

CHAPTER 3

THE THESSALIAN CALENDAR

This chapter assesses the contribution of the Thessalian calendar to an understanding of Thessalian religion.¹ It is well recognized that ancient Greek month names were almost always based on the name of a festival that took place during that month. That there is a relationship between epichoric calendars and epichoric religious traditions is therefore clear:² It remains to assess the nature of this relationship. In section 1, I consider the Athenian calendar as a case study. Since knowledge of Attic cults and the Attic calendar far surpasses our knowledge of the cults and calendar of any other region in the ancient Greek world, we can examine how the two bodies of knowledge relate to one another. In so doing, it may be possible to glimpse the potential contributions of a study of epichoric calendars to the history of epichoric religion for, beyond Attica, it is more often than not the case that knowledge of a particular region's calendar exceeds our knowledge of that region's cults. In section 2,

¹ Local calendars were an object of scholarly pursuit and implicated in broader inquiries concerning cult from a relatively early date. Philochorus (ca. 340-263/2a) wrote a *Περὶ ἐορτῶν*, extremely fragmentary, in which he dated major Attic festivals by month and day (FGrHist 328 F 83-4). Callimachus wrote a *Μηνῶν προσηγορίαι κατὰ ἔθνος καὶ πόλεις* (p. 339 Pf.). Unfortunately nothing survives of this work. More important for our purposes is the work of Lysimachides (ca. 50a-50p) who is on record as the author of a *Περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι μηνῶν*, fragments of which were preserved in the lexicon of Harpocration (FGrHist 366 F 1-3). Lysimachides was interested in the connection of month names with divinities and festivals. What is preserved in Harpocration is full of etymological argument and ritual detail. At FGrHist 366 F 3, Harpocration refers to him as one of *οἱ γράψαντες περὶ τε ἐορτῶν καὶ μηνῶν <τῶν> Ἀθήνησι*, suggesting that there was a group of scholars who were interested in the calendar. Cf. Trümpy 1997: 3-4, for a brief survey of modern scholarship.

² E.g., Trümpy 1997. There are two basic morphologies of month names: 1) Months of the Ionian calendars almost always end in -(t)ών, e.g. Attic *Ἐκατομβαιών*, *Μεταγειτνιών*, etc. This form is analyzable as an original genitive plural of a festival name in -ια. Trümpy reconstructs the morphological relationship between month name and festival name as follows: *μῆν/μείς* x-ίων (gen. plur.) “Month of festival x” > x-ίον [scil. “month”] > x-ίον (= nom. sing. month); 2) In the other calendars of the Greek world, month names end in -ιος. This appears to be an adjective formed from the name of a festival and it doubtless followed a similar line of development to what has been suggested for the Ionian calendars: *μῆν/μείς* x-ιος “Festival x month” > x-ιος [scil. “month”] > x-ιος (= nom. sing. month).

I present the evidence for the Thessalian calendar and discuss its importance for our understanding of Thessalian religion. The calendar can be an extremely technical subject. My interests are limited: What can the Thessalian calendar tell us about month festivals in the region? What contribution does this evidence make to our understanding of Thessalian religion? In section 3, I draw a set of provisional conclusions about the Thessalian calendar.

3.1: The Attic State Calendar and Attic Religion

What specific contribution does knowledge of the Attic calendar make to our understanding of Attic religion? In an attempt to answer this question, I record below in Table 2 the various months of the Athenian calendar, the corresponding festival, further epigraphic evidence for the divinity, festival and cult-place in Attica, and, finally, other festivals that are known to have taken place during that month. The table privileges inscriptions over literary sources in an attempt to glimpse, however sporadically, the underlying cultic reality of the month festivals—a reality that can be easily distorted when approached through literary sources alone.³

³ Nearly all of these cult figures and festivals are represented in mostly late literary sources. Cf. Deubner 1966. The picture that emerges from epigraphic evidence is quite different.

Table 2
Athenian State Festivals and the Athenian Calendar

Month	Eponymous Festival	Festival or related divinity epigraphically attested in Attica? Sanctuary/Cult place(s) known in Attica?	Other attested state festivals held during the month (Deubner and Mikalson)⁴
Hekatombaion (July-August)	Hekatombaia in honor of Apollo Hekatomabios (on Hekatombaion 7?) ⁵	Apollo Hekatombaios? No; ⁶ Festival? No; Sanctuary? No	12. Kronia; 16. Synoikia; 28. Panathenaia;
Metageitnion (August-September)	Metageitnia in honor of Apollo Metageitnios (on Metageitnion 7?) ⁷	Apollo Metageitnios? No; ⁸ Festival? No; Sanctuary? No	Herakleia in Kynosarges (?); Panhellenia (?)

⁴ While Deubner's treatment of individual cults has been superseded in some cases, the overall synthesis has not.

⁵ Mikalson 1975: 26, "the day is suggested by the fact that the seventh day of the month was sacred to Apollo and by the fact that the sacrifice to Apollo Hekatombaios on Mykonos occurred on Hekatombaion 7."

⁶ No theophoric names are listed in LGPN ii.

⁷ Mikalson 1975: 36, "There may be in this sacrifice (sc. a sacrifice to Apollo Patroios, Leto, Artemis and Athena conducted by the Salaminioi on Metageitnion 7) a reflection of the state Metageitnia..."

⁸ No theophoric names are listed in LGPN ii.

Table 2 (Continued)

Boedromion (September- October)	Boedromia in honor of Apollo Boedromios (on Boedromion 7?) ⁹	Apollo Boedromios? No; ¹⁰ Festival? No; Sanctuary? No	3. Commemoration of Plataea; 5. Genesia; 6. Commemoration of Marathon, Festival of Artemis Agrotera; 12. Commemoration of the return from Phyle; 15.-22. Mysteria
Pyanopsion (October- November)	Pyanopsia in honor of Apollo (as Pyanopsios?) on Pyanopsion 7	Apollos Pyanopsios? No, but a theophoric name, [Πυα]νέψι[ος] (?) may be attested; ¹¹ Festival? No; Sanctuary? No	Proerosia (?); ¹² Oschophoria (?); 8. Theseia; 9. Stenia; 30. Chalkeia; Apatouria (?)
Maimakterion (November- December)	Maimakteria in honor of Zeus Maimaktes (date?)	Zeus Maimaktes? No; ¹³ Festival? No; Sanctuary? No	Pompaia (?)

