these established theoric networks. In some cases, completely new festivals were established; in others, older, local festivals were upgraded so that they might acquire prestige equivalent to that enjoyed by the 'big four' festivals of the mainland at Nemea, Isthmia, Delphi, and Olympia.[97] Motives varied. R. Parker has observed that the new or expanded festivals belonged largely to the eastern Greek world, and may reflect the broader re-centering of political and cultural power characteristic of the Hellenistic period.[98] J. Ma has usefully applied the concept of 'peer polity interaction' to the evidence, suggesting that the development of these festivals and their announcement throughout the Mediterranean world by *theoroi* were part 'of a mesh of strong horizontal connections of collaboration, assertion and recognition [among cities] … eminently desirable … in a world of powerful vertical pressures tending toward integration and subordination'.[99] Local conditions also need to be accounted for.[100] Evidence for these festivals is again distinct from that of either the *theorodokoi* catalogues or the Gonnoi decrees which appoint local and honor foreign *theorodokoi*, and make provisions for the departure of local *theoroi* to foreign festivals. Nevertheless, the image of Thessaly as a collection of *poleis* is maintained, although there are occasional intrusions of an *ethnos* discourse.

In the first half of the third century, the *polis* of Kos began to enlarge and improve its famous sanctuary of Asklepios. Such architectural embellishment assumed a festival dimension in 241, when the Koans celebrated the first penteteric Greater Asklepieia. There had probably previously been an annual festival honoring the god which attracted a predominantly local audience.[101] These local Asklepieia may then have been

[97] For a conspectus of these festivals, cf. Chaniotis 1995; Parker 2004, pp. 18–22.
[98] Parker 2004, pp. 15–17.
[99] Ma 2003, p. 30.
[100] As does Buraselis 2004 for the Koan Asklepieia.
[101] For discussion of the problematic evidence, see Rigsby 1996, p. 109.

augmented by an enlarged festival with a full program of musical and gymnic contests that attracted international competitors. In preparation, Kos had dispatched festival-announcing *theoroi* the previous year in 242 asking a range of Hellenistic cities, leagues, and monarchs to accept the new festival and to recognize the inviolability of the sanctuary and occasionally of those who travelled there to participate. An archive of several dozen affirmative responses to this mission has been recovered from the Koan sanctuary of Asklepios. This group of stelae constitutes the earliest such archive of festival acceptances known from the Hellenistic world. Several decrees from Thessaly are numbered among them: Gonnoi in Perrhaibia, Homolion in Magnesia, Phthiotic Thebes in Phthiotic Achaia,[102] each of which is in koine, and two other very fragmentary inscriptions in Thessalian dialect from unspecified, presumably tetradic, Thessalian cities.[103] There also survives a fragmentary Koan decree concerning the dispatch and reception of *theoroi* dated to ca. 250–200 that may have been motivated in some measure by the attempts to upgrade the Asklepieia in 242.[104] The content of the decrees of acceptance, when apprehensible, is normative, and on the basis of this most lacunose dossier, Thessaly appears again as a collection of *poleis*.

There are hints, however, in the decrees from these varied Thessalian cities that the Koan *theoroi* appealed to a broader *ethnos* identity which overlapped with that of the individual *poleis*. So, for example, in the Gonnoi decree, the Koan *theoroi* are alleged to have emphasized the *syngeneia* and *philia* linking Kos not simply with Gonnoi, but also with the *ethnos* of the Perrhaibians broadly construed. A clause in the Homolion decree indicates that the *theoroi* made similar claims about the relationship between the Koans and Magnesians. One of the fragmentary decrees from tetradic Thessaly suggests that the *ethnos* of the Thessalians could also be invoked by these *theoroi* in their attempt to win acceptance

[102] *IG* 12.4.1, 216, a fragmentary opisthographic stele containing at least four decrees of acceptance; in addition to the three perioikic cities mentioned above, Megara was also included. Cf. Rigsby 1996, pp. 131–134, no. 19, 21–22; Bosnakis and Hallof 2003 pp. 229–234; Helly 2004a.

[103] *IG* 12.4.1, 217–218. Cf. Bosnakis and Hallof 2003, pp. 234–235, no. 15a–b (*SEG* 53, 851); Helly 2004a, pp. 89–94, 103–105 (*SEG* 54, 782).

[104] *IG* 12.4.1, 207. Cf. Boesch 1908, p. 28; Bosnakis and Hallof 2003, pp. 233–234, with n. 67; and Rigsby 2004 (*BullÉp* 2004, no. 211; *SEG* 53, 849), who cleverly argues that the Argos which is somewhat incongruously paired with Thessaly for the *theoroi* headed to Itonos is actually the Pelasgian Argos of Homer, i.e., Achaia Phthiotis.

for the Asklepieia.[105] Although the comparatively well-preserved decree of the Phthiotic Achaians does not suggest that reference was made to the *ethnos* of the Achaians during the presentation of the Koan *theoroi*, the decree is of the more abbreviated variety that lacks clauses drawing attention to the arguments of the Koan *theoroi*. This need not imply that such arguments were not in fact made.[106] In their decree of acceptance, Gonnoi reaffirmed these ethnic ties in somewhat startling fashion: 'Resolved by the city of Gonnoi: let there be friendship and alliance for all the Perrhaibians with the city of Kos, just as there was even from the beginning'.[107] It is possible that the cutter of the decree erred and inscribed 'alliance' (συμμαχίαν) for 'kinship' (συγγένειαν), for the Koan *theoroi* seem only to have mentioned 'friendship and kinship'.[108] If correctly inscribed, however, such an alliance certainly had no specific, contemporary historical referent.[109] The phrase seems to reflect an escalation of the language of kinship at the level of the *ethnos* on the part of Gonnoi. The Koans had mentioned only *syngeneia*, but the Gonnoians 'correct' their guests with the specification of *symmachia*. The Perrhaiboi were of course in no position to declare or reaffirm as a legitimate political actor an ancestral alliance with Kos, nor would the city of Gonnoi have been able to speak on its behalf had the Perrhaiboi been organized formally as a league or the equivalent in 242. It is difficult to see what the Koans could have gained from such a formulation. Their initial arguments were geared toward winning an acceptance of the enlarged Asklepieia, and nothing besides. Gonnoi, however, may have seen some symbolic gain in electing to present itself in a leadership position vis-à-vis the Perrhaiboi and in advertising this 'status' both at home and abroad.[110]

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[105] *IG* 12.4.1, 217, l. 7. An early third-century decree of the Koans is known to have honored both the Thessalian *ethnos* and the individual cities of the region for the gift of grain during a crisis (*IG* 12.4.1, 133; cf. Segré 1934, p. 176, no. B 2; Helly 2004a, p. 101, with n. 41) and thus provides a useful parallel for the conception of Thessaly presented in the festival acceptance decrees: δεδόχθαι τῶι δά[μωι ἐπαινῆσαι μὲν κοινᾶι τὸ ἔθν]ος τὸ Θεσσαλῶν καὶ ἰδία[ι] | τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν Θεσσαλίαι κ[αὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὰς κτλ.

[106] For other, abbreviated decrees of similar content, see, e.g., *IG* 12.4.1, 215 (Rigsby 1996, pp. 129–131, no. 16–18), which contains the acceptance decrees of Thelphusa, Elis, and Aegeira.

[107] *IG* 12.4.1, 216A, l. 9–11: δεδόχθαι τῆι πόλει τῆι Γοννέ|ων · τήν τε φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν ὑπάρχειν πᾶσι Περραιβοῖς | πρὸς τὴν Κώιων πόλιν καθάπερ καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑπῆρχεν.

[108] *IG* 12.4.1, 216A, l. 4: τὴν τε [φιλίαν καὶ τὴν συγγέν]ειαν.

[109] Helly 2004a, p. 99, with n. 37.

[110] Would Homolion have made a similar claim for 'all' Magnesians (or, indeed, an

The Koan archive anticipates by roughly three decades the most impressive collection of responses to festival announcing *theoroi* known from the Greek world, that of the sanctuary of Artemis Leukophryene in Magnesia on the Maiander concerning its festival of the Leukophryeneia.[111] The Magnesians in 208 successfully won recognition for the Leukophryeneia as isopythic.[112] The archive is inscribed on walls in the agora of the city and consists of some 65 fully or partially preserved decrees of acceptance from kings, cities, and leagues extending from Sicily and southern Italy to the interior of the Seleucid empire.[113] In some cases, the decrees contain subscriptions: in effect, there are lists of other communities that are alleged to have voted 'in the same way' as the authors of the decree had, and so roughly 170 communities are known to have accepted the upgraded status of the Leukophryeneia and the *asylia* of the sanctuary, and to have pledged to send festival-attending *theoroi*.[114]

Two decrees of Thessalian provenance are included in the archive, as well as one non-Thessalian decree with Thessalian subscribers. The first, very fragmentary, is in Thessalian dialect and thus was likely a decree of a city of tetradic Thessaly.[115] The festival was accepted as isopythic, and the Thessalian city could refer in the decree to *homogeneia* with the Magnesians on the Maiander. The word is rare, and considerably stronger than the regular and expected *sungeneia*. It is likely that the Magnesian *theoroi* laid special emphasis on the alleged Thessalian origins of the founders of the colony of Magnesia on the Maiander.[116] The second

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individual city of tetradic Thessaly for 'all' Thessalians)? One would like to know, especially given the intriguing relationship between Demetrias and the Magnesians. Unfortunately, the decree of Homolion breaks off just before the enactment clause and so the matter will remain opaque. Only exiguous fragments of the tetradic Thessalian decrees survive.

[111] Ed. pr. *IMagnesia* 16–87 (Kern 1900, pp. 11–69); the standard edition is now Rigsby 1996, pp. 179–279, no. 66–131.

[112] For the complex background, see the important article of Slater and Summa 2006, and the subsequent contributions of Thonemann 2007 and Sosin 2009.

[113] A handful of documents in the archive may be earlier or later than 208. Cf. Rigsby 1996, p. 182.

[114] For the subscriptions, see Rigsby 2001, who argues that the practice minimized inscribing costs, and that in doing so, the Magnesians often grouped together communities that shared *sympoliteia* agreements. The language of the decrees is not entirely uniform, however. Cf. Rigsby 1996, pp. 182–184.

[115] *IMagnesia* 26 (Rigsby 1996, pp. 200–202, no. 75). For useful discussion of possible candidates, cf. Helly 2004a, pp. 105–107, and Rigsby 1996, pp. 201–202. Larisa is probable, but other tetradic cities are not to be excluded.

[116] Rigsby 1996, p. 202.

decree is the completely preserved acceptance of Gonnoi.[117] The contents are entirely normative—although, in comparison with Gonnoi's acceptance of the Koan Asklepieia, there is no explicit mention of the Perrhaibian *ethnos*. Friendship and kinship between Magnesia and Gonnoi alone are stressed. The neighboring Perrhaibian city of Phalanna is listed after the decree as a subscriber. Finally, the non-Thessalian decree with Thessalian subscribers, also very fragmentary, is an acceptance issued by the city of Kalydon with Hypata, Lamia, and Herakleia, each listed (among others) as having voted in the same way.[118] These three major cities of the Spercheios valley, which were perioikic to tetradic Thessaly in earlier periods of their history, were members of the Aitolian League in 208, as were the other subscribers to the decree.

Thessalian Theoroi, Theorodokoi, *and* Theoriai*: The Second and First Centuries*

In the preceding section, I have considered distinct bodies of evidence in the late Classical and early Hellenistic period concerning the participation of Thessalians in an international network of festivals. When viewed through the lens of international religion, Thessaly appears as a region of cities, and it is *qua* citizens of a city rather than members of an *ethnos* or *koinon* that these Thessalians are incorporated into this system of religion. This image would change in the decades after the Flamininan reforms, when the Thessalian *koinon* became the dominant actor in international cult (outside of Delphi). This need not imply that individual cities ceased to be prominent within this network, only that collective representation of the Thessalian *koinon* assumed a greater prominence than had ever been the case.

Soon after 196, the Mytileneans appear to have invited the Thessalian League to dispatch *theoroi* and sacrifices to the festival of the Asklepieia.[119] The Thessalian League agreed, and there survives an early second-century Mytilenean decree honoring the League for doing so.[120]

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[117] *IMagnesia* 33 (Helly 1973, vol. 2, no. 111; Rigsby 1996, pp. 209–211, no. 83).

[118] *IMagnesia* 28 (*IG* 9.1^2.1, 186; Rigsby 1996, pp. 202–203, no. 77).

[119] For Asklepios cult at Mytilene, see Shields 1917, pp. 50–55, and especially Riethmüller 2005, vol. 2, pp. 360–361.

