CHAPTER 4
FEDERAL SANCTUARIES

Introduction

Every collective in Greek antiquity had a religious dimension. The identity of groups as diverse in size, function and orientation as the Delphian Labyads, Athenian Boule and the Delian League was expressed at some level through cult. Federal leagues were no different.

In this chapter, I consider the two major federal sanctuaries of Thessaly, those of Athena Itonia at Philia and Zeus Eleutherios at Larissa, together with the cult conducted therein. I designate as federal sanctuaries those sanctuaries which received some form of symbolic or material investment by a koinon or related federal structure. The investment could take forms as diverse as the publication of league documents in a particular sanctuary or federal sponsorship of a religious festival. There is a temporal dimension to this investment, however: I am most concerned with those sanctuaries that show evidence of repeated investment through time. These sanctuaries need not be “capitols” in any modern sense, nor should they be freighted with the symbolism of the Archaic ethnos. They were, quite simply, cult places where federal identity was expressed. In theory, any sanctuary could become, i.e., could be constructed as, a federal sanctuary: In practice, very few did.

---

1 I also consider the substantial evidence that the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Iton was federal. In Chapter 5, I will discuss the possibility that the sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai was federal.
4 This does not exclude these sanctuaries from being simultaneously catering to a local or sub-regional clientele.
4.1: Athena Itonia at Philia

Introduction

Athena Itonia received cult in antiquity on the Cycladic island of Amorgos, in Athens and, most prominently, as a chief divinity of the Boiotian and Thessalian Leagues. Preller-Robert linked Athena Itonia with a more militant aspect of the goddess that is visible in Archaic and Classical literature and art. They nevertheless argue that, in the cult at Boiotian Koroneia in particular, it is possible to glimpse a connection between Athena Itonia and the agricultural aspects of the divinity known from Athens.

Farnell had very limited access to the epigraphic and archaeological discoveries that have so powerfully shaped our understanding of the goddess in her major cult centers. As a result, his focus is almost entirely literary. Drawing on Strabo 9.2.29 and Pausanias 9.34.1-2, where the goddess’ cult image is said to be accompanied by a consort at Koroneia in Boiotia, either Hades (Strabo) or Zeus (Pausanias), Farnell suggested that the goddess “fostered the growths of the earth and...therefore had some affinity to the chthonian deities.” He concluded from a passage of Bacchylides that the goddess was also connected with poetry in Boiotia. Ultimately for Farnell, however, these features were subservient to the political role that she played as tutelary deity of the Boiotian koinon, in whose honor the festival of

---

5 Athens: IG i² 383 A front col. II fr. V.152. Cf. [Plato] Ax. 364d1 for a mention of the Itonian gates in Athens. The Boiotian material is collected in Schachter 1981-: vol. 1, s.v. Athena (Haliartos, Koroneia). A number of inscriptions from Amorgos offer important details about the cult there: IG xii.7 22, 24-5 (Arkesine: IIa), 35 (Arkesine: IIa), 241 (Minoa: IIa); IG xii Suppl. 330 (Arkesine: IIa). The presence of the month name Itonios in the calendars of Lokris, Phokis and Tauromenion in Sicily suggests that the goddess may have received cult in those locations.
6 Preller 1894-1926: 1.214-5. Both RE and RML offer valuable collections of the literary and epigraphic evidence and construct a basic narrative of the dissemination of the cult, but neither focuses too much on interpreting the goddess’ function within the societies that she was worshipped: RML ii.1 s.v. Itonia coll. 567-9 (Drexler: 1890-1894); RE ix s.v. Itonia coll. 2364-6 (Adler: 1916). Deacy and Villing 2001 offer a useful summary of current and former interpretations of Athena in general.
the Pamboiotika was celebrated at Koroneia. He has less to say about Thessaly: It was
the likely original home of the cult and Athena Itonia seems to have been especially
connected with war there.\(^7\)

Wilamowitz offered a characteristically powerful vision. He interpreted
Athena as a Cretan goddess imported to the Greek mainland. A goddess Itonia, shared
by the Thessalians, Phokians and Boiotians, was associated with Athena at a later date
by these peoples: “It is difficult to believe that the tribes invading at a relatively late
date chose the Minoan goddess for their defender...But it is completely
understandable that the Boiotians equated their Itonia with Athena, whom they found
in the neighboring regions.”\(^8\) Nilsson writes in a similar vein: Athena forced out other,
older goddesses that had been affiliated with the state, e.g. Alea in Tegea and Itonia in
Thessaly and Boiotia, and retained these former names as epithets.\(^9\)

Papachatzis has recently reemphasized the chthonic character of Athena Itonia
in Thessaly.\(^10\) Another strand in modern scholarship has focused on the function of
Athena Itonia as patron of federal political structures, viz., Thessalian koinon, Boiotian
koinon.\(^11\)

\textit{The Epithet Itonia}

The earliest etymology of the epithet Itonia belongs to Armenidas\(^12\) who is
paraphrased in the scholion to Apollonius of Rhodes 1.551a:

\(^7\) Farnell 1895-1909: 1.301. Although Strabo preserves some details about a possible Thessalian origin
of the cult, the idea that Thessaly was the original center of a number of major Greek cults was a trope
of 19\(^{th}\) and early-20\(^{th}\) century scholarship. I hope to examine this trend in greater detail at another time.
\(^8\) Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1956: 1.230-1. He adduces as further evidence of the “Minoan Athena-
Indigenous Athena” hypothesis the two predominant iconographic forms of Athena—the sitting,
feminine goddess and the standing warrior goddess.
\(^11\) E.g., although from very different perspectives, Larsen 1968, Mackil 2003.
\(^12\) For Armenidas, cf. RE ii s.v. Armenidas, col. 1187 (Schwartz: 1896); FHG iv 339; FGrHist 378.
Jacob dates him “vor 400a”.

'Αρμενίδας δὲ ἐν τοῖς Ὑπαίκοις Ἀμφικτύωνος υἱὸν Ἰτωνὸν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ γεννηθήναι, ἀφ’ οὗ Ἰτων πόλις καὶ Ἰτωνίς Ἀθηνᾶ.

“Armenidas in the Thebaika [says] that Itonos, the son of Amphictyon, was born in Thessaly, after whom there is a city, Iton, and Athena Itonis.”

Armenidas connects Athena’s epithet and the name of a town to a hero Itonos who was prominent in the epichoric myth of Thessaly and Boiotia. While the nature of the connection unfortunately cannot be deduced from the scholion, a paraphrase of the genealogist Simonides preserved in the *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. Iton may give a clue:

Ἰτωνίς καὶ Ἰτωνία ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ εἰρηται παρὰ τοῖς Θεσσαλοῖς, ἀπὸ τινος πόλεως Ἰτωνος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ γενεαλόγος Σιμωνίδης Ἰτώνου θυγατέρας γενέσθαι δύο, Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ Ἰοδάμαν, ὡς ἐξηλώκυιας τὴν ὀπλομαχικὴν εἰς ἔριν τὴν εἰς ἀλλήλας χωρῆσαι, ἀναιρεθήναι τε τὴν Ἰοδάμαν ὑπὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς.

“Athena is called Itonis and Itonia among the Thessalian from a certain city, Iton. But the genealogist Simonides asserts that 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.”

The force of the δὲ is key to any interpretation of the passage: It may signal a departure from the simple, preceding topographic explanation (“but…”) of the epithet, viz., Athena Itonia is named after Thessalian Itonos, or it may be continuative and offer an elaboration, not a contradiction, of the topographic hypothesis. Is this tale to be localized in Thessaly or someplace else, e.g., Boiotia?

---

13 Cf. also Herodian 3.1.39 ≈ Steph. Eth. 342.8-12. Athena’s epithet is variously preserved in the literary sources as Itonis or Itonia. Both refer to the same aspect of the goddess.

14 For Simonides the genealogist, cf. FGrH 8. His *floruit* is controversial: Jacoby doubts the date suggested at Suda σ 442, γέγονε δὲ πρὸ τῶν Πελοποννησιακῶν, but Fowler 2000 accepts it.

15 The ancient sources preserve both Iton and Itonos as the name of a city in Thessaly.
Jacoby suggested that this passage of Simonides was a rationalization of Pausanias 9.34.2, where a peculiar aspect of the cult of Athena Itonia at Koroneia is described:

λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοιόνδε, Ἰοδάμαν ἱερωμένην τῇ θεῷ νύκτωρ ἐς τὸ τέμενος ἐσελθεὶν καὶ αὐτῇ τὴν Ἁθηνᾶν φανῇναι, τῷ χιτῶνι δὲ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν Μεδούσης ἐπείναι τῆς Γοργόνος κεφαλῆν: Ἰοδάμαν δὲ, ὡς εἴδε, γενέσθαι λίθον. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπιτιθεῖσα γυνὴ πῦρ ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἠμέραν ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰοδάμας τὸν βεομόν ἐς τρὶς ἐπιλέγει τῇ Βοιωτῶν φωνῇ Ἰοδάμαν ζῆν καὶ αἰτεῖν πῦρ.

“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 for fire” (Trans. Jones).

Jacoby’s reading is certainly plausible but, in the absence of a localization in Simonides, we cannot know whether the genealogist’s account was of purely epichoric relevance or if he was dealing with an aspect of the goddess that had broader appeal. The prominence of Iodama in both accounts is nevertheless notable.

Leaving aside the question of the legend’s provenance, Simonides preserves a number of intriguing details about Athena Itonia. Most striking is the evidence of an alternate genealogy of the goddess or, perhaps more accurately in this case, heroine. A greater contrast with a panhellenic Athena, e.g. Polias, cannot be imagined. Also notable is the sibling rivalry and the contention with weapons. The militant character of the goddess suggested in the aitiology of this epithet has Archaic and Classical parallels: Pausanias claims that Athena Itonia was the “watchword” (synthema) of the
Thessalians during the 1st Sacred War,\(^{16}\) the early coinage of the post-196a Thessalian koinon featured Athena Itonia as promachos on the reverse of a number of issues.\(^{17}\)

Recently, Robertson has argued that the significance of the epithet is related to neither topography nor heroic saga. According to Robertson, the epithet is concerned with processing: “Now at Coroneia Athena had the epithet Ἰτωνία ‘processional’ (<ἰτών ‘procession’ <ἰτῶ ‘go always’, ‘proceed’).”\(^{18}\) He takes up the negative argument in the accompanying footnote: “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.”\(^{19}\) The confidence expressed in the last sentence is unjustified. While Robertson’s etymology of Itonia is at least plausible, there is indisputable material evidence that there was a settlement known as Iton or Itonos in Thessaly in the historical period: It was not just located there by “ancient theorists.” A connection between the name of the settlement, the divine epithet and a hero is, as demonstrated above, as old as the fifth-century BCE: It cannot be dismissed so casually.

**Epigraphic Evidence**

In my discussion of the Thessalian calendar, it emerged that Itonios, certainly the month of the Itonia in honor of Athena Itonia, was the first month in the calendar of the Thessalian koinon. Theophoric names honoring the goddess are not common: Only IG ix.2 568 30 (Larisa: date?), a manumission, offers evidence for an individual, a manumitted slave, with the name Itonia.

---

\(^{16}\) Pausanias 10.1.10.

\(^{17}\) E.g., Head 1911: 311; SNG iii Thessalia pl. 6.

\(^{18}\) Robertson 2001: 52.

\(^{19}\) Robertson 2001: 52, with n. 55.
AI1. Philia, 179-165a


καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τόπου ἀνάγκη ἰσορροπίας καὶ καλέσαι ἐπὶ τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν τὴν συντελομένην τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ Αἴολεως ἐπὶ τὴν ἱερὰ παρακολουθήσεως τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀἰτωνίας καὶ τῶν άλλων θεῶν ταῦτα ἀνάγραψαι τὸ σχέδιον εἰς κῦπον λιθοπλάκατον καὶ ἀναστήσαι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Αἰτωνίας. vacat

“And let the (league) strategos send xenia to them and invite them to the sacrifice conducted for Athena Itonia and the other gods. Let the treasurer publish the decree on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Athena.”

Stele. Habicht dates the stone on the basis of historical context. The text records the invitation of Ambracian ambassadors by the Thessalian League to a thysia in honor of Athena Itonia—Habicht’s plausible restoration. AI1 is the most important evidence for identifying the Geometric-Roman sanctuary at Philia as belonging to Athena Itonia. I will deal more fully with the archaeological evidence furnished by this sanctuary below.

Below, in table 7, I summarize the content of other federal documents which have been recovered from Philia.
### Table 7
Federal Documents from Philia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Content</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>142-140a</td>
<td>Decree recording the decision reached by foreign judges in a boundary dispute involving Melitaea</td>
<td>McD 670 = Giannopoulos 1927-28c: 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Honorary statue?</td>
<td>Theocharis 1967</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200-250p</td>
<td>Honorary inscription on statue base for M. Ulpius Domitius</td>
<td>SEG 37.493 = Giannopoulos 1927-28c: 218-220</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That the sanctuary of Athena Itonia was a locus of publication for decrees and honors of the Thessalian *koinon* suggests that the cult was of some significance to the *koinon*.

**Al2.** Larisa, 150-130a

SEG 34.558 60ff. = Ed. pr. Gallis 1976: 176-8

δεδόχθα[ι]

τῶι κοινώι Θεσσαλῶν ἐπαινέσαι Τιμασίθεων, Διότιμον ἐπὶ τῇ κα-

λοκάγαθίαι καὶ προαιρέσει ἢ ἑχοντες τυγχάνουσιν καὶ τιμήσαι ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν εἰκόνι χαλκῆ ἐφ’ ἵππου, ὦς καὶ σταθήναι ἐν τῶι τεμένει

τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς Ἰτων<ί>ας γενομένου τοῦ ἀνηλώματος
“Let it be decided by the koinon of the Thessalians to praise Timasitheos and Diotimos for the character and conduct which they in fact demonstrate and to honor each of them with a bronze equestrian image which are to be set up in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia with the expense for the images and their bases paid for by the synedroi.”