⁹ Mikalson 1975: 51, “The seventh day of each month was sacred to Apollo, and for this reason Deubner (*Feste*, p. 202) follows E. Pfuhl (*De Atheniensium Pompis Sacris*, Berlin, 1900, p. 35, note 8) in dating the Boedromia, the festival of Apollo Boedromios, to this day.”

¹⁰ No theophoric names are attested in LGPN ii.

¹¹ Cf. LGPN ii s.v. Πυανέψιος.

¹² It is also uncertain whether the Proerosia were a state festival.

¹³ No theophoric names are attested in LGPN ii.

Table 2 (Continued)

Posideon (December-January)	Poseideia in honor of Poseidon—aspect unclear (on Posideon 8?)	Poseidon? Yes, but aspect is unclear; Festival? No, but sacrifice is offered to Poseidon on Posideon 8 on a private Attic sacrificial calendar (IG ii ² 1367 16-18: IIp); ¹⁴ Sanctuary? Multiple sanctuaries of Poseidon in Attica are known, but aspect of the month festival Poseidon in unclear.	26. Haloa
Gamelion (January-February)	Theogamia/Hieros Gamos/Gamelia on Gamelion 27 in honor of Zeus and Hera (?)—aspects unclear	Zeus Gamelios, Hera Gamelia? No; ¹⁵ Festival? No; Sanctuary? No	12-14. Lenaia (?)

¹⁴ Poseidonios is a common name in Attica. Cf. LGPN ii s.v. Ποσειδώνιος.

¹⁵ No theophoric names are attested in LGPN ii.

Table 2 (Continued)

Anthesterion (February-March)	Anthesteria in honor of Dionysus Anthesterios (?) on Anthesterion 11-13	Dionysus Anthesterios? No, but Anthesterios is attested in the Attic onomasticon; ¹⁶ Festival? Yes; Sanctuary? Yes: Limnaion, Boukoleion	23. Diasia; (Delia ?); Mysteries in Agrai
Elaphebolion (March-April)	Elaphebolia in honor of Artemis Elaphebolia (on Elaphebolion 6?)	Artemis Elaphebolia? No; ¹⁷ Festival? No; Sanctuary? No	8. Asklepieia, Proagon; 9.-13. City Dionysia; Pandia (?)
Mounichion (April-May)	Mounichia in honor of Artemis Mounichios on Mounichion 16	Artemis Mounichia? Yes: IG i ³ 369 (426-2a); ¹⁸ Festival? Yes: IG ii ² 2130; Sanctuary? Yes: Peiraeus	6. Delphinia; 19. Olympieia

¹⁶ LGPN ii s.v. Ἀνθεστήριος lists 34 individuals with that name ranging in date from IIa to IIp.

¹⁷ No theophoric names are attested in LGPN ii.

¹⁸ Five individuals from Attica are known by the presumably theophoric name Μούνιχος (Va-IIp). Cf. LGPN ii s.v. Μούνιχος.

Table 2 (Continued)

Thargelion (May-June)	Thargelia in honor of Apollo Thargelios on Thargelion 6-7	Apollo Thargelios? Yes: IG i ³ 156 (450- 440a), ¹⁹ Festival? Yes: LSS 14 (128a); Sanctuary?: No	19. Bendideia; Kallynteria (?); 25. Plynteria
Skirophorion (June-July)	Skira/Skiraphoria (?) in honor of Demeter or Athena (?) on Skirophorion 12— aspects unclear, perhaps as Skiraphoros (?)	Demeter/Athena Skiraphoros? No. Festival? Yes: IG i ³ 250 (450-430a) (deme of Paiania); IG ii ² 1177.10, 1358b.30, 51, 2773.13 (aet. Imp.); Sanctuary? No ²⁰	3. Arrephoria (?); 14. Dipoleia; Diisoteria (?)

The Athenian evidence admits of the following conclusions:

1) Apparently no month name reflects a festival related to the solar year. Since the calendar, based on the lunar year, and the environmental rhythms of the solar year were forever in tension with one another, there needed to be flexibility with respect to the calendar for the celebration of festivals connected with agriculture, e.g., sowing, harvest, grape pressing, etc.

¹⁹ The theophoric names Θαργήλιος and Θαργηλίων are sporadically attested in Attica (III-IIa). Cf. LGPN ii *ad locc.*

²⁰ The location of Skiron, the terminus of the festival's procession, is unknown.

2) The chief divinities honored in the month festivals are not otherwise prominent in the archaeological or epigraphic record.²¹ Where a specific aspect of a divinity is suggested by a month name, e.g., Maimakterion, celebrated in honor of Zeus as Maimaktes, there is independent, non-literary evidence for the cult of the divinity in only two cases: Artemis Mounichia and Apollo Thargelios. It may be no coincidence that these are two of the three divinities—Dionysus Anthesterios is the third—who are certainly represented in the regional onomasticon by theophoric names which evoke the particular aspect of the divinity celebrated in the month festival.

There is no independent material evidence for the cult of Apollo as Hekatombaios, Boedromios or Metageitnios, Zeus as Maimaktes, or Artemis as Elaphebolia. If we assume that the epigraphic record is more or less representative—a hazardous assumption that cannot be pushed too far—then one may speculate that most of the divinities worshipped in the festivals commemorated by month names did not receive cult beyond the confines of the month festival. Such a situation would obtain at least from the beginning of our regular epigraphic documentation in the fifth century BCE.

The calendar is therefore not a good synchronic indicator of the prominence of a particular cult in Athenian state religion. When we approach the problem diachronically, however, other interpretive options become available. For example, the prominence of Apollo in the calendar—five month festivals honor him—suggests that at some point early in the calendar’s history, he was a singularly important figure in Attic cult; this should not be regarded as a purely Attic development, but a pan-Ionian

²¹ Excluding Poseideon, because the aspect in which Poseidon was worshipped during the Poseideia is unclear, and Gamelion and Skirophorion, because it is not clear that the festival name evokes a particular aspect of the god(s) worshipped during those month festivals. All of the divinities thought to have been worshipped during those festivals, Poseidon in the Poseideia, Zeus and Hera in the Gamelia and Athena and/or Demeter in the Skira, are of course prominent in Attic cult, but not in ways that are known to have been connected with these particular festivals. The key term is in this formulation is “known,” as the details of these festivals are exceedingly vague.

phenomenon.²² While Apollo will continue to be a leading figure in Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic Athens, he is joined and even surpassed by others, especially Athena and Demeter.