[120] *IG* 12 *suppl*., 3 (Labarre 1996, pp. 273–274, no. 14). The mover of this decree, Bakchios (only initial KA of his father's name is preserved), is now associated with the honorand of a roughly contemporary and recently published decree from Larisa, Βάκχιος

It is likely that there would have been a broader Mytilenean offensive on a par with the Koan or Magnesian examples considered above, but the decree honoring the Thessalian League is at present the only evidence for it.[121] While the decree does not make specific reference to the Thessalian League's recognition of the sanctuary's *asylia* or the festival's isopythic status, for example, it is possible that some such content lay behind the nebulous praise for 'deliberating about other things enthusiastically and in a manner beneficial for the *ethnos* of the Thessalians and the city of the Mytileneans' that motivated Mytilenean honors for the League.[122]

Early in the second century, the Kolophonians as well sent *theoroi* to the Thessalian League as part of a broader attempt to win *asylia* for the sanctuary of Apollo Klarios an elevated status for the associated festival of the Klaria.[123] The League responded positively to the request with a decree which was set up in Apollo's sanctuary in the *chora* of Kolophon. The inscription remains unpublished, unfortunately. Other decrees from the archive, also unpublished, include responses from the Athamanians as well as various cities on the island of Crete.[124]

The Thessalian League can now be numbered among those states which dispatched *theoroi* to a major Samothracian festival and made

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ὁ Καΐκειος Μιτυλειναῖος, by Helly and Tziaphalias (Tziaphalias and Helly 2004–2005, pp. 377–406 (*BullÉp* 2007, no. 356), esp. 392–395 for Bakchios). Following the suggestion of Robert 1925, pp. 236–238, Helly and Tziaphalias suggest that the Larisan decree recognizes an earlier embassy of the Mytileneans to the cities of Thessaly and perhaps the *ethnos* itself announcing the upgraded Asklepieia, but that this mission had been interrupted by the Second Macedonian War.

[121] Robert 1925, p. 236. On the broader history of Mytilene and Lesbos at this time, cf. Brun 1991 (*SEG* 41, 627; *BullÉp* 1992, no. 343), and Labarre 1996, pp. 51–88.

[122] *IG* 12 *suppl.*, 3, l. 18–20: καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων βε[βόλλευν][ται] συνφερόντως καὶ προθύμως τῶι τε ἔθνει τῶ[ι Θεσσάλων] | [κ]αὶ τᾶι πόλι τᾶι Μυτιληνάων.

[123] On the history of the oracle and sanctuary, see Parke 1985, pp. 112–170, and Flashar 1999, pp. 420–427. For the new status of the penteteric Klaria, see Gauthier 1999, p. 15; cf. Parker 2004, p. 20.

[124] Mentioned first by Picard 1922, pp. 345–347. Cf. Robert 1989, pp. 538–553; Rigsby 1996, pp. 351–352. Only two inscriptions of the archive have been formally published: one in Doric dialect from an unknown city (Rigsby 1996, p. 352, no. 172), the other a letter awarding the sanctuary *asylia* sent from L. Cornelius Scipio, identified here as consul and thus providing a secure date of ca. 190 for the document, and his brother P. Cornelius (Rigsby 1996, pp. 352–353, no. 173). The letter is only extant in a copy dated by letter forms to the early first century. The sanctuary was destroyed by pirates ca. 100 and the reinscription of Scipio's letter may be linked with a broader program of renovation at the site in the wake of the Mithridatic Wars. Kolophon had supported Rome. See Picard 1922, p. 146.

dedications to the Great Gods of Samothrace. Participation in this festival is chiefly attested by lists of *theoroi* that were published by the *polis* of Samothrace, many of which indicate that these *theoroi* had also been awarded *proxenia* by the Samothracians. While *theoroi* for this festival are attested possibly as early as the middle of the third century, most records belong to the second and first centuries. The character of the festival remains controversial. It had long been assumed that these *theoroi* attended an event honoring the Great Gods of Samothrace where mass initiations took place. There is as yet no solid evidence for such a festival, however, and it is more likely, given the exigencies of the sailing season and the remoteness of Samothrace, that initiations took place on a rolling basis from late Spring to early Fall. A recent, plausible suggestion is that *theoroi* attended a Samothracian Dionysia, and sought initiation before, during, or after the festival.[125] Whatever the formal character of the festival, these Thessalian *theoroi* clearly honored the Great Gods by making a formal dedication to them in the name of the Thessalian League, ca. 170–140.[126] Cults of the Great Gods or Kabiroi are known from Thessaly. From Kierion, an undated dedication of a thank-offering to the Great Gods is attested.[127] There has been recovered from Larisa a spectacular votive relief, also undated, depicting a human couple

[125] Dimitrova 2008, pp. 72–74. The performance repertoire was probably heavily suffused with themes relevant to the Samothracian mythologies of the Great Gods. The liminal position of the theatre at Samothrace is another possible indicator, architectural, of the entwining of Dionysiac and Kabiric atmosphere. The theatre *cavea* lies on a hillside at the probable *temenos* boundary of the Sanctuary of the Great Gods, here marked by a *reuma*. The orchestra and stage building, however, lie on the other side of this *reuma*, within the sanctuary. For related discussion of this nexus of issues, see Rutherford 2007.

[126] Dimitrova 2008, pp. 63–68, no. 26 (ed. pr. Pounder and Dimitrova 2003 (*SEG* 53, 916; *BullÉp* 2004, no. 205)): τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν | θεοῖς μεγαλοῖς | ἐπὶ θεωρῶν | Δαμοθοίνου τοῦ Λεοντομένους | Φιλονίκου τοῦ Φιλίππου | Φεραίων | Παμφίλου τοῦ Βαθυκλείους | Λυκίσκου τοῦ Βαθυκλείους | Λαρισαίων | ἐπὶ βασιλέως | Νυμφοδώρου τοῦ Θεώνδου. 'The Thessalian League [dedicated] to the Great Gods when the *theoroi* were Damothoinos son of Leontomenes and Philonikos son of Philippos, Pherairans, and Pamphilos son of Bathykles and Lykiskos son of Bathykles, Larisans, when the king was Nymphodoros son of Theondas.' Philonikos, Bathykles, and Lykiskos—the latter two probably brothers—are otherwise unknown. Damothoinos has plausibly been identified with the *strategos* of the Thessalian League in 161/0 (Pounder and Dimitrova 2003, *ad loc.*; cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 57–58; *LGPN* 3B s.v. Δαμοθοίνος 7).

[127] *IG* 9.2, 264: Θεόδοτος Εὐαγόρου | καὶ Φυλάκα Δημοκράτους | θεοῖς μεγάλοις | χαριστήρια.

performing a libation at an altar and summoning the Great Gods, represented here as two in number on horses in the sky, to a *theoxenia*.[128]

The most significant of these dedications for our purposes is a stone base for a large bronze votive offering discovered in Larisa and dated to the early second century. The text reads Καβίροις | Εὔνομος | Πολυκλείτειος.[129] A Eunomos son of Polykleitos from Larisa, almost certainly the individual named in this dedication, is known to have been a general of the Thessalian League three times in the decade after the Flamininan refoundation, first in 193/2 (a partial term), then again in 192/1, and finally in 189/8.[130] It has been suggested that Eunomos was imitating the Argead and Antigonid kings of Macedonia who lavished such attention on the Great Gods of Samothrace.[131] This remains very speculative, if provocatively so. Literary sources often identify the Samothracian gods as Kabiroi, and a recently published epitaph for an initiate in the Samothracian Mysteries now offers the first epigraphic proof of such an association: 'As an initiate, great-hearted, he saw the doubly sacred light of Kabiros in Samothrace, and the pure rites of Demeter in Eleusis'.[132] Kabiroi are well-known in Macedonia, and Hemberg has plausibly brought this Larisan dedication into a broader northern Aegean milieu.[133] That Eunomos does not identify himself in the dedication as *strategos* of the Thessalian League may reflect only that he was acting in the capacity of private citizen rather than political leader. There was clearly an interest in the Kabiroi or Samothracian Gods on the part of early second-century Thessalian political elites. It is not surprising that Damothoinos son of Leontomenes from Pherai is among the *theoroi* of the Thessalian League to Samothrace: he is probably the same individual as the homonymous general of the Thessalian League in 161/0.[134]

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[128] *IG* 9.2, 581, with corrigenda xv: θεοῖς μεγάλοις Δανᾶ Ἀθονειτεία.

[129] Ed. pr. Arvanitopoulos 1910, pp. 375–377, no. 23 (McDevitt 1970, p. 50, no. 359). Cf. Hemberg 1950, pp. 159–160.

[130] Liv. 35.39.4. Cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 47–49; *LGPN* 3B s.v. Εὔνομος 23.

[131] Arvanitopoulos 1910, pp. 375–377.

[132] Dimitrova 2008, pp. 83–90, no. 29 (ed. pr. Karadima and Dimitrova 2003), l. 13–16 (trans. Dimitrova): μύστης μὲν Σαμό|θρᾳξι ᾽ν Καβίρου δὶχ᾽ ἱερὸν φῶς | [ἁ]γνὰ δ᾽ Ἐλευσῖνος Δηοῦς μεγάθυ|[μο]ς ἴδεν. Chaniotis *ad SEG* 55, 723 translates 'the sacred light of the two Kabiroi'.

[133] Hemberg 1950, pp. 159–160.

[134] Cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 57–58. B. Helly and J.-Cl. Decourt cast some doubt on Dimitrova's association of the two men, but do not make clear the grounds for their dissent (*BullÉp* 2004, no. 205).

Sanctuaries and festivals at Kolophon, Mytilene, and Samothrace thus reveal the Thessalian League as a prominent actor in international cult in the early to middle second century. The profile of individual Thessalian cities on the same stage declines by contrast. Some of this discrepancy is certainly due to the nature of the extant evidence. From the post-Flamininan era, there survive neither *theorodokoi* catalogues like those from Delphi, Argos, or Epidauros, nor archives of festival acceptances comparable to those from Kos or Magnesia.[135] The possibility that this image has some grounding in reality should not be entirely dismissed. Dispatch of representative *theoroi* on behalf of all members of the Thessalian League would have spared considerable expense on the part of individual *poleis* and brought greater prestige to the *koinon*. In the final analysis, it may be safest to assume that some prosperous Thessalian cities continued to dispatch *theoroi* and that the Thessalian League was merely an addition to this already rich palette.

The final new festival offers a more direct comparison with the Koan and Magnesian archives of festival acceptances, and so may provide the best evidence yet for the evolving Thessalian presence in Hellenistic international religion. In the first century, the Stratonikeians requested *asylia* for the sanctuary of Hekate at Lagina in their *chora* and recognition of the upgraded status of the festival held therein, the Hekatesia Romaia. There survives, inscribed on the wall of Hekate's temple, a lengthy dossier consisting of two letters from L. Cornelius Sulla, dictator, to Stratonikeia, and a senatus consultum awarding *asylia* to the sanctuary of Hekate (among much else). A decree of the city of Stratonikeia follows that provides for the inscription of the names of those cities, kings, dynasts, and *ethne* which had accepted the upgraded festival and recognized the *asylia* of the sanctuary, together with the list itself.[136] The bulk of the dossier can be confidently dated to 81.[137] The names of 46 individual *poleis* are preserved on the three surviving fragments of the list.[138] Two

[135] While this fact in turn may itself be equally accidental, the Hellenistic wave of festival expansion which gathered strength throughout the third century does seem to have peaked ca. 200. Cf. the useful catalogue in Parker 2004, pp. 18–22.

[136] *IStratonikeia* 505–507 (*OGIS* 441; partially reproduced with commentary in Sherk 1969, pp. 105–111, no. 18, and Rigsby 1996, pp. 420–423, no. 210). For a new fragment of *IStratonikeia* 505, supplementing l. 15–27, see Şahin 2002, p. 3, no. 2 (*SEG* 52, 1059); for a correction of *IStratonikeia* 507, l. 12–13, see Habicht 1999, p. 29 (*SEG* 49, 1439).

[137] For the date, see, e.g., Rigsby 1996, pp. 420–423, no. 210.

[138] One of the three fragments derives from a later process of reinscription, for its letter forms are clearly later and the fragment preserves a sequence of city names which is

cities have probable Thessalian connections: Larisa and Demetrias. Does their inclusion on this list indicate the acceptance of the Stratonikeians' request as individual *poleis*, or do they represent a kind of short hand for 'Thessalian League' and 'Magnesian League'? We cannot know, but it is worth noting that no other manifestly Thessalian or Magnesian cities are included in the admittedly fragmentary catalogue.[139]

Finally, to return to this chapter's point of departure, the most dramatic of all Thessalian *theoriai* is described by the shade of Protesilaus in Philostratus' *Heroikos* 53.8–21.[140] At some point in the Archaic period, according to Philostratus' Protesilaus, the Thessalians had received an oracle from Dodona commanding them to send *theoroi* with sacrifices annually to the tomb of Achilles in the Troad.[141] Thessalian steadfastness in this practice had varied throughout the centuries at times of political or economic turmoil and the rites were often altered, and occasionally not performed at all.[142] While some of the specific details about the performance of this Thessalian *theoria* are peculiar and have rightly aroused suspicion about their veracity, and although Philostratus had good narrative reasons for this digression on Achilles which trump any allegiance to historical reality, there is no compelling reason to dismiss the occasional or even periodic occurrence of such a *theoria*.[143] One

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exactly parallel to an earlier fragment. There does not appear to be an overall governing principle. Some cities appear grouped by region, but others are quite mixed. Cf. Diehl and Cousin 1885, p. 473 and Robert 1984, p. 526 with n. 159.