Marble stele. The text is dated onomastically. The stele contains three different documents, the first of which is an honorary decree for a group of judges that is to be published in the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios in Larisa (ll. 13-15):

[ latino transcript ]

The second decree concerns the Thessalian League’s shipment of grain to Rome. The final decree honors Diotimos and Timasitheos, both of whom are known to have served as generals of the Thessalian koinon in the post-146a era, with bronze equestrian statues in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia. The location did not call for further specification (ll. 63-64):

[ latino transcript ]

The elliptical language suggests that this sanctuary was well-known to the prospective audience of this stele. Although in all likelihood the reference is to the Philia sanctuary, the possibility that there were multiple Athena Itonia sanctuaries in Thessaly should not automatically be excluded.

---

Literary Evidence

The literary evidence concerning Thessalian manifestations of Athena Itonia is particularly rich and diverse. I begin with Apollonius of Rhodes and the associated scholia.

**AI3.** Apollonius of Rhodes 1.549ff.

"ep' ἀκροτάτησι δὲ νύμφαι
Πηλιάδες σκοπήσαν ἐθάμβεον, εἰσορόωσαί
ἔργον Ἀθηναίης Ἰτωνίδος ὡδὲ καὶ αὐτοὺς
ήρωας χειρεσσαί ἐπικραδάουντας ἑρεμά.

"…on the topmost heights the nymphs of Pelion wondered as they beheld the work of Itonian Athena, and the heroes themselves wielding the oars” (Trans. Seaton).

**AI4.** Hecataeus, FGrHist 1 F2 = Schol. A. R. 1.551

**AI5.** Armenidas, FGrHist 378 F1 = Schol. A. R. 1.551

**AI6.** Alexander Polyhistor, FGrHist 273 F92 = Schol. A. R. 1.551

"<Ἀθηνα Ἰτωνία>: There is a sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Koroneia in Boiotia. But Apollonios would not name Athena in the context of the construction of the Argo from her Koroneian epiclesis, but rather from Thessalian Itonia, concerning whom Hecataeus gives an account in the first book of his Histories. Armenidas in the
Thebaika says that Itonos the son of Amphictyon was born in Thessaly after whom there is a city Iton and Athena Itonis. Alexander also mentions her in the first book of Hypomnemata of Korinna.”

**AI7.** Apollonius of Rhodes 1.721ff.

Αὐτὰρ ὅγ’ ἄμφ’ ὁμοισὶ, θεᾶς Ἰτωνῖδος ἔργον, διπλακα πορφυρένν περονήσατο, τήν οἱ ὀπασσε Παλλᾶς, ὅτε πρῶτον ὄρυχους ἐπεβάλλετο νήσῳ Ἄργους, καὶ κανόνεσσι δὰς ζυγὰ μετρήσασθαι.

“Now he buckled round his shoulders a purple mantle of double fold, the work of the Itonian goddess, which Pallas had given him when she first laid the keel-props of the ship Argo and taught him how to measure timbers with the rule” (Trans. Seaton).

**AI8.** Schol. ad A. R. 1.721 (Wendel)

ἐν Θησαλίᾳ θεὰ Ἰτωνίς τιμᾶται καὶ ἐν Κορωνείᾳ [πόλις] τῆς Βοιωτίας, ἀπὸ Ἰτώνου τοῦ ἥρωος.

“In Thessaly the goddess is honored as Itonis and in Boiotian Koroneia, [named] from the hero Itonos.”

**AI9.** Apollonius of Rhodes 1.768

Τοῖ’ ἄρα δῶρα θεᾶς Ἰτωνῖδος ἤμεν Ἀθηνῆς.

“…Such were of the gifts of the Itonian goddess Athena…”

Three passages in Book 1 of the Argonautica may make reference to Athena Itonia. The textual tradition wavers between Itonis and Tritonis in **AI3** and **AI7**. 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. AI4-6 seem to assure the reading Ἰτωνίδος at AI3, where Athena Itonia is said to be responsible for the construction of the Argo. So too the preservation of Itonis in AI8 may assure its presence in AI7, where Jason’s cloak is a gift of θεᾶς Ἰτωνίδος. At AI9, the conclusion of the ekphrasis on Jason’s cloak, Ἰτωνίδος is an emendation for the Τριτωνίδος of the codices that can be traced to the editions of Hölzin (1641) and Brunck (1780/1813), retained in Fränkel’s OCT and Vian’s Budé. The reading is not preserved in the manuscripts or scholia. I am suspicious of this last passage in particular. Such variation in the use of epithet at the opening and close of the ekphrasis is in keeping with Apollonius’ poetics.

Apollonius situates the goddess within a specifically Thessalian context and, in her construction of the Argo and her creation of Jason’s cloak, grants her the skills of a master weaver and craftsman—traits not unfamiliar from other, better documented aspects of the goddess, e.g., Ergane. In the attribution of these deeds to Athena Itonia, it is unclear whether Apollonius was maintaining an element of earlier epic treatments of the Argonautica or innovating.

**AI10.** Callimachus, *h.Dem.* 74-5

ἡνθὸν Ἰτωνιάδος νῦν Ἀθαναίας ἐπὶ θεῖλα
Ὀρμενίδαι καλέοντες.

“The Ormenidai came to summon him (Erysichthon) to contests of Athena Itonia.”
The Thessalian setting for Callimachus’ hymn is emblematic of a broader ethnographic tendency in Hellenistic poetry.\textsuperscript{21} We must therefore ask whether Callimachus knew of a tradition of contests in the Thessalian cult of Athena Itonia or if the mention of the divinity is a generic, ethnographic detail which helps to mark the context as specifically Thessalian. Since contests were a fairly common feature of religious festivals in antiquity, it is difficult to answer either question with much confidence. It is best to classify the presence of contests in the cult as merely possible.\textsuperscript{22}

\textit{AI11. AP} 6.130 (Leonidas)

\begin{quote}
Θεσσαλαὶ αἱ βόες αἴδε· παρὰ προθύροισι δ’ Ἀθάνας ἐστάσιν καλὸν δῶρον Ἰτωνιάδος,
pᾶσαι χάλκειαι, δυοκαίδεκα, Φράδμονος ἔργον,
kai pᾶσαι γυμνῶν σκῦλον ἀπ’ Ἰλλυριῶν.
\end{quote}

“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).

Leonidas’ epigram suggests that battle spoils were appropriate in the Thessalian cult of Athena Itonia. Such an occurrence implies that the goddess was associated with some aspect of warfare.

\textsuperscript{21} Although the hymn is set in Thessaly, Hopkinson \textit{ad loc.} suggests that the reference is to the Boiotian, not the Thessalian, cult. The presence of the Ormenidai, however, evokes Ormenus, the founder of Ormenium (cf. \textit{Iliad} 2.734)—a still-to-be identified settlement in eastern Thessaly.

\textsuperscript{22} Games are known from the Itonia on Amorgos.
In discussing Perseus’ early moves upon becoming kind of Macedon, Polybius makes the following comments (25.3.2): \(^{23}\)

καὶ τοῦτων ἐξετίθει προγραφάς εἰς τε Δῆλον καὶ Δελφοὺς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ιερόν, διδοὺς οὐ μόνον τὴν ἄσφαλειαν τοῖς καταπορευομένῳς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κομιδῆν, ἢφ' ὁν ἕκαστος ἔφυγε.

“He posted up lists of these men at Delos, Delphi, and the temple of Itonian Athena, not only promising safety to such as returned, but the recovery of property they had left behind them” (Trans. Paton).

It is extremely unfortunate that Polybius does not specify the location of this sanctuary. Walbank argued that the historian was referring to a Thessalian sanctuary of Athena Itonia on the grounds that many of the Macedonian exiles and debtors had fled to Thessaly. \(^{24}\) It is in any case notable that Polybius did need to specify a particular sanctuary of Athena Itonia. We are reminded of \(\text{A12}\), the triple decree of the Thessalian koinon discovered in Larisa which mentions a sanctuary of Athena Itonia but does not detail where in Thessaly the sanctuary was located.

If there was a Thessalian setting for the sanctuary in Polybius, then its grouping with Delos and Delphi may suggest that the sanctuary of Athena Itonia held a stature in the Hellenistic period that extended beyond the borders of Thessaly. \(^{25}\)

---

\(^{23}\) On this event, cf. Gruen 1984. Adams 1982: 246, “…it was an internal measure designed to secure his position with Macedonia. It proclaimed Perseus’ consistent policy of maintaining his father’s friends and settling differences with his father’s enemies.” Further bibliography at Mendels 1978: 56, n. 8.

\(^{24}\) ad 25.3.2: “…since Thessaly, through its proximity to Macedon, will have harbored many of the exiles, Polybius is more likely to be referring to the Thessalian temple.” This position is also supported by Tarn 1913: 54, n. 35.

\(^{25}\) Walbank \textit{ad loc.} sees two different strategies at work: The posting at the Itonia sanctuary was designed to reach a substantial community of Macedonian exiles; The Delos and Delphi listings were little more than pan-hellenic pandering.
AI13. Strabo 9.5.14


1. suppl. Kramer

“But the Krokiain Plain is in the mesogaia of Thebes, bordering the foot of Othrys, through which the Amphrysos flows. Itonos is above this, where there is the hieron of the Itonian, from which there is the hieron in Boiotia and the Kouarios river: But there has been mention of this and Arne in the Boiotian section of this work” (Trans. Jones).

The city of Iton or Itonos is first mentioned in the Homeric catalogue of ships where it is described as “mother of flocks” (Iliad 2.696: Ἰτώνα τε μητέρα μήλων) and is part of the contingent of Protesilaus. Although Strabo’s description makes good topographic sense, there is as yet no suitable archaeological site in the area that he describes.26 The evidence from the Homeric catalogue, although not probative in this regard, does accord well with Strabo’s topography: All of Protesilaus’ identified holdings are situated in Achaia Phthiotis.

That the city did exist in historical times is proved by its mention in a pair of inscriptions from Cos. I offer the following text and translation of the first document,

26 This description of Itonos accords well with an earlier mention of the site (9.5.8). Excavations at a number of sites southwest of modern Almyros in the early 20th century yielded no material of sufficient antiquity to justify identification with the Iton mentioned in the catalogues of ships. The sites were all of the Classical period or later. Cf. Leekley and Efstratiou 1980: 130, s.v. Almyros for references to these excavations.
an honorary decree of the Coans for the Thessalians in honor of their provision of grain at a time of need (258-250a): 27

[άγαθαί τύχαι, δεξιόθυαι τωί δήμῳ - - - - - - - - επαινήσαι μέν]

tάς πόλεις τάς ἐν Θεσσαλίαι κ[αί στεφανώσαι αὐτάς στεφάνωι χρυσέωι ἀπὸ χρυσῶν Ἄλεξαν-]

dρείων τριακοσίων ἄρετὰς ἔνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας καὶ εὐνοίας ας ἐχοντες διατελεύντι]

περὶ τὰν πόλιν τὰν Κόλον ἐμ παγ[τί καιρῶι αἱρείσθαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβευτὰς τρεῖς ἐκ πάντων],

tοι δὲ αἱρεθέντες ἀφικόμενοι ἐπὶ - - - - - τόδε τὸ ψάφισμα ἀναδόντω καὶ τὸν στέφανον τοῦ-]

tον ἀναγειλάντω ἐν Ἰτώνῳ [καὶ ἀναθέντω ἐς τὸ ιαρὸν τὰς Ἄθανας τὸ κοινὸν πᾶσι τοῖς Θεσσα-]

λοῖς, ἐπιγράψαντες: "ὁ δάμος ὁ Κώ[ἰων στεφανοὶ τὰς πόλεις τὰς ἐν Θεσσαλίαι ἄρετὰς ἔνεκα]

καὶ εὐνοίας".

“With Good Fortune, let it be decided by the de[mos…to praise] the cities in Thessaly a[nd to crown them with a gold crown worth 300 Alexandrian gold pieces because of the virtue [and ambition and good-will which they continually have] for the city of the Coans in every [circumstance: and (let it be decided) to select three ambassadors from everyone].

Let those who have been selected, after arriving, […issue this decree and announce th]is crown in Itonos [and let them dedicate it in the sanctuary of Athena, common to all the

27 Segre 1934: 172, B2 l. 6. If I am correct in asserting that the Itonos of the Cos inscriptions belonged to Achaia Phthiotis, there will be important consequences for our understanding of the relationship between tetradic Thessaly and Achaia Phthiotis in the years leading up to the 196a reestablishment of the koinon.
Thessalians, after inscribing: ‘The demos of the Co[ans crowns the cities in Thessaly because of virtue] and good-will.”

Though one may quibble with some of Segre’s restorations, the preserved text makes some uncontroversial, important points. First, a city of Itonos, at least in the Hellenistic period, did in fact exist and it held some special significance for Thessaly, at least in the eyes of the Coans. Indeed, were it not for this inscription and another Coan document to be discussed below, one would be hard pressed to provide evidence for the continued functioning of the Thessalian League during the grim third century BCE. Second, although there is no reference to a sanctuary preserved on the stone, an act of dedication is suggested by the mention of an inscribed item in lines 7-8. It is therefore highly likely that some act of this embassy would have taken place in a sanctuary. Segre has plausibly restored the sanctuary of Athena (Itonia).

The second decree is no less illuminating:

\[\text{[\ldots]}\text{καν Ο.}\text{[\ldots]}\]
\[\text{[\ldots τοι δὲ θεώροι τοι] φιρεθέντες ἐξ Ἰτωνον}\]
\[\text{[ ἀφικόμενοι ἐν τοι πέμπτω ἔνιαυ]τοι ἐπαγγελλόντω τά}\]
\[\text{[ Ἀσκλαπίεια ταῖς πόλεσι ταῖς ἐν] Θεσσαλίαι καὶ ἐν Ἀργει 4}\]
\[\text{[τώι Πελασγικώ(?)] τοι δὲ θεώροι τ]οι ἐς Σαμοθράικαν ἀποσ-}\]
\[\text{[τελλόμενοι ἐπαγγελλόντω τά] Ἀσκλαπίεια ἐγ} Χίωι καὶ}\]
\[\text{[ἐν Λέσβωι (?)] τοι δὲ ἐς Κῶ παραγιν]όμενοι θεώροι φορεύντω}\]
\[\text{[ἐν τάι πόμπαι στεφάνος· τάν δὲ ἄφικγεμενάν} (?) θεωριάν 8}\]
\[\text{[\ldots ca. 10? \ldots ἐπιμελείσθωσαν τοι ἱεροφύλ]ακες, τοι δὲ}\]
\[\text{[\ldots] πανύγυρις}\]
\[\text{[\ldots]}\]

\[\text{\ldots}\]

28 Pace Robertson 2001: 52.
29 Ed. pr. Boesch 1908: 28, no. 1. The document has recently been republished with photographs and commentary at Rigsby 2004. I present Rigsby’s text and supplements.
“…The theoroi elected to go to Itonos are every fourth year to proclaim the Asklepieia to the cities in Thessaly and in Pelasgian(?) Argos; the theoroi sent to Samothrace are to proclaim the Asklepieia in Chios and Lesbos(?). The theoroi who come to Kos are to wear crowns in the procession;…the hierophylakes are to take care of the arriving(?) theoretic missions…” (Trans. Rigsby).

