

Sacred Space and Community Identities:
Sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly from the Archaic to the Early
Imperial Periods

by

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the roles of sacred spaces in Thessaly as agents in the formation, maintenance, and negotiation of group identities in Thessaly from the Archaic period until the beginning of the Roman Imperial Period in Greece. I demonstrate that the individuals who formed the communities of “Broader Thessaly” (i.e. the Thessalian plains and its perioikic *ethne*) articulated, through their public sanctuaries, a number of local identities, as well as overarching regional and international identities. I employ an interpretive framework incorporating socio-anthropological approaches to the archaeological study of identity and religion, as well as aspects of experiential archaeology in order to identify and map the different forms of group identity articulated through the material remains of cultic practices and sacred spaces. At first glance, the sanctuaries of Broader Thessaly seem to lack “monumentality,” since there were few large-scale sanctuary buildings, and temple forms that were common in the Greek world (e.g. large peripteral buildings) were scarce in this region in all time periods. This work demonstrates that, rather than producing aggrandising architecture, the individuals and communities that created and used these sanctuaries used a different set of monumentalising strategies; one that emphasised the monumentalisation of what was perceived to be local during times of particular duress in the region.

In *Chapter 1*, I introduce the research questions and important concepts that are necessary to tackle in order to answer these questions. The aim of my research is to identify the role of material culture in identification processes in “Thessaly.” I will map all known sanctuaries in the region, study their role and material culture history to identify

how, when, and where social group identity formations can be distinguished in the archaeological and historical records. My first and foremost question is whether micro-regional patterns of group identity formation and maintenance can be detected through the materiality of ancient places of worship of the Thessalians and in regions beyond Thessalian territories.

I first begin with an analogy from modern Thessaly, using the village of Narthaki to explain the intersections between individual, local, regional, and panhellenic identities to set the stage for the rest of the work. I then deconstruct the notion of “Thessaly,” which has often been approached as a politically unified and homogenous region. Instead, I introduce the concept of the “Four Thessalies,” which represents four ways in which both ancient and modern authors have used the term “Thessaly” and emphasise the need for scholars to be explicit in their particular usage of it. I then introduce the scope of this study, first by giving a historical overview of this study’s time span, highlighting several geopolitical events important to the issues addressed in this dissertation, and a historical overview of the archaeological research in the region. The latter contextualises the sanctuaries presented here within the practices that have shaped the current state of the archaeological data.

In *Chapter 2*, I lay out the theoretical and methodological framework through which I will analyse my data. I first begin by deconstructing the concepts of religion and ritual, both of which scholars have struggled to define, and I present the emic terms used by the Ancient Greeks to describe the aspects and activities encompassed by the modern term “religion,” for which the Ancient Greeks did not have an exact lexical equivalent. I then give a *Forschungsgeschichte* of the research on Greek sanctuaries, and explain how my own approach towards the study of sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly builds on previous

research. Afterwards, I present an introduction to the study of group identification processes, presenting the most relevant research to the present study, with a focus on the concept of identity formation as a process of constructing parallel and intersecting social realities. I then discuss Ancient Greek group identities, focusing on the *polis*, *ethnos*, and *koinon*, which are most relevant to this work. This is followed by a discussion on landscape and memory and the strategies that can be employed in the creation of social memory. I emphasise that, rather than merely an act of enlarging, monumentalisation is an act of commemoration, which can also be manifested through minimalism and archaism, which are acts materially entangled with ritual performance. I then present my methodological approaches, starting with the mapping of potential sanctuary sites, and ending with the contextualisation of my data in geopolitical events.

In *Chapter 3*, I present the archaeological assemblage for all known sites that have been interpreted as sanctuaries in the region. This includes descriptions of the finds (the architecture, the artefacts, and other features), the history of the site and its community (if known), the history of archaeological work on the site, topographic comments on the visibility and accessibility of the site, a summary of how and why the site has been interpreted as a sanctuary, and my own assessment of those interpretations. I organise the sites according to region, starting with the tetrads (Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis, Thessaliotis, Hestiaiotis), followed by the earliest *perioikoi* (Achaia Phthiotis, Perrhaibia, Magnesia). *Chapter 4* categorises the surviving data presented in the previous chapter according to type, first those without any architectural features and those with architecture. I then identify the potential patterns formed by some of these sanctuary types throughout the landscape.

In *Chapter 5*, I take the patterns identified in the previous chapter and elaborate on the peculiarities of sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly in comparison to other regions of Greece. I then embed these observations in the social and geopolitical developments from the Archaic to Early Imperial periods in Greece in order to understand the processes at work in the creation, maintenance, or abandonment of particular aspects of sanctuaries (morphology, layout, architecture, even cults). Given that the majority of sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly, as discussed in the previous chapter, present as archaizing or minimalistic, I first address possible economic factors (i.e. could they afford to build larger sanctuaries). I summarise Broader Thessaly's investments into the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi to demonstrate that they could afford them within their own homeland but chose not to. I then present a series of concentrations of several types of sacred sites with archaizing and minimalistic features, contextualise them within geopolitical events and the rise of particular foundation narratives, and argue that their physical forms and layout were articulations of localism and regionalism coinciding with times of duress in particular micro-regions. I then explore articulations of affiliation with the broader Greek community, first by nuancing the multivalence of the concept of panhellenism, and then by giving examples of sanctuaries in the broader region that bear architectural and morphological similarities to panhellenic norms in sanctuaries. I argue that the Thessalians and their *perioikoi*, like other places in Greece, had their own definitions of what it meant to be Greek and the local and the panhellenic are not contradictory terms, but that expressions of localism can also be expressions of Greekness. I do, however, emphasise that these observations are not meant to be conclusions but rather working hypotheses, to the fragmentary nature for our evidence. These observations are summarised in *Chapter 6*.

πατρώαι έννοδίαι καὶ πετθαλού όνέθεικα
κάπλουι φεκαφέργου έυξάμενος τόδε φέργον

And to Fred and Emma Lapuebla, my grandparents.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AR</i>	<i>Archaeological Reports</i>
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>BNJ 2</i>	<i>Brill's New Jacoby, Second Edition</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>CNG</i>	<i>Classical Numismatic Group</i>
<i>FDelphes</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
<i>FGrH</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker</i> (ed. F. Jacoby)
<i>FHG</i>	<i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> (ed. C. Müller)
<i>IDidyma</i>	<i>Didyma: Die Inschriften, Vol. 2</i>
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IThess</i>	Decourt, J.C. (ed.). 1995. <i>Inscriptions de Thessalie. I. Les cités de la vallée de l'Enipeus</i> . Paris.
<i>LIMC</i>	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i>
<i>LSJ</i>	Liddell, Scott, and Jones. 1996. <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9 th edn.
<i>RE</i>	<i>Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (1893-)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SNG</i>	<i>Sylloge Numorum Graecorum</i>
<i>Syll.³</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum</i> , 3 rd edn. (1915-1924)
<i>Triton XV</i>	<i>Triton XV: The BCD Collection of the Coinage of Thessaly</i>
<i>ZPE</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
<i>AAA</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών</i>
<i>ΑΔ</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i> (always the Χρονικά unless otherwise stated)
<i>ΑΕ</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς</i>
<i>ΑΕΘΣΕ</i>	<i>Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερέας Ελλάδας</i>
<i>ΠΑΕ</i>	<i>Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας</i>

Abbreviations for ancient literary sources follow the conventions of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*.

ORTHOGRAPHIC NOTE

Ancient Greek personal and place names, when transliterated into Roman characters, will, for the most part, follow the British Library conventions, as published in *AR 45* (1998-1999). Exceptions to the rule are made in cases of names that are traditionally anglicised (e.g. Achilles vs. Achilleus, Rhodes vs. Rhodos). Quotations from ancient sources or inscriptions will not be transliterated into the Roman alphabet. All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

In order to differentiate between ancient names and modern names, Modern Greek personal and place names will be transliterated to compromise between their modern pronunciation and modern orthography, although it is impossible to remain completely consistent due to the nature of Modern Greek and English phonology and pragmatics. The letter Δδ will always be transliterated as Dd, and Χχ as Ch/ch, and the diphthongs οι, ου, and αι will be left as oi, ou, and ai respectively regardless of pronunciation in order to preserve the case, gender, and number of transliterated nouns. Γγ will always be Gg even when the pronunciation is /j/ (e.g. Agios not Ayios). The letter Ξξ will always be Xx. The *spiritus asper*, which appears in Katharevousa but not in Standard Modern Greek, will not be transliterated (Osios not Hosios). Names that have more common spellings in English (e.g. Tyrnavos, Othrys, Philia) will not be transliterated phonetically (i.e. not Tirnavos, Othris, Filia), in order to facilitate word recognition.

1

DEFAMILIARISING THESSALY

How then did the Poet know that Achilles and Jason were kinsmen, or men of the same *ethnos*, or neighbours, or somehow related (in no other way than both happened to be Thessalians, one being Iolkian and the other a Phthiotic Achaian) but was ignorant of how it came to be that Jason, a Thessalian from Iolkos, left no successor in his homeland, but established his son as lord of Lemnos?

Strabo's *Geography*¹

1. Introduction to the Research Questions

In the quote above, Strabo questions the factual reliability of Homer's information on the origins of Jason and Achilles, concluding later on in the section that Homer wove together both factual and fictional elements to create his story.² What is curious is that Strabo, writing in the 1st c. BC, uses the ethnic "Thessalian" to refer to Jason and Achilles whereas neither Homer nor Apollonios of Rhodes do so in their respective works. It is understandable for Homer not to use the term Thessalian as the Thessalian *ethnos* did not exist during his time,³ but Apollonios, writing in the Hellenistic period, resisted using this ethnic identifier even though ten of his Argonauts came from regions that formed part of

¹ Strab. 1.2.38: πῶς οὖν ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦτο μὲν ἤδει, διότι συγγενεῖς ἢ ὁμοεθνεῖς ἢ γείτονες ἢ ὄπωσοῦν οἰκεῖοι ὑπῆρχον ὃ τε Ἀχιλλεὺς καὶ ὁ Ἰάσων (ὅπερ οὐδαμῶθεν ἄλλοθεν ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ Θετταλοῦς ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι συνέβαινε, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἰώλκιον τὸν δ' ἐκ τῆς Φθιώτιδος Ἀχαιίδος ὑπάρχειν), τοῦτο δ' ἠγνόει, πόθεν ἦλθε τῷ Ἰάσωνι, Θετταλῶ καὶ Ἰωλκίῳ ὑπάρχοντι, ἐν μὲν τῇ πατρίδι μηδεμίαν καταλιπεῖν διαδοχὴν, Λήμνου δὲ καταστήσαι κύριον τὸν υἱόν; All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

² Strab. 1.2.40: τοιαύταις δὴ τισιν ἀφορμαῖς ὁ ποιητὴς χρησάμενος τὰ μὲν ὁμολογεῖ τοῖς ἱστορουμένοις, προσμυθεύει δὲ τούτοις, ἔθος τι φυλάττων καὶ κοινὸν καὶ ἴδιον.

³ Graninger 2011: 9.

what would later be known as Thessaly.⁴ This brings us to the very core of the argument of this dissertation: what even is Thessaly and what constitutes being Thessalian and Greek, how and in what circumstances are these identities performed and articulated?

In this dissertation, I have synthesised the data of all known public sanctuaries in Thessaly and its earliest *perioikoi* (Magnesia, Perrhaibia, and Achaia Phthiotis) from the Archaic Period until the beginning of the Roman Imperial Period in Greece. This dissertation approaches the construction and negotiation of group identities in ancient Thessaly through its sanctuaries (yet another familiar term I will defamiliarise in Chapter 2). For the purposes of this study, I view sanctuaries as the physical cultic space which provides a social arena for individuals—and the communities they create—to articulate visual representations of belonging at various levels (as will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter). My aim is to identify and analyse the mediating roles of material culture in the performance of identities in Thessaly (as defined below), which I aim to achieve by using a synthetic framework that is sensitive to both the archaeological and historical contexts of Thessalian sanctuaries. By mapping all known sanctuaries in the region, placing them in their historical context and studying the history of their material culture, I aim to identify the expressions of social group formation, which I will discuss in relation to social structures of power in Thessaly and its adjacent regions. When and to what extent is the materiality of sanctuaries in micro-regions a medium in the assertions of social and political regionalities and how are they related to processes of personal and group identification? Do we see similarities and variations within those regions and micro-regions in the ways these regionalities are expressed? Do these similarities and variations wax and wane over time? To what extent do the patterns identified reveal more than just dots on a map, but also memories, counter-memories, resistance, and conformity?

Thessaly has often been treated as a singular entity, both in ancient times and in modern scholarship, but the lived reality of the inhabitants of ancient “Thessaly” was far more complex. The word “Thessaly” encompassed not one but numerous identifiers that

⁴ Apollonios’ “Thessalian” heroes: Asterion son of Kometes from Peirasiai (1.35-39), Polyphemos of Larisa (1.40-44), Iphiklos of Phylake (1.45-48), Admetos of Pherai (1.49-50), Erytos and Echion of Alope (1.51-55), Koronos of Gyrtos (1.57-62), Mopsos from the Titaresios river valley (1.65-66), Eurydamas from Ktimene (1.67-68), Peleus of Phthia (1.94, 554-558), Akastos of Iolkos (1.224-226).

appeared, disappeared, reappeared, and transformed constantly, as this dissertation will show. These identifiers intersected with an even larger number of group identities, all of which were generated by the individuals inhabiting the broader region. What it meant to be “Thessalian” varied according to spatial, temporal, and social context, and its usage could be both inclusive and exclusive. To open a jar of bees in addition to this can of worms, the usage of the term “Thessaly” in scholarship has often been indiscriminating and without nuance in its application.⁵ Many works use Thessaly and Thessalian to refer to this region and its people(s) anachronistically, and without clarification on whether they are referring to the spatial extent of modern Thessaly, or its ancient territory (whose bounds fluctuated constantly and did not correspond entirely with modern Thessaly). And so I begin this work appropriately by defamiliarising the term “Thessaly” and tracing the usage of the word in modern scholarship.

2. A Modern Thessalian Analogy

I open this deconstruction with a bottom-up analogy from present-day Thessaly to demonstrate the intersections between local identity and overarching identities, and the “operational acts of identification” performed to demonstrate the affiliations to these various tiers.⁶ I have spent the last ten summers living and working in the village of Narthaki,⁷ which hosts the base of operations for the fieldwork of the Kastro Kallithea Archaeological Project and its successor, the Central Achaia Phthiotis Survey. Narthaki is a rural village with a population of 342 people, and located roughly a fifteen-minute drive southeast from the city of Farsala (ancient Pharsalos) in the southern tip of the prefecture (νομός) of Larisa, one of the four administrative prefectures (along with Magnisia, Karditsa, and Trikala) comprising the periphery, or decentralised administrative region

⁵ Examples to be provided in section 3.1 and 3.2 of this chapter.

⁶ For operational acts of identification, see Bayart 2005, as well as Chapter 2 2.2 of this work for a more complete discussion on identities and identification.

⁷ My information on Narthaki comes primarily from a booklet entitled *Ναρθάκι: το χωριό μας άλλοτε και τώρα*, published by the local public school of Narthaki in 2006, and supplemented by my personal knowledge of the inhabitants of the village with whom I have formed strong social bonds in the last decade. I add as a disclaimer that I am writing from an outsider’s perspective, and from the perspective of someone who has only lived there seasonally, albeit regularly, in the last ten years.

(περιφέρεια), of Thessaly.⁸

Originally a Turkish village called Kiopekli (“full of dogs”) during the Ottoman Period (pop. 245 in 1881), the composition of the population began to change after Thessaly was incorporated into the Greek state in 1881 when many Turkish landowners sold their properties to Greeks. The change in population was not as dramatic as those from other nearby towns, such as Platanos, Skoutoussa, and Vamvakou, whose composition was altered virtually overnight in 1924 by the population exchange between Greece and Turkey mandated by the Treaty of Lausanne. The remaining Turkish inhabitants of Kiopekli were replaced by Greeks.⁹ Kiopekli’s name was changed to Narthakion (Narthaki in Demotic Greek) in 1960 and was an independent community within the province (επαρχία) of Farsala until 1997, after which it became the seat of the municipality (δήμος) of Narthaki, which administered smaller villages in the area. Narthaki’s status as an independent municipality was removed by the Kallikratis Programme of 2010, which was a major reshuffling of the administrative regions of Greece that amalgamated many of the country’s municipalities to reduce their number.¹⁰ Narthaki and its satellite villages became absorbed by Farsala, which now administers a much larger territory than before.

The Narthakiotēs now consist of different groups who settled in the village within the last century. Some are local and come from the wider area (e.g. Skoutoussa, Domokos, Lamia, etc.), some are descendants of Greek refugees from Asia Minor (esp. the Pontic region) who settled in the village during the 1924 population exchange (some of whom were still alive until recently), some come from Albanian and Bulgarian backgrounds, and others come from formerly semi-nomadic populations like the Sarakatsani and the Vlachs (as well as an influx of Canadian archaeologists in the summer months). The various

⁸ The περιφέρεια of Thessaly forms an administrative unit with Central Greece (Στερέα Ελλάδα) but the two are considered separate regions. This information comes from ΦΕΚ 698/Β’/20.03.2014 from the Hellenic Statistical Authority.

⁹ I acknowledge the complexities of such terminology as “Greek” and “Turk” in the context of the former Ottoman Empire, as the Ottoman *millet* system defined nations in terms of religious communities as much as kinship-based ethnicities. *Rum* (Greek) could be used synonymously with Orthodox populations (including not only Greeks but Orthodox populations from Bulgarian, Albanian, Vlach, and Serb ethnic backgrounds), which did not necessarily self-identify as Greek. By referring to the two populations as Greek and Turk, I do not mean to state that the two exchanged populations were homogeneously self-identifying as Greeks and Turks. See Ergul 2012: 629-645, for a more comprehensive discussion.

¹⁰ The full text of the Kallikratis Programme is found in Law 3852/2010 of the *Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic*.

ancestral identities of Narthaki's residents co-exist with their identification to the overarching community of Narthaki itself. Although various groups perform acts of affiliation to their respective backgrounds (e.g. participation in Sarakatsani festivals, wearing Vlach attire), the community's joint identity as Narthakiotes is reinforced by common participation in the village's festivals and events (e.g. the feast day to the patron saint, Agios Athanasios), universal support for the village's football team during league competitions, and in perennial commensality (during baptisms, name days, weddings, funerals, and nightly socialising at the tavernas). Some faint lines of division can be drawn, however, along political affiliation from the municipal to the national level, which village taverna they frequent most, and whether they support Panathinaïkos or Olympiakos (national football teams).



Figure 1 - Entering Narthaki from the southeast with the two-peaked acropolis of Pharsalos visible in the horizon (taken 2019).

Like many small, Greek villages, Narthaki's population is predominantly elderly, with many of the village's younger population moving to bigger towns and cities like Farsala, Larisa, Volos, or Athens. The secondary school (γυμνάσιο) no longer functions and the primary school (νηπιαγωγείο) has limited operations. Despite this, most of the relocated population still maintains close ties to the village by choosing to remain registered as residents of Narthaki, keeping ownership of their family homes in the village,

visiting their elderly parents, and returning during important celebrations and election days—all of which add to the layers of identities being shaped by and shaping the inhabitants.

Narthaki's small community is intertwined with several wider, overarching communities, as mentioned above. It is a community now newly a part of the municipality of Farsala as of 2010, a part of the prefecture of Larisa, a part of the periphery of Thessaly, and a part of the Modern Greek State since 1881—all of which add several more tiers to the wedding cake of group identities. Since Farsala is the closest city to Narthaki, Narthakiotēs participate in the economic and social life of the city on a daily basis, like buying and selling at the public market on Tuesday mornings, frequenting Farsala's various services not available in Narthaki, attending concerts, athletic events, the annual halva festival, as well as participating in Farsala's political and religious affairs (e.g. campaigns, municipal elections, attending the carnival for Farsala's patron saint, Agia Paraskevi). Narthakiotēs also participate in the common commemoration of its mythical past with Farsala and the surrounding communities. This micro-region celebrates its setting in Homeric Phthia, the mythical homeland of Achilles, for example, by naming Farsala's football team "Achilleas FC" (est. 1928), whose official fan club is aptly named "the Myrmidons" (many members of whom are Narthakiotēs), erecting a statue to Achilles in the central *plateia* of Farsala (2013), and erecting a statue to Thetis in the former location of the source of the Apidanos river (2016). At the inauguration of both of the above statues, schoolchildren from Farsala, Narthaki, and other communities from the municipality gave performances, while many adult Narthakiotēs were in attendance. Even a particularly good red wine from the *Arlekoinon Chora* winery in Narthaki has been labelled "The King's Court of Fthia."

Performances of affiliation with the rest of the prefecture of Larisa, the periphery of Thessaly, and the Greek nation mimic similar strategies applied in the municipal and local levels. Food and folk music play an important role in the cultivation of regional affiliations, as mundane as they may seem, since they play an important role in the construction of group identities, and the relationship between food and identity has created wide-ranging discussions among social scientists.¹¹ Food is often political and the (re-)branding of a

¹¹ Ichijo and Ranta 2016 discuss the importance of food in "performing the nation."

particular dish or cuisine as local or regional or national is yet another performance of group affiliation. In Thessaly, this can take the form of the formal or informal marketing of some food and drink (e.g. *spetsofai*, *tsipouro*, *halva*) as regional specialties, and as things in which the region can take pride. The drinking of *tsipouro*, a distilled liquor claimed by many parts of Northern Greece, in preference to *ouzo* or *raki* (all distilled liquors) can be an articulation of Thessalianism. And even then, within Thessaly, there are strong micro-regional variations in *tsipouro* preferences, with the coastal areas preferring anise-flavoured *tsipouro* and the inland regions (which includes NARTHAKI) preferring it without anise—an example of variations generated within broader group affiliations.¹² The circle dances ubiquitous throughout Greece play a role in this as well. Greek folk dancing takes on many regional forms and the frequent performance of specific regional dances (e.g. the *Karagouna* and the *Beratis* of Thessaly) over others also serves to participate in and reinforce regional identity and regulate social order.¹³

Of course, acts of modern panhellenic identification are omnipresent, stimulated by public education, mandatory military training for men, celebration of the major Greek Orthodox feast days, commemoration of certain historical events (particularly those concerning Greek liberation from the Ottomans), support for Greek sports teams, and occasional support for Greece's Eurovision entry. These are further accompanied by the branding of particular acts or cultural aspects (e.g. cuisines, dances) as Greek, and the linkage of the Modern Greek state with its classical past (an act in which archaeology plays a major role in the creation of the modern narrative of the past).¹⁴ These acts of common affiliation do not necessarily manifest themselves throughout the country in the same way, since smaller communities, like NARTHAKI, can choose to interpret, act on, and contribute to the national narrative in their own way. National commemorations of the fallen in World War II, for example, take on a local character in NARTHAKI, as they usually also commemorate their own local war heroes, whose names are inscribed on a war monument

¹² The regional variations on *tsipouro* preferences do not come from a systematic study but merely from personal experience, observations, and conversations with locals while travelling throughout Thessaly.

¹³ These dances are not necessarily restricted to Thessaly but are claimed to be local or regional. For an anthropological study of Modern Greek dance and the social order it creates, maintains, and challenges, see Raftis 1987: 38-51.

¹⁴ For an example of the relationship between dance and identity in the case of Pontic dances in Palaio Agioneri in the periphery of Central Macedonia, see Zografou 2007: 1-21.

along the main road through the village, on important civic holidays (e.g. Independence Day on 25 March). In the same way, the use of the ancient past to create a modern narrative also takes its own manifestation at the local level. Whereas the Greek State can look to its more famous sites like the Athenian Acropolis and the sanctuaries at Delphi and Olympia to help construct the national narrative, more remote communities like NARTHAKI do also take pride in their nearby archaeological remains (e.g. Kallithea, Eretria, Skotoussa, Ktouri, the various sites within Farsala, and the tholos tombs scattered throughout the municipality), which become agents in the way that they imagine their region's past as well as in how they link themselves to this past.¹⁵

These examples of NARTHAKIOTE acts of group identification and their intersections with overarching municipal, regional, and national identities can serve as a useful analogy in looking at performances of identity in the ancient world. A region like Thessaly did not operate as a uniform entity with a single agenda in how it wished to articulate its identity. Like modern Thessaly, ancient Thessaly had its own sub-regions, which in turn were composed of cities like modern Volos and Farsala, which in turn were composed of and surrounded by many smaller communities like NARTHAKI, which were inhabited (and this is the essential part) by people—people who generated these communities and who constructed their own ideas concerning who they were, to what groups they belonged, and how they can articulate that sense of belonging at multiple levels, if that was desired. The ancient communities of Thessaly did not all agree with each other in who belonged with whom and how to express that belonging, and within each ancient community, lines of division could and did form amidst individuals and communities.

3. The Four Thessalies

While staring at the “Satellite View” of Thessaly on Google Maps, one might think that Thessaly would be fairly easy to define as a region since its geographical features seem to be very well defined. The topography of Thessaly consists of two large plains (the broadest in all of Greece), which were surrounded on all sides by mountainous and hilly

¹⁵ For examples of such strategies, see Touna 2017.

regions.¹⁶ These plains are formed by two basins, known today as the Larisa plain (east) and the Karditsa plain (west), separated from each other by the Revenia hills roughly in the middle of Thessaly. The plains were broad and fertile and were famous in antiquity for their fertility in grain as well as for their suitability for horse-rearing.¹⁷

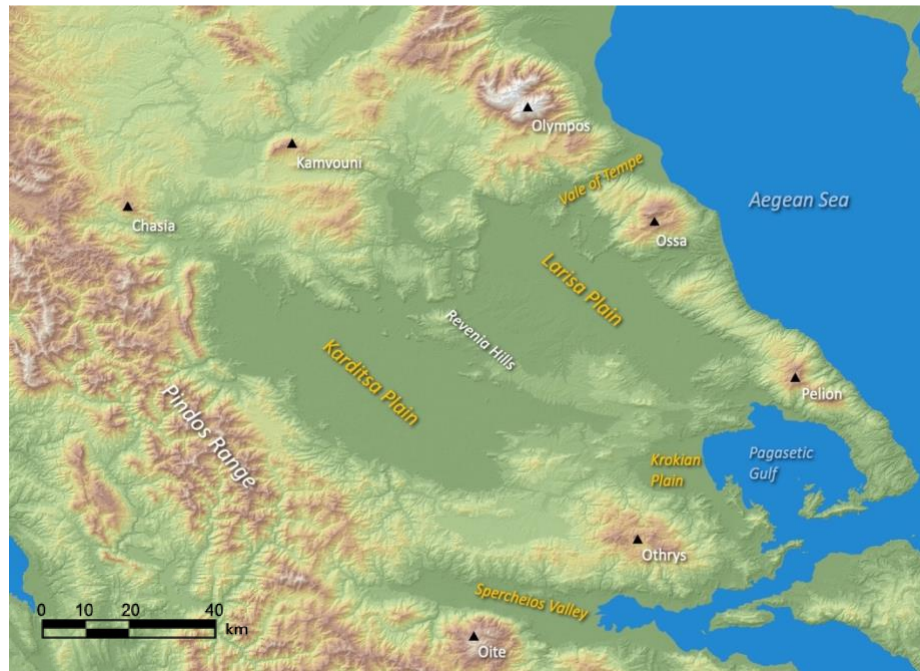


Figure 2 - The major topographical features of Thessaly.

These plains are drained by the Peneus River and its numerous tributaries, which flow into each other and travel to the Aegean Sea through the Vale of Tempe. The mountain ranges surrounding Thessaly clearly delineate the topography of the landscape, with Olympus commanding the northeastern horizon, the Chasia and Kamvouni mountains the northwest, Ossa and Pelion to the east blocking the plains from the Aegean Sea, the Othrys dominating the south, and the Pindos rising to the west. The wall of mountains in the east made the Pagasetic Gulf the only body of water able to support a harbour and significant ship traffic, and the fact that the entrance to this round, nearly landlocked gulf is only 4 km

¹⁶ I created all the maps in this dissertation with ArcGIS using NASA's ASTER GDEM Version 3.

¹⁷ Strootman 2011. The fame of Thessalian horses is omnipresent in ancient sources but is perhaps best encapsulated in an oracle's list of the three best things about Greece cited in Strab. 10.1.13: περιφέρεται δὲ καὶ χρησμὸς ἐκδοθεὶς Αἰγίευσιν " ἵππον Θεσσαλικόν, Λακεδαιμονίαν δὲ γυναῖκα, ἄνδρας θ' οἱ πίνουσιν ὕδωρ ἱερῆς Ἀρεθούσης" ("an oracle given to the Aigians is going around: 'a Thessalian horse, a Lakedaimonian woman, and the men who drink water from sacred Arethousa.'")

wide made it easily defensible.¹⁸ In addition, the region was well-watered because of its many streams and several large lakes: Lake Boibeis (mod. Karla), Lake Xynias, and Lake Nessonis, and Lake Asykris, all of which were drained within the last century for agriculture.¹⁹

The human geography of Thessaly, however, is less well defined than its physical geography, and as I have mentioned in this chapter, the ancient and modern usages of “Thessaly” varied greatly. In this respect, there were, in fact, many Thessalies. The name “Thessaly” (Θεσσαλία/Θετταλία/Πετθαλία) was and is used to refer to several concepts without disambiguation, and so here I break down the four major usages of Thessaly in an ancient context. To avoid the ambiguity that frequently appears in scholarship on Thessaly, I will be explicitly using these four terms in this work.



Figure 3 - The major waterways of Thessaly with the ancient lakes reconstructed.

(1) Tetric Thessaly

In its strictest usage, the word Thessaly referred to the Thessalian plains, which were inhabited predominantly by populations identifying as θεσσαλοί.²⁰ Fragments of Aristotle’s lost *Thessalian Constitution* describe the plains as having been divided into four

¹⁸ Darmezin 1994.

¹⁹ Lake Karla was revitalised in 2010, although it now covers only 50 km² of its original 180 km².

²⁰ Graninger 2011: 1; Decourt et al. 2004: 677.

tetrads (called *tetradēs* or *moirai*): Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis, Thessaliois, and Hestiaiois.²¹ Aristotle attributes this division to the semi-legendary lawgiver of Thessaly, Aleuas the Red, a Larisaian aristocrat, who, according to Plutarch, was supposedly chosen by the Pythia to be the *basileus* of Thessaly sometime in the 6th c. BC.²² The cities and towns of each tetrad were supposedly ruled by a tetrarch, a powerful aristocrat from one of Thessaly's oligarchic families, and each tetrad was subdivided into *kleroi* that were each required to provide 40 cavalymen and 80 hoplites when called for.²³ This image of Thessaly from Aristotle, however, is a very simplistic one, and is merely a pale reflection of Thessaly's "kaleidoscope," a term Mili uses to describe the social reality of the region.²⁴ The existence of a formal, written Thessalian constitution did not exist, as the politics of Thessaly were, in reality, more complicated, less united, and often erratic, contrary to the perfectly ordered situation that the surviving fragments of Aristotle's *Thessalian Constitution* (or at least, modern interpretations of them) suggest.²⁵

Although certainly attested by the 5th c. BC, the exact socio-economic, political, and military roles played by the tetrads is uncertain. In later periods, it seems that the tetrads had some role in military organisation (no earlier than the 4th c. BC) and economic matters (e.g. facilitating trade in grain during the 2nd c. BC), but the extent to which the tetrads had political salience is hazy.²⁶ Thessaly is often described as having formed a *koinon*, a united federal league with a single ruler often called a *tagos* in modern scholarship, an office vested with the authority to muster the armies of all four tetrads, the *perioikoi*, and the *penestai*.²⁷ Earlier scholarship often characterised Thessaly as having had periods of *tagia* and *atagia* (having and not having a *tagos*), with the latter being described as times of

²¹ F 497 Rose. The parts of Aristotle's text mentioning Aleuas, however, are damaged and are heavily supplemented by ancient scholiasts and modern scholars; these fragments should always be taken with more than several grains of salt (Sprawski 2012: 140-142). For the names of the tetrads, see Gschnitzer 1954.

²² For the anecdote concerning Pythia and Aleuas: Plut. *Mor.* 492b.

²³ F 498 Rose.

²⁴ Mili 2015: 161.

²⁵ Mili 2019.

²⁶ Mili 2019.

²⁷ Helly 1995.

disorder and stagnation, brought about by the disunity of the Thessalians.²⁸



Figure 4 - The regions of ancient Thessaly with the tetrads in upper case and the perioikoi in lower case.

This characterisation, along with the role of the *tagos*, has been challenged in recent scholarship. Helly points out that the term *tagos* was almost never used to refer to the holder of this office, as the preference in literary and epigraphic evidence seems to have been to call him either *archon*, *basileus*, or even *wanax*; *tagos* is used only by Xenophon to refer to Jason of Pherai.²⁹ Various *tagoi* are known, not as leaders of the Thessalian *koinon*, but as military leaders of individual *poleis*.³⁰ The *koinon*, furthermore, although it is mentioned since the 5th c. BC, is hard to pin down in the sources prior to Flamininus' re-organisation of the region in 196 BC, as it did not seem to have been formalised beforehand; a unified pan-Thessalian organisation only appears ephemerally in epigraphic sources.³¹ Likewise, the office of the *tagos* may have been created on an *ad hoc* basis when political and military circumstances called for it, rather than it being a standing position

²⁸ For the earlier views on the *tagos*, see Westlake 1935: 26-27. For later works, see Martin 1985 and Helly and Mari 2018,

²⁹ Helly 1995; Graninger 2011: 11, 71.

³⁰ Graninger 2011: 164-165 n. 22, n. 32, 167, and 172; Hatzopoulos 1996: 324-326, 478, 481, 492, 496.

³¹ For the few decrees of the pre-Flaminian *koinon*, see *IG* 2² 116 (361/360 BC), *IG* 2² 175 (353/352 BC), Peek 1934: 57, no. 15. For Thessalian league coins minted before Flamininus' reforms (dated to 361-360, 350-344, 302-294 BC), see Rogers 1934: 15-20.

essential to the functioning of Thessaly as a unified state.³²

Mili has most recently argued that if we judge Thessaly as a political entity, we would indeed call it a “failed state” due to the lack of a definitive leader and its use of informal decision-making institutions; however, if we look at Thessaly as a society rather than a polity, this disorder can be seen as a creative rather than a destructive force in the formation of an *ethnos*.³³ She writes, “power both on the local and regional levels was achieved through a network of competing alliances that transcended the boundaries of single cities and incorporated the actors into a pan-Thessalian milieu.”³⁴ Rather than emphasise the disorder of Thessaly, whose oligarchs constantly feuded and whose allegiances swiftly shifted, Mili focuses on how this competition also constituted a cohesive dimension that helped form the region’s group identity as an *ethnos*. She notes the ease with which the fragmented polities of Thessaly could mobilise to respond to foreign affairs.³⁵

Coexisting with the *Thessaloi* were marginal groups who were not initially regarded as Thessalian. Primary among them were the *penestai*, who were a serf class with a status that was not quite free and not quite enslaved but somewhere in between.³⁶ As shall be discussed in Chapter 5, the *penestai* were regarded as pre-Thessalian inhabitants of the region, and may have chosen to stay and work the land for the Thessalians rather than be expelled.³⁷ Inaccurately compared in antiquity to the helots of Sparta by Aristotle, the *penestai* seem to have worked the land as serfs, but there is evidence that they possessed some social and economic mobility as some of them seem to have been able to rise to positions of wealth and importance.³⁸ Decourt first suggested that the *penestai* were a semi-nomadic group living among the Thessalians (not unlike the modern Sarakatsani) but there is no evidence, epigraphic or otherwise, for his assertion.³⁹ By the 4th c. BC, *penestism*

³² Graninger 2011: 71. Helly 1975: 19-35 reassesses many of the older views on the *tagos*.

³³ Mili 2019.

³⁴ Mili 2019: 281.

³⁵ Mili 2019: 279-281.

³⁶ Ducat 1994 remains the most complete assessment of the literary and epigraphic evidence for the *penestai*.

³⁷ Ducat 1994: 14-15, 68-70; Ath. 6.284 AB.

³⁸ Ducat 1994: 79-86.

³⁹ Decourt 1990’s hypothesis that the *penestai* were semi-nomadic is based on an ethnographic comparison between the *penestai* and semi-nomadic pastoral groups in modern Thessaly. During his discussion of the Rizzi inscription, he likens the *penestai* to the Sarakatsani as they were both marginal groups who gradually

seems to have gone into decline and may have been completely abolished by the Hellenistic period when they may have attained citizenship rights.⁴⁰ It seems that the *penestai* were gradually incorporated into the Thessalian *ethnos*, which is supported by the appearance of foundation myths that provide the Thessalians and the *penestai* with a close common ancestor as a strategy for unification.⁴¹

Throughout this dissertation, to avoid ambiguity, I will use “Thessaly” to refer only to tetradic Thessaly and “Broader Thessaly” to refer to both the plains and the *perioikoi*.

(2) Broader Thessaly

More often than not, “Thessaly” is used to refer not only to the tetradic plains but also to the surrounding mountainous regions (the *perioikoi*). Graninger first used the term “broader Thessaly” to refer to the looser definition of Thessaly but I introduce it here as a proper noun and will use it explicitly throughout this work when referring to Thessaly and its *perioikoi*. These were, at first, Magnesia, Perrhaibia, Achaia Phthiotis, and Dolopia. During the Hellenistic period, Flamininus’ Thessalian League gradually incorporated other *ethne*: Athamania, Ainis, Malis, and Oitaia. The earliest perioikic *ethne* had a close relationship to Thessaly as subjects, dependents, tributaries, or allies.⁴² They seem to have been independent *ethne* in the Archaic period as they were listed among the founding members of the Delphic Amphiktyony.⁴³ In the Classical period and most of the Hellenistic period, they did not themselves self-identify as ethnically Thessalian but were, at times, politically or economically affiliated with the Thessalians.⁴⁴ Foundation myths of Broader

became integrated into the dominant society. There is no evidence from the text of the inscription (or from any other epigraphic or literary source, for that matter) that the *penestai* were ever at all pastoral nomads or in anyway involved in any definition of transhumance. I agree with Ducat 1994: 111, who finds Decourt’s ethnographic comparison to be interesting but containing no more than heuristic value. I would add that the Archemachos fragment in Ath. 6.284 AB suggests that their work was agrarian rather than pastoral, and that their myth of origin (in which they refused to leave their land when conquered by the Thessalians) implies the exact opposite of nomadism. Furthermore, modern pastoralists in Thessaly tend to move their flocks up hilly areas (e.g. the Othrys) during the summer (Reinders and Prummel 1998) whereas *penestism* is a tetradic phenomenon for which there is no evidence found within the *perioikoi*.

⁴⁰ Ducat 1994: 112-113; Decourt 1990: 163-184.

⁴¹ See Chapter 5 2.1 for a full discussion.

⁴² For the *perioikoi* and their relationship to Thessaly, see Graninger 2011: 13-23. Cf. Helly 1975: 181-191. Kip 1910 and Busolt 1920-1926 remain foundational works on the topic.

⁴³ For membership into the Amphiktyony, see Graninger 2011: 117-124; Sanchez 2001; LeFèvre 1998.

⁴⁴ Sordi 1958: 61; Graninger 2011: 14-15.

Thessaly indicate that the perioikic *ethne*, like the *penestai*, settled the region before the Thessalians. For the most part, the *perioikoi* maintained their autonomy but paid tribute to their closest tetradic city. For example, at some point by the Classical period, Achaia Phthiotis paid tribute to Pharsalos, Magnesia to Pherai, and Perrhaibia to Larisa.⁴⁵ These regions, however, not unlike Thessaly, were often disunited in their allegiances. For example, parts of Perrhaibia affiliated themselves with the Macedonians while other parts sought alliances with Thessaly.⁴⁶

Ancient sources, particularly from the Hellenistic period onwards tended to conflate perioikic Thessaly with tetradic Thessaly, particularly after the Classical period, as many modern scholars still do. Strabo, for example, defines Thessaly as the territory between Macedonia and Thermopylae, which would mean that he includes Perrhaibia and the Spercheios *ethne* as belonging to Thessalian territory.⁴⁷ This is understandable in Strabo's case as the Thessalian League gradually subsumed not only its original *perioikoi* but also the Athamanians and the Spercheios *ethne* from the 2nd c. BC onwards and the differentiation between the various groups was being homogenized into a single Thessalian political identity.⁴⁸ In reality, however, official policy and the individual agency of groups did were not always in agreement, as not all the *perioikoi* were eager to identify with the Thessalians, as Graninger points out (and as shall be discussed later on in this chapter and in Chapter 5). Some perioikic *poleis* were slower to display affiliation with the Thessalians (e.g. in their coins, calendars, and sanctuary forms).⁴⁹ Regardless of political affiliation, these regions can often still be included in Thessaly in informal speech. Magnesia, for example, although it was not reincorporated into the Thessalian League until the time of Diocletian, was still referred to as Thessalian Magnesia by Hellenistic and Roman authors.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ For ancient sources on the tribute of the *perioikoi*, see Xen. *Hell.* 6.1.19 and Strab. 9.5.19. Graninger 2011: 15.

⁴⁶ See Canlas 2017 for the case of Perrhaibian Tripolis. For the case of Achaia Phthiotis, see Haagsma *et al.* 2019.

⁴⁷ Strab. 9.5.1

⁴⁸ Graninger 2011: 39-42.

⁴⁹ For a full discussion, see Graninger 2011: 109-114.

⁵⁰ For example, *CID* 4.117 (dating to 121-117 BC) pertains to an Amphiktyonic decree listing the attending *hieromnemes*, which includes a Parmeniskos of Homolion, called “Μαγνήτων ἐκ Θετταλίας” (“a Magnesians from Thessaly”) but in later lists, they are referred to as “Magnesians of Demetrias” (see the discussion in Graninger 2011: 134); Strab. 14.1.11 refers to the people of the region as the “Μαγνήτων...ἐν Θετταλία”

Connected to the broad usage of Thessaly in an ancient context is the use of “Thessaly” to refer to the modern extent of Thessaly, which has more fixed boundaries and includes not only the plains but also the entirety of Magnesia, Perrhaibia, and half of Achaia Phthiotis. The rest of Achaia Phthiotis, Dolopia, and the Spercheios Valley fall under the jurisdiction of Central Greece (*Sterea Ellada*), while Athamania is under Thessaly. The administration of Broader Thessaly now falls under the jurisdiction of the prefectures of Larisa, Magnisia, Karditsa, Trikala, Fthiotida, and Evrytania. Use of the word Thessaly in modern scholarship can sometimes refer just to the Thessaly periphery but sometimes to the Central Greece periphery, without clarifying that there was a difference in the ancient usage. For example, Reinders’ *Housing in New Halos: a Hellenistic Town in Thessaly, Greece* calls New Halos a “town in Thessaly” in the title, when in reality, New Halos was founded in Achaia Phthiotis during a period when Achaia Phthiotis was not politically Thessalian and would remain non-Thessalian until the abandonment of New Halos in 265 BC.⁵¹ Another example is Kravaritou’s “Synoecism and Religious Interface in Demetrias (Thessaly),” which places Demetrias in Thessaly despite the fact that Demetrias was founded in Magnesia when the area was no longer politically Thessalian and would remain non-Thessalian for almost 500 years.⁵² Neither use of Thessaly is wrong if we consider the fact that both areas do in fact belong to modern Thessaly, but to be more explicit, and to acknowledge this macro-region’s many nuances, I will use “Broader Thessaly” to refer to Thessaly and its *perioikoi* and “Thessaly” to refer only to the plains.

(3) Pre-Thessalian Thessaly

The Thessalian *ethnos* did not form earlier than the Archaic period but it was and is common to refer anachronistically to this region as Thessaly even before the name existed.⁵³ Pre-Thessalian Thessaly is the physical region that the Thessalians would later inhabit before the Thessalians inhabited it. A complex mosaic for this period is visible in the archaeological record. The plains were inhabited since the Upper Paleolithic period, as

(“Magnesians in Thessaly”). Pliny 36.38 recognises Magnesia as separate from Thessaly and rather refers to it as “Magnesia Macedoniae contermina” (“Magnesia, bordering Macedonia”).

⁵¹ Reinders and Prummel 2003.

⁵² Kravaritou 2011.

⁵³ Graninger 2011: 9.

is attested at the cave of Theopetra near Kalambaka, one of the earliest-inhabited cave sites in Greece.⁵⁴ Thessaly is often the focal point of Neolithic research in Greece as Neolithic settlements flourished in the region. Two of Greece's most famous Neolithic sites (Sesklo and Dimini) are located in the southeast of the Larisa plain near the Pagasetic Gulf. In addition, 342 Neolithic *magoules*, artificial hills formed over ancient settlements by post-depositional processes, dot every part of the plains with a heavier concentration in the Larisa plain around Lake Boibeis.⁵⁵

Thessaly further flourished in the Bronze Age, having been the northern limit of Mycenaean civilisation.⁵⁶ There are several Mycenaean settlements in eastern Thessaly (e.g. at Dimini), but not in the same scale as their Peloponnesian contemporaries. Thessaly further boasts the third largest concentration of Mycenaean tholos tombs. The LBA collapse, although it did reach Thessaly, was not felt as potently in Thessaly.⁵⁷ Although settlement patterns and material culture changed in the transition from the LBA to the EIA, many sites continued to be used and some material expressions (e.g. burials) show continuity.⁵⁸ Tholos tombs, for example, although different in scale and quality, continued to be constructed throughout Broader Thessaly in the EIA, during which the region had the largest concentration of post-Mycenaean tholos tombs, a phenomenon to be discussed in Chapter 5.

When the inhabitants of the region first began identifying as *Thessaloi* in the Archaic period, even though the most predominant foundation myths of Thessaly describe them as having come from elsewhere, they often appropriated the pre-Thessalian past as their own. This is evident in the appropriation of Mycenaean tholos tombs for ancestor worship, for example.⁵⁹ Regardless of whatever labels the peoples of pre-Thessalian Thessaly used to refer to themselves and their group identities, the remains from the earlier periods played an active role in the identity formation of the later periods.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ For the Theopetra cave see Kyparissi-Apostolika 1998: 241-252 and 1999: 252-265.

⁵⁵ Pèrles 1999.

⁵⁶ Feuer 1983.

⁵⁷ Feuer 1983: 53.

⁵⁸ Georganas 2002: 295-296.