[139] Diehl and Cousin 1885, pp. 472–473, raise the possibility that cities, kings, and leagues may have been listed separately within the catalogue, but that fragments of the city portion alone have survived.

[140] Cf. Grossardt 2006, pp. 713–735.

[141] That there was an actual *tumulus* in the Troad known locally and more broadly in antiquity as the tomb of Achilles is assured. For a brief survey of the ancient literary evidence, cf. Burgess 2009, pp. 114–117. For attempts to identify the *tumulus* in the contemporary landscape of the Troad, cf. Cook 1973, pp. 159–164, 173–174, 185–186; Burgess 2009, pp. 117–126. Alcock 2004, pp. 160–163 is a fascinating sketch of new Imperial constructions in the plain of Troy connected with Achilles' *tumulus*. For other cults of Achilles in the Greek world, cf. Escher 1894, col. 222–223, and Hooker 1988. For the important and increasingly plentiful Black Sea evidence, see now the contributions in Hupe 2006. Cf. Burgess 2009, pp. 126–134; Hedreen 1991.

[142] For a useful synopsis of the passage and sketch of the history of the cult as related by Philostratus, see Rutherford 2009, pp. 234–236, and Radet 1925. Cf. Jones 2010, pp. 72–74; Aitken 2001.

[143] Thus Rutherford 2009, p. 245 concludes: '1. The Thessalian *theoria* is anomalous (chthonic mood, secret and without liaison with host city) judged against what we know from earlier sources. 2. The sequence of two sacrifices is also anomalous. 3. Philostratus may have been influenced by certain "interrituals", especially the myth of Theseus and the

may even glimpse traces of this theoric relationship between Thessaly and the Troad in the epigraphy of Hellenistic Larisa. Two mid-second century decrees of the city of Larisa honor citizens of Alexandria Troas. The first is for a Bombos who visited Larisa and made a series of recitals, most probably in prose, which celebrated the relationship between Larisa and Alexandria Troas; the second is for a Leukios who entertained Larisans who had visited Alexandria Troas.[144] A third Larisan decree on a different stele dated to ca. 200–150 records honors for another citizen of Alexandria Troas, although the city's motives in doing so are not clear.[145] It is not implausible that such a relationship developed between Larisa and Alexandria Troas within the framework of the Thessalian *theoria* to Achilles' tomb in the Troad.[146]

Conclusion

International religion thus opens up numerous perspectives on the entwining of cult and Thessalian political identity in the later Hellenistic period that differ from those provided by either the several federal sanctuaries of the Thessalian League or the several calendars in use throughout the region. The League maintained a high profile at new or recently upgraded festivals beginning in the early second century and continuing into the first; such activity contrasts strongly with the fourth and third centuries when individual Thessalian cities were the primary

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Dis Hepta. 4. Heroicus itself states that the *theoria* was not going on at the time the dialogue is set. The inference, on the basis of these four points, that the *theoria* to the Achilleion as a whole is a literary fiction without basis in ritual reality might seem tempting, but it would not be legitimate. After all, we know that the Achilleion really was a popular attraction, at least from the time of Alexander; and we know that Greek states really did send sacred delegations to remote sanctuaries to perform sacrifices. It remains possible that, at least for certain periods, Thessalian cities sent a communal delegation to the Achilleion'.

[144] Helly 2006 is a reedition of ed. pr. Béquignon 1935, pp. 55–64, no. 2 (McDevitt 1970, p. 46, no. 337). For wandering historians as a presence in the Hellenistic landscape, cf. Chaniotis 1988.

[145] Tziaphalias 1984b, pp. 229–230, no. 121 (*SEG* 35, 594).

[146] Helly 2006, pp. 195–196: 'Il ne fait pas de doute, à mes yeux, que les décrets des Lariséens pour ces citoyens d'Alexandrie de Troade trouvent leur justification dans la participation de théores de Larisa à la procession que les Thessaliens envoyaient sur le tombeau d'Achille, et que le séjour de Bombos à Larisa a eu aussi pour objet de rappeler cette histoire et de renouveler l'ardeur des Thessaliens pour qu'ils assurent le maintien de ce culte héroïque'.

participants in international festivals, both those traditional events of the Greek mainland and the first wave of new Hellenistic festivals. The types of evidence preserved in different places and at different times may offer some partial explanation for this image, and it is indeed probable that some individual Thessalian *poleis* continued to dispatch festival-attending *theoroi* alongside those of the Thessalian League proper. Such a possibility, however likely it may be, should not obscure how deeply invested in participating in the network of international cult the Flamininan Thessalian League appears, beginning almost immediately from the point of its refoundation in 196, and how profoundly different that profile is from what had been previously established by the region's several cities.

The equally complex view from the perspective of the Delphic Amphictiony is quite different in individual details. Over the course of the second and first centuries, the individual *ethne* that belonged to the Amphictiony's original constituency were re-instated as such and sent *hieromnemones* as full members of the institution, despite the formal political incorporation of many of these *ethne* into the Thessalian League. From the perspective of the Amphictiony, however, the Thessalian League was synonymous with the *ethnos* of the Thessalians alone. While such a formulation is in theory somewhat restrictive, it suits what is known of the later Hellenistic League remarkably well, for only residents of tetradic Thessaly, that is the traditional *ethnos* territory of the Thessalians, held high office. Thus, like the dual dating of decrees in some previously perioikic territories by both Thessalian League *strategos* and local month name, the formal representation of traditional *ethne* within the Amphictiony reveals the potential of cult to complicate the representation of the relationship between the Thessalian League and its constituent *ethne*.

CONCLUSION AND POSTSCRIPT: AINIAN FUTURES

The preceding chapters have explored the history and religion of the Thessalian League in the second and first centuries. To do so, it has been necessary to consider first Thessaly's Archaic, Classical, and early Hellenistic history. Early incarnations of the Thessalian League lack a distinct profile in the realm of cult. Some of this impression may be due to the character of the preserved evidence, some to the relative weakness and instability of the League in its opening centuries. Whatever the reason, the contrast with the later Hellenistic League is striking. In these years a strong league emerged under Roman patronage that took a leading role in cult, both at home and abroad. The League's founding of a cult of Zeus Eleutherios in Larisa celebrated this new history of the League and, most probably, Rome's leading role within it, while the League's reinvigoration of the cult of Athena Itonia at Philia looked to a more ancient past. The spread of a unified regional calendar likewise organized the passage of the year around festivals honoring divinities in a sometimes very 'Thessalian' aspect. Thessalian League *theoroi* traveled far and wide to represent the League in international cult contexts.

Against this narrative of unity and the expression of shared Thessalian identity in the language of cult, it is possible to read another narrative, one of fragmentation and disjuncture. There is no hint of participation in the cults of Athena Itonia or Zeus Eleutherios by new League members, the non-tetradic *perioikoi*, and this fact mirrors the political leadership of the Thessalian League at this time. While the League calendar gained acceptance throughout the tetrads relatively quickly, some *perioikoi* persisted in their epichoric calendar traditions deep into the first century. And although the League *theoroi* were major players within the network of new international festivals in the later Hellenistic period, the conservatism of the Delphic Amphictiony allowed all of the new Thessaloi representation to participate as distinct, independent *ethne*. The persistent polyvalence of cult thus complicated, indeed contested, this Thessalian identity in precisely those arenas where it had been asserted.

The dynamism of these twin narratives does not fade in 27 with the full incorporation of the Spercheios *ethne* into the Thessalian League and the

inclusion of the League within *provincia Achaia*. As a coda to the present study, I offer a brief case study of Ainis, the last of the *perioikoi* described in this work to enter the Thessalian League.[1] The religious history of Ainis in the later Hellenistic and Roman periods indicates the continued vibrancy of the individual religious traditions of the Thessalian *ethne*. After joining the Thessalian League in the first century BCE and becoming politically invisible, the *ethnos* of the Ainianes nevertheless remained salient in cult and, over the course of the first and second centuries CE, there are indications that the political center of gravity of the Thessalian League began to shift southwards, from Larisa to Hypata.

But I begin at an earlier period. The elaborate migration tradition of the Ainianes discussed briefly in Chapter One,[2] and to which I shall soon return, represented one strategy by which the Archaic and Classical *ethnos* forged a link with its Homeric past. Other outlets were available. The pseudo-Aristotelian 'On Matters Wondrous to Hear' recounts an Archaic dedication allegedly made by Herakles in Ainis: 'In the country called Ainian, in that part called Hypate, an ancient pillar is said to have been found; as it bore an inscription in archaic characters of which the Ainianes wished to know the origin, they sent messengers to Athens to take it there. But as they were traveling through Boiotia, and discussing their journey from home with some strangers, it is said that they were escorted into the so-called Ismenion in Thebes. For they were told that the inscription was most likely to be deciphered there, as they possessed certain offerings having ancient letters similar in form. There having discovered what they were seeking from the known letters they transcribed the following lines: Herakles dedicated a sacred grove to Cythera Phersephassa,/When driving the flocks of Geryon and Erythea./The goddess Pasiphassa subdued him with desire for her./Here my newly wed Erythe brought forth a son Erython;/then I made a gift of the plain in memory of our love under a shady beech-tree'.[3] In this rich passage some Ainianes attempt to implicate themselves in the career of a more broadly

[1] Magnesia, which had been founded (or refounded) as a *koinon* as part of the Flamininan reorganization of central Greece in the 190s and had remained independent continuously since the conclusion of the Third Macedonian War in 167, was formally incorporated into the Thessalian League at the time of Diocletian.

[2] Hom. *Il.* 2.749–751; Str. 9.5.22. Cf. Béquignon 1937, pp. 148–158; Sakelleriou 1984.

[3] [Aristotle], *De mirabilibus auscultationibus*, 843b15–844a5 (trans. Hett). Line 4 of the epigram is translated after the emendation of Huxley 1967. Cf. Kowalzig 2007, p. 350, with n. 53.

panhellenic hero, Herakles, who is alleged to have visited Ainis during one of his canonical labors; to have fathered a child, Erython; and to have dedicated a *temenos* to Kythera Phersephaasa, who must be a hypostasis of Aphrodite. Such a visit is otherwise unknown in the mythology of Ainis, but the exceptionally well-traveled Herakles was popular in Greek epichoric traditions. Communities large and small throughout the Greek world advertised that Herakles had dedicated there his weapons or those of his enemies, perhaps a lock of his hair.[4] So, while it is useful to observe the Ainianes participating in this broader trend, there is nothing especially novel about this visit. What is uncharacteristic, however, is the role of Thebes, whose participation is crucial to the story. The sanctuary of Apollo Ismenios was distinguished at least from the time of Herodotus as a repository of archaic dedications and Herakles was a leading figure in Theban cult.[5] The Spartan foundation of Herakleia Trachinia in the Spercheios valley, just east of Ainis and from its origins inimical to it, with its heavily Dorian and Heraklid associations, surely rendered Herakles a more contentious figure in the region than he had previously been.[6] It may therefore not be too far off to see this story, whatever its origins, as having had an ideological flavor early in the fourth century (if in fact it was in circulation by then), perhaps suggesting some sort of loose affiliation of Ainis and Thebes.

Imagined Ainian pre- and proto-histories continued to develop into the Imperial era. Plutarch's perplexing *Greek Questions* are twice occupied with *Ainianika*. He asks the puzzling question: 'What is the "beggar's meat" among the Ainianes?'[7] His response begins: 'Many have been the migrations of the Ainianes'. There follows a lengthy discussion of these movements, which take the Ainianes from Thessaly west to Epiros and thence to the south and east, where, through a combination of religious scruple and cunning, they win a new homeland in the Spercheios valley after a winner-take-all Homeric duel fought between the Ainian king, Phemios, and the Inachian kind, Hyperochos. Phemios slew Hyperochos with a stone and the Inachians were driven away as a result. In commemoration of the deed, Plutarch describes elaborate cult performed in the vicinity of Phemios' stone that involved setting aside a

[4] Cf. Higbie 2003, p. 75.

[5] Hdt. 5.59–61.

[6] Thuc. 3.92–93. Cf. Malkin 1994, pp. 219–235. For the 'pyre of Herakles' high on the slopes of Oite, see Béquignon 1937, pp. 204–230.