Here, Coan theoroi announce the festival of the Asklepeia at Itonos and then throughout Thessaly and Achaia Phthiotis (= Pelasgian Argos). 30 A connection between Itonos and Thessaly is again clear. Rigsby makes a number of important inferences about the celebration of the Itonia in third century Thessaly on the basis of this inscription. Most significant is his suggestion that these Itonia were not a panhellenic festival, but an annual celebration of the Thessalian League. The presence of Coan theoroi must therefore be a reflection of the special relationship between Thessaly and Cos. 31 It is in any case notable that during the third century BCE—what may be the most obscure period in Thessalian history—the Thessalian League may have celebrated Itonia.

From the perspective of topography, the two Coan inscriptions and AI13 can be interpreted in two different ways: 1) Strabo’s description of Itonos is topographically correct. The Itonos mentioned in the Coan inscriptions refers to this town. Whether or not the sanctuary of Athena Itonia was central to either the announcement of the Asklepeia or the dedication of the crown is unknown; 2) Strabo’s description of Itonos is either topographically false or misleading: He actually means Philia. The Itonos mentioned in the Coan inscriptions is the sanctuary at Philia.

Explanation 1) assumes that Strabo’s Itonos in the Krokian plain and that of the Coan inscriptions are the same. 32 While it is perhaps the most expedient position

30 The clever and plausible solution of Rigsby 2004.
32 Rigsby 2004 supports this interpretation.
to take from the perspective of the evidence, there are two complicating factors. First, while the existence of multiple sanctuaries of Athena Itonia in Thessaly is not difficult to imagine, the Coan inscriptions intimate that the settlement of Itonos held some federal significance for the Thessalians, at least from the perspective of the Coans. On this reading, there would be two federal sanctuaries of Athena Itonia.

Chronology poses a still greater difficulty. According to most reconstructions of Thessalian history, Achaia Phthiotis was not reincorporated within a Thessalian sphere of influence until after Flamininus’ reorganization of the territory in 196 BCE. Both Coan documents are dated to the third century BCE, a period in which Achaia Phthiotis was regularly partitioned by the conflicting powers of Macedon and the Aitolian League. If the sanctuary was granted asylia, however, it is conceivable that it could have functioned as a federal sanctuary for the Thessalians.

Explanation 2) is the explicit position of Kramolisch and is at least tacitly endorsed by Habicht. The strength of this reading is that we witness the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia behaving in a manner which accords well with our assumptions about federal sanctuaries. This solution also eliminates the chronological crux of explanation 1). With Achaia Phthiotis removed from the equation, the dates of the Coan texts accord perfectly well with the known history of Philia. The drawbacks of this reading are twofold. First, there is as yet no archaeological evidence for a settlement in the general vicinity of Philia. To be sure, Theocharis only excavated a very small area and there could be plenty of evidence waiting undiscovered nearby. While this absence in the material record is not terribly significant and should not weigh too heavily in our consideration of the literary and epigraphic evidence, it must nevertheless be noted.

34 DNP v coll.1182-3 s.v. Iton (Kramolisch); Habicht 1976b.
Second, Strabo must be taken to be horribly wrong. This is, of course, possible, but one would suspect that an error of such magnitude would be accompanied by smaller ones in the vicinity: There are none.

One might be tempted to add as a compromise candidate 2a): There are two Thessalian settlements by the name of Itonos—Strabo’s polis in the Krokian plain and the putative settlement at Philia. The Coan documents refer to the latter. The Greeks were no strangers to homonymy. For example, ancient sources mention at least three different Thessalian settlements known as Larisa. It is therefore not prima facie implausible that there were two Thessalian cities known as Itonos. The advantage of such an interpretation is that one can regard Strabo’s description of Itonos as accurate, while maintaining the Philia sanctuary as the only federal sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly. The biggest obstacle to such an interpretation is that there is no ancient source which gives any indication that there were two cities with the name Itonos in Thessaly. I do not believe that our interpretive dilemma is severe enough to warrant such a solution.

In sum, therefore, I have argued that A113, when read in conjunction with the two Coan inscriptions discussed above, makes the following conclusions tenable: 1) A Thessalian city with the name Itonos did exist; 2) It was located in Achaia Phthiotis; 3) It was regarded, at least by the Coans, but almost certainly by the Thessalians as well, as somehow significant to the Thessalians qua ethnos or koinon; 4) A sanctuary of Athena Itonia was located nearby.

---

35 They still are not: One thinks of the ubiquity of mountains with the name Profitis Ilias in the Greek countryside.
AI14. Strabo 9.5.17

"Pharkadon is in Hestiaiotis, and the Peneius and Kouralios flow through these places [in Hestiaiotis]: Of which two rivers, the Kouralios,\footnote{The syntax is a little strange. One wonders whether there is some corruption in the passage.} flowing past the hieron of Athena Itonia, empties into the Peneios…"

It is difficult to gauge the proximity of this sanctuary of Athena Itonia to the confluence of the Kouralios and Peneios. Two possibilities are open: Strabo could be describing two points that are far apart from one another (e.g., “After flowing past the great arch in St. Louis, the Mississippi River empties into the Gulf of Mexico”) or he could be describing two points that are close to one another (e.g., “After flowing past New Orleans, the Mississippi River empties into the Gulf of Mexico”). If we adopt the former reading, then it is entirely possible that Strabo here describes the Philia sanctuary. If, on the contrary, we follow the latter interpretation, then Strabo would be describing a third sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly.

The following options for a reading of the two passages (AI13-14) in tandem lay open. If one assumes that there can only be one sanctuary of Athena Itonia, than it is possible to argue that Strabo is in both cases describing the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia. This interpretation, favored by Kramolisch, holds that Strabo’s description of the Pharkadon temple is accurate, but that the geographer’s account of Itonos is deeply misguided.\footnote{DNP v coll.1182-3 s.v. Iton: “Die Stadt [Iton] und ihr Heiligtum wurden lange wegen einer irriten Entfernungsangabe Strabons (9.5.8) bei Halos (Achaia Phthiotis) vermutet, sind jedoch inzwischen durch Grabungen beim h. Philia, ca. 16 km. südöstlich von Karditsa ca. 10 km flussaufwärts von Kierion nachgewiesen.”}
The near homonymy of the rivers (Kouarios and Kouralios) mentioned in the two passages could be seen as a mark of Strabo’s confusion. Yet, when Strabo quotes Alcaeus’ description of the temple of Athena Itonia in Boiotian Koroneia, he notes that the poet called the nearby river Kouralios instead of Kouarios (9.2.29):

κρατήσαντες δὲ τῆς Κορωνείας ἐν τῷ πρὸ αὐτῆς πεδίῳ τὸ τῆς Ἰτωνίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο ὀμόνυμον τῷ Θεταλικῷ, καὶ τὸν παραρρέοντα ποταμὸν Κουάριον προσηγόρευσαν ὀμοφώνως τῷ ἐκεί. Ἀλκαῖος δὲ καλεῖ Κωράλιον λέγων

" đènάσσον Ἀθανάα πολεμάδοκε
α ποι Κορωνίας μεδ[ ναύω πάροιθεν ἁμφ[. . . . .]
Κωραλίω ποταμῶ παρ’ ὀχθαῖς."

“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, saying: ‘Queen Athena, warlike one, who perhaps as ruler of Koroneia….in front of the temple…by the banks of the river Kouralios’” (Text and trans. Campbell).

Strabo’s clear distinction between the two names in the case of Koroneia leads one to suspect that he is referring to two different rivers in the case of Thessaly.

Contrary to the Kramolisch position, however, Strabo may be describing two completely different sanctuaries of Athena Itonia, one near Itonos in Achaia Phthiotis, the other either near the confluence of the Peneios and Kouralios rivers or at Philia. I suggest that this option is, on the whole, far more satisfying. Clearly, if one bases an interpretation solely on the two passages at hand, it is impossible to believe that Strabo is discussing the same location. One sanctuary, belonging to Itonos, he locates in
Achaia Phthiotis, the other, that of Pharkadon, Hestiaotis. The Itonos sanctuary is placed in a topography that is in every other respect precise and coherent. The Krokián plain, the Othrys massif and the locations of Halos and Phthiotic Thebes are all landmarks known to us: Strabo’s description makes perfect sense.

Strabo’s reliability is a major concern to our reading of either passage. Like all ancient geographers, he is at times fallible. The overall impression in the case of Thessalian topography, however, is strong. His credibility is also enhanced by one passage which suggests a personal acquaintance with the Thessalian landscape (9.5.6):

Φαρσάλιοι μὲν δεικνύουσιν ἀπὸ ἕξηκοντα σταδίων τής ἕαυτῶν πόλεως κατεσκαμμένην πόλιν.

“The Pharsalians show a purposely-destroyed (lit. “dug out”) city 60 stadia from their own.”

Although keeping open the possibility that deiknuein may derive from one of Strabo’s sources, it is nevertheless possible that this passage is one of the few places where the author gives a sense of his experience of an area.38

A115. Pausanias 1.13.2-3 ≈ Plut. Pyrrhus 26.9-10 ≈ Diodorus Siculus 22.11:

κρατήσας δὲ τὴν τε ἱδίαν παρασκευήν Ἀντιγόνου καὶ τὸ παρ’ αὐτῷ Γαλατῶν ξενικὸν ἐδίωξεν ἐς τὰς ἐπὶ θαλάσση πόλεις, αὐτὸς δὲ Μακεδονίας τε τῆς ἄνω καὶ Θεσσαλῶν ἐπεκράτησε. δήλοι δὲ μάλιστα τὸ μέγεθος τῆς μάχης καὶ τὴν Πύρρου νίκην, ὡς παρὰ πολὺ γένοιτο, <τὰ> ἀνατεθέντα ὀπλα τῶν Κελτῶν ἐς [τῇ] τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τῆς Ἰτανίας Φερῶν μεταξὺ καὶ Λαρίσης καὶ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς. Τοὺς ὦρεοὺς ὦ Μολοσσὸς Ἰτωνίδι δὸρον Ἀθάνα

Πύρρος ἀπὸ θρασσων ἐκρέμασεν Γαλατᾶν,
pάντα τὸν Ἀντιγόνου καθελὼν στρατόν. οὐ μέγα θαῦμα·
αἰχματαί καὶ νῦν καὶ πάρος Αἰακίδαι (= Theodoridas, AP 9.742).

“[Pyrrhus], after overpowering the native troops of Antigonus and his Gallic
mercenaries, he 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 Antigonus. ‘Tis no great marvel. The
Aeacidae are warriors now, even as they were of old’” (Trans. Jones).

This event is also mentioned at Plutarch, Pyrrh. 26.9.10, and Diodorus Siculus 22.11,
who agree that the dedication took place in a sanctuary of Athena Itonia, but do not
say where. In the era before the discovery of the Philia temenos, a number of scholars
argued that Pausanias was actually discussing the sanctuary at Itonos known from
Strabo: They suggested that when Pausanias wrote Larisa, he really meant Larisa
Cremaste, a settlement on the southern coast of Achaia Phthiotis.39 If Pausanias meant
the putative Itoneion at Itonos, though, there were available a number of better ways to
describe this location than “between Pherai and Larisa.” Possible options include:
“near Itonos,” or, if e.g. Itonos was no longer extant, “near the Krokian plain,”
“between Phthiotic Thebes and Halos,” “at the foot of Othrys.” Even for Pausanias,
the phrase “between Pherai and Larisa [Cremaste]” is circuitous and makes little
topographic sense: The two cities are not a natural, or even a forced, pair.

39 E.g., Lévêque 1957: 566ff.
If we are not compelled by the assumption that there could only be one sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, then there is no need to collapse the passages of Pausanias and Strabo.

In a recent treatment of Pausanias’ topographic accuracy, Pritchett has compiled a catalogue of 58 of the gravest topographical errors allegedly perpetrated by the periegete: He is able to defend Pausanias in all but four cases.\textsuperscript{40} We know that Pausanias visited Larisa—\textit{\H{e}kousa} δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐν Λαρίσῃ λόγον (9.30.9)—and at several other points in the text he refers to Thessalian issues.\textsuperscript{41} Given the incomplete character of the narrative as it has been transmitted, it is possible that he even planned a separate section on the region that he was unable to complete. There is therefore no reason to doubt Pausanias’ testimony on this matter: On the contrary, the evidence would suggest that his testimony is to be privileged.

\textbf{AI16.} Polyaeus 2.34

\textit{"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"} (Trans. Krentz and Wheeler).

\textsuperscript{40} Pritchett 1998-1999: 2.162. Pritchett found that the majority of these errors could be attributed either to alluviation in the landscape or lacunae within the text.

\textsuperscript{41} Other references to Thessaly: 6.5.2, 7.27.6.
Polyaenus’ account of Deinias’ seizure of tyranny at Thessalian Krannon offers some basic features of local Itonia. At least some of the celebration took place within the *polis*. All of the people of Krannon are said to have participated. Drunkenness was a notable feature of the event. Yet, these activities, like Callimachus’ contests, could well characterize any number of Greek festivals. It is rather more likely that the mention of the Itonia is an ethnographic detail that marks the setting as specifically Thessalian for Polyaenus’ imperial audience.