3) On the basis of the Attic evidence, there is no guarantee that the festivals indicated by the month names had any special prominence within that particular month. The festivals suggested by the month names seem, at least by the time of our documentation, to have been relatively minor endeavors lasting for a day. Compare, for example, the Mysteria with the Boedromia, or the Panathenaia with the *Hekatombaia, or the *Elaphebolia with the Dionysia. Prominent exceptions are the Thargelia and Anthesteria. Again, in both cases the attendant divinities are represented in the regional onomasticon by theophoric names.

This is not to say that the Boedromia and *Hekatombaia were not major festivals at some point, e.g., in Iron Age Attica, only that by the late Archaic/early Classical period, there is no evidence for continued prominence of these festivals. To be sure, in some cases the festival indicated by the month name seems to have been the major festival of that month, as, e.g., in the case of the Thargelia and the Anthesteria. In other cases, insufficient evidence makes it difficult to tell.

How can we explain the state of affairs suggested in particular by points 2 and 3? The possibility that there is simply a gap in the evidentiary record cannot be discounted. Although we know more about the religion of Attica than any other area of the Greek world, there is and will continue to be much that escapes us. It may also be the case that our assumptions about the relative importance of month festivals need to be reexamined.

²² Nilsson's supposition that Apollo's importance in calendars reflects the influence of Delphi in their establishment (Nilsson 1920: 362ff.) has been persuasively challenged by Trümpy 1997. The evidence for the Ionian calendars is clearly and judiciously presented at Trümpy 1997.

Chronology offers a more critical explanation. Month names may appear already in Linear B²³ and Trümpy has conclusively demonstrated that there was a common Ionian *Urkalender*, from which all Ionian calendars of the historic period, including Athens, are derived, and which must predate the Ionian migration from mainland Greece.²⁴ There is therefore a yawning gap of 500-plus years which separates the earliest documentary evidence for the Athenian calendar with its associated month festivals and the “original” naming of the months. While conservatism in the use of month names is observable in many cases,²⁵ there is no necessary correspondence with cult practice. Month festivals and the deities honored therein may originally have been extremely prominent, only to decline with the passage of time as collective knowledge of the festival waned.

In the final analysis, the positive conclusion to be drawn from this case study of Athens is methodological. While the state calendar can be an extremely useful supplement to the remainder of the evidentiary record, there is no automatic, synchronic correlation between the use of a month name and the “importance” of a month festival. If Trümpy’s arguments are correct, the calendar may in some cases preserve a sequence of festivals whose origins lie in the early Iron Age, if not earlier. In most cases, were it not for the presence of the calendar, we would be completely ignorant of festivals of this type: In Attica, at any rate, they are not otherwise prominent in inscriptions. Second, the Attic month festivals do not seem to celebrate events that are tied to the solar year: If we extend this principle to the Thessalian

²³ E.g. Trümpy 1989.

²⁴ Trümpy 1997: 18-38. Hall 1997 and Hall 2002 unfortunately do not discuss Trümpy’s *de facto* defense of the historicity of the Ionian migration. Her chronological framework for the development of the Ionian calendar can still stand, though, even if one recognizes the Ionian migration as purely discourse of the Archaic period. It may be the case that adoption and/or use of the “Ionian” calendar in the Iron Age was a conscious strategy of assimilation pursued by a variety of peoples inhabiting Attica, the Aegean and western Asia Minor.

²⁵ Many, but not all, cases. Hellenistic cities, including Athens, could be persuaded to rename months in honor of the ruling dynast. Cf. Scott 1931.

calendar, then when faced with a month name and festival that are opaque, we can immediately eliminate certain types of festival from consideration, e.g., sowing festivals, harvest festivals, etc.

3.2: The Thessalian Calendar(s) and Thessalian Religion

The Thessalian Calendar(s), pre-196a

Epigraphic evidence for month names in Thessaly begins in the early third century BCE and remains fairly patchy until the second century BCE, at which point we can identify the following twelve months as constituting the calendar of the Thessalian *koinon*: Itonios, Panemos, Themistios, Agagulios, Apollonios, Hermaios, Leschanorios, Aphrios, Thuios, Homoloios, Hippodromios, Phyllikos.²⁶ Since the evidence seems to correspond to with a major political change in Thessaly—the refoundation of the *koinon* in 196a by Flamininus—it will be useful to see how the post-196a calendar compares with the pre-196a evidence. I summarize the pre-196a evidence below in Table 3.

Table 3
Epigraphic Evidence for the Thessalian Calendar(s), pre-196a

Location	Reference	Month	Date
Pharsalos	IThessEnip 50	Διψιός	300-250a
Larisa	SEG 27.202.6 (= ed. pr. Gallis 1977)	Ἴπποδρόμιος	220-210a
Larisa	IG ix.2 517.10	Πάναμμος	219a
Larisa	IG ix.2 517.40	Θεμίστιος	214a

²⁶ Rensch 1908: 124ff.; Hiller in the index of IG ix.2; Samuel 1972: 83ff.; Trümpy 1997: 216ff.

Table 3 (Continued)

Larisa	IG ix.2 522.22	Θύος	fin. IIIa-init. Iia
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Dipsios, attested in an honorary decree from Pharsalos, had no future in the league calendar.²⁷ Hippodromios, Panamos, Themistios and Thuos, attested in inscriptions from pre-196a Larisa, also belong to the calendar of the post-196a *koinon*. This correspondence has led Trümpy to suggest that the calendar of the post-196a Thessalian League was adopted from the city calendar of Larisa.²⁸ Such a position is tenable only if one assumes that the *koinon* lacked a common calendar in the pre-196a era and that the member cities of the league used local calendars.

It is equally possible, however, that the Thessalian *koinon* utilized a common calendar before Flamininus' refoundation. This calendar could have included the group of months from Larisa as well as the month from Pharsalos. Dipsios could have then been dropped from the calendar at a later date, perhaps in 196a, perhaps earlier. Epigraphic evidence for the league's activities is unfortunately scant before 196a and the only extant league document published during this period lacks a month name.