⁵⁹ See the Georgiko tholos tomb in Chapter 3 and further discussion of tholos tombs in Chapter 5.

⁶⁰ The construction of identity through the past will be further discussed in Chapter 2; for an example, see Morgan 2003: 192-195 and Georganas 2002: 295-296 for the Thessalian use of Mycenaean and Mycenaean-type burials for the construction of community identity.

(4) Imaginary Thessaly

Perhaps more real to the ancient inhabitants of Broader Thessaly than the realities of pre-Thessalian Thessaly was Imaginary Thessaly—the mythical landscape inhabited by deities, heroes, and various other supernatural inhabitants. This landscape consisted of narrative fictions, sometimes contradictory, which bore real implications for the populations that circulated them and that inhabited the lands in which these stories were set.⁶¹ Most of Imaginary Thessaly existed in a mythical past, set in a landscape of memory with a semblance of a chronology but one that was loose and flexible, as mythological chronologies usually were.⁶² Cities that existed in Classical times were often projected backwards in time onto this imaginary landscape, before they even existed.⁶³

Every inch of the Thessalian topography discussed earlier in this chapter was saturated with myths, starting from the Titanomachy, in which Thessaly served as a battleground, with the Olympians on Olympos and the Titans on Othrys. Ossa was a ramp built by the Giants during the Gigantomachy to lay siege to Olympos.⁶⁴ The plains were a lake before Poseidon drained it by splitting the Vale of Tempe, which created the first horse, Skyphion. Homer, Hesiod, Kallimachos, and Pindar name all of Thessaly's rivers, streams, and springs as gods and nymphs (from some of whom certain communities claimed descent).⁶⁵

A multiplicity of mythical group identities resided in the region's imagined past.⁶⁶ The broader region was thought of as having been inhabited largely by Aiolian-speaking groups and the land was called Haimonia after one of its heroic ancestors. The Boiotians, before they settled in Boiotia in Central Greece, lived, according to Homer, in the southwestern Thessalian plains around the Homeric city of Arne (later Kierion).⁶⁷ The Lapiths lived in the northeastern plain (their Homeric cities include Oloosson, Argissa,

⁶¹ Veyne 1983 addresses the ancient Greek conceptions of history and myth, presenting them as two analogous ancient approaches to the truth rather than two opposites representing truth and falsity.

⁶² Dowden 1992: 8.

⁶³ For example, Euripides' *Andromache* is set around Pharsalos, a name that would not have existed during the time of Andromache's slavery in Phthia (immediately after the Trojan War).

⁶⁴ Prop. 2.1 attributes the piling of Ossa to the Titans, while Ovid *Met.* 1.151 to the Giants.

⁶⁵ Hom. *Il.* 2.751; Hes. *Theog.* 343; Pind. *Pyth.* 9.13; Call. *Hymn* 4 104.

⁶⁶ Mili 2015: 220.

⁶⁷ Hom. *Il.* 2.507.

Gortyn, and Orthe) and the foothills of Mount Pelion, where they came into conflict with the mountain's resident centaurs. Cheiron and Pholos, the only two civilised centaurs in mythology, also made their home in caves on the mountain. The territory of the Perrhaibians came into contact with that of the Lapiths but stretched even further north. The Homeric territory of the Perrhaibians did not entirely correspond with their historical territory but stretched from lands around the Titaresios river to Dodona.⁶⁸ The Pelion peninsula was inhabited, in myth as in later periods, by the Magnesians, whom Homer says occupied the forested area covering the area between Peneus and the tip of the Pelion peninsula.⁶⁹ The Phthians, according to Homer, occupied a kingdom in the southern part of Broader Thessaly stretching from the Othrys, east to the Krokian Plain, and down to the Spercheios Valley, but Classical and later sources place it further north to include the Pharsalian plain. The broader region was also said to have been inhabited by the pre-Hellenic Pelasgians, to whom the establishment of several places is attributed (e.g. Larisa Pelasgis, Pelasgian Argos, the tetrad of Pelasgiotis itself). Like the *penestai*, their status as either Thessalian or non-Thessalian fluctuated.⁷⁰

Virtually all our sources on the mythological origins of the Thessalians agree that their common ancestor was a Heraklid named Thessalos, who himself was king of Kos and did not conquer the region, but whose children are said to have invaded from Thesprotia in the northwest. They would defeat the various pre-existing tribes and become the rulers of the region.⁷¹ Foundation myths, however, are never without multiple contradictory versions and the Thessalians claimed both descent from invaders as well as the indigenous inhabitants of the region.⁷² Even Aleuas the Red partially fits in this section as his role as king and lawgiver of Thessaly stretches into the realm of the legendary.⁷³ It is from him

⁶⁸ Hom. *Il.* 2.749.

⁶⁹ Hom. *Il.* 2.756-759.

⁷⁰ The place of the Pelasgians in Thessaly and Thessalian identity formation shall be discussed in Chapter 5, 2.1.

⁷¹ Polyaeus, *Strat.* 8.44.

⁷² To be discussed in full detail in Chapter 5.

⁷³ Plut. *Mor.* 492b describes a colourful story in which Aleuas was disliked by his father but not his uncle. Aleuas' uncle sneaks his name into the lots from which the Pythia will choose the next *basileus* of all Thessaly, which resulted in the Pythia randomly choosing Aleuas. When Aleuas' father objected, citing that Aleuas' name was not among the lots to be chosen, the Pythia went along with the scheme and stood by her choice of Aleuas.

that the Aleuads, the most powerful Thessalian family, based in Larisa, claim descent.⁷⁴

The myths that populated this geographical area were and were not Thessalian.⁷⁵ The Greeks, often from later periods than their subject matter, imagined a past in which Thessaly was not yet Thessalian, a past that was sometimes appropriated by the Thessalians themselves and sometimes not. These fictions were often more real to them than the prehistoric past that we have excavated and studied. The heroes of these myths, particularly those from the epics (especially Achilles and Jason) were celebrated by the various regions of Broader Thessaly as ancestors and founders. They minted them on their coins, sculpted them on stone, and gifted them with shrines.⁷⁶ These myths provided their communities with stories that played an integral part in their identity formation processes, stories that they could manipulate to present themselves as exceptional but also as belonging to the world beyond them.

4. Historical and Archaeological Contexts

Several scholars have tackled the task of presenting a synthesis of the region's history. Westlake outlines his history of Thessaly from the Bronze Age to the beginning of the Hellenistic period, focusing largely on the 4th c. BC.⁷⁷ For the most part, he treats the more myth-historical aspects of Thessalian origins uncritically, as in the case of Aleuas' formation of the tetrads and Skopas' conquest of the *perioikoi*. He also treats Thessaly as a backwater feudal state that was slow to develop urban institutions in contrast to Attica and Boiotia. Twenty-three years later, Sordi attempts another reconstruction of the region's history, covering the time span with which Westlake also dealt, but incorporating a greater variety of sources.⁷⁸ She is more critical of the historicity of foundation myths and provides some hypotheses concerning the origins of the Thessalians (e.g. the Thessalians first inhabited the Spercheios and Pagasetic Gulf area rather than migrating into the region from the northwest). She also viewed the Thessalian *ethnos* as acting as a united group prior to the

⁷⁴ The earliest source on Aleuas is Pind. *Pyth.* 5.1-8. For a full discussion on Aleuas, see Helly 1975: 112-124.

⁷⁵ Graninger 2011: 9.

⁷⁶ For an overview of depictions on the coinage of Thessaly in general, see Rogers 1932.

⁷⁷ Westlake 1935.

⁷⁸ Sordi 1958.

mid-4th c. BC, whereas Westlake gives more credit to the divisions among Thessaly's aristocrats. Both Westlake and Sordi treat Thessaly as both a nation and a political entity—a *Stammstaat* in which regional unity is necessarily federal and whose ethnicity is biologically inherent.⁷⁹ Neither author included any substantial discussion on the archaeology of the region.⁸⁰

Helly's *L'Etat thessalien*, almost forty years later, would be the first substantial treatment of Thessalian history since Sordi. Focusing on the Archaic and Classical periods, Helly aimed to reconstruct the region's political and military structure. He does not take some Hellenistic and later sources at face value (especially for the earlier periods), but takes others such as Aristotle at their word. He disagrees with some long-held notions about Thessalian political institutions. For example, as previously mentioned, he disagrees that the *tagos* was the official title of the elected ruler of all Thessaly. He also argues that the word tetrad refers to a group of four rather than a fourth part and that a tetrarch would refer to a ruler of all Thessaly rather than a ruler of a tetrad. He then offers a mathematical reconstruction of the organisation of the tetrads. Many of his claims, however, are unsubstantiated hypotheses, although he is correct in asserting that the early history of Thessaly does need a re-examination.

Morgan addresses the early Iron Age and Archaic development of urbanisation and identity in Thessaly and is the first to incorporate archaeology to a substantial degree.⁸¹ She refutes the notion that Thessaly was a backwater that lacked large settlements prior to the Classical period by pointing to evidence for large-scale architecture, sculpture, and sanctuary dedications *en masse* during the Early Iron Age and Archaic period, as well as to aristocrat-controlled cities and their feuds. She also discusses cult and funerary practices as major players in the development of ethnic identity, and uses Thessaly to disprove the outdated view that *ethne* largely lacked ancestor cults.⁸² She presents a socially dynamic

⁷⁹ Westlake 1935: 40 even believed that the Thessalians were of "purer stock" because of their supposed geographical isolation, which meant that they were not as exposed to foreigners like their seafaring counterparts.

⁸⁰ Westlake does admit that he was not able to make use of the existing *Pagasai und Demetrias* (Westlake 1935: v) as they were published after he finished writing his monograph, but the works of Arvanitopoulos, Tsountas, and the explorations of Stählin would have provided his historical reconstruction with more substance.

⁸¹ Morgan 2003.

⁸² Morgan 2003: 192.

Thessaly and avoids the trap of simplifying the complex processes involved in state formation and the negotiation of identities.

The previous reconstructions of Thessalian history have focused primarily on the Archaic and Classical periods, usually ending with Alexander's death. In contrast, Graninger analyses the relationship between cult and regional political identity during the Hellenistic period, with a particular focus on the socio-political processes reacting to and intersecting with Flamininus' creation of a formalised Thessalian *koinon* in 196 BC and its expansion. He emphasises the push and pull between the local and the regional in the introduction of these reforms and ends with Augustus' reforms which further homogenises Thessaly's political structures (although Graninger points out that local cults remained vibrant well into the Roman period).⁸³

I will not be attempting my own reconstruction of a history of Broader Thessaly but rather highlight the most important events relevant to the arguments of this study, emphasising the wide range of actors involved in (re-)creating and (re-)defining Thessaly, and depreciating the notion of a single Thessaly acting as a united whole.

4.1 Historical Overview

Certain key events important to the identity formation processes of the whole region need to be underlined. I will not start with Aleuas and Skopas, whose stories we should see as aetiologies for why certain regional structures later existed, rather than as historical figures (whether or not they really were). I begin with the creation of the Delphic Amphiktyony in which Thessaly, Perrhaibia, Magnesia, Achaia Phthiotis, Dolopia, Malis and Oitaia were among the founding members, charged with the administration and protection of the sanctuary of Demeter at Anthela in the 7th c. and the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi in the 6th c.⁸⁴ Each member *ethnos* initially sent two *hieromnemes* (representatives, lit. "those mindful of the sacred"), rotating from its various *poleis*.⁸⁵ Although Thessaly and its *perioikoi* were nominally independent members of the Amphiktyony, Thessaly did exert a

⁸³ Graninger 2011.

⁸⁴ Graninger 2011: 117-124; Hall 2002: 148-149.

⁸⁵ Perrhaibia and Dolopia lost one vote each to the town of Delphi.

controlling influence over the council because of its sway over its closest neighbours.⁸⁶ Thessaly seems to have pursued a more expansionist policy in the Late Archaic period, during which it was establishing a hegemony over its neighbours in Central Greece, and not just those regions that would become its *perioikoi*.⁸⁷ Military incursions into Boiotia and especially Phokis seem to feature significantly in traditions concerning these regions' Archaic histories.⁸⁸

Aston casts doubt on Thessaly's "supposed archaic importance" because the narratives are riddled with fantastical elements, but even if we remove semi-legendary characters such as Aleuas, we are left with certain realities concerning Thessaly's Archaic importance: (1) Thessaly had indeed gained control of the Amphiktyony before the end of the 6th c. BC (7th c. if we accept Hall's proposal), which would mean they had (2) a controlling influence over a majority of its voting members, which supports the notion that (3) they were indeed establishing a hegemony over several Central Greek *ethne*.⁸⁹ There are too many traditions narrating Thessaly's military incursions into Phokis and Boiotia that an expansionist policy during the Late Archaic period does seem more than likely, even if those traditions are intermingled with fantastical narratives like Herodotos' narration of the Phokian amphora trick.⁹⁰ The Archaic archaeology of Broader Thessaly, although meager in comparison to some regions of Greece, does indicate a burgeoning aristocracy competing with each other in terms of tomb cult (e.g. the reuse and continued creation of tholos tombs in the 6th c. BC), large quantities of dedications at sanctuaries (e.g. Philia, Pherai), and the construction of two large temples (Pherai and Metropolis), as will be discussed in later chapters. The settlement data of Archaic Thessaly is still poorly known, but Thessaly is no poorer than Lakonia in terms of archaeological remains (in fact, it is arguably richer in that respect) and no one could call Sparta an unimportant *polis* in

⁸⁶ Graninger 2012: 119. The common opinion is that the Amphiktyony had come under Thessalian control by the 6th c. BC but Hall 2002: 141-48 argues that it can be backdated as early as the 7th c. BC stating that it is more likely that the Thessalians had already gained control of the Amphiktyony before or at the point that it expanded to Delphi from Anthela. The relationship between Thessaly and the Amphiktyony will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

⁸⁷ For Thessaly as a Greek power in the Archaic period, see Lehmann 1983: 35-43.

⁸⁸ Hall 2002: 144.

⁸⁹ Aston 2012a: 268; cf. Pownall 2009: 238-239.

⁹⁰ Hdt. 8.28.1.

the Late Archaic period.⁹¹

The Archaic period ended with the Thessaly's medism during the Second Persian Invasion. As in most matters, the Thessalians did not act in solidarity. The Aleuads (along with the Peisistratids of Athens) invited Xerxes into Greece, but the other Thessalians did not agree and requested the rest of the Greeks make a stand at the Vale of Tempe. The Greeks came but abandoned the Thessalians at this important pass, forcing them to submit to the Persians, as did the Dolopians, Ainians, Perrhaibians, Lokrians, Magnesians, Melians, Phthiotic Achaians, and most of the Boiotians.⁹² In fact, of the nearly one thousand⁹³ Greek *poleis* extant at the end of the Archaic period, Themistokles points out that only a very small minority fought (thirty-one).⁹⁴

Thessaly was painted by scholars from early in the last century as having been isolationist but as we have seen in the last few paragraphs, Thessaly was very much involved in panhellenic affairs in the Archaic period.⁹⁵ Thessaly would continue to be involved with the rest of the Greek world in the Classical period, but would decline in its former importance. Although not as isolated as Westlake would paint them, Thessaly did suffer consequences because of their medism, which caused them to be alienated from some circles. The most immediate consequence is that the Spartans punished the Aleuads for their role by expelling them from Larisa. The Spartans also tried to have all medising *ethne* removed from the Amphiktyony in 478 (i.e. eight out of the twelve member states) but Themistokles came to their defence and the motion was not carried.⁹⁶ Broader Thessaly was not a major player in the Peloponnesian War but the allegiances of its various *poleis* did choose different sides, which was probably a factor in the Thessalian cavalry's *volte-face* during the Battle of Tanagra in 426, an action which, combined with the region's medism, did not benefit them in their international perception.

Thessaly again began to rise to prominence again in the 4th c. BC with the ascendance of the Pheraean Tyranny, starting with Lykophron but reaching its peak with

⁹¹ For the archaeology of Archaic Laconia and Messenia, see Cavanagh 2017: 61-92. For an overview of Archaic Thessaly, see Stamatopoulou 2007.

⁹² Hdt. 7.6.1-5.

⁹³ Mitchell 2007: 77, citing . Hdt. 9.81; Paus. 5.23.1-2, 10.13.4; ML 27; Plut. *Them.* 20.3.

⁹⁴ Mitchell 2007: 77.

⁹⁵ Westlake 1935: 14, 40, 50.

⁹⁶ Plut. *Them.* 20.3-4.

Jason, who managed to be elected *tagos* of all Thessaly, but not without opposition from various Thessalian factions.⁹⁷ A tyranny has been hitherto unheard of in Thessaly, with the rest of the region having dynastic oligarchies. Xenophon writes that Jason of Pherai had intentions to expand into southern Greece but whatever ambitions he may have had were cut short by his assassination in 370 BC.⁹⁸ Jason's successors did not have his ability or charisma, and a civil war between the rest of Thessaly and belligerent Pherai brewed until the 350s BC. During Alexander of Pherai's brutal reign, Thessaly sought help from Thebes against him, leading to Alexander's defeat and the relinquishment of his conquered Thessalian territories. The clash between Thessaly and Pherai continued during the reign of the last two Pheraian tyrants, Peitholaos and Lykophon II, during which both parties called on foreign allies to defeat the other. The Pheraians sought help from the Phokians, whereas the rest of the Thessalians invited Philip II of Macedon to intervene. Although Philip and the Thessalians were defeated twice in 353 BC, they were ultimately victorious over the Pheraians at the Battle of the Krokian Plain in 352 BC, resulting in the expulsion of the Pheraian tyrants.⁹⁹

A more significant consequence of the events of 352 BC is the election of Philip as *archon* of the Thessalian *koinon*, leading to Broader Thessaly falling to Macedonian hegemony, under which it would remain for the next century and a half. Thessaly and its *perioikoi* were not, as usual, united in support for Macedon. Some *poleis* benefitted from Macedonian rule while others were not pleased with their new hegemons. Philip directly imposed certain changes in Broader Thessaly's structure to establish order and to make the situation benefit himself. Whereas Thessaly and Achaia Phthiotis retained their own local political structures, Perrhaibia and Magnesia were formally annexed into the Macedonian kingdom. Philip removed the Iolkian port of Pagasai from the control of Pherai, which drew a lot of its wealth from access to the sea, and transferred it to Magnesia so that it may come under direct Macedonian administration. Philip chose a "*penestes*" from Krannon named Agathokles (father of Lysimachos, a general of Alexander) to serve as direct governor of

⁹⁷ Sprawski 1999: 79-93.

⁹⁸ Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.30. Sprawski 1999: 62 argues that Jason was not a tyrant of Pherai, but that his family was part of the ruling *dynasteia* of the city. He should instead be seen as a tyrant of Thessaly *from* Pherai, as he seized power to form a one-man rule over Thessaly.

⁹⁹ Graninger 2011: 23.

Perrhaibia, ruling from Gonnoi.¹⁰⁰ Philip's death saw most Thessalians joining the rebellion against his son Alexander, while some *poleis* held pro-Macedonian sentiments. A victorious Alexander would be elected *archon* of the Thessalian *koinon* and the Thessalian cavalry formed one of the most important, and most eager, units of Alexander's army afterwards.¹⁰¹

Most of Thessaly (except Pelinna) and most of Achaia Phthiotis (except Phthiotic Thebes), as well as Ainis and Dolopia fought on the side of the Greeks against Macedonian hegemony in the Lamian War, immediately after Alexander's death. Perrhaibia, Magnesia, Malis, and Oitaia did not fight against the Macedonians. Broader Thessaly saw itself become the setting for many battles during the wars of succession between the Diadochoi, ultimately falling under Antigonid rule along with most of the Greek mainland. Demetrios I Poliorketes directly intervened in the organisation of the region, particularly in the east. Poliorketes synoecised many of the communities in Magnesia into a single urban port city named after himself, Demetrias, built in the area of Pagasai. This new foundation served as his primary residence (and intended final resting place), which grew into a cosmopolitan centre. Thessaly enjoyed a period of relative stability until the reign of Philip V, during which the Greeks petitioned the Roman Republic for assistance against Philip leading to two wars.¹⁰² The Romans, allied with the Aitolians, drew the allegiance of many Broader Thessalian communities, while others supported the Macedonians.

Philip V was decisively defeated at Kynoskephalai by the Roman general T. Quintius Flamininus in 197 BC, after which the latter proclaimed the liberation of Greece at Isthmia

¹⁰⁰ Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 F 81: Agathokles' origins from the *penestai* is often taken for granted, but given Theopompos' hostility towards Philip's inner circle, Agathokles' status as a *penestes* should be doubted as Theopompos might have only meant it to denigrate him. It is likely that he was just a Thessalian noble who attained a high position in Philip's court, as his son Lysimachos is described as just that and not the son of a "penestes" (Lund 1992: 2-3). Euseb. *Chron.* 88 calls Agathokles a Thessalian from Krannon, without any mention of serf status. See also Strab. 13.4.1, Just. *Epit.* 15.3.1, Paus. 1.9.4; Arr. *Anab.* 6.28.4, *Ind.* 18.3; and Porph. *FHG* 3 F4.4 (Θετταλὸς ὦν ἐκ Κρανῶνος) for Agathokles' relationship with Lysimachos, making no mention of his status as a *penestes*. In Just. *Epit.* 15.3.1, he is said to be of a noble family. For Theopompos' rhetoric against Philip, see Pownall 2005: 55-278.

¹⁰¹ Strootman 2012: 56.

¹⁰² Eckstein 2012: 4-5, 8-9 argues against Harris 1979 who states that the Romans entered into conflict with the Greek world because of their imperialistic nature. Eckstein, using the Realism Theory of International relations, argues that the Romans were not exceptional in this respect but acted against Philip V because of the call from many Greek states, as well as out of self-preservation. See also the original print of the latter book, Eckstein 2008: 90-91, 225, 230-231, of which the 2012 edition is not a reprint; Shipley 2000: 374-375.

in 196. Flaminius' Isthmian declaration reorganised many of Greece's administrative units, including Broader Thessaly's. Thessaly and its *perioikoi* were declared independent *koina* initially.¹⁰³ This was the first time in which the Thessalian League existed as a formal institution, with an elected *strategos* as its official leader, as opposed to a loose confederacy.¹⁰⁴ Pharsalos, Gomphoi, Phthiotic Thebes, and the Spercheios *ethne* were originally given to the Aitolian League but Flaminius would later incorporate those into the Thessalian League.¹⁰⁵ Flaminius' reforms included the institution of two league cults: one was the cult of Athena Itonia whose official sanctuary was located at the goddess' 800-year old sanctuary at Philia in Thessalotis;¹⁰⁶ the other involved the creation of a new sanctuary at Larisa dedicated to Zeus Eleutherios ("Liberator").¹⁰⁷ Both gods served as patron deities of the reformed Thessalian League, and reflected Flaminius' liberation propaganda: one cult paid homage tradition while the other looked ahead to the new future given to them by the Romans. Both deities were depicted on the the new coinage of the *koinon*, which replaced older *polis*-based coins. Furthermore, a standard Thessalian calendar was created, superseding older *polis*-based calendars.¹⁰⁸

Although all the *perioikoi* were initially all declared free, a strong Thessaly would have served as a useful check against another rise from Macedon and Aitolia, and so the *perioikoi* were gradually incorporated into the Thessalian *koinon* in the 2nd and 1st c. BC.¹⁰⁹ These included not only Perrhaibia and Achaia Phthiotis, but also grew to include Dolopia, Athamania, Ainis, Malis, and Oitaia, which previously fell under the Thessalian sphere of influence but were not in a dependent relationship with Thessaly. Magnesia, however, would remain independent (except for a brief period when it was reconquered by Macedon under Perseus) and continued to be politically non-Thessalian until the reign of Diocletian in the late 3rd/early 4th c. AD.¹¹⁰ The incorporation of the *perioikoi* into the Thessalian

¹⁰³ Armstrong and Walsh 1986: 38, n. 22; Bouchon 2005: 32-36

¹⁰⁴ Kramolisch 1978 and Bouchon 2005: 47, n. 221. As mentioned earlier, the pre-Flaminian *koinon* had various titles (*archon*, *basileus*, *wanax*, *tagos*), but here the title becomes fixed as *strategos*.

¹⁰⁵ Graninger 2011: 28; Eckstein 2008: 288-9; Polyb. 18.44-46; Livy 33.32.5

¹⁰⁶ The earliest finds from Philia's first sanctuary phase dates to 1000 BC (although most date after 800) but the site could have been used for cult as early as the LBA. See Chapter 3, 3.1.

¹⁰⁷ Graninger 2005: 95-132 collates all the evidence for the cult of Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa.

¹⁰⁸ Graninger 2011: 43-46.

¹⁰⁹ Graninger 2011: 36.

¹¹⁰ Graninger 2011: 33.

League was not, however, without contestation. Graninger demonstrates that individual *perioikic* cities adopted the Thessalian calendar and coinage at varying rates but by the end of the 1st c. BC, all had accepted these reforms.¹¹¹

Thessaly would once again become embroiled in military conflicts as the Roman civil wars were brought to their plains, once again splitting allegiances across the region. Caesar finally defeated Pompey (whom the majority of Thessaly supported) in the Pharsalian plain in 48 BC, but not before he destroyed Gomphoi in Hestiaiotes as a warning to the supporters of Pompey. A few years later, when Brutus and Cassius were raising an army in Greece to fight Octavian, they were joined by veterans who were left behind by Pompey in Thessaly, including 2,000 Thessalian cavalrymen.¹¹² Some Thessalians seem supported Octavian over Brutus and Cassius and provided grain to his legions, and at Actium, Antony's army contained a large Thessalian contingent.¹¹³

Under Augustus' First Settlement in 27 BC, Broader Thessaly would be incorporated into *Provincia Achaea*,¹¹⁴ which had the further impact of reducing Broader Thessaly's commanding Amphiktyonic votes from twelve to two, and Augustus would thereafter be the *strategos* of the Thessalian League.¹¹⁵ Although in policy, Thessaly would be treated more homogenously, with all of its various subdivisions officially united, the region's various actors still decided for themselves to which group identities they would articulate an affiliation, as this dissertation will demonstrate.

4.2 An Archaeological History of Thessaly

In addition to this historical overview the data collected in this work needs to be contextualised in the archaeological research of the region, as the interpretations of the archaeological material were shaped by developments in archaeological practice. Upon the liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Empire in 1832, an immediate priority of the new

¹¹¹ Graninger 2011: 109-114.

¹¹² Suet. *Caes.* 237.8-10.

¹¹³ Diod. 17.7.4; Larsen 1958: 126.

¹¹⁴ It was previously held that Thessaly was placed in *Provincia Macedonia* but Graninger 2011: 40, following the emendation of Bowersock 1965: 283-285 and Radt 2005, reads Strab. 17.3.25 as Thessaly belonging to *Provincia Achaea*: ἐβδόμη δ' Ἀχαΐαν μέχρι Θετταλίας καὶ Αἰτωλῶν καὶ Ἀκαρνανῶν καὶ τινῶν Ἑπειρωτικῶν ἔθνῶν ὅσα τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ προσώριστο.

¹¹⁵ Graninger 2011: 40.

Hellenic kingdom was the excavation and preservation of the historical monuments that that were neglected under “barbarian” rule, leading to the creation of the Hellenic Archaeological Service (Αρχαιολογική Υπερησία) in 1833 and the Athens Archaeological Society (Η έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογική Έταιρεία) in 1837.¹¹⁶ The former is a state service responsible for overseeing the country’s archaeological work and heritage (including Greece’s foreign archaeological schools, of which there are now 17), while the latter is an independent scholarly organisation with aims in studying, protecting, and promoting Greece’s archaeological heritage.¹¹⁷ Classical history and archaeology would play an instrumental role in creating the new national narrative linking it to its classical past, in connecting Modern Greece with the rest of Europe, as well as in justifying the new state’s territorial claims over parts of the Balkans that still belonged to the Ottoman Empire.¹¹⁸ The Archaeological Society has two major publications that provide reports on the archaeological activities of the organisation: the *Αρχαιολογική Έφημερίς* (hereafter *ΑΕ*) and the *Πρακτικά τής έν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Έταιρείας (ΠΑΕ)*, both of which are among the oldest archaeological journals in the world. The Archaeological Service, which would come under the aegis of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture founded in 1971, publishes an annual journal, the *Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον (ΑΔ)*, detailing the reports from all excavations in Greece. The latter is one of the most important resources for archaeologists studying Greece and the most important source of information for this dissertation.

Most of Thessaly did not join the Modern Greek state until 1881,¹¹⁹ thus the region did not receive the archaeological attention given to regions further south and to the Aegean islands during the mid-19th century; however, Thessaly did receive some antiquarian interest from several European scholars who explored the landscape, who noted the existence of ancient sites, and formed opinions on their ancient identifications.¹²⁰ Notable among these 19th c. explorers of Thessaly were Leake (a British diplomat),¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Petrakos 1987; Plantzos 2008; Hamilakis 1999 and 2017; Mazower 2008.

¹¹⁷ Petrakos 1987: 1.

¹¹⁸ Mazower 2008: 33-41

¹¹⁹ The Spercheios Valley and the southernmost parts of Achaia Phthiotis and Dolopia were liberated with Southern Greece in 1832 while parts of Perrhaibia (the Ellassona area) would not be ceded to Greece until 1913, along with Epeiros, Macedonia, and Crete (Gallis 197: 2).

¹²⁰ Gallis 1979: 1-2.

¹²¹ Leake 1835.

Ussing (a Danish philologist),¹²² Bursian (a German philologist),¹²³ and Lolling (a German classical archaeologist).¹²⁴ Of particular importance, the year right before Thessaly's incorporation into Greece, Georgiadis, a physician from Portaria on Pelion (who self-identified as a Thessalomagnete), published *Θεσσαλία*, the first Modern Greek description of Thessaly's history and landscape, including its known ruins.¹²⁵

From 1881 onwards, the Archaeological Society would extend its activities to Thessaly and would occasionally send an Ephor who would conduct archaeological excavations on a new discovery or carry out rescue excavations due to development or threat from looting. In this early phase of archaeological research in Greece, the stratigraphic contexts were often not recorded and the main purpose of excavation was to retrieve important antiquities and to expose architecture, but the contributions of these early scholars should nevertheless be understated.¹²⁶ The first Ephor sent to Thessaly was Tsountas (1883-1906), who had worked in Mycenae previously. Tsountas excavated primarily Neolithic and Mycenaean sites, such as those at Marmariani, Kastro Palaia, Sesklo, and he continued Staïs excavations at Dimini. Tsountas' important work in the latter two sites would set the standard for many of the early Greek and foreign excavations in Thessaly.¹²⁷

Arvanitopoulos would take over as Ephor (1906-1926) after Tsountas. In his two decades as Ephor, he accomplished a great deal, having visited and recorded archaeological sites and inscriptions in much of Thessaly. He conducted several large-scale excavations at Demetrias (whose painted grave stelai he discovered in 1907¹²⁸), Phthiotic Thebes, and Gonnoi as well as many important smaller excavations at numerous other sites (some never completed), many of which have provided data for this dissertation. ¹²⁹ He published many reports of his excavations in the *AE*, *ΠΑΕ*, and many other journals, and kept meticulous (although often inconsistent) excavation journals (forty-five of which survive),

¹²² Ussing 1857.

¹²³ Bursian 1862.

¹²⁴ Lolling 1989.

¹²⁵ Georgiadis 1880.

¹²⁶ Gallis 1979: 2-3.

¹²⁷ Gallis 1979: 3-4.

¹²⁸ Arvanitopoulos 1947: 1-16; 1949: 1-9, 81-92, 153-168; 1952: 5-18.

¹²⁹ Stamatopoulou 2012: 17-24.

sketches, and numerous photographs (the majority of which are unfortunately lost). During his tenure as Ephor, the Athanasakis Archaeological Museum of Volos was founded to house the Demetrias stelai, and has since continued to house a great wealth of finds from *Nomos Magnisias*. A choleric personality, Arvanitopoulos came into legal conflict with colleagues, and the embittered Ephor began to submit less detailed reports than he kept in his earlier journals, which presents a hurdle for archaeologists studying any of the sites he excavated.¹³⁰ Having also served in the Greek Army during the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) while Ephor, some of his journals were lost at that time. The bulk of his journals, photographs, unpublished plans, sketches, and photographs are kept by the Epigraphic Society as well as the Archaeological Society. Stamatopoulou argues for the importance of the Arvanitopoulos Archives to scholars of Thessalian archaeology and has begun to study and publish some of the archival material.¹³¹

In 1924, during Arvanitopoulos time as Ephor, the German philologist Friedrich Stählin published his book, *Das hellenische Thessalien*, a historical description of the ancient Thessalian landscape.¹³² Stählin had been travelling extensively in Thessaly since 1904 until he had to serve in World War I.¹³³ Combining the diverse and fragmentary literary sources on Thessaly with his knowledge of the topography and ancient remains of the region, he identifies many modern places with ancient toponyms to an extent not accomplished before by previous explorers. Since the publication of his book, many of his identifications have been challenged or corrected but a great deal have withstood the test of time, making the book a necessary resource for Thessalian archaeologists.

Giannopoulos, a self-taught archaeologist already active in Thessaly even before Tsountas and Arvanitopoulos, and a former curator of the Almyros collections (1902-1918¹³⁴) and the Volos Museum (1918-1921, 1927-1945), would succeed Arvanitopoulos as Ephor (1927-1945).¹³⁵ Although Giannopoulos undertook few excavations himself, he

¹³⁰ Stamatopoulou 2012: 18.

¹³¹ Stamatopoulou 2012.

¹³² Stählin 1924.

¹³³ Cantarelli 2001.

¹³⁴ Giannopoulos was appointed curator of the Almyros collections before the Antiquarian Othrys Society decided to build a museum in 1906, whose foundations were laid in 1910 but not completed until 1927 (Gallis 1979: 11).

¹³⁵ Gallis 1979: 10-14; Giannopoulos retired in 1940 but was called to the army during WWII. He was once again made Ephor until his death that same year.

published an extensive amount of archaeological material, particularly on inscriptions, which are essential to any scholar of Thessaly.¹³⁶

World War II hit the pause button on archaeological excavations in Thessaly and the first archaeologist to work in the region was Verdellis, who came to Thessaly as Ephor (1950-1955) and excavated and published many sites, the most well-known of which were numerous tholos tombs dating to the LBA and later (including the Archaic tholos tomb of Farsala).¹³⁷ He was succeeded by Theocharis who served as Ephor for two decades (1956-1974) and carried out many investigations of sites throughout Thessaly.

The establishment of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture¹³⁸ in 1971 created a more organised archaeological administrative infrastructure for all of Greece, with its absorption of the Archaeological Service as one of its departments.¹³⁹ Whereas previously, the whole region was administered by a single Ephorate of Thessaly from Volos, the region would now be administered by several Ephorates. The Ephorate at Volos, which administered archaeological work in *Nomos Magnisias* (covering Pelion as well the coastal areas of Achaia Phthiotis) was created, as well as an Ephorate at Larisa (administering *Nomos Larisas*, which stretched from Perrhaibia, most of the Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis, to the northern half of Achaia Phthiotis, as well as Western Thessaly). An Ephorate at Karditsa was created in 2004 to administer the entire western plain and the Thessalian Pindos), and later in 2012, an Ephorate at Trikala was created to administer *Nomos Trikalon* separately from *Nomos Karditsas*. The Ephorate at Lamia administers *Nomos Fthiotidas* which is technically in Sterea Ellada and not the modern Periphery of Thessaly but includes the southern parts of Achaia Phthiotis, most of Dolopia, and all of the Spercheios Valley.¹⁴⁰

The various Ephorates continue to do essential work for the investigation,

¹³⁶ Giannopoulos 1913: 217-220; 1927-8a: 119-127; 1927-8b: 203-205; 1930: 96-107, 176-181; 1931: 175-180; 1932: 17-29; 1933: 1-7; 1934-5: 140-150; *AA* 10: 49-54; *AA* 11: 55-67.

¹³⁷ See Chapter 3, 2.1F.

¹³⁸ The Ministry of Culture has undergone several name changes, starting off as the Ministry of Culture and Sciences then becoming the Ministry of Culture in 1985, and then several more fluctuations since 2009 to either the Ministry of Culture and Tourism or Ministry of Culture and Sport.

¹³⁹ Hellenic Ministry of Culture 2019. *Ιστορία του Υπουργείου Πολιτισμού και Αθλητισμού*. Accessed 5 June 2020. <https://www.culture.gov.gr/DocLib/YPPOA_istoriko_images_2.pdf>

¹⁴⁰ I should mention that a different infrastructure existed for Byzantine antiquities (until they merged with the Classical Ephorates in the last five years) and that they worked in conjunction with the Prehistoric and Classical Ephorates but I do not include the historical development of the Byzantine Ephorates here.

preservation, publication, and promotion of archaeological sites in Thessaly. The majority of the excavations conducted by the Ephorates are rescue excavations, which are necessitated by urban and rural development threatening many ancient remains. The changes in the crops being grown in Thessaly within the last half century brought about many changes in agricultural practices that threaten archaeological material, such as in the introduction of deep plough in the 1960s, the subsequent levelling of the landscape (including many *magoules*), urban development, the draining of Lakes Karla, Nessonis, Askyris, and Xynias for agricultural land, and the creation of artificial lakes such as Lake Plastiras. The construction of new buildings, roads, and the expansion of neighbourhoods prompt the need for constant rescue excavations, but due to economic circumstances, the Ephorates are often underfunded, limiting the available resources for complete studies of excavated assemblages and subsequent publication. The Ephorates nonetheless continue to provide an excellent and necessary service for the investigation and consolidation of ancient remains. The numerous rescue excavations have provided us a substantial amount of data, not only on sanctuaries but also on domestic structures (such as at Pherai and Pharsalos), funerary monuments, public buildings, and ancient infrastructure. Their regular reports in the *AA* are still the most valuable starting point for any archaeological study of Thessaly.

In addition to rescue excavations, Greek and foreign archaeologists also conduct research excavations and surveys of the region, often as *synergasies* (collaborations between a Greek Ephorate and a foreign archaeological school). In the past few decades, archaeological research in Thessaly has expanded, with a growing body of publications from German, French, Italian, Dutch, Canadian, and Swedish scholars, in addition to Greek. In addition to the *AA*, the most important regular publications of archaeological research on Thessaly are the proceedings of the *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερέας Ελλάδας (ΑΕΘΣΕ)*, an international conference, in which results from current archaeological fieldwork are presented in Volos every three years.¹⁴¹

The history of archaeological work in Thessaly brings several important issues to

¹⁴¹ There have been five volumes of the *ΑΕΘΣΕ* so far and the proceedings of the 2018 conference is in the process of publication.

this present work. The first is that the data for sanctuaries are uneven throughout the landscape; some areas are better represented than others. For example, the data for Eastern Thessaly (especially its coastal areas) are more available than in Western Thessaly. It is only in recent years that the western areas have garnered significant archaeological attention.¹⁴² There have been a limited number of extensive and intensive surveys throughout the region and our knowledge of settlement patterns throughout all time periods is patchy. It is important to note that patterns of distribution in the archaeological material can be indicative of patterns of archaeological bias and it is only with continued surveys of the region can the *lacunae* be filled.

The second issue is that many of the sites presented here were identified and/or excavated during the infancy of archaeological research in the area, which meant that unimpressive finds such as bone and sherds were often not kept, and the stratigraphy was not fully documented. We are often left with only a knowledge of the site's existence and an imprecise date. Furthermore, some were only ever identified by explorers and surveyors and interpreted as sanctuaries based on very little information, and sometimes the sites they identified cannot be located and their information cannot be verified. Because of this, and given the fact that many sites have been looted and damaged/destroyed by later activity, it is often the case that we are left with only a minimal amount of information on some sanctuaries.

Related to the two issues above, the publications vary in quality. Many sites, because they were hastily investigated by early archaeologists or by rescue excavators, are only briefly described in reports. In some cases, the results from rescue excavations are still awaiting a complete publication. In contrast, some are more completely published.

4.3 *The Scope of the Study*

The sanctuaries discussed in this dissertation are set in the historical and archaeological

¹⁴² Worth noting in Western Thessaly are the activities of Intzesiloglou (AA 40 1985 B: 196; 43 1988 B1: 253–54, Intzesiloglou 2006: 224–226), Hatziangelakis (AA 56–59 2001–2004, B2 578), Karagiannopoulos and Hatziangelakis 2015, Eleftheriou and Karagiannopoulos. 2020, Krachtopoulou *et al.* 2020, and the recent work of the Vlochos Archaeological Project Vaiopoulou *et al.* (forthcoming). “The Vlochos Archaeological Project 2016–2017: the first two years of Greek-Swedish collaboration at Vlochos, Karditsa Prefecture,” in Mazarakis-Ainian (ed.) *AEΘΣΕ* 6.

contexts described in the previous subchapters. This study will cover a time span of roughly 900 years, starting from the Archaic period to the first century of Roman Imperial rule of Greece. I have chosen such a long time span for this study in order to be able to analyse shifting patterns in group identities. I begin with the Archaic period (750-480 BC) rather than the Early Iron Age or earlier because it is in the Archaic period that a population in this region first began to identify as Thessalian. I will pay particular attention to the processes of group identification occurring in the Classical (480-323, with special focus on the 4th c. BC) and Hellenistic periods (323-30) as several foreign powers would impose many reforms on Broader Thessaly's socio-political structures, and interfere with its local cultic institutions. I end with the beginning of the Imperial period in Greece as Thessaly's loss of autonomy to Rome would mean a drastic change in the processes of self-identification, as entirely new factors were added to what it meant to be Thessalian and what it meant to Greek.¹⁴³ The archaeological data available for Roman Thessaly are also meagre and the archaeological study of the period is still in its infancy, and so the sanctuaries from this time period will have to come in the future.¹⁴⁴ I include the first century of the Imperial period in Thessaly as some earlier sanctuaries continued to be in use until this time period but they will not be a major focus of my argument.

Geographically, I will restrict my study to tetradic Thessaly and to its three earliest *perioikoi*, Magnesia, Perrhaibia, and Achaia Phthiotis. Out of all of the *perioikoi*, these three would be the most closely intertwined with the tetrads in social, political, and geographic terms. Parts of Perrhaibia became incorporated into Pelasgiotis and part of Pelasgiotis would be transferred over to Magnesia. I include Magnesia even though it would not be incorporated into the Thessalian League by Flamininus' reforms because the processes of group identification at work in the region after 196 are continuations of those that began in the Archaic and Classical periods. I exclude Dolopia and Athamania because no sanctuaries have yet been identified archaeologically. A Dolopian sanctuary to Omphale between Angeia (Rentina) and Ktimene (Ano Dranista) probably existed based on epigraphic

¹⁴³ This is not to say that the factors brought in by the Macedonians did not redefine what it meant to be Thessalian or Greek; they did, but the changes were not as drastic as those brought in by the Empire.

¹⁴⁴ For an introduction to the problems of studying Roman Thessaly, see Kaczmarek 2015.

evidence but no remains have been found.¹⁴⁵ On the acropolis of Agoriani, Arvanitopoulos noted the remains of a building which he briefly muses could have been a temple or palace but gives no indication as to the date and provides no further information.¹⁴⁶ Given the lack of any useful, analysable data, I have chosen to omit Dolopia from this work. The Spercheios Valley, even though its *ethne* fell under the Thessalian sphere of influence early on and even though there is plenty of archaeological data for its sanctuaries, would also have to be tackled in a different work, as their later incorporation into the Thessalian League would mean a different approach to the research questions.

In the next chapter, I further deconstruct the word “sanctuary” and the emic terms that the Greeks used for it, particularly the terms *hieron* and *temenos*. My dataset will consist of sanctuaries that are not necessarily a formal *temenos* (i.e. spaces consecrated to one or more deities that have a defined space and an altar) but will also be looking at spaces that have been ritualised (another term discussed in the next chapter), receive cult activity, but did not receive a formal *temenos*. These can include spaces such as tombs and springs, which can receive cult activity but were not considered a formal *temenos*. Many sanctuaries in Thessaly were formal *temene* but the archaeological evidence for them is often limited and one cannot always distinguish whether they were or were not fitted with the necessary features of a *temenos*. Ideally, public and private cult should be examined in conjunction as the two fed into one another and were not located in isolated spheres. I will, however, be restricting my dataset to public sanctuaries and will not be examining domestic shrines as public sanctuaries do present a special category of sacred place. There are several sites in Broader Thessaly with good data for domestic cult but the same cannot be said of the whole region and any incorporation of the domestic data would be patchy and difficult to analyse.

This dissertation demonstrates that sanctuaries of Broader Thessaly were intertwined with long term narratives of localism, regionalism, and panhellenism. The individual inhabitants of the region and the communities they formed generated their own ideas of what these various levels of group identity should look, feel, smell, taste, or sound

¹⁴⁵ *RPh* 1911, 289, 41.

¹⁴⁶ *PAE* 1911: 349

like in their material articulation. Furthermore, they had different ideas on how to manifest these group identities materially in local, regional, and panhellenic contexts. Sanctuaries played an important role as agents in the negotiation of these identities by serving as a medium through which they can represent their various affiliations visually, whether actively or passively. The physical interaction of human beings with these spaces created an entangled relationship in which the humans create the material but the material, accumulating meanings and memories, in turn mould the human creators. Broader Thessaly's sanctuaries, more often than not, seemed to resist panhellenic norms, instead showing a preference for the archaizing and the minimalistic. Peripteral temples were scantily represented in the region, for example, and many imported cults (e.g. Egyptian, Syrian, Anatolian cults) were either restricted geographically or short-lived. The paucity of large-scale architecture in sanctuaries should not, however, be seen as a lack of monumentality but rather a different form of monumentality in which what is traditional and what is local is commemorated not by enlarging the sanctuaries' architecturally designated spaces, but by maintaining them in the form and size that is perceived to be "the old way" (or "traditional"). These archaizing temple forms seem to peak in parts of the region when there was a sense that the inhabitants were facing threats to their territory and their autonomy.

There was a constant push-and-pull in the material articulation of the various tiers of identities, as evident in the spikes and drops in the popularity of the different architectural and spatial configurations of sanctuaries. This work demonstrates that what is local and what is panhellenic are not necessarily contradictory terms. In the case of Broader Thessaly, localism can be an expression of panhellenism—a claim that local architectural and spatial expression in sanctuaries are the authentic expression of "Hellenicity." We now turn to a discussion of the theoretical frameworks through which I will view the issues presented by this study as well as the methodologies by which I will analyse them.