**Numismatic Evidence**

The figure of Athena has been identified on numerous Thessalian issues. 42 Although never specifically identified on the coinage by an inscription as Itonia, the figure of Athena as *promachos*—striding forward with shield and spear—has been recognized as Itonia on the early bronze and silver coinage of the reorganized Thessalian League (ca. 196a-0). 43 In imperial times she is less common, though still prominent. 44

**Archaeological Evidence**

Giannopoulos’ discovery of a fragmentary decree of the Thessalian *koinon* and an Archaic bronze figurine in the area of Philia in the 1920s led him to suspect that an archaeological site of some significance lay waiting to be discovered in the vicinity. 45 Thorough excavation did not begin until Theocharis’ work in the 1960s. 46 It was

---

43 SNG Thessaly pl. 6-7, nos. 269-328.
44 Burrer 1993: 50.
45 Giannopoulos 1927-8a; Giannopoulos 1927-8b.
46 Theocharis 1961-62; Theocharis 1963; Theocharis 1964; Theocharis 1965; Theocharis 1967. Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou 1983 represents an attempt in the early 1980s to clarify the relationship of the Mycenaean material the Geometric. The Iron Age remains have recently been reconsidered at Georganas 2002.
immediately apparent from the condition of the site that looters and treasure-hunters had confirmed Giannopoulos’ predictions. What remained was nevertheless impressive: Large numbers of weapons and fibulae of both bronze and iron, as well as other prestige votives including tripods and obeloi.\footnote{The small finds have been collected and interpreted in a recent catalogue: Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002.} The votive patterns of the Archaic period were apparently maintained into the Hellenistic period, although the overall quantity of material drops off. It appears that both votives for dedication within the sanctuary as well as objects for daily use outside the sanctuary were produced.\footnote{Risberg 1992.} The sanctuary seems therefore to have been implicated in a broader regional economy from a very early date.\footnote{Morgan 2003: 119.} Extant architecture is scarce. The earliest architectural fragments on site are roof tiles which belong to the Classical period. Remains of a stoa of Hellenistic date are present. There is evidence for continued use of the site into the later Roman period including a pair of inscriptions dated to 200-250\textsuperscript{p} that record honors awarded to two men by the Thessalian koinon.\footnote{SEG 37.492-493 (= Habicht 1987a).}

Only a relatively small area in Philia has been excavated and we must be cautious in how we evaluate absences in the archaeological record at Philia. Although there is as yet no evidence for a temple or temenos wall, this does not mean that the sanctuary lacked both of these architectural forms. Similarly, although there is as yet no evidence of a nearby settlement, we cannot exclude the possibility that there was one.

The basis for associating the sanctuary with Athena Itonia consists of a near certain restoration of an inscription found during Theocharis’ excavations, \textit{AI\textsuperscript{I}}.\footnote{SEG 26.688 (= Habicht 1976a).} Athena’s presence in the sanctuary is uncontroversial. Habicht’s restoration of [$\tau\nu\nu\ I\tau\omega\nu\iota\alpha\iota$] is based to a large degree on other ancient evidence which
associates Athena Itonia and Thessaly or, more specifically, suggests a relationship between Athena Itonia and the Thessalian koinon. A12 is further epigraphic evidence for a connection between Athena Itonia and the federal league.

**Discussion**

Kramolisch’s insistence that there was only one sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly and that it belonged to the koinon of the Thessalians is misguided.52 His arguments in support of this claim are based on often tendentious readings of Strabo and Pausanias and a corresponding overvaluation of the archaeological evidence from Philia.

Although it is rarely explicitly stated, such skepticism of the literary sources on this matter has been fueled at least in part by a long-standing assumption that Archaic ethne and their Classical and Hellenistic counterparts, koina, had a solitary, rural shrine that served as the ethnic or federal sanctuary. For example, Ehrenberg suggested that “the unity of the tribe remained alive and generally acknowledged, particularly when supported by a common centre of worship of the tribal god” and that “primitive and loose political forms (as in Thessaly, etc.) were transformed into a closer union, to a ‘Koinon’ which, like the tribal state, was often bound to a common shrine…”53 In perhaps the most trenchant modern description of the ethnus, Snodgrass has written that the ethnus was characterized by “worshipping a tribal deity at a common religious centre.”54 More recently and with specific reference to Thessaly,

---

52 My argument that there were multiple sanctuaries of Athena Itonia in Thessaly is not the first. Cf. Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002: 1n. 5, for references to the publications of Müller, Dümmler and Helly. Add E. Meyer, DKP ii s.v. Iton col. 1491 (1967).
54 Snodgrass 1980: 42. While the critical lexicon of the ethnus is thankfully undergoing revision—“tribes” and “tribalism” are less often used to discuss these social forms—some fundamental misconceptions about the relationship of cult and ethnus remain. It may be a false step to even speak of the ethnus as a unitary phenomenon.
Robert Parker has claimed: “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.”

In the preceding, I have argued that the existence of a single sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly is nothing more than a bare possibility. The evidence suggesting multiple Thessalian sanctuaries of the goddess is, on the other hand, substantial and not easily explained away. I leave open the question about multiple federal Itonia sanctuaries: I will only caution against allowing modern typologies of federal/non-federal space to exercise too great an influence on how we interpret the ancient evidence. It is entirely possible that a second sanctuary of Athena Itonia could be constructed as a federal space: We need not imagine that this was a permanent condition of the sanctuary except in the sense that many spaces in Thessaly had the permanent potential to be constructed in such a way.

The literary and material evidence suggests that there were as many as four different sanctuaries of Athena Itonia in Thessaly. I list them again in descending order of plausibility: 1) Philia; 2) Itonos; 3) “between Pherai and Larisa”; 4) on the Kouralios River (= Philia?). The members of the group share a number of important features. Three of the four sanctuaries are characterized by their extra-mural setting. The sanctuary at Philia lies at a great distance from the closest known settlement, Kierion. While Strabo is unclear about the topographic relationship of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia and the settlement of Itonos, he situates the Pharkadon temple in relation to natural features of the landscape, not within the walls of a city. Finally,

---

55 Parker 1998: 19. In the same paragraph, however, Parker proceeds to mention more complicated cases than “the simple pattern” of, e.g., Thessaly and Aitolia: “ethne with more than one religious centre, ethne with none at all of their own but gathering at a borrowed site, ethne whose political assemblies had become detached from their sacred centres, and so on.” I hope to have demonstrated that Thessaly is in fact one of these more complicated cases. That Aitolia is not a simple case either has been argued by Mackil 2003.
Pausanias describes Pyrrhus’ dedication of captured shields as taking place at a sanctuary between Pherai and Larisa.

Two of the four sanctuaries are characterized by the dedication of weapons. There is evidence for both the manufacture and dedication of weapons at the Philia sanctuary. The literary images of Athena Itonia as both warrior (e.g., Pausanias 10.1.10, *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Iton) and craftsman (*AI3, AI7*) complement Philia’s material record. Pyrrhus dedicated armor at the Itonia sanctuary between Larisa and Pherai. We are less well-informed about the Itonos and Pharkadon sanctuaries on this account. Leonidas’ epigram offers another instance of the dedication of spoils from battle to Thessalian Itonia.

Three of the four sanctuaries were also clearly foci of international activity. While Pyrrhus liked to link himself to the indigenous rulers of Phthia, the Aiakidai, he was king of Epirus when he made his dedication. It is impossible to know where in Itonos the Ceans made their announcement of the Asklepeia, but it is a reasonable assumption that this took place at the Itoneion located nearby. Although there is no explicit international activity at the Philia sanctuary, its presence may be suggested by the great numbers of votive objects of foreign provenance which are present at the sanctuary from the Geometric period.

Some final observations. First, if the late date of our literary sources is any indication, the sacred landscape of Roman Thessaly may have been more full than previously imagined. Second, more speculatively, if in fact there were four different sanctuaries of Athena Itonia in Thessaly, then their geographic distribution would be extremely suggestive. Three of the four tetrads (Pelasgiotis, “between Larisa and Pherai,” *AI15*; Thessaliotis, Philia, *AI1*; Hestiaotis, at the confluence of the Kouralios and Peneios, *AI14*) would have their own sanctuary of Athena Itonia, while the fourth, Phthiotis, whose relationship with bordering Achaia Phthiotis has always been less
well-defined than that of the remaining *perioikoi* with the tetrads, could have had access to the Itonos sanctuary. Perhaps Aleuas the Red’s institution of the tetrads, about which we are meagerly informed, assumed a cultic dimension.

Finally, for all of the argument about the federal importance of the Philia sanctuary and the federal/non-federal status of other Thessalian sanctuaries, it must be remembered that Philia played a powerful role at the sub-regional, sub-koinonic level as well. SEG 37.494 (230-200a), a text which establishes *sympoliteia* between two cities of western Thessaly, Gomphi and Thamiai, was found in Philia during Theocharis’ excavations. If it was originally set up in the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, as seems probable despite SEG’s stated provenance of Metropolis, than it would be the earliest epigraphic testimony from the site. Perhaps the other Thessalian sanctuaries of Athena Itonia played a similar role in their respective settings.

4.2: Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa

*Introduction*

Zeus was worshipped as Eleutherios in Thessaly at Larisa, where inscriptions reveal that he had a federal sanctuary which may have served as a counterweight to the federal Athena Itonia sanctuary near Philia. While Zeus Eleutherios was worshipped at a variety of different locations in the Greek world, the circumstances surrounding the institution of his cult were in each case predominantly local and typically involved the reacquisition of political έλευθερία.

---

A brief review of the literary, epigraphic and numismatic evidence for other cults of Zeus Eleutherios in the Greek world will provide a useful context for my discussion of the Thessalian evidence. ⁵⁷

1) Samos, 522a. Our only source for this cult is Herodotus 3.142:

Επειδὴ γὰρ οἱ ἐξηγγέλθη ὁ Πολυκράτεως θάνατος, ἔποιε ὁ Πολυκράτεως θάνατος, ἔποιε τοιάδε. Πρῶτα μὲν Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου βωμὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ τέμενος περὶ αὐτὸν οὐρίσε τούτῳ τὸ νῦν ἐν τῷ προστείῳ ἔστι.

“For when the death of Polykrates had been announced to him (Maiandrios), he did the following things. First, he built an altar of Zeus Eleutherios and marked out a temenos about it which is visible even today in the suburbs.”

News of the death of the tyrant Polykrates is greeted with the establishment of a cult of Zeus Eleutherios. Raaflaub, challenging Herodotus’ chronology, has recently argued that this cult could not have been established before 479 “when Samos was liberated from both Persian and tyrannical rule.” ⁵⁸

2) Plataia, 479a. ⁵⁹ There are a number of important literary sources concerned with the establishment of this cult. The earliest is Thucydides 2.71.2 where the Plataians argue that the Spartans in 429/8a are not acting in a manner worthy of their forbears by plotting an assault on Plataea:

Παυσανίας γὰρ ὁ Κλεομβρότου Λακεδαιμόνιος ἐλευθερώσας τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων μετὰ Ἑλλήνων τῶν ἔθελησάντων ξυνάρασθαι τὸν κίνδυνον τῆς μάχης ἢ παρ’ ἦμιν ἐγένετο, θύσας ἐν τῇ Πλαταιῶν ἁγορᾷ ιερὰ Διὶ Ἐλευθερίῳ καὶ ξυγκαλέσας

This is not an exhaustive catalogue, but a cross-section of illustrative examples. ⁵⁷

Raaflaub 2004: 111. ⁵⁸

Cf., in particular, Schachter 1981-: 3.125ff. ⁵⁹
πάντας τοὺς ἡμιμάχους ἀπεδίδου Πλαταιεύσι γῆν καὶ πόλιν τήν
σφετέραν ἐχοντας αὐτονόμους οἰκεῖν, στρατεύσαι τε μηδένα ποτὲ
ἀδίκως ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἐπὶ δουλεία:

“For Pausanias, son of Kleombrotos, a Spartan, after freeing Hellas from the Medes
together with those Hellenes who were willing to undertake the risk of the battle
which was upon us, sacrificed victims in the agora of the Plataians to Zeus Eleutherios
and after calling together all of the allies he restored to the Plataians their own territory
and city to inhabit, being autonomous, claiming that no one was to attack them ever
with unjust purpose nor to enslave them” (Trans. Crawley).

It is unclear whether Pausanias actually founded a cult of Zeus Eleutherios in the
agora of Plataia following the defeat of the Persians, but it is a likely inference and, at
the very least, his personal performance of cult is clear.

Pausanias (9.2.5-6) is familiar with an altar and cult image of Zeus Eleutherios
as well as the Eleutheria. Although he does not explicitly connect any of these
monuments or contests with the Persian War, a discussion of the graves of Greeks who
died in the battle at Plataia immediately precedes his description of the altar and cult
image.

3) Athens, post 479a. An altar, statue and stoa were dedicated to Zeus
Eleutherios in the Athenian agora. The construction history of the site is complex, but
it is probable that the complex began to be specifically associated with Zeus as
Eleutherios following the Persian Wars.

4) Syracuse, 466/5a. Diodorus Siculus 11.72 offers the following description
of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios in Syracuse following the removal of the tyrant
Thrasyboulus:

---

60 Rosivach 1978; Rosivach 1987.
καταλύσαντες τὴν Θρασυβοῦλον τυραννίδα συνήγαγον ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ περὶ τῆς ἱδίας δημοκρατίας βουλευσάμενοι πάντες ὁμογενεῖς ἔνσηφεντο Δίως μὲν Ἑλευθερίου κολοττιαίον ἀνδριάντα κατασκευάσας, κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν δὲ θύειν Ἑλευθερία καὶ ἄγωνας ἐπιφανεῖς ποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἂν τὸν τύραννον καταλύσαντες ἠλευθέρωσαν τὴν πατρίδα· θύειν δ' ἐν τοῖς ἄγωσι τοῖς θεοῖς ταύρους τετρακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα, καὶ τούτους δαπανὰν εἰς τὴν τῶν πολιτῶν εὐσχίαν.

“After overthrowing the tyranny of Thrasyboulos, they assembled the ekklesia and, after conferring on the matter of their own democracy, all of them with a single mind voted both to make a colossal statue of Zeus Eleutherios and to sacrifice annually at the Eleutheria and to perform conspicuous games on the very day when, after overthrowing the tyrant, they freed their fatherland, and [they voted] to sacrifice, at the games, 450 bulls to the gods, and to provide the bulls for the merriment of the citizens”

5-9) Aetna, Agyrium, Alaesa, Eryx, Syracuse, 344-316a. 5-9) are attested numismatically and can be connected with the expedition of Timoleon. While it is unclear whether the presence of Zeus Eleutherios on these coins reflects the establishment of cult in each of these locations or is merely a political symbol, one can note the historical similarity between Timoleon’s “freeing” of the Sicilian cities from tyrants and the establishment of cults of Zeus Eleutherios after both the fall of Thrasybulus in mid-fifth-century Syracuse and Polykrates’ demise on Samos.