[7] *Greek Questions* 13 (*Mor.* 293 F–294 C).

portion of sacrificial meat, 'beggar's meat', for an obscure trickster figure Temon who had been instrumental to Ainian success. Later in the *Greek Questions*, Plutarch revisits the Ainianes, this time describing an exceptional procession leading from Ainis to Epiros: 'What is the reason that the maidens who escort those who lead the ox from the Ainianes to Kassiopaea chant, until they reach the boundary, "May ye never return home to your dear fatherland"?'[8] Following a recapitulation of the migration legend described earlier in the work, he concludes: 'Hence it seems probable they pray to the gods not to return again to their old fatherland, but to remain here where they are prosperous'.[9] Although neither cult is otherwise attested, there is no reason to doubt their historicity. Plutarch connects each cultic act with Ainian migrations from northern Greece, which suggests that such an interpretation was reasonable at this date, whatever the original purpose of these rites. As recent scholarship reminds us, migration traditions are more productively read as a means to justify a current division of territory and, often enough, the attendant subjugation of bordering populations, rather than accurately reflecting any real historical change of residence.[10] In the context of the late first or early second century CE, however, we ought perhaps to think that the actual need for such codifications of the territorial status quo will have passed or at least become far less pressing that they may once have been. While one can do little more than speculate about the function of such a tradition and such cult in this era, at the very least, it must have assisted in the continuation of an Ainian identity. For it is Plutarch's emphasis on the Ainianes as a group which is most striking about these passages. By the time of the *Greek Questions*, Ainis had been fully subsumed in the Thessalian League for at least 100 years; Ainianes were no longer referred to as Ainianes in public documents, but as Thessalians; they used the Thessalian calendar and coinage; they renamed their local officials *tagoi*, in apparent imitation of the common Thessalian practice. Perhaps most significantly, Ainis was no longer present on the Amphictionic council at Delphi as a discrete *ethnos*. If ever there was a time when Ainian identity might begin to wither, it would seem to be in the post-27 period, yet we get the opposite impression from Plutarch.

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[8] *Greek Questions* 26 (*Mor.* 297 B–C).
[9] Cf. Rutherford 2009, p. 246; Kowalzig 2007, p. 350.
[10] Hall 2002, pp. 24–25, 32–34.

Ainianes factor prominently in a further, later literary source: the enigmatic Heliodorus, whose *Aithiopika* may have been composed in the third or fourth century CE. The dramatic date of the work, though difficult to pin down, appears to be a distant, atemporal Classical past, but his description of the Ainianes there may in fact be far more in keeping with the Roman Imperial present. Heliodorus describes a Thessalian *theoria* to Delphi at the time of the celebration of the Pythian games; this embassy is led by the Ainianes, who are charged with performing sacrifice in honor of Neoptolemus: 'In the whole of the province of Thessaly … there are none of more noble ancestry than they. They are Hellenes in the truest sense of the word, for they trace their descent from Hellen, the son of Deukalion'.[11] This claim on the Hellenic genealogy is further elaborated by a concurrent claim on Achilles, embodied first in the Ainian worship of Achilles' son, Neoptolemus, at Delphi: 'As for the sacrifice and sacred mission, the Ainianes send it to Neoptolemus, the son of Achilles, once every four years to coincide with the Pythian Games, which, as you know, are being held at the moment'.[12] The Thessalians, recognizing Ainian descent from Achilles, renounce claim to Neoptolemus' cult.[13]

Is this depiction of the Ainianes historically accurate? While the Ainian sacrifice to Neoptolemus at Delphi is otherwise unattested, G. Rougemont and J. Pouilloux's investigations suggest that there could be some small historical kernel in this account.[14] T. Whitmarsh gives cause for caution in his demonstration of Heliodorus' continual interest in identity, specifically Greek versus non-Greek, and it is entirely possible that Heliodorus is playing a learned game with Ainian, Thessalian, and, ultimately, Greek identity, and creating something that has little relationship to a historical reality.[15] But as J.A.O. Larsen has shown, beginning already in the first century CE and continuing into the third century CE, Hypata, the most prominent city of Ainis, was home to a burgeoning elite that filled important posts within the Thessalian League, the Delphic Amphictiony, and, in time, the Panhellenion.[16] While Larisa remained powerful within the Thessalian League and continued to serve as the seat of the federal assembly, one could argue that Hypata had in fact become the

[11] *Aithiop*. 2.34.2.
[12] *Aithiop*. 2.34.3.
[13] *Aithiop*. 2.34.7.
[14] Rougemont 1992; Pouilloux 1983; Pouilloux 1984.
[15] Whitmarsh 1999.
[16] Larsen 1953.

more dominant city from a broader Mediterranean perspective. If there is an historical basis to Heliodorus' account, it is possible that this episode in the *Aithiopika* reflects this contemporary reality rather than the Classical past. Multiple readings then become possible. Perhaps this elite in Hypata was attempting to distance itself from its Thessalian contemporaries by advertising its Ainian heritage; by making exclusive claims on Achilles; by stressing their position within the Hellenic genealogy; and by taking a conspicuous lead in the program of the Pythia. At the very least, whether Heliodorus' account of the Ainianes is historically accurate or complete fabrication, the prominence of these Ainianes in this work suggests that the idea of Ainis continued to have currency at this date, now some several centuries after their incorporation into the Thessalian League.[17] In the logic of the procession, Ainis and the Ainianes are simultaneously Thessalian and more elect than the Thessalians; a beautiful synthesis, and one at which our laconic Hellenistic inscriptions may point to in the case of other Thessalian *ethne*.

[17] Cf. Whitmarsh 2010, p. 16, who, in his introduction to an important collection of essays that appeared too late for me to take full account of in the present work, observes that 'writing the local is deeply implicated in the politics of the translocal'.

EPIGRAPHIC APPENDIX

1. *Eleutheria Victor List*

Blue-grey stele with geison above; preserved top, left and right, broken below. Discovered built into the foundations of Agios Achilleios on the Larisa acropolis. Now missing.

H. .75 m., W. .59 m., Th. .19 m.[1]

Edd. Ἑστία 1902, p. 2 (*non vidi*); Palamedas, Προμηθεύς 1902 Μάρτιος αρ. 165, p. 614 (*non vidi*); Zikidis 1905, coll. 189–192, no. 7; *IG* 9.2, 525; *SIG*^{3} 1058

Cf. Kroog 1908, pp. 10, 12; Klee 1918, pp. 34, 64; *BullÉp* 1964, no. 227; Kramolisch 1978, pp. 34, 50 with n. 50, 51 with n. 50; Adrimi-Sismani, Batziou-Efstathiou et al. 2004, pp. 70–71 (*SEG* 54, 546)

190–180 (?)

Ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τῶν Θεσσαλ[ῶν]
Ἀνδροσθένου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ Γυρτωνίο[υ]
οἱ νενικηκότες τὰ Ἐλευθέρια
σαλπιστάς
Νικόδρομος Ναυστράτου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης
κήρυκας
Φιλιστίων Δημοφῶντος Βοιώτιος
αὐλητάς
Ξένιος Διονυσίου Βοιώτιος
κιθαριστάς
Θεόδοτος Θεοδότου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίση[ς].
κιθαρωιδῶν ἱερὸς ὁ στέφανος ἐκρίθη
παῖδας πένταθλον
Κρατῖνος Πυθονίκου Θεσσαλὸς [ἀπὸ ------]
ἀγενείους πένταθλ[ον]
[Ε]ὐφορ[----------]
[ἄνδρας πένταθλον]

Kern. 14 Θεσσαλὸς [ἀπὸ Λαρίσης] Zikidis. 16 [Ε]ὐφορ[βος Zikidis.

[1] Letter height is not mentioned in Zikidis, *IG*, or *SIG*^{3}.

Commentary

A date for this inscription in the 180s is reasonable, although slightly earlier and later dates would seem possible (see commentary on line 2 below). The document in any case belongs to the earlier stages of the festival's history. Two points are of special interest. First, in later periods, victors from Larisa are designated as haling from 'Pelasgian' Larisa, presumably to distinguish the city from Achaian Larisa (better known as Larisa Kremaste) in previously perioikic Phthiotic Achaia. The absence of such a distinction in this inscription, and in Epigraphic Appendix 2 (*IG* 9.2, 526), may reflect the fact that Larisa Kremaste still lay outside the Thessalian League at this time. Second, the order of festivals diverges from later lists where victors in the special, Thessalian component of the festival (bull-hunt, *aphippolampas*, *aphippodromas*) were listed immediately after the musical victors. In the present inscription, athletic victors follow directly upon the musical victors. Such evidence may indicate merely an evolving epigraphic habit at Larisa. More substantially, it may suggest either that the Thessalian triad had not yet been introduced in the festival at this time or that those events may have taken place later in the competition. The small geographic range of victorious participants (only Thessalians and Boiotians are represented), is most likely accidental; the contemporary Epigraphic Appendix 2 preserves a different range of events revealing a much broader geographic catchment for the festival: Thasos, Kyme, Magnesia on the Maiander, Kerkyra, and Syracuse are all represented.

Line 2: The *agonothete*, Androsthenes son of Italos from Gyrton, has been plausibly identified as the individual of same name and ethnic known from Eusebius to have served as *strategos* of the Thessalian League in 188/7.[2] Given the prominence of the family, however, it is not impossible that a homonym from a later generation filled the office. Published photographs of the stone or squeezes taken from it are unfortunately lacking, for letter forms might be able to shed some oblique light on this problem. Nevertheless, for the formal and political reasons discussed in the commentary at the outset, an early phase in the history of the Eleutheria is likely to be represented here, and I tentatively adopt the identification of Androsthenes proposed by Kern and Kramolisch. Whether he held the office of both *agonothete* and *strategos* at the same time is not

[2] Eus. 117. For the identification, see Kern *ad*. *IG* 9.2, 525; Kramolisch 1978, pp. 49–50; *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἀνδροσθένης 4.

known. No certain parallels for holding the two offices simultaneously are known from later Eleutheria victor lists, although it is a reasonable inference that the two offices were held in relatively close temporal proximity.

Line 5: Nikodromos son of Naustratos is otherwise unknown.[3]

Line 7: Philistion son of Damophaon is otherwise unknown.[4]

Line 9: Xenios son of Dionysios is otherwise unknown.[5]

Line 11: Theodotos son of Theodotos is otherwise unknown.[6]

Line 14: Kratinos is otherwise unknown.[7] Kramolisch has plausibly identified his father Pythonikos with the father of Antimachides, who was a victor in an equestrian contest at the Eleutheria attested in Epigraphic Appendix 2.[8]

2. *Eleutheria Victor List*

Large grey-white marble stele, slightly tapering in thickness and width from bottom to top; preserved left, right, back, and bottom, but broken on top.[9] No anathyrosis on the left or right side. Notches cut on the left and right of the stele at bottom suggest that it was fit into a large base. During their visit to Larisa in 1863, Heuzey and Daumet encountered the inscription near a khan, presumably on the slopes of the ancient acropolis.[10] Some decades later, Lolling saw the stone near the remains of the ancient theatre of Larisa, also on the slopes of the Larisa acropolis.[11] Kern reported that the stone was in the museum of Larisa at the time of his work on *IG* 9.2, but it is not clear that his edition is the result of autopsy. Rather, he cites as his principal authorities the squeezes

[3] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Νικόδρομος 4; Stephanis 1988, p. 328, no. 1834.

[4] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Φιλιστίων 1; Stephanis 1988, p. 442, no. 2509.

[5] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ξένιος 1; Stephanis 1988, p. 338, no. 1899.

[6] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Θεόδοτος 46; Stephanis 1988, p. 208, no. 1143.

[7] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Κρατῖνος 29.

[8] *IG* 9.2, 526. For the identification, see Kramolisch 1978, p. 51, n. 50, followed by *LGPN* 3B s.v. Πυθόνικος 7. Antimachides is explicitly decribed as a Larisan in that inscription, and Kramolisch would follow Zikidis in supplementing [ἀπὸ Λαρίσης] in line 14 of the present inscription.

[9] *ad IG* 9.2, 526 Kern describes the inscription as '*tabula alba*'.

[10] Heuzey and Daumet 1876, pp. 423–424: '… dans le quartier voisin du Pénée, quartier un peu plus élevé que le reste de la ville … placée à le porte d'un khan, non loin duquel on voit en place quelques vestiges de gradins antiques.' For the khans of Larisa, see Paliougkas 2002–2007, vol. 2, pp. 491–496.

[11] Lolling 1882, p. 233.

of Lolling and Philius, and in addition a transcription or drawing of Philios. Now Larisa Museum inv. no. 705 and housed in the new Larisa Archaeological Museum (Μεζούρλο), where I studied the inscription in May 2010. I consulted a series of squeezes, presumably those of Lolling and Philios, which provide nearly complete coverage of the stone at the *IG* archive in Berlin in November 2009.