2

HANDLING THE SACRED

Theoretical Perspectives and Methodology

"It is only by a somewhat severe mental effort that we realize the fact essential to our study that *there were no gods at all*, that what we have to investigate are not so many actual facts and existences but only conceptions of the human mind, shifting and changing colour with every human mind that conceived them."

Jane Ellen Harrison,
*Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*¹⁴⁷

1. Religion and Ritual

1.1 Defining the Undefinable

Walter Burkert, who passed away in March 2015 when this dissertation was in its early stages, remarked that as much as we feel that Greek religion is familiar to us, such a sentiment is ultimately misleading, since Greek religion "as a historical phenomenon...is unique and unrepeatable,"¹⁴⁸ and so before I can even begin to approach the sanctuaries of Thessaly, it would be apt to defamiliarise Greek religion by deconstructing both the term *religion* as well as the word's applicability to Ancient Greece. The sheer irony in studying Ancient Greek religion lies in the fact that—technically speaking—no such thing as Greek religion existed. The concept of religion is a modern anachronism that we impose onto a culture that did not possess an all-encompassing word that subsumed all of their beliefs, rituals, gods, rules, doctrines, symbolic acts, organisations, mythologies, and sacred places, into a singular, reductive term—*religion*. Nongbri argues that the concept of the religious and the secular being separate realms of life was a Modern European (specifically

¹⁴⁷ Harrison 1908: 164.

¹⁴⁸ Burkert 1985: 1.

Protestant) phenomenon and that no prior culture would have understood our usage of the word; therefore, students of religion have to be self-aware in their usage of the term.¹⁴⁹ At the same time, the use of the term *religion* is near-inevitable in any study of this nature, so I shall first have to unpack the term of its centuries of baggage—the connotations and assumptions that the word has accumulated since the 16th century¹⁵⁰—in order to establish how I myself will be approaching “religion.”

Scholars of religion have long struggled to define the word “religion,” especially those working in an ancient Greek context. Its modern usage refers to a system of beliefs, practices, and symbols, often in relation to the supernatural. There is, however, very little agreement on a unified definition of the term. Durkheim, for example, saw it as a “unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things.”¹⁵¹ Geertz defines it as a “system of symbols” that acts to establish a motivation for humans to formulate a general order of existence.¹⁵² The latter two authors preferred to minimise religion’s role in creating a distinction between the natural and the supernatural. Rappaport reduces the definition to the performances of “invariant sequences of formal acts” not necessarily understood by the performers.¹⁵³ Renfrew prefers to see it as an institution of “culturally patterned interaction with superhuman beings.”¹⁵⁴ The problem with many of these definitions is that it is hard to fit the world’s diversity of religious experiences into a universalising law.

Others have tackled the question of whether or not we should define religion at all. Kyriakidis argues that the lack of a unified definition of religion is a hindrance to the study of religion, particularly in the archaeology of religion. He suggests that in order to fight vagueness, there needs to be a clear definition.¹⁵⁵ Bell contests that attempting to produce a unified definition of religion would be counter-productive, stating that the idea that scholars would ever agree upon a definition would be a pipe dream. Definitions, she argues, should be determined on a case-by-case basis.¹⁵⁶ My approach to defining religion will

¹⁴⁹ Nongbri 2005, echoing Smith 1982.

¹⁵⁰ Nongbri 2005: 85.

¹⁵¹ Durkheim 1912.

¹⁵² Geertz 1966.

¹⁵³ Rappaport 1999.

¹⁵⁴ Renfrew 2007.

¹⁵⁵ Kyriakidis 2007a and 2007b.

¹⁵⁶ Bell 2007.

follow Bell's. I do not believe that a consensus on the definition should be established, but instead every individual study needs to clarify its use of the term.

As much as possible, I prefer to approach the definition of "religion" in emic terms, particularly since the culture in question lacked an equivalent word. The term is anachronistic, but the Greek language had numerous words that described the belief systems and practices in relation to the supernatural. For example, the word *nomos*, (νόμος) was used to describe customs, which include customary acts and behaviours both with and without relation to the divine. The word is also used as a general word for law as Greek laws were often unwritten and handed down through custom. Used as a verb (*nomizein*, νομίζειν), the word can refer to the act of believing in the gods but also to being a devotee of a particular deity. Most generally, ritual acts are called *ta dromena* (τὰ δρώμενα), meaning "the things done," often qualified by *hiera* (ἱερά, sacred) to distinguish them from normal acts described with the same word. The word *latreia* (λατρεία) is often used to describe various acts for a divinity.¹⁵⁷ The word literally means "service" and is not exclusively used to refer to acts performed for the gods but also as general service. Similar verbs such as *therapeuein* (θεραπεύειν) and, less commonly and not exclusively, *douleuein* (δουλεύειν) are also used to describe the performance of service for a deity. The word *threskeia* (θρησκεία), which later becomes the Modern Greek word for religion, is used to refer to observances and worship performed for divinities, although it is less common before the Christian era.¹⁵⁸ Various other acts are used to describe what we would call religious actions, such as *time* (τιμή), which means "honour" but can refer to an act performed for a deity, and *telete* (τελετή) or *telos* (τέλος), which can both refer to ritual acts.¹⁵⁹

Most of the Greek terms mentioned above can exist without a connection to the sacred and the divine, and often need the qualifier *hieron* (ἱερόν), which is used as a general term for something that refers to, is filled with, or is set apart for the divine. The lack of a Greek word equivalent to religion and the fact that the terms used to describe acts and beliefs relating to the sacred are often words that carry no sacred connotation, point to

¹⁵⁷ For example, in Pl. *Ap.* 23c.

¹⁵⁸ For an example from the 5th c. BC, see Hdt. 2.64.2.

¹⁵⁹ Parker 2011: 40-63; Bourgeaud 2017.

Ancient Greek attitudes towards what we term “religious.” Rather than seeing the secular and sacred as separate, as is the modern tendency, the two were often embedded within each other in the Greek mindset.

As Buxton asks, did Greek religion, then, exist?¹⁶⁰ Geertz, Durkheim, and Renfrew all refer to religion as a “system,” and Durkheim specifies it as a “unified system.”¹⁶¹ In this sense, Greek religion would not be a religion at all as there was not a single, unified system of beliefs and practices related to the supernatural but a spectrum of diverse but related belief systems and practices, without a core doctrine, a canon of texts, or a professional clergy, and especially without a central authority.¹⁶² In an Ancient Greek context, *religion* is a blanket term we use to refer to this plurality. It might in fact be more correct to refer to it as the “religions of the Greeks,” a phrase coined by Simon Price to reflect the polycentricity of Greek “religion.”¹⁶³ A similar scenario can be seen in the use of the term “Hinduism,” which is a blanket term originally coined by the British in 1846 to refer to the diverse beliefs and rituals of the Indian subcontinent. What the dominant colonial powers labelled the Hindu religion was not, in fact, a single system but an aggregate of different traditions existing in a macro-region with a countless number of expressed ethnicities, languages, socio-political systems, and regional administrative systems.¹⁶⁴ As in the case of Ancient Greek “religion,” the traditions of the different communities of the Indian subcontinent bore some similarities with each other (e.g. some similar deities, beliefs, and rituals), but was not a single unified system.

This dissertation, unlike Maria Mili’s monograph, is not interested in Thessalian “religion” in its entirety.¹⁶⁵ It is concerned specifically with the performative aspects of religion whose vestiges are visible in the archaeological record. For this reason, I do not want to belabour myself with attempting to define religion in any generalising way and will as much as possible eschew the use of the term in this dissertation in any analytical capacity. “Religion” is, however, a convenient etic term that I cannot entirely avoid using as

¹⁶⁰ Buxton 2008: 8.

¹⁶¹ Durkheim 1912.

¹⁶² Buxton 2000.

¹⁶³ See Price 1999 which reflects on the lack of uniformity in Greek “religion.”

¹⁶⁴ Sugandhi and Morrison 2011.

¹⁶⁵ Mili 2015: 4.

a blanket term to refer to the plurality that it encompasses. Although not analytically useful, I shall continue to use it as an informal descriptive term. With respect to my analysis, I shall prefer to refer to specific aspects of “religion,” such as ritual, sanctuaries, cult, and belief, whenever possible.

1.2 Ritual

The terms cult and ritual can themselves be problematic to define; but, as in the case of religion, I will be employing these terms with explicit intent. Cult will require less of an explanation in this context as the word “cult” is almost never used with the negative connotations of brainwashing and Kool-Aid in the academic study of Greek religion but is used simply to refer to the worship of a deity or to a specific sect within a broader system (e.g. the cult of Ennodia, the cult of Athena Polias, Mithraism, etc.).¹⁶⁶

The term ritual is a more difficult issue. Like religion, there is no consensus for its definition.¹⁶⁷ Scholars have taken two approaches in defining ritual. One involves identifying and isolating a class of actions and behaviours and then describing their characteristics, as Renfrew does.¹⁶⁸ He identifies certain characteristics of ritual observances and seeks to distinguish religious ritual from non-religious ritual. Bell is dissatisfied with such an approach and proposes that we approach ritual as part of a process that she terms “ritualisation.” In this approach, ritualisation is a way of acting that is meant to separate and privilege certain actions from mundane activities.¹⁶⁹

In this dissertation, rather than privileging a class of objects and spaces as vestiges of ritual, I shall view them as part of a process which strategically selects, whether intentionally or unintentionally, certain ways of acting, and which ascribes special qualities to those physical and mental actions by the human body in interaction with the objects and material contexts involved in those actions, thereby transforming the meaning that those actions hold for the human participants in the ritual. My definition of ritual, following Bell’s approach of case-by-case definition, will refer to actions that have been transformed or are

¹⁶⁶ See Christensen’s *Cult in the Study of Religion and Archaeology*.

¹⁶⁷ Kyriakidis 2007b.

¹⁶⁸ Renfrew 2007.

¹⁶⁹ Bell 2007.

transforming into ones with a quality that contrasts them from mundane activities. These actions, as described by Humphrey and Laidlaw, are not always consciously articulated and often carry an aspect of “non-intentional intentionality.”¹⁷⁰ These actions are linked to collective beliefs, but these beliefs are not experienced by all individuals in the same way. In a Greek context, these beliefs are often given a connection to the supernatural but can also encompass behaviours that extend beyond supernatural beliefs or cultic practices. The process of ritualisation is not a static process but a transformative one. The special quality that makes an action ritual is not permanent and the meaning that groups or individuals ascribe to ritual actions constantly change.

1.3 Archaeology and Ritual

Perhaps more problematic than defining ritual in general terms is identifying the vestiges of ritual in an archaeological context. As rituals are often repetitive and conservative, they are sometimes easier to identify than mundane actions.¹⁷¹ We do, however, need to remain aware of the problems with interpreting ritual actions in material remains. Many rituals are performed in places that are not exclusively used for rituals, and even areas that are consecrated for ritual practices are often cleared of remains after the performance of rituals, during and after which, depositional and post-depositional processes always occur. Objects used in ritual are not always easily distinguishable from mundane objects as they are sometimes similar. For example, an unguentarium used in a sanctuary or a burial ritual bears no physical difference from an unguentarium that an athlete used in his bath after a day of training. Objects used in ritual can be found in mixed contexts or in contexts where the functions of artefacts and features are not exclusively ritual. Domestic contexts, for example, are notoriously difficult to interpret with regards to the identification of ritual acts based on possible ritual areas and ritual objects since houses are places in which life—entangled with with the beliefs, practices, symbols, and traditions of the living—happened.¹⁷² Finally, sites and objects often live lives that are completely separate from their original purpose. A space or an object that was consecrated for ritual

¹⁷⁰ Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994.

¹⁷¹ Hastorf 2007.

¹⁷² Kyriakidis 2007b uses ethnographic comparisons with Modern Greek household rituals.

does not always stay sacred. It accumulates new meanings for the different people who interact with it and is transformed as those meanings and those people change. Smith best describes the mutability of the sacred category: "Divine and human, sacred and profane, are transitive categories; they serve as maps and labels, not substances."¹⁷³

One of the ways in which ritual can be discerned from the archaeological record, however, to counter the complexities of interpreting the mutability of the ritual category, is by identifying patterns of certain objects throughout a micro-region or macro-region in the archaeological record. For example, some objects are consistently found in certain locations in certain conditions. The raised altar, for example, is frequently found in contexts that are demonstrably ritual. Raised altars can vary in form, some being crude and rectangular stone blocks, some small, others large and stepped, some T-shaped, some rectangular but open on one side, others are elaborated with volutes and reliefs.¹⁷⁴ Their locations, however, can be very predictable. Their foundations (and sometimes their complete forms) are very often found in front of or adjacent to temple entrances. Many are found with traces of burning and/or with a nearby deposit of ash and bone. When not found in sanctuary contexts, for example when found in houses, they are regularly found in central courtyards and are often associated with objects that are consistently found in ritual settings (e.g. figurines, incense burners, ritual basins, some bone deposits, etc.).¹⁷⁵ When located in their primary context, they never seem to be found with evidence for simultaneous, non-ritual functions. Once created, an altar commands special treatment from its human interactors, who would move and speak differently around it, and who assign privileged meanings to it that differentiate it from mundane objects. Only once it has shed this privileged status can it be found reused in secondary contexts (e.g. as building material). Consistent patterns, contexts, and treatments of material, therefore, can help identify ritual actions, although these will not always identify the nature of the ritual action or the deities to which these ritual actions are directed. We must still, however, be mindful of the fact that the meanings objects and spaces can shed the meanings that they have

¹⁷³ Smith 1987: 105-106.

¹⁷⁴ Ekroth 2005 discusses the iconographic identification of altars. The *eschara*, on the other hand, being nothing fancier than a sunken grill in appearance, can often be difficult to distinguish from a non-ritual grill. See also Ekroth 2001: 115-126.

¹⁷⁵ Blakely 2013: 7.

accumulated.

Fortunately, in the case of the time periods with which this dissertation is concerned (i.e. the Archaic to the Roman period of Greece), we are not dealing with a prehistoric culture but a literate one, one that left abundant literary sources and inscriptions that describe how the Greeks themselves perceived, in their own terms, the various categories of objects, concepts, and actions that we would call religious. Although virtually none of the literary sources are Thessalian sources, a large corpus of inscriptions from Broader Thessaly survive, many of which attest to emic perceptions of their own “religion.”¹⁷⁶ These inscriptions, written in both prose and verse, include dedications to the gods, prayers, laws prescribing the types of activities allowed within a sanctuary, labels indicating what spaces belonged to which deity, inventories of a community or sanctuary’s belongings and economic activities, and casual mentions of deities and rituals for deities in various contexts. In addition to local inscriptions, evidence for Thessalian religion comes indirectly from Greek literary sources. The inscriptions that we do have, in addition to the rich archaeological record, do indicate unsurprisingly that Thessaly’s beliefs and rituals do fall under the broad spectrum of “Greek religion,” as we defined it above, albeit with their own idiosyncrasies, as in the case of every other region in the Greek world.¹⁷⁷ The existence of written evidence allows me the opportunity to access the web of meanings associated with ritual, the sacred nature of spaces and objects and texts as the inhabitants of Thessaly defined it themselves. There is of course no better indication that a site is a sanctuary than an inscription indicating that that the site is a sanctuary (taking into account that the usage of space is never static but evolves over time). This of course does not mean that the written sources, whether literary or epigraphic, are not problematic, as I shall discuss later in the methodology section of this chapter.

1.4 Sanctuaries and Sacred Spaces

It would be naïve to think that a Greek sanctuary needs no further explication. Like

¹⁷⁶ *IG IX²* deals entirely with Thessalian inscriptions and is fairly substantial compared to many regions of Greece. Many others have been published in the *SEG*, and Giannopoulos consistently published lists of Thessalian inscriptions during his lifetime. In addition, the CNRS Lyon has been prolific in publishing studies of inscriptions from various parts of Thessaly since the 1970s.

¹⁷⁷ Mili 2015.

the word “religion,” it is a concept that also needs to be defamiliarised. What, firstly, is a sanctuary? The most minimal definition of a Greek sanctuary, usually called a *hieron* (ἱερόν, also ἱερά γῆ, “sacred land”¹⁷⁸) or a *temenos* (τέμενος) in Greek, consists of two essential parts. One is the territory of the sanctuary itself, the land demarcated and consecrated as the property of the god(s) to which the sanctuary belongs.¹⁷⁹ The sacred land of the gods could be an agricultural field, a meadow, a grove, a forest, or an urban space. What sets it apart from any other type of space is the fact that it was perceived as the property of a deity and was therefore used very differently. Use of and movement within this sacred territory was often regulated and protected by sacred laws. Not all sacred lands were equal, however, and sanctuaries fell within a spectrum of sacredness.¹⁸⁰ Treatment of a sacred space could range from complete untouchability and inviolability to ones with more flexibility and variability in usage (e.g. arability and permissibility of commercial activities). This territory delineated as divine property was called the *temenos* (from the word τέμνω meaning to cut) as it was land that was cut apart for the purposes of the sanctuary.¹⁸¹ While a *hieron* can be used to refer to any sacred space, a *temenos* was necessarily given a boundary, which could be an imaginary boundary marked only by one or more inscriptions (often on stones called *horoi*, ὄροι) or a tree or a rock, but sometimes also by large *peribolos* walls, which in the case of the larger panhellenic sanctuaries could be massive fortification walls.¹⁸²

The second essential part of the sanctuary is the place on which the focus of ritual activity—the burning and/or offering of animals and foodstuffs—occurs. This place is the altar (the *bomos*, βωμός), which in most Greek cults is not found inside a building but outside. Exceptions to this are found in mystery cults where altars are found inside cult buildings (e.g. in a *mithraeum*, in a *metroon*).¹⁸³ This altar can be a simple structure of brick or stone, but it can also be a massive structure with volutes and steps. They can be either raised or a grilling pit placed in the ground (an *eschara*).

¹⁷⁸ Horster 2010: 440.

¹⁷⁹ Pedley 2005: 57-60.

¹⁸⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1994: 9.

¹⁸¹ Horster’s approach differs from Finley 1973, who states that the divine ownership of the sacred land was not important since it was perceived and treated as public land.

¹⁸² Pedley 2005: 7-8; Sourvinou-Inwood 1994: 10-11.

¹⁸³ Pedley 2005: 8, 60-62; Ekroth 2005.

All other additions to a Greek sanctuary that were not the *temenos* or the altar were not necessary. The temple or the *naos* (ναός), even though this type of building was the summit of Greek architectural design, was not a mandatory feature of a sanctuary. It was merely a building meant to house the cult image of a deity (often the wooden *xoanon* but can also be of bronze, stone, or more precious materials such as chryselephantine), which was not always a given in a sanctuary. I do not, however, want to diminish the importance of a temple's role in the construction and negotiation of group identities, a role which Burkert touches upon:

A Greek temple is the sumptuous and beautiful *anathema*, by which a polis, yielding to the divine, demonstrates to herself and to others her existence and her claims. ... The temple is an *agalma*, a place of pride and delight, an incarnation of beauty, but also an emblem of wealth and power, not to be separated from politics and prestige.”¹⁸⁴

A vast variety of other structures can occur in a sanctuary, such as treasuries, dining rooms, houses for priests and other staff, areas for leisure and competition, and various storage facilities. Archaeologically, however, the two most necessary features of a sanctuary are often not found, and we are still left wondering whether the site in question was or was not a sanctuary, as we will see in the case of Thessaly. We often have to interpret the nature of a site based on the remains of activities and structures in the sanctuary, such as votive deposition and the familiarity of many temple building plans and infer the existence of a *temenos* and an altar based on those other activities and structures.

The aforementioned characteristics of a sanctuary, however, are generalising characteristics of Greek sanctuaries, and as I have discussed previously, “Greek religion” was not a single system but a spectrum of systems. We must therefore expect sanctuaries in Thessaly to diverge from what we as scholars have determined to be the norm, but in reality is only an Athenocentric norm.

I will also throw caution on the ever-changing nature of space throughout this dissertation. A space that has been made sacred was not always and will not always be

¹⁸⁴ Burkert 1988: 44.

sacred, and it can accumulate and shed different meanings over time. Take for example the the Basilica San Clemente in Rome, which began as a domestic space that became a gathering place for Christians, burned down during the reign of Nero, after which a pagan *mithraeum* was built on the ruins, on top of which the Christians built a basilica with catacombs underneath.¹⁸⁵ Such is the nature of any sanctuary. The space existed before and will exist after (in some form or another) but acquires a new meaning every time it is recreated by people or by nature. A once-sacred space can undergo a process of de-ritualisation, after which it can be used as a non-sacred space, after which it can be re-sacralised and de-sacralised again, and not necessarily in the same place. This should cause any archaeologist to consider a site's biography from deposition to post-deposition before identifying certain sites or activities as sacred, or assuming cultic continuity in a site's various phases. Writing in the late 2nd c. AD/3rd c. AD. Tertullian quipped concerning the de-sacralisation of pagan ritual objects, specifically the melting-down of bronze cult statues: "Saturn into a cooking pot, Minerva into a washbasin."¹⁸⁶ What belonged to a sanctuary could have been reused as a non-ritual object and vice versa and we need to be cautious of the fact that objects and places live lives beyond their original intended purpose.¹⁸⁷

1.5 Important Trends in the Study of Greek Sanctuaries

The early discourse on Greek sanctuaries was largely philologically and architecturally driven. Much of this early scholarship on Greek sanctuaries focused on the architectonic features of the sanctuary, especially on its more "monumental" structures, but rarely went beyond being descriptive in nature.¹⁸⁸ As a result, these early studies (e.g. the studies of the sanctuary complexes of Delphi and Olympia) discussed the sanctuaries as places of ritual only incidentally. Within the last forty years, however, a shift in interest towards broader societal processes significantly advanced the archaeology of Greek

¹⁸⁵ Guidobaldi, Bragantini, and Lawlor 1992 provides a summary of the excavations from 1715 to 1990 and the many transformations of the building.

¹⁸⁶ Tertullian, *Apol.* 13.4.

¹⁸⁷ Smith 1987: 105.

¹⁸⁸ Kindt 2011: 698-699.

religion.¹⁸⁹ Some of the most fruitful areas of inquiry include the agency, phenomenology, and functionality of sacred space, the role of commensality and sacrifice, and the study of votives.¹⁹⁰ My current study is a result of this broadening scope of the study of Greek religion from mere architectural description to an interest in broader societal processes.

In more recent decades, sanctuaries have been studied with respect to their relationship with the *polis* and the landscape, and perhaps the most influential works is that of de Polignac's *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, which sees the early *polis* first and foremost as a religious community.¹⁹¹ De Polignac proposed that the spatial distribution of sanctuaries in a region speaks volumes about the way people understood, defined, and shaped their landscape, with urban sanctuaries to protect the polis' civic institutions and extra-urban territories to marker its borders (the "bipolar polis"). He argues that extra-urban sanctuaries were not only places of ritual but also served to bring communities and families together, define territorial boundaries, and establish political or tribal power. These extra-urban sanctuaries were often the focus of significant community investment.¹⁹²

Classical scholars have traditionally separated the ancient Greek landscape between the public and the private, as well as the sacred and the profane. Interest in the archaeology of domestic religion was largely ignored until relatively recently. The most recent scholarship, however, questions the simplicity of such dichotomies. Sourvinou-Inwood's Polis Religion Model argues that Greek religion was "embedded" or fully integrated within the institutions of the polis (i.e. not simply separated into their respective realms), but I suggest that the concept of embeddedness needs to expand beyond the realm of the polis and its institutions.¹⁹³ As Walter Burkert wrote in response to Sourvinou-Inwood's Polis Religion model, "there is religion without the polis, even if there is no polis without religion."¹⁹⁴ As an alternative, Eidinow presents the use of Social Network Theory as a

¹⁸⁹ For example, see Renfrew 1985, which represents a turn towards an interest in social change and larger societal processes.

¹⁹⁰ Kindt 2012: 701-705.

¹⁹¹ De Polignac 1995.

¹⁹² Papasavvas 2019 uses the case study of the sanctuary of Hermes and Aphrodite at Syme to contrast the situation of extra-urban sanctuaries in mainland Greece with Crete, where the growth of state formation was accompanied by the decline of large, extra-urban sanctuaries.

¹⁹³ Sourvinou-Inwood 2000; see also Bremmer 1994.

¹⁹⁴ Burkert 1995.

convincing alternative to the Polis Religion Model in the approach of Greek Religion as it presents a more fluid and dynamic construction of Greek religion; although this study does not explicitly employ Social Network Theory, it follows a basic precept of Eidinow's argument, which is that the the spectrum of Greek religious practices cannot be completely framed within the context of the polis.¹⁹⁵ A study of the archaeology of Thessalian religion would not be fully exploited unless it took into account the wide array of contexts for Greek religion, from the smallest to the largest units.

My dissertation will approach ancient Greek space as imbued with varying degrees of sacredness through human action and belief, ranging from spaces exclusively used for ritual functions, like sanctuaries, to spaces which shared both ritual and non-ritual functions, like houses and agorae. In order to understand the spatiality of Greek sanctuaries, they need to be studied not in isolation but as part of a network of sacred spaces within which ancient Greek society was entangled. Ideally, a work on religion and identity would not be restricted just to sanctuaries or just one other type of context, for they would be removed from this larger network in which the various entities all contributed in different ways to the Greek religious experience. I will, however, be restricting my data set to public sanctuaries for the purposes of this dissertation, as they do present a special category of sacred place that was considered set apart for the purpose of ritual. I disagree with Burkert's definition of a *temenos* as a separation between the sacred and profane, as the sanctuary does become the site of activities that are not necessarily sacred (e.g. economic activities, agriculture, residence) but which fit the purposes of the cult of the god(s) of the *temenos*. I will also include evidence from other types of spaces such as houses, burials, and civic spaces but these types of data will not be as comprehensive, and in fact cannot be, particularly in the case of houses, as well-excavated houses are not as common all over Thessaly.

¹⁹⁵ Eidinow 2011.

2. *Untangling Identities*

2.1 *Finding a Sense of Place in Transit*

In order to address the issue of “identity” in Ancient Thessaly, I shall start with a case study of the place from which I usually begin my travels to Greece: I shall begin at the airport. While waiting for a flight at the Vancouver International Airport (YVR), one is surrounded by a carefully crafted aesthetic expression of the identity of the Lower Mainland of British Columbia, which I personally identify as my home. The thematic art and architecture of the airport, of which Vancouverites are justifiably proud, all form part of an artistic exhibition carefully curated by the Vancouver Airport Authority (VAA) entitled *Sense of Place* and is intended to be “reflective of the province’s diverse landscape and identity” by drawing on “themes of land, sea, and sky.”¹⁹⁶ The artworks strategically placed throughout the airport are meant to be the first, last, or only interaction that a traveller has with Greater Vancouver.

Upon passing through security from the Arrivals gates and descending the escalators onto the Canada Customs Hall, one is greeted by two large, anthropomorphically sculpted wooden posts known as “welcome figures,” which are traditional boundary markers of Musqueam people of the Fraser Delta, often placed in homes or territorial borders.¹⁹⁷ Entering the airport from the Departures hall before the security check point, passengers are also greeted by a different set of welcome figures, these ones carved in the style of the Clayoquot tradition of the Nuu-chah-nulth people (red cedar statues facing forward with arms stretched out, palms facing upwards). In the same hall one is greeted by the most renowned of all of YVR’s installations, *The Spirit of Haida Gwaii: the Jade Canoe* (which appeared on the Canadian twenty-dollar bill from 2004 to 2012), carved by the late Haida artist Bill Reid in 1986.¹⁹⁸ This sculpture depicts a Haida canoe carrying diverse passengers, both human and animal, and is meant to represent a journey of creatures that

¹⁹⁶ Vancouver Airport Authority 2018. Art at YVR. Accessed July 10, 2018. <http://www.yvr.ca/en/about-yvr/art>

¹⁹⁷ Laurence 2015, although little more than a coffee table book with no interest in the acquisition of the various artworks and their social implications, is an excellent presentation of *Sense of Place*’s most important artworks as well as VAA’s intended effect.

¹⁹⁸ Vancouver Airport Authority 2018. The Heart of the Airport. Accessed July 10. <http://www.yvr.ca/en/about-yvr/art/the-heart-of-the-airport>

may not always coexist in harmony but are dependent on each other for survival—a symbolic representation of Canadian multiculturalism.¹⁹⁹ Further into the large International Terminal where passengers make use of the airport's services before boarding their flights, a large aquarium and an artificial river have been installed, which incorporate various First Nations artworks that express the region's connection to the sea through the depiction of indigenous myths (e.g. Fog Woman and Raven, Orca Chief and the Kelp Forest).²⁰⁰ No public section of YVR is left without purposeful decoration, almost all of which were artworks contributed by indigenous artists.

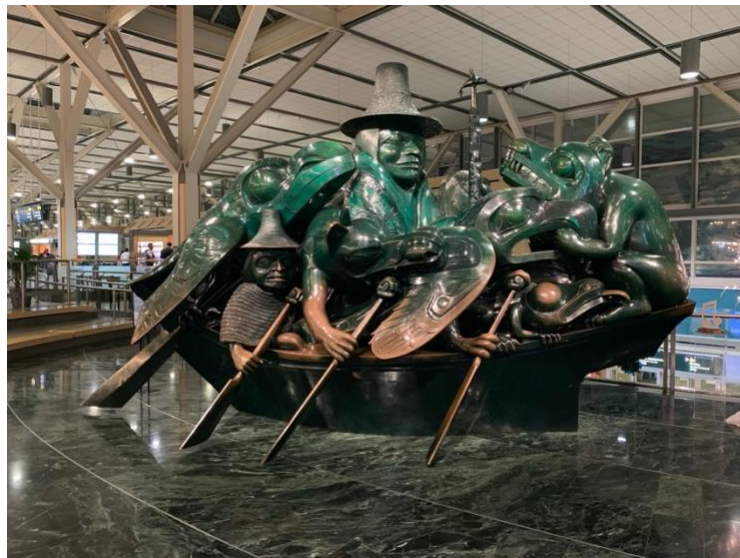


Figure 5 - Bill Reid's "Spirit of Haida Gwaii" in YVR (January 2020).

The artistic assemblage of YVR and the predominance of First Nations artworks form part of the airport's and the province's larger programme of reconciliation with the indigenous peoples of Canada. In 2017, a formal agreement was struck between YVR and the Musqueam Nation (on whose unceded traditional territory the airport stands), promising land rights, employment and educational opportunities, and 1% of the airport's annual revenue to the Musqueam.²⁰¹ In addition, YVR has promised to maintain its dedication to support First Nations artists through the YVR Art Foundation and will continue to add more Coast Salish art from burgeoning First Nations artists to the airport

¹⁹⁹ Bank of Canada. Canadian Journey. Accessed 12 Aug. <https://www.bankofcanada.ca/banknotes/bank-note-series/canadian-journey>

²⁰⁰ Vancouver Airport Authority 2018. The Spirit of the Sea. Accessed 10 July. <http://www.yvr.ca/en/about-yvr/art/spirit-of-the-sea>

²⁰¹ Shih Pearson 2018: 40-41 and n.3.

collection.²⁰²

If a catastrophic event of some sort were to cause the abandonment of British Columbia, and the art installations of YVR were to survive, what would future scholars learn of the senses of belonging expressed by the inhabitants of this region as expressed in one of its most important hubs of transition? Would they immediately recognise that the material expressions of identities in this airport are not necessarily a reflection of a lived reality, but rather a representation of an ideological message articulated by the airport authority on behalf of the region's inhabitants? Likely, the most immediate message that one would read from this assemblage would indeed be that it communicates the expression of a strong love for the natural environment and the diversity of its inhabitants. More importantly, the display and arrangement of the artefacts would imply a sense of pride in—or at least a strong connection to—its indigenous heritage. Critical 21st century visitors know, however, that this is an ahistorical reading and thus a gross simplification of the far more complex relationship between Canada as a post-colonial nation and its indigenous peoples.

The predominance of indigenous artworks in the exhibit, for example, glosses over the fact that the indigenous peoples of Canada still form part of a marginal culture and not the dominant one. Despite the fact that YVR's programme of reconciliation and acknowledgement of the airport's location as Musqueam territory, the Musqueam do not legally control who enters their land or not, despite the ceremonial welcome displayed by the Welcome Figures, as noted by Shih Pearson.²⁰³ Furthermore, although YVR has a generally good relationship with the Musqueam people, the site of the airport sits on a contested Musqueam burial site and several middens.²⁰⁴ The First Nations artworks at YVR, although commissioned and displayed in partnership with several First Nations tribes, are ultimately de-contextualised and re-contextualised (e.g. from an indigenous domestic context to an international transportation centre operated by the dominant culture, albeit still at a place of transition). On the one hand, Shih Pearson states, the appropriated

²⁰² Vancouver Airport Authority 2018. Indigenous Peoples Engagement. Accessed 14 Aug., <http://www.yvr.ca/en/2017/our-community/respect-and-equality/indigenous-peoples-engagement>

²⁰³ Shih Pearson 2018: 41.

²⁰⁴ Leddy 1997: 26.

indigenous heritage at YVR serves as a sort of “celebratory inclusion” and a “reflected history of power inequality” but on the other hand, it brushes over the more contentious aspects of the relationship. Leddy sharply criticises *Sense of Place*, which she sees as a case in which the dominant culture (i.e. Canada and British Columbia represented by YVR) perpetuates the marginalisation of the First Nations of British Columbia through the appropriation of their cultural heritage.²⁰⁵

But what does YVR’s appropriation of indigenous cultural heritage have to do with Ancient Thessaly? The issues behind the *Sense of Place* collection provide a good analogy for my approach to material culture and identity in this dissertation. Does *Sense of Place* truly reflect what it claims to represent, namely the lived experience of the “province’s diverse landscape and identity”? Although the display is a visually striking symbolic and aesthetic portrayal of British Columbia’s landscape, the issue of it reflecting identity is misguided for it does not reflect a group identity at all but is, as Bayart worded it, an “operational act of identification.”²⁰⁶ It is a deliberate strategy intended to unify a diverse group of peoples with both indigenous, settler, and immigrant identities through the material representation of a marginalised, cultural heritage with deep roots in the past, which in this case is indigenous cultural heritage. The appropriation of this cultural heritage, and its setting in a transitional space, with its intent to celebrate an inclusive sense of social memory, is, to paraphrase Bayart, a means of making the Self through the Other.²⁰⁷ As we shall see in subsequent chapters, the inhabitants of Ancient Thessaly used similar strategies in their sacred places to produce and reproduce a sense of ethnic and social togetherness. This dissertation is, therefore, ultimately a study of the ways in which the inhabitants of Broader Thessaly created, viewed, and used their sanctuaries as sometimes contested places of belonging with long histories and traditions.

2.2 Identity and Identification

There has been significant sociological and anthropological research in studies on the complexity and dynamicity of identities, as well as on the ways that they are

²⁰⁵ Leddy 1997.

²⁰⁶ Bayart 2005.

²⁰⁷ Bayart 2005.

constructed and negotiated in changing situations. In recent years, there has been a growing interest in the study of Greek ethnic identity. Early scholarship on ethnicity tended to explain the development of Greek states as part of a natural development from tribal groups, and the ethnic identities of those states were rooted in their original tribal identities (the “primordialist” or “essentialist” view), a perspective which persisted into the nineties.²⁰⁸ Sociologists and anthropologists, however, have shown ethnicity to be a dynamic social construct (the “constructivist” view), which has less to do with genetics and more to do with negotiating complex social situations.²⁰⁹ Constructivists, starting from Foucault in the 1960’s, sought less to describe identity as a static fact but rather to explain the construction of identity as an ongoing process resulting from social practice in which an individual acting in a physical world creates and transforms meaning by negotiating social convention in their interactions with others. Foucault, for example, rejected that an individual had an “essence” that is his identity and himself identifies the Self as a part of an ongoing discourse that is in constant flux due to communion with others.²¹⁰

Bayart, in addition, criticises the concept of cultural identity, a concept (in which a culture has a permanent, essential core) posited by many of his contemporaries. Bayart argues that there is no natural cultural identity but only “strategies based on identity, rationally conducted by identifiable actors.” Bayart’s ideas are particularly applicable in the archaeological study of identity. As I demonstrated with the example of the YVR exhibit, the archaeological record is not merely a reflection of a culture’s identity (the existence of which Bayart rightly rejects) but rather acts as an active agent in the strategies attempted by humans in the construction and negotiation of their social personae. Since material culture is an active component in the dynamic interaction between social agents and the world they inhabit, this dissertation therefore approaches the sanctuaries of Thessaly not as manifestations of some sort of essence that creates culture but as the arenas of operational acts of identification (rather than identity), and thus the dynamic interaction between the social and ritual practices of the inhabitants of Broader Thessaly and the

²⁰⁸ Hollinger 1997: 336; Gleason 1983: 914-918.

²⁰⁹ Foucault 1969, 1976, 1988; Hollinger 344; Malik 1996; Hobsbawm 1990; Bayart 2005; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983.

²¹⁰ Foucault 1988: 17-18 is the transcript of a lecture given by Foucault at the University of Vermont in 1982 on the “technologies of the self” and published posthumously.

materiality of their sacred places, whether actively or subconsciously, formed an integral part of their identity-formation strategies through their sanctuaries, as I will discuss further below.

The notion that social identities were mere constructs resulting from ongoing and diverse processes of identification rather than essential biological realities only began to take hold in the study of Ancient Greece starting in the 1990s and has since continued to spread. Hall's *Hellenicity*, the quintessential work on Greek ethnic identity, explores the dynamics of ethnogenesis with regards to Greece, arguing that Greek ethnic consciousness was a late development (post-Persian Wars) and was negotiated through myths of common descent and common territory.²¹¹ Hall discusses Thessaly at length in this respect, as he suggests that the Thessalians used genealogical myths to promote themselves as leaders of the Delphic Amphiktyony, particularly in the Archaic period, as well as exclude the Thessalian *perioikoi* from claiming full Hellenic ethnicity.²¹²

2.3 *Polis, Ethnos, and Koinon*

Three forms of Greek identity, attested in the written sources, have been at the forefront of the discourse on Greek identity—the *polis*, the *ethnos*, and the *koinon*. Thessaly has traditionally been studied as an “*ethnos*” region of Greece. The Greek *ethnos* was presented in contrast to the *polis* (the city-state and its citizen body) and was considered peripheral and primitive. The *polis* was deemed to be the ideal form of a Greek state and *ethnos*-regions of Greece were backwaters. Since most literary sources describing *ethne* were written relatively late, when a sense of group identity within *ethne* had already formed, modern scholars have assumed that the scenario presented by the sources concerning *ethne* were also true for earlier periods. For example, Larsen defined an *ethnos* as a federal or tribal state with a common ethnicity, with a unified political organisation, and one or more federal sanctuaries.²¹³ Furthermore, older diffusionist models of Greek history paint a simplistic picture of Greek *ethnos*-state formation, in which the tribe evolves

²¹¹ Hall 2002.

²¹² Hall 2002: 170.

²¹³ Larsen 1968; Westlake 1935.

into a federal state.²¹⁴ The reality in the earlier periods was much more complex with multiple tiers of identity developing simultaneously even before a federal state existed.²¹⁵ *Polis* and *ethnos*, therefore, could co-exist within each other simultaneously. The *ethnos* could become a political entity but was not necessarily one. In this dissertation, I will not be engaging in any universalising attempt to define the characteristics of a *polis* or *ethnos*; to simplify matters for this dissertation, a *polis* or *ethnos* is a *polis* or *ethnos* because they have been identified either by themselves or their contemporaries as such, regardless of whether or not they fit within the bounds set on these terms by modern scholars.

The study of the *polis*, *ethnos*, and *koinon* (which simultaneously represented the realms of social, ethnic, cultural, and sometimes political identities) benefitted from the new studies on ethnicity. McInerney applied the concept of ethnicity as a social construct in his study of the formation of Phokian ethnic identity.²¹⁶ He argues against the primordialist view of Phokian identity by showing that their ethnogenesis occurred as a result of military activity (esp. Thessalian) in the region, and that myths were used as the foundation for the creation of a political league—a *koinon*. Primordialist discussions of *koina* often point to common ethnic identity as the impetus for various groups choosing to enter into *koina*, of which there were eleven by the 4th c. BC, joined by at least half the *poleis* of Greece.²¹⁷ The rise of the instrumentalist view of ethnicity, however, challenged this older view. Beck, McInerney, Kühr, and MacKil remark that the *ethnos* was what provided the necessary fiction for groups to create the political union of a *koinon*, rather than being the rationalisation for the formation of a *koinon*.²¹⁸ The *koinon* would become a new sort of state but also another form of political identity.

Membership into a *polis*, *ethnos*, and/or *koinon* would have created complex negotiations between different social, political, and ethnic aspects of individual identities. My dissertation will not isolate one of these aspects from the other two, as all three affiliations were active agents in the negotiations of social relationships in Thessaly. I will, furthermore, not isolate these three forms of affiliation from other types of socio-political

²¹⁴ Gschnitzer 1954.

²¹⁵ Morgan 2003.

²¹⁶ McInerney 1999.

²¹⁷ Larsen 1968.

²¹⁸ Beck and Funke 2015; McInerney 1999; Kühr 2006; Mackil 2015.

affiliation (e.g. geographic affiliations; class, family, and political affiliations) as they all played a part in the ritual expression of group identity. For example, ethnicity and geographic location can affect how a group identifies politically, and that group can further divide along lines of social class affiliation. Such diverse processes of identification can be seen in the material expression of religion, as Graninger noted in the *perioikoi* of Thessaly. Some of these regions were slower to accept the unifying religious expressions of the Thessalian *koinon* (e.g. the use of the new Thessalian *koinon*'s coinage and calendar as well as its new festivals). My analysis of the data will take these three forms of identification into account but it will also assess the multiplicity of other co-existing factors in my investigation of the sanctuaries of this region, as will be further discussed below.

2.4 Ethnicity, Group Identity, and Archaeology

Despite the fact that there is a consensus in classical archaeology concerning the constructed and non-inherent nature of ethnic identities, the discipline retains some holdovers from a time when concepts of biological race and environmental determinism were still married to each other.²¹⁹ From the 19th to the mid-20th c., the predominant Western view of human societies conceived of humanity as divided into biologically inherent racial groups, each with their own primordial homelands.²²⁰ Mac Sweeney remarks that even though archaeology eventually caught up with advances in social theory concerning ethnicity and identity in the 1990s, the discipline retained the tendency to assume “the existence of a conscious group identity from geographic clusters of similar cultural traits” and the tendency to presume that such group identities are primarily ethnicities.²²¹

Mac Sweeney warns that archaeologists must learn to look “beyond ethnicity” as the primary basis of archaeological investigation on ancient identities, as focusing on ethnicity loses sight of the fact that it is only one among many social factors by which social groups are constructed. She demonstrates with case studies in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Beycesultan in western Anatolia that group identities were constantly in flux and often

²¹⁹ Mac Sweeney 2009: 101-102.

²²⁰ Malik 1996; Hobsbawm 1990; Peet 1985.

²²¹ Mac Sweeney 2009.

formed around social rationales that were often not based on ethnicity (e.g. political expediency vs. ethnic unity).²²² She proposes that we instead use an approach that explicitly considers “group identity,” which can obviously include ethnicity, but only as one among many justifications for the creation of a sense of “us-ness.” Mac Sweeney defines group identity as “a form of social identity that emphasises a sense of togetherness just as much as a sense of distinction.”²²³ It is constantly in flux, crystallising and dissolving during particular moments in history.

This dissertation on sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly will explicitly investigate group identifications rather than privileging ethnicity. I here amend Mac Sweeney’s “group identity” to “group identification,” since I mention earlier that in an archaeological context, what we have are not identities but rather aspects of material culture that may or may not have played a role in processes of identification. What I call group identification is considered a “practice of affiliation,” by Yaeger, and its visibility in the archaeological record can and does vary.²²⁴ This work is concerned with what “practices of affiliation we can recognise in the sanctuaries of this macro-region. At what times and for what reasons do formations of group identities crystallise and dissolve and how are these processes visible in the sacralisation of a space?

3. Landscapes of Identities

3.1 Divergent Monumentality

While walking over the Athenian Acropolis, one can ask what the most important structure was in what is now Greece’s most famous site. Most people would be tempted to answer with the Parthenon, which was and is the largest structure on the Acropolis rock. From a modern perspective, the answer would be correct. The Parthenon—although stripped of its cult statue, its decorative refinements, and most traces of its post-classical history—acquired a significance that went beyond the intentions of its original creators, serving as a focal point for Modern Greek identity, as a symbol representing the divine

²²² Mac Sweeney 2009: 113.

²²³ Mac Sweeney 2009: 105.

²²⁴ Yaeger 2000: 125.

restoration of Greece's former glory after its independence from the Ottoman Empire, and as a fetter anchoring the Modern Greeks to what they hold to be their more glorious past (specifically during the Classical period).²²⁵

From a Classical Athenian perspective, however, it was not the most important structure on the Acropolis, at least not in a ritual sense. The main cult of the city, that of Athena Polias, had its temple beside the Parthenon to the north.²²⁶ The much-smaller Erechtheion housed the olive-wood *xoanon* of Athena, perhaps the most sacred object in Attica, which was said to have fallen from the sky.²²⁷ It is to the Erechtheion and not to the Parthenon that the Panathenaic processions ultimately led. It is the wooden statue of Athena Polias and not the chryselephantine Athena Parthenos that would receive a new *peplos* every year.²²⁸ The smoke from hecatombs was offered not to the colossal Parthenos but to the diminutive Polias.

The Erechtheion is a true monument in the original sense of the Latin word *monumentum*, meaning something intended to remind or to preserve remembrance.²²⁹ It is cognate with the Greek word *mnemeion* (μνημεῖον), from the word *mneme* (μνήμη) meaning memory.²³⁰ In addition to the sacred cult image, the Erechtheion was meant to house the very foundations of what the Athenians believed to be their origins: the scratch on the rock believed to be Poseidon's trident-strike as well as the well of saltwater that sprung from it; the olive tree magically grown by Athena that won her the patronage of Athens; the tombs of Athens' first autochthonous kings, Erechtheus, Kekrops, and Erichthonios, birthed by the Earth and through whom the Athenians claimed indigeneity.²³¹ If we hold to the commemorative aspect of monumentality rather than its connotations related to size, the Erechtheion would be more monumental. It contained within and around itself the most important constructed memories of the city, far more than the Parthenon did. And yet by the standards of the word's common usage, the Parthenon is the more monumental structure, not the Erechtheion, by virtue of its size—an inadequate

²²⁵ McNeal 2015.