Common to the institution of each of these of cults of Zeus Eleutherios is the removal of threats to a community’s autonomy and prominent modern interpretations

61 Cf. Karlsson 1995; Castrizio 2002; Garraffo 1976-7. A minority view that some of these are to be connected with Dion (e.g., Cammarata 1984) has been convincingly refuted by Karlsson.
of the figure of Zeus Eleutherios have stressed his connection to the reacquisition of social and political order following a period of turbulence. Farnell emphasized the political significance of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios by stressing the Hellenic focus of the Plataia cult while recognizing that the figure was also prominent at the level of city-state (e.g., upon regaining freedom from tyrannical forces). Nilsson included the celebration of the Eleutheria in Larisa in his discussion of political festivals of Zeus, but did not discuss the cult in any detail. He later used the foundation of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Plataia following the defeat of the Persians as evidence for Zeus’ function as defender of the familial order and, by extension, the political freedom of the state. Wilamowitz only briefly mentioned the establishment of the Athenian cult of Zeus Eleutherios after the Persian War as an illustration of Zeus’ ability to defend the weak against the hybris of the more powerful.

On the matter of the origin of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios in Larisa, scholars are unified: It was established in response to the removal of Macedonian hegemony over Thessaly accomplished by T. Quinctius Flamininus following the Second Macedonian War. Although this analysis makes good intuitive sense and, as we have seen, there are numerous parallels throughout the Greek world, there is no positive literary or material evidence which supports or contradicts this hypothesis. At the very least, such an assertion begs a crucial question which I will attempt to answer in

---

64 Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1956: 2.172.
65 Preuner 1903: 372, “Die Eleutherien können frühestens im Jahre 196 v. Chr. Zum ersten Male gefeiert worden sein.” SIG 3613 n. 11: “cf. Niese III 197: ‘Die in Larisa eingesetzten Eleutherien [sc. a. 196] feierten die Römer als Befreier.’” Kramolisch 1978: 86, “Die Eleutherien wurden zum Gedenken an die Freierklärung von Korinth im Jahr 196 als penteterische panhellenische Spiele in Larisa veranstaltet.” More recently, cf. Gallis 1988: 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.”
the following section of this chapter. How did Greeks respond to Flamininus’ defeat of
Philip at Kynoskephalai and his subsequent proclamation of Greek freedom at
Isthmia?

The Greek Reaction to Flamininus\(^{67}\)

Flamininus’ proclamation of freedom for a number of Greek ethne at the
Isthmian Games of 196 occupies a central position in many standard historical
narratives of the period. But what would this statement have meant to a Thessalian
audience?

The rhetoric of the proclamation has been well explored by Walsh who
emphasized the ubiquity of the sentiment in the Hellenistic world,\(^{68}\) including dynasts
who proclaimed freedom for those they were about to invade with astonishing
regularity. Indeed, Antiochus III invaded mainland Greece not even a full decade
following Flamininus’ proclamation with the intention of freeing Greece. There is
every reason to believe that Flamininus’ proclamation would have been received
cautiously by the Greeks so implicated, despite the enthusiasm recorded in Plutarch,
Polybius and Livy. They had heard such sentiments many times before.

This did not stop Greek cities and leagues from honoring Flamininus, however.
I summarize below the most conspicuous literary and material evidence for honors
awarded to Flamininus by Greek cities and leagues.

1) Panopeus (Phokis), IIa.

Ed. pr. Klaffenbach 1971

[πό]λις Φα[νοτέων Τίτον Τίτου]

[Kou]ντι[ου στραταγόν ιπατον]

(Gundel: 1963).

\(^{68}\) Walsh 1996.
[ἄγγ]νοις ἐνεκέν τὸν αὐτᾶς
[εὐ]ρεγέταν.

“The city of the Phanoteans [dedicates a statue of] Titus, son of Titus, Quinctius, consul, because of his integrity, benefactor of the city”

Statue base. The stone is heavily, if plausibly, restored on the basis of IG v.1 1165.

Livy, describing the events of 198a, may offer a context for the honor (32.18.6): *primo impetus Phanoteam sine certamine cepit*.

2) Delphi. Plutarch, *Flam.* 12, mentions Flamininus’ dedications at Delphi, which most likely date to 197/6a. There is substantial evidence for Delphian reciprocation. The preserved head of a marble portrait statue has been identified with Flamininus on the basis of his portrait found on his gold staters: Chamoux has dated the honor to 198-4a on the basis of historical context.\(^69\) The Delphians also awarded Flamininus proxeny, most likely in 189/8a, while he was censor in Rome.\(^70\) An inscribed base for a bronze statue, SIG\(^3\) 616, is often associated with this honor:

[ἀ πόλις] τῶν Δελ[φών
Τίτων Κοίγκτιον
Τίτων [υίον Ὠ-
μαῖον ἀρετᾶς [ἐν]εκέν [καὶ εὐερ-
γεσίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτᾶν ὉἈ[πόλλωνι]

“The city of the Delphians [dedicates a statue of] Titus Quinctius, son of Titus, Roman, to Apollo because of his virtue and benefactions to the city”

3) Gythion. Two inscriptions record honors awarded to Titus by the Gythians. The first, SIG\(^3\) 592 (195a), is a statue base:

Τίτων Τίτων Κοίγκτιον στραταγὸν ὑπατον Ὠ-

\(^{69}\) Chamoux 1965.

\(^{70}\) SIG\(^3\) 585.116.
The demos of the Gythians [dedicates a statue of] Titus, son of Titus, Quinctius, consul of the Romans, their saviour’

The honor recognized Titus’ role in freeing the Gythians from Nabis. A second inscription of the imperial period, ca. 15p, specifies that a day during a festival of the imperial cult is to be in honor of Titus.

4) Chalkis. Plutarch, *Flam.* 16.5-17.1, mentions several honors previously awarded to Titus which were still being observed in the second century CE. These include: the dedication of a gymnasium to Titus and Herakles; the dedication of a Delphinion to Titus and Apollo; the institution of cult in honor of Titus with an elected priesthood, sacrifice, libations and a paian. Plutarch connects these honors with Titus’ intervention on behalf of the Chalkidians with the consul Manius in 191a who intended to punish them for their support of Antiochus III’s invasion of Greece.

A statue base of imperial date confirms Plutarch’s testimony about Titus’ relationship with the gymnasium in Chalkis and, in general, verifies Plutarch’s claims about the longevity of these honors:

IG xii.9 931

'Aristomachos
'Aristokleidou,
'Amfikrathe[ς]
Eurynomou
Titωi Sωtēri kai eιναργέτη
γυμνασιαρχήσαντες.

---

71 Dittenberger *ad loc.*
72 SEG 11.923 = Kougeas 1928a, Kougeas 1928b.
“Aristomachos son of Aristokleides, Amphikrates son of Eurynomos, after serving as gymnasiarchs, [dedicated] to Titus, saviour and benefactor.”

5) Eretria, IIa

IG xii.9 233

[- -] ἡλινύειν καὶ θύ[ειν] [καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν Ἑρετρεῖς πάντας ἐπὶ τοῖς γε[γε-] [νημένοις καὶ στῆσαι Τίτον ὑπατον Ἦρωμ[αί-] [ων- ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Ἀρτεμίδος [- -]

“…(and let) [every Eretrian] celebrate and sacrifice and [wear garlands] on account of these [events…and erect in the sanctuary of A]rtemis (a statue of) Titus, consul of the Romans…”

This heavily restored inscription records honors which may be specifically associated with the removal of Eretria, one of Philip’s fetters of Greece, from Macedonian control and their subsequent freedom. For another possible Eretrian inscription honoring Flamininus, cf. SEG 41.729.

6) Kos, 198-194a

Habicht 2002 = Ed. pr. Paton and Hicks 1891, no. 128


“The demos [dedicated a statue of] Titus, son of Titus, Quinctius, consul, because

73 Cf. Polyb. 18.45.5-6, 18.47.10-11; Liv. 33.34.10.
of virtue and *kalokagathia* towards the demos and the allies and the remaining Greeks. Nikomachos, son of Parmeniskos, made [it].”

Statue base. There is no evidence that Titus visited Kos or that there was any special relationship between them.74

7) Corinth (Achaian League), 196/5a?

SEG 22.214 = Ed. pr. Bousquet 1964

Τίτον [Τίτου Κοϊγκτιον Ῥωμαίον]
 Ἀρίσταινος Τιμοκάδες Δυμαῖος
 ἁρετὰς ἐνεκα καὶ ἐνεργεσίᾳ τὰς
eἰς τε ἀυτὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς.

“Aristainos son of Timokades from Dyme [dedicated a statue of] Titus, son of Titus, Quinctius, because of virtue and benefactions towards him and the Achaians.”

Inscribed base of a statue dedicated by Aristainos, *strategos* of the Achaian League.

8) Argos. Daux 1964 noticed a contest named Titeia in an Argive decree of ca. 100a (l. 16): ἐῖς τῶν ἄγγεν τῶν Τιτείων “...in the agon of the Titeia...” The Argive honors were almost certainly a response to Flamininus’ proclamation of specifically Argive freedom at the Nemean Games in 195a.75

9) Skotussa (Thessaly), 194a or 189/8a?

SEG 23.412 = Ed. pr. Mastrokostas 1964: 309-310, no. 2a

Πραυλὸς Φοξίνου

[Π]Τίτον Κοϊνκτιον

[ἀ]ρετῆς ἐνεκεν καὶ εὐνοιας

[τ]ῆς εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν.

“Praulos, son of Poxinos, [dedicated a statue of] Titus, son of Titus, Quinctius,

---

74 Habicht 2002.
75 Liv. 34.41.3.
because of virtue and good-will towards him and towards the city.”

Base of a statue dedicated by Praulos, who served as *strategos* of the Thessalian League in 190/89a.

The corpus of epigraphic and literary evidence assembled above is in some respects striking. For the most part, cities and leagues do not seem to have honored Flamininus in thanksgiving for his Isthmian proclamation. The strongest candidates for recognition of the Isthmian proclamation are the honors awarded by Kos and the Achaian League. The other honors, especially those of Panopeus, Delphi, Gythion, Chalkis, Argos and Skotussa, seem to have responded to far more local concerns and recognized Flamininus’ direct, personal intervention.

In the case of Thessaly, it is difficult to know whether the Eleutheria emerged solely as a response to their newfound freedom following Kynoskephalai or whether other factors were in play. The Roman settlement of Thessaly does seem to have stabilized the region in a productive and enduring fashion. An important inscription recording a *senatus consultum* on the matter of the border between Narthakion and Melitaea suggests that Flamininus was perceived as the prime mover in the settlement even fifty years after the fact (IG ix.2 89 B48-54: c. 140a?):

κ[α]<ι> περὶ

τῆς χώρας καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν κριτηρίων [νεν]ικηκ[έ-] 

ναὶ κατὰ νόμους τοὺς Ὑεσσαλῶν, οἰς γ[ό-] 

μοῖς ἔως τα[ν]ών χρῶνται, ο[ῦ]ς νόμους Τίτως 

Κοῖγκτιος ὑπατος ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν δέκα πρεσ- 

βευτῶν γνώμης ἔδωκεν καὶ κατὰ δόγμα 

συγκλήτου,

“…And concerning the land and the sanctuaries, [the Narthakians claimed] that they had been victorious [in court] in accordance with the laws of the Thessalians, laws
which they use up to the present, laws which Titus Quinctus [Flamininus], consul,
gave, after consultation with the Ten Commissioners and in accordance with a decree
of the senate…”

Even though Thessaly would face invasion from Antiochus III shortly after the Roman
victory at Kynoskephalai and her relations with Macedonia would deteriorate in the
180s, it is indeed plausible that the Eleutheria were inaugurated in commemoration of
their “freedom” from Macedonian rule in 197a and may even have included praise of
Flamininus like that accorded to him by the people of Chalkis. This freedom should be
connected with the direct interventions of Flamininus in Thessalian affairs, however,
not its mere proclamation at Isthmia.

While the decision of the Thessalians had a number of good precedents, it is
slightly unsettling that this second federal cult of the Thessalians also has a Boiotian
parallel—the Eleutheria celebrated at Plataia in commemoration of the Greek victory
in the Persian Wars. As is well known, the Thessalians, conspicuous Medizers, fought
against the Greek forces in the decisive battle at Plataia. It is tempting to speculate that
the Thessalians celebrated not only their own freedom in their Eleutheria, but indeed
recast themselves as instrumental in the new autonomy of what was once Macedonian-
occupied Greece. *AG* 16.5, an elegy of Alcaeus, offers some support for this
interpretation, for it links the ideology of Titus’ liberation of the Greeks with the
Persian Wars:

"Αγαγε καὶ Ξέρξης Πέρσαν στρατὸν Ἑλλάδος ἐς γὰν,
καὶ Τίτος εὐρείας ἀγαγ’ ἀπ’ Ἰταλίας:
ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν Εὐρώπῃ δοῦλον ζυγὸν αὐχένι θήσων
ἡλθεν, ὁ δ’ ἀμπαύσων Ἑλλάδα δούλοσύνας."

---

76 Trans. Sherk, with some modification.
“Xerxes led a Persian army to Greece and Titus led [an army] from broad Italy; The one came to place a slave’s yoke on Europe’s neck, the other to release Greece from servitude.”

Epigraphic Evidence

ZE1. Delphi, 186-184a
SIG³ 613; Cf. SEG 37.393bis; BE 1970: 314; BE 1971: 362; BE 1988: 662

ἀναγορεύσαι δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἑλευθερίοις ἐν τῶι γυμνικῷ ἁγῶνι, ὃν τιθέασι οἱ Θεταλοὶ.

“…[let it be decided by the Amphictyons] to announce [these honors] also at the Eleutheria in the gymnic contests, which the Thessalians celebrate.”