The evidence furnished by other mainland leagues is inconclusive. In the case of Aitolia, there is evidence only for a common league calendar.²⁹ When evidence for the Boiotian calendar begins in the third century BCE, a common league calendar is in place: We cannot know if the individual members of the league had their own, local calendars in an earlier period.³⁰ The Macedonian calendar displays a striking

²⁷ Although no details of the festival *Dipsia have survived, the month name may also be attested in Linear B tablets from Pylos. Cf. Trümpy 1989.

²⁸ Trümpy 1997: 177.

²⁹ Trümpy 1997: 201.

³⁰ Trümpy 1997: 244.

regularity and yields no evidence of local variation.³¹ It is equally clear, however, that some *koina* utilized a common, league calendar and allowed for the maintenance of local calendars, e.g. West Lokris.³² In this respect, as in others, it is impossible to generalize about the practices of *koina* as a whole.

In the final analysis, while much commends Trümpy's position on the league's adoption of the Larisan calendar in 196a, there are other, equally plausible alternatives: There is not enough evidence to make a decisive determination.

The Thessalian Calendar, post-196a

I summarize below in Table 4 the evidence for the month festivals of the *koinon* calendar.

Table 4
Month Festivals and the Thessalian Calendar

Month Name	Eponymous Festival	Festival Name attested in Thessaly?	Eponymous Cult Title attested in Thessaly?	Cult Place?
Itonios	Itonia in honor of Athena Itonia	Polyaenus 2.34	Yes: Multiple locations	Multiple sanctuaries known
Panemos	Uncertain	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown

³¹ Trümpy 1997: 262ff.

³² Trümpy 1997: 203ff.

Table 4 (Continued)

Themistios	Themistia in honor of Themis—aspect unclear	Unknown	Yes: Multiple locations	Multiple sanctuaries known
Agagulios	Agagulaia in honor of Artemis Agagulaia (?)	Unknown	Yes: Python	Unknown
Apollonios	Apollonia in honor of Apollo—aspect unclear	Unknown	Yes: Multiple Locations	Multiple sanctuaries known
Hermaios	Hermaia in honor of Hermes—aspect unclear	Unknown	Yes: Multiple Locations	Unknown
Leschanorios	Leschanoria in honor of Apollo Leschanorios	Unknown	Yes: Larisa	Unknown
Aphrios	Aphria in honor of Zeus Aphrios	Unknown	Yes: Pherai	Unknown
Thuios	Thuia in honor of Dionysus Thuios (?)	Unknown	No	Unknown
Homoloios	Homoloia in honor of Zeus Homoloios	Unknown	Yes: Multiple Locations	Sanctuary at Homolion (?)
Hippodromios	Hippodromia in honor of Poseidon Hippodromios	Unknown	No	Unknown
Phyllikos	Phyllika in honor of Apollo Phyllios (?)	Unknown	Unknown	Sanctuary at Phyllos (?)

As a quick glance at the preceding table reveals, our knowledge of the relationship between the Thessalian calendar and the religious life of the region is much poorer than in the case of Athens and Attica. I summarize below what is known about the month festivals and the divinities worshipped therein.³³

Itonios = June/July or August/September³⁴

Itonios transparently refers to a festival of the Itonia celebrated in honor of Athena Itonia, one of the patron deities of the renewed *koinon* and perhaps of the earlier *koinon* as well. Both goddess and festival are well attested in literary and epigraphic sources. In the case of the festival, it is nearly certain that there was both a federal celebration of the Itonia held at the goddess' sanctuary near modern Philia (**AI1**) and local celebrations of the festival (e.g., Krannon, **AI16**). Such an arrangement provides a useful template for consideration of other month festivals, although the remaining divinities honored in these festivals are not known to have possessed federal sanctuaries. I will discuss the cult of Athena Itonia in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Panemos = July/August or September/October

Panemos is perhaps the most mysterious of all Greek months. Ancient sources have transmitted no clear etymology about the name. Trümpy attempts an admittedly speculative reconstruction and suggests that Πάνημος is some composition of

³³ While much of what precedes and follows is heavily indebted to Trümpy, her analysis of the religious significance of the month names of the Thessalian calendar is deficient in some important respects.

³⁴ The uncertainty concerning the relationship of the Thessalian calendar to the modern calendar is due to a shift which can be dated to the middle of the second century BCE. GDI 1720 (Delphi: 170-157/6a) makes Thessalian Thu(i)os correspond to Delphian Endyspoitropios (= Attic Mounichion, modern April/May), while FD iii.2 213 (Delphi: 124a) makes Thessalian Thu(i)os correspond to Delphian Busios (= Attic Anthesterion, modern February/March). The motivation for such a shift is unclear. Cf. Trümpy 1997: 217.

$\pi\hat{\alpha}\varsigma$, $\pi\hat{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$, $\pi\acute{a}\nu$ and $\hat{\eta}\mu\alpha\rho$. She does not exclude the possibility that the name was not originally Greek. The month terminates neither in - $\iota\omega\nu$ nor in - $\iota\sigma\zeta$, but in - $\sigma\zeta$. This heterodox formation, according to Trümpy, makes it unlikely that a festival like the **Πανάμια**, attested in Boiotia, was the basis of the month name.³⁵

The distribution of the month is wide. It is the only month found in four different calendar families: Ionian, Aeolian, West Greek and Macedonian. There is no agreement among these families regarding the position of Panemos viz-à-viz the solar year. This drift is visible even within the Ionian calendar family where the position of the month is more mobile than one typically finds.³⁶

The broad geographic distribution of the month and its intractable etymology suggested to Trümpy that the month was one of the oldest to be preserved in calendars of the historical period. She furthermore advances the very attractive hypothesis, at least in the case of the Ionian calendars, that Panemos was originally an intercalary month in the Bronze Age, capable of being inserted into any point of the traditional sequence of months when the solar and lunar year had become particularly out of sync. After the Ionian migrations, the month remained in many local Ionian calendars but in most cases with a changed function.³⁷

How the month functioned in Thessaly is uncertain, although it seems clear that it was not an intercalary month, but a full member of the calendar.³⁸

Themistios = August/September or October/November

Trümpy comments: “The month was evidently dedicated to a divinity whose jurisdiction lay in the preservation of the divine-natural orders ($\theta\acute{e}\mu\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$).”³⁹ In a

³⁵ Such a festival would suggest a month of the form Panemios or Panemion, not Panemos.