²²⁶ Camp 2001: 52, 93-100.

²²⁷ See Paus. 1.26.6 for the wooden statue.

²²⁸ Hurwit 1999: 18-23.

²²⁹ Lewis and Short s.v. *monumentum*; LSJ s.v. μνημεῖον.

²³⁰ Hurwit 1999: 204-205.

²³¹ Camp 2001: 93-100.

application of the modern term *monumental*.

One could argue, furthermore, that the most important structure on the Periclean Acropolis was neither the Parthenon nor the Erechtheion, but the poros ruin that lay immediately to the south and partly underneath the Karyatid porch of the Erechtheion: the Old Temple of Athena. This ruin, immolated in 480 BC, served to memorialise the Persian desecration of the holiest site in Attica and the original temple of Athena. This ruin was not only allowed to survive; it was maintained diligently and continued to play a function as a cult site and a monument in its own right up until Late Antiquity. After the Persians burned the temple down, its cella continued to house the *xoanon* of Athena Polias until the completion of the Erechtheion in 406 BC. During Pericles' ambitious construction program, the ruined temple would have been the first building to dominate one's vision upon passing through the Propylaia into the Acropolis.²³² And standing in front of the ruins to the west was the imperious bronze statue of the Promachos made by Pheidias from the spoils of Marathon. This statue along with the ruined temple sung to those approaching of injury and recovery, of loss and of victory. Its commemorative significance was still actively perpetuated in the Early Imperial period, during which Strabo reports that in the ruined building was maintained a lamp that was never extinguished.²³³

The monumental function of the temple is well summarised by Ferrari: "What it lacked in grandeur and modernity, the old building made up by its ability to perform a most important task: to keep memory alive."²³⁴ It was a scar that constantly reminded the Athenians of the wounds inflicted by the Barbarians, a shrine that celebrated the ultimate victory of the Athenians with their Hellenic allies, and a memorial of shame that chastised the medising Greek states for allying themselves with the Enemy. This should not be a strange concept to us, as the standing ruins on the present-day Acropolis now serve a similar purpose as the ruins of the Old Temple of Athena. Though diminished in grandiosity, these ruins are still maintained, sparing no expense, to perpetuate a narrative and to commemorate the past as the present age imagines it.

The ruins of the Old Temple of Athena, however, is only "the centerpiece of an

²³² Ferrari 2002: 26.

²³³ Strab. 9.1.16.

²³⁴ Ferrari 2002: 27.

extensive choreography of ruins” in Athens;²³⁵ it was part of an even larger network of ruins that marred the Attic landscape while serving as monuments. There is an Athenian narrative from at least as early as the 4th c. BC that prior to the Battle of Plataia in 479 BC, the Athenians purportedly swore an oath not to rebuild any of the sacred sites destroyed by the Persians. The so-called Oath of Plataia survives in three similar versions, one by Lykourgos of Athens, one by Diodorus Siculus, and another found on an inscription from Acharnai.²³⁶ The relevant part of the text described by Lykourgos concisely states the commemorative purpose of the ruins:

And the sanctuaries that have been burned down and razed by the Barbarians I will absolutely not rebuild but will allow to remain as a reminder, for those who have yet to be born, of the sacrilege of the Barbarians.²³⁷

This section of the oath has been taken by modern scholars as the reason for the tardiness of the rebuilding of many structures in Attica after the Persian Wars. The historicity and authenticity of the oath has been a topic of considerable debate but what is relevant for the purposes of this dissertation is the fact that the narrative existed.²³⁸ Whether or not it happened, the Athenians at least believed that one could create a monument to loss by leaving a ruin a ruin, which is the exact opposite of the erection of a large building.

3.2 Theatrical Minimalism

A parallel example of commemorative monumentality exists today in New York City at the former site of the World Trade Center (WTC) and its landmark Twin Towers, destroyed in the 9/11 attacks of 2001. The process of monumentalizing the site mirrors the post-bellum Athenian treatment of the Acropolis. The site of the attacks lay in ruin for several years and the Twin Towers themselves were never rebuilt on the same spot. The WTC was eventually rebuilt not on the original site but just north of the National

²³⁵ Ferrari 2002.

²³⁶ Lycurg. *Leoc.* 76-77, 80-81.

²³⁷ Lycurg. *Leoc.* 81: καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἐμπρησθέντων καὶ καταβληθέντων ὑπὸ τῶν βαρβάρων οὐδὲν ἀνοικοδομήσω παντάπασιν, ἀλλ’ ὑπόμνημα τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις ἑάσω καταλείπεσθαι τῆς τῶν βαρβάρων ἀσεβείας.

²³⁸ Cartledge 2013 provides a summary of the debate and treats the oath as a religious document.

September 11 Memorial, not as two buildings as in the past, but as a single skyscraper that currently stands the highest building in the Western Hemisphere at 417 m tall.²³⁹ Similarly, the Erechtheion was not built on the old site of the Athena temple but adjacent to it. This new WTC, renamed the One World Trade Center, opened in 2012.

On the site of the former Twin Towers themselves, a memorial was planned immediately after the 2001 attacks and an international competition was held to select a design for the memorial. Construction of the winning design, entitled *Reflecting Absence*, began in 2006 and was opened to the public on 11 September 2011, exactly ten years after the attacks.²⁴⁰ The design, rather than erecting buildings on the site, left a void where the Twin Towers once stood. Two square, sunken reflecting pools made of black granite (58.5 m x 58.5 m, 9.1 m deep), with water cascading and disappearing into a central drainage basin, were placed at the site of each tower. The deep pools stand as an effective, theatrically minimalistic metaphor for the absence of what was once there, a poignant reminder of the trauma and loss still felt by many.

The example of the WTC presents an alternative form of monumentality that is in many ways the exact opposite of colossality. It demonstrates that what one does not build can tell as many tales as what one does build, a concept that this dissertation will apply to the sanctuaries of Thessaly, and a concept that I term “divergent monumentality” — monumentalisation not through the elaboration and enlargement of a space, but rather the opposite. It is the commemorative usage of the word “monument” that I wish to emphasise in this study on Thessaly. By shifting the usage of the term, we are able to see the sacred monuments of Thessaly on their own terms and not in comparison to the scales of monuments from other Greek regions. A site can be made monumental not only by size but also through its placement in a particular context (e.g. in a highly visible location), in the quantity and quality of the materials, as well as through the intentional selection of certain features to emphasise.

This dissertation seeks to redefine “monumentality” by redirecting the common

²³⁹ Sather-Wagstaff 2018; Doss 2011: 27-30.

²⁴⁰ Lower Manhattan Development Corporation, “Architect Michael Arad and Landscape Architect Peter Walker Unveil Winning Design for World Trade Center Site Memorial: *Reflecting Absence*.” (Press release), 2004. <http://www.wtcsitememorial.org/pdf/01.14.04.pdf>

usage of the term from its focus on size to its commemorative aspect. Commemoration, after all, is the purpose of the enlargement and aggrandisement of a monument, and since commemoration is the essence of monumentalisation, then we must look at other factors beyond size and scale that point to an object's monumentality. We must look at what a site monumentalises. An analysis of the generally small-scale sanctuaries of Thessaly is poorly served by an approach that focuses on size to determine monumentality. As we see on the Athenian Acropolis, size does not determine importance and the monumental does not equate to the colossal. In a similar way, the sites that are most important in Thessaly are not necessarily the sites with the largest or most grandiose buildings. Some of the most federally important sanctuaries of Thessaly that will be discussed in subsequent chapters (e.g. at Philia, at Tempe), did not possess any buildings whatsoever for most of their occupation phases. As I shall discuss in Chapters 4 and 5, the Thessalians did indeed monumentalise their sanctuaries in both the colossal and the divergent sense for their own purposes. For this reason, the current work isolates and identifies the features that the Thessalians chose to monumentalise in their sanctuaries. Only this way can we truly understand the complexity of the region's sacred spaces.

3.3 (Mis-)Remembering the Past

Social memory (otherwise known as collective memory) plays a role in how a group chooses, whether consciously or subconsciously, to embody monumentality. Memory is commonly thought of as possessed by an individual, but some philosophers and social theorists began to conceive it as also possessed by a collective, i.e. collective or social memory, particularly starting in the late 1980s and 90s.²⁴¹ This type of memory is quite distinct from cognitive memory, which Bergson associates with individual memory and separates from social memory, which he considers a form of habit memory.²⁴² Connerton distinguishes cognitive memory from habit memory, stating that the former involves a mental recollection of the past while the latter is a habit, which he defines as "the capacity

²⁴¹ For an early thinker discussing collective memory see Halbwachs 1925, 1950, 1939: 136-65. More recent works include Nora 1984; Boyers 1985; Lowenthal 1985; Connerton 1989.

²⁴² Bergson 1962. For more recent works on social memory, see Freness and Wickham 1992; Zerubavel 2003, Assman 2003, Wertsch 2008, Ben Zvi 2019.

to reproduce a certain performance,” such as the memory of how to write or ride a bike. Remembering an important event can be considered a habit. The act of remembering and the mnemonic language one uses to describe said event can become habitual.²⁴³ While we do not necessarily remember the time and manner in which this remembered information was learned, the ability to commemorate the event is what demonstrates to others that one does remember.

Such is the nature of social memory. It is constructed by the group and is reactivated and reinforced by the performance of the memory. In cognitive memory, the past that one remembers refers to an actual past whereas in social memory, the past is a habit that has been acquired and constantly recreated through the performance of the memory. Because social memory is constructed by the collective through performance, the construction of the memory involves forgetting just as much as recollecting. For example, returning to the previous example of the Acropolis as a modern monument, certain memories are maintained whereas others are not. The Classical-period monuments of the Acropolis stand most prominent on the hill whereas the Turkish town, the Frankish tower, and other monuments from the post-Antique period and periods not considered “Hellenic” have either not been maintained, not been put on display, or have been completely removed.²⁴⁴ For a more current (and more positive) example of forgetting, we could also mention the growing calls for the tearing down of Confederate monuments in the United States and the statues of slavers in the United Kingdom, not necessarily as a means to forget but to select which aspects of our history we wish to idealise. The strategies above forge a link to the past, but the past to which it links the present is also selective.

At the same time, the memory of the collective is by no means uniform, and groups and individuals can choose to produce a counter-memory, defined by Foucault as “an individual’s resistance against the official version of historical continuity,” which opposes the dominant memory performed by society.²⁴⁵ Due to the performative nature of social memory, ritual plays an inevitably central role in the construction of social memory. The repetitive nature of ritual reinforces the commemoration of an imagined past. Take as an

²⁴³ Connerton 1989: 22.

²⁴⁴ Llewellyn Smith 2004: 4.

²⁴⁵ Foucault 1977: 144.

example the Christmas and Easter celebrations of most Christian denominations. Every prayer, symbol, and re-enactment refers back to the narrative of the life, death, and resurrection of a historical Christ, reinforcing the central memories of the religion, whether real or not. Another example would include the celebration of a country's national holidays, which serve to reinforce a specific message, such as a myth of the country's origins or important events in the country's formation (which in the case of Canada often include the celebration of our Confederation, our role in the World Wars, and our connection to the Crown).

The erection of a monument is yet another way of performing a memory. Once created, however, a monument takes on its own agency, as new meanings are transferred onto it in different time periods, sometimes forming new identities and forming old ones, sometimes reinforcing existing ones. A monument accumulates memories and rituals, taking on a life of its own. In her recent monograph, Touna pays particular attention to the ways in which the past and the present create each other: "That which we call the past owes its *whatever* presence to the present and the present is made possible by the way it imagines itself in relation to a past of its choosing." She terms this concept "the ever-present past."²⁴⁶



Figure 6 - Casa di Giulietta, Verona (July 2018).

²⁴⁶ Touna 2015: 201-212

The Northern Italian city of Verona is a particularly interesting case study related to Touna's ever-present past, as we see at play in the modern city strategies involving myth, identity (or the identification of perceived identity), monuments, and the ways in which human agents modify their own memories. In the Anglophone world, Verona is most famous as the setting of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, the quintessential tragic comedy of star-crossed lovers in English literature. Like all of Shakespeare's other plays, *Romeo and Juliet* is not an original story, but rather his rendition of existing stories. His version borrows heavily from Luigi Da Porto's *Giulietta e Romeo* (published posthumously in 1531), which gave the story its setting in Verona, and the names of many characters.²⁴⁷ Da Porto drew especially from Masuccio Salernitano's *Mariotto e Ganozza* (1476), in which we find the basic elements of the plot, but set in the city of Siena rather than Verona.²⁴⁸ The Italian tale was introduced to Britain by Arthur Brooke, who adapted the story in 1562 as *The Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet*, which was rendered into prose by William Painter in 1567 as *Palace of Pleasure*. Shakespeare drew heavily on the latter two in order to create his own rendition in the late 16th c.²⁴⁹ The story of Romeo and Juliet is thus in no way a true story that occurred in Verona.²⁵⁰

The popularity of *Romeo and Juliet*, however, affected the ways in which the Veronese commemorated their own history and identity as they began to reinterpret areas of the city in relation to the Shakespearean tragic comedy. One of the most frequented tourist attractions in modern day Verona is the so-called *Casa di Giulietta* ("the House of Juliet") on Via Capello 23.²⁵¹ It consists of an old *casatorre* (tower-house) forming part of a medieval building complex built in the 12th c. and the 13th c. The building was greatly impacted by the Unification of Italy in 1861 as the authorities in favour of Unification sought a way to render some form of cultural homogeneity (a "facciata comune" or common façade) throughout Italy, specifically by connecting themselves to the past, which

²⁴⁷ Scarci 2015; Bumgardner, Jr. 1975: 268-276.

²⁴⁸ Salernitano 1974; Grano 1972.

²⁴⁹ Levenson 1984: 325-347.

²⁵⁰ In addition to Salernitano's story, Da Porto drew from Ovid's myth of Pyramus and Thisbe found in the *Metamorphoses* (Diverres 1977: 9-22), Boccaccio's *Decameron*, but also his own love life during a time of familial strife (in the city of Udine and not in Verona) (Scarci 2015: 3).

²⁵¹ Fontanili 2015 is a Master's thesis that deals with the history of the *Casa di Giulietta*, detailing the architectural history of the site and contextualising the architecture with broader historical events.

was seen nostalgically as Italy's period of splendor and power.²⁵²

In 1905, the Comune of Verona purchased the *casatorre* on Via Cappello 23, and between World Wars I and II, the city was particularly focused on the creation of Shakespearean Verona in Actual Verona, especially after 1920.²⁵³ The building was declared to be of monumental interest and after several years the city carried out significant restoration of the building between 1937 and 1940.²⁵⁴ The renovations of the *casatorre*, therefore, consisted of intentional structural changes meant to model the building after Shakespeare's descriptions in his tragedy (especially the anachronistically medieval balcony imagined to be the one Romeo climbs).²⁵⁵ The *Casa di Giulietta* has become a locus of tourist pilgrimage in Verona and has become, in a way, a place of "ritual" as well as commemoration (of an albeit invented past).²⁵⁶

Although the story had Italian roots, it is specifically the Shakespearean version of the past that the city of Verona invokes in the construction of its scenography, as is evident from the plaques placed around the city inscribed with quotes from the English play and not the Italian novellas.²⁵⁷ The evocation of (or the capitalisation on) the city's Shakespearean past, which never historically existed, can be viewed as an intricate layering of social memories in which Shakespeare's play serves as a binding element. The accompanying ritual acts, entanglements, and engagements with material items in specific architectural locales produce and reproduce an image of and an affiliation with the setting of Shakespeare's Verona. These processes not only serve as a strategy to familiarise visitors with what is an alien environment for them, but also as vehicles for the formation of a collective identity for the Veronese themselves. As an almost universally known story in the Western World, the story of Romeo and Juliet is a convenient narrative through which

²⁵² Balestracci 2015: 7-14.

²⁵³ Fontanili 2015: 16-26.

²⁵⁴ Fontanili 2015: 38. The presence of the Dal Cappello family's coat of arms on the keystone of the arched entranceway has even led to an imagined connection between the Dal Cappelli with the Cappelleti (anglicised as Capulet), a surname which is not in fact attested in Italy during Shakespeare's time

²⁵⁵ Fontanili 2015: 90.

²⁵⁶ Hobsawm 1983a and 1983b discuss the mass-production of tradition in Europe. The right breast of the bronze statue is rubbed by tourists for luck in love, and inscribed paper notes are attached onto the adjacent wall (usually with gum) as a sort of votive offering.

²⁵⁷ During my last visit in July 2018, the plaque placed at the *Casa di Giulietta* bears a quote from Act 2 Scene 2 of the play ("But, soft! What light through yonder window breaks? It is the east and Juliet is the sun.").

the Veronese can portray themselves and at the same time distinguish their past from that of nearby Venice while still rooting themselves in the (romanticised) past of Italy during the nascent nation's attempt to forge a unified identity.

This dissertation explores many such strategies in Thessaly, where sanctuaries became strategic tools through which the inhabitants of Thessaly could craft memories and counter-memories through anachronism, reinvention, and conservatism. My approach to exploring these strategies mirrors that of Touna's approach to the past: human agents construct and are constructed by the anachronistic reimaginings of the past, which social groups use as a strategies to create, justify, or evoke a sense of collective identity, which can be opposed or supported by other memories that have been moulded by their entanglements with the material world.

3.4 Sacred Spaces and Community Identities

But what in the name of the gods do sanctuaries have to do with identities? Community identity is intrinsically linked to the performance of ritual, as the repetition of ritual through engagement with the materiality of items and settings particular to the ritual and can serve to reinforce a sense of belonging to one's region. Such a phenomenon is observable everywhere in different forms, but here I draw attention to its manifestation in the present age in Italian *campanilismo*, which is an Italian's love of and loyalty to one's *campanile*, that is, one's church bells, a metonymy for one's hometown. *Campanilismo* is often translated as parochialism, a vary narrow regionalism whereby the bells, all with their own unique metal voices, act as symbols of belonging to those that regularly hear them ringing. Churches throughout Italy serve as a symbol for community identity. Regular festivals, communal worship, commemorations of local history, combined with the ritual focus on a common patron saint and a common place of worship, create a sense of belonging and attachment to an area.²⁵⁸ These are further reinforced by affiliations to a town's football teams and pride towards local customs and cuisine.²⁵⁹ Although less studied, such a phenomenon is omnipresent in Modern Greece, where a general sense of

²⁵⁸ *Campanilismo* is often discussed in contrast and as a detriment to Italian national identity, e.g. Tak 1990: 90-100.

²⁵⁹ Doidge 2015.

national pride co-exists with parochialism, which is reinforced by local festivals and celebrations (both religious and secular), a love for one's church and patron saint, pride in one's regional football team, and a commemoration of one's history (which can include one's mythological history, e.g. Farsala and Achilles).²⁶⁰

Such regionalism or localism is attested in Ancient Greece, where it coexisted with panhellenism (to which some regions had varying levels of attachment). Although there are indeed panhellenic rituals performed at panhellenic sanctuaries, a sense of belonging to one's own locality was reinforced by rituals, which can be at the level of the *oikos*, *genos*, *phyle*, *demos*, *kome*, *polis*, *ethnos*, or several of these at the same time. A public sanctuary, therefore, because it is a place in which the community's rituals are enacted, can become a focal point for a community's construction of its various identities.

3.5 The Material Entanglement of Ritual

Throughout the beginning of the 21st century, archaeologists have been exploring conceptions of the relationship between objects and people.²⁶¹ Thinking about such a relationship and how things can carry meanings has led to the rise of the study of *materiality*, which stresses the material world as an active agent rather than just a by-product of political history and cultural processes. Archaeologists drew on the works of Bourdieu, Miller, and Tylor who saw the material world as created by us but at the same time as something that creates us, or "co-producers" as labelled by Latour.²⁶² Materiality puts forward that things change the human subject. For example, a person wearing fancy Yves-Saint Laurent boots and a person wearing Crocs project inherently different messages at a formal gala.

Evident in my approach to the relationship between the landscape, ritual, the material evidence, and the ancient populations is influence from Hodder's work on the concept of Entanglement, which serves as a unifying model that describes and analyses the complex relationships between humans and things. In contrast to the anthropocentric view

²⁶⁰ Only within my last decade of living and working within the Municipality of Farsala, the city has erected a large statue to Achilles in the main town square as well as a statue to his mother, the nymph Thetis.

²⁶¹ Knappett 2014; Renfrew 2004; Miller 2005; Meskell 2005; Ingold 2007; Meskell 2005.

²⁶² Bourdieu 1977; Tylor 1977: 14; Latour 2005; Meskell 2005: 1-16.

of the world which sets human beings apart as the main agents over things, Hodder identifies four sets of relationships between humans and things: (1) things depending on humans, (2) humans depending on things, (3) things depending on other things, and (4) humans depending on other humans. Disentanglement was not possible.²⁶³ Things included not only moveable objects but also architecture and the landscape itself. Hodder considers humans things to an extent, but for the most part sees them as distinct from material things.

For my current research, I present entanglement as a theoretical lens through which I shall interpret and analyse the archaeological evidence for ritual. Entanglement allows us to view the relationships between the populations within Thessaly and their sacred things with a much fuller complexity. Rather than viewing sacred spaces as places that were passive recipients of human historical events, entanglement allows us to see these spaces as arenas for human-object relationships that had no beginning or end. It is for this reason that I chose to study a time span of almost a thousand years in order to explore the importance of diachronicity that the entanglement lens offers.

Viewing human-and-thing relationships in this manner has led to the phenomenological study of Greek religion—the study of the human experience of a site in an archaeological context. A layperson’s initial encounter with a sanctuary would not necessarily (and would probably not) have involved thoughts on the historical ramifications of the shape of the temple or the semiotic intent of the sculptors. It was the smell of blood, smoke, and body odour from the crowds; the push and pull of the processing throng trying to get a glimpse of the *xoanon* partially blocked by the temple’s doorframe; the air thick with vibrations from the dactylic chanting of the priests, the acerbic notes of the *diaulos* and the lyre, the final bellow of a bull as his throat is slit, and the searing hiss as the fat hits the burning altar. Phenomenology is a way of interpreting a site and its material assemblage not as a text that can be read at will and examined at leisure but as one that was experienced by the human body and its senses. In an archaeological context, phenomenology is the study of the physical experience of a site and

²⁶³ Hodder 2012.

the resulting effects on the human perception of its materiality.²⁶⁴

Such an approach has only recently begun to be exploited in the study of Greek sanctuaries through the study of how people can move around a site or landscape and how they would perceive it not just with their eyes but with all their senses.²⁶⁵ The ways in which the human body perceives a site is instrumental to the process by which a site accumulates meaning, and it is for this reason that my study will necessarily incorporate a phenomenological approach to the study of religion and identity. A chryselephantine statue that touches the ceiling of a cella may be more magnificent to behold than a simple wooden *xoanon*, and so might lead one to dismiss the *xoanon* as a sign of economic disadvantage, but a *xoanon* can be walked through a prostrating crowd, bathed and dressed like one's own child, and touched by a dying person wishing to be healed. A phenomenological approach in this case reveals the intimacy that a community can feel with a *xoanon*, an intimacy that can embed itself into the memories and identities of that community as well as the resulting acts of identification, and an intimacy otherwise unappreciated without the acknowledgement of the human senses.

4. Methodology

4.1 Approaching Thessalian Identities

My aim is to identify the role of material culture in the performance of identity in Broader Thessaly by identifying how, when and for what reasons these group identities become visible in the archaeological record. Contrary to Mili's statement that there are no observable patterns in the distribution of sacred sites in the natural landscape of Thessaly, I shall demonstrate that patterns do indeed exist, but these are visible only when we take the more nuanced view of "Thessaly" that I discussed in these first two chapters. Collecting the archaeological and historical data on Thessalian sanctuaries, mapping their locations, and distinguishing patterns in their material remains and landscape settings, allows for a more nuanced analysis than historical and epigraphic studies alone can offer. I

²⁶⁴ For phenomenology and sensory archaeology, see Tilley 1994, 2019, and Crawley 2019.

²⁶⁵ Kindt 2012: 702-703.

demonstrate that there are indeed patterns of group identifications in the regions that make up Thessaly by determining how communities interact with the presence of sacred sites as well as their landscape, both the topographic and the social. By exploring a sacred site's built environment in connection with its location, landscape setting and its role in the socio-political network of sacred places we can determine whether the site had a local or broader significance.

4.2 Mapping the Sacred in Broader Thessaly

The first phase of my study involved collecting the archaeological data required for this dissertation. Fortunately, there is an ample amount of data from excavations, surveys, as well as detailed records of explorations of the region (particularly Stählin's seminal account of his extensive travels in Thessaly). My most important starting point for all my data was always the *AD*, as well as the *ΠAE*. Intensive and extensive surveys of areas of Thessaly are also a valuable source of information on sanctuaries, such as the CNRS Lyon's and Cantarelli's surveys in Perrhaibia and Achaia Phthiotis respectively.²⁶⁶

The first step I took in analysing the sacred sites and their regional patterns was to analyse their distribution pattern in the landscape. As stated above, Mili commented in her recent monograph that there does not seem to be a "striking pattern" in the distribution of sanctuaries in the Thessalian geographical landscape.²⁶⁷ In a sense, she is correct. The patterns that we would see in such a map are not, in fact, a pattern of distribution but patterns of modern and ancient settlement as well as archaeological bias. For example, a map of sanctuaries in the Roman period would not actually indicate that there were fewer sanctuaries during the Roman period; what it actually represents is the sad fact that fewer scholars are as interested in Roman Thessaly as in other time periods. I would add the caveat that Thessaly is not in any way close to being completely surveyed. We do not yet have a good grasp of the distribution of populations across the region, nor the sizes of most settlements.

In order to observe patterns in throughout the region, one needs to treat a map like

²⁶⁶ Cantarelli's surveys, however, do need to be taken with a grain of salt as it was personally rather difficult to verify some of the sites that she describes in her *Achaia Phthiotide* (Cantarelli and Capel Badino 2008).

²⁶⁷ Mili 2015: 41.

the Magic Mirror of the Evil Queen in Snow White and ask it a very specific question, for without a good question, we cannot obtain a good answer. It is necessary to select certain criteria (e.g. apsidal temples, cave sanctuaries, anachronistic buildings, *hekatompeda*) and examine their distribution more closely. This dissertation will show that there are regional and micro-regional patterns in the distribution of sanctuaries, despite their seeming lack of pattern at first glance. Furthermore, chronology shall also be taken into account as we cannot hope to see any patterns unless we group the sanctuaries according to which ones existed contemporaneously.

A phenomenological approach to sacred sites would of course be incomplete if I were to take only the architecture into account without considering the rest of the finds. When a ritual participant enters a sacred site, he or she does not just experience the buildings but also the forest of votives within them, the sensations of the rituals, as well as the presence of other participants and visitors. The nature of the material in the sanctuaries often indicates the sorts of investment, both communal and private investment, and is often reflective of the sort of identity that ritual actors want to portray. I examine the material and the architecture in all forms of sacred sites to determine what sorts of identities were being performed in them. I compare the material found in sanctuaries with those in domestic and public contexts (whenever the data are available) to determine the interaction between the various types of sacred sites and the network that they form.

Ultimately, I intended to examine through the mapping of Thessalian sacred sites whether there are patterns in the material expression of identity. Do certain regions and micro-regions display an identity distinct or indistinct from the rest of Thessaly? Are there variations within those regions and micro-regions as well? Do these variations wax and wane? To what extent do these patterns reveal more than just dots on a map, but also memories, counter-memories, resistance, and conformity?

4.3 Physical Space

A large part of my approach to the archaeological material involves categorising and analysing the sanctuaries according to their physical space with a particular focus on the architectural remains, since the physical morphology of a sanctuary is the primary mode

through which I will examine material articulations of group identities in Broader Thessaly. I first categorise the sites by those without architecture and those with architecture, and break those down into further categories.

The sanctuaries without architecture are broken down into sites without any human modifications to the physical environment (e.g. no cuttings are made on rocks and no evidence for structures such as a built altar have been found), and those with such modifications. Many sanctuaries will have open-air phases in some time periods and phases with architecture in other phases (and the open-air phase will not always precede the architectural phase. By identifying and quantifying such patterns in the physical morphology of sanctuaries, we can determine patterns of “theatrical minimalism” across the landscape. I will pay particular attention to sanctuaries with temples as a separate category from other sanctuaries with architecture, as temples usually present a medium for the expression of a community’s intended messages both to its own members and to outsiders (e.g. wealth, prestige), as discussed above. This study will examine how temple styles in Broader Thessaly could reflect such strategies and what messages these temples could have been intended to transmit to certain audiences.

The sanctuaries with architecture are grouped according to the types of buildings they contained, and comparing them to similar buildings outside of this region, in order to identify patterns of identification with perceived local and non-local styles of architecture. These types, as listed in Chapter 4, refer to the buildings’ plans (e.g. peripteral, prostyle, apsidal, etc.). I will also examine architectural refinements (e.g. decorations), if they survive, and taken together with the building’s ground plan, I will identify attempts to affiliate with the local, regional, panhellenic by comparing and contrasting them with examples from elsewhere in the Greek world. Because challenging concepts of monumentality form a large part of my argument, I will also take into account of the sizes of every building in sanctuaries, particularly the temples. By contrasting the size of temples with the quality and quantity of finds within the sanctuaries, I will determine if there was necessarily any relationship between temple size and investment in this region. Having sorted the sanctuaries into these physical categories, they will then be mapped in accordance to the methodology presented in the above subsection in order to determine micro- or even cross-regional patterns of distribution of certain types of buildings

throughout the landscape.

I add the caveat that many of the buildings found in this region's sanctuaries are incompletely preserved or exposed and as such, our picture of the sacred architectural forms in Broader Thessaly will always be a little incomplete. This study will, nonetheless, attempt to expose patterns from the data that we do have.

4.4 Historical Contextualization

Finally, I situate all my data within their respective historical contexts in order to ground the results in the broader regional events that were contributing to the formation and negotiation of identities in Thessaly. There is no shortage of literary and epigraphic sources that can be used to reconstruct Thessalian history from the Archaic period onwards; however, the nature of the sources is often problematic. The early history of Thessaly consists largely of myth-historical accounts of migrations and invasions of the region (both Thessalian and pre-Thessalian). For the Early Iron Age, we have only mentions of ships from the region (although pre-Thessalian) being sent to Troy in Homer's *Catalogue of Ships*.²⁶⁸ Although Homer set these in the Bronze Age, his epics were written during the Early Iron Age and most of the settlements in Thessaly described by Homer have verified archaeological remains.²⁶⁹

The historical sources for the late Archaic period include a significant amount of Delphic inscriptions concerning Thessaly's active involvement in panhellenic affairs during the Late Archaic period. For the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods, historical sources mention Thessaly's role in the military affairs from the Persian Wars, to the Diadochic struggles for dominance after Alexander, to the battles of Roman generals within Thessaly. Sprawski's historiography of the Pheraian tyrants explores the complexity of internal politics within Thessaly particularly during the Late Classical period, and Helly reconstructs the Thessalian political organization established during the Late Archaic period from the literary sources.²⁷⁰ The entire body of literary sources concerning Thessaly, however, is problematic in nature due to the fact that none of them are written by

²⁶⁸ The "Thessalian" section of the *Catalogue of Ships*: Hom. *Il.* 2.681-759.

²⁶⁹ Morgan 2003.

²⁷⁰ Sprawski 1999; Helly 1995.

Thessalians and few were written by contemporary authors. As a result, the portrayals of Thessalians are often caricatures and stereotypes, often pejorative or exoticising. The literary sources present Thessalians as famously hospitable and wealthy in grain and horses, but also as traitorous medisers and witches. I shall, therefore, approach the literary sources with caution, taking into account Thessaly's often peripheral nature in them.

By contextualizing the data, I demonstrate the broader events influencing the resistance or conformation to certain trends. Haagsma, Surtees, and Chykerda, for example, show that during the Hellenistic period, panhellenic military activities in Thessaly created a distinct east-west division in identity in the region of Achaia Phthiotis, which is evident in the archaeological record even in the domestic level of society.²⁷¹ The patterns that I will establish by mapping Thessalian sacred sites will be placed into their respective historical contexts in order to determine whether the visible patterns are the result of certain socio-political trends or historical events.

²⁷¹ Haagsma *et al.* 2019.

3

ΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΩΝ

A Catalogue of the Sacred Places of Broader Thessaly

“ἔσπετε νῦν μοι Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ’ ἔχουσαι.
ὕμεῖς γὰρ θεαὶ ἐστε παρέστε τε ἴστε τὰ πάντα.”

Invocation to the Muses,
Homer’s Catalogue of Ships²⁷²

In this chapter, I present the archaeological assemblage for all sites in Broader Thessaly that have, at some point, been identified as sanctuaries. Each entry consists of descriptions of the finds (the architecture, the artefacts, and other features), the history of the site and its community (if known), the history of archaeological work, topographic comments on the visibility and accessibility of the site, a summary of how and why the site has been interpreted as a sanctuary, and my own assessment of those interpretations. The sites are organised according to region, starting with the tetrads, followed by the earliest *perioikoi*. The sites are arranged according to their numerical code in Map 1 of the Appendix.

In order to be included in this catalogue, a site needs to (a) have been interpreted (whether certainly or hypothetically) as a sanctuary (loosely defined), (b) be a public space (i.e. not in a house), and (c) have material remains. Not all sanctuaries described in this chapter are *temene*, as it would be impossible to verify whether all of these spaces fulfilled the two requirements of a *temenos* (altar and bounded space). All, however, could have been *hiera* (a space set aside for cultic purposes). Sites that are attested in inscriptions but have no exact location or material remains have been excluded. For example, although inscriptions mention a Ploutoneion near the Mati Spring, the site is excluded since there are no archaeological remains and the exact location of the sanctuary has not been identified.²⁷³ If a site has archaeological remains and an approximate location, it will be included in this catalogue.

²⁷² Hom. *Il.* 2.484-5.

²⁷³ For the Mati Spring, see Bouchon and Helly 2016 and Lucas 2002.

Pelasgiotis

1.1. LARISA

Location: Modern Larisa (Λάρισσα)

Identification with ancient site: Larisa, Λάρισ(σ)α (certain; continuously inhabited)

Site Description and History:

Located in northern Pelasgiotis in the middle of the Larissa plain, underneath the modern city of Larisa, early settlement concentrated on the right bank of the Peneus which arched around the north, east, and west of the ancient city.²⁷⁴ Due to the fertility of its soil, many prehistoric settlements from the Neolithic period to the Bronze Age existed in and around the city. Excavations on the low acropolis of Larisa (the Frourio hill) have verified occupation of the site since 6,000 BC, which is unbroken from the Bronze Age onwards.²⁷⁵

The largest and most powerful *polis* in all of Thessaly, Larisa is also the most archaeologically problematic, given the continuous habitation of the site from prehistoric times to the present. In addition, there have been numerous earthquakes in the area since ancient times, including the earthquake in 1868 which buried even the

large theatre under rubble.²⁷⁶ Different remains from a few ancient structures survive in the modern city but they are usually partially or mostly destroyed by later occupation, and some structures are known only from literary or epigraphic sources but do not survive at all. The excavated remains have largely been uncovered by rescue excavations. The epigraphic sources mention a plethora of buildings in the centre of the city (temples, an odeion, gymnasia, hippodromes, and *bouleuteria*), but aside from the two theatres, none survive apart from a few fragmentary remains.²⁷⁷

After the Bronze Age, the EIA is attested largely by funerary evidence on the banks of the Peneus and the south slopes of the Frourio, but also by an apsidal house on the east slope of the Frourio.²⁷⁸ Tziafalias proposes that Larisa served as an EIA stronghold but that the settlement became a proper city in the 7th c. BC for which rescue excavations have found evidence of urban planning, architectural developments, expansion beyond the Frourio to the south and east, and imports indicating interconnectivity with other Greek

²⁷⁴ Tziafalias 1994 provides an overview of the archaeological research conducted within the city of Larisa and its immediate surroundings.

²⁷⁵ Tziafalias 1994: 169.

²⁷⁶ Gallis 1985.

²⁷⁷ Tziafalias 1994: 153.

²⁷⁸ Tziafalias 1994: 155; Morgan 2003: 89.

regions.²⁷⁹ Contrary to its later status as the leading city of Thessaly, Morgan points out that Larisa was not the most significant settlement in its immediate region as Krannon, Argissa, and Atrax have yielded more substantial remains in the EIA and Archaic period.²⁸⁰ It is also worth pointing out that Larisa is not mentioned by Homer whereas its neighbour Argissa was; although, Strabo muses whether Larisa might have been the Pelasgian Argos in the *Catalogue of Ships* or a nearby settlement.²⁸¹

Despite the city's importance, it was largely during the 4th c. BC onwards that Larisa became a large city.²⁸² The fortifications of the city have not been located although their hypothetical course within, can somewhat be reconstructed by the existing ancient remains along with literary and epigraphic evidence. The Frourio and the nearby Pefkakia hill would have been surrounded by acropolis walls (as attested by the gate sanctuary of Poseidon Pylaios discussed below), and the Hellenistic city would have been certainly enclosed with fortifications, which would then have existed within the Ottoman walls.²⁸³ Along the

modern city's three main roads to the west, north, and east, lay the city's necropoleis, which must have been situated *extra muros*. The hypothetical course then runs from the streets of Gazi and Papanastasiou, enclosing the streets of Persefonis and Peneiou, and Plateia Ivraion, turning east along Mandilara and Ipeirou, turning north to Ipsilantou and Volou, and turning to the streets of 31st August and Garibaldi. Outside the acropolis walls, in the lower town, there may have been a Free Agora (Roosevelt and Papakyriazis streets), the political and religious centre of the city possibly attested by inscriptions.²⁸⁴

The most significant archaeological remains from the city are its two theatres. The earlier theatre built in the first half of the 3rd c. BC on the southern slopes of the acropolis. Its final form in the 1st c. AD attests to the wealth of the city of Larisa. The theatre became at least three-storied and became significantly more elaborate architectonically and sculpturally. Its use had also been converted from a theatre to a gladiatorial arena when Thessaly became part of a province of the Roman Republic,

²⁷⁹ For EIA remains in Larisa, see *AA* 31 (1976): 184; *AA* 34: (1979) 221; *AA* 35 (1980): 287–8; *AA* 42 (1987): 289.

²⁸⁰ Morgan 2003: 89-91.

²⁸¹ Strabo 9.5.5.

²⁸² Dasios 2012: 105.

²⁸³ Tziafalias 1994: 155.

²⁸⁴ Tziafalias 1994: 173-4.

which necessitated the construction of the other theatre at Pefkakia hill in the 1st c. BC but was left unfinished.²⁸⁵

Surface surveys and random finds from the areas of Melissochori, Platykambo, Glafke, Melia, Chalki, Nikaia, and Eleftheres-Terpsithea indicate that the territory of Thessaly to the south was densely inhabited by settlements, which would also attest to the size of the city that these satellite settlements orbited.²⁸⁶ Unlike Pherai and Pharsalos, which went into decline in the Early Imperial period, Larisa continued to be a wealthy city into the Byzantine, Ottoman, and Modern periods.

History of Archaeological Research:

Ancient ruins in Thessaly have been noted since the 1800's while Thessaly was still under Ottoman rule.²⁸⁷ Stählin of course does not omit Larisa (1926) during his travels to Thessaly.²⁸⁸ Various early archaeologists have excavated at Larisa. These include Arvanitopoulos who started to excavate the theatre in 1910 along with numerous other parts of the city during his tenure as Ephor of Larisa. Other early

excavators include Giannopoulos, Verdellis, Theocharis, Biesantz, and Chourmouziadis, who excavated various monuments, streets, and residential buildings. The Ephorate at Larisa has since carried out most of the excavations, which include both systematic and rescue excavations. The most significant excavation was that of the large theatre which restarted the Arvanitopoulos' excavations in 1990 until 1998 and completed in 2000. The smaller theatre was excavated in 1985 and 1986 after its discovery in 1978.²⁸⁹ Paliougkas has recently completed a dissertation investigating the development of settlement in Larisa from the prehistoric to the Classical periods, with a particular focus on the prehistoric material culture.²⁹⁰

With respect to its cults and sanctuaries, the existence of several are attested by historical sources but the exact locations for them are uncertain. In the case of the Poseidon sanctuary to be discussed below, the location is certain but the remains do not survive. Four sanctuaries are listed here as remains for them have possibly been

²⁸⁵ Tziafalias 1994: 174-177.

²⁸⁶ Tziafalias 1994.

²⁸⁷ Pouqueville 1826: 355; Heuzey 1927.

²⁸⁸ Stählin 1994:

²⁸⁹ Axenidis 1947 and 1949; *ΠΑΕ* 1960: 47; Helly 1970: 250-296, 1984: 213-34; 1987: 127-58; Gallis

1982; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1985; Gallis 1988: 217-235, 1992: 136-141; 1995; Rakatsanis and Tziafalias 1997: 13-60; Stählin 1924: 181-189; Decourt *et al.* 2004: 695- 697; Gialouri 2008: 40-56.

²⁹⁰ Paliougkas 2018.

found and an approximate location within the city can be identified, or the location is certain but the remains are either fragmentary or missing.

Cult Sites

(1.1A) Polikarpou and Mitropolitou Streets (Οδοί Πολυκάρπου και Μητροπολίτου)

GPS Coordinates: 39.64133, 22.41422 (approximate)

Deities: Athena Polias?

Periods: Archaic to Hellenistic, perhaps later.

Topography:

The site is located on the acropolis of Larisa and would have been widely visible throughout the area around the acropolis assuming that it was not obstructed by walls, buildings, and other structures.

History of Archaeological Work:

Tziafalias identified the foundations for a large building on the Frourio but only implies that it was excavated and does not provide the date of excavation.²⁹¹ Various architectural remains have also been noted from the vicinity.²⁹²

Archaeological Remains:

On the Frourio of modern Larisa, east of the

old church of Ag. Achilleios on the streets of Polikarpou and Mitropolitou, at a depth of 3.30 m, Tziafalias identified the poros foundations of a large building over 23 m in length, with an east-west orientation. Poros column drums, marble euthynteria blocks, and fragments of the epistyle have also been found built into the Turkish Bezesteni and various dispersed fragments have been observed in the vicinity.²⁹³

Previous Interpretations:

Helly published a substantial inscribed 3rd c. BC inventory from Larisa which describes the topography of the city, particularly the sanctuaries in and around the city, mentions that the main sanctuary of the city was the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the acropolis on which were erected important civic decrees.²⁹⁴ This sanctuary is also known from several ancient authors, which mention that the tomb of the hero Akrisios was located within the sanctuary (although other sources mention the possibility that it was outside the city walls).²⁹⁵

Based on the inscription's description of the Polias sanctuary on the acropolis, Tziafalias identifies the foundations and the architectural fragments, all of which would

²⁹¹ Tziafalias 1994: 172.

²⁹² Tziafalias 1994: 172-173.

²⁹³ Tziafalias 1994: 173.

²⁹⁴ *IG IX²* 517, lines 22 and 45; Helly 1970. See also *IG IX²* 592.

²⁹⁵ *FGrH* 3 F 12; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.4.4.

have belonged to a fairly large building, to the sanctuary of Athena Polias from the epigraphic and historical sources, although he does add the caveat that it is not possible to be certain that this is indeed that particular sanctuary. He dates the building to the Late Archaic and Early Classical Period.²⁹⁶

I would add that the foundations and the various architectural members found may have belonged to a temple given its size and orientation but architectural fragments such as these do not necessarily belong to temples; they could have belonged to a stoa or another type of building. To be certain of its identification, other types of evidence need to be taken into account (e.g. votive deposits, biological remains, evidence for ritual, etc.), none of which survive. What is certain from aforementioned written sources is that there was a sanctuary of Athena Polias in the vicinity, but the identification of these particular remains from the Frourio is uncertain.

(1.1B) Roosevelt and Papakyriazis Streets (οδοί Ρούσβελτ και Παπακυριάζη)

GPS Coordinates: 39.63714, 22.4177

Deities: Apollo Kerdoos?

Periods: Classical to Hellenistic

Topography:

The site is located in the lower city of Larisa, 600 m south of the acropolis. If the sanctuary is indeed that of Apollo Kerdoos, it could have been located in what was the Free Agora of the city. The building would then have been fairly visible due to its size but its location in a more exclusive part of the city would have restricted access to the sanctuary. If it is indeed the Kerdoos sanctuary, an inscription mentions its location in an ἐπιφανέστατος τόπος (“the most manifest/visible place”).²⁹⁷

History of Archaeological Work:²⁹⁸

The archaeological remains described below were excavated by Verdellis in the area between Roosevelt and Papakyriazis Streets in 1955 in the northwest corner of Plateia Tachidromeio.²⁹⁹ Various stelai, reused in drainage pipes from the 2nd c. AD, were also found a few metres north of the plateia. In addition, according to the account of the labourers who had worked on various construction projects in the city, the ruins of a building were found *in situ* in 1954 during the construction of several buildings,

²⁹⁶ Tziafalias 1994: 172-3.

²⁹⁷ Tziafalias 1994: 169, 177-178; *IG IX²* 519.

²⁹⁸ Tziafalias 1994: 169-70.

²⁹⁹ *ΠΑΕ* 1955.

dismantled, loaded onto horse-drawn wagons, and thrown into the area of the Mezourlo, in the southern part of the modern city. Some of these remains were also preserved in the area where the Archaeological Museum of Larisa was to be built later. Further architectural remains were identified in rescue excavations and stray finds in the 1970s.³⁰⁰

Archaeological Remains:³⁰¹

At Pl. Tachidromeio, Verdellis excavated various architectural remains: stone architectural fragments, honorary inscriptions, as well as three walls with a north-south orientation. These walls belonged to a Late Antique installation, perhaps a bath, which reused several architectural elements from older buildings, including a 4th c. BC *krepis* from what must have been an elaborate building. According to the labourers' accounts, this *krepis* and its associated architectural remains were dismantled and thrown into the Mezourlo area and the area of the museum. These architectural remains, in addition to the *krepis*, included Doric column drums and capitals, as well as euthynteria blocks.³⁰² In addition, a *sekoma*, a measuring device

commonly found at agoras was found among the *spolia*. West of the walls were a series of statue bases as well as the bronze leg of a horse. The earliest ceramic fragments date to the 4th c. BC.³⁰³

A few metres north of the plateia, two 5th c. BC stelai that were reused in 2nd c. AD drains were excavated. These stelai, of exceptional craftsmanship, were related to heroes from the Battle of Tanagra and might also have come from the tentatively proposed sanctuary. Finally, a Hellenistic road was excavated in Plot 5 of Verdellis' excavations in the same plateia.³⁰⁴

Previous Interpretations:

Verdelis was the first to propose that these building remains may have belonged to the temple of Apollo Kerdoos, which is known from inscriptions.³⁰⁵ In this sanctuary, according to the epigraphic evidence, the *demos* of Larisa erected honorary monuments for distinguished individuals, judicial decrees, decrees of the *demos* of Larisa, as well as dedications to the god by both Larisians and non-Larisians.