Amphictyonic honors for Nikostratos, son of Anaxippos, from Larisa, who served as a hieromnemon for the Thessalians to the Delphic Amphictyony and moreover was an Amphictyonic envoy to the Roman senate. This is the earliest certain reference to the Eleutheria. It is significant that at this early date the festival is recognized as being under the authority of the Thessalians.

ZE2. Larisa, 180-170a (Kramolisch)
IG ix.2 525

ἀγωνοθετοῦντος τῶν Θεσσαλ[ῶν]
Ἀνδροσθένου τοῦ Ἰταλοῦ Γυρτωνίου 2
οἱ νεωκρότες τὰ Ἑλευθέρια

77 Dates listed as “(Kramolisch)” are based on the chronology of Hellenistic strategoi of the Thessalian League in Kramolisch 1978.
“When Androsthenes, son of Italos, from Gyrton, was agonothete of the Thessalians, the victors at the Eleutheria were…”

Marble stele. Preamble to a victor list of the Eleutheria. Androsthenes is recorded as strategos of the Thessalian League in 188/7a at Eusebius 115. While it is not known if he would have held the office of League strategos and League agonothete at the same time, Kramolisch points out the similarity of the agonothetic dating formula to the more common strategos formula, e.g., IG ix.2 507 1 (Larisa: ca. 130a) στρατηγούντος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν Πολ[λ]ίχου [τοῦ – – ]. The events of this festival will be discussed below.

ZE3. Larisa, “um die Mitte des 2. Jh. [ante]” (Kramolisch)
IG ix.2 508 19-30, 46-9

συνφροντίσαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κῆ[-]
[ρυκᾶς τοῦ κοινοῦ], ὅταν ὁ ἄγων τῶν Ἐλευθ[ερίων] 20
[συντελή]ται ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγωνοθεσίας τῆς μελλούσης
[– – – –]τὸν συντελείσθαι, [ὅπως] ἄν ἀναγορεύσῃ[
[σιν ἐν τῷ] ἄγων ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν στεφανοῖ [χρυ-
[σῶ]στεφάνων] τὸν τοῦ Μιλησίων καὶ τοὺς [δι]-
κ[αστὰς] Πελληναὶ[ί]ουν Κ. . . . ου, Καύνιον Ἄριστο[κλεί-
[νο]ς Μιλησίους, καὶ τὸν γραμματέα αὐτῶν Φίλτ[ην] 26
᾿Ηρα[κ]λεῖ]τοῦ Μιλήσιου θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι, ἵνα ἢι σ[υμ-]
φαν[ές], διότι Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς καλοὺς καὶ ἀγαθοὺς[
τ<δ>ων ἐπίσης] αντι ταῖς καταξίας χά[ρισιν]

78 Cf. LGPN iii.B s.v. Ἀνδροσθένης 4.
79 Kramolisch 1978: 50 n.40.
“Let the kerukes of the koinon jointly see to it that, whenever the contest of the Eleutheria is celebrated during the next agonothetic term…be celebrated, it be announced at the contest that the Thessalian League crowns with a gold crown the demos of the Milesians and the judges Pellenaios son of K…, Kaunios son of Aristokles, Milesians, and with a laurel crown their secretary Philtes son of Herakleitos, a Milesian, so that it be manifest that the Thessalians know how to honor good and worthy men with fitting honors…”

“…that the decree be written up on a stone stele and erected in Larisa in the temenos of Zeus Eleutherios…”

Marble stele. Kramolisch offers a date in the middle of the second century on the basis of prosopography. The inscription is a decree of the Thessalian League honoring judges from Miletus and their secretary. The importance of the festival to the Thessalian League is clear, as is the presence of a sanctuary in Larisa.
“Let the common archons see to it that a copy of this decree be inscribed on a stone stele and set up in Larisa in the temenos of Zeus Eleutherios”

Large marble stele. Judges and their secretary, provenance unknown, are honored in a decree of the Thessalian League.

ZE5. Larisa, “vor oder nach 134/3” (Kramolisch)
IG ix.2 507 32-34

[ἀνα- ]
<γ>ρά<ψ>αι τὸ ψ<ῆφ>ι[σ]<μ>α <τ>ο εἰς κίονα λιθίνη[ν καὶ στήσωι ἐν]
[τῷ ιερῷ τοῦ Διός τοῦ Ἑλευθερίου ἐν Λαρίσῃ - - - ]
“…write up this decree on a stone stele and set it up in the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios in Larisa…”

Marble stele. Kramolisch dates the decree on the presence of Pollichos as eponymous strategos of the koinon. Proxeny decree of the Thessalian koinon for judges from Mylasa.

ZE6. Larisa, 139/8a (Kramolisch)
IG ix.2 509 12-3

[ἱερέως δὲ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑλευθερίου Ἀγασίνου
[τοῦ - - -οῦ Λαρίσαιου]
“…when Agasinos son of so-and-so from Larisa was priest of Zeus Eleutherios.”
Marble stele. Dating formula in an honorary decree. Kramolisch dates the document by the recorded League strategos, Leon son of Agesippos from Larisa (ll. 2-3). An Agasinos of Larisa, the patronymic is not preserved, is on record in a manumission decree from Kierion (IG ix.2 259) as league strategos. Kramolisch dates the document to 138/7-125/4a. He is very likely the Agasinos of ZE6.80

ZE7. Delphi, 106a
FD iii.4 49.1ff.

[-----------------------------] καὶ ποιήσασθαι
[τῶν ἀναγόρευσιν τὰς εἰκόνας ἐν τῷ γυμνικῷ ἄγωνι τῶν
Πυθίων καὶ Σωτηρίων, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ
ἐν Λαρίσαις τῶν ἄγων[ι] τῶν [Ε]λευ[θ]ερίων ὃι τίθεντι
[Θ]εσσαλοί, ὡς φανερὸν [ἡ] πάντοις ὅτι
[ἀ πόλις τῶν Δελφῶν ταῖς εὐνοίαις τοιοῦτων ἀνδρῶν ἀπο[ν]έμ[ε]ι]
τὰς καταξίας τιμάς

“….and [let it be decided] to make an announcement of the [award of] the statue in the gymnic agon of the Pythia and Soteria, and similarly in Larisa in the agon of the Eleuthera which the Thessalians put on, so that it be obvious to everyone that the city of the Delphians distributes honors worthy of the goodwill of such men”

Proxeny and associated honors awarded by the city of Delphi to Isagoras, son of Pherekrates, from Larisa. A near carbon copy of this decree was issued for Isagoras’ brother, Menekrates, in the same year (= FD iii.4 50). Both inscriptions stipulate that a copy of the decree is to be sent to the city of the Larisans (e.g., FD iii.4 49.16-7: ἀποστείλει[π]λασθαί τοὺς ἀρχοντας ποτὶ τῶν πόλιν τῶν]

80 Cf. LGPN iii.B s.v. 'Αγασίνος 4-5.
Λαρισαίου τοῦ δέ τοῦ ψαφίσματος ἄντιγραφον "...let the archons have sent to the city of the Larisans a copy of this decree"). Given the focus in the announcement on the pan-Thessalian character of the Eleutheria, one might have expected ποτὶ τῶν κοινῶν τῶν Ἐθσαλῶν vel sim. It is possible that precisely such a sentiment lay behind the expression “to the city of the Larisans,” i.e., Larisa qua seat of the federal synedrion, not independent city.

ZE8. Larisa, init. Ia
IG ix.2 528
'Ἰσαγόρου τοῦ - - - - - - - - - - ἄγωνοθέτη-
τοῦντος τῶν εἰκο[στῶν καὶ - - - τῶν Ἐθσ.-]
σαλῶν ἄγωνα τῶν Διὶ τῷ[ τῷ Ἐλευθερίῳ, ἱερέ-] ὦς ὄντος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου - - τοῦ]
Κλεονίκου Λαρισαίου οἶδε ἐνίκων.

"When Isagoras son...was agonthete at the twenty-something contest of the Thessalians for Zeus Eleutherios, when...son of Kleonikos from Larisa was priest of Zeus Eleutherios, the following were victorious..."

Marble stele. Preamble to a victor list of the Eleutheria. The events of this festival will be discussed below. The Isagoras mentioned as agonothete here is most likely Isagoras, son of Pherekrates, from Larisa.81 He received proxeny at Delphi in 106/5a, in addition to serving as a tagos of Larisa.82 Pherekrates the grandson of Pherekrates,

81 Cf. LGPN iii.B s.v. Ἰσαγόρας 11.
82 FD iii.4 49; IG ix.2 516.
perhaps the son of Isagoras, was league *strategos* ca. 100-80a. The family was prominent in Larisa and beyond. This Kleonikos is otherwise unknown.  

**ZE9.** Thespiai, aet. Aug.  
IG vii 1857  
kοινόν Θεσσαλών ἐν Λαρείσῃ δίς 4  
“…[victorious] twice at the *koinon* of the Thessalians in Larisa…”

Part of a record of an athlete’s victories. The festival described as the “*koinon* of the Thessalians” is most likely the Eleutheria.

**ZE10.** Megara, post 196a  
IG vii 48 col. III 5-7  
Ελευθερία | τὰ ἐν <Λ>αρίσ[η] | πυγμήν.  
“…twice [victorious] at the Eleutheria in Larisa…”

The same inscription records a victory in the pankration in the Eleutheria at Larisa (col. V 10-12).

**ZE11.** Larisa, date?  
IG ix.2 614a 1-10  
[HΡΙΡΩ [-- ca. 107 --]  
[ἐμπε]δ' ἀεθλεύων, ἐ[τέλεσσα δὲ | μέρμε]ρα ἔργα·  
πέντε περ[i] k[ρο|τά]φοις ἀρμοσόμαν στεφάνους. ||

---

84 Cf. LGPN iii.B s.v. Κλεόνικος 14.
“...competing without fail, I accomplished difficult deeds. I fit five crowns about my temples, one of which is from Nemea, one from Delos, one from the Alea, one from the Thessalian Eleutheria of Zeus, one from the Basileia at Erkynna.\textsuperscript{85} I took two as an \textit{ageneios}, three in the adult category.”

Marble base. The phrase “Thessalian Eleutheria of Zeus” seems overdetermined, especially if the victor was from Larisa, as seems likely given the findspot. Metrical considerations notwithstanding, the fulsome language likely helped to differentiate the Thessalian Eleutheria from the Eleutheria at Plataia.

\textit{Literary Evidence}

There is no literary evidence concerning the Thessalian cult of Zeus Eleutherios.

\textit{Numismatic Evidence}

Coinage of the Thessalian League from 196a to the ascension of Augustus displayed a Zeus with an oak crown on the obverse, Athena as promachos on the reverse. The chronology of the coinage coupled with the evidence from inscriptions reviewed above suggests that the portrait is of Zeus Eleutherios.\textsuperscript{86} It is likely that the two chief cults of the Thessalian League were celebrated on these issues.

\textsuperscript{85} Lit. “one [crown] is Delian...one is Basileian from Erkynna.”

\textsuperscript{86} Head 1911: 311; SNG iii Thessaly pl. 6, nos. 269-299; Gardner 1883: 1ff.
Archaeological Evidence

The publication clauses of some League documents refer specifically to the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios in Larisa. Although the site has not been conclusively located, a number of discoveries made during a series of piecemeal, salvage excavations suggest that the temple was situated near the modern crossroads of Kouma, Alexandrou Panagouli and Palama. Sections of ancient foundation forming a roughly rectangular plan have been excavated scattered among a number of private businesses and domiciles near this intersection. That the construction of this building was perhaps impromptu is suggested by the foundation which incorporated a variety of older architectural members including Doric column drums, geison and epistyle blocks, triglyphs and, most interestingly, a bench from the first theatre of Larisa.

Sections of the Paleochristian fortifications of Larisa have been found in the general vicinity of this rectangular structure. Various architectural members of Hellenistic date have been recovered including 14 Doric column drums, a geison block, triglyph fragments and pieces of a marble euthynteria. These members clearly belonged to a temple—Tziaphalias has suggested Zeus Eleutherios.

Tziaphalias adduced two additional pieces of evidence in support of his identification. First, numerous bases for votive offerings have also been discovered on various plots in the vicinity of the foundation and the paleochristian wall. Second, and most importantly, two inscriptions with publication clauses referring to the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios in Larisa were discovered in a secondary context nearby.

Certainty will only come with systematic excavation, but the architectural history of this rectangular foundation certainly suits the traditional narrative of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios.

Discussion

The Eleutheria

We noted above three inscriptions, two victor lists and one epitaph, concerning an agonistic festival in honor of Zeus Eleutherios, the Eleutheria. In addition to these two victor lists which make explicit mention of Zeus Eleutherios or the Eleutheria, Larisa has produced an additional corpus of victor lists, some fragmentary, some complete, some certainly pertinent to the Eleutheria, some doubtless related to another agonistic festival.

Preuner already recognized in 1903 that these lists belonged to at least two different festivals. He made the following observations: 1) The preserved preambles differ greatly—one group refers to a festival for Zeus Eleutherios, the other to an agon τοὶς προκειμένων ἔσσασιν or τοὶς προκεκιμένων κόσιν; 2) The types and sequence of preserved games differ greatly (e.g., equestrian events listed first in the agon τοὶς προκειμένων ἔσσασιν, musical and cultural events listed first in the Eleutheria; contests in the former have a more militaristic character than the latter, e.g., Prosdrome Hippeon, Another Prosdrome Hippeon in Honor of Hegesaretos, Prosdrome Pesdon); 3) The age groups and origins of the contestants differ (e.g., boys, youths and men are recognized in the Eleutheria, only boys and men in the agon τοὶς προκειμένων ἔσσασιν; victors in the former have ethnics, those in the latter lack them).

This distinction has not always been maintained in scholarship, however. For example, Kern mixed the order of these texts in IG. In RE xii (1925) s.v. Larisa 3, coll. 845-871, Stählin claimed that IG ix.2 531-2, which both mention an agon τοῖς

προκινδυνεύσασιν or τοῖς προκεκινδυνευκόσιν in their respective preambles, were evidence that the Eleutheria were held in the Augustan period. More recently, Miller, in a chapter entitled “The Money Games,” has committed a series of grave errors in his presentation of the Eleutheria at Larisa:

“These games 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 ix 2, 531; A 124). 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.”