³⁶ There are three typical locations for this month in the Ionian calendar, as opposed to the more normal one or two.

³⁷ Trümpy 1997: 28-9. Panemos was an intercalary month on Rhodes and Delos.

³⁸ As in Aitolia. Trümpy 1997: 28-29, with n. 112.

footnote, she draws attention to a passage of Plutarch which refers to Zeus Themistios.⁴⁰ Although the epithet Themistios is not elsewhere attested in literary or epigraphic sources for any god, it stands to reason that a number of divinities could have been worshipped under such an aspect.

In the case of Thessaly, however, it is far more likely that the *Θεμίστια were celebrated in honor of the goddess Themis. Epigraphic attestations of her cult in the region are early and widespread, continuing into the third century BCE. I will consider the Thessalian cults of this goddess in greater detail in Chapter 5: “Regional Cults.”

Agagulios = September/October or November/December

The meaning of the word is mysterious: Trümpy very tentatively compares the Boiotian month Alalkomenios which bears a reduplication similar to that of Agagulios and seems to ultimately derive from a place name, Alalkomene. A Thessalian toponym *Agagule is, however, unknown.⁴¹

A recent epigraphic find from Pythion in Perrhaebia is cause for minor celebration on this front. During excavations of the Hellenistic temple of Apollo Pythios and Poseidon Patroos, a number of votive inscriptions dating to IV-IIIa were uncovered. Included in this group was a dedication to Artemis Agagulaia.⁴² Though it is entirely possible that other divinities shared this epithet, it is nevertheless mildly comforting to connect the month with Artemis, however tentatively. The goddess was extremely popular throughout Thessaly in a variety of aspects but, until the discovery

³⁹ Trümpy 1997: 224.

⁴⁰ *De communibus notitiis adversus Stoicos* 1065E.

⁴¹ Trümpy 1997: 224-5.

⁴² Tziaphalias 1997.

of the Pythion dedication, it was impossible to connect her with the Thessalian calendar.

Apollonios = October/November or December/January

The month name transparently corresponds to a festival in honor of Apollo, the *Apollonia, unattested in Thessaly. Although further details of the festival are not forthcoming, it must be noted that Apollo was a major cult figure in every period of Thessaly's history.

Hermaios = November/December or January/February

The month Hermaios suggests a festival of the *Hermaia which must be connected with Hermes. Details of the festival are not forthcoming. Though Hermes is not a major cult figure in Thessaly, the region has produced a large corpus of funerary inscriptions which are configured as both a monument to the deceased and a dedication to Hermes Chthonios.

Hermaia are known from other areas of the Greek world. The best attested Hermaia are in Beroia 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).⁴³

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

⁴³ The Hermaia at Sestos, Pergamon and Eresos (Lesbos), perhaps at Eretria, also took place at the end of the calendar year. A month Hermaios/Hermaion is not present in the calendar of any location where the Hermaia are attested. Cf. Gauthier and Hatzopoulos 1993: 96f.

provisional conclusion from this datum, it is possible that the festival significance of the month Hermaios/Hermaion lay outside the gymnasium.⁴⁴

Leschanorios = December/January or February/March

The epithet *λεσχηνόριος* is associated with Apollo in some late literary sources. Plutarch, *De E apud Delphos* 385c, suggests that people refer to Apollo as *Λεσχηνόριος ὅταν ἐνεργῶσι καὶ ἀπολαύωσι χρώμενοι τῷ διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φιλοσοφεῖν πρὸς ἄλλήλους* “[they call him] Leschanorian when people have active enjoyment of conversation and philosophic intercourse with one another” (trans. Babbitt).⁴⁵ Harpocration, Photius and Suda, s.v. *λέσχαι*, quoting Cleanthes, make an even closer connection between Apollo and *λέσχαι*:

Κλεάνθης ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν ἀπονενεμῆσθαι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τὰς λέσχας φησὶν, ἔξεδραις δὲ ὁμοίας γίνεσθαι αὐτὰς, καὶ παρ’ ἐνίοις τὸν θεὸν λεσχηνόριον ἐπικαλεῖσθαι

“Cleanthes claims in his work “On the Gods” that *leschai* are set aside for Apollo and they are like *exedra*, and among some people the god is invoked as *leschanorios*.⁴⁶”

Each of these illustrations of the epithet corresponds well with Trümpy’s linguistic explanations: It can be understood either as a compound of *λέσχη* and *ἄνήρ* with a possessive sense, e.g., “having men in the *λέσχη/λέσχαι*,” or an adjective formed from **Λεσχάνωρ*, “patron of the *λέσχη*.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Cf. Nilsson 1995: 392ff., for a synopsis of the Hermes festivals—surprisingly few in number—which are not connected with the gymnasium.

⁴⁵ Cf. Cornutus (p. 69, ll. 14-17 Lang):

καὶ λεσχηνόριον δ’ αὐτὸν προσηγόρευσαν διὰ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας ταῖς λέσχαις καὶ τῷ ὁμιλεῖν ἄλλήλοις συνέχεσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, τὰς δὲ νύκτας καθ’ ἑαυτοὺς ἀναπαύεσθαι.

⁴⁶ Trümpy 1997: 256-7.

A more local Thessalian connection is suggested by a dedication to Apollo Leschaios recovered from Larisa:

Larisa, Va

IG ix.2 1027a

”Απλονι Λεσχαίο[ι]

’Αριστίον ὄνέθεκε κοὶ συνδαυχναφόροι

“Aristion and his fellow *daphnephoroi* dedicated to Apollo Leschaios.”

Large rectangular stele (*trabs*) common in Archaic/early Classical Thessalian dedications. Another inscription, McD 651 (= Ed. pr. Woodward 1910: 157, no. 9) (Gyrton: IIa), is occasionally restored as a dedication to Apollo Leschaios, but this is extremely uncertain.⁴⁷ Though the name is common in Thessaly, this Aristion is otherwise unknown.⁴⁸ For other Thessalian daphnephoroi, cf. **AK6**.

Kern adroitly compared Steph. Byz. s.v. Δειπνιάς:

κώμη Θεσσαλίας περὶ Λάρισσαν, ὅπου φασὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δειπνῆσαι πρῶτον, ὅτε ἐκ τῶν Τέμπεων καθαρθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν· καὶ τῷ παιδὶ τῷ διακομιστῇ τῆς δάφνης ἔθος εἰς τήνδε παραγενομένῳ δειπνεῖν.