H. .91 m., W. .64–.63 m., Th. .20–.22 m.; L.H. .016–.02 m.

Ed. Heuzey and Daumet 1876, pp. 423–424, no. 198; *IG* 9.2, 526

Cf. Lolling 1882, p. 233; Preuner 1900, p. 68; Preuner 1903, pp. 370–372, no. 1; Kramolisch 1978, pp. 27, 29, 51 with n. 50, 53 with n. 67; Bell 1989, p. 180 (*SEG* 40, 1640)

ca. 196–150

[παῖδας *nomen certaminis*]
[Ἀ]ρότης Ἀρότου Θάσιος
ἀγενείους
Ἰσίδικος Μνασικλέους Κυμαῖος
ἄνδρας
Διονύσιος Ἡροφίλου Μάγνης ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου
παῖδας πανκρατίου
Δημήτριος Δημητρίου Συρακόσιος
ἀγενείους
Ἀριστόδημος Νικομένους Θ{ι}ηβαῖος
ἄνδρας
Ἄτταλος Θεομνήστου Μητροπολίτης
ὁπλίτην
Πυθόδωρος Σωσθένους Κορκυραῖος
κέλητι πωλικῶι
Ἀριστοκλῆς Κλεομαχίδου Λαρισαῖος
κέλητι τελείῳ
Θεόδωρος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀτράγιος
συνωρίδι πωλικῇ
Ἀριστόκλεια Μεγαλοκλέους Λαρισαία
συνωρίδι τελείᾳ
Θράσιππος Νικάτορος Λαρισαῖος
ἅρματι πωλικῷ
Ῥάδιος Πανδόκου Λαρισαῖος
ἅρματι τελείωι
Ἀντιμαχίδης Πυθονίκου Λαρισαῖος

vacat

5 ΗΡΑΦΙΛΟΥ Heuzey and Daumet. 11 ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ Heuzey and Daumet. 19 ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΑ Heuzey and Daumet. 24 ΤΕΛΕΩΙ Heuzey and Daumet. 25 ΠΥ ΘΟΝΙΚΟΥ Kern.

Epigraphic Commentary

While the text itself appears to have been carefully laid out on the stone, the lettering is erratic.

Line 16: After τελείῳ, there is visible in a later hand: Ἀχιλλεὺς : Παπ(πα) : κωνσ[ταντίνου].[12]

Line 25: There is considerable later extraneous cutting all over the surface of the stele beginning at line 25 and continuing below. Theta and omicron of Πυθονίκου are just visible on the squeeze.

Commentary

The sequence of preserved events and the presence of victors ethnics leave no doubt that this is a victor list for the Eleutheria. Since no preamble with dating formulae is preserved, recourse is made to prosopography to establish chronology (see on lines 15, 17, 21, 23, 24); a date in the first half of the second century is reasonable. The absence of the specifying tag 'from Pelasgis' for the Larisan victors supports this dating and may suggest a relatively early point within this range.

Line 1: Arotes son of Arotes is otherwise unknown.[13] The victors of lines 1, 3, 5 probably competed in either wrestling or boxing.

Line 3: Isidikos son of Mnasikles is otherwise unknown.[14]

Line 5: Dionysios son of Herophilos is otherwise unknown.[15]

Line 7: Demetrios son of Demetrios is otherwise unknown.[16]

Line 9: Aristodemos son of Nikomenes is otherwise unknown.[17] The ethnic Θηβαῖος is ambiguous: it may refer to either Boiotian Thebes or Phthiotic Thebes in the perioikic Thessalian territory of Phthiotic Achaia. *LGPN* prefer the latter;[18] given the prestige and prominence of Boiotian Thebes in comparison to its northern homonym, I regard the former as considerably more likely.

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[12] Kern's majuscule transcription reads: ΑΧΙΛΛΕΥΣ:ΠΑΠ:ΚΩΜΣ; he prints in miniscule: Ἀχιλλεὺς : Παπ(πα) : κω[ν]σ[ταντίνου].

[13] *LGPN* 1 s.v. Ἀρότης 4; Pouilloux and Dunant 1954–1958, vol. 2, p. 264.

[14] Engelmann 1976, p. 214, T201.

[15] Kern 1900, p. xx.

[16] Not listed in *LGPN* 3A s.v. Δημήτριος, and not obviously relatable to any of the Syracusan Demetrioi listed there.

[17] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἀριστόδημος 6.

[18] As, apparently, does Koumanoudis 1979, who does not include this Aristodemos in his prosopography of Boiotian Thebes. But cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Νικομένης 1, where some indecision is expressed: 'BOIOTIA: THEBES (?) … (or Thessaly (Achaia Phthiotis) Thebes)'.

Line 11: Attalos son of Theomnestos is otherwise unknown.[19]

Line 13: Pythodoros son of Sosthenes is otherwise unknown.[20]

Line 15: Aristokles son of Kleomachides hailed from one of the most influential families in second-century Thessaly.[21] According to Kramolisch's reconstruction of the family's stemma, Aristokles' father, Kleomachides, was general of the Thessalian League in 181/0 and had previously held the post of *tagos* in Larisa.[22] Aristokles had two sons that are known: Sogenes was one of a group of Larisan dikasts summoned by the Boiotian city of Akraiphia in the mid-second century to settle a dispute;[23] Aristokles was honored by the Thessalian League for his good comportment toward the League in general, but especially during a matter involving the Thessalians and Perrhaibians.[24] The document must thus date ca. 196–146, and most likely late in that span if Kramolisch's prosopography is correct.[25] Kleomachides' brother, Arnaios, served as general of the League in the 150s, as did his nephew, Kleomachides, after 125.[26]

Line 17: Theodoros son of Alexandros was general of the Thessalian League in 184/3, as was his brother Thrasylochos in 187/6.[27] His father, Alexandros, had been a *tagos* in Atrax in the late third century.[28]

Line 19: Aristokleia daughter of Megalokles is otherwise unknown.[29] For discussion of female victors in Hellenistic equestrian contests, see Chapter Two.

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[19] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἄτταλος 6.

[20] *LGPN* 3A s.v. Πυθόδωρος 15; cf. *IG* 9.1^2.4, p. 10.

[21] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἀριστοκλῆς 48. For the complete stemma of the family, see Kramolisch 1978, p. 29.

[22] *Strategos*: Eus. 116; cf. Kramolisch 1978, p. 53, based on an emendation in Eus. proposed by Pouilloux 1955, p. 456. *Tagos*: Axenidis 1947a, vol. 2, p. 50 (*BullÉp* 1952, no. 68; McDevitt 1970, p. 46, no. 335). For the chronology of his *tageia*, cf. Kramolisch 1978, p. 53, n. 67.

[23] *IG* 7, 4130. For a survey of the case with references to earlier scholarship, cf. Ager 1996, p. 517, no. 12.

[24] Arvanitopoulos 1910, pp. 332–341, no. 1 (McDevitt 1970, pp. 44–45, no. 329); cf. now Moretti 1975, pp. 79–83, no. 103.

[25] For the probable entry of Perrhaibia into the Thessalian League in 146, see Chapter One.

[26] Arnaios: Kramolisch 1978, p. 59; Kleomachides: Kramolisch 1978, pp. 81–82.

[27] Theodoros: Eus. 115 (the ethnic Ἀτρά̣γιος is again an emendation); eponymous *strategos* in inscriptions from Lamia (*IG* 9.2, 65) and Halos (*IG* 9.2, 107). Cf. Kramolisch 1978, p. 50. Thrasylochos: Eus. 115; *proxenos* at Delphi at that time as well: *SIG*^{3} 585. Cf. Kramolisch 1978, p. 51.

[28] For the brothers and family more broadly, see Kramolisch 1978, pp. 50–51; Helly 1983; Habicht 1987c, pp. 23–24 (*SEG* 37, 444).

[29] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἀριστόκλεια 13.

Line 21: Thrasippos son of Nikator is a representative of another illustrious Larisan family. He was father of Polyxenos, a Thessalian *hieromnemon* at Delphi in 178/7;[30] another son, Thrason, was gymnasiarch of Larisa in the 170s or slightly later.[31]

Line 23: Radios son of Pandokos served on the board of *tagoi* for the city of Larisa at some point ca. 197–186.[32] He has occasionally been associated with a Larisan cult official of the same name.[33]

Line 25: Antimachides son of Pythonikos is otherwise unknown.[34] He was probably the brother of Kratinos, attested as a victor in the Eleutheria in a roughly contemporary list.[35]

3. *Eleutheria Victor List*

Large, grey-white marble stele. Broken top and bottom; partially preserved left, right, and back. Trace of a squared edge at upper left corner of inscribed surface. The continuation of the stone (damaged) above this edge suggests that a moulding probably originally crowned the stele. The stone was discovered in Larisa, although the precise findspot is unknown.[36] Now in the new Larisa Archaeological Museum (Μεζούρλο).[37] I studied the inscription in July 2009 and May 2010. I examined squeezes of the inscription at the *IG* archive in Berlin in November 2009.

H. .68 m., W. .57 m., Th. .17 m.; L.H. .015–.020 m.

Ed. Kern 1899–1900, pp. 4–5, no. I (ph. of squeeze); *IG* 9.2, 528

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[30] *CID* 4, 108–109.

[31] Axenidis 1947a, vol. 2, p. 50 (*BullÉp* 1952, no. 68; McDevitt 1970, p. 46, no. 335).

[32] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ῥάδιος 6. *Tagos* of Larisa: Habicht 1983 (*SEG* 33, 460; *BullÉp* 1984, no. 226), an early second century inscription from Larisa (ed. pr. Axenidis 1950, pp. 52–68 (*SEG* 13, 390; *BullÉp* 1951, no. 125; McDevitt 1970, p. 45, no. 330; p. 47, no. 341)). See now Habicht 2006a.

[33] So *LGPN* 3B and Habicht 1983, but this is not certain. The inscription in question (ed. pr. Arvanitopoulos 1910, pp. 349–352, no. 4 (McDevitt 1970, p. 47, no. 343)), a catalogue of groups of bull-hunters dated by *leitor*, may be somewhat later than the present victor list.

[34] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἀντιμαχίδης 3.

[35] *IG* 9.2, 525.

[36] Kern 1899–1900, pp. 4–5, notes that the register which documented the findspots of Larisan inscriptions was lost during the Greco-Turkish war of 1897.

[37] The inv. no. is difficult to make out—perhaps 92?

Cf. Preuner 1903, pp. 372–372; Axenidis 1947b, pp. 9–36; *BullÉp* 1964, no. 227; Gossage 1975, pp. 123, 133; Kramolisch 1978, pp. 30–31, 85–88, 104, 136; Bell 1989, p. 180 (*SEG* 40, 1640); Adrimi-Sismani, Batziou-Efstathiou et al. 2004, pp. 69–71 (*SEG* 54, 546).

ca. 90–70 (?)

Ἰσαγόρου τ̣ο̣[ῦ.....ca. 18.....ἀγωνοθε-]
τοῦντος τ̣ὸ̣ν εἰκο̣[στον καὶ.....ca. 9....τῶν Θεσ-]
σαλῶν ἀγῶνα τῶι Διὶ τ̣ῷ̣[ι Ἐλευθερίωι...ca. 6...ἱερέ-]
ως ὄντος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευ[θερίου.....ca. 11.....τοῦ]
⟦Κλεονίκου Λαρισαίου⟧ *vv* οἴδ[ε ἐνίκων (?) *vacat*]
σαλπιστάς
[Σ]τράτιος Μελανθίου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Κιερίου
κήρυκας
[..ca. 3.]φων Ἀγαθοκλέους Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης τῆς Πελασγίδο[ς]
αὐλητάς
[..ca. 4..]ν *v* Πυθίωνος *vv* Ἐφέσιος
κιθαριστάς
[...ca. 5..]νης Μενίππου Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Μαιάνδρου
κιθαρωιδούς
[....ca. 7...]ης Ἰσιδώρου Νεαπολίτης
ταυροθηρίαν
[....ca. 7...]ος Πορτίνου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης τῆς Πελασγίδος
ἀφιπποδρομάν
[.....ca. 9.... Λ]εοντομένους Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Φερῶν
ἀφιπποδρομάν
[.....ca. 13.....] Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης τῆς Πελασγίδος
παῖδας πένταθλον
[.....ca. 18.....]ου Κυζικηνός
[ἀγενείου]ς πένταθλον
[.....ca. 22..... Π]α̣τρεύς
[ἄνδρας πέντα]θ̲λον

9 [Ἀγάθ]ων Kramolisch. 23.....o.. Κυζικηνός Kern.

Epigraphic Commentary

Line 2: Dotted omicron: bottom left curving stroke visible at break. Dotted in *IG* majuscule.

Line 5: Κλεονίκου Λαρισαίου is inscribed within an erasure, not mentioned by Kern. Faint traces of the earlier, erased text can be read. First text: ⟦[..ca. 3.]Σ[..ca. 4..]Ọ[.]Ṭ[..ca. 4..]Ị[.]Ⱬ⟧. Dotted omicron: right curving stroke visible, omega or theta also possible; dotted tau: horizontal stroke visible above, broken on left; gamma, epsilon, or sigma also possible; dotted iota: bottom of vertical stroke visible: many other letters

possible; dotted sigma: bottom left corner of letter visible: delta also possible. I assume scribal error as the cause for the erasure, for the lettering appears identical to that of the rest of the inscription.