³⁰⁰ *AA* 31 (1976): 147-150; 34 (1979): 215-219.

³⁰¹ Tziafalias 1994: 169.

³⁰² *IAE* 1955: 147-150.

³⁰³ *IAE* 1955: 148-149.

³⁰⁴ Tziafalias 1994: 170

³⁰⁵ *IG IX²* 517, 519; *IAE* 1955: 150.



Figure 7 - Verdellis' excavations on Roosevelt and Papakiriazis (Tziafalias 1994)

Tziafalias follows Verdellis' interpretation and synthesizes the evidence for these various architectural fragments.³⁰⁶ The concentration of architectural fragments and stelai from this area, and the nature of the inscriptions, and dedications would seem to indicate that the building, whose foundations had been removed in 1954 and thrown into the Mezourlo, belonged to the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos. Tziafalias suggests that the architectural remains, its various refinements, and the nature of the associated material, are almost certainly indicative of a temple rather than a stoa, but provides no reason, architecturally, to suggest that the building could not have also belonged to a Doric stoa.³⁰⁷

Tziafalias weaves the following

narrative for the site: he suggests that the site would already have existed in the 5th c. BC if the inscriptions are an indication of the earliest date of use for the building. At that point, the site, if a sanctuary, would have had an altar and perhaps an earlier temple that preceded the temple whose architectural fragments remain, which dated to the 4th c. Tziafalias goes on to suggest that the sanctuary would have been located in the Free Agora in the Hellenistic period which would lose its role as a centre of both politics and religion, maintaining an exclusive religious character. He suggests that the road excavated in Plot 5 was a processional road leading from the Free Agora to the Acropolis.³⁰⁸

Tziafalias³⁰⁹ came to the conclusion that the sanctuary was located in the Free Agora of the city by equating one inscription's mention of the sanctuary being located in the ἐπιφανέστατῳ τόπῳ to mean that it was in the Free (ἐλευθέρα) Agora of the city.³¹⁰ This is, however, not a certainty. Décourt *et al.* agree that it is plausible that this might have been the Free Agora,³¹¹ but Dickenson counters that the only mention of a Free Agora appears in Aristotle, who

³⁰⁶ Tziafalias 1994: 169-170.

³⁰⁷ Tziafalias 1994: 170.

³⁰⁸ Tziafalias 1994: 170.

³⁰⁹ Tziafalias 1994: 169-170.

³¹⁰ *IG IX² 519*, fac. III, lines 7-9.

³¹¹ Décourt *et al.* 2004: 696-697.

mentions it as a Thessalian concept.³¹² Aristotle and Xenophon believed that a *polis* had an agora for commerce, and an agora for politics and religion (the Free Agora). Xenophon believes that this was a Persian import into Greece whereas Aristotle believes that this is a Thessalian introduction.³¹³ A Free Agora would have been an exclusive area, restricting access only to the *polis'* citizens, which Tziafalias speculates as having been restricted to the aristocratic elite in a Thessalian context.³¹⁴ It is worth noting that aside from the Sacred Agora at Demetrias, there has not been an exclusively political or sacred agora excavated in Thessaly, and so the suggestion that the Kerdoos sanctuary was located in the Free Agora is problematic.³¹⁵

Even though I would again caution against any certain identification of this site as the sanctuary of Apollo Kerdoos, I would add that its identification is more secure than that of the “Athena Polias” sanctuary on the acropolis, being far more certain in terms of the nature of the site, as well as the deity worshipped. The primary issue lies in the fact that the foundations are no longer *in situ*

and the site is built over. Had the site been a sanctuary, it can unfortunately no longer be studied spatially.

(1.1C) Dimitros Street (οδός Δήμητρος, mod. Δήμητρας)

GPS Coordinates: 39.64202, 22.41772

Deities: Poseidon Kranaios Pylaios

Periods: Classical

Topography: The site marks an eastern gate into the acropolis fortifications and would have stood on an uphill slope outside the gate.

History of Archaeological Work: Verdellis excavated roughly the middle of Dimitros Street along the western uphill side to the west in the winter of 1955.³¹⁶

Archaeological Remains:

Verdellis excavated a large stele (measuring 2.63 m tall, 0.495 m wide, 0.24 m thick) *in situ* standing on an orthogonal marble plinth (measuring 0.685 m × 0.465 m × 0.22 m) on a square base of local stone. The top of the stele is crowned with a pediment with three anthemia as akroteria. The middle of the stele is inscribed with the following *stoichedon* inscription:

³¹² Dickenson 2017: 38, 53-54.

³¹³ Xen. *Cyr.* 1.2.3-4; Arist. *Pol.* 7.1331^a30 – 1331^b3.

³¹⁴ Tziafalias 1994: 173.

³¹⁵ For inscriptions mentioning the Sacred Agora at Demetrias, see *IG V*² 367; *IG IX*² 1105; *IG IX*² 111; *SEG XII* 306. For Demetrias, see Chapter 3, 7.1.

³¹⁶ *IIAE* 1958: 29-30.

Π Ο Τ Ε Ι Δ Ω Ν Ι
Κ Ρ Α Ν Α Ι Ω Ι
Π Υ Λ Α Ι Ω Ι

“To Poseidon of the Spring by the Gate.”

The letter forms and the dialect limit the date of the stele to the beginning of the 4th c. BC at the latest.³¹⁷

Previous Interpretations:

Verdelis states that the inscription indicates that by this location was one of the gates into the acropolis (deduced from Πύλαιος) and that there must have been a κράνα (Attic κρήνη, α spring) in the vicinity that was sacred to Poseidon.³¹⁸ The cult of Poseidon as a freshwater spring deity is attested in Thessaly and in other parts of Greece, under the epithets κρηνούχος and νυμφαγέτης, for example.³¹⁹

I would go further to suggest that there is a possibility that the monument was accompanied by a shrine, although its remains do not survive (like most ancient monuments of the city). It did not necessarily need to be a sanctuary with a *temenos* and an altar but could have been a simple spring that was associated with the god, as with the Hypereia spring (discussed

below, see Pherai 2E).



Figure 8 - The current location of the Poseidon monument on Dimitros Street (taken 2018).

(1.1D) 9 Alexandrou Panagouli Street (Αλεξάνδρου Παναγούλη 9)

GPS Coordinates: 39.63825, 22.41936

Deities: Zeus Eleutherios?

Periods: Hellenistic to Roman

Topography:

The archaeological remains are concentrated in an area 400 m southwest of the ancient acropolis, a stone's throw away from Tziafalias' proposed location of a Free Agora in the city's political and religious centre. The site is located on somewhat of a slope towards the west and if the building described below did belong to this sanctuary, it would have had the same level of visibility as the proposed temple of Apollo Kerdoos.

History of Archaeological Work:

³¹⁷ ΠΑΕ 1958: 29-30, 36-37. See also Mili 2015: 321, no. 378.

³¹⁸ ΠΑΕ 1958: 36-37.

³¹⁹ For κρηνούχος and νυμφαγέτης: Corn. ND 22.44.4.

Although the areas that yielded remains have not been systematically excavated, rescue excavations have been carried out over the years, yielding spolia as well as scattered architectural remains and fragments of dedications.³²⁰ Tziafalias does not indicate which years these remains were discovered. Graninger's dissertation provides a synthesis of the epigraphic, numismatic, literary, and archaeological evidence.³²¹

Archaeological Remains:³²²

The area around Panagouli 9 yielded the remains of substantial sections of an Early Christian Wall dating to the end of the 4th c. AD. This hastily-built wall was constructed entirely of spolia from older poros and marble architectural remains that were held together by lime plaster. The oldest remains in the spolia included 14 Doric column drums, one geison, fragments of triglyphs, and some marble blocks from a euthynteria of what would have been a rectangular building, all of which could be dated to the Hellenistic period. Many of these fragments were massive, due to which Tziafalias suggests could not have travelled far from their original location. Remains from other

structures were found built into the walls as well, including a bench from the first theatre at Larisa. The architectural remains in the spolia indicate a rectangular building in the Doric order. The exact plan of the rectangular building (i.e. whether it was peripteral or not) remains uncertain. None of the plan of the rest of the sanctuary, aside from the fact that it contained a large amount of dedications, can be known.

In addition to the architectural fragments, a large number of bases for dedicatory inscriptions and statues were found in the vicinity, including over 40 marble bases concentrated in the junction between Palama and Panagouli. Furthermore, there were several inscribed stelai containing League decrees found reused in later structures at the corner of Panagouli and Kouma.³²³

Previous Interpretations:

Tziafalias interprets the site around Panagouli 9 to be the approximate location of the sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios due to the concentration of large architectural fragments used to build the Early Christian walls that wind around that

³²⁰ Tziafalias 1994: 169-72.

³²¹ Graninger 2005.

³²² See Tziafalias 1994: 170-2 for this section.

³²³ Tziafalias 1994: 169-70. For the inscribed stelai, see *IG IX²* 2.525; *IG IX²* 507.32-34; *IG IX²* 508.19-30, 46-49; *IG IX²* 509.12-3; *SEG* 34.558.

neighbourhood.³²⁴ These fragments, he says, would have been too large to have been moved from too far away, which is a credible supposition given the fact that the wall seemed to have been hastily built. In addition, the concentration of dedications that would be expected in a federal sanctuary as well as inscriptions that directly relate to Zeus Eleutherios, gives credence to the possibility that this site once hosted the sanctuary.³²⁵ I would add that the concentration of Eleutherios inscriptions in this area would indicate that the sanctuary probably did exist in the vicinity but it cannot be ascertained due to the fact that the building is not *in situ*.

The Hellenistic date of the building as well as its probable enormity and the nature of its dedications further supports that this location was the Eleutherian sanctuary, but as Tziafalias notes, it cannot be ascertained without systematic excavations.

1.2. PHERAI

Location: Modern Velestino (Βελεστίνο)

Identification with ancient site: Φεραί (certain)

Site Description and History:³²⁶

The *polis*³²⁷ of Pherai comprised one of the largest urban settlements in Thessaly, only second to Larissa, and it formed the theatre for some of the most dramatic political scenes in Thessalian history. Located in southern Pelasgiotis under the modern town of Velestino, early settlement in the area concentrated around the Hypereia Spring and the two hills, Magoula Bakali and Kastraki, that would later be the city's twin acropoleis. The settlement was strategically located, being situated roughly 20 km away from the Pagasetic Gulf as well as being placed on the ancient route traversing Greece from north to south. It was also placed adjacent to a very fertile plain watered by the Hypereia spring, the quality and quantity of whose output is rivalled in Thessaly only by that of the Mati Spring near Tyrnavos.³²⁸ It was inhabited probably from the Late Neolithic period, contained evidence for a prosperous settlement during the Mycenaean period, and was densely

³²⁴ Tziafalias 1994: 169.

³²⁵ Graninger 2005: 91-132.

³²⁶ Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1994 provides an overview of the layout and archaeological work of the area around Velestino. Arachoviti 2000 and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Arachoviti 2006 provide

updated reports on the Magnesia Ephorate's work in the same area during the 1990s and 2000s.

³²⁷ De. 1.13. *IG* V 1.948, line 2; Diod. 5.61, 5; Decourt *et al.* 2004: 704-6.

³²⁸ For the Mati spring, see Bouchon and Helly 2016: 129.

populated in the Early Iron Age (right after which period cult at one of the earliest sanctuaries in Thessaly, that of Zeus and/or Ennodia, was first established in the mid-8th c. BC).³²⁹ The site presents few archaeological remains for the Archaic period, aside from the possible fortification of Kastraki Hill as early as the Late Archaic but possibly during the Early Classical period.³³⁰ The settlement grew significantly in the Classical period, during which inscriptions describe Pherai as having a *chora* in which other settlements were subject to the *polis* of Pherai and Theopompos describes Pherai as controlling the town of Pagasai as its sea-port.³³¹ Pherai's strategic location on a major crossroads along the main route going north and south of Greece, as well as its control of the most important port in Thessaly's only body of water capable of supporting harbours, led to the economic rise of the city.

Pherai was not a major player in Thessalian politics until the late 5th c. BC, when the history of the Thessalian states became dominated by the rise of Pherai under its tyrants. Lykophron of Pherai seems

to have established a tyranny at the end of the 5th c. BC, perhaps with the support of Sparta.³³² Lykophron was eventually succeeded by Jason of Pherai, a brilliant military commander who possessed a mercenary army and a possibly a fleet, and alliances with Athens and Thebes, with which he managed to defeat Epeiros as well as most of Thessaly. Due to both his military force and political cunning, the Thessalians elected Jason as *tagos* of Thessaly in 375/4, making him the military and economic commander of Thessaly and its *perioikoi* until his assassination in 370/369.³³³ Jason's less competent successors inherited his position as *tagos* of Thessaly but gained a reputation for their cruelty, particularly Alexander of Pherai, whose reign ended in his assassination by his wife Thebe and brothers-in-law Tisiphonus and Lykophron. The Pheraian tyranny ended with the deposal of Lykophron II in 352 by Philip II of Macedon at the behest of the Aleuads of Larissa.³³⁴

Pherai, like the rest of Thessaly, became subject to the Macedonians under Philip II, who removed the port of Pagasai

³²⁹ For the cult and sanctuary of Ennodia and Zeus Thaulios at Pherai, see Chrysostomou 1998.

³³⁰ Morgan 2003: 92.

³³¹ SEG 23 418; Theopomp. fr. 53 (FGrH 115).

³³² Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.24.

³³³ Sprawski 1999: 21-22.

³³⁴ Graninger 2015; Sprawski 1999.

from Pheraian control and made it an independent polis, from then on administered under the *perioikos* of Magnesia. By doing so, Philip significantly reduced Pherai's economic and military capability and also gained an important harbour for his own purposes. The Hellenistic rulers stomped through the area of Pherai occasionally, bringing the city into the thick of the Diadochic Wars until the Flaminian "liberation" of Thessaly and its *perioikoi* in 197/6 and the foundation of a formal Thessalian League whose first *strategos* was a Pheraian named Pausanias.³³⁵ Pherai continued to be caught up in military events at the end of the Hellenistic period, having surrendered to the Seleucid king Antiochus III during his war against the Roman Republic and then falling temporarily back to Roman control under the consul Acilius.³³⁶

The archaeological remains from Pherai in the Classical and Hellenistic period, however, indicate that Pherai was a robust *polis* with a vibrant economy, despite being embroiled in political and military turmoil.

The city was laid out with a north-south orientation and divided into regular city blocks.³³⁷ Evidence for terracotta and ceramic workshops, as well as glass manufacturing, have already been excavated, and large sections of the Hellenistic fortifications from most sides of the city survive to this day. Architectural remains for the agora of the city have been identified along with inscriptions for manumission and others indicating the nature of the site as an agora.³³⁸ Numerous necropoleis have been identified around the ancient city but only a few, small-scale rescue excavations have been undertaken.³³⁹ The Hypereia Spring, the main water source of the city, was monumentalised sometime in the Classical period and the spring continued to be in use after the abandonment of the city. With the reestablishment/formalisation of the Thessalian League in 196, the city seems to have reached a cultural high point. A rich house from the Hellenistic period has also been excavated in the vicinity.³⁴⁰

The decline of Pherai seems to begin

³³⁵ Euseb. *Chron.* 1.243.

³³⁶ Livy 36.14.10.

³³⁷ Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1994: 81.

³³⁸ Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Arachoviti 2006: 232-243

³³⁹ For the cemeteries around Pherai, see Adrimi-Sismani 1983; Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 1994: 79; Arachoviti 1994: 127 fig. 1; *AA* 1989: 223-225.

³⁴⁰ For the excavations conducted at the Hypereia Spring, see *AA* 53 (1998): 437-438. Houses: Efstathiou 2014.

in the 1st c. BC during the beginning of the reign of Augustus. Strabo indicates that the city was still extant during his time but that it had begun to lose its former importance, attributing the cause to the Macedonian quashing of the Pheraian tyranny.³⁴¹ The city seems to have been gradually abandoned in the Early Roman period. Small populations seem to have inhabited the city after its abandonment. Stephanus of Byzantium seems to indicate that there existed during Late Antiquity a new settlement named Pherai (“αὶ νῦν Φεραὶ”) near the location of the abandoned city.³⁴²

History of Archaeological Research:

Pherai first received significant archaeological attention during the first quarter of the 20th century at the site of the sanctuary of Zeus and Ennodia at Makalorema to the north of the city, although looting of bronzes had already occurred prior to the excavations. Further archaeological works were later carried out in the 1920's, initially by Arvanitopoulos and then as a *synergasia* by the Greek Archaeological and the French School at Athens under Yves Béquignon.³⁴³ The 13th Ephorate carried out systematic excavations

of the acropolis fortifications as well as rescue excavations of notable archaeological remains of the city.³⁴⁴

Cult Sites of Pherai

(1.2A) Makalorema (Μακαλόρεμα)

GPS Coordinates: 39.38922, 22.74245

Deities: Zeus and/or Ennodia

Periods: Early Iron Age to Early Roman

Topography: The site is located just outside of Pherai's northern city walls on the road leading to Larisa, very near the Makalorema stream.

History of Archaeological Work:

The sanctuary was first excavated in the 1920s by a Greek-French *synergasia*, which uncovered a Doric peripteral temple published by Béquignon in 1937.³⁴⁵ The remains found by Béquignon consist of the lower foundations of the northeastern *krepis* of the temple, made of local conglomerate mixed with reused blocks from an earlier Archaic temple. The total length of the building must have been somewhere around 32 m long, which would make it roughly 100 Doric feet and thus a *hekatompodon*. No foundation trenches have been observed from the cella of the building and there was no euthynteria (the *krepis* was

³⁴¹ Strab. 9.5.15.

³⁴² Steph. Byz. *De Urb. s.v.* Φεραί.

³⁴³ Béquignon 1937a.

³⁴⁴ Arachoviti 2012.

³⁴⁵ Béquignon 1937: 59-74.

placed directly on the foundations).³⁴⁶

With funding from the European Community and the Hellenic Republic, the 13th Ephorate was able to conduct more excavations from 2006-2007.

Archaeological remains:

Four phases are identifiable in this site: (1) an Early Iron Age cemetery, (2) an 8th c. open-air sanctuary, (3) a Late Archaic sanctuary with a large Doric temple, and (4) a 4th c. BC sanctuary with a temple.³⁴⁷



Figure 9 - The Makalorema temple in its present state (taken 2012).

*Early Iron Age:*³⁴⁸ The area around the town of Velestino has three EIA cemeteries located around the sites of Alepotrypes and Kastraki. Over 60 cist graves have been recorded, 40 of which come from the site of the Zeus/Ennodia

sanctuary.³⁴⁹ This cemetery went out of use sometime around 800 BC.

Early Archaic Period: After the cemetery went out of use, evidence for cult in the form of votive deposits begin to appear at the same site. Morgan proposes that the cult, having established within living memory of the cemetery (within roughly fifty years), might have pertained to an ancestor cult.³⁵⁰ Although there were no architectural features, a large number of bronze and iron objects were dedicated at the site. The 3,739 bronze objects from this site date to the earliest phase of the sanctuary.³⁵¹ Of these, 1,798 are fibulae, some of which were too large to have been functional in an everyday setting.³⁵² There were also various types of jewellery and figurines. There were two terracotta figurines dating to the Geometric period. One figurine represents a square-bodied female, wearing a *polos* and a tunic, that could have been sitting or standing with arms protruding from the torso and not the shoulder, while the other figurine consisted only of a fragment of a female face with

³⁴⁶ Østby 1994.

³⁴⁷ Béquignon 1937a: 59-74; Chrysostomou 1999: 25-46; Graninger 2005.

³⁴⁸ Stamatopoulou 1999 vol. 2: 53-55; Georganas 2002: 19-21.

³⁴⁹ Béquignon 1937a: 50-55; Georganas 2002b: 52-53.

³⁵⁰ Morgan 2003: 93.

³⁵¹ Béquignon 1937a: 67-72.

³⁵² Georganas 2008.

Phoenicianising features.³⁵³

Recent excavations in the 2000s have also revealed a long feature of red soil within the area of the cella that has been interpreted by Arachoviti as an *eschara*, perhaps used as an early altar during the sanctuary's open-air phase. The finds within it date to the Protogeometric to the Geometric periods.³⁵⁴ The excavations also revealed a deposit dating from the Geometric to Hellenistic periods, the Geometric phase of which revealed more bronze objects.³⁵⁵

Late Archaic to Classical Period: It is likely that the first temple was built during the Late Archaic period. The only evidence, however, comes from fragments of a Doric temple made of poros that were found as *spolia* in the foundations of the 4th c. temple. The *spolia* consisted of krepis blocks, column drums, and a column capital whose echinus would date stylistically to the second half of the 6th c. BC (similar to the Old Temple of Athena on the Acropolis and the Treasury of the Megarians at Olympia).³⁵⁶ There is an unpublished column capital in the storage rooms of the National Archaeological

Museum that depict floral decorations in relief, similar to the column capitals of the temple of Apollo at Metropolis.³⁵⁷

It is, however, difficult to say whether the recycled architectural fragments came from a building on the exact spot of the later temple or whether they came from a building elsewhere in the vicinity outside of the sanctuary since we do not have foundations for these *spolia*. If such was the case, then the sanctuary would still have been an open-air sanctuary until the 4th c. BC. During this period, the bronze votives were replaced by predominantly terracotta figurines, primarily female figures dating as early as the 7th c. but largely from the 6th c. BC.

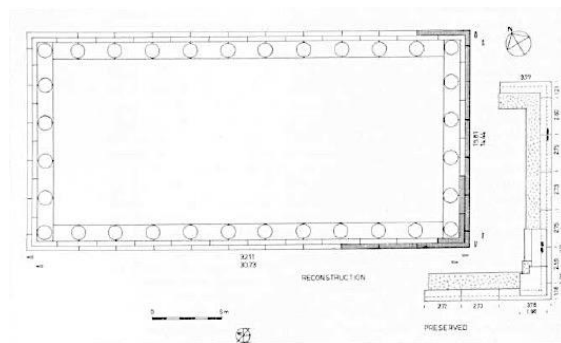


Figure 10 - Reconstructed plan of the Makalorema temple (Østby 1994).

The temple may have been destroyed during the theatre of conflicts that engulfed

³⁵³ Béquignon 1937a: 58-59.

³⁵⁴ Arachoviti *et al.* 2012.

³⁵⁵ For the bronzes of the 2006-2007 excavations, see Orfanou 2015.

³⁵⁶ Østby 1994: 141.

³⁵⁷ The capitals have been identified in the National Archaeological Museum by Stamatopoulou, whom I thank for informing me of the similarities with the Moschato temple at Metropolis.

Pherai during the late 5th/early 4th c. BC.³⁵⁸

The recent 2006-2007 excavations further revealed a new deposit with offerings from the Geometric to the Hellenistic periods. Of particular interest is the Archaic layer which contained a large quantity of fragments of Attic black figured and black gloss pottery, with a few sherds of red figure. Small numbers of Corinthian, Laconian, and Eastern Greek pottery were also present. Arachoviti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou also identified painted skyphoi of probably local Pheraian origin, as well as some grey ware.³⁵⁹

4th c. BC to the Early Imperial Period: The temple that may have stood in the Archaic and Classical periods was rebuilt in the late 4th c. BC and was one of the largest buildings in Thessaly at the time. Only the foundations, the east side of the *krepis*, a few column drums, and several fragments of the decorated *simā* and architrave survive as most of its stone would be reused in later buildings and the Makalorema river to the north would later change course and destroy the northern half of the sanctuary. Nevertheless, the stylobate can be calculated at 30.73 m × 14.44 m, which is roughly 100 ×

50 Doric feet.³⁶⁰ The foundations would have supported 6 × 12 columns and is oriented to the east-southeast. The exact height is indeterminable but Østby reconstructs it as being 12.18 m or based on its similarities to other late Classical temples, such the temple of Apollo at Delphi and the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous. Five subsidiary buildings were erected to the east of the temple and have been interpreted as treasuries, *naïskoi*, and statue bases. The number of inscriptions from this sanctuary during this time period is substantial. Votive stelai, a several of which were dedicated to Ennodia during the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, were erected at this sanctuary. Fourteen civic decrees of the city, which include inscriptions concerning proxeny and asylum as well inventory lists were also set up in the sanctuary.³⁶¹ More recent excavations have uncovered sections of the *peribolos* as well as a small building from the Early Imperial period.³⁶²

The sanctuary goes out of use sometime during the Julio-Claudian period when Pherai's gradual abandonment began, sometime after which it was destroyed by an earthquake.³⁶³

³⁵⁸ Østby 1994.

³⁵⁹ Arachoviti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2019.

³⁶⁰ Østby 1994: 139-140.

³⁶¹ Graninger 2005: 205-6.

³⁶² Arachoviti *et al.* 2012.

³⁶³ See Østby 1994 for the dating of the temple.

It should be noted that only a portion of the site has ever been excavated and the full layout of the sanctuary is yet to be exposed. The majority of the finds from this site, which include bronze figurines, *phialai*, fibulae, faience and glass beads, and even some architectural members, have not been published. Some architectural fragments were taken by locals as *spolia* in the early 20th century.

Previous Interpretations:

The sanctuary was originally identified by Béquignon as a sanctuary of Zeus given that several inscriptions from the sanctuary are dedicated to him (five to Zeus Thaulios and three to Zeus Aphrios).³⁶⁴ Chrysostomou attributes the main deity of the sanctuary to Ennodia based on at least two inscriptions that were found at the site as well as four inscriptions from elsewhere that Chrysostomou believes to have originated from the Makalorema sanctuary.³⁶⁵ Stamatopoulou and Graninger have both criticized Chrysostomou's over-interpretations of the evidence, as his main reason for attributing those four inscriptions to this sanctuary was the fact that they were important inscriptions and must have come

from Ennodia's most important sanctuary (despite evidence for sanctuaries elsewhere).³⁶⁶ Morgan connects the sanctuary's importance to the city's early urban formation, noting that the votive deposits from its earliest phases indicate that it was on par with Olympia and Delphi in terms of investment in the Early Iron Age.³⁶⁷ Georganas connects the earliest phase of the sanctuary to broader trends in the Mediterranean, particularly the shift in the deposition of metal objects from graves to sanctuaries in the EIA as well as the sanctuary's inclusion within the Orientalizing trend at the end of the EIA and beginning of the Archaic period.³⁶⁸

Some scholars have suggested that certain sanctuaries in Thessaly, such as this one, had funerary associations because of their location on former necropoleis. Mili points out that the funeral association in this is unlikely given the size of the sanctuary, the wealth of investment, as well as the presence of civic decrees, all factors which would be unusual for a funerary shrine.³⁶⁹ Stamatopoulou proposes convincingly that this sanctuary could have been established on this site not because of the cult's funerary

³⁶⁴ Béquignon 1937a: 52-53

³⁶⁵ Chrysostomou 1999: 26-35

³⁶⁶ Stamatopoulou 1999 vol. 2: 197 n. 992.

³⁶⁷ Morgan 2003: 137-138.

³⁶⁸ Orfanou *et al.* 2014.

³⁶⁹ Mili 2015: 147-158.

associations but its proximity to several strategic factors such as its location near water and a major highway. Stamatopoulou also points out the nature of the inscriptions to Ennodia themselves include her roles as a civic deity and a protector of roads and entrances, thus explaining the location of her sanctuary just outside the city gates.³⁷⁰

(1.2B) Agios Charalambos (Άγιος Χαράλαμπος)

GPS Coordinates: 39.38608, 22.7413
(approximate)

Deity: Herakles (?) and Asklepios (two sanctuaries)

Periods: Classical to Hellenistic

History of Archaeological Work:

In 1907, Arvanitopoulos carried out a small exploratory excavation not far north of the acropolis by the modern church of Ag. Charalambos.

Archaeological Remains:

Arvanitopoulos' test excavation near Ag. Charalamabos uncovered different architectural remains possibly belonging to a sanctuary. These included sections of a Doric column made of poros dating to the 4th c. BC, a wall with polygonal and isodomic masonry on top of a euthynteria, which

might have been the peribolos of the sanctuary and dates to the 5th-4th c. BC. The pottery from the site included many black-glossed vases, one of which may bear the inscription HR or HRA, and in another case PAKΛEO, which Arvanitopoulos reconstructs as Ἡρακλέο[υς] ("of Herakles").³⁷¹ The latter was written on the neck of a large vessel, whose type Arvanitopoulos does not mention. With this group of pottery was found the clay head of a youth and a small clay statuette of a seated man with a beard, holding something in its hand. All finds date to the 4th c. BC with the exception of a roof tile stamped with what might have been an owl and traces of lettering, which dates earlier (6th-5th c. BC).

In addition to the finds from Arvanitopoulos' excavations, fragments from a sanctuary were found at the church of Ag. Charalambos itself, beside the supposed Herakles sanctuary. A small altar³⁷² as well as a damaged statuette of a male figure, made of white, coarse-grained marble, measuring 0.22 m tall, were found at the courtyard of the church in 1979. Although the left hand and feet are missing, the figure stands *contrapposto* and would have been

³⁷⁰ Stamatopoulou 2014.

³⁷¹ Béquignon 1937a: 26.

³⁷² Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni 1990: 59.

leaning on a staff on his right armpit and is wearing a himation.³⁷³ Mitropoulou suggests that it might be Asklepios but it is not certain.³⁷⁴ Also found at the church was a marble base, now at the Volos Museum, inscribed “Κλιόμαχος / Μολόσσειος / Ἀσκληπιού” (“Kleomachos the Molossian [dedicates this] to Asklepios”).³⁷⁵

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos interprets the architectural remains as having belonged to a sanctuary of Herakles based on the pottery inscribed with the hero’s name. Any interpretation is unverifiable, as the excavations did not uncover a sufficient amount of the site, leaving the layout unknown, along with the function and type of the site.

Even though the most likely scenario points to this site having been used as a sanctuary to Herakles, I would add that the frequency of fragmentary letter combinations belonging to Herakles’ name do not necessarily indicate that this is a sanctuary of Herakles as names on pots can be indicative of a variety of different things, such as the creator/owner of the vessel, names of figures on the pots, the name of the person dedicating said vessel, etc. The

abundance of theophoric names bearing some form of “Herakles” (e.g. Herakleides, Herakleios) as well as toponyms attached to personal names (e.g. Herakleiotēs) indicating that the person came from a city named after Herakles such as Herakleia (e.g. Herakleia Trachinia) or Herakleion (e.g. Pierian Herakleion).

Mitropoulou suggests that the site of the church itself was built on the site of a separate sanctuary, an Asklepieion, based on finds relating to Asklepios, such as the altar, the inscribed statue base, and the statuette possibly depicting Asklepios.³⁷⁶ The presence of *spolia* at a church, however, does not necessarily indicate that the church was built on the site of a former Asklepieion but the concentration of Asklepios-related artefacts at this church does seem to indicate that there was an Asklepieion near if not on the site.

(1.2C) Malouka Hill (Λόφος Μαλούκα)

GPS Coordinates: 39.3748, 22.73025

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Classical

Topography:

The site lies outside of the city walls of Pherai, on the peak of Malouka hill, which

³⁷³ Mitropoulou 1994: 58-59; Mili 2015: 339. The statuette: Volos AM, BE 1694.

³⁷⁴ Mitropoulou 1994: 58.

³⁷⁵ The inscription: Volos AM 839; Ἀσκληπιού: Thessalian dialect for Ἀσκληπιῶ.

³⁷⁶ Mitropoulou 1990: 59.

dominates the view to the southwest of the city.

History of Archaeological Work:

Leake's *Travels in Northern Greece* mention ancient remains on the peak of Malouka (a part of the Chalkodonio massif) southwest of Velestino.³⁷⁷ Béquignon excavated a small building on top of Malouka hill in 1933.³⁷⁸ In 1979, a Greek-Italian team under Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni carried out surface surveys in the broader region of Velestino, which included the spoil heap from an illegal excavation in a rectangular structure on the peak of Malouka.

Archaeological Remains:

On the peak of the Malouka hill are the ruins of ancient structures, perhaps of a tower and a sanctuary from the Classical period. On the slopes of the hill, there are extensive limestone quarries, the source for the building materials of Pherai's walls and other structures. Béquignon excavated a small, rectangular building which is 3 m long on one side, 3.20 m on another, with an entrance 1.50 m wide and resting on a 12 m long platform; this was probably a watch tower.³⁷⁹ The surveys carried out in 1979

identified in Béquignon's building (possibly a tower) fragments of sculpture and terracotta figurines, one of which is a seated deity. Chrysostomou notes the presence of figurines of children among the finds from this survey.³⁸⁰

Previous Interpretations

Béquignon exposed the tower but did not note any evidence for cult. Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni proposes that the finds from the tower indicates the presence of a sanctuary at the site and the nature of the sculptures and the figurines points to a female deity related to nature or with the use of the site as a beacon tower. Chrysostomou flirts with the idea of Ennodia being the goddess at the sanctuary due to the kourotropic nature of the finds which were similar to the finds from the Ennodia sanctuary at Alepotrypes (see below).³⁸¹ He adds that a torch-bearing deity would fit the function of the site as a beacon tower.

(1.2D) Alepotrypes (Αλεπότρυπες)

GPS Coordinates: 39.38258, 22.73405

Deities: Zeus Meilichios and Ennodia

Periods: Classical

Topography:³⁸²

³⁷⁷ Leake 1835.

³⁷⁸ Béquignon 1937a: 7.

³⁷⁹ Béquignon 1937a: 7-8.

³⁸⁰ Chrysostomou 1998: 111; this is not mentioned by Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni 1990.

³⁸¹ Chrysostomou 1998.

³⁸² Αλεπότρυπες means "fox holes," which Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni 1990 suggests might point to the existence of pits around the site,

The site would have been located right outside the west gate of Pherai. The extant remains were found in the northwest limit of the field owned by K. Batakoyias (άγρος Μπατακόγια) which cut into the northeastern slope of the low hill of Alepotrypes because of leveling for agriculture. The field slopes down to a small stream which branches off of the Makalorema. Alepotrypes itself lies west of the western hill of the acropolis and north of Malouka hill.

History of Archaeological Work:

In 1978, Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni surveyed the area around Velestino, which included Alepotrypes.³⁸³ Archaeological remains had not previously been observed on the site aside from a few sherds whose dating is uncertain. The owner of the field had previously dug the southwest side of the field up to two metres deep and uncovered six tombs (four EIA, two HL) and part of a building. A rescue excavation was carried out in 1990 to uncover the small building.³⁸⁴

Archaeological Remains:³⁸⁵

In the northwest edge of the field, part of a rectangular building was excavated with surviving dimensions of 5.35 × 11 m. The

walls are preserved to a height of 0.60 m. The ceramics from the surface layer seem to be mostly to the Hellenistic period but some date to the Roman period. Two floor layers of beaten earth were discernable, the latter of which used pieces of roof tile and ceramic slabs.

A shallow pit had been dug into the floor of the building cutting into the two floor layers. The finds from this pit include the following: (1) the lower half of a double-sided 5th c. relief stele depicting a woman wearing a peplos and carrying some sort of object in its right hand on one side and a standing female figure on the other side wearing a chiton and himation, (2) the clay head of a bearded male figure, (3) a clay figurine of a standing female figure carrying two torches, (4) a clay figurine of a female figure seated on a rock, (5) a clay fragment of the front of a horse figurine, (6) a clay coiled snake. Other fragments of terracotta figurines of women, including *protomai*, a torch-bearing horse-riding goddess and other female figurines, were excavated from the building. Between the two floor layers were found sherds (including those belonging to a thymiaterion) dating to the

possibly referring to the pit graves or chamber tombs in the area.

³⁸³ Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni 1990.

³⁸⁴ Chrysostomou 1998: 44; Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni 1990: 59.

³⁸⁵ Apostolopoulou-Kakavogianni 1990: 59-61.

beginning of the 4th c. BC.

The finds indicate that the building was in use from the 5th c. to the 4th c. BC. The building was no longer in use during the later Hellenistic period during which a cist grave was built on the site, destroying the northern wall of the building. A 4th c. stele, perhaps from the earlier sanctuary, was reused as one of the side slabs of the cist grave. This stele was decorated with an engraved pediment and akroteria and bore the following three-line inscription (supplemented heavily by Chrysostomou):³⁸⁶

[Σπέυ?]σιππ[ος] ὄνέθεικε
[...]*K*PANOB[.....]
[Δι̅ Μ]ε[λιχίου] καὶ Ἐννοδίαι

“Speusippos (?) dedicated this to [Zeus Meilichios] and Ennodia.”

Previous Interpretations:

Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni was the first to interpret the site as a sanctuary to Ennodia based on the torch-bearing, horse-riding goddess that is depicted numerous times in the sculptural material from this site.³⁸⁷ Based on the presence of a snake and

the bearded head, she also suggests that Zeus Meilichios was also worshipped at this sanctuary (Zeus Meilichios being a chthonic form of Zeus often represented by a snake). The evidence for the cultic nature of the building is heavily supported by the types of material present (the votive nature of the figurines, the *thymiaterion*, the dedicatory stele potentially from this site). Chrysostomou attributes the reused stele to the sanctuary by which he identifies the sanctuary as that of Zeus Meilichios and Ennodia. His supplementation of “Δι̅ Μελιχίου” to the lacuna in the third line is based on the appearance of the joint cult of Zeus Meilichios and Ennodia on a *naïskos* from Larisa as well as the finds pointed out by Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni.³⁸⁸ If Chrysostomou’s supplements to the text are incorrect, the identification of Ennodia is at least certain based on the numerous iconographic depictions of her in the sanctuary, and a joint cult between her and Meilichios would not be out of place in this region.

The Alepotrypes sanctuary has been included in Papachatzis’ category of “funerary sanctuaries,” which has been

³⁸⁶ Volos Museum BE 1511; Chrysostomou 1998: 44-45; Graninger 2005: 190-1.

³⁸⁷ Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni 1990: 59.

³⁸⁸ Apostolopoulou-Kakavoyianni 1990: 59-61.

echoed by Chrysostomou to connect Ennodia to some sort of chthonic function. Stamatopoulou challenges this assertion pointing out that there is no evidence that the sanctuary and the site coexisted.³⁸⁹ The sanctuary was clearly out of use when the site began to be used as a cemetery in the Hellenistic period. Like the Makalorema sanctuary, Stamatopoulou notes the Alepotrypes sanctuary's proximity to a road, a water source, and a gate of the city, factors which could refer to the strategic placement of the sanctuary and Ennodia's role as a protector of roads and gates rather than death and the underworld.

1.3. KRANNON

Location: mod. Krannonas, formerly Chatzilar (Κραννώνας, Οθωμ. Χατζηλάρ), Municipality of Kileler (δημ. Κιλελέρ)

Identification with Ancient Site: Krannon, Κραννών/Κραννούν (secure on epigraphic evidence)³⁹⁰

Site Description and History:

Krannon was located in western-central Pelasgiotis 25 km to the southwest of Larisa, 2 km southwest of the modern town of

Krannonas, in the Eastern Thessalian basin. The site was not situated within the broad Larisa plain but nestled in a fertile plateau in the Revenia mountains between the Chalkidonio (Χαλκηδόνιο) and the Phylleio (Φυλλήιο) mountains and was surrounded by good water sources.³⁹¹ The name Krannon originated from the word κράννα, the Thessalian manifestation of κρήνη ("spring"), probably referring to the nearby springs, of which there are still several.

Habitation is attested at the site from the Neolithic period onwards. The remains of the ancient site survives in a fairly large magoula (called *kastro*) which has unfortunately not yet been systematically investigated.³⁹² The territory had an acropolis (on the *kastro*), but its "lower city" was not a proper lower city as Krannon was in fact built on a series of hills in the Revenia range (the acropolis was merely the highest of these hills.³⁹³ The urban centre was surrounded by extensive necropoleis (at the sites of the Sarmanitsa tumulus, Magoula Douma, Girlenia, Eikositaria, and Valostalos). The funerary assemblage from the various necropoleis around the site

³⁸⁹ Stamatopoulou 2014: 221-224.

³⁹⁰ Leake 1835, Vol. 3: 365; For inscriptions from Krannon referring to Krannon see *IG IX²* 458, 460, and 461a.

³⁹¹ Stählin 1922: 1580-1585, and 1924: 111-112.

³⁹² For more recent rescue excavations at Krannon, see *AA* 1991: 222.

³⁹³ Mili 2015: 186-187.

represent some of the richest and most diverse in all of Thessaly. The EIA material is substantial while some of the later burials are massive, such as the two pyramidal tombs from the 4th c. BC as well as the late tholos tomb from the 5th c. BC. Strangely enough, no LBA or EIA tholos tombs were ever found at Krannon.³⁹⁴ The site was fortified at some unknown point with walls around the city and the acropolis, as is attested by traces of walls excavated but undated by Arvanitopoulos.³⁹⁵

Ancient authors connected Krannon with Homeric Ephyra, which was relocated to Thessaly from Thesprotia.³⁹⁶ Krannon is historically most well known as being the seat of the oligarchic family of the Skopads, one of the wealthiest and most powerful Thessalian families.³⁹⁷ The city reached its acme in the 6th and 5th c. BC, historically, but this has yet to be ascertained archaeologically. Krannon's cavalry supported the Athenians during the Peloponnesian War and joined the Aleuads of Larisa and Alexander II of Macedon in 369 to fight against the Pheraian Tyrants. The site was the setting for one of the first battles

after Alexander's death, the Battle of Krannon, in 322.³⁹⁸ Krannon went into a period of decline in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods, ultimately becoming absorbed by Larisa.

Cults to Dionysos Karpios, Ennodia Wastika are attested for Krannon, Herakles, and Poseidon Patroos are attested at Krannon epigraphically.³⁹⁹ Only one temple, possibly that of Athena Polias has been tentatively identified on the site.

History of Archaeological Work:⁴⁰⁰

Arvanitopoulos dug test trenches throughout the magoula, uncovering sections of fortification walls and an acropolis temple, between 1922-1923. In 1960, Theocharis excavated a pyramidal tomb and a tholos tomb dating to the 4th and 5th c. BC respectively. Deilaki excavated another pyramidal tomb in 1960 and also did a study of the topography. Tziafalis later excavated several graves in Girlenia, Eikositaria, and Valostalos in the 1980's. New archaeological excavations at Krannon have recently been started by the University of Crete and the Larisa Ephorate in 2018, focusing on understanding the urban plan in

³⁹⁴ Stamatopoulou 2016: 187

³⁹⁵ Helly 1979; *AA* 1923; *PAE* 1960.

³⁹⁶ Hom. *Il.* 13.301, *Od.* 1.259; Paus. 1.17.4-5, 9.36.3; Strabo 7.7.5. *PAE* 1915: 171-174; *PAE* 1922: 35-38;

³⁹⁷ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 694-695; Stamatopoulou 1999 vol. 2: 24-29; Morgan 2003: 89, n. 188.

³⁹⁸ Diod. 18.17.4-5.

³⁹⁹ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 695.

⁴⁰⁰ *AA* 1923; *PAE* 1960.

the context of urban development in Thessaly from the EIA to the Hellenistic period, through excavation and geophysical survey.⁴⁰¹

GPS Coordinates: 39.50275, 22.30119

Deities: Athena Polias?

Periods: Classical?

Topography: The building was found on the highest point of the acropolis, the focal point of the city, of a site that sits on a plateau. It would have been visible throughout its immediate region until the surrounding hills impede the line of sight. Since the *kastro* has not been properly excavated, the plan of the city is unfortunately unknown but it can be surmised that the site, being on the acropolis, would have been easily accessible and at a central location.

Archaeological Remains:⁴⁰²

During Arvanitopoulos' text excavations, he found the remains of ruins, noting in not very much detail that it probably belonged to an important temple that had been disturbed by people extracting stone from the site for their own purposes. In addition, he also noted clay figurines, portions of inscriptions, small bronzes, and dedicatory stelai. Arvanitopoulos also relayed the accounts of

local inhabitants of what was formerly known as Chatzilar, who recounted that large, bronze statuettes (measuring one to three times the length from the thumb to the pinky) were turned up during ploughing. These now no longer exist as they were either discarded having been thought demonic, or given to children as toys, according to Arvanitopoulos. In addition, the locals also recounted that a cache of bronze arrows were found at one point, perhaps dedicated as trophies or a tithe of booty at some point at the sanctuary.

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos suggests that the heavily damaged building was a temple. The nature of the finds (bronze and terracotta figurines, other possible votives, dedicatory inscriptions) is typical of what you would find in a sanctuary. Arvanitopoulos goes on to suggest this temple belongs to the sanctuary of Athena Polias whose *temenos* is attested in an inscription as having been an area in which decrees were to be set up.⁴⁰³ Mili, however, points out that the Athena Polias sanctuary is not the only one at Krannon in which decrees can be set up. Inscriptions also attest to decrees being set

⁴⁰¹ Katakouta 2019: 63-78.

⁴⁰² ΠΑΕ 1922-1923: 37.

⁴⁰³ IG IX² 460.

at the sanctuary of Apollo Proernios and that of Asklepios at Krannon. She also points out that that of the many epigraphic fragments found during Arvanitopoulos' excavations, most have disappeared and the reports do not mention any inscriptions to Athena Polias.⁴⁰⁴ The location of the temple on the acropolis could support the identification of the deity but Mili further points out that in all of Thessaly, the only certain cults of Athena Polias on an acropolis are at Larisa and Argissa, all else being conjectural (although I would argue that the identification of the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the Gonnoi acropolis is well supported; see 6.1A below).⁴⁰⁵ As for now the identification rests conjectural but possible. Further study of the sanctuary will unfortunately not be possible until more of the magoula is systematically excavated.