“Deipnias: An area of Thessaly near Larisa where they claim Apollo first ate when he returned from the Tempe after being purified; and it is custom for the boy who escorts the laurel to eat when he is present in this place.”

The presence of laurel bearing in both text and inscription suggests a connection between the two. In addition to housing philosophic conversations of all sorts, *leschai* were places for general repose. Stephanus refers to the Delphian Stepteria, an enneateeric festival which, according to Plutarch, reenacted the mythic flight of Apollo,

⁴⁷ The preserved text reads: [-? -]ΑΙΟΥ Σιμίουν | [-? -]Σ λειτορεύουν. Ed. pr., *ad loc.*, comments: “...we should perhaps restore [”Απλουνος Λεσχ]αίου...”

⁴⁸ LGPN iii.B s.v. ’Αριστίων 156.

polluted by the assassination of Python, to the Tempe for purification.⁴⁹ I summarize the basic features of the festival: 1) a *pais*, whose parents must both be alive, leads a group to set fire to a structure, which was built within the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi for this ritual purpose; 2) the group is chased from Delphi, the *pais* is alleged to endure labors of some sort before wandering to the Tempe, where the *pais* undergoes purification and the attendant group assumes the character of a *theoria* by offering rich sacrifices to Apollo. Laurel is culled;⁵⁰ 3) the laurel is escorted back to Delphi, where it is used in victors' crowns of the upcoming Pythia.⁵¹ Stephanus describes a moment during stage 3, the return of the *theoria* from the Tempe to Delphi.

The particulars of how this enneateeric ritual was related to the presumably annual Thessalian *Leschanoria are unclear, though laurel-bearing of some sort seems to have been a central act in both festivals. It would not be surprising if, on the model of the Itonia, there was a federal celebration of the *Leschanoria at Deipnias and local celebrations of the festival in other parts of Thessaly.

Aphrios = January/February or March/April

Trümpy, following the arguments of Kubitschek and Dümmler, connects the month name Aphrios with Aphrodite.⁵² She suggests that the name was modeled on a shortened form of the name Aphrodite as evidenced in Nicander *Alex.* 406: Ἀφρώ.⁵³

⁴⁹ *Quaest. Graec.* 12. Cf. Halliday, *ad loc.*: “Here and elsewhere Plutarch expresses what was evidently the official view, that the rites were essentially a *mimesis* of the story of Apollo and Python. The main difficulty arises from the fact that in our fragmentary record of what was actually done, there is nothing which would naturally lend itself to this view, which I personally believe to be a desperate venture of theological speculation.”

⁵⁰ A sanctuary of Pythian Apollo has been identified in the Tempe. Cf. Theocharis 1960: 175. A cult of Apollo Tempeitas is attested in two inscriptions from Larisa: SEG 35.607 = Ed. pr. Tziaphalias 1984b: 215-6, no. 94 (100a); IG ix.2 1034 (date?)

⁵¹ Nilsson 1995: 150ff., assembles the ancient sources and offers the fullest discussion of the festival. Cf. also Farnell 1895-1909: 4.293ff.

⁵² Kubitschek, RE i (1894) s.v. Aphrios, col. 2724; Dümmler, RE i (1894) s.v. Aphrodite, col. 2729; Trümpy 1997: 225.

⁵³ Trümpy 1997:225. Cf. Etruscan *apru*, apparently borrowed from the Greeks, which stands behind the Latin springtime month *Aprīlis*.

While Trümpy's suggestions are plausible, it is problematic that there is no positive evidence for Ἀφρό serving as a short form for Aphrodite in Thessaly. All extant Thessalian dedications to the goddess mention her in the full form. A few examples will suffice: IG ix.2 1359 (Phalara: ?) Φιλαῖνῳ Εὐβιότου | ιερατεύσασα Ἀφροδίται; IG ix.2 236 (= IThessEnip 67) (Pharsalus: Va) Δάων τὰφρ[ο]ιδίται τῷ Πειθο[ῖ]; IG ix.2 271 (Cierium: ?) Ηεύδικος | Ἀφροδίται.

A pair of dedications from Pherai mentioning Zeus Aphrios make it far more likely that the month and festival (*Ἀφρια) were sacred to Zeus: McD 242 (= Ed. pr. Giannopoulos 1913: 219-220, no. C4) (Pherai: date?): Διὶ Ἀφρίου; IG ix.2 452 (Pherai: date?): Δὶ Ἀφρίου. An epitaph discovered at Pagasai mentions an Ἀγησάνδρα Ἀφρίου Φεραία⁵⁴ (III-IIa). The theophoric name lends an added measure of support. While the presence of the month in the league calendar suggests a pan-Thessalian relevance, the provenance of the evidence suggests a close local connection between Zeus Aphrios and Pherai.

Zeus is not elsewhere worshipped under the aspect of Ἀφριος and it is unclear what the nature of “foaming” Zeus could have been.⁵⁵ A text to be discussed in Chapter 5, **ZT3**, hints that Zeus Aphrios is related to another particularly Thessalian Zeus—Thaulios.

Thu(i)os = February/March or April/May

The significance of the name is uncertain. Evidence from Elis and Phokis suggests a connection with Dionysus. Pausanias discusses a festival in honor of

⁵⁴ IG ix.2 371 (III-IIa) = LGPN iii.B s.v. Ἀφριος 1.

⁵⁵ Costanzi 1913-1914, using arguments very similar to those deployed by Trümpy, connects the epithet with Aphrodite.