Commentary

'*multos huiusmodi titulos Larisae extare cum notum sit, tamen hoc victorum laterculi fragmentum gravioris momenti mihi videtur. Nam adhuc nemo sciebat cuius in dei honorem illi ludi quorum habemus latercula victorum Larisae celebrati essent*.'[38] So Kern wrote in 1899, excited to finally associate a god with (some of) those Larisan victor lists known to him at the time.

There are several chronological indicators. Kern thought the letter forms consistent with the early first century.[39] Preuner noted that the phrase 'twenty … contest' (l. 2–3) suggested a date range ca. 112–80.[40] If the festival was not immediately initiated in 196, and given the extent of Flamininus' activities in Thessaly as late as 194 (reflecting the general disorder of the region), this range of dates could be pushed slightly later.[41] In his research on Boiotian victor lists ca. 100–50, Gossage has suggested a publication date of ca. 70–65 for this inscription, based on the presence of Stratios in a relatively securely dated victor list from the Ptoia at Akraiphia, and what is likely his brother, Philoarnos, also a trumpeter, in a relatively securely dated victor list from the Mouseia at Thespiai.[42] Gossage appears unaware of Preuner's arguments, however, and one imagines that the *floruit* of a trumpeter was considerably longer than that of a sprinter or pankratiast. A date ca. 90–70 seems not unlikely for the present inscription.

Line 1: Kramolisch identifies the *agonothete* of this inscription with Isagoras, son of Pherekrates, from Larisa.[43] This Isagoras was awarded proxeny by the Delphians in 106/5 and is on record as a *tagos* of Larisa about the turn of the first century. He may also be attested as a manumittor of slaves in early first century Larisa.[44]

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[38] Kern 1899–1900, p. 5.
[39] *ad IG* 9.2, 528. Cf. Kern 1899–1900, pp. 4–5.
[40] Preuner 1903, p. 372.
[41] But no later than 184/3, the date of earliest testimony for the festival (*CID* 4, 106; cf. Daux 1943, p. 50, no. L15).
[42] Gossage 1975, pp. 123, 133.
[43] Kramolisch 1978, p. 87.
[44] Delphian proxeny: *FD* 3.4, 49; *tageia*: *IG* 9.2, 516; manumissions: Giannopoulos

Line 2: Isagoras is described as serving as *agonothete* at the 'twenty …' iteration of the Eleutheria. As discussed in Chapter Two, when combined with the prosopography of the inscription, this admission provides strong evidence that the Eleutheria were a penteteric festival. Like the Olympia, and increasingly many other festivals in the Hellenistic and Roman period that seem to have taken the Olympia as a model, iterations of the Eleutheria were numbered sequentially.[45] If the ordinal has been interpreted correctly, then it would seem to draw attention to the establishment of the festival and the concomitant refoundation of the Thessalian League in the aftermath of the Second Macedonian War, events which continued to loom large in the region more than a century later.

Line 5: Kern's ἐνίκων is probably correct and certainly approximates the sense of what is required. This Kleonikos, father of the priest of Zeus Eleutherios, is unknown.[46]

Line 7: Stratios of Kierion was victorious trumpeter at the Ptoia at Akraiphia ca. 70–65.[47]

Line 9: Kramolisch' restoration is possible; he would identify this Agathon as the father of Agathoklea of Larisa who is attested as a manumittor in the middle of the first century, and possibly a descendent of

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1927–1928b, p. 62, no. 6b (McDevitt 1970, pp. 49–50, no. 354). Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἰσαγόρας 11; Φερεκράτεις 5. Kramolisch 1978, p. 88, speculates that this Isagoras may have been the father of the Pherekrates who would hold the generalship of the Thessalian League ca. 100–80. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 87, 104, offers another, less likely possibility: that this individual was Isagoras son of Nysandros, from Larisa, general of the Thessalian League ca. 50 and a *hieromnemon* in Larisa ca. 30 (Giannopoulos 1930, pp. 176–179, no. A1 (McDevitt 1970, p. 49, no. 349)). Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἰσαγόρας 13. This Isagoras will thus have had an exceptionally long career in public life. Either possibility would fit the lacuna: At 18 letters, Νυσάνδρου Λαρισαίου would fit what remains of the lacuna in l. 1 perfectly; the slightly longer Φερεκράτους Λαρισαίου (20 letters) would also be possible. Isagoras was a popular name in Larisa, though (cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἰσαγόρας 10–20, with seven other attestations in Thessaly, *polis* unspecified), and it is best to leave the matter open.

[45] Slater 2007, p. 31, with further references.

[46] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Κλεόνικος 14.

[47] Bizard 1920, pp. 249–261, no. 10; for the date, see Gossage 1975, pp. 122–123. Cf. Stephanis 1988, p. 406, no. 2306; *LGPN* 3B s.v. Στράτιος 11. His brother, Philoarnos was victorious trumpeter at the Thespian Mouseia ca. 75–70 (*IThesp* 172 (*IG* 7, 1760)); cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Φιλόαρνος 1. Nothing is known of their father, Melanthios. Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Μελάνθιος 33–34, where the fathers of Philarnos and Stratios are not solidly identified as the same individual.

the Agathon son of Agathokles of Larisa who was awarded proxeny by the Aitolian League in 262.[48]

Line 19: Kramolish plausibly identifies this Leontomenes with the Pheraian *strategos* of the Thessalian League ca. 100–90 of the same name.[49] The name is not common at Pherai and the family seems to have produced multiple League *strategoi*, from the early second century BCE to the first century CE.[50]

4. *Eleutheria Victor List*

White marble stele, broken top, right, and bottom, preserved left. The inscription was discovered in 1910 built into an enclosure wall on the property of Poulios in the Jewish quarter of Larisa, and subsequently moved to the Larisa museum (inv. no. 117).[51] Now in the new Larisa Archaeological Museum (Μεζούρλο), where I studied the inscription in July 2009 and May 2010. I examined a squeeze of the inscription at the *IG* archive in Berlin in November 2009.

H. .49 m., W. .52 m., Th. .22 m.; L.H. .010–.015 m.

Ed. Arvanitopoulos 1911, pp. 124–127, no. 27 (McDevitt 1970, pp. 47–48, no. 344)

Cf. Béquignon 1935, p. 68, n. 1; Arvanitopoulou 1939–1940, p. 10, no. 12; Pouilloux 1955, p. 455, n. 5; Kramolisch 1978, pp. 26, 66 n. 35, 103 n. 93; Adrimi-Sismani, Batziou-Efstathiou et al. 2004, pp. 122–123, no. 24 (*SEG* 54, 560),[52] photo and drawing; C. Habicht *ap*. *SEG* 55, 607

ca. 80–70

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[48] Kramolisch 1978, p. 87, n. 14. Agathoklea, manumittor: *IG* 9.2, 562; Giannopoulos 1927–1928b, pp. 58–60, no. 5 (McDevitt 1970, p. 49, no. 353); Agathon, Aitolian *proxenos*: *IG* $9.1^2.1$, 17. Cf. Stephanis 1988, p. 481, no. 2798.

[49] Kramolisch 1978, p. 87. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Λεοντομένης 18–19 does not seem to follow this identification.

[50] For the stemma, see Kramolisch 1978, p. 31.

[51] For the old Jewish quarter of Larisa, see Palιougkas 2002–2007, vol. 1, pp. 159–165, 347–363; vol. 2, pp. 469–473, 514, 586–589. McDevitt 1970, pp. 47–48, no. 344 erroneously reports the inv. no. as 457.

[52] The inscription is described as an *ineditum* by Tziaphalias at Adrimi-Sismani, Batziou-Efstathiou et al. 2004, pp. 122–123, no. 24 (the assertion is repeated in *SEG* 54, 560), but it is clearly identical to Arvanitopoulos 1911, pp. 124–127, no. 27 (cf. *SEG* 55, 607).

[ἀγενείους παγκράτιον]
[….ca. 8….] Δ̣ι̣ο̣κ̣λ̣έους [v] Ἀ̣θ̣α̣μ̣[άν (?)]
ἄνδρας παγκρ[άτιον]
Νικοκλῆς Νικοκλ̣έους [vv] Κλειτ[όριος].
ὁπλίτην
Νικοκλῆς Νικάτα Λακεδαιμόνιο[ς]
συνωρίδι πωλικ̣[ῆι]
Φιλοκράτης Ἀντιγόνου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λ[αρίσης τῆς Πελασγίδος]
κέλητι πωλικῶι
[Τ]ιμασίθεος Ἑρμίου τοῦ Ὁμήρου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λ̣α̣ρίση[ς τῆς Πελασγίδος]
συνωρίδι τελείαι
[… ca. 5–6…]χης Παυσαγ̣ίου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης [τῆς Πελασγίδος]
κέλητι τελείωι
Κ̣λέαρχος Ἀρνία Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης τῆς Πε[λασγίδος]
ἅρματι πωλικῶι
Ἀλκότας Λαττάμου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Κιερίου.
ἅρματι τελείωι
[.. ca. 3–4..]ιόνη Πολυξένου Θεσσαλὴ ἀπὸ Λ̣α̣ρίσης τῆς [Πελασγίδος].

vacat

1 [δεῖνα Ἑρμ?]ο̣κ̣[λ]έους [Ἀθηναῖος?] Arvanitopoulos, [-------- ̣τ̣ο̣κ̣λ̣]έους[ς Ἀ̣θ̣α̣μ̣ὰν] (*sic*) Arvanitopoulou. 11 Τ̣ο̣ρ[αύ(?)]χης Arvanitopoulou. 15 Ἀλκίτας Béquignon, Ἀλκ[ο]ίτας Arvanitopoulos, Ἀλκ[έ̣]τας (*sic*) Arvanitopoulou, [Ἀλκέ]τας Habicht. 17 [Ἡπ?]ιόνη Arvanitopoulos, [Ἀλκ̣]ιόνη (*sic*) Arvanitopoulou.

Epigraphic Commentary

The lettering and arrangement of the list are very close to Epigraphic Appendix 5.[53]

Line 1: Father's name: Dotted delta: bottom horizontal visible on squeeze. Epsilon and sigma also possible. Dotted iota: bottom vertical visible on squeeze. Rho and tau also possible. Dotted omicron: bottom half of circular letter shape preserved. Theta also possible. Dotted lambda: bottom of stroke slanting upwards from left to right preserved. Alpha also possible. Ethnic adjective: First dotted alpha: bottom half of stroke slanting upwards from left to right preserved, matched by an opposite corresponding bottom half of stroke slanting upwards from right to left. Lambda also possible. Dotted theta: bottom half of circular letter

[53] Habicht has suggested that Epigraphic Appendix 4 may be the lower half Epigraphic Appendix 3 (*SEG* 55, 607).

shape preserved, damage within the area circumscribed by the stroke. Omicron also possible. Second dotted alpha: the bottom half of a stroke slanting upward from left to right is preserved. Lambda also possible. Dotted mu: left vertical preserved, joining at top a stroke slanting left from top to bottom, and broken below. Nu also possible. Surprisingly few ethnics fit the traces; certainly Ἀθηναῖος, the restoration of Arvanitopoulos, cannot. Among those that do, Ἀθαμάν is the most likely by far.

Line 11: The surface of the stele is severely abraded at the beginning of the line, and there is not enough on the stone or the squeeze to support Arvanitopoulos' restoration Τορ[αύ(?)]χης.[54]

Line 15: Omicron of Ἀλκότας just visible on squeeze.

Line 17: Arvanitopoulos' restoration is too short; that of Theaphano Arvanitopoulou, daughter of the Thessalian epigrapher and archaeologist A.S. Arvanitopoulos, is more plausible.[55]

Commentary

Although the inscription is fragmentary and no heading is preserved, the sequence of events and preserved ethnics indicates that it is a victor list of the Eleutheria. Several prosopographic connections with victor lists from Oropos suggest a date in the first half of the first century, and perhaps more closely 80–60.

Line 1: For Athamanian interests in Thessaly, see Chapter One.

Line 3: Nikokles son of Nikokles from Kleitor is otherwise unknown.[56]

Line 5: Nikokles son of Nikatas from Lakedaimon was a distinguished athlete from Akriai in Lakonia.[57] The following victories are attested in addition to his victory in the hoplite race here: five victories in different foot-race events at the Olympia;[58] men's stadion, men's diaulon, and hoplite race at Oropos ca. 80–70;[59] another event in a roughly contemporary Eleutheria at Larisa.[60]

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[54] Cf. Arvanitopoulou 1939–1940, p. 10, no. 12.

[55] There are other possibilities, including Ἐρμιόνη; cf. Dornseiff and Hansen 1957, p. 59; *LGPN* 3B reverse index.

[56] *LGPN* 3A s.v. Νικοκλῆς 12.

[57] *LGPN* 3A s.v. Νικοκλῆς 22; Bradford 1977 s.v. Νικοκλῆς 3.