It will soon become clear that Miller is wrong in nearly every statement that he makes regarding the Eleutheria.

It is therefore vitally important to analyze the evidence for each festival in turn. I begin with those inscriptions that are certainly connected with the Eleutheria. I summarize their contents below in Table 8:

---

90 Miller 2004: 145. The author appears to have mistaken the Eleutheria for the agon τοῖς προκινδυνεύσασιν.
Table 8
Victor Lists at the Eleutheria with Preamble\textsuperscript{91}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference and Date</th>
<th>Preserved Order of Contests</th>
<th>Victors’ Ethnics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IG ix.2 525 (= ZE2), 190-180a</td>
<td>i. Trumpeters; ii. Heralds; iii. Auletes; iv. Kitharists; v. Kitharodes; vi. Boys’ Pentathlon; vii. Youths’ Pentathlon</td>
<td>i. Thessalian from Larisa; ii. Boiotian; iii. Boiotian; iv. Thessalian from Larisa; v. κιθαρωτὲς ἑρός ό στέφανος ἐκρίθη;\textsuperscript{92} vi. Thessalian from unpreserved polis; vii. Unpreserved</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{91} Schmidt 1999: 74ff. offers some recent and useful comments on the epigraphic genre of the victory list.

\textsuperscript{92} The expression seems to have been applied in the event of a tie or when a winner could not otherwise be declared. Cf. Crowther 2000: 139: “Sacred contests or victories dedicated to the god of the festival, ἱερός, are also found in a wide variety of events. They begin at least as early as the fourth century B.C. (in music and drama) and continues well into imperial times, when they become frequent. Sacred victories, unlike joint victories...are found both at local festivals and at the crown games including Olympia and Isthmia. In the case of sacred victories the names of athletes are not mentioned in the records, nor can we assume that the competitors received any rewards, for no statue was erected for them.”
The *agonothete* of **ZE2**, Androsthenes, son of Italos from Gyrton, was *strategos* of the Thessalian *koinon* in 188/7a.\(^{93}\) Kern accordingly dated the inscription to 187a, but this is not a necessary inference: Androsthenes could have easily served as *agonothete* of the games before or after his service as *strategos*. Kramolisch opts for a more general date in the 180s BCE.\(^{94}\) **ZE8** refers to a numerical sequence of Eleutheria (i.e. “When Isagoras as *agonothete* of the Thessalians at the twenty-something contest for Zeus Eleutherios…”). The absence of such a sequence in **ZE8**, in conjunction with the date of Androsthenes’ generalship, would seem to indicate a relatively early stage of the festival, perhaps shortly after its putative foundation c. 196a. I will suggest below that the order of events and the provenance of competitors strengthens this hypothesis.

**ZE8** is roughly dated to the beginning of Ia on the basis of the identification of this Eleutheria as the “twenty-something” contest. Was the contest penteteric or trieteric? Preuner was the first to argue that the Eleutheria was a penteteric festival.\(^{95}\) I here expand his argument and make its assumptions explicit: 1) Assumption: The Eleutheria were established in 196a or shortly thereafter; 2) Assumption: It is unlikely that an annual festival would attract international competitors; 3) If the Eleutheria was not celebrated annually then it is likely that the festival was either trieteric or penteteric; 4) The preamble of **ZE8** refers to the “twenty-something contest of Zeus Eleutherios,” i.e., the 21\(^{st}\) to 29\(^{th}\) Eleutheria. If we assume both that the festival was instituted in 196a or thereabouts and that the festival, whether it was penteteric or trieteric, was celebrated regularly at this interval throughout the period in question, two chronological ranges are available: 154-138a (trieteric, i.e., \(21 \times 2 = 42, 196 – 42 = 154; 29 \times 2 = 58, 196 – 58 = 138\)) or 112-80a (penteteric, i.e., \(21 \times 4 = 84, 196 – 84 = 112; 29 \times 4 = 116, 196 – 116 = 80\)); 5) The prosopography of **ZE8** suits the

---

\(^{94}\) Kramolisch 1978: 34.  
\(^{95}\) Preuner 1903: 372.
penteteric range much better than the trieteric range: The victorious salpist in ZE8, Stratios, son of Melanthios, from Kierion, may be the brother of Philoarnos, son of Melanthios, from Kierion, who won the contest of trumpeters at the Mouseia in Thespiai (IG vii 1760.12). This Boiotian inscription is certainly dated to early Ia on prosopographical grounds. While this evidence is not decisive, it suits a penteteric Eleutheria better. While it is impossible to come to a firm conclusion on this question, the balance of the evidence suggests that the Eleutheria were penteteric.

ZE2 and ZE8 share a number of features: 1) They both make mention of either the Eleutheria or Zeus Eleutherios; 2) Both are dated by an agonothete; 3) The Thessalians are mentioned as a collective in both texts. The festival seems therefore to have had a federal character; 4) The two texts share a number of thymelic and gymnic events (Trumpeters, Heralds, Auletes, Kitharists, Boys and Youths Pentathlon); 5) Although the category of Men’s Pentathlon is not preserved in ZE2, the preserved Boys’ and Youths’ Pentathlon in that text makes the restoration of a victor in the Men’s Pentathlon virtually certain. Both texts would then seem to have contests for three different age groups in at least one event; 6) Each text lists victors by patronymic and ethnic: The contests thus attracted international participants.

A number of interesting differences between the two, however, suggest that the festival evolved over time: 1) In the preamble, where ZE2 dates the festival by agonothete alone, ZE8 dates the festival by the priest of Zeus Eleutherios as well as the agonothete. Perhaps the festival became more closely connected with the day-to-day functioning of the cult of Zeus Eleutherios over the course of the second century; 2) Although it is impossible to conclude with certainty that the three events of ZE8 in bold-face print (Bull-hunting, Aphippolampadi, Aphippodroma) were not also originally included in ZE2 when published, they do seem to be an intrusion in the order of ZE2 which is otherwise maintained in ZE8. These new events are not
paralleled in other panhellenic games of the period and may represent a specifically Thessalian agonistic tradition. It is in any case noteworthy that the victors in these three events are all Thessalians; 3) \textit{ZE8} preserves a greater diversity of ethnics than \textit{ZE2}. It would seem that the prestige of the festival grew over the course of the perhaps hundred or so years separating \textit{ZE2} and \textit{ZE8}.\textsuperscript{96}

Based on the preliminary analysis of \textit{ZE2} and \textit{ZE8} offered above, the following inscriptions, summarized in Table 9 below, may also be victor lists of the Eleutheria:

\begin{center}
Table 9
Other Eleutheria Victor Lists
\end{center}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Preserved Order of Contests</th>
<th>Victors’ Ethnics? Where (How many)?</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{ZE12} = IG ix.2 526</td>
<td>Youths’ x; Men’s x; Boys’ Pankration; Youths’ Pankration; Men’s Pankration; Hoplite Race; Foal Race; Horse Race; 2 Foal Chariot; 2 Horse Chariot; 4 Foal Chariot; 4 Horse Chariot</td>
<td>Yes: Thasos (1), Kyme (1), Magnesia on the Maiander (1), Syracuse (1), Thebes (1), Kerkyra (1); Thessalians only listed by polis: Metropolis (1), Larisa (5), Atrax (1)</td>
<td>post 196a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{96} Other possible victors at the Eleutheria: SEG 19.532 (= IDelos 2552), Ia; SEG 44.469 (fin. Ip).
Table 9 (Continued)

| ZE13 = IG ix.2 529 | [Boys’ x], Youth’s x, Men’s x; Boys’ y, Men’s y; Boys’ z; Youth’s z, Men’s z; Boys’ a, Men’s a; Boy’s b, Men’s b; Boy’s c, Youth’s c, Men’s c<sup>97</sup> | Yes: l. 15 Νικοκλής Νικάτα Λα[κεδαιμόνιος]<sup>98</sup>; l. 23 ‘Αντίγονος Ἀλκίππου Θ[- – –] ? | post 87a |
| ZE14 = IG ix.2 530 | None preserved | Maybe: ll. 4-5 Θεμιστίων [- Θεσσαλώς ἀπὸ Λαρί]σης τῆς Πελ[αγίδος]? | ? |
| ZE15 = IG ix.2 534 | Heralds; Auletes; Kitharists; Kitharodes; Bull-hunting; Aphippolampas; Aphippodroma; Boys’ Pentathlon; Youth’s Pentathlon; Men’s Pentathlon; Boys’ Dolichon; Men’s Dolichon; Boy’s Stadion; Youth’s Stadion; Men’s Stadion | Yes: Thessaly, polis unpreserved (2); Thessaly, Gyrton (1); Thessaly, Larisa (1); Alabanda (1); Cos (1); Lakedaimon (1); Sicyon (2); Laodikea (1); Epirus (1); Miletus (1); Unpreserved (2) | Ia |

<sup>97</sup> The stone was broken in half vertically. Only the first two to four letters of each age group were preserved.

<sup>98</sup> This is a near certain restoration on comparison with IG vii 417 (= I.Oropos 525) where Νικοκλής Νικάτα Λακεδαιμόνιος is listed as victor in the men’s stadion, diaulon and the hoplite race (ll. 16, 20, 50).
Table 9 (Continued)

| ZE16 = McD 344 = Ed. pr. Arvanitopoulos 1911: 124ff., no. 27 | [Youth’s Pankration]; Men’s Pankration; Hoplite Race; 2 Foal Chariot; Foal Race; 2 Horse Chariot; Horse Race; 4 Foal Chariot; 4 Horse Chariot | Yes: Athens or Athamantia (1); Kleitor (1); Lakedaimon (1); Thessaly, Larisa (5); Thessaly, Kierion (1) | post 87a |

In the absence of a preserved preamble with explicit reference to Zeus Eleutherios or the Eleutheria, there are three key features which suggest that this group of inscriptions is to be connected with the Eleutheria: 1) Shared order of events with the Eleutheria (ZE15); 2) Three different age groups are recognized for certain events (ZE12-13, 15); 3) Victors are listed by patronymic and ethnic (ZE12-13, 15-16 maybe ZE14).

The claim of ZE14 to this corpus is the most marginal. The amount of preserved text is exiguous and difficult to interpret. I offer Kern’s text and supplements:

οἰδὲ ἐν[ίκων]

Νικόπολις [- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

vacat [(certaminis genus)]

Θεμιστίων [- - Θεσσαλὸς ἀπὸ Λαρί-]

σῆς τῆς Πελ[ασγίδος].

'Απολλών[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]

ὁ δὲ ἦ[γὼν ἱερὸς ἐκρίθη].

vacat [(certaminis genus)]

Ni[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
The stone is preserved on the top and left. If this is a victor list, we must make a number of assumptions. First, the preamble to the list, which would have contained at least the name of the festival or divinity in whose honor the games were held and the name of the *agonothete*, must have been inscribed on a separate stone which would have attached to the top or left of ZE14. Second, a name of a contest must have followed οἶδε ἐν[ίκων] on line 1 since Nikopolis in line 2 is in the nominative and should, therefore, be victor.

**ZE12** is also slightly suspicious, but on different grounds. In ZE2 and ZE8, when different age groups participate in contests of the same type, the name of the contest is repeated with each age group. For example, we read in ZE2:

παῖδας πένταθλον·

Κρατίνος Πυθονίκου Θεσσαλός [ἀπὸ - -]. 14

ἀγενείους πένταθλ[ων]

[Ε]ύφορ[- - - - - - - - - - - -]

If we assume, as seems reasonable, that a cutter would have been consistent in how he expressed the relationship of age-class and contest on the stone, then ZE12 offers a slightly different arrangement:

παῖδας πανκρατίου·

Δημήτριος Δημητρίου Συρακόσιος.

ἀγενείους·

Γ. Αριστόδημος Νικομένους Θηβαῖος

ἀνδρας:

Γ. Ατταλος Θεομήνηστου Μητροπολίτης.

Here, the name of the event is only stated once, together with the youngest age-class. The older age-classes then follow. It is also possible that this was the practice in ZE13, but so little of the stone remains:
Here it is equally possible that the name of the event followed each age class or that it was stated only once with the youngest age group.

**ZE12** also diverges from **ZE2** and **ZE8** in omitting the ethnic Θεσσαλός for Thessalian victors. Instead of, for example, Θεσσαλός ἀπὸ Λαρίσης τῆς Πελάσγιδος, we read only Λαρισαῖος. Again, this may also have been the case with **ZE13**.

There are two major interpretive options available. **ZE12** and **ZE13** may simply provide evidence for the evolution of the epigraphic habit of inscribing victor lists at the Eleutheria. As comparanda, one may also adduce IG ii² 2316, a victor list from the Panathenaia, which breaks with the sequence of such lists by offering a continuous text, i.e., without individual names of victors placed under the individual headings of contests. Tracy and Habicht have suggested that the shape of the stone was the determining factor in the layout of this Panathenaic victor list. ⁹⁹

On the other hand, **ZE12** and **ZE13** may provide evidence for a second panhellenic festival at Larisa. Athens provides the best example of a Greek polis with multiple panhellenic athletic competitions. While the Mouseia and the Erotideia at Thespiai are both known to have attracted international participants, the programs of the two festivals were completely different—the former concerned solely with musical and dramatic events, the latter with athletics. Certainty on this matter is unattainable. I believe that the balance of the evidence suggests that **ZE12-13** belong to the Eleutheria.