Dionysus known as the Thyia (6.26.1).⁵⁶ Plutarch describes a quasi-maenadic group of female devotees of Dionysus known as Thyiads who roamed the heights of Parnassos (*Mulierum virtutes* 249E ff.). In an Ionian context, though, Hesychius connects the name Θυῖος with Apollo in Miletus.⁵⁷

Given the occasional affinities between the Thessalian calendar and the so-called calendar of North-West Greece, it is plausible that the month Thu(i)os in Thessaly witnessed a festival in honor of Dionysus. Evidence for the cult of Dionysus in Thessaly is not especially numerous: Most prominent are a series of Roman inscriptions from Larisa which mention a shared cult of Dionysus Karpios and Demeter Phylake. This cult will be considered in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Homoloios = March/April or May/June

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.⁵⁸ I will consider this cult in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Hippodromios = April/May or June/July

A connection between the month Hippodromios and Poseidon seems virtually certain. Pindar refers to Poseidon as Hippodromios at *Isthmian* 1.54. It is as Hippodromios that the god receives a pig sacrifice in the month of Boedromion in the sacrificial calendar of the Salaminioi (SEG 21.527.91 = Agora xix L4a). Poseidon is associated with horses and horse racing in all areas of the Greek world. In Chapter 5, I

⁵⁶ Thuios is also a month in the calendar of Elis, though there is not enough evidence to determine where in the year it fell. Cf. Trümpy 1997: 199ff.

⁵⁷ Hesychius s.v. Θυῖος: Ἀπόλλων ἐν Μιλήτῳ.

⁵⁸ Trümpy 1997: 225-6, 229 n. 923, does not take a position on the divinity honored in the Thessalian Homoloia.

will discuss the Thessalian cult of Poseidon Petraiοs, who may be related to Poseidon Hippodromios.

Phyllikos = May/June or July/August

If Kramer's supplements to a lacunose passage of Strabo have any merit, then it is possible that the *Phyllika were celebrated in honor of Apollo Phyllios. Strabo, discussing the tetrad Thessaliotis, mentions (9.5.14):

ὁ Φύλλιος, ὅπου Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Φυλλίου ἱερόν

"Phyllos, where there is a sanctuary of Apollo Phyllios."

Kramer's restorations fill the roughly 14 letter gap reasonably well and their sense is certainly defensible. The city of Phyllos is not well-attested in literary or material sources, however.⁵⁹

Though the -ικός suffix is paralleled only by Macedonian Ξανθίκός among month names, it seems to be the functional equivalent of -ιος. The nature of the festival celebrated in this month is completely opaque.

Irregularities post-196a

The uniform picture of the post-196a Thessalian calendar presented thus far has glossed over a number of observed irregularities. Two may be especially significant: 1) The epigraphic evidence, mostly manumissions, occasionally positions Hermaiοs before Apollonios.⁶⁰ There is no certain explanation for this alternation; 2) Inscriptions from Skotussa (SEG 15.370 (= Ed. pr. Pouilloux 1955: 442ff.): IIa) and Kierion (IThessEnip 15.5 (= IG ix.2 258): 196-150a) have provided evidence for another month: Iuggios. The month is not elsewhere attested in the Greek world.

⁵⁹ For a survey of the problems, cf. Decourt 1995: 35-41; Decourt 1990: 174-181.

⁶⁰ Trümpy 1997: 216-7.

Trümpy tentatively connects the month with Dionysus on the basis of a lemma in Hesychius: Ἰυγγίης· ὁ Διόνυσος. That Iuggios replaces Thuios in one of the years recorded by the Skotussa text supports this putative association with Dionysus.⁶¹ This replacement is not observed after IIa. Pouilloux's explanation is tempting: "Is it excessive to see in these particularities of the calendar the individualism of the cities which the creation of the *koinon* in 196 did not immediately cause to disappear?"⁶² Since, in the Skotussa text, Thuios also appears in years where Iuggios is absent, it is possible that there was a regular alternation of the two months, at least for a period in second-century Skotussa.

3.3: Conclusion

It may be useful to provisionally apply the findings of the Attic case study, with which this chapter began, to the evidence for the Thessalian calendar.

1) Attic month festivals do not appear to have been related to the solar year. Although there is not enough evidence in the case of Thessaly to determine the relationship of Thessalian month festivals to the solar year, it is reasonable to assume that the difficulties inherent in reconciling the lunar calendar with the solar year applied throughout the Greek world. The absence of Demeter in the Thessalian calendar and her uncertain presence in the Attic calendar may illustrate this general tendency in Greek calendars.

⁶¹ The Kierion text does not allow for the reconstruction of even a partial sequence of months. Iuggios is not qualified as *embolimos*. 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.

⁶² Pouilloux 1955: 451.

2) With few exceptions, the divinities honored in Attic month festivals—at least those worshipped in a particular aspect, e.g., Hekatombaion > Apollo Hekatombaios, as opposed to a general aspect, e.g., Poseideon > Poseidon (aspect unclear)—do not appear to have been prominent in the epigraphic record, at least from the late Archaic/early Classical period. Somewhat surprisingly, this finding is not especially applicable to the Thessalian evidence. Setting aside the months of Apollonios and Hermaios, which do not suggest a specific aspect of either divinity, there is certain independent epigraphic evidence for five of the remaining ten months of the calendar—Athena Itonia, Themis, Apollo Leschanorios/Leschairois, Zeus Aphrios, Zeus Homoloios—and likely independent epigraphic or material evidence in the case of Artemis Agagulaia.

There are a number of possible explanations for this circumstance. For some, it may be entirely possible that the Thessalian evidence reveals the magnitude of the gap in the Attic evidentiary record. For those keen to see the survival of primitive strata of Greek religion in Thessaly, however, the evidence on this point will surely be interpreted as an index of Thessalian conservatism in matters of cult, especially if a Bronze or Iron Age origin for the calendar is maintained. If one sees the Thessalian calendar as a comparatively late institution of Flamininus, then it may be possible to invert this relationship and see the calendar as a late reflection of older cults which had attained regional prominence. At bare minimum, however, all will agree that there was a comparatively close connection between the calendar of the Thessalian League and Thessaly's regional cults, at least from the period of Flamininus' reorganization.

It also striking that so many of the cults represented in the Thessalian calendar either have epithets that are toponymic or are otherwise clearly linked with a particular district of Thessaly. Belonging to the former category are Phyllikos > Apollo Phyllios (Phyllos?), Homoloios > Zeus Homoloios (Homolion?), Itonios > Athena Itonia

(Iton?); Belonging to the latter are Leschanorios > Apollo Leschanorios/Leschaisos (Deipnias) and Aphrios > Zeus Aphrios (Pherai). It is certainly possible that evidence concerning the former category is little more than an illustration of the ancient tendency to derive epithets from place names and that evidence pertaining to the latter category is accidental. If we accept these two cases as relatively honest, accurate reflections of discourse and belief in ancient Thessaly, however, then in the elevation of the cults of a particular polis or area of Thessaly to the status of regional cults or, perhaps more accurately, the retrojection of local origins for regional cults into the distant past, it may be possible to glimpse one way in which a common Thessalian identity was forged throughout the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Unlike Athens, there is no one divinity whose month festivals overshadow those of the other divinities present in the calendar. Apollo's dominance, not just of the Attic calendar, but of the calendars of Ionia more generally, does raise a central question in the case of Thessaly: How does the Thessalian calendar compare with other Greek calendars? Below, I offer a preliminary answer to this question in the form of Table 5.