[58] Paus. 3.22.5; cf. Moretti 1955, pp. 146–157, no. 655–657, 660–661, who suggests 100 and 96 as likely dates for his victories. *IG* 5.1, 1108 from Akriai in Lakonia has been restored as a base for a statue in honor of Nikokles: [οἱ Ἀκριᾶτ]αι Νικο̣κλ̣[έ][α] | [πεντάκις ὸ]λ̣[υ[μπι[ο]νί[καν].

[59] *IOropos* 525, l. 16, 20, 50.

[60] Epigraphic Appendix 5.

Line 7: Philokrates son of Antigonos from Larisa has been plausibly restored as a victor in the *keles teleion* at the Amphiaraia and Romaia at Oropos, ca. 80–70, and is now identified in a contemporary decree of Larisa.[61]

Line 9: Timasitheos son of Hermias (son of Homeros) from Larisa is unknown.[62] The mention of the grandfather's name is exceptional in Eleutheria victor lists and may suggest that Homeros was a prominent figure. The name is rare, but it is possible that this Homeros had served as *strategos* of the Thessalian League before 146 and as *tagos* in Larisa ca. 136–135.[63]

Line 11: This son of Pausanias from Larisa is unknown.

Line 13: Klearchos son of Arnias from Larisa may have been general of the Thessalian League sometime before 50.[64] The family was exceptionally distinguished in later Hellenistic Larisa.[65]

Line 15: Alkotas is attested five times as a name in Thessaly, although this particular son of Lattamos from Kierion is otherwise unknown.[66]

Line 17: This daughter of Polyxenos from Larisa is unknown.[67]

5. *Eleutheria Victor List*

Block of grayish white marble. Broken top, right, and below. Preserved left. Back was reshaped for the reuse of the block in the foundations of Agios Achilleos, Larisa. Now in the apotheke of the Greek Archaeological Service, Larisa, Inventory Number 235. I examined the stone in May 2009.

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[61] Oropos: *IOropos* 529, l. 20: Petrakos supplements Ἰσ]οκρ[ά]της Ἀντιγόνου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης there, but Φιλ]οκρ[ά]της is also possible, as *LGPN* 3B s.v. Φιλοκράτης 53 suggests. Larisa: Tziaphalias and Helly 2004–2005, pp. 407–417.

[62] Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Τιμασίθεος 26.

[63] General of Thessalian League: *SGDI* 2138; cf. Kramolisch 1978, p. 59. *Tagos*: Gallis 1980, pp. 252–256 (*SEG* 31, 577). Homeros may have had two brothers, Diotimos and Timasitheos, who also served as generals in the 140s or 130s. Cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 65–66.

[64] *IG* 9.2, 1282, where the name is restored; cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 103–104. He is also attested as a manumittor in a first-century Larisan inscription (*IG* 9.2, 1232). Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Κλέαρχος 53. Cf. Pouilloux 1955, p. 455, n. 5.

[65] E.g., multiple generals of the Thessalian League, foreign *proxenoi*, etc. Cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 25–26; Kramolisch 1972, *passim*.

[66] Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἀλκότας 1–5.

[67] Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Ἡπιόνη 1; Πολύξενος 98.

H. 0.65 m., W. 0.24–0.26., Th. 0.15–0.20 m.; L.H. 0.014–0.016 m.

Ed. Zikidis 1905, col. 192–194, no. 8; *IG* 9.2, 529; Helly 2010

Cf. Jardé 1906 (*IG* 9.2, corrig. p. xv); Arvanitopoulos 1911, pp. 124–127, no. 27; Klee 1918, p. 34; Leonardos 1923, p. 50; Gossage 1975, p. 133; *IOropos* 525; Adrimi-Sismani, Batziou-Efstathiou et al. 2004, pp. 123–124, no. 24 (*SEG* 54, 546; *SEG* 54, 560)

post 86

[παῖδας *nomen certaminis*]
Διονύσιος Μητροφά[ν----------]
ἀγ[ενείους *nomen certaminis*]
Ἀριστομένης Σωτί[----------]
ἄν[δρας *nomen certaminis*]
Ἱερώνυμος Μητροδ[----------]
πα[ῖδας *nomen certaminis*]
Διότιμος Παντάλκου [---------]
ἄνδ[ρας *nomen certaminis*]
Ἑρμογένης Ἀπολλοδώ[ρου ----------]
παῖ[δας *nomen certaminis*]
Μόας Διονυσίου Ἀντι[----------]
ἀγ[ενείους *nomen certaminis*]
Νικόξενος Νικοξέν[ου ---------]
ἄνδ[ρας *nomen certaminis*]
Νικοκλῆς Νικάτα Λα[κεδαιμόνιος]
παῖδ[ας *nomen certaminis*]
Ἡρακλείδας Δημητρίο[υ ---------]
ἄνδ[ρας *nomen certaminis*]
Κάλλων Ξενοφίλο[υ ---------]
παῖδ[ας *nomen certaminis*]
Διότιμος Παντάλκου [---------]
ἄνδρ[ας *nomen certaminis*]
Ἀντίγονος Ἀλκίππου Θ[---------]
παῖδ[ας *nomen certaminis*]
Σωσικράτης Σωσικράτο[υς ---------]
ἀγεν[είους *nomen certaminis*]
[….]ΝΟΣ Παρμένοντ[ος ---------]
ἄνδ[ρας *nomen certaminis*]
[----------]

2 ἀγ[ενείους πένταθλον] Helly. 4 ἄν[δρας πένταθλον] Helly. 6 πα[ῖδας δόλιχον] Helly. 7 [Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Φαρσάλων?] Helly. 8 ἄνδ[ρας δόλιχον] Helly. 10 παῖ[δας στάδιον] Helly. 11 Ἀντι[οχεὺς πρὸς τῇ Πισιδίᾳ?] Helly. 12 ἀγ[ενείους στάδιον] Helly. 14 ἄνδ[ρας στάδιον] Helly. 15 Λα[κεδαιμόνιος ἀπὸ Ἀκρεᾶν?] Helly. 16 παῖδ[ας δίαυλον] Helly. 18 ἄνδ[ρας δίαυλον] Helly. 19 Ξενοφίλο[υ Ὀπούντιος] Gossage, Helly. 20 παῖδ[ας ἵππιον] Helly. 21 Παντάλκο[υ Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Φαρσάλων?] Helly. 22 ἄνδρ[ας ἵππιον] Helly. 23 Ἀλκίππου Θ[εσσαλὸς ἀπὸ

?---------] Helly. 24 παῖδ[ας πυγμήν] Helly. 25 Σωσικράτο[υς Μεγαρεύς?] Helly. 26 ἀγεν[είους πυγμήν] Helly. 27 [- 4–6 l.-]νος (*sic*) Helly. 28 ἄνδ[ρας πυγμήν] Helly.

Epigraphic Commentary

The lettering and layout of the inscription closely resemble Epigraphic Appendix 3, 4.

Commentary

Although only indications of age class are preserved for the individual events and not the names of the events themselves,[68] this document can be certainly attributed to the Eleutheria and not the Stena on the basis of the preserved beginnings of ethnics in lines 15 and 23. The ethnics of victors are never listed in Stena victor lists. Since no preamble has been preserved which could provide an internal means of dating the document accurately, recourse is made to prosopographic links between this monument and another, more securely dated inscription, *IOropos* 525, that certainly postdates the Mithridatic war and Sulla's benefactions to the Amphiareion at Oropos ca. 86.[69] It is likely that the present monument is slightly later in date than *IOropos* 525 (see commentary on l. 19), hence the 'post 86' date suggested above. The letter forms are broadly consistent with such a date.

Line 7, 21: Diotimos son of Pantalkes is victorious in two competitions for boys. The name Pantalkes is very rare, attested only at Pharsalos (*IThessEnip* 72–73), and Helly's Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Φαρσάλων is a reasonable supplement for the victor's ethnic.

[68] Helly 2010 plausibly reconstructs boys'-youths'-men's pentathlon (l. 1–5), boys'-men's dolichon (l. 6–9), boys'-youths'-men's stadion (l. 10–15), boys'-men's diaulon (l. 16–19), boys'-men's hippion (l. 20–23), boys'-youths'-men's boxing (l. 25–28).

[69] *IOropos* 525 l. 68 mentions a contest εὐαγγελία τῆς Ῥω[μαίων νίκης], which is most likely related to the announcement of the Sullan victory over Mithridates in 85 and thus offers a firm terminus post quem for both the Oropian inscription and the present Eleutheria victor list. Cf. Schachter 1981–, vol. 1, p. 25, n. 2, with further bibliography. But the point is not uncontroversial; see, e.g., Etienne and Knoepfler 1976, p. 250, n. 950, who argue, somewhat unconvincingly, that the contest refers rather to the Senate's protection of the sanctuary from the publicani in 73 and their de facto ratification of Sulla's benefactions. For debate about the character of the contest, cf. Strasser 2001, pp. 299–301 (*SEG* 51, 585); Schachter 1981–, vol. 3, pp. 26–27; Robert 1969a, pp. 273–274; Robert 1936a, p. 187, n. 2.

Line 11: Moas is an Anatolian name and is at home in the onomastica of Pisidia, Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Lycia.[70]

Line 15: Nikokles son of Nikates from Lakedaimon was victor in the men's stadion, diaulon, and the hoplite race at the Amphiareia of Oropos (*IOropos* 525). He is also attested in Epigraphic Appendix 4.

Line 19: A Kallon son of Xenophilos from Opous was a victor in the boy's stadion at the Amphiareia at Oropos (*IOropos* 525). Since Nikokles is also attested as victor in that Oropian document, Gossage and Helly would restore Ὀπούντιος here.[71] If correct, then since Kallon is mentioned here as a participant in the men's stadion at the Thessalian Eleutheria, this inscription would post-date *IOropos* 525. Gossage would date *IOropos* 525 to ca. 80–75, and this Eleutheria victor list to ca. 72.[72]

6. *Eleutheria Victor List*

Large, slightly tapering stele of grayish white, schisty marble. Broken bottom, partially preserved left, right, and top; rectangular dowel cutting on top measuring ca. 5 × 6.5 cm with lead preserved inside. The inscribed surface is very weathered. The stele is now in the new Archaeological Museum of Larisa (Μεζούρλο), inventory number 237. I studied the stone in July 2009 and May 2010.

H. .92 m., W. .65 m., Th. .18 m.; L.H. .018 m.

Ed. *IG* 9.2, 534

Cf. Axenidis 1947b, pp. 9–36; Bell 1989, p. 180 (*SEG* 40, 1640); A. Tziaphalias, *ap*. Adrimi-Sismani, Batziou-Efstathiou et al. 2004, pp. 122–123, no. 24 (*SEG* 54, 560)

ca. 100–50

[*vacat* σαλπιστάς *vacat*(?)]
[.....ca. 9....] Δαμοξέν̲[ου....ca. 7...]
[*vacat* κ]ήρυκας [*vacat*]
[.....ca. 12.....]ρχου Θεσσ[αλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρίσης]
[τῆς Πελα]γγί[δ]ος ^{vv} αὐλη[τάς *vacat*]
[.....ca. 9....]ος ^{v} Ἀ̲πολλωνίου ^{vv} [.....ca. 10.....]
[^{vvv} ὁ ἀγ]ὼν τῶν κιθαριστῶν ἐ[γένετο ἱερός (?)]

[70] Milner 1991, p. 53 (*SEG* 41, 1362); Zgusta 1964, §940–941.
[71] Gossage 1975, p. 133; so, too, Helly 2010.
[72] Gossage 1975, *passim*.

κιθαρωιδούς
[..ca. 3.]ανδρος ^{vv} Γαΐου ^{vvv} [..]Ι[..ca. 4..]αιο[ς]
ταυροθηρίαν
[Λ]υκόφρων Ἀναξιπόλεως Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Φ[ερ]ῶ[ν]
ἀφιπποδρομάν
Πετραῖος [Θ]εμιστογένους Θεσσαλὸς ἀπ[ὸ]
Γυρτῶνος ^{vvvvv} ἀφιπποδρομάν
Δημήτριος Μενάνδρου Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λ[α-]
ρίσης τῆς Πελασγίδος
παῖδας πένταθλ[ο]ν
Ἀπολλώνιος Μηνοφίλου Ἀλαβανδεύς
[ἀ]γενείου[ς] πέντᾱθλον
Παρμενίσκος Θεαρήτου Κῶ[ς]
ἄνδρας πένταθλο̄ν
Ἁρμόνικος Εὐδαμίδα Λακεδαιμόνιος
παῖδας δόλιχον
[Κ]άναχος Γοργία Σικυώνιος
ἄνδρας δόλιχον
[...ca. 5..]ης Ἐλευθερίου Σικυώνιος
παῖδας σταδίον
[.....ca. 9....]ς Στρατοκλέους Λαοδικεύς
[ἀγε]νείους σταδίον
[.....ca. 14.....]αχου Ἠπειρώτης
[ἄνδρας] σταδίον
[.....ca. 17.....]ους Μιλήσιος
[παῖδας διαύ]λ̣ον
[.....ca. 22.....]ιος

1 [------- Δ]αμοξέν[ου] ------- Kern. 2 [κ]ή[ρ]υκα[ς] Kern. 3–4 Θεσ[σαλὸς ἀπὸ --] | ----- ος. Kern. 6. [ὁ ἀγ]ὼν τῶν κιθαριστῶν ἐ[γένετο ἱερός.] Kern. 8...ΑΜ..... Γαΐου ---------- Kern. 10 ἀπὸ . Ο -- Kern. 16 ἀπὸ [Λα-] Kern. 16 πένταθ[λον] Kern. 18 [ἀγ]ενείο[υς] Kern. 31 ου[ς?] Μιλήσιος Kern. 32 ---------- ον Kern.