⁹⁹ Tracy and Habicht 1991: 224.
Since ZE12 and ZE16 are both preserved at the bottom, we can be tolerably certain that we have the end of those two lists. These two inscriptions preserve the same events, but offer a slightly different order. If we combine ZE12 and ZE16 with ZE8 and ZE15—the two inscriptions that preserve the opening of the list—we arrive at the following program of events:

Table 10
Composite Program of the Eleutheria

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Trumpeters</td>
<td>ZE2, ZE8</td>
<td>11. Stadion (Boys, Youths, Men)</td>
<td>ZE15 (ZE13?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Heralds</td>
<td>ZE2, ZE8, ZE15</td>
<td>12. Unknown (Boys, Men)</td>
<td>ZE13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Auletes</td>
<td>ZE2, ZE8, ZE15</td>
<td>13. Unknown (Boys, Men)</td>
<td>ZE13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Kitharists</td>
<td>ZE2, ZE8, ZE15</td>
<td>14. Unknown (Boys, Youths, Men)</td>
<td>ZE12 (ZE13?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Kitharodes</td>
<td>ZE2, ZE8, ZE15</td>
<td>15. Boxing (Boys, Youths, Men?)</td>
<td>ZE10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---
100 Crowther 1994; Nordquist 1994.
101 Cf. Wolicki 2002: 93 n. 94, for a conspectus of other Hellenistic agonistic festivals with a contest of heralds. See also Crowther 1994.
102 Poliakoff 1987.
Table 10 (Continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>ZE8, ZE15, ZE15</th>
<th>17. Hoplite Race</th>
<th>E12, E16</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7. Aphippolampas</td>
<td>ZE8, ZE15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Aphippodroma</td>
<td>ZE8, ZE15</td>
<td>18. Foal Race</td>
<td>E12, E16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Pentathlon (Boys, Youths, Men)</td>
<td>ZE2, ZE8, ZE15, (ZE13?)</td>
<td>19. Horse Race</td>
<td>E12, E16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Dolichon (Boys, Men)</td>
<td>ZE15, (ZE13?)</td>
<td>20. Chariots Race (2 Foal, 2 Horse, 4 Foal, 4 Horse)</td>
<td>E3, E7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The gap between the opening group (ZE2, ZE8, ZE15) and the closing group (ZE12, ZE16) is partially filled by ZE13, where three unknown contests are open to Boys, Youths and Men and three unknown contests are open to Boys and Men alone. The preserved sequence in ZE13 would fit the end of the opening group and the beginning of the closing group quite well. It would require the addition of, at a minimum, two events to the program that were open to Boys and Men alone: This would be the minimum number of events needed. It is also possible, however, that there was a more extensive section of events between the Stadion and the Pankration: In this case ZE13 could overlap only the end of the opening group or only the beginning of the closing group. It may in fact overlap neither group of texts, in which case the number of events would need to be increased by at least six.

---

103 Kratzmüller 1993.
The second series of victor lists that have often been confused with those belonging to the Eleutheria in fact are to be associated with a festival known since Robert as the Stena. In Table 11, I summarize the evidence for this festival.

Table 11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Festival Name Preserved?</th>
<th>Preserved Order of Contests</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>S1 = McD 342 = Ed. pr. Arvanitopoulos 1910: 352ff., no. 5</td>
<td>No; Heralds, Boys’ Stadion, Men’s Stadion</td>
<td></td>
<td>med. IIa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S2 = IG ix.2 533</td>
<td>Yes; ll.2-3 άγον ῥοκίς</td>
<td>προκιν[δυνεύσασιν]; Bull-Hunting</td>
<td>106a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3 = IG ix.2 527</td>
<td>No; Men’s Boxing, Boys’ Pankration, Men’s Pankration, Apobatike, Chariot for the Apobatike, Aphippodroma, Archery, Skopon Hippeon, Skopon Pezon</td>
<td></td>
<td>fin. Ia/init. Ip ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Helly 1983a (= SEG 33.462).
Table 11 (Continued)

| S4 = IG ix.2 531 = SIG² 671, SIG³ 1059 II | Yes: ll. 5-6 Agon τοῖς προκεκινδυνευκόσιν; Bull-Hunting, Kataloge Palaia, Prosdsrome Hippeon, Prosdsrome Pezon, Prosdsrome Synoridi, Aphippolampas, Trumpeters, Heralds, Boys’ Stadion, Men’s Stadion, Boys’ Diaulon, Men’s Diaulon, Boys’ Torch-race, Boys’ Boxing, Men’s Boxing, Boys’ Pankration, Men’s Pankration, Hoplite race, Aphippodroma, Apobatike, Skopon pezon, Archery, Skopon Hippon, Enkomion Logikon, Enkomion Epikon, Kataloge Nea, Epigranmati | fin. |
| S5 = IG ix.2 532 | Yes: ll. 5-6 Agon τοῖς προκεκινδυνευκόσιν; Bull-Hunting, Kataloge Palaia, Prosdsrome Hippeon, Prosdsrome Pezon, Prosdsrome Synoridi, Aphippolampas, Trumpeters, Heralds, Boys’ Stadion, Men’s Stadion, Boys’ Diaulon, Men’s Diaulon, Boys’ Pankration, Men’s Pankration | fin. |

The following points set this dossier apart from those inscriptions which certainly pertain to the Eleutheria: 1) The presence of some from of the verb...
προκινδυνεύειν in the preamble; 2) The absence of victors’ ethnics; 3) Extensive divergence in the types of contests.\(^{105}\)

It was the use of προκινδυνεύειν that led Robert to “discover” the festival of the Stena.\(^{106}\) I offer the following text of S6:

Ποπλίου Ουέτ[τ]ίου Σέξ- 
στου υίου ταγεύοντος τήν 
πρώτην χώραν καὶ τιθέντος 
τὸν ἀγώνα τοῖς προκινδυνεύσα- 
σιν <ἐπὶ πὶ ὁν τενῶν ὁν τίθησιν ἡ πό- 
λις ἡ Λαρεισαίων στρατηγοῦντος 
Μονίμου οἱ νεωικηκότες.

5 ἵππων στενῶν Θεοχαρίς; <ἐπὶ πὶ ὁν στενῶν Robert “When Poplius Ouettius, son of Sextus, was tagos of the first chora and put on the contest for those who fought in front at the Stena, which contest the city of Larisa puts on, and when Monimos was general, these were victorious…” Robert was unable to make good sense of Theocharis’ reading and countered with a near certain emendation. He was able to restore S2 on this model as well:

π[ροκιν]δυνεύσασιν ἐπὶ vacat [τῶν Σ]τεν[ῶν]. The contest was held for “those who fought at ‘the narrows.’” As a parallel for the syntax of the Stena preamble and for contests held in commemoration of a specific military event, Robert compared IGR iv, 159, l. 11-14 (Kyzikos: Ia):

στεφανοῦσαί αὐτὸν καὶ 
ἐν τοῖς κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν τιθεμ[έ]νοις εὐχ[α]ριστηρίους ἀγώσιν 
Ἡρώοις τῷ πάπ-

105 Preuner 1903.
106 BE 1964, no. 227 remains the fundamental discussion of the festival.
πως αὐτοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδης τῷ οἰκ[ίστῃ καὶ τῷ
συναγωνισμένοις αὐτῶι κατ’ Ἀ-

“…let him be crowned also at the annual contests, the Heroa, celebrated in
thanksgiving for his grandfather Asklepiades, the oikist, and those who fought with
him in Alexandria in the war against Ptolemy…”

The active syntax of the Thessalian inscription, τιθέντος τὸν ἄγωνα τοῖς
προκινδυνεύσασιν, finds a parallel in the passive syntax of the Kyzikene
inscription, τιθεμένους εὐχαριστηρίους ἄγωσιν Ὑρώοις τῷ
πάππῳ αὐτοῦ Ἀσκληπιάδης. In both cases, a form of tithemi agona receives
a dative complement of the person or people in whose honor the contest is being held.

The Thessalian festival would have memorialized a military engagement in
which Thessalian forces played a leading role at a place known as the Stena. Robert
finds such an occasion in the 171a battle between the Romans and Perseus at the
Tempe. Although the Romans were soundly defeated, the intervention of the
Thessalian cavalry, which was originally serving in only a reserve role, mitigated the
negative consequences of the battle for the Romans. Robert finds confirmation of the
nature of the battle in the various unique contests of this festival, many of which have
a martial, equestrian character.

It is difficult to quarrel with Robert’s reconstruction of the general outlines of
the historical backdrop. One may wonder why the Tempe would be referred to as the
Stena in this case, since the toponym “Tempe” was current at this time. That the
festival was an act of commemoration of some military engagement does seem secure,
however, given the Hellenistic vogue for this type of celebration.

107 Livy 42.57-61.
108 BE 1964, no. 227.
The victors lack ethnics. When this evidence is coupled with the emphasis on Larisa’s role in instituting the festival, it has been suggested that the festival was limited to citizens of Larisa alone. Kramolisch has conclusively demonstrated, however, that some of the victors are known from other areas of Thessaly. It therefore seems likely that the event was open to all Thessalians, not just the narrow subset of Larisa.\textsuperscript{110}

\textbf{S4} is complete. In the following table I compare the events of the Stena as ordered in \textbf{S4}, which dates to the Augustan period, with a composite list of events for the Eleutheria. Divergent events are marked in bold.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\caption{Comparative order of events at the Stena and Eleutheria}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|}
\hline
\textbf{Stena (S4)} & \textbf{Eleutheria (composite)} \\
\hline
Bull-hunting & Trumpeters \\
\hline
\texttt{Kataloge palaia} & Heralds \\
\hline
\texttt{Prosdrome Hippeon}\textsuperscript{111} & \texttt{Auletes} \\
\hline
\texttt{Prosdrome Pezon} & \texttt{Kitharists} \\
\hline
\texttt{Prosdrome Synoridi} & \texttt{Kitharodes} \\
\hline
Aphippolampas & Bull-hunting \\
\hline
Trumpeters & Aphippolampas \\
\hline
Heralds & Aphippodroma \\
\hline
Stadion (Boys, Mens) & \texttt{Pentathlon (Boys, Youths, Men)} \\
\hline
Diaulon (Boys, Mens) & Dolichon (Boys, Men) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{110} Kramolisch 1978: 135-136.
\textsuperscript{111} In \textbf{S6}, a second contest in honor of Hegesaretos is included.
The program of the Eleutheria is far more standard than that of the Stena. For the Eleutheria, we find near equal emphasis laid on the thymelic, gymnic and hippoc components of the festival. All are common in the programs of festivals celebrated in the Hellenistic Greek world. The great exceptions are the particularly Thessalian bull hunt, aphippolampas and aphippodroma, all of which are also part of the Stena. The Stena program is more idiosyncratic. Indeed, the general classificatory vocabulary of Greek festivals largely does not apply. None of the traditional thymelic events are represented, though one suspects that the contests in epigram, encomia and kataloge could be considered as such. The gymnic program is standard, but some events have a particularly martial dimension, e.g., the prosdrome pezon, “foot soldier assault.” The

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Torch race (Boys)</th>
<th>Stadion (Boys, Youths, Men)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boxing (Boys, Mens)</td>
<td>Unknown (Boys, Men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pankration (Boys, Mens)</td>
<td>Unknown (Boys, Men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoplite Race</td>
<td>Unknown (Boys, Youths, Men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aphippodroma</td>
<td>Boxing (Boys, Youths, Men?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apobatike</td>
<td>Pankration (Boys, Youths, Men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skopon Pezon</td>
<td>Hoplite Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archery</td>
<td>Foal Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skopon Hippon</td>
<td>Horse Race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomion logikon</td>
<td>Chariots Race (2 Foal, 2 Horse, 4 Foal, 4 Horse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enkomion epikon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kataloge nea</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epigranmati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hippic component is also martial in character. Archery on horseback (*skopon hippon*) and chariot assault (*prosdrome synoridi*) take the place of more traditional contests like the two and four horse chariot race.

Although establishing firm dates for these inscriptions has proved difficult, close analysis of the preserved preambles allows for a secure relative chronology.\(^{112}\)

Phase I: S2. I offer Helly’s text, following the suggestions of Robert:

Δημάρχου τοῦ Αἰσχίνοι[ν]
τιθέντος τὸν ἁγώνα τοῖς
προκινοῦντες προκατεύοντα[ν] ἐπὶ vacat
[τῶν στε]υ[ῶν] ὃν τιθησιν ἢ
[πόλις ἡ Λαρισαίαιο[ν] · οἱ νενικηκότες
ἐν στρατηγῷ Κράτει[ροφρονε]ι? - - - - - - - - -]

“When Demarchos the son of Aischines put on the games for those who perished at the narrows, which contest the city of the Larisans established, the following were victorious...”

The festival is securely date to 106a by the league general. On this restoration, the city of Larisa is credited with establishing the games. The first and only event preserved is the bull-hunt.

Phase II: S6. I offer Robert’s text and the following translation:

Πολι[ο]ν Οὐ[ή]τ[ί]ου Σέξε-
στον υἱὸν ταγεύοντος τὴν
πρώτην χώραν καὶ τιθέντος
τὸν ἁγώνα τοῖς προκινοῦσιν προκινοῦσα-
σιν <α>π<ι> τῶν στενῶν ὃν τιθησιν ἡ πό-
λις ἡ Λαρισαίων στρατηγοῦντος

\(^{112}\) Helly 1983a.
When Poplius Vettius, son of Sextus, was *tagos* of the first *chora* and put on the games for those who perished at the narrows, which contest the city of the Larisans established, when Monimos was general, the following were victorious…"

For Helly, the chief difference between Phase I and Phase II is the *agonothete’s* service as *tagos* of the first chora. This suggests that the two functions were somehow linked. I would also note that a different order of events is preserved in Phase II where the bull hunt follows the foal race and horse race. The contest is also dated by an explicitly federal magistrate.

**Phase III:** *S4* and *S5*. Both inscriptions refer in their preamble to a renewal of the contest. I offer the following text and translation of the preamble of *S4*:

"When Philon the son of Philon was *tagos* of the first chora, during the generalship of Hegesias, and put on the games for those who perished at the narrows according to the previous decree of the people concerning the renewal of the games, the following were victorious…"
S5 uses the exact same introductory formulae but offers a different *strategos* and *agonothete/tagos*. The presence of the word ἀνανεωσία suggests that the festival was not celebrated for a period of time, while the presence of the demos suggests that the city of Larisa continued to administer the festival in this new phase. Both texts preserve an extensive number of events and victors. The greatest divergence between the two concerns the boys’ torch race: The event is listed in S4 but not preserved in S5. Since S5 is not preserved after the boys’ pankration, it is entirely possible that the event was originally mentioned in a later section of this document.

*Agonistic Facilities*

Such extensive programs of competition at both the Stena and Eleutheria and, presumably, at the other attested agonistic festivals celebrated at Larisa, would have necessitated a similarly extensive set of facilities. There are no secure literary or material indicia for the location of hippodrome, stadium or gymnasium which would have hosted the equestrian and gymnastic components of the program.¹¹³ We are conversely well informed about potential settings of the cultural component of these festivals. Larisa was equipped with two theatres and an Odeion.

---