Table 5
Thessalian Months and other Greek Calendars

Thessalian <i>Koinon</i>	Extra-Thessalian Parallels⁶³
Itonios	<u>WG</u> : Skarpheia, Tauromenion; <u>AOL</u> : Lamia, Melitaia, Thaumakoi, Halos
Panemos	<u>ION</u> : Delos, Minoa (Amorgos), Samos, Perinthus, Miletos, Kyzikos, Sinope, Priene, Chios, Erythrai; <u>WG</u> : Lakonia, Epidauros, Argos, Megara, Corinth, Bouthrotos, Dodona, Corcyra, Tauromenion, Rhodes, Cos, Thera, Lyttos, Aitolia, Akarnania; <u>AOL</u> : Lamia, Boiotia, Pergamon; Macedonia
Themistios	<u>AOL</u> : Phthiotic Thebes, Lamia, Echinos
Agagulios	<u>AOL</u> : Echinos
Apollonios, vel sim.	<u>ION</u> : Halikarnassos, Iasos; <u>WG</u> : Syracuse, Tauromenion, Elis; <u>AOL</u> : Halos , Eresos, Methymna, Pergamon, Dardanos
Hermaios, vel sim.	<u>ION</u> : Keos, Halikarnassos; <u>WG</u> : Epidauros, Argos, Aitolia, Skarpheia; <u>AOL</u> : Thaumakoi , Boiotia
Leschanorios	<u>WG</u> : Gortyn, unknown Cretan city; <u>AOL</u> : Melitaia (?)
Aphrios	<u>AOL</u> : Echinos, Melitaia
Thuios/Thuos	<u>WG</u> : Elis; <u>AOL</u> : Lamia, Melitaia, Phthiotic Thebes, Boiotia
Homoloios	<u>WG</u> : Aitolia; <u>AOL</u> : Echinos, Melitaia, Thaumakoi, Phthiotic Thebes, Boiotia, Eresos, Kyme

⁶³ Parallels are drawn from the indices to Trümpy 1997. NB: Calendar “families” are abbreviated in capital letters and underlined: WG = West Greek; AOL = Aiolian; ION = Ionian; Calendars of the Thessalian *perioikoi* are marked in **boldface**; The table charts simple occurrence of month name in the corresponding calendar. It does not indicate that the month occupied a similar position with respect to the solar year.

Table 5 (Continued)

Hippodromios	<u>WG</u> : Aitolia, Epizephyrian Lokris; <u>AOL</u> : Lamia, Echinos, Halos , Boiotia
Phylikos	<u>WG</u> : Messenia (?), Skarpheia

The relationship between the calendar of the Thessalian *koinon* and the individual calendars of the Thessalian *perioikoi*, however suggestive it may initially appear, is vexed and needs further research.⁶⁴ This work will not be attempted here. I offer this table purely for the purposes of comparison. The general similarities between the so-called West Greek and Aiolian calendars is striking and may reflect some shared cult traditions among the diverse peoples of central and northern Greece, as well as the northwest Peloponnese. A more pervasive relationship can be glimpsed by comparing the Thessalian calendar with that of the Boiotian *koinon*. In Table 6 below, I synchronize the calendars of Boiotia, Thessaly—both before and after the mid-second-century BCE shift—and, for the purposes of comparison, Attica.

Table 6
The Calendars of Thessaly, Boiotia and Attica

Modern	Thessaly (170- 157/6a vel ante)	Boiotia	Thessaly (124a vel post)	Athens
July-August	Phylikos	Hippodromios	Panemos	Hekatombaion (1)

⁶⁴ In particular, findspot and chronology of many of these inscriptions are uncertain, as are, in general, the specific details of the political relationship between the Thessalian *koinon* and her *perioikoi*, i.e., beyond those points discussed in Chapter 2.

Table 6 (Continued)

August-September	Itonios (1)	Panemos	Themistios	Metageitnion
September-October	Panemos	Pamboiotios	Agagulios	Boedromion
October-November	Themistios	Damatrios	Apollonios	Pyanapsion
November-December	Agagulios	Alalkomenios	Hermaios	Maimakterion
December-January	Apollonios	Boukarios (1)	Leschanorios	Posideon
January-February	Hermaios	Hermaios	Aphrios	Gamelion
February-March	Leschanorios	Prostaterios	Thuios	Anthesterion
March-April	Aphrios	Agrionios	Homoloios	Elaphebolion
April-May	Thuios	Thuios	Hippodromios	Mounichion
May-June	Homoloios	Homoloios	Phyllikos	Thargelion
June-July	Hippodromios	Theilouthios	Itonios (1)	Skirophorion

The comparative evidence from the Boiotian calendar, the only other Aiolian calendar which is complete and can be aligned with the solar year, is illuminating. The several months which the calendars share fall in the same relative sequence: Panemos-Hermaios-Thuios-Homoloios-Hippodromios.⁶⁵ Indeed, in the earlier Thessalian

⁶⁵ Boiotian Pamboiotikos was the month of the Pamboiotika, a festival in honor of Athena Itonia, among others. A parallel with Thessalian Itonios is plausible.

calendar, the months of Thuios, Homoloios and Hermaios occur at the same time as their Boiotian counterparts. It is difficult to know what precisely this parallelism conceals. In the next two chapters of this dissertation, we will encounter a number of Thessalian cults and sanctuaries which have a strong relationship with Boiotia and it is tempting to see some aspects of Thessalian and Boiotian religion as being thoroughly implicated.

3) In the case of Athens, there was no guarantee that month festivals were especially prominent within the month that they were celebrated. There is simply not enough evidence to evaluate the applicability of this finding in the case of Thessaly. The one festival of which we are reasonably well-informed is the Itonia, which seems to have been one of the major festivals, not just of the month Itonios, but of the entire year.