1.4. SOROS

Location: Soros, Municipality of Volos (Σωρός Βόλου)

Identification with Ancient Site: Amphanai or Pagasai (uncertain)

Site Description and History:

The settlement on the rocky hill at Soros lay in an area that was heavily inhabited since the Neolithic period, near Sesklo and Dimini, although the site of Soros itself remained uninhabited until later. Marzloff interestingly reports that the first settlement on the site dates to the Early Iron Age but this has still not yet been verified.⁴⁰⁶

Settlement on the site becomes secure in the Archaic period, during which the acropolis became corned by a circular wall (6th-5th c. BC) while the lower city was further fortified by a triple wall that enclosed ca. 6-7 ha.⁴⁰⁷ A sanctuary of Apollo on the saddle of the hill south of the acropolis was further fitted with a temple in the late 6th c. BC as shall be discussed below. In addition, 155 graves were excavated to the northwest on Valachi field, perhaps belonging to this city.⁴⁰⁸

The identification of Soros is still debated. The two most likely candidates for the site are the ancient cities of Amphanai or Pagasai, the latter being the port of Pherai (“ἐπίνειον Φεραίων”) and a huge source of

⁴⁰⁴ Apollo: *AA* 16 (1960): 181-2; Habicht 1981. Asklepios: *IG IX²* 461; *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 172. *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 172-3 tentatively suggests that the sanctuary of Asklepios was located near the modern church of the Zoodochos Spring where there were several natural springs. No remains were found.

⁴⁰⁵ Mili 2015: 105.

⁴⁰⁶ Marzloff 1992: 337 n. 3.

⁴⁰⁷ *ΠΑΕ* 1999: 165-70; Marzloff 1994: 256 fig. 1.

⁴⁰⁸ *AA* 1985: 186-191 lists the first 78 graves and promises to publish the rest the following year but they would not be published until *AA* 1987: 246-251.

income for the latter Thessalian *polis*.⁴⁰⁹ Stählin was the first to identify Soros with Amphanai, and he is followed by Arvanitopoulos, Intzesiloglou, and Triantafyllopoulou.⁴¹⁰ Mazarakis-Ainian prefers to remain cautiously neutral.⁴¹¹ Di Salvatore identifies Amphanai with Palaiokastros at Sesklo, Bakhuizen with either Damari or Velanidia, while Marzolf identifies it with Palio-Alikes.⁴¹² The case for Pagasai being Soros is supported by Leake, and Beloch, which is rejected by Giannopoulos.⁴¹³ Stählin, Arvanitopoulos, and Meyer place Pagasai at the site of Aligorevma near Demetrias.⁴¹⁴ Intzesiloglou more recently suggested that Pagasai lies on the site of Nees Pagases in the northern limits of Demetrias.⁴¹⁵ Strabo mentions that when the city of Demetrias was founded later in the Hellenistic period, it was built between Pagasai and Neleia, which is believed and if Soros is identified with Pagasai would place Neleia at Nees Pagases.⁴¹⁶ Mazarakis further states that nothing in the most recent excavations could

prove or disprove the identification of the site; however, he states that the team is inclined to identify Soros with Pagasai because the sanctuary can be epigraphically confirmed to be an important sanctuary to Apollo, and given the existence of a sanctuary to Apollo at Pagasai according to literary and epigraphic sources.⁴¹⁷

Whether the site is to be identified with Amphanai or Pagasai, the site would still have belonged to the tetrad of Pelasgiotis, which would have been the case until 353 BC when Philip II of Macedon removed the area of Pagasai, Amphanai, Neleia, and Iolkos from the control of the Pheraians by giving it to the Magnesians and taking the income from the port of Pagasai for himself.⁴¹⁸ During the reign of Demetrios Poliorketes, all the different settlements in this corner of the Pagasetic would be synoecised to form the city of Demetrias in 293 BC⁴¹⁹. The archaeological record seems to agree with the historical sources as the city of Soros were abandoned in the early 3rd c. BC, after which no sherds from later

⁴⁰⁹ Theopomp. *FGrH* 115 fr. 53.

⁴¹⁰ Stählin 1924: 68; Arvanitopoulos 1928: 70; Intzesiloglou 1994a: 46-47; Triantafyllopoulou 2002.

⁴¹¹ Mazarakis-Ainian 2005: 4.

⁴¹² Di Salvatore 1994: 115-116; Bakhuizen 1987: 387 n. 2; Marzolf 1996a: 47-72.

⁴¹³ Leake 1835: 368-370; Beloch 1911: 442-445; Giannopoulos 1914: 90-92.

⁴¹⁴ Stählin 1924: 66-67; Arvanitopoulos in *IIAE* 1909: 162-170; Meyer in Stählin *et al.* 1934: 163.

⁴¹⁵ Intzesiloglou 1994a: 46-7.

⁴¹⁶ Strab. 9.5.15.

⁴¹⁷ Mazarakis-Ainian 2006: 273..

⁴¹⁸ Graninger 2015; Dem. 1.9, 4.35; Diod. 16.31.6.

⁴¹⁹ Kravaritou 2011.

periods would be found on the site. Mazarakis, however, suggests that the settlement could have been abandoned for other reasons aside from the *synoikismos* as the earthquake that destroyed Halos to the south occurred in 265 BC, not too long after the supposed date of the synoecism.

See DEMETRIAS for the later history of the area.

History of Archaeological Work:⁴²⁰

Soros is one of the rare cases in Thessaly of a thoroughly excavated sanctuary. It was partially excavated in 1909 by Arvanitopoulos during his work in nearby Demetrias.⁴²¹ The German Archaeological Institute led by Milojčić carried out small-scale excavations in the 1970's exposing part of the temple.⁴²² The Department of History, Archaeology, and Social Anthropology at the University of Thessaly (Volos) led by Mazarakis-Ainian and Leventi carried out an excavation of a sanctuary in the lower city from 2004-2008, while the 13th Ephorate under Batziou-Efstathiou excavated the necropolis.⁴²³ Mazarakis published the temple complex, Leventi the stone and

terracotta sculptural finds, Vitos and Panagou the pottery, Vitos the small finds, and Psoma the small coin hoard.⁴²⁴

GPS Coordinates: 39.31122, 22.92841

Deities: Apollo

Periods: Archaic to Classical

Topography:

Soros is located on a fortified hill site along the northwestern corner of the Pagasetic Gulf, just south of Demetrias and Alikes Beach. The sanctuary lies on a saddle at the foot of the hill to the south, outside the peribolos and the city gate, just as the downhill slope from flattens before sloping up again slightly to a rocky outcrop to the south and sloping downhill eastward to the sea, from where the temple would have been very visible. The temple abuts the rocky outcrop to the south.

Archaeological Remains⁴²⁵

Mazarakis' excavations at the sanctuary revealed a building complex whose main feature seems to have been a long, rectangular building with local stone foundations and a mudbrick superstructure. The site is subdivided into five sections:

⁴²⁰ Milojčić 1974: 65-75; Leventi 2009 and 2012; Mazarakis-Ainian 2009 and 2012; Vitos and Panagou 2009 and 2012.

⁴²¹ *ΠΑΕ* 1909: 162-170.

⁴²² Milojčić 1974: 65-75, figs. 22-37; Marzloff 1994.

⁴²³ For earlier rescue excavations at Soros, see *ΑΔ* 1985: 186-191; *ΑΔ* 1987: 246-251; *ΑΔ* 1988: 242-

243. For the more recent excavations by the Ephorate, see Triantafyllopoulou 2000 and 2002, and Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2009.

⁴²⁴ See Mazarakis-Ainian 2006 which includes the appendix on the coin hoard written by Psoma; Leventi 2018;

⁴²⁵ Mazarakis-Ainian 2006 and 2012.

The *naos* (1)⁴²⁶ had a cella measuring 22.42×8.33 m and seems to have been the oldest structure in the building complex. This cella, oriented EW with a main entrance to the east and a secondary entrance to the north, had an internal colonnade (ten stone bases) along the central axis and no peripteral colonnade outside. In between the 4th and 5th column bases, was a raised, rectangular, stone *eschara*, whose ashes were scattered up until the northern wall but yielded no bones. Stone benches lined the northern, southern, and western sides. The small finds consisted largely of drinking vessels, but also a bronze ring and a metal vessel in the form of a lion. A Panathenaic amphora was also found in the northwest corner of the cella. Faunal remains include bones (largely ovicaprid) that were found on the benches of the cella, and shells that were found in a cavity under the floor in the

southeast corner of the cella.

Although the *pronaos* (2)⁴²⁷ measured only a narrow 1.9×1.25 m and had an opening of 3.15 m, the small space yielded some of the richest concentration of finds, which included dedicatory reliefs, three sculptures of children and seven statue bases, two of which were inscribed, and an inscribed *kioniskos*. One of these bases, dated to the 4th c. BC, is inscribed to Apollo.⁴²⁸ The 2004 excavations verified that the *pronaos* was a later addition to the building, as it was not structurally connected to the cella.

A few small, circular cavities were found under the surface, which have now been interpreted as post-holes. The two largest post-holes were aligned with the end of the long walls of the cella and might have belonged to a rough portico that preceded the construction of the *pronaos*.⁴²⁹ A large cavity was found under the threshold containing a large number of seashells, which Mazarakis compares to the *Oikos* of the Naxians on Delos and could have been made for the purpose of libations. Other small finds include iron jewellery (mostly rings), and ceramics (among which were the lid of a *pyxis*, fragments of 5th c. lamps, one of

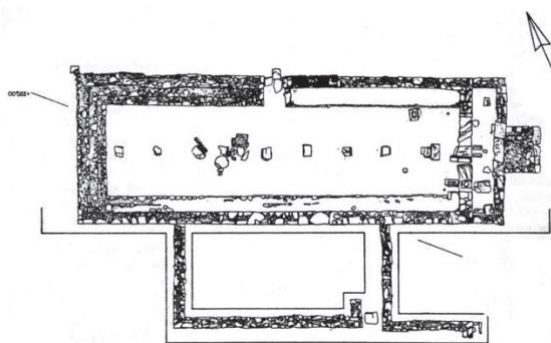


Figure 11 - Plan of the Soros temple (Mazarakis-Ainian 2012).

⁴²⁶ Mazarakis 2006: 273-5.

⁴²⁷ Mazarakis 2006: 275.

⁴²⁸ Volos Museum cat. no. E 1280.

⁴²⁹ Mazarakis 2012: figs. 13-14.

which was complete).

There were two rectangular areas south of and abutting the temple that were also uncovered. The smaller area (3)⁴³⁰ was a Π-shaped area bounded by walls on the south and west and the temple wall to the north. The east was left open. This area was covered by a destruction layer of primarily Laconian rooftiles. Only a few finds came from this area, primarily bronze jewellery. The larger area to the west (4) is bounded by walls on all sides, including sharing a temple with Area 3 to the east and the temple to the north. The bounded area measured 11.10 × 5.45 m with a 1.15-metre-wide entrance to the south.⁴³¹ Underneath a destruction layer of Laconian rooftiles was a thick layer of pottery fragments (storage and cooking vessels), lamps, fragments of terracotta female figurines, as well as some bronze and glass ornaments and different small objects. All objects date from the Late Archaic to the Late Classical Period. The bronze objects from this area are primarily fibulae, prongs, pins, tweezers, and rings common in other Thessalian sanctuaries that might have originated from a Hellenistic workshop in northern Greece. One particular ring

depicted a flying Eros. The destruction layer of this area also contained Thessalian League coins.

A square *oikos* (5) was also excavated in the northwest area of the sanctuary, whose few sherds date from the Early Archaic to the Classical period. Mazarakis proposes that it was perhaps a treasury that might have preceded the Late Archaic temple.

Mazarakis suggests an early phase during which the sanctuary was an open-air sanctuary.⁴³² Evidence for this come from mysterious feature in Area 4, under which, touching the bedrock, was a stone construction with vertical plaques supporting horizontal plaques and terminating with an apsidal end. There were also several cavities dug into the bedrock under the cella that might have been associated with the earliest phase of the temple.

The terracotta figurines from the Archaic period were largely seated female figurines holding a polos or a cist. Those from the 4th c. BC were standing female figures, a dancer with a *tympanon*, an Eros figurine, the head of a boy, a bird, a lion head,

⁴³⁰ Mazarakis 2006: 275-6.

⁴³¹ Mazarakis 2006.

⁴³² Mazarakis 2006: 277.

a fragment of a clay mask, and a naked Aphrodite seated on a rock.⁴³³ There were also several stone sculptural works, such as a relief depicting a male and a female and three statues of juvenile males, all from the *pronaos*. An Archaic *kioniskos* inscribed to Apollo by a woman, and a base inscribed to Apollo by a man for his two sons were also found in the *pronaos*.

Finally, two final structures give further evidence for the plan of the site. A rectangular structure found southeast of the temple has been visible since Marzloff's excavations in the 1970s. The structure was made of four orthogonal blocks, one of which was inscribed with a partially faded ΕΠΟΙΕ ("he/she made") in the Classical period.⁴³⁴ Mazarakis suggests that this was the base for some sort of statue dedicated on the site. The second structure was a wall found 10 m east of the temple and has been interpreted as the peribolos of the sanctuary.⁴³⁵

Previous Interpretations:

The identification of the site as a sanctuary is indisputable. All the finds and inscriptions, as well as the thoroughly known plan of the site indicate that this was indeed a sanctuary.

The nature of the votives, most of which are on behalf of children, indicate a kourotropic aspect to the sanctuary. The inscriptions are also clear on the deity that was worshipped at this sanctuary. Since the deity is Apollo, it might support the identification of the site as Pagasai as the ancient sources as early as Hesiod mention a cult of Apollo Pagasaios.⁴³⁶ The one feature that might contradict this identification is the presence of female terracotta divinities, but, as Béquignon has argued, the feminine nature of dedications or dedications to female deities in a sanctuary do not necessarily indicate that the deity worshipped in that sanctuary was female.⁴³⁷

1.5. LATOMEIO

Location: Hill of Spartia near the Latomeio railway station, Municipality of Aisonias (Σπαρτιά-Λατομείο, Δήμος Αισωνίας)

Identification with Ancient Site: The site falls within the *chora* of Pherai despite being outside of its *asty*. If the site itself had an ancient name, it is unknown.

Site Description and History:⁴³⁸

The site at Spartias was situated at a very close proximity to several Neolithic

⁴³³ Leventi 2009: 302.

⁴³⁴ Marzloff 1994.

⁴³⁵ Mazarakis 2006: 280.

⁴³⁶ Hes. *Scut.* 70.

⁴³⁷ Béquignon 1937a: 64-66.

⁴³⁸ *IIAE* 1911: 300.

settlements, not only the major sites of Sesklo and Dimini, but also on the hill of Spartias itself, which seems to have had its own Neolithic settlement. Archaic to Hellenistic remains were found on the site on the slopes of the hill and on the peak, but no settlement existed during these periods. After the Hellenistic period, the next visible phase was in the Ottoman period for which some artefacts as well as a tower on the hill were identified. The absence of evidence for the Roman period until the Ottoman period might indicate the disuse of the sanctuary after the decline of the city of Pherai in the Early Roman period.

History of Archaeological Work:

Arvanitopoulos first excavated the site in the early 1900s, first identifying the site as a sanctuary of Herakles in 1907, then again in 1911 to excavate the Neolithic settlement, and finally in 1915.⁴³⁹ The 13th Ephorate led by Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou and Stamelou recommenced excavations on the hill in 1999 and commenced a systematic study of the finds starting in 2007.⁴⁴⁰ The site was not fully excavated.

GPS Coordinates: 39.38, 22.85066

Deities: Herakles

Periods: Archaic to Hellenistic

Topography:

The sanctuary sits on the northern slopes of the hill of Spartia immediately south of the Latomeio railway station roughly 4 km north of Sesklo. The hill lay along the ancient road connecting Pherai and the harbour at Pagasai (see SOROS). The location of the sanctuary on the northern slope would have given even a small building a high degree of visibility from a strategically important road.

Archaeological Remains:⁴⁴¹

A rectangular euthynteria (3 × 4 m) made of lightly worked limestone slabs bearing slots on its upper surface was found. It was oriented NW-SE and may have continued a little further to the north under the Volos-Larisa road. Around these foundations was a thick concentration of stone cairns from which many finds from the Archaic period were collected. These finds included bronze objects and bronze vessels, terracotta figurines, complete pots, and a large number of ceramics, some of which were Corinthian. To the west of the foundations were concentrated traces of burning with some fragments of burnt animal bones, which could support the interpretation of the

⁴³⁹ ΠΑΕ 1911 and 1915.

⁴⁴⁰ Stamelou and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010: 161-179.; ΑΔ 1999: 405; ΑΡ 2007-8: 59

⁴⁴¹ ΑΡ 2007-2008: 59.

structure as an altar. Other finds from the early period include spearheads, bronze dedicatory vases, and the arm of a marble statue.

The ash layer, however, continues below the layer of the altar foundations and could not have been contemporaneous with the altar. A lamp, ceramics, and a coin from Histiaia (3rd c. – 146 BC), all dating to the Hellenistic period, were found in the layer directly above the Archaic layer, indicating that the altar was a Hellenistic structure built on top of an Archaic cult area.⁴⁴²

Arvanitopoulos had suggested that there might have been a 5th-4th c. BC temple on the site but it was only recently confirmed by the discovery of terracotta metopes and a geison. Arvanitopoulos' final excavations on the hill uncovered the forelegs of a *kouros*, the base for two *kouroi*, and the head of a *kore*, all from the Archaic period.⁴⁴³

A particularly interesting and important artefact from the sanctuary was a bronze phiale with an omphalos in the middle. The interior of this bowl was inscribed with a dedication to Herakles by a Telephilos. The lettering of the inscription dates to the 6th c. BC.⁴⁴⁴

Previous Interpretations:

The sanctuary, being small and systematically excavated, is relatively uncontroversial. The evidence for cult is more pronounced than most sanctuaries discussed in this tetrad of Thessaly. Evidence for centuries-long ritual activity at and around an altar is fairly clear, since the excavators collected faunal remains and all small finds from the site. What has not yet been emphasised is the fact that this small sanctuary received a comparatively large amount of investment from its earliest periods. *Kouroi* and *korai* were dedicated on site in the Archaic period and a diverse array of votives were left in the sanctuary, which might not have had any structures yet but the concentration of ash in one area seems to have indicate the ritual focus (sacrificial or commensal). Stone cairns were being left on site along with a rich array of dedications. The sanctuary was fitted with a temple, probably not large, in the Classical period, and then a large altar in the Hellenistic period. I would, however, caution against the interpretation of the site as having had a temple based on the architectural fragments alone because those described by

⁴⁴² *AD* 1999: 405.

⁴⁴³ Biesantz 1965: 29 L1.

⁴⁴⁴ Stamelou and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010: 161-179.

Arvanitopoulos could easily belong to another type of building, such as a treasury or a stoa.

The inscription to Herakles on the bronze phiale dedicated at the sanctuary is a pretty clear indication that the sanctuary was that of Herakles.⁴⁴⁵ The cult of Herakles seems to have had an undeniable importance at Pherai in both the literary and epigraphic evidence. Herakles plays an important role in Pherai in the myth of Alcestis and Admetos as a hero who carries out a *katabasis* into the Underworld, for example. If the identification of one of the sanctuaries at Ag. Charalambos at Velestino turns out to be correct, there would then be two sanctuaries of Herakles in the territory of Pherai, further supporting the significance of the god in the region (see above for Ag. Charalambos).

1.6. ATRAX

Location:

Palaiokastro, west of the village of Kastro, formerly Alifaka (Παλαιόκαστρο, Οθωμ. Αλήφακα). Its acropolis hangs from the peak of the low mountain of Mytikas (Μύτικας).

The territory includes the modern towns of Koutsochero (Κουτσόχερο) to the northeast and Peneiada (Πηνειάδα) to the northeast.

Identification with Ancient Site:

Atrax (Ἄτραξ) is securely identified with Palaiokastro (23 km west of Larisa) on the basis of inscriptions from the site.⁴⁴⁶ It is further supported by inscriptions of Atrax found in what might have been a temple to Poseidon to the east of Kastro at Koutsochero (Κουτσόχερο). Leake and Edmonds originally placed Atrax at Gounitsa, where Stählin placed Argissa. Edmonds placed Phakion at Palaiokastro/Alifaka.⁴⁴⁷ Gounitsa is now the favoured site for Argissa.⁴⁴⁸

Site Description and History:⁴⁴⁹

The *polis*⁴⁵⁰ of Atrax originally belonged to the Perrhaibians but was annexed by the Thessalians into the tetrad of Pelasgiotis.⁴⁵¹ Located on a low mountain, the city was placed strategically along the narrow pass created by the Zarkos mountains to the north and the Titanos mountains to the south. This pass, through which the Peneus river flows from the Western to the Eastern Thessalian plain, provided an entrance

⁴⁴⁵ Stamelou and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010.

⁴⁴⁶ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: 4; Decourt *et al.* 2004: 692; Dasios and Nikolaou 2012: 55.

⁴⁴⁷ Gounitsa: Leake 1835 I 433, III 368, IV 292; Edmonds *BSA* 1898-1899: 21; Stählin 1924: 101.

⁴⁴⁸ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 691-692.

⁴⁴⁹ *AD* 1966: 246.

⁴⁵⁰ Called a *polis* in *SEG* 34.560.

⁴⁵¹ Steph. Byz. 143.5 and Strab. 9.5.19-20.

through the Central Thessalian Mountains. The location of Atrax on a low mountain on the right bank of the river made it a defensible site, while its proximity to the marble resources of the mountains, a major river transport route, access to the plains, and control of a strategic pass made it economically seductive.⁴⁵²

Historical evidence for Atrax is not abundant. In myth, the city was said to have been founded by the Lapith Atrax, a son of the river god Peneus and of the mortal Boura.⁴⁵³ The majority of our historical knowledge of Atrax comes from military accounts in the Hellenistic period. We know that the city began to mint its own coinage in the early 4th c. BC and that later in that same century, Atrax was part of the alliance of Thessalian polities that went to war with the Pheraean tyrants, ultimately winning with the help of Philip II, who fortified Atrax to control the pass between Larisa and Triikka. The Atragiens fought against the Roman general Flamininus in the 2nd c. BC as well as Antiochos III of Pergamon later in the same century. No inscription or historical mention of Atrax appears from the Roman period until the Byzantine period.⁴⁵⁴

Archaeologically, the area was inhabited since the prehistoric period, as Arvanitopoulos identified a Neolithic settlement in the vicinity of Koutsochero not far northeast of Atrax.⁴⁵⁵ The main site at Palaiokastro itself, however, was only fortified in the Classical period with no evidence for earlier occupation, pending further systematic investigation. The acropolis at Mytikas was given a polygonal circuit wall in the 5th c. BC, which was reconfigured in the mid-4th c. BC, during which a main tower, a new wall of five towers, and a fortified gate were built. Surveys identified 4th c. architecture throughout the site, including a theatre and possibly some temples on the acropolis (which I shall not include in the list of cult sites below as their presence was only noted and not described). The lower city, which was built on the terraced northern slope of the mountain, was further enclosed with an isodomic *peribolos* with quadrangular towers during this time. The 3 km wall enclosed an area of 64 ha. It had a main gate to the northwest of the city, above the level of the plain, with a long ramp and retaining wall. 1.5 km west of Atrax were the ancient

⁴⁵² *Atrax Corpus* 5.

⁴⁵³ Steph. Byz. s.v. Atrax.

⁴⁵⁴ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 692.

⁴⁵⁵ *IIAE* 1915: 217.

quarries of the city, on which a sanctuary (?) was also built. These marble quarries were known to still have been exploited for the production of funerary stelai from the 4th – 2nd c. BC.⁴⁵⁶

There were several necropoleis around the city. The eastern necropolis yielded several painted terracotta sarcophagi dating from the 5th c. BC. The northern necropolis on the left bank of the city were found numerous graves dating to the 4th and 3rd c. BC.⁴⁵⁷ On the other side of the river were found several graves dating to the Hellenistic and Late Roman periods. The western necropolis was the most extensive with its graves dating from the 4th c. BC onwards. A large number of funerary stelai were found throughout this necropolis.

The city of Atrax, like Pherai, probably went into decline during the beginning of the Roman period in Thessaly as the city completely disappears from the epigraphic and historical record in the Roman period, and the exploitation of the quarries seems to end in the 2nd c. BC.⁴⁵⁸

History of Archaeological Research:

There have been no systematic excavation of the site so far, but Arvanitopoulos

investigated the area in the early 1900s, while later the Courby Institute along with the 15th Ephorate conducted surveys in the 1970s.⁴⁵⁹ Bouchon, Tziafalias, Helly, Lucas, Decourt, and Darmezine published a massive volume on the corpus of Atraxian inscriptions, which boasts an impressive corpus of 500 inscriptions, but also synthesizes all known archaeological evidence for the site, its topographical and geological setting, and historical sources.⁴⁶⁰

Cult Sites:

(1.6A) Palaiokastro quarries (λατομεία Παλαιοκάστρου)

GPS Coordinates: 39.56552, 22.14933

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Classical to Hellenistic?

Topography:

Located on a terrace on a slope among the rocky cliffs above the quarries to the west of the city on the right bank of the Peneus. The slope faced northwards to the Peneus River and was also located in the narrow pass that controlled the road from Larisa to Trikki.

Archaeological Remains:

The site was built on a terrace measuring 10 × 15 m on the slope above the quarries, supported in the west by a polygonal

⁴⁵⁶ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: Corpus no. 10.

⁴⁵⁷ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: 10.

⁴⁵⁸ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: 10-12.

⁴⁵⁹ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 692.

⁴⁶⁰ Bouchon *et al.* 2016.

retaining wall with straight joins, and in the south by another wall built in the same technique. The other two sides were cut into the rocky cliff, at the foot of which was preserved a sort of bench. Also found in that area were mortises for the tenons of stelai perhaps meant to be consecrated at the sanctuary.⁴⁶¹

Previous Interpretations:

Only Bouchon *et al.*'s volume on the Atragian inscriptions so far mentions the sanctuary at the quarries and the description is far from elaborate, which is understandable as the site has not yet been systematically excavated and the archaeological remains of the site were not the main scope of the work. The identification as a sanctuary might be plausible due to the existence of the slots for stelai but I would caution that the presence of stelai do not necessarily indicate ritual dedication. The one recorded inscription comes from a single stele retrieved in 1977 but is now unfortunately lost in the Larisa Museum to where it should have been brought. The stele, broken in two pieces, was crowned with a pediment and akroteria and bore the enigmatic fragmentary inscription "[. . .]ONEIA,"⁴⁶² which unfortunately tells us nothing about the nature of the other stelai

dedicated here or the site itself. The presence of benches indicates a possible commensal aspect but again, not necessarily ritual. Systematic excavations might help shed more light on the nature of the site if other evidence for ritual were to be found (e.g. faunal remains, an altar, ash layer, a *temenos* boundary, or persistent deposits of typical votives).

(1.6B) Koutsochero

GPS Coordinates: 39.6069, 22.2324

Deities: Poseidon

Periods: Hellenistic?

Topography:

The site lies on the entrance through the pass guarded by Atrax, along the ancient road from Larisa to Triikka, and marks the city's northwestern boundary. It lies on a basin on the right bank of the Peneus with the site abutting a hill to the north, the Peneus to the west as it bends northwards, and the plain to the south. The city of Atrax proper is situated roughly 5 km southeast of Koutsochero.

Archaeological Remains:

Arvanitopoulos identified ancient foundations in the fields one metre below ground level. Several stelai that were dedicatory in nature were found built into

⁴⁶¹ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: 11.

⁴⁶² Bouchon *et al.* 2016: Corpus no. 147.

the church of Ag. Nikolaos, two of which were dedicated to Poseidon.⁴⁶³

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos suggests that this site might have been a sanctuary to Poseidon based on the nature of the stelai found built into the church.⁴⁶⁴ The foundations, however, do not necessarily point to ritual activity, and the contents of the stelai do not necessarily indicate a sanctuary of Poseidon. I enumerate the stelai as follows:

(1) one marble stele with a pediment and akroteria built into the pavement of the modern church of Ag. Nikolaos with a dedication to Poseidon by a Xenokles (now missing in the Larisa Museum, dating to the 3rd – 2nd c. BC;⁴⁶⁵

(2) another stele in the form of a naiskos with only the names of the dedicant surviving, dating to the 1st c. BC;⁴⁶⁶

(3) a funerary stele built into the Ag. Nikolaos pavement, dating to the 4th c. BC;⁴⁶⁷

(4) another reused in the wall of Ag. Nikolaos, dating to 3rd – 2nd c. BC;⁴⁶⁸

(5) another 3rd c. funerary stele built into the wall.⁴⁶⁹

As is evident, many of the stelai are funerary

in nature and only one is certainly dedicated to Poseidon. There are not enough finds to indicate that the architectural remains found in the area are necessarily ritual, nor are there enough to indicate that there was a sanctuary of Poseidon in the area.

1.7. TEMPE

Location: Vale of Tempe, medieval Salambrias (Κοιλιάδα Τεμπών, μεσ. Σαλαμπριάς)

Site Description and History:

The Vale of Tempe is the deep canyon (in contrast to the connotations of the word “vale”) by which the Peneus River cuts across the mountains (Ossa to the South, Olympos to the north) that block the Thessalian plains from the Aegean. The Peneus, one of the largest rivers in Greece, created a fertile river area on both of its banks as well as in its broad delta. The Vale of Tempe is thick in vegetation and is flanked by stark cliffs.

The placement of Tempe in the section of Pelasgiotis is rather tenuous as it straddled the borders of Magnesia, Perrhaibia, and Pelasgiotis. Mili places the

⁴⁶³ ΠΑΕ 1910: 187-188.

⁴⁶⁴ ΠΑΕ 1910: 187-188.

⁴⁶⁵ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: Corpus no. 86.

⁴⁶⁶ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: Corpus no. 132.

⁴⁶⁷ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: Corpus no. 182.

⁴⁶⁸ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: Corpus no. 492.

⁴⁶⁹ Bouchon *et al.* 2016: Corpus no. 333.

sanctuaries listed below as having been located in Perrhaibia but she may be mistaken.⁴⁷⁰ In the case of the sanctuaries of Apollo and of the Mother of the Gods at Tempe, Helly thinks that the Apollo sanctuary was probably Thessalian rather than Perrhaibian and that the Metroon probably belonged to the territory of the Gyrtion in the northeastern side of the Thessalian plain, in which case it would have been politically a Pelasgiotic territory.⁴⁷¹ The area, however, lies in an area in which Perrhaibia, Magnesia, Pelasgiotis, and Pieria share borders. Borders, as socially constructed places, are flexible and often contested and the area of Tempe should be treated as such.⁴⁷² To whom these sanctuaries belonged was likely contested as well. Furthermore, the identification of Gyrtion's location is disputed and so the political belonging of the sites listed in this area of Tempe is not necessarily Pelasgiotic. I would further suggest that it is possible that these two sanctuaries did not necessarily belong to one administrative region, given their location in a border region that was constantly contested.

The pass was strategically important

as it was the easiest route south from Macedonia to Southern Greece. The vale can be bypassed by going through the Sarantaporo pass but this adds a considerable amount of travel time through harsher terrain. The largest highway in Greece, the PAThE that currently runs from Thessaloniki to Patras through Athens, passes through the Vale of Tempe. Tempe's strategic importance became evident in 480 when Xerxes marched his armies from Macedonia to southern Greece. The Greeks initially intended to make a stand at Tempe but abandoned the pass when they learned Xerxes learned of the Sarantaporo pass, causing the Thessalians to medise.⁴⁷³ Later on, Perseus of Macedon attempted to repel the Romans at Tempe in 171 BC.⁴⁷⁴

The Vale of Tempe was, furthermore, significant to the cult of Apollo at Delphi. In myth, Apollo chased Daphne into the vale where she turned into a laurel tree, and as mentioned in the first chapter, it was to Tempe that Apollo was sent after the slaying of Python. The Vale of Tempe would become the source for the laurel branches that were brought to Delphi to crown the victors of the

⁴⁷⁰ Mili 2015: 345.

⁴⁷¹ Personal communication with Bruno Helly; Strab. 9.5.22.

⁴⁷² For borders as constructs, see Van Houtum 2005.

⁴⁷³ Hdt. 7.173.

⁴⁷⁴ Livy 42.67.

Pythian Games.⁴⁷⁵

Cult Sites at Tempe

(1.7A) Chani tis Kokonas (Χάνι της Κοκόνας)⁴⁷⁶

GPS Coordinates: 39.86903, 22.54754

Deities: Mother of the Gods

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site lies on the right bank of the Peneus near the western entrance into the Vale of Tempe within the territory of modern Tembi. It was roughly 450 m south of the river and further uphill. The ancient road would have passed in between the site and the river.

History of Archaeological Work:

Because of construction on the PAThE in 2010, rescue excavations needed to be carried out in the western entrance of the vale at the sites of Chani Kokonas and the nearby site of Filla Gkiolia (Φύλλα Γκιόλια) to the east.⁴⁷⁷ Filla Gkiolia yielded an archaic cemetery while Chani Kokonas yielded a basilica as well as the Hellenistic building complex discussed immediately below.⁴⁷⁸

Archaeological Remains:⁴⁷⁹

The site consisted of a building with a stone socle and a mudbrick superstructure, and

around ten rooms. Excavations revealed Laconian roof tiles with similar stamps as those found at Gonnoi. Two rooms had what might have been an *eschara* in the centre of each room, although no burnt layers were found within them. Each “*eschara*” was made of four limestone slabs forming a 1 × 1 m square. One room contained a structure with four square niches next to each other, one of which contained an image of an enthroned Mother of the Gods holding a *tympanon* and a *phiale*, with a lion on her lap.

Another room contained a terracotta plaque depicting Artemis. Two stele bases and two undecorated stelai were also found, along with terracotta figurines, loomweights, lamps, metal, bone, and glass objects. The abundant amount of pottery consisted largely of storage and cooking vessels, as well as kantharoi and skyphoi. Based on the finds, it would have been established in the 4th c. BC and seems to have been abandoned during the 2nd c. BC, perhaps because of the Macedonian wars that destabilised the region.

Previous Interpretations:

⁴⁷⁵ Apollo and Daphne: Paus. 8.20.1-2; Ael. VH 3.1.

⁴⁷⁶ Toufexis *et al.* 2015: 159-168.

⁴⁷⁷ Toufexis *et al.* 2015.

⁴⁷⁸ Sdrolia and Androudou 2015.

⁴⁷⁹ Toufexis *et al.* 2015.

The building complex has been interpreted as a sanctuary of Kybele by Toufexis based on the depiction of Kybele in a naiskos as well as similarities to sanctuaries to Kybele in Pella, Vergina, and Demetrias, which are similar to residential complexes.⁴⁸⁰ Toufexis also points to the existence of a basilica as a possible indication that there was some sort of continuous recognition of the sacredness of the site.⁴⁸¹

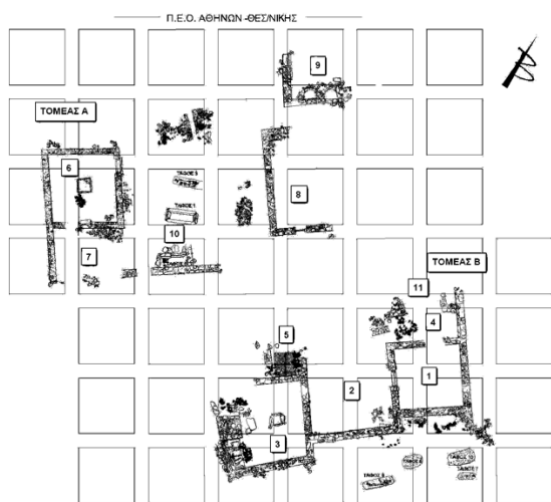


Figure 12 - Plan of the Chani Kokonas site (Batziou-Efstathiou 2001).

The comparisons with other sites sacred to Kybele are the strongest evidence in favour of such an identification. The main problem with an identification as a sanctuary is that the function of the building complex is not demonstrated to be a purely ritual structure. Why could the building

complex, although admittedly strange for a house, not have been a residence? There seems to have been plenty of ceramic indications that everyday activities also took place at the site (e.g. dining, drinking, storage). The interpretation is then possible based on the aforementioned comparanda but not entirely certain.

(1.7B) Agia Paraskevi

GPS Coordinates: 39.87869, 22.58566

Deities: Apollo

Periods: Classical to Hellenistic

Topography:

The site sat on the right bank of the Peneus along the river itself, which made it lower in elevation than the site at Chani Kokonas. Unlike the previous site, this one was located further into the Vale of Tempe.

History of Archaeological Work:⁴⁸²

In 1957 during the building of the bridge crossing the Peneus River, opposite from the famous church of Ag. Paraskevi on the right riverbank, Dimitris Theocharis excavated the remains of what he interpreted to be a sanctuary.

Archaeological Remains:⁴⁸³

The only structure was a stylobate dating to the Hellenistic period. In addition, there

⁴⁸⁰ Pella: Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000: 3 n. 2. Vergina: Drougou 1996: 5-11. Demetrias: see 7.1E and 7.1F of this chapter; Toufexis *et al.* 2015.

⁴⁸¹ Toufexis *et al.* 2015.

⁴⁸² *AA* 1960: 175.

⁴⁸³ *AA* 1960: 175-6.

were four inscribed stelai dedicated to Apollo Pythios dating from the 4th – 2nd c. BC, according to Theocharis.⁴⁸⁴ McDevitt mentions a fifth inscription which he dates to the 5th c. BC.⁴⁸⁵

Previous Interpretations:

Theocharis interpreted the stylobate as having been the foundations for an altar due to its size, and taken with the dedications to Apollo, he attributes the remains to a sanctuary of Apollo. There were, unfortunately, no other finds collected and the foundations excavated no longer exist but the interpretation seems rather secure. Unfortunately, without any further ability to conduct systematic excavations, we unfortunately cannot verify the interpretation. What is interesting is that this might have been the sanctuary of Apollo that gave the laurel branches for the Pythian Games, but the most monumental structure did not appear until the 4th c. BC.

1.8. EVANGELISMOS

Location: Mod. Evangelismos (Ευαγγελισμός Τεμπών Λάρισας), Ott. Chatzombasi (Οθ. Χατζόμπασι) until 1927.

Identification with Ancient Site: Uncertain. Sykourion (Συκούριον/Συκύριον), Elateia (Ελάτεια)?⁴⁸⁶

Site Description and History:

As the site is little studied and the identification uncertain, it is difficult to provide a good description of the site's history. The site, however, sits on the hill right above the village of Evangelismos. The walls of the acropolis were made of stone slabs and seemed to date to the 6th/5th c. BC, like those found at Soros. The acropolis is located on the highest peak of this mountain, called Trochalos, where they found foundations, several inscribed stelai, and pottery dating from the 5th to the 4th c. BC. During Arvanitopoulos' visit of the site, parts of the lower city wall are preserved to a height of up to 2 m. The village of Evangelismos, when it was still called Chatzombasi, was examined by Arvanitopoulos and was found to have several spolia (various stelai) built into villagers' hearths and gardens.

The site lies on the northeastern edge of Pelasgiotis, nestled between the Dotian Plain and Mount Ossa, and is directly

⁴⁸⁴ *AA* 1960: 175-6. *Mili* 2015: 345.

⁴⁸⁵ McDevitt 1970: 86 no. 638.

⁴⁸⁶ Arvanitopoulos (*ΠΑΕ* 1911) identifies this site as Elateia but Tziafalias 2000b favours Sykourion. Helly

et al. 2002: 78, however, prefers Neromili Agias for the site of Sykourion.

opposite the city of Gonnoi on the right bank of the Peneus. The northeastern section of the plain consisted of several settlements, which include Elateia, Sykourion, Kerkinion, Armenion, Mopsion, among others. The plain was the last stop in a north through Thessaly before reaching the Vale of Tempe and as such was an important marching route through Greece.

History of Archaeological Research:

Arvanitopoulos examined the village in 1911 and excavated the acropolis for only one day. No further archaeological work has been carried out on the site.

GPS Coordinates: 39.826, 22.53294

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Classical (to Hellenistic?)

Topography:

The settlement on which the site is located lies on the Ossa foothills with Mount Ossa to the east and the Dotian Plain to the west. It lay on the most important north-south route through Greece. Being on the acropolis of a settlement, the site would have been highly visible and accessible from within its own settlement, and it would also have been highly visible from the flat plain to the west,

on which the north-south road was located.

Archaeological Remains:⁴⁸⁷

On the highest peak of the acropolis, there were foundations of an apsidal building, similar to the Athena Polias temple on Gonnoi. In the vicinity were four fragments of marble stelai from dedications or decrees. Pottery from the site consisted of both glossed and unglazed pottery from the 5th to the 4th c. BC.

Arvanitopoulos also reports that the villagers of Chatzombasi inform him that there were many marble slabs, from buildings and stelai, that have been carried down the hill for building material.

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos interpreted the apsidal building to be a building to a poliadic divinity, as at Gonnoi, because of its location on the acropolis, the similarity in form, and the presence of decrees on the site.⁴⁸⁸ Although it is common to have a city's patron deity on the acropolis, this was not necessarily the case.

1.9. ELATEIA

Location: Mod. Elateia (Ελάτεια Λάρισσας),

⁴⁸⁷ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 331-332; Arvanitopoulos calls the building a "round" (κυκλότερος) building rather than apsidal but since he specifies that it was in the same form as the Gonnoi temple, he probably meant the

latter, i.e. round on one end, rather than a fully round temple.

⁴⁸⁸ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 331-332.

Ott. Mikro Keserli (Μικρό Κεσερλί) or
Koutchouk Keserli (Κιουτσούκ Κεσερλί)

Identification with Ancient Site: Elateia?⁴⁸⁹
Mopsion?⁴⁹⁰

Site Description and History:

Like at Evangelismos, which is located 3 km south of modern Elateia, the site lies on the Dotian Plain with Ossa to the east. It lies on the right bank of the steep Palaiokarya river (opposite of the modern village of Elateia), on the peak of a hill. The walls of the acropolis are similar to those from Evangelismos and at Soros, being made with stone slabs fitted together without a lot of care and dating to the 6th/5th c. BC. The walls of the acropolis are well preserved but those from the lower city are mostly invisible. As at Evangelismos, the modern village contained many ancient spolia bearing inscriptions, some dedicatory in nature.⁴⁹¹

History of Archaeological Work:

Stählin visited the site in the early 1900s and Arvanitopoulos excavated the site only for a few days in 1911. Excavations in the area in the 1970s have revealed a Classical cemetery

by the road on the left bank of Palaiokarya. No other substantial archaeological work has been conducted in the area.

GPS Coordinates: 39.81684, 22.53644

Deities: Herakles

Periods: Hellenistic?

Topography:

The site that lies on the acropolis and would have been highly visible and accessible from within its own settlement, and it would also have been highly visible from the flat plain to the west, on which the north-south road was located. The site in the lower city would have been fairly accessible as it lay along the ancient north-south route.

Archaeological Remains:⁴⁹²

The two potential sanctuaries listed here are too minimally described to warrant their own subsection so I discuss them here together.

(1) Arvanitopoulos found the remains of a building on the acropolis which he thinks might have been a temple, which he unfortunately does not describe.⁴⁹³ Other finds include ceramic fragments, a lead

⁴⁸⁹ Mili 2011: 171, esp. n. 29.

⁴⁹⁰ Tziafalias 2000b who identifies Mopsion with modern Girtoni because decrees by the *polis* of Mopsion were found in excavations; *contra* Helly, who situates Mopsion at the Rhodia Pass, stating that the remains at Girtoni are not substantial enough to belong to a *polis*.

⁴⁹¹ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 335-337; *ΑΔ* 43 (1988): 267; *ΑΔ* 48 (1993): 249-252.

⁴⁹² *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 334-336.

⁴⁹³ Arvanitopoulos (*ΠΑΕ* 1911: 333), however, does say that it was “a temple like the previous ones” (ὁμοίου τοῖς προηγουμένοις) so he might have meant that the structure was similar to other apsidal ones since he had just been discussing the one at Evangelismos.

weight, and fragments of marble stelai, one of which bore an inscription mentioning the *phrouroi* and *archiphrouroi*.⁴⁹⁴

(2) In the lower city, along the plain, Arvanitopoulos identified the walls of a building (undescribed) with a fragment of a stele inscribed Εἰρακλεῖ (“to Herakles), and another fragment mentioning the *archiphrouros*.

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos identifies the acropolis site as a temple but does not provide his reasoning. There is, however, a high likelihood that the building did belong to a sanctuary since the most important building on acropoleis was almost always a temple; furthermore, the inscriptions mentioning the *archiphrouroi* and *phrouroi*, ephebes performing their military service for the city in the 3rd c. BC, who are commemorated in inscriptions at the acropolis sanctuary at Gonnoi.⁴⁹⁵

The building in the lower city that Arvanitopoulos identifies as a potential temple, he also identifies as a temple to Herakles because of the inscription to the deity. Without a description of the foundations, and any further finds, it is

impossible to say whether this building would have been a temple or not. Furthermore, Arvanitopoulos does state that he thinks it likely that the inscriptions found by the lower city “temple” could have rolled down from the acropolis, which could mean that the inscriptions found by the lower city building could actually be referring to the acropolis sanctuary, explaining the *phrouroi* inscriptions found at the lower site. It might also be possible that the Herakles inscription refers to a cult on the acropolis rather than in the lower city.⁴⁹⁶

Phthiotis

2.1. PHARSALOS

Location: Farsala (Φάρσαλα)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain

Site Description and History:

The *polis* of Pharsalos was one of the three largest Thessalian cities, along with Larisa and Pherai, with whom Pherai competed for power in the Classical period.⁴⁹⁷ The territory of the city fell approximately in the same area as the almost-homonymous modern city of Farsala, on a spur of the Narthakion mountain range in the middle of

⁴⁹⁴ Mili 2015: 107-107;

⁴⁹⁵ Helly 1973a: 145-156.

⁴⁹⁶ *IIAE* 1911: 334-336.