Epigraphic Commentary

Line 1: First letter: Clear bottom right corner of delta preserved.

Line 2: Dotted sigma: Bottom left corner visible at break; delta also possible.

Line 4: Dotted sigma: Clear horizontal stroke visible below, traces of strokes visible above at break consistent with sigma or epsilon.

Line 6: Kern's restoration is probably correct, and certainly approximates the sense of what is required; κιθαριστάς is the typical heading for victors in kitharist contests at the Eleutheria, and there is in any case not enough room for victor's name, father's name, and ethnic at the end of line 6.

Line 8: Dotted iota: vertical stroke broken above preserved at break.

Line 14: Dotted lambda: bottom preserved of a stroke slanting up and to the right.

Line 18: Dotted gamma: Vertical stroke visible.

Line 27: Dotted sigma: Top horizontal with serif on right visible.

Line 32: Dotted lambda: Downward right slanting stroke preserved, forming an apex with a downward left slanting stroke which is broken below.

Commentary

Although no prescript is preserved, the document is certainly a victor list for the Thessalian Eleutheria: the events, and their order, are closely paralleled by other known Eleutheria victor lists, where victors, as here, are identified by both father's names and ethnics, whether city, regional, or some combination of the two. The document is difficult to date. Kern noted that the letter forms suggested a date in the first century. Kramolisch' prosopographic analyses have plausibly narrowed the range to ca. 100–50, and the editors of *LGPN* have gone further in suggesting ca. 80–70.[73]

Kern's edition in *IG* is based on Philius' transcription and squeeze; he does not appear to have seen the stone in person: *Edo ex ectypo et apographo Philii*. Kern suggests that there was originally another line of text above what is printed as line 1 here, but there does not appear to be room for such a line and there are no letter strokes visible above line 1. The dowel cutting preserved on the top of the stele strongly suggests that a second stele or crowning member was placed above, upon which would have been inscribed the preface (e.g., a series of temporal genitive absolutes mentioning the priest of Zeus Eleutherios and the *agonothete* at a bare minimum, followed by the phrase οἵδε ἐνίκων, *vel sim.*).

Lines 2–8: The fragmentary names preserved are not sufficient to suggest identity.[74]

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[73] Kramolisch 1978, p. 116, n. 74. The editors of *LGPN*, in their entries for the respective victors and victors' fathers mentioned in this inscription, cite Kramolisch, but do not provide a further rationale for their narrower range of dates.

[74] For l. 2, cf. Stephanis 1988, p. 484, no. 2822; l. 3–4, cf. Stephanis 1988, p. 487, no. 2849; l. 5, cf. Stephanis 1988, pp. 476–477, no. 2753; l. 8, cf. Stephanis 1988, p. 484, no. 2821.

Line 10: This Lykophron is otherwise unknown, but the name is especially appropriate for a Pheraian, as two fourth-century tyrants of the city were homonyms. Anaxipolis is a rare name, attested only here in Thessaly.[75]

Line 12: This Petraios was most likely *strategos* of the Thessalian League at some point in the 40s and supporter of Caesar during the Pharsalos campaign; according to Cicero, he was made a Roman citizen.[76] His three brothers, Eupalidas, Androsthenes, and Ptolemaios, each held the League generalship in the middle of the first century, as did his first cousins Italos and Gorgias.[77]

Lines 14–15: Demetrios son of Menander belonged to one of the most powerful families of Larisa, the influence of which was established already during Macedonian rule.[78] Beyond this victory, though, nothing further is known of him.[79]

Line 17: Apollonios son of Menophilos is otherwise unknown.

Line 19: Parmeniskos son of Thearetos is otherwise unknown.[80]

Line 21: Harmonikos son of Eudamidas is otherwise unknown.[81]

Line 23: Kanachos son of Gorgias is otherwise unknown.[82]

Line 25: This Eleutherios, father of the victor in the boys' dolichos, is otherwise unknown.[83]

Line 32: Although the diaulon is yet to be attested for the Eleutheria, the restoration here seems inescapable. The contest is otherwise in keeping with the normative, 'Olympian' component of the festival program.

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[75] Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Λυκόφρων 3, Ἀναξίπολις 1.

[76] Caesarian: Caes. *BC* 3.35.2.; Roman citizen: Cic. *Phil.* 13.35. Cf. Kramolisch 1978, pp. 115–117; *LGPN* 3B s.v. Πετραῖος 18.

[77] For the stemma of this remarkable Thessalian family, see Kramolisch 1978, pp. 32–33, 34.

[78] For the stemma, see Kramolisch 1978, p. 26.

[79] Cf. *LGPN* 3B s.v. Δημήτριος 123, Μένανδρος 78.

[80] Cf. *LGPN* 1 s.v. Παρμενίσκος 44, Θεάρητος 1.

[81] Cf. *LGPN* 3A s.v. Ἁρμόνικος 1, Εὐδαμίδας 15; see also Bradford 1977, p. 72, s.v. ΑΡΜΟΝΙΚΟΣ 1; p. 163, s.v. ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔΑΣ 19.

[82] Cf. *LGPN* 3A s.v. Κάναχος 4, Γοργίας 10; see also Skalet 1975 [1928], p. 208, no. 173; p. 200, no. 83.

[83] Cf. *LGPN* 3A s.v. Ἐλευθέριος 2; see also Skalet 1975 [1928], p. 202, no. 106.

7. Eleutheria Victor List

White stone, broken right and bottom. The inscription was conveyed from the courtyard of the house of K. Patophla in Larisa to the Didaskaleion, where it was transcribed by Zikidis ca. 1899; the inscription was later studied and edited by Kern in the Larisa Museum. Kern's edition in *IG* suggests that some of the original top and left edges of the inscribed surface were preserved. Now lost. I examined a squeeze of the stone in the *IG* archive in Berlin in November 2009.

H. .27 m., W. .20 m., Th. .07 m.; L.H. .015 m.

Edd. Zikidis 1900, coll. 57–58, no. 11; *IG* 9.2, 530

post 196

[^{v}] ^{vv} οἵδε ἐν[ίκων------- ^{vacat} *nomen certaminis*]
Νικόπολις [-------]
[*nomen certaminis*]
Θεμιστίων [….. ca. 5–10 ….. Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρί-]
σης τῆς Πελ[ασγίδος. ^{vacat} *nomen certaminis*]
Ἀπολλων[-------]
^{v} ὁ δὲ ἀ[γὼν *nomen certaminis* ἱερὸς ἐκρίθη (?)].
[*nomen certaminis*]
Νι[-------]
[*nomen certaminis*]
[----------]

Commentary

While Zikidis did not discuss the nature of the text, Kern without comment included it among the Larisa victor lists in *IG*. The combination of nominative names in lines 2, 4 and the lengthy, preserved *vacats* of lines 3, 8 make such a classification possible. But it is the sequence of letters preserved in line 5 (ΣΗΣΤΗΣΠΕΛ) which provides the firmest foundation for this identification. A search of the PHI-database reveals that such a sequence of letters is otherwise preserved only in the Eleutheria victor lists of Larisa. On those grounds, I follow Kern in restoring [Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρί]|σης τῆς Πελ[ασγίδος] in lines 4–5, and thus include the inscription in this appendix among the fragmentary Eleutheria victor lists.

A close date for the inscription is unattainable barring new discoveries. Since this monument commemorates victories at the Eleutheria, it must date after 196. I have suggested in Chapter Two that the shift in

representing the ethnic of Larisan victors from simply 'Larisan' or 'Thessalian from Larisa' to 'Thessalian from Larisa of Pelasgis' may in part reflect the full and official inclusion of Larisa Kremaste of Achaia Phthiotis within the Thessalian in the 180s or 170s. The lettering appears close to the cluster of victor lists dated to the first half of the first century.[84]

Kern's schematic drawing and majuscule transcription of the stone in *IG* 9.2 suggest strongly that the inscription was preserved at least partially on the top and the right—there is room for no text prior to line 1 on this stone. If this is the beginning of the list of victors in the musical-gymnic portion of the Eleutheria, then crucial information about the date of the festival, the *agonothete*, etc., must have been supplied on a crowning member which would have been attached to the top of the stele (as was perhaps also the case in Epigraphic Appendix 6). Since it is now possible that there was also a series of dramatic contests at the Eleutheria (see Epigraphic Appendix 8), one cannot rule out the possibility that victors in those contests were inscribed on stelai separate from those recording victories in the musical-gymnic component, and that there is here preserved the beginning of just such a stele. Whatever events were listed here, there is some occasional compression of, e.g., ethnics and contest headings, on the model of Epigraphic Appendix 6. Lacuna length to the right is indeterminate. Line 4 offers a very rough idea, where the lacuna contained 15 letters of the victors ethnic in addition to his father's name; 20–25 letters total for that lacuna is plausible, which would give an overall line length of 30–35 letters.

Line 4: The name Themistion is attested here for the first time in Larisa.[85]

8. *Victor List from a Dramatic Festival at Larisa*

Fragment of grey-white marble, broken top, right, bottom, and back; preserved left. Findspot unknown. Christian Habicht studied the inscription in the courtyard of the old archaeological museum in Larisa in September 1966 and indicates that it bore inv. num. 240.[86] I studied the fragment

[84] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Νικόπολις 21—the Nikopolis mentioned in line 2—suggest a date 'ca. 150–145' on uncertain grounds.

[85] *LGPN* 3B s.v. Θεμιστίων 6; cf. Stephanis 1988, no. 1130.

[86] Personal communication. A. Kontogiannis also supplied 240 as inventory number for the relevant entries in Stephanis 1988.

in the new archaeological museum in Larisa (Μεζούρλο) in May 2010; it now carries inv. num. 1989/21.

H. .31 m., W. .34 m., Th. .09 m.; L.H. .015–.019 m.

Cf. Stephanis 1988, p. 37, no. 111; p. 194, no. 1059; p. 483, no. 2814 (prosopography)

90–70 (?)

[------ Θεσσαλὸς/ὴ ἀπὸ Λαρίσης τῆς Πε-]
[ν]λασγίδος [*vacat nomen certaminis*]
[ν] Ἡγήτωρ ν Ἡγήτορος ν Δ[----------]
κωμωιδό[ς]
[ν] Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀπολλ̣[----------]
νεᾶς κωμ[ωιδιᾶς ποιητής (?)]
[ν.... ca. 7–8...]ς ν Ἀριστίωνος Λ[----------]
[ὑ]π̣ο̣κ̣[ριτής (?)]

Epigraphic Commentary

Line 6: Dotted lambda: stroke slanting from lower left to upper right is preserved. Alpha also possible.

Line 7: Dotted pi: broken vertical and horizontal strokes meet to form the upper left corner of letter. Gamma also possible. Dotted omicron: upper left portion of a rounded stroke preserved. Omega, theta also possible. Dotted kappa: small upper portion of a vertical stroke just visible at break. Many other letters possible.

Commentary

The contests named in lines 3 and 5 indicate that this inscription commemorated the victors in a dramatic festival. The fragmentary ethnics of lines 1, 2, and 6 suggest that the festival attracted international competitors. The certain restoration of the first ethnic in the inscription as 'Thessalian from Larisa Pelasgis' finds parallels in the corpus of victor lists for the Thessalian Eleutheria. There is an economy in assuming that the Eleutheria also featured dramatic contests. There is no room, however, to fit a sequence of dramatic events within the most likely reconstruction of a normative Eleutheria victor list; the progression visible there, with one conspicuous and early exception, is (1) melic contests, (2) Thessalian triad, (3) gymnic contests, (4) equestrian contests. Dramatic events thus must have been inscribed on separate stelai. Alternatively, it is possible that the dramatic *agon* was part of, in effect, a second festival which may

have immediately preceded or followed the Eleutheria, or that such a festival existed and was completely distinct in duration from the Eleutheria.

None of the individuals mentioned within the inscription can be identified with any certainty and prosopography cannot help to date the inscription. The style of lettering and layout of the inscription are exactly parallel with Epigraphic Appendix 3–4; the relatively well-established chronology of those inscriptions suggests that a date ca. 90–70 would not be too far off the mark.

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