⁴⁹⁷ Dasios 2012: 101.

the Enipeus river basin. The territory of Pharsalos dominated a fertile plain punctuated by several hills, one of which (Profitis Ilias) was the city's acropolis, north of which the *asty* of Pharsalos grew. South of this area were the foothills of the Othrys, while the north was bounded by the Revenia Mountains. Near the northwest border of the city stands the hill of Ag. Paraskevi, from where the main spring of the Apidanos also gushed forth and the territory of the city of Euhydriion lay to the north of the Pharsalos. In addition to the Apidanos, the territory of Pharsalos was famously rich for its springs, although many have now ceased to flow. A not-so-distant memory of this hydric wealth exists in the names of several villages belonging to the *demos* of Farsala (Νεράιδα, Κρήνη, Πολυνέρι, Βρυσιά).⁴⁹⁸

A section of the tetrad of Phthiotis (i.e. Thessalian Phthia) formed the northern part of the older Homeric kingdom of Phthia.⁴⁹⁹ The *perioikic* region of Achaia Phthiotis (i.e. Phthia of the Achaians) formed a much larger area from as far south as the Spercheios Valley to the Othrys, to coastal Halos.⁵⁰⁰ By the Classical period, Phthia was

recognised as including the area of Pharsalos, and Strabo states that the extent of Homeric Phthia stretched from the Asopos river (Boiotia) to the Enipeus river.⁵⁰¹ as including Phthia was the ancient homeland of Hellen, the eponym of the *Hellenes*, but more importantly, of Achilles, who played a role in the identity formation of the city of Pharsalos from antiquity until the modern period.⁵⁰²

Pharsalos was inhabited as early as the Neolithic period as is evident from the Neolithic sherds from Agia Paraskevi, which might also have been enclosed by a *peribolos* in the Bronze Age.⁵⁰³ Bronze Age tombs have been found in various parts of the city and its surrounding area as well, such as the Mycenaean chamber tomb on Lamias Street and various cist graves dating to the same period. Habitation continued in the EIA, from which period a section of a cemetery with 43 graves (cist, tholos, peribolic) has been excavated in the modern city centre, dating from the 11th to the 9th c. BC.⁵⁰⁴

The historical sources indicate that this city was a prosperous settlement in the Late Archaic period, although Pharsalos is

⁴⁹⁸ Wagman 2016: 7.

⁴⁹⁹ Strab. 9.5.6.

⁵⁰⁰ Hom. *Il.* 2.723-728

⁵⁰¹ Eur. *Andr.* 15-20; Strab. 9.5.6.

⁵⁰² For Hellen, see schol. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 3.1086; Plut. *Mor.* 747; Thuc. 1.3.2; schol. Hellanicus f. 124.

⁵⁰³ Toufexis 2016: 25-38.

⁵⁰⁴ Katakouta and Toufexis 1994.

archaeologically more problematic for the Archaic and Classical periods. Archaic and Classical Pharsalos was dominated in literary and epigraphic sources by oligarchic families, such as the Echekratidae, the Daochids, and the Menonids.⁵⁰⁵ In contrast, Mili notes that at Larisa and Krannon, we only hear of one family dominating each city's politics (by the Aleuadai and Skopadai respectively).⁵⁰⁶ After the Persian Wars, when the Spartans punished Larisa for their medism by expelling the Aleuads, the Pharsalian oligarchs grew in influence over Thessaly even more. Aristocratic competition is evident in the epigraphic and archaeological record. For example, the 4th c. Daochos Monument erected at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi traces one Pharsalian family's importance at Delphi and Thessaly to the late 6th c. BC.⁵⁰⁷ Cemeteries dating to the Archaic and Classical periods have been identified in the vicinity of Farsala both to the east and the west, the latter including the "Verdelis Tomb," which is a Mycenaeanizing tholos tomb dating to the Late Archaic (see 2.1F below) as well as another Archaic

tholos tomb in the same necropolis.⁵⁰⁸

Pharsalos is most often mentioned in Thessalian military affairs in the literary sources. A Pharsalian led the Thessalian cavalry in the Lelantine War in the 7th c. on the side of Chalkis against Eretria.⁵⁰⁹ The Athenians attacked Pharsalos in 457/6 but failed to capture it,⁵¹⁰ but a few decades later Pharsalos along with most other Thessalian cities allied themselves with Athens in the Peloponnesian War by sending troops in 431.⁵¹¹ Having won the Peloponnesian War, the Spartans established a garrison at Pharsalos, which led to Medios of Larisa capturing the city with their Athenian allies at the start of the Corinthian War. In 352 BC, Jason of Pherai captured Pharsalos, and remained in control of it until Philip II annexed Thessaly and removed the Pheraean tyrants. Philip gave Pharsalos the port of Halos, giving the city access to the sea.

The Pharsalians, however, joined a failed rebellion against the Macedonians after Philip's death. Pharsalos was not sacked in punishment but its control over Halos was removed. Pharsalos joined the

⁵⁰⁵ Echekratids: Molyneux 1992: 127–31; Helly 1995: 104–6. Skopads: Pl. *Prt.* 339a–340e; Theoc. *Id.* 16.26, 16.36; Cic. *De Or.* 2. 351–3; Molyneux 1992: 121–5; Helly 1995: 97, 107–12; Stamatopoulou 2007.

⁵⁰⁶ Mili 2015: 174.

⁵⁰⁷ Aston 2012c: 53; Thémélis 1979; Pouilloux, J., 1976; Homolle 1898; Evans 1996.

⁵⁰⁸ Stamatopoulou and Katakouta 2013: 83–94.

⁵⁰⁹ F 98 Rose.

⁵¹⁰ Thuc. 1.111.1.

⁵¹¹ Thuc. 2.22.3.

Aitolian League against the Macedonians in 266 but was re-taken by Philip V. Pharsalos was returned to the Thessalian League after Flamininus' victory of the Macedonians in 197/6 BC. It was once again reoccupied, this time by Antiochos III during the Syrian War but was returned to the Thessalian League in 189.

Later in 48 BC, a plain near Pharsalos became the setting for the decisive battle between Caesar and Pompey.⁵¹² Pharsalos disappears from the historical sources, like Pherai and Atrax, during the Early Imperial period, and would not be mentioned again until Justinian (6th c. AD) is mentioned as having re-fortified the city.⁵¹³

In contrast to Pharsalos' importance in panhellenic events in the literary sources for the Archaic and Classical periods, the excavations conducted within Farsala have exposed primarily Hellenistic remains, which include houses, public buildings, roads, graves, and a few sanctuaries, all attesting to the vibrance of the city during this time period. Various areas of the city and its surroundings have yielded a rich assemblage of cultic material, which will be discussed below. The lower city was fortified

during the 4th c. BC and the perimeter of the walls ran a total of around 5 km.⁵¹⁴ The acropolis walls were built separately, with the earliest walls dating to the 6th c. BC with further additions in the 4th c., and the fortified hill can be accessed from the north and south respectively.

The most visible remains of the acropolis fortifications, however, date to Late Antiquity.⁵¹⁵ Justinian had the walls of the city rebuilt in the 6th c. AD.⁵¹⁶ The funerary material continues to be significant from the Classical period onwards, with a Classical chamber tomb near the Archaic tholos, and many Classical, Hellenistic, and even some Roman graves found within the various necropoleis.⁵¹⁷

History of Archaeological Research:

The nature of excavations at Pharsalos mirrors the situation at Larisa, but to a lesser extent. Pharsalos lies under the modern city of Farsala with the result that many surviving archaeological remains have been buried under later structures. The city of Farsala, however, is smaller in size and population than Larisa, and so the damage inflicted on ancient remains by later occupation has not been on the same scale.

⁵¹² Graninger 2011.

⁵¹³ Procop. *Aed.* 4.3.5.

⁵¹⁴ Katakouta and Toufexis 1994: 190-192.

⁵¹⁵ Katakouta and Toufexis 1994: 189-90.

⁵¹⁶ Procop. *Aed.* 4.3.5.

⁵¹⁷ Karapanou 2012.

Pharsalos was explored in the early 20th c. by several archaeologists, among whom Arvanitopoulos was of course present during his extensive explorations and excavations of Thessaly, excavating various points within the city including what he interpreted to be the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios (see below).⁵¹⁸ Tsountas explored Thessaly between 1903 and 1906 looking for Neolithic sites, particularly along road constructions and new railroad tracks that were being laid. Tsountas was able to explore the area around Pharsalos as railroad tracks were being laid from Volos to Farsala to Trikala at this time. Tsountas excavated what might have been the ancient agora of Pharsalos.⁵¹⁹ After WWII the first classical archaeologist in Thessaly was Verdellis, who worked in Farsala for several years in the 1950's and is most well-known for his excavation of the so-called Verdellis Tomb (the Archaic tholos). Theocharis was active in Thessaly at the end of the 1950's and in the 1960's, during which he identified several chamber tombs in the area, as well as nearby Neolithic and Mycenaean settlements.⁵²⁰

Within more recent decades, the 13th

Ephorate has carried out most of the rescue excavations in and around Farsala, giving us a clearer picture of the layout of the city and its surrounding territory. Perhaps one of the more important results of these rescue excavations for the religious life of the city is the fact that several houses were diligently excavated by Karapanou and Katakouta, yielding a large amount of domestic cult material in the form of terracotta figurines, *bomiskoi*, and inscribed dedications.⁵²¹

Cult Sites

(2.1A) Agia Paraskevi Hill (Λόφος Αγίας Παρασκευής)

GPS Coordinates: 39.29508, 22.38191

Deities: Zeus Thaulios

Periods: Archaic to Classical?

Topography:

The site sits on the northeast of the peak of the hill of Ag. Paraskevi, formerly Tabachana (Ταμπαχάνα), one of the hills marking the edges of the city of Pharsalos. Given that the church of Ag. Paraskevi stands very visible today even amidst the density of buildings, any structure built on the hill would have been very visible in the surrounding area. It was also located just southeast of the main source of the Apidanos which would have

⁵¹⁸ ΠΑΕ 1907.

⁵¹⁹ Gallis 1979: 6.

⁵²⁰ M.D. Theochari 1973: 349.

⁵²¹ Karapanou 2009 and 2014. Katakouta: ΑΔ (56-59) 2001-2004: 545-546.

placed it in an area of high mobility.

History of Archaeological Work:

When Stählin first visited the site, he drew a plan of the hill and the structures existing at the time, which were a mosque with an enclosure and a minaret.⁵²² The hill was explored and partially excavated by Arvanitopoulos in 1907 when the mosque had already been replaced by a church, and during which he noted local accounts of antiquities from the hill. He planned to continue excavations in 1908 but was not able to.⁵²³ Further rescue excavations in the 1960's revealed even more material from the site.⁵²⁴

Archaeological Remains:

Arvanitopoulos noted the site at the top of the Ag. Paraskevi within the ancient *peribolos* surrounding Pharsalos. He recorded numerous mastoid protrusions hewn out of the bedrock. A rock on the peak of this hill was inscribed with “ΔΙΘΑΥΛΙΟΥ,” which he reads as Δι(ι) Θαυλίου (Thess. for Θαυλίω, “to Zeus Thaulios”).

He also recounted that an old Ottoman mosque stood on the hill prior to the existence of the church of Ag. Paraskevi. The mosque was built with *spolia* that

included statue bases, architectural remains, and Archaic-looking Doric capitals of poros limestone. Because of this, he dug a test trench to the west of the mosque but found nothing. Inhabitants of the neighbourhood, however, recount that they have found numerous inscriptions, marble statues, and many coins on the site, some of which have been moved to Larisa, others stolen, and others destroyed. The rescue excavations in the 1960's turned up another Doric capital dating to the Late Archaic/Early Classical period, as well as Hellenistic pottery and terracotta figurines representing female figures.⁵²⁵

Previous Interpretations:

Based on the inscription, Arvanitopoulos interpreted the top of the hill as a sanctuary to Zeus Thaulios, who is known in other parts of Thessaly, a hill which must have been crowned with a fortification wall. He interprets the mastoid protrusions as supports on which to rest stelai or other dedications and would have had a hollow groove underneath to be fitted onto the protrusions.⁵²⁶

Haagsma and Karapanou point out that this would be an unusual way to create

⁵²² Stählin 1924: 138.

⁵²³ ΠΑΕ 1907: 151-153.

⁵²⁴ ΑΔ 1964: 260-1.

⁵²⁵ ΑΔ 1964: 260-1.

⁵²⁶ Riethmüller 2005: 293 follows Arvanitopoulos' interpretation.

stele supports as the usual process involves carving a slot onto whatever the stele will be erected and then fastened with metal clamps.⁵²⁷ They also point out that the protrusions were too well worked to be used as mere supports. The protrusions have further been interpreted as breasts (although unlikely since they are anatomically incorrect), *omphaloi*, and votive cakes. Decourt first suggested their identification as votive cakes, followed by Chrysostomou, Tziafalias and Darmezis, and Haagsma and Karapanou. Haagsma and Karapanou take the argument one step further to demonstrate that these were monumentalizations of bloodless sacrifice that were active agents in the negotiation of regional identity (see Chapter 5 for a full discussion).⁵²⁸

These hemispherical protrusions appear in numerous cases in Thessaly, particularly Achaia Phthiotis and Phthiotis, and one case in Pelasgiotis. The closest parallel is the sanctuary at Eretria in Achaia Phthiotis (see 5.7 below), which had a rocky outcrop onto which numerous hemispherical protrusions were hewn. Most of these protrusions have been found in

ritual contexts as is attested by explicit inscriptions, which would lend credence to Arvanitopoulos' interpretation of the site as a sanctuary, as the inscription supports the identification of the deity.

Arvanitopoulos does not explicitly state so but his publication of the site speculates that the *spolia* that were built into the Ottoman mosque were architectural members from a Doric building on the site. I would, however, exercise caution against this, as he has not shown evidence that these *spolia* could not have been collected from various buildings throughout the city, buildings that were not necessarily religious in nature. I would repeat the same for the Doric capital found in the 1960's, which was found out of context and does not necessarily belong to a temple on site. Furthermore, the incomplete information that survives about this site cannot allow us to conclude that this area was definitely a sanctuary as places of ritual were not necessarily located within sanctuaries. The fortification walls around the hill might have been a *peribolos* but there is not enough evidence to suggest that the area was an area set apart for the worship of a deity. We can

⁵²⁷ Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming and Haagsma *et al.* 2019; Blum 1992: 197, 203-208; Decourt 1995, no. 71 and 120.

⁵²⁸ Haagsma *et al.* 2019, and Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming.

probably conclude that ritual activity occurred on the site based on the protrusions, the Hellenistic figurines, and the inscription to a deity but it is uncertain whether this was a *temenos* or some sort of space that also happened to accommodate ritual activity.

(2.1B) Mount Karaplas/Alogopati

(Καραπλάς/Αλογοπάτι)

GPS Coordinates: 39.27683, 22.3448

Deities: Nymphs, Pan, Asklepios, Apollo, Herakles, Chiron

Periods: Archaic(?), Classical to Hellenistic (to Roman?)

Topography:

The site is located at the mouth of a cave on the north slope of a hill named Karaplas, 1 km to the southwest of the centre of Pharsalos. The cave is nestled on a shelf on the mountain and would not have been very visible or accessible. The path up to the cave is unwelcoming and the hill is shrouded in vegetation (assuming that the hill was just as heavily vegetated in antiquity as it was during my last visit in 2015). A small cliff needs to be mounted in order to enter the cave's mouth and the interior of the cave itself is narrow but high-ceilinged and

continues far deeper into the hill than the extent of the archaeological remains, which were mostly found around the mouth of the cave. The water table is higher deeper into the cave.



Figure 13 - The earlier inscription in front of the Karaplas cave (taken 2015).

History of Archaeological Work:

The site was first studied and excavated in the 1920's by the Italian Archaeological School led by Levi.⁵²⁹ The inscriptions have more recently been revisited in great detail by Wagman in a new monograph, which provides a great synthesis of the comparanda for the texts of the inscriptions.⁵³⁰ Aston has further contextualized the cave and its inscriptions into the broader Thessalian socio-cultural context.⁵³¹

Archaeological Remains:

Outside the entrance of the cave, there are

⁵²⁹ Levi 1926: 27-42.

⁵³⁰ Wagman 2015.

⁵³¹ Aston 2012b.

two surviving inscriptions etched onto the wall. One is placed at a higher level on the cliff to the left of the entrance of the cave and dates to the first half of 5th c. BC. It has been reconstructed as follows:⁵³²

Πάνταλκες
 ἀνέθηκε
 θεαῖς τοδ' ἔργον
 τᾶν δὲ δάφναν...

“Pantalkes dedicated this work to the goddesses, and the laurel...”

The inscription continues but the lower lines of the inscription become either incomprehensible or illegible, but it is a dedication of an individual to the goddesses worshipped at the site. The second inscription, dating to the end of the 4th c. BC, is located at ground level and is a much longer text composed in dactylic hexametre:⁵³³

θεός
 Τύχ[α]
 χαίρετε τοῖ προσ[ιόντες ἄπ]α[ς] θῆλύς τε καὶ ἄρσην
 ἄνδρες τε ἠδὲ γυναῖκες ὁμῶς παῖδες τε κόραι τε·
 χῶρον δ' εἰς ἱερὸν Νύμφαις καὶ ἑταίραις,
 Χίρωνος τ' ἄντρον καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ ἑταίραις,
 τούτων ἐστὶ τ[ά]δ', ὧνα Πάν, ἰαρώτατ' ἐν αὐτῶι

⁵³² *IThess* 69, 82.

ἔμφυτα καὶ πίνακες καὶ ἀγάλματα δῶρα τε πολλ[ά]·
 ἄνδρα δ' ἐποίησα<ν>τ[α] ἀγαθὸν Παντάλκεα Νύμφαι
 τῶνδ' ἐπιβαινέμεναι χῶρων καὶ ἐπίσκοπον εἶναι,
 ὅσπερ ταῦτ' ἐφύτευσε καὶ [έ]ξεπονήσατο χερσίν,
 ἀντίδοσαν δ' αὐτῶι βίον ἄφθονον ἤματα πάντα·
 Ἡρακλῆς μὲν ἔδοκ' ἰσχὺν ἀρετὴν τε κράτος τε,
 ὧπερ τούσδε λίθους τύπτων ἐπόησ' ἀναβαίνε[ιν],
 Ἀπόλλων δὲ δίδωσι καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ[δ]ε καὶ Ἑρμῆς
 αἰῶν' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα ὑφείειαν καὶ βίον ἐσθλόν,
 Πάν δὲ γέλωτα καὶ εὐφροσύνην ὕβριν τε δικαίαν,
 Χίρων δ' αὐτῶι δῶκε σοφόν τ' ἔμεν[αι] καὶ αἰοιδόν.
 ἀλλὰ τύχαις ἀφαθαῖς ἀναβαίνειτ[ε], θύετε Πανί,
 εὖχεσθε, εὐφραίνεσθε· κακῶν δ . . . σις ἀπάν[των]
 ἐνθάδ' ἔνεστ', ἀγαθῶν δὲ [λάχος] πολέμοιό [τε λήξις]

“God. Fortune. Greetings to those approaching—every female and male, men and women, as well as boys and girls—this place sacred to the Nymphs and Pan and Hermes, and Herakles and his companion goddesses, this cave of Chiron, and Asklepios, and Hygieia: the entire structure and the sacred things inside it, the implanted objects, the plaques, the statues, and the many gifts. The Nymphs who walk this place made the good man Pantalkes the overseer of this place: he is the one who planted these things and worked it with his hands, and they repaid him with a bounteous life for all his days. Herakles gave him strength, virtue, and might, by which he beat these stones and made them into a way up. Apollo and his son and Hermes gave him health and good life for all his life. Pan gave him laughter

⁵³³ I follow Wagman 2015’s reconstruction of the inscription.

and good sense, and just the right amount of hubris. Chiron made him a skilled singer. But climb up with good fortune. Sacrifice, pray, and be glad, all of you. Here you can forget all bad things, be given good things, and overcome conflict.”

The substantial inscription sheds light on many aspects of the topography, construction, and history of this sanctuary, such as the fact that the same man from the previous inscription transformed the environment of the cave to make it an accessible grotto in which people were able to approach and climb the entrance of the cave and placed various dedications to the gods at the cave. The gods of the cave (the Nymphs, Pan, Hermes, Herakles, Chiron, Asklepios, Hygieia) are named, unlike the ambiguous goddesses in the first inscription.⁵³⁴

There were various niches on the sides of the cave, which might have been used to place images of the gods or various dedications. A staggering number of terracotta figurines were extracted from inside the cave. The earliest datable finds were two kourotrophic female figures, women carrying jars, seated or reclining

women (one with a deer), protomai, and votive plaques depicting women. All of these date to the Archaic period. There were several heads of female figurines that date to the 4th c. BC. Several more female heads, a clay head of Dionysos(?), figurines of a possible Aphrodite and Eros, of Pan, of Hermes, the heads of satyrs, and some doves date to the Hellenistic period. The pottery from the cave dates largely from the 4th c. BC to late Antiquity. Significant vessels include three complete lekythoi, inside one of which is a bronze pendant in the shape of a lidded jar. A small number of bronze objects as well as an Antigonos Gonatas coin were also found.⁵³⁵

Previous Interpretations:

The interpretation of the cave as a sanctuary is indisputable due to the detailed description in the Late Classical inscription, the rich deposits of material that are typically votive in nature, and the visible alteration of the cave’s physical layout to accommodate offerings (niches along the cave walls, cuttings for the placement of stairs, etc.). The interpretation of the site as a healing sanctuary might also be valid as health is one of the things that the second inscription promises and all of the deities

⁵³⁴ Wagman 2015.

⁵³⁵ Levi 1926: 27-42.

mentioned in the inscription are all related to healing in some way.

The date of use of the site as a sanctuary is, however, only clear from the Classical period to the Hellenistic period. The early 5th c. inscription gives a definitive *terminus post quem* for its use as a sanctuary. The predominance of 6th c. terracotta votives, however, might suggest that votive activity had been occurring on site since the Late Archaic period, but these votives could also have been placed on site much later than their date of construction. In addition, the ceramic assemblage on the site dates to the end of antiquity; however, this does not mean that the site continued as a place of ritual until the end of antiquity. The terracotta figurines from the Hellenistic are the last certainly ritual aspects of the site; this does not mean that the ceramics from later periods were not used in ritual but I would suggest they could also be from refuse left on the site after the site had ceased to be used as a sanctuary.

(2.1C) Profitis Ilias (Λόφος Προφήτη Ιλία)

GPS Coordinates: 39.28875, 22.38902

Deities: Demeter and Kore

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site was located on the northern slopes of the hill of Profitis Ilias (the ancient acropolis). As the excavators encountered, the slopes were steep and rocky, and the tree growth was thick. Assuming that the vegetation around the acropolis was roughly similar, the site would not have been widely visible nor would it have been easily accessible given the slope without a good path.

History of Archaeological Work:

Theocharis conducted rescue excavations on the northern slopes of the acropolis of Pharsalos in 1966, due to reports of a local inhabitant named Charilaos Petridis, that terracotta *protomai* were being found on the surface, as well as due to construction work for the placement of pipes on the hill.⁵³⁶ Daffa-Nikonanou discusses the results of this excavation in her 1973 publication on Thessalian sanctuaries of Demeter.⁵³⁷ In the 1970s, a further two votive deposits as well as architectural remains were excavated nearby, as part of test excavations being conducted by Tziafalias.⁵³⁸ Due to the nature of the research as test excavations, the site

⁵³⁶ *AA* 21 (1966): 254.

⁵³⁷ Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 73-8.

⁵³⁸ *AA* 29 (1973-4): 578-9.

was never completely exposed.

Archaeological Remains:⁵³⁹

Three deposits were found on the northern slopes of the acropolis. The first, excavated in the 1960s, yielded many fragments of terracotta *protomai* and figurines, which can be divided into several types: austere depictions of Demeter and Kore both in figurines as well as on *naiskos*-shaped plaques, seated Demeters, representations of couches, and figurines of birds. One black-glossed vessel was also found.

The second deposit was found at the site of Platoma and created inside a natural cavity in the bedrock. The southern side of this deposit was never fully excavated. The north and west were bounded by retaining walls made of heavy stones and the eastern side was bounded by an adjacent building uncovered by the test trenches. The terracotta figurines, found in this deposit in large numbers, represented both human and animal figures. The animal figures depicted primarily boars and horses. The male figures were either reclining figures or upright figures holding a shield and possibly a spear on the other hand. The female figures depicted women hold their himation in front

of their chest, kourotrophic figures, *hydriaphoroi*, seated figures, figures wearing a chiton and himation, and *protomai*. Two bronze coins of Pharsalos and Gyrtion were found in this deposit giving it a *terminus ante quem* (second half of the 4th c. BC). The finds from this deposit were closely related to nature of the finds from the first deposit.

The third deposit was found on the site of Eikonismataki (Εικονισματάκι), 15 m north of the previous deposit. The site is so named in Modern Greek because of a natural cavity in the rock that resembled a *naiskos*. The deposit found at this site was bounded on three sides by natural rock while the northern side was enclosed by a retaining wall with heavy stones. The surface of the southern side contained small recesses dug into the bedrock perhaps for the placement of dedications. In the fill, there were numerous terracotta figurines and plaques, and a small number of monochrome vessels, primarily amphoriskoi and hydriai. The figurines of animals were few and mostly represented boars, while the figurines depicting female figures were more abundant. The latter consisted of women wearing a chiton and a himation placed

⁵³⁹ AΔ 21 (1966): 254; AΔ 29 (1973-4): 578-9; Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 73-8.

beside a stele on which birds were seated, seated figures holding an animal and wearing a flat polos on their heads, *protomai*, and upright figures. The figurines from this deposit resembled Tanagran figurines and are thus datable to the end of the 4th c. BC/beginning of the 3rd c. BC.

In between the latter two deposits, the exterior wall of a large building, measuring 8.50 × 5.90 m was also uncovered but it was never fully excavated by Tziafalias.

Previous Interpretations:

Theocharis was the first to identify this site as a sanctuary to Demeter and Kore, followed by Daffa-Nikonanou, given the similarities of the finds to various other known sanctuaries of Demeter. The placement on the slopes of the acropolis is reminiscent of the Demeter sanctuary on the slopes of Acrocorinth as well as on the northwest slopes of the Athenian Acropolis itself. The repetitive depiction of Demeter and Kore among the terracotta figurines and plaques, the depiction of porcine creatures and kourotrophic figures very strongly support the identification.

Unfortunately, due to the incomplete nature of the excavations the site cannot be

fully understood. It is clear that ritual deposition was occurring at the site, but the precise nature of the deposits (i.e. whether these were primary depositions or ritual or non-ritual disposal of things dedicated elsewhere in the sanctuary) cannot be known. The relationship between the building(s) and the deposits is also not fully understood. Was this indeed a sanctuary or was this site in which refuse from a sanctuary was disposed?

(2.1D) Agios Nikolaos Hill (Λόφος Αγίου Νικολάου)

GPS Coordinates: 39.29163, 22.39727

Deities: Asklepios

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site may have been located on the steep hill of Ag. Nikolaos, which was the location of the southeast corner of the fortification walls of the city as well as one of its city gates.⁵⁴⁰

The site would have been located in an area of high traffic. A structure on the site had the potential to be highly visible due to its location on a hill but the walls might have been a hindrance to visibility. In any case, the existence of a structure is unknown.

⁵⁴⁰ Katakouta and Toufexis 1994: 197. Agios Nikolaos is the oldest church in Farsala.



Figure 14 - The hemispherical protrusions carved into the rock on Ag. Nikolaos hill (courtesy of M. Haagsma, 2012).

Archaeological Remains:

The remains were two inscribed stelai to Asklepios that were built into the wall of the entrance of the church of Ag. Nikolaos in the Varousi neighbourhood of Farsala. The more complete stele is made of white marble decorated with a horizontal moulding near the top and measures 111 × 34 × 31 m. The inscription reads as follows:⁵⁴¹

Χορίλλος Μενεκρά-
τειος ανέθηκε
Ἀσκληπιῶι

“Chorillos son of Menekrates dedicated [this] to Asklepios.”

⁵⁴¹ IG IX² 240.

⁵⁴² *IThess* 87, n. 70.



Figure 15 - The Chorillos inscription in the church of Ag. Nikolaos (courtesy of M. Haagsma, 2012).

Decourt dates the inscription, based on dialect (the use of the patronymic adjective, as well as its use of a dative with -ωι and a verbal form belonging to Koine Greek), to the 2nd c. BC.⁵⁴² The other stele is now lost.

It has been suggested that the stelai to Asklepios came from a low hill a few metres to the east on whose bedrock were hewn slots for stelai as well as rows of hemispherical bumps (often found in cultic contexts).⁵⁴³ No architectural remains have been identified.

History of Archaeological Work:

The inscriptions were first noted by Heuzey

⁵⁴³ Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming.

and Daumet in 1876 and the inscription was entered undated in the *Inscriptiones Graecae*.⁵⁴⁴ Mitropoulou omits the inscription in her study of Asklepieia in Thessaly but Decourt provides a more detailed analysis of the surviving stele.⁵⁴⁵ One cannot be dated on the basis of lettering as it is now lost but the other is from the 2nd c. BC, as stated above. Arvanitopoulos mentions that there were inscriptions (plural) built into the walls of Agios Nikolaos, but only one of those has ever been published if Arvanitopoulos was not mistaken.⁵⁴⁶

The nearby hill, to which the stelai might have belonged and which might have been the location of the sanctuary, was examined by Haagsma in her study of the stone hemispherical protrusions found in the region.⁵⁴⁷

Previous Interpretations:

On the basis of the inscriptions, Arvanitopoulos says that a sanctuary of Asklepios can be securely identified as having existed on the site. I, however, would caution against such a certain identification. The only evidence comes from two inscriptions, which may or may not have

originated from the hill, and which may or may not pertain to a sanctuary of Asklepios (as an inscription to a deity does not necessarily indicate the existence of a sanctuary). The argument seems to be predicated on the existence of a later religious structure on the site (the church) but such an argument requires too many assumptions. I do not rule out the possibility that the stele came from an Asklepieion near the site but it is also not enough evidence to indicate the existence of one.

**(2.1E) Kyritsis Property, Kanadas Street
(οικ. Δημ. Κυρίτση, οδός Καναδάς)**

GPS Coordinates: 39.29398, 22.39073

Deities: Mother of the Gods

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site was located within the city walls of Pharsalos in the east-central part of the city, roughly 500 m north of the base of the acropolis, less than a fifteen-minute walk east of the Thaulios sanctuary. It was located among other incompletely-preserved buildings which the excavator interpreted to be non-domestic.⁵⁴⁸ The building seems to have been easily accessible as it was located immediately east of a narrow, beaten-earth

⁵⁴⁴ *IG IX*² 240.

⁵⁴⁵ *IThess* 87, n. 70.

⁵⁴⁶ *ΠΑΕ* 1907: 151-153.

⁵⁴⁷ Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming.

⁵⁴⁸ Katakouta 2014: 435.

road (oriented NS), but unless the exterior of the building (which obviously does not survive) was particularly conspicuous, it was likely non-descript due to its location amidst other buildings.

History of Archaeological Work:

The site was first discovered during rescue excavations conducted on the property of Dim. Kyritsis on the pedestrian walkway intersecting Kanadas Street by the Larisa Ephorate in 2002, uncovering the building discussed below, an ancient road, and various other buildings.⁵⁴⁹ A thick fill and Middle Byzantine walls overlaid the site. The director of the excavations, Stella Katakouta, conducted a closer study of the terracotta figurines and plaques of the site, touching upon important issues concerning cult, published in an article in 2013.⁵⁵⁰

Archaeological Remains:⁵⁵¹

East of the aforementioned road, an area of 8.85×5.10 m was excavated revealing the extensively disturbed foundations of a multi-roomed building whose full length cannot now be uncovered. The building's adjoining north, west, and south walls were excavated but the excavators were unable to find the eastern end or the entrance.

The building seems to have undergone several structural modifications prior to its destruction. The western façade was moved slightly and a small, east-facing room (1.74×1.76 m) abutting the western wall was added. This room contained a four-sided structure ($1.50 \times 1.10/1.20$), touching its southern wall, constructed with heavy stones (perhaps a trapeza). Katakouta noted the reuse of spolia in the building's construction (e.g. part of a column, a millstone, etc.). The floor was made of beaten earth and gravel and the overlaying fill consisted of 20 cm of fallen roof tiles.



Figure 16 - The excavated remains at Kanadas Street (Katakouta 2013).

The largest number of finds consisted of ceramics, a significant amount of which were black glossed. Vessel types included kantharoi, handle-less skyphidia, lekane lids, lamps, kernoi, a thymiaterion, a cup, a

⁵⁴⁹ *AA* 2002: 546-547.

⁵⁵⁰ Katakouta 2014.

⁵⁵¹ *AA* 2002: 546-547; the site is more completely discussed in Katakouta 2014: 435-448.

stamnoid pyxis, terracotta plaques of various sizes, a small kalykoid kantharos, and a small amount of loomweights. The lamps are useful in dating the site as they are of the Demetrias Group 3 type common in Thessaly during the 3rd and 2nd c. BC.

The second largest group of finds consisted of terracotta female figurines, some standing, some seated, some wearing a chiton, others half-naked, often wearing jewellery and wreaths, and holding various objects (fans, bottles, etc.). Figurines also included protomai, fifteen of which were found throughout the structure but a concentration of which could be distinguished in the southern area and within the four-sided structure. The protomai depict women, naked up to the breasts, some wearing bands or disks on the chest, earrings, necklaces, their hair melon-shaped in style, wearing a crown (often decorated with a flower or small strokes). The backs of the head are pierced with triangular or ovoid holes, and were meant to be seen from the front and placed on a shelf or trapeza.

The small room yielded four terracotta, naiskoid plaques important for the interpretation of the building as these

depicted the Mother of the Gods/Kybele. The goddess is depicted in her typical iconography: she is seated and front-facing, wearing a polos on her wavy hair that fell to her shoulder, a belted chiton, a himation, holding a scepter and a tympanon. A lion lies on her lap and another sat to her left.

Previous Interpretations:

Katakouta interprets this site as a public building, not used entirely for domestic activities.⁵⁵² The building did not seem to be among other private buildings and the pottery types described above were typical of sanctuaries. In her study of the plaques, she hypothesises that they were either a local creation inspired by foreign prototypes or an import from the Eastern Aegean, dating as early as the 4th c. BC. No finds date reported are later than the 2nd c. BC, which could indicate a date of disuse.

Katakouta interprets the building as a possible *metroon* based on the fact that the concerns of the sanctuary are primarily female in nature, the representation of the goddess on the plaques, as well as architectural similarities with the *metroa* from Vergina, Pella, Kalydon, and Demetrias.⁵⁵³ The presence of Aphrodite

⁵⁵² Katakouta 2014.

⁵⁵³ See 7.1E in this chapter, as well as Chapter 5, 3.3.

figurines (i.e. the half-naked terracottas) also support this, as the cult of the Kybele in Greece is often connected with the goddess. Katakouta cautions against too much certainty in this interpretation as no inscriptions have been found and raises the question of the possible threat to other established deities of the city by the introduction of this foreign deity. She also entertains the possibility of this building having served as a place of gathering for an association.⁵⁵⁴ I will discuss the issues concerning the introduction of the cult and its connection to the Macedonian presence in the region in Chapter 5.

(2.1F) "Verdelis Tomb," 156 Lamias Street (Οδός Λαμίας 156)

GPS Coordinates: 39.295, 22.37112

Deities: Hero?

Periods: Late Archaic to Classical

Topography:

The site is located in the western necropolis of the city of Pharsalos, which lay just outside the west gate of the city, which connected to the road leading to southern Greece as well as the westward road leading to Thaumakoi.

History of Archaeological Work:

The site was famously excavated from 1951-1954 by Verdelis, who excavated the western necropolis, but unfortunately never fully published his excavations.⁵⁵⁵ Work was also carried out in recent decades by the 13th Ephorate for the consolidation of the archaeological site.

Archaeological Remains:

The site consisted of a tholos tomb built with local limestone in Lesbian polygonal masonry (similar to the fortifications on the Pharsalos acropolis) dating to the late 6th c. BC. The construction was a mound of earth, measuring around 19 m in diameter, surrounded by a stone enclosure wall. It had a partially subterranean, round, central chamber with a corbelled roof and a small dromos leading to a roofed *stomion* which might have been closed by a wooden door.⁵⁵⁶ The Archaic tholos was itself built over a Mycenaean chamber tomb. Finds from the tomb indicate that it was in use from the late 6th c. BC until the late 4th c. BC. The most notable find is a black-figured *krater* placed in the *dromos* of the tomb. The figurative scene depicts the battle for the body of

⁵⁵⁴ Katakouta 2014: 445-446.

⁵⁵⁵ ΠΑΕ 1951: 157-163; ΠΑΕ 1952: 185-198; ΠΑΕ 1953 128-131; ΠΑΕ 1954: 153-159; Katakouta and Karagkounis presented more recent work on the tomb in "Απόψεις και προτάσεις ήπιας μορφής

επεμβάσεων σε ταφικά μνημεία. Από την επιλογή στην υλοποίηση" at the first ΑΕΘΣΕ in 2003 but did not publish their findings in the proceedings.

⁵⁵⁶ ΠΑΕ 1954: 153-159

Patroklos and was painted in the manner of the Exekias painter.⁵⁵⁷

Interestingly, the tholos tomb was built over a rectilinear Mycenaean tomb, whose plan the Archaic tholos tomb does not follow even though the form of the tomb itself is attempting to look like a Bronze Age tomb. Two monolithic sarcophagi from the late Classical/early Hellenistic period were found on either side of the entrance but have long since been looted and destroyed.

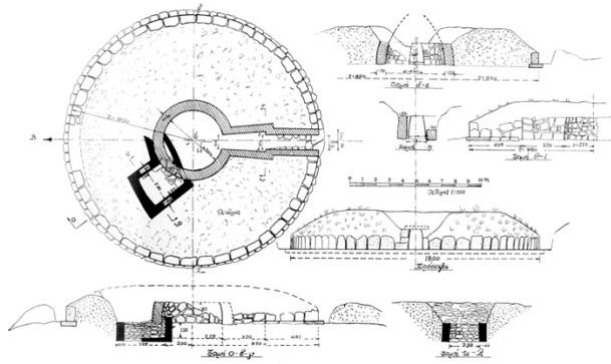


Figure 17 - Plan of the Verdalis tomb (Verdelis 1952).

The Verdalis tomb was not the only Archaic tholos tomb in the same cemetery. Another late 6th c. tholos lay just 60 m southeast, inside which were ten stone urns for cremations and numerous black-figure sherds dating from the 6th to the 5th c. BC. Within the same necropolis, Verdelis also excavated Archaic to Hellenistic sarcophagi, *peribolos* tombs, and a Classical chamber

tomb.⁵⁵⁸

Previous Interpretations:

Although this tholos tomb is not by any means a *temenos*, I include it in this catalogue as there are various clues that this tomb was used as a *heroon*, a suggestion first made by Marzloff.⁵⁵⁹ The intentional archaisation of the tomb to appear Mycenaean, and the placement of a *krater*, seems to be reminiscent of a heroic burial; however, this *krater* could just as well have been an offering for the dead left after the burial. The fact that the *krater* represented Patroklos is interesting as it might be hearkening back to Achilles, whom Pharsalos had been known to appropriate certainly in the 4th c. BC.⁵⁶⁰ The fact that the Archaic tholos was empty of any burials when Verdelis excavated it, as well as its direct relationship to the Mycenaean tomb below it, led Marzloff to suggest that the tholos tomb might have been a cenotaph/*heroon*.⁵⁶¹ The central chamber, however, was very disturbed due to looting, which could explain the absence of burials, and so Marzloff's proposal that this was a cenotaph might be contradicted by the

⁵⁵⁷ ΠΑΕ 1952; the *krater*'s identification number at the National Archaeological Museum at Athens: NM 26746.

⁵⁵⁸ Stamatopoulou and Katakouta 2013.

⁵⁵⁹ Marzloff 1994: 267; Lippolis *et al.* 2007: 511.

⁵⁶⁰ Stamatopoulou 2007: 329 n. 136, 340 and 2009: 216.

⁵⁶¹ Marzloff 1994: 267.

presence of two sarcophagi, albeit empty.

(2.1G) Ambelia (Αμπελιά Φαρσάλων)

GPS Coordinates: 39.3218, 22.49462

Deities: Demeter and Kore?

Periods: Late Archaic to Early Classical

Topography:

The site is located in the *chora* of Pharsalos, around 11 km northwest of the *asty*. The finds were discovered in a field not far south of the Enipeus, and as a result the archaeological deposit lay on and within a layer of river gravel. The road to Pherai and Pagasai probably ran somewhere in the vicinity. The modern site, being located on a modern farmer's field, is more heavily disturbed now by machine ploughing, with more sherds from various periods having turned up than it would have been at the time of excavation. The river is at a lower elevation than the field.

History of Archaeological Work:

Liangouras carried out test excavations at the site of Ambelia in the early 1960s, and Daffa-Nikonanou publishes more precise information on the finds that were excavated by Liangouras in her monograph on Demeter sanctuaries in Thessaly⁵⁶².

Archaeological Remains:

Liangouras uncovered a rich deposit, which

contained hundreds of terracotta figurines. These figurines included ten depictions of pigs or boars, and also over a hundred horses some with their riders, a few birds, and some plaques that depicted pigs, some depicting horned animals. The human figurines were largely female, which included *protomai*, *hydriaphoroi*, standing female figurines, seated female figurines, and a standing male figurine. There were also small hydriai (one of which was of excellent craftsmanship), and fragments of *kernoi*. In addition to the terracottas, there were also several bronze objects, which included rings, earrings, hoops, and bracelets. Traces of burning were also noted in the pit. At a deeper level than the gravel layer, more pieces of ceramic vessels were found. No architectural remains were found. All the finds date from the Late Archaic to the Early Classical period.⁵⁶³

Previous Interpretations:

Daffa-Nikonanou interprets this concentration of finds as a votive pit from a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The nature of the finds is undoubtedly ritual as the finds are typically votive. Individually, the finds are not necessarily ritual but taken as a thick concentration, it is hard to deny the ritual

⁵⁶² *ΑΔ* 18 (1963): 143; Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 78-83.

⁵⁶³ Daffa-Nikonanou 1978: 78-83.

aspect. The identification of the sanctuary as that of Demeter and Kore is also not difficult to accept as the finds are typically what one would find in such a sanctuary (e.g. very similar in nature to the finds from the Pharsalos acropolis), but I would caution that these types of finds are not restricted to Demeter and Kore cults although this identification is the most likely. What is more difficult to interpret is the nature of the sanctuary to which it belonged and the nature of the deposition. The limits of the sanctuary are not known, and neither is the focal point of the ritual activity.

2.2. KTOURI

Location: Chtouri/Ktouri, (Χτούρι/Κτούρι Φαρσάλων)

Identification with Ancient Site: Euhydria (favoured) or Palaiopharsalos.

Site Description and History:

The site consists of a conical, 200-m high hill located 11.5 km northwest of Pharsalos. The top of the hill, which is bare of vegetation, provides a commanding view of the surrounding plains and intervisibility with the mountainous fringes of the region. The site has yielded MH, LHIII B-C, EIA, Archaic, and Classical sherds (and some Byzantine

debris). It was protected by its natural environment. The Enipeus immediately to the north of the site used to flood and turn Ktouri into an island and then turn the surrounding plains green with grass when its waters receded. The site had several points of access to water. In addition to the Enipeus, the site had access to freshwater from springs to the west of the hill. On the west foot of the hill, there was also a magoula rising between the springs, appearing like an imperfect circle with a flattened top.

The site has two enceintes: one on the lower part of the hill (with an interior perimeter of 1,693.7 m) and the other (with an exterior perimeter of 247.96 m) surrounding the area that would have been the acropolis. The lower enceinte, made of partly-polygonal and partly-Cyclopean masonry, possibly dating to the Late Archaic period in its final form, had numerous gates and posterns and its most important gate seems to have been located on the north and faced northeast.⁵⁶⁴ The upper fortifications, made of smaller stones, had some very obtuse angles rather than being a round acropolis circuit wall. There were no traces of habitation on the hill and so habitation must have been located at the magoula at the

⁵⁶⁴ Béquignon 1928: 25-6.

western foot of the hill, while the hill probably only served as a place of refuge.

History of Archaeological Research:

Heuzey was one of the earliest to be interested in the site of Ktouri but he was less interested in the archaeological remains than the potential identification of the site as the setting for the Battle of Pharsalos between Pompey and Caesar. Stählin described the ruins he came across during his visit to the site⁵⁶⁵. Béquignon, however, became interested in the site in order to reveal “tout l'intérêt que ce site pouvait présenter.”⁵⁶⁶ As a result, he conducted sondage excavations throughout the site for ten days in 1931, uncovering the remains discussed in the previous section as well as the building he interpreted as a temple.⁵⁶⁷

Heuzey, Veith, and Lucas identified Palaiopharsalos with Ktouri, whereas Béquignon and Gwatkin favoured Fatih-tzami for Palaiopharsalos, while Stählin preferred Palaiokastro.⁵⁶⁸ Ktouri is favoured by Stählin and Béquignon as the location of ancient Euhydrion (“well-watered”).⁵⁶⁹ Palaiopharsalos was destroyed by Philip V in 198 BC, along with Euhydrion,⁵⁷⁰ for which

reason Pelling prefers the Palaiokastro identification.⁵⁷¹ Palaiopharsalos can also be identified as Pharsalos itself, as the name would seem to represent the original home of the Pharsalians. As it is, the identification of Ktouri remains unclear, although I personally follow Béquignon in favouring its identification as Euhydrion.

GPS Coordinates: 39.36398, 22.27824

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Early Iron Age to Archaic

Topography:

The site was located at the western foot of the hill of Ktouri lying just to the south of the magoula beside the hill. If Béquignon is right in identifying the magoula as the main settlement of Ktouri, then the building identified as a temple would have been located just outside the settlement and would have been passed on the way from the settlement to the north gate of the hill (the most important city gate), and would thus have been very accessible and would have been located near the springs.

Archaeological Remains:

Béquignon excavated the foundations of a building to the south of the magoula whose

⁵⁶⁵ Stählin 1924: 143.

⁵⁶⁶ Béquignon 1928: 25-6.

⁵⁶⁷ Béquignon 1932: 92-191.

⁵⁶⁸ Gwatkin 1956: 109-24; F.L. Lucas 1921 52; Veith 1906: 87; Heuzey 1886: 107.

⁵⁶⁹ Béquignon 1932: 115-117, 92-191; Stählin 1924: 143

⁵⁷⁰ Livy 32.13.9.

⁵⁷¹ Pelling 1973: 249-259.

western and southern sides were the best preserved. The west side is constituted of ten large stone blocks measuring a total length of 14 m while the complete south side measures 6.3 m. There is an oval pit/*bothros* bounded by small stones in the northwest corner, inside which were fragments of Minyan, Submycenaean, and EIA sherds mixed with calcined animal bones. Fragments of white marble in the form of palmette *akroteria* dating to the Archaic period were found on the site and probably represented the superstructure of the building.

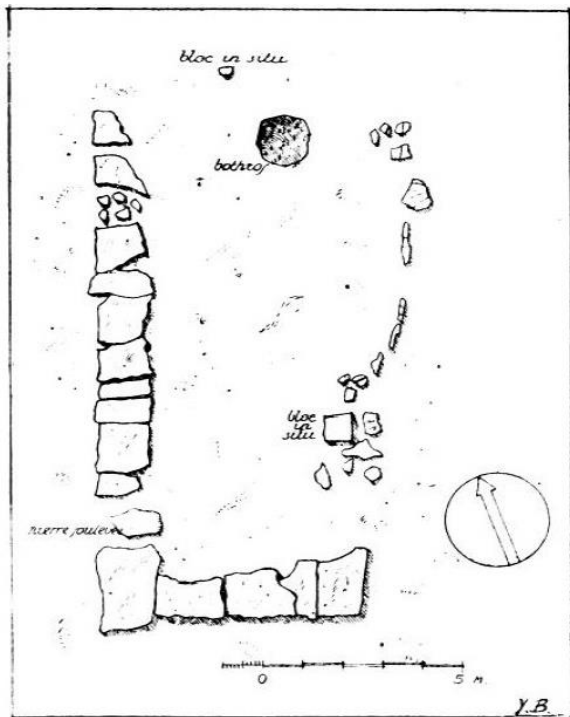


Figure 18 - Plan of the Ktouri temple (Béquignon 1932).

Small finds from the building were largely terracotta objects, including a

quadruped figurine that might be a horse, circular plaques, loomweights, and spindle whorls. There were a few metal finds, including an arrowhead, a fibula, and a warrior figurine. Stone finds include the fragment of a statue, as well as a flint hand axe, a flint flake (the latter two earlier than the Mycenaean period), and grinders. There were also a few glass beads.

Previous Interpretations:

Béquignon identifies the site as a temple based on several factors: the marble *akroteria* which are architectural refinements that often appear in (but are not restricted to) temple architecture, its size, the finds such as the circular plaques that have also been found at Delphi, the quadruped figurine that was also found at the sanctuary of Athena at Delphi. The *bothros* might indicate ritual use because of the centuries of deposition of sherds and burnt animal bones but cannot be certainly described as ritual. Although the collective assemblage makes the use of the building as a ritual building the most likely scenario, it is by no means certain.

Thessaliotis

3.1. PHILIA

Location: Modern Philia ⁵⁷² (Φιλία Καρδίτσας), site of Chamamia (Χαμάμια)

Identification with Ancient Site: Possibly ancient Iton (Ἴτων) or Itonos (Ἴτωνος), but definitely an Itoneion (sanctuary of Itonia)

Site Description and History:

The site at Philia, located in the southern part of the Western Thessalian plain, is entangled in the discourse on the identification of the ancient site of Iton or Itonos, which is mentioned by several ancient sources. Iton first appears in Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* as "the mother of flocks" and part of the territory of Protesilaos. ⁵⁷³ The mention of Iton with Pyrasos, Phylake, and Antron (whose locations are known) would, however, place Homeric Iton in Achaia Phthiotis and not in Thessaliotis. Writing more than six centuries later, at least, Strabo describes Iton as being located around 60 stades away from Halos. ⁵⁷⁴ Several paragraphs later, he describes Iton as being the location of a sanctuary to Itonia, after which the sanctuary in Boiotia is named. ⁵⁷⁵ Three

paragraphs later, he mentions a sanctuary of Itonia by the Kouarios river, which he says is the temple of Athena mentioned by Alkaios located on the banks of the Kouralios river (probably an alternate pronunciation of the Kouarios). ⁵⁷⁶ Pausanias also names a sanctuary of Athena Itonia between Pherai and Larisa where Pyrrhos of Epeiros dedicated the shields he took from the Gallic mercenaries of Antigonos Gonatas, but whether that Larisa refers to Larisa in Pelasgiotis or Larisa Kremaste has been questioned since the 1950s. ⁵⁷⁷

I summarise the inherent assumptions of the discourse here: (1) that there is a Homeric city named Iton/Itonos; (2) that the Homeric city and the Hellenistic city mentioned by Strabo are one; (3) that there is only one sanctuary of Athena Itonia; (4) that the city Iton(os) and the sanctuary Itoneion are necessarily one.

Before the excavations at Philia, older scholarship attempted to reconcile the literary sources with the Homeric site's location near the Krokian plain. Stählin

⁵⁷² I have opted to retain the spelling Philia in English rather than transcribing it as Filia, even though it is a modern place name, because Philia is the more common spelling in the scholarly literature.

⁵⁷³ Hom. *Il.* 2.965.

⁵⁷⁴ Strab. 9.5.8.

⁵⁷⁵ Strab. 9.5.14.

⁵⁷⁶ Strab. 9.5.17 and 9.2.29 ("Κωραλίω ποταμῶ παρ' ὄχθαις.")

⁵⁷⁷ Paus. 1.13.2-3; also appears in Plut. *Pyrrh.* 26.9.10 and Diod. Sic. 22.11 but the location of the sanctuary of Athena Itonia is not stated. Lévêque 1957: 566ff suggests that Pausanias meant the Larisa Kremaste in Achaia Phthiotis on the coastal route from Lamia to Pherai in order to explain .

identifies the Kouarios/Kouralios river with the Xerias river that passes through Almiros, whereas Leake places it on the Cholorema which passes by the prehistoric settlement at Magoula Zerelia (which he proposes to be Iton).⁵⁷⁸ It was originally assumed that there was only one sanctuary of Athena Itonia because of the primordialist treatment of the *ethnos* in older scholarship, which believed that the *ethnos* was centred around a common federal sanctuary, a view that is no longer held today. As the cult of Athena Itonia is mentioned by several inscriptions and literary sources as having been significant to the Thessalians as a collective, and since Flamininus chose the cult of Athena Itonia as one of the two official patron cults of the Thessalian League, it has been assumed that a sanctuary of Athena Itonia was the pan-Thessalian sanctuary.

If, as Graninger posits, we unburden ourselves of the notion that there could only be one sanctuary of Athena Itonia, it allows us to see greater possibilities for the interpretation of the historical sources.⁵⁷⁹ We can thus separate the various mentions

of Iton/Itonos and the sanctuary of Itonia in the various literary sources. Intzesiloglou has more recently demonstrated that the Kouarios river is most likely the modern Sofaditis river, rather than being on the Krokian plain as Stählin and Leake attempted. The name is related to the epithet of Poseidon Kouerios and perhaps the name of the city of Kierion, north of Philia.⁵⁸⁰ This allows us to distinguish the Iton (which is near an Itoneion) mentioned by Strabo, which is near the Krokian plain, from an Itoneion by the Kouarios River, and perhaps a third in Pelasgiotis.

I would also stress that Strabo consciously cites Homer as his source of information for the Iton in the Krokian plain and may not be referring to a contemporary city at all.⁵⁸¹ Graninger defends Strabo's reliability, stating that Strabo had been right for most of Thessaly up until Iton, but I would counter that if Homer was Strabo's source, as he states explicitly, his reliability should be held suspect as Homer was writing many centuries earlier. The Homeric city could very well have ceased to exist.

⁵⁷⁸ Stählin 1924 and Leake 1835.

⁵⁷⁹ Graninger 2005.

⁵⁸⁰ Intzesiloglou 2006: 224-226.

⁵⁸¹ Strabo 9.5.14 talks about all of these places with Homer as his source, not his own travels or contemporary: "Now the Poet [Homer] enumerates

next in order after those who were subject to Achilles those who were subject to Protesilaos." This should give us reason to doubt Strabo's locations. Cf. Lalonde 2019: 52-56, who argues that the Koan embassy (*infra* n. 562) could have been sent to a coastal Itoneion.

Graninger argues that a city named Itonos existed at least in the Hellenistic period as several 3rd-century inscriptions from Kos states that Koan *theoroi* are to go to Itonos every four years to announce the start of the Asklepieia festivities to the Thessalians.⁵⁸² The inscription could be referring to a settlement that was by an Itoneion but Graninger was writing at a time when the settlement by Philia had not yet been excavated, as he admits himself.⁵⁸³ Now that a settlement has indeed been at least partly excavated, the Koans may in fact have been sent to the one in Philia. The settlement has not yet been fully excavated and the latest finds so far date to the 4th c. BC. This does not mean that there was a single pan-Thessalian Itoneion prior to Flamininus' reforms, but that the Koans believed they could reach a broad Thessalian audience at a sanctuary held to be of particular importance to the Thessalians.

The sanctuary of Athena Itonia, as will be discussed below, was chosen as one of the two Thessalian League sanctuaries in 196 BC by the Flaminian reforms, the other being the new sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios

in Larisa. The area had been in use as a cult site since the Geometric period (or perhaps even earlier to the Mycenaean period) and excavators have located a settlement dating from the 7th c. BC to the 5th c. BC (as far as the ongoing excavations have determined so far).⁵⁸⁴ The site continued in use through the Roman period, with statues being offered at the site until the 3rd c. AD, but when the site ceased to function as a sanctuary to Athena Itonia is unknown. An Early Christian basilica with three aisles and mosaic floors was erected on top of the sanctuary in the 5th c. AD and parts of the Itonia sanctuary was re-consecrated as a Christian cemetery.⁵⁸⁵

History of Archaeological Research:

Giannopoulos first predicted that there would be an important archaeological site in the area in the 1920s, when he found a fragmentary Thessalian League decree referring to an Itoneion as well as a bronze hoplite figurine. The area also bore the signs of a site that had been heavily looted in recent times and many of the bronzes looted from the site may have turned up in various

⁵⁸² *IG XII 4.1, 207*; the surviving inscription, however, is lacunose and heavily supplemented.

⁵⁸³ Graninger 2011: 60.

⁵⁸⁴ Karagiannopoulos presented the results of the excavations of the settlement in *AEΘΣΕ 6* (publication forthcoming).

⁵⁸⁵ *AA 18* (1963): 135-9.

collections.⁵⁸⁶ It was not, however, until the 1960s that the site was excavated under Theocharis.⁵⁸⁷ It began initially as a rescue excavation in 1962 when Theocharis, then head of the Archaeological Service in Thessaly, was alerted to looting that had been carried out at the site after farmers had first taken a deep plough to the ground, uncovering bronze finds and building remains. Months of looting followed the discovery of the site concealed from the authorities. Theocharis described the site as a battlefield that had suffered heavy bombardment upon his arrival. He carried out excavations

A new phase of the excavations began in the 1980s when Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthimiou-Papanthimou attempted to determine the relationship between the Geometric finds and the earlier Mycenaean phase of the site. Later in that same decade, Intzesiloglou excavated northeast of Theocharis' excavations as large stone blocks were being turned up by agricultural activities. He was also able to ascertain that

most of the finds from the EIA and Archaic period came from a single ash layer in 1988.⁵⁸⁸ Under Karagiannopoulos and Palaiotheodoros in the last decade, a settlement near the sanctuary was found and begun to be excavated.⁵⁸⁹ The finds from Theocharis' excavations were only published more recently in 2002 by Kilian-Dirlmeier, who catalogued and discussed the significance of the metal finds.⁵⁹⁰ Only a small portion of the site has yet been excavated (approximately one-fiftieth of the total area of the site).

GPS Coordinates: 39.26163, 22.05058

Deities: Athena Itonia

Periods: EIA (possibly as early as LBA) to Roman periods

Topography:

The site is found beside the Sofaditis river a tributary of the Peneus, in the southernmost area of the Karditsa basin. The site is on relatively flat terrain but save the small ancient settlement beside the sanctuary, it is fairly distant from other settlements. Barring tall vegetation, the plains around the

⁵⁸⁶ For example, some of the bronze horse figurines that have ended up in the Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen (Christiansen 1992: 64 nos. 30 and 31) might have originated from Philia.

⁵⁸⁷ *AA* 17 (1961-62): 179, *AA* 18 (1963): 135-9., *AA* 19 (1964): 243-249, *AA* 22 (1967): 295-296. Pilali-Papasteriou and Papaefthymiou-Papanthimou 1983 attempted to determine the relationship between the

Geometric finds and the earlier Mycenaean phase. The Iron Age remains have recently been reconsidered by Georganas 2002.

⁵⁸⁸ *AA* 43 (1988): 256-257; Intzesiloglou 2006.

⁵⁸⁹ Karagiannopoulos and Palaiotheodoros, *AETHSE* 2018 (publication forthcoming)

⁵⁹⁰ Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002.

site can be very visible, but given that it was a sacred grove (see below), trees would have been a factor in obstructing visibility as they are today, as the banks of the Sofaditis are thick with platanos trees.

Archaeological Remains:⁵⁹¹

I present the phases of the site here divided chronologically:

(1) Late Mycenaean Period

The excavators uncovered a trapezoidal enclosure on the site at a depth of 1.64 m. Its foundations were made of river stones while the superstructure was of brick. The area within the enclosure of the later sanctuary contained terracotta figurines, depicting phi and psi figurines as well as animal figurines, and miscellaneous ceramics discovered in a clean layer all dating to the LHIIIB and LHIIC period. The Submycenaean layers did not contain a large amount of pottery other than fragmentary sherds.

(2) Early Iron Age to Mid-Achaic Period

Most of the finds from the site date to the EIA and Archaic period were found within a single ash layer, within which no bones were found. The majority of artefacts

consisted of small bronze objects and other metal artefacts, numbering in the thousands. The most numerous class of artefacts were the bronze and iron weapons, and knives and or daggers, which Kilian-Dirlmeier classifies separately. Many of these weapons may have been forged on site.⁵⁹² The weapons are followed by the fibulae in quantity. There were also bronze pins, rings and bracelets, pendants (various shapes particularly pomegranate-shaped ones), bronze vases, bronze *obeloi*, bronze animal figurines, bronze tripods, double axes, a cheese grater, and other metal objects. Miniature weapons and miniature tripods were also found. Other finds include horse-trappings, the so-called *phalara* (perhaps decorative elements from belts, perhaps cymbals, shield bosses, or parts of horse-trappings), many glass beads, and some objects made of ivory, electrum, silver, and gold. There is one bone plaque depicting a woman holding a lion, a faience figurine, a golden strip shaped into an animal head, and two Egyptian scarabs. The majority of the metal finds date to the EIA and decrease significantly in later periods, starting the

⁵⁹¹ A4 18 (1963): 135-9; A4 19 (1964): 244-9, 253-5; A4 20 (1964): 311-13; A4 22 (1967): 295-6; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002.

⁵⁹² Risberg, 1992, "Metal Working in Greek Sanctuaries," *Economies of Cult in the Ancient Greek World: Proceedings of the Uppsala Symposium 1990*. (T. Linders and B. Alroth, eds.): 33-40.

Late Archaic (end of the 6th until 480 BC). The earliest finds from this phase date to 1000 BC but most begin after 800 BC.

(3) Late Archaic to Classical Period

After the Late Archaic period, the nature of votive deposition shifts away from metal offerings, and iron votives disappear entirely.⁵⁹³ Numerous terracotta figurines depicting women were found, mostly Archaic, and some of these depict a helmeted female figure. Most of the pottery is Hellenistic and Roman but some are Geometric, Archaic and Classical. Theocharis notes that most of the Geometric sherds are from Iolkos. One significant vessel is an Attic red-figure kylix depicting a homoerotic scene dating to 490-480 BC. The pottery, however, is not as thoroughly published as the metal finds. The earliest architecture on site might have been erected during the Classical period but the evidence consists only of a fragment of a clay painted *simā* (dating from ca. 425-375 BC) and a Doric column drum dating to the late 5th c. BC.⁵⁹⁴

(4) Hellenistic Period

There is what seems to be a sharp decline in votive activity from the mid-4th

century until the end of the 2nd c. BC, but it is during this time that Philia received its first certain architecture, as some sort of Doric building was erected during the early 3rd c. BC. The evidence for this building consists of marble tiles, poros Doric columns and a cornice. Inscriptions begin to appear on the site in the late 3rd c. BC, when a decree of *sympolitiai* between Thamiāi and Gomphoi appears on site. This decree is not enacted on behalf of a Thessalian League but is still evidence for the supra-polis importance of the site.⁵⁹⁵ I note that the Koan inscription mentioned previously dates to this century. After Flamininus' creation of a formal Thessalian League, decrees of the Thessalian League begin to appear on the site (the earliest of which dates from 179-165), and these continue throughout the existence of the sanctuary. The substantial numismatic evidence also reflects the change in the sanctuary's purpose. Prior to it becoming a federal sanctuary, most of the coins from the site were issued by Thessalian city mints, dating mostly to the 4th c. BC. From the 2nd c. BC to the 3rd c. AD, however, the coins are largely from the Thessalian League.⁵⁹⁶ The

⁵⁹³ Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002: 177 and 190.

⁵⁹⁴ *AA* 19 (1964): 246 and Intzesiloglou 2006: 228.

⁵⁹⁵ Graninger 2012: 63.

⁵⁹⁶ Half the coins were issued by Thessalian cities in the 4th c., and then the Koinon (2nd c. BC to 3rd c.

AD); rest are Macedonian (4th/3rd c. BC) Euboea (4th) Megara (3rd) Halikarnassos (1st c.), Chalkedon (3rd/2nd).

drop of votive activity in the sanctuary during the early part of the Hellenistic period is reversed after 100 BC until the end of the Hellenistic period.

(5) The Roman Imperial Period

Intzesiloglou excavated a peribolos wall made of reused stone dating to the Roman period, and within the enclosed space was some sort of building and outside the enclosure were kilns. Theocharis had also previously excavated a statue base for a Roman emperor. Manumission inscriptions from this period, probably dedicated at the sanctuary, were found reused as spolia in nearby Melissochori. The latest evidence of the site's function as a Thessalian League sanctuary appears in the 3rd c. AD, which is outside the limits of this dissertation. From the Roman period until the end of the site's use as an Itoneion, the votive activity appears to be minimal once more.

Previous Interpretations:

The identification of the site as a sanctuary and the fact that it is a sanctuary to Athena Itonia is indisputable. The millennium-long deposition of objects typically deposited at sanctuaries it bears many similarities to the votive depositional patterns at Pherai.



Figure 19 - Current state of the sanctuary at Philia (taken 2016).

Although there is a Mycenaean phase, there is not enough substantial evidence to indicate that there was a Mycenaean sanctuary on the site. The site's use as a sanctuary is certain by 800 BC, although votive activity may have begun as early as 1000. Theocharis proposes that from EIA until the Late Classical period, the site was an open-air sanctuary as no architectural remains were found on the site for those periods.⁵⁹⁷ Intzesiloglou further convincingly proposes that the sanctuary was a sacred grove on whose trees the votives were hung, since the extensive ash layer in which the majority of the metal finds were excavated contained no bones and thus could not have been an ash altar as Kilian-Dirlmeier previously interpreted.⁵⁹⁸ Furthermore, the interpretation of the site as

⁵⁹⁷ *AA* 20 (1964): 312.

⁵⁹⁸ Intzesiloglou 1988; *contra* Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002: 230-232.

one of the official Thessalian League sanctuaries is uncontested from the 2nd c. BC onwards as the abundance of inscriptions dedicated at the site leave no doubt as to the federal importance of the sanctuary.

Graninger cautions against interpreting it as an open-air sanctuary in the earlier periods as Theocharis only excavated a portion of the site and it is possible that there may have been cult buildings in the unexcavated parts. It should also be emphasised that only one-fiftieth of the total area of the site has so far been excavated and so any interpretations presented in this work concerning the nature of Philia as an open-air sanctuary need to be viewed as preliminary.

The drop in votive activity is also regularly mentioned but I would caution against interpreting such absences of material as a decline in activity at the sanctuary. A decline in the offering of metal votives during certain periods, for example, does not mean that there were fewer dedicants in those times but that there may have been a shift in the types of activities performed at the site. A good example is the sanctuary of Ennodia at Pherai in which there is a shift from metal votives to

terracotta votives in the Archaic period.⁵⁹⁹ Ritual activity could also have shifted to types of activities that do not leave material evidence (e.g. deposition of textiles, foodstuffs, and other perishable offerings, but also the performance of dances, hymns, etc.). For example, the supposed nadir of the site's votive activity in the Hellenistic period (pre-Flamininus) is contradicted by the nature of 3rd c. BC inscriptions from both the site and areas further away indicating that the site did indeed have some importance to the broader region prior to the official formation of the Thessalian League.⁶⁰⁰

3.2. PRODRAMOS

Location: Village of Prodromos (Πρόδρομος Καρδίτσας) at the site of Bourdenia (Μπουρντένια)

History of Archaeological Research at Prodromos:

After noting the presence of terracotta figurines during the building of KTEO structures, Intzesiloglou conducted small-scale excavations in 1984, 1985, and 1987.

GPS Coordinates: 39.36644, 21.96105

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Archaic and Early Classical (6th to first half of the 5th c. BC)

⁵⁹⁹ See 1.2A in this chapter.

⁶⁰⁰ IG XII 4.1, 207.

Topography: The site lies in the Eastern Thessalian plain, 20 m E-SE of an Archaic cemetery. It would have been extra-urban and lies several kilometres away from the nearest large settlement but it would have been fairly easy to access.

Archaeological Remains:⁶⁰¹

Near the cemetery excavated by Intzesiloglou, four small buildings were also excavated, each one beside the other with the same south-facing orientation. Three of the buildings consisted of a simple rectangular room and are referred to by Intzesiloglou as *oikoi* whereas he refers to one as belonging to the “megaron type.” The buildings are all approximately 4.60 x 4.20 m with wall widths of roughly 0.40 m. The foundations of the buildings consisted of Laconian roof tiles beaten into the earth.

The deposit was not deep and they have consequently been severely disturbed by modern activities. Among the buildings were shallow pits, in which were found terracotta figurines depicting human figures riding horses, and a seated or standing female figure with a polos. *Kernoï* were also found in these pits. The finds have stylistically been dated to the late 6th/early 5

c. BC.

Previous Interpretations:

Intzesiloglou interpreted the area of the *oikoi* as a sanctuary due to the votive nature of the finds.⁶⁰² The depiction of the female figurine wearing a polos is particularly indicative of a deity. In her dissertation, Stamatopoulou included the site at Prodromos among the “funerary sanctuaries” of Thessaly. She has since questioned the nature of the supposed funerary and chthonian nature of some extra-urban and peri-urban sanctuaries of Thessaly noting, for example, the case of the Pasikrata sanctuary in Demetrias.⁶⁰³ Rather than ascribing such cults with a funerary purpose, Stamatopoulou suggests that these belong to a broader category of liminal cults, which are meant to protect important transitional areas (roads, gateways, etc.). In the case of Prodromos, the connection between the sanctuary and the cemetery is more apparent, since the synchronicity of the two is demonstrable, unlike at Pherai or at the Pasikrata sanctuary. There is, however, nothing in the finds from Prodromos that indicates the deity worshipped or the type of rituals performed

⁶⁰¹ *AA* 39 (1984): 148; *AA* 42 (1987): 269.

⁶⁰² *AA* 42 (1987): 269.

⁶⁰³ Stamatopoulou 1999 vol. 2: 46-47 and 2014.

in the buildings.

3.3. KEDROS

Location: Site of Chaliadia (θέση Χαλιάδιας), town of Kedros (Κέδρος Καρδίτσας), formerly Chalambrezi (Οθ. Χαλαμπρέζι)

Identification with Ancient Site: Orthos⁶⁰⁴ (Ὀρθος), Ortha (Ὀρθα) or Orthe (Ὀρθη)

Description of Site and its History:

The area identified as ancient Orthos, which is located around Chelonokastro hill (see below) seems to have been inhabited as early as the 4th c. BC until the Roman period. The settlement lay on the hill while the cemetery (containing 63 burials) was found 400 m NE of the settlement, on the plain, in the area of Ag. Nikolaos. The extent of the settlement and the cemetery is unknown. Roman graves were also found 200 m NE of the settlement.⁶⁰⁵ There are earlier signs of human activity, however, such as the EIA tholos tomb near Kedros.⁶⁰⁶ The city (perhaps polis) of Orthos minted its own coins from the 4th to the 2nd c. BC like many Thessalian cities. On these coins were depicted a helmed Athena in the obverse and

a horse or a trident on the reverse, in reference to Poseidon.⁶⁰⁷

History of Archaeological Research:

Theocharis first located the archaeological site stretching from the hill of Chelonokastro (Χελωνόκαστρο) to the grove of Ag. Nikolaos on the plain, on the boundaries of Kedros and of Loutros, to the border of the plains of Agrafa, in the SW portion of Nomos Karditsas. From 1982 to 1987, Intzesiloglou excavated the site of Chaliadia near the cemetery, where he excavated a building he identified as a temple (see below).⁶⁰⁸ The site is not published aside from the reports in the *ΑΔ*.

GPS Coordinates: 39.22213, 22.03602

Deities: Artemis-Bendis or Demeter

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site lies on the very southern edge of Thessalotis and straddles the foothills of the Agrafa mountains (the southernmost portion of the Pindos range) to the south and the Western Thessalian plain. It lay on the left bank of the Sofaditis river (anc. Kouarios), which originates from the

⁶⁰⁴ Helly 1992: 78; not to be confused with Homeric Orthe (Hom. *Il.* 2.739) as Intzesiloglou does, which is in Perrhaibia. Intzesiloglou, 2000: 169-178.

⁶⁰⁵ *ΑΔ* 37 (1982): 232.

⁶⁰⁶ The tholos tomb is only briefly mentioned in *BCH* 120: Chronique 1215; Georganas dissertation no. 34.

⁶⁰⁷ Rogers 1932: 138-139, 421-25. *SNG* Cop. Thessaly. 183-184.

⁶⁰⁸ *ΑΔ* 1982: 232, *ΑΔ* 1985: 196, *ΑΔ* 1987: 268. Marzolff 1994: 268.

mountains to the south (in the area of what is now the artificial Lake Smokovo). It lay at the mouth of a valley that passed into the region of Dolopia, less than an hour and a half walk from the sanctuary at Philia.

Archaeological Remains:

Intzesiloglou's excavations at Chaliadia revealed the foundations of a building measuring 10 x 7.5 m, made of rough local stones that would have had a mudbrick superstructure. Post holes were found in front of the building indicating that it would have been *distyle in antis*. The cella was subdivided in the interior but the exact plan is not published. Two subsidiary buildings were also excavated, one of them circular and the other rectangular, as well as sections of what has been interpreted to be the peribolos to the east of the building *in antis*.

Finds inside the main building include terracotta figurines (female protomai, Artemis Bendis figurines sometimes depicting a dog, reclining males), as well as a marble statue of what has been interpreted to be Artemis Bendis, a Thracian deity that the Greeks often translated into Artemis in their own *interpretatio*, from the 5th c. BC onwards due to their connections to

hunting.⁶⁰⁹ Intzesiloglou's interpretation of the marble statue as Bendis comes from its depiction with a Phrygian cap as well as a dog. One golden coin from Amphipolis was also found, as well as rings decorated with bezels and lead miniatures of furniture. The pottery and the terracotta figurines date the site to the late 4th to the 3rd c. BC. East of the supposed peribolos was a pit deposit containing many Laconian roof tile fragments, above which was a thick layer of ash and animal bones, some of which show cuts from knives.

Previous Interpretations:

On the basis of the architectural remains and the finds (such as terracotta figurines and a statue depicting deities), Intzesiloglou interprets the site to be a sanctuary. The form of the primary building with columns *in antis*, along with the presence of a potential cult statue inside, indicates a temple. The interpretation as Artemis-Bendis comes from the presence of many of the figurines fitted with suspension holes which Intzesiloglou interprets to mean that they were hung from trees, as at nearby Philia.⁶¹⁰ In recent years, Intzesiloglou has interpreted the sanctuary as one of Demeter.⁶¹¹

⁶⁰⁹ *AA* 1982: 232, pl. 144d; *AA* 1987: pl. 155 a.

⁶¹⁰ *AA* 1982: 232.

⁶¹¹ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 699 cites personal communication with Intzesiloglou.

Especially significant is the presence of the deposit of ash and animal bones, which Intzesiloglou takes as cult use after the destruction of the sanctuary. I would, however, suggest that this might be intentional disposal of sacrificial remains during the use of the sanctuary. The Laconian roof tiles may not be from a destruction layer but an intentional foundation for an ash pit for the sacred refuse, but it is difficult to make any certain assertions as the site is not published. Stamatopoulou includes Kedros in her catalogue under “funerary sanctuaries” like Prodromos above but notes that the connection between the cemetery and the sanctuary cannot be proven because the extent of either has not yet been fully studied.⁶¹²

3.4. ANAVRA

Location: Site of Alonaki near the modern town of Anavra (Ανάβρα Καρδίτσας)

Identification with Ancient Site: Unknown. Closest sites are Leontari (Λεοντάρι, ancient name unknown) and Kedros (3.3 above, Orthos/Orthe).⁶¹³

History of Archaeological Research:

During the works for the opening of the E65 highway in 2010, the remains of walls, sherds, metal finds, and many fragments of terracotta figurines were found at Alonaki, leading to the hypothesis that the site had cultic functions, prompting systematic excavations in 2011 and 2012. The findings from the site were presented at the AETHSE 2012, subsequently published in 2015, which give a good overview of the finds and the interpretations.⁶¹⁴

GPS Coordinates: 39.17333, 22.0898

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Late EIA to the Hellenistic Period (3rd c. BC)

Topography:

The site is located on the borders of Thessaliotis and Dolopia in the southwestern area of Thessaliotis plain. It lies in a valley on the foothills of the Katachloro mountain (in the Agrafa range) and to the east of the site is a natural route towards Dranista (anc. Ktimene) and then towards the Spercheios Valley, which connects it to the main NS route of Greece, and as such it would have been in an area of potentially high mobility. The excavators note that a small road led to the site. The

⁶¹² Stamatopoulou 1999 vol. 2: 208.

⁶¹³ Karagiannopoulos and Chatziangelaki 2015: 229.

⁶¹⁴ Karagiannopoulos and Chatziangelaki 2015: 229-236.

area, however, would have been thickly wooded and a powerful spring flows nearby (the modern name Anavra in fact comes from αναβρύζω meaning “to gush forth.”).

The settlement to whose territory this sanctuary may have belonged is unknown but the closest large settlements are the unidentified site at modern Leontari to the NE, and ancient Orthos at modern Kedros to the NW. A site dating to the Classical period (i.e. earlier than the site) is also found 600-700 m away at the site of Violi, where there are remains of a Classical wall.⁶¹⁵

Archaeological Remains:⁶¹⁶

The excavations revealed a complex containing several features which I list below.

Structure 1 was a small, single-roomed building, almost square in plan (roughly 3 x 3 m), *in antis*, with an EW orientation. It is built with coarse worked stones from local volcanic rock. Finds from the interior of the building include a large female protome near the western wall, three large vessels (lekanai and beehives), as well as other terracotta figurines and fragments of protomai. To the east of the entrance,

there was a large rectangular stone placed vertically on the ground, and between this stone and the entrance were traces of burning. There were found several fragments of figurines, black figured vases, protomai, one aryballoid lekythos and various ceramics.

Structure 2 was located southwest of Structure 1 and consisted of another single-roomed four-sided structure, oriented SE-NE. Its lower foundations were built of the same material as Structure 1 but is less well preserved because of modern digging for construction. Its entrance might have lain in the SE side, which has been destroyed. The destruction layer in the interior of the building contained fragments of terracotta figurines depicting female figures and protomai, as well as a fragment of a terracotta throne, and some ceramics, both painted and unpainted.

There were two pits immediately north of Structure 2 which were almost perfectly circular and were bounded by heavy stones. *Pit A* (diam. 1.0 m) contained a few bronze objects and seems to have been placed on top of an earlier pit (diam. 0.60 m), in which were found bronze objects (rings,

⁶¹⁵ *AA* 68 (2013): 506-512; Karagiannopoulos and Chatziangelaki 2015: 229.

⁶¹⁶ Karagiannopoulos and Chatziangelaki 2015.

chains, bronze beads), as well as a few sherds of unpainted vessels with thin walls. *Pit B* (diam. 0.80 m) contained fragments of female protomai, terracotta figurines, fragments of iron chains, as well as a significant number of sherds all belonging to one unpainted vessel. There was also a layer of black and oily earth containing ashes and burnt bone, within which layer bronze rings, beads made of electrum and glass, and fragments of figurines were also found.

Pit C (diam. 0.75 m) was found to the west of Structure 2 but below its wall foundations and was bounded with heavy stones. Inside this pit were fragments of vases, figurines, beads, and many bronze objects. The smaller *Pit C1* was found (diam. 0.75) in contact with *Pit C* to the NW, and contained beads, a figurine of a horse, as well as a concentration of bronze rings, beads, and traces of burning.

Pit D (diam. 0.60 m) was found roughly in the middle of Structure 2 but at a deeper level. Its fill contained a small amount of finds, such as figurines, beads, bronze objects, and jewellery. Several of the figurines were broken and contained traces of burning. There were scattered fragments of slipped Laconian roof tiles as well as a few heavy stones that indicate the only structural remains from this stratigraphic

depth. In the lowest layer of the fill, above virgin soil, and in fact throughout the site at this level, were found a small quantity of ceramics, primarily thick-walled, handmade, a few wheel-made, and some inscribed sherds.

Area 1 was a roofed four-sided space measuring 6.20 x 6.00 m and might have been entered from the SE corner. It lay immediately to the west of and was touching Structure 2. Inside it was the largest assemblage of finds (terracottas, metal, and glass) from the excavations. In its NW corner there was a pit structure with an elliptical shape measuring 1.70 by 0.90 m, and 0.20 m deep. The pit's upper surface was bounded by heavy stones and inside it were found the aforementioned finds from this area, including a silver obol from Sikyon (4th c. BC), the only coin found on site. To the south of the room, the excavators suppose the existence of another roofed, smaller room/space (*Area 2*) in which were found similar objects.

West of *Area 1* were the remains of a long wall made of roughly hewn rock as well as a fill of smaller stones. There were also scattered boulders located S, SE, and E of *Area 2*, some of which were found in a row. The excavators believe these stones to encircle all the structures with the exception

of Structure 1 and is assumed to be a peribolos.

All the structures seem to belong to the 4th c. BC and were destroyed towards the end of the 3rd c. BC. In Area 1, however, there were dedications that date to the 5th c. BC and even to the 6th c. BC. In the lower layers of the site, which include Pits C, C1, and D, the finds belong mainly to the 6th and 5th c. BC with some as early as the 7th c. BC. There was at least one destruction by fire in the 5th c. BC, as demonstrated by the extensive ash layer and burning throughout the site. The lowest layer of the site indicates a period of use dating to the Late EIA to the Early Archaic period.

Previous Interpretations:

Based on the architectural and artefactual assemblage and the layout of the site, the excavators have probably correctly concluded that the site is a rural *temenos*.⁶¹⁷ It was not within the bounds of any nearby settlement (the closest one being at Violi to the north). The excavators interpret Structure 1, based on its form, orientation, and finds as an *oikos*. The upright stone to the east of the entrance seems to have been the locus for liquid and burnt offerings, and there does not seem to have been an altar.

⁶¹⁷ Karagiannopoulos and Chatziangelaki 2015.

The excavators hypothesise that the first period of use of the sanctuary did not contain any architecture, until the 4th c. BC during which it was given small, crude buildings (perhaps *oikoi*), as well as *bothroi* (Pits C, C1, and D) for the worship of the chthonic deities. I again caution against the approach to Greek cults as having been either Ouranian or Chthonic. Rather than seeing these supposed chthonic offerings as being connected to the underworld, they should be studied from the perspective of what the ancient Greeks specifically wanted from these cults rather (e.g. kourotrophy, protection from the wild, protection during important stages of life), as stated by Stamatopoulou concerning the supposed funerary cults of Thessaly.⁶¹⁸

3.5. AGIOI THEODOROI

Location: The fields of V. Dourlias (αγρός Β. Ντούρλια) north of the village of Agioi Theodoroi (Άγιοι Θεοδώροι/Άγιος Θεόδωρος Καρδίτσας).

Identification with Ancient Site: Within the chora of Kierion

Site Description and History:

The site at Agioi Theodoroi itself is a rural outpost of ancient Kierion. The site is located

⁶¹⁸ Stamatopoulou 2014.

on the plain along the road from Kierion to Methyion (mod. Myrini) and would have been easily accessible and visible from this road but not from a great distance. The closest large settlement is the *polis* of Kierion, 3 km to the east on the modern hill by Pyrgos Kieriou, and the site at Agioi Theodoroi would have probably sat within the chora of Kierion. In Thessalian myth-history, the area around Kierion is significant, having been the site of the battle between the invading Thessalians and the Aiolians, who would be driven to Boiotia from this place which was still called Arne then.

Kierion itself is located on a fortified hill nowadays called Ogla (λόφος Ογλάς) in the centre of the Western Thessalian Plain. The top of the hill provided a commanding view of the region from its territorial boundaries, are difficult to determine because of its location in the middle of such a flat area. Rescue excavations conducted by Miložič in the modern village of Pyrgos Kieriou on a smaller hill in the plain northeast of Ogla hill have uncovered Mycenaean architecture and ceramics (as well as the famous Mycenaean tholos tomb

at Agioi Theodoroi), and EIA tholos tombs have been found in the broader area, one at the site of Ambelia near Agioi Theodoroi and the other at the site of Chomatokastro in Mataranga. Miložič identified the prehistoric settlement at Pyrgos Kieriou with Homeric Arne since the identification of Kierion is ascertained by inscription and Strabo recounts that prior to the Thessalian invasion, Kierion was called Arne.

The hill itself is fortified with a circuit wall that dates from the Classical period (but perhaps as early as the Archaic period) until the Hellenistic period. Kierion was well attested in the epigraphic record from the Classical period onwards and they seem to have minted coins from the 400s until the creation of a Thessalian League currency.⁶¹⁹ The acropolis seems to have been fortified during the Hellenistic period but we cannot exclude the existence of earlier phases since the *kastro* has not yet been systematically studied. Continuous occupation of the area around the hill seems to be evident in later periods. In the chora of Kierion, at the site of Orgozinos (Οργόζινος), a part of a building complex from the Roman period has also been excavated.⁶²⁰ A Thessalian inscription

⁶¹⁹ Head, HN² 292–93; Babelon, *Traité* ii.4 nos. 507–18; SNG Cop. Thessaly 32–37; Rogers (1932) nos. 173–78.

⁶²⁰ Chatziangelakis 2007: 50.

from the 1st c. AD built into the church of Ag. Georgios at Pyrgos Kieriou also demonstrate Kierion's continuing importance in the Imperial period.⁶²¹

History of Archaeological Research:

In 1985, deep ploughing in the fields of V. Dourlia brought a large number of poros architectural members to the surface, which prompted Intzesiloglou to conduct excavations within a 5 x 10 m area. Meanwhile, in the adjacent field of Th. Troukis (αγρός Θ. Τρούκη), fragments of marble statues were found, which the excavators supposed are related to the pit in the Dourlia field.⁶²² Excavations were carried out in 1985 and 1987 in the Dourlia field, and the foundations of the buildings from which the architectural members were found and excavated in the Troukis field in 1988.

GPS Coordinates: 39.36351, 22.00507

Deities: Asklepios, Artemis, Aphrodite

Periods: Hellenistic (4th to 2nd c. BC)

Topography: The site lies on very flat terrain

Archaeological Remains:

Two buildings were excavated at the Troukis field, one earlier than the other:⁶²³

Building A

The earlier building had a NS orientation, but only the NW corner was excavated as Building B was built on top of this building. The northern and western walls are preserved to a length of 4.75 and 1.80 m respectively. Along the length of the interior part of the northern wall, three foundations for dedicatory bases were found. The fragments of statues found included a head and a leg still attached to its plinth and belonging to a statue of a girl. The fill from Building A was a yellow soil similar to the natural soil of the region.

Building B

The later building B was built on top of the eastern section of Building A, destroying part of it. Building B had the same general orientation as Building A and must have belonged to a Γ-shaped stoa, inside of which was an open-air courtyard. A corner of the stereobate, 1.30 m wide, was found *in situ*, and beside the courtyard along the sides of the foundations, oriented NS, a stone gutter for draining rainwater was found preserved to a length of 8.10 m. A few centimetres east of this gutter, four bases for dedications were found placed in a row,

⁶²¹ Intzesiloglou 1994b: 37 - 44.

⁶²² AA 1985: 196.

⁶²³ AA 1985: 196, AD 1987: 265-266; AD 1988: 253-254.

similar to those found in Building A. Unlike the yellowish soil in the fill of Building A, Building B was filled with a black soil in which the largest amount of finds was excavated. The finds included fragments of marble statues of children and poros architectural fragments. Notable amongst the statue fragments were a torso of Asklepios and Aphrodite. Artemis was later identified amongst the statuettes.⁶²⁴

Pit Deposits

The excavations at the Dourlia field revealed two pits. One, found in 1985, covered an extent of 9.30 x 4 m and was full of poros architectural fragments. The second pit was found south of the first and contained mainly Laconian roof tiles and iron nails that might have belonged to the building whose architectural remains were found in the first pit.

Previous Interpretations:

The excavators have interpreted the site at the Troukis field to be a sanctuary based on the presence of statuettes of deities depicting Asklepios, Aphrodite, and Artemis and have associated the deposits at the Dourlia field as having been ritually buried in the nearby field. It has also been interpreted as an Asklepieion as the types of

statuettes found at this site are common dedications at Asklepieia, left as ex-votos. The results of the excavation have not been able to determine the exact chronology of Buildings A and B with certainty but the overall assemblage indicates cultic usage of the site from the 4th to the 2nd c. BC.⁶²⁵

3.6 KARPOCHORI

Location: Site of Kalyvia (Καλύβια) in the southeast of the modern village of Karpochori (Καρποχώρι Καρδίτσας), formerly Gerbesi (Γκερμπέσι, until 1927)

Identification with Ancient Site: Within the chora of Kierion

History of Archaeological Research:

In 1975, evidence from old court cases of looting at the Philia sanctuary as well as figurines and small vessels from a deposit at a nearby site were delivered to the Larisa Museum. During the examinations of the case files, it was determined that the deposit was found at the site of Kalyvia at Karpochori.

GPS Coordinates: 39.3346, 22.00568

Deities: Demeter?

Periods: Undated in the publication but said to be similar to rural sanctuaries in and around the wider area of Pharsalos (which

⁶²⁴ Mitropoulou 1992: 327, no. 3.

⁶²⁵ AA 1988: 254.

unfortunately date anywhere between the Archaic to Hellenistic periods).⁶²⁶

Topography:

The site sits on very flat terrain on the right bank of the small Lipsimos river. It is not near any major roads and the closest large settlement is Kierion roughly 6 km NE. The nature of the finds indicates a site not intended to be visible from afar.

Archaeological Remains:

The finds consisted solely of a deposit that had been looted and confiscated as evidence. These finds were either miniature pottery or terracotta figurines. The vessels from the deposit consisted of oinochoiskoi, hydriskoi, and krateriskoi. The figurines were mainly female protomai, seated female figurines, and upright and reclining male figures. A few of the figurines were of animals and riders on horseback.

Previous Interpretations:

Tziafalias interprets the area to be a rural sanctuary, perhaps related to the cult of Demeter, based on the similarities of the nature of the deposit to rural sanctuaries from the area of Pharsalos. Although I would agree that it is likely a rural sanctuary, I hesitate to attribute it to Demeter, as

Demeter is not the only agricultural deity (which can be any other deity but given an agricultural aspect) for whom the people of the countryside can perform their rituals.

Hestiaiotis

4.1. METROPOLIS

Location: Modern city of Mitropoli (Μητρόπολη Καρδίτσας), formerly known as Paliokastro (Παλιόκαστρο)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain, based on inscriptions.

Site Description and History:

The *polis* of Metropolis is one of the most important cities of Hestiaiotis and is second in importance only to Triikka. The city was established in 358 BC from the *synoikism* of three small settlements in the area into one *polis*, after which the city expanded to include the surrounding settlements of Onthyriion and Polichnai, and part of Ithome by the time of Strabo.⁶²⁷ The city seems to have grown the most during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Based on fragments of walls that have been excavated around the city, Intzesiloglou proposes that the city had sixteen-sided fortification walls forming a

⁶²⁶ Tziafalias (AD 1966: 198) references the Demeter sanctuaries on the acropolis of Pharsalos, at Ambelia,

and at Proerna (AD 1966: 254, AD 1963: 143). See also Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 22.

⁶²⁷ Strab. 9.5.17.

2,560 m perimeter wall around the city, whose complete plan has not yet been fully mapped.⁶²⁸ The core of the city seems to have been an isolated hill, at the site of Stefani (as Arvanitopoulos refers to it) where the church of Agios Georgios now stands, and the fortification walls encircled the urban centre in the plain. The isodomic masonry of the fortification walls, fitted with moat, date their construction to the 4th c. BC. The chora of the city would have stretched as far as the area around the modern village of Georgiko to the south as well as the area of Lianokokkala to the west.

Little is known about the history of Metropolis outside of its military involvement throughout the Hellenistic period. Inscriptions and mentions in the literary sources demonstrate that Metropolis was an important player within the Thessalian League (before and after the *koinon*'s formalisation under Flamininus), being one of the largest cities of the region.⁶²⁹ During the wars between Macedon and Aetolia for supremacy of the region, Livy recounts that Metropolis sided with the Macedonians, repelling the Aetolians with its walls even after Philip V

retreated. It was also one of the few Thessalian *poleis* that sided with Caesar against Pompey in 48 BC after hearing of the destruction of Gomphoi. Metropolitans are known from inscriptions to have often filled the highest offices of the Thessalian League (e.g. *strategos*, chief priest).⁶³⁰ Not much is known about the history of Metropolis during the Roman period, but a necropolis dating to the Roman period was excavated in the 1920s. Other necropoleis have been found to the southeast (Hellenistic), southwest (4th c. BC to Hellenistic), east (Hellenistic), and various other locations throughout Georgiko's *chora*.⁶³¹

Cult Sites

(4.1A) Site of Lianokokkala, Moschato

GPS Coordinates: 39.33364, 21.81937

Deities: Apollo

Periods: Archaic to Hellenistic

Topography:

Approximately 2 km west of Metropolis (ancient and modern) and 12 km away from Karditsa, the site lies at the foot of the Agrafa mountains of the Pindos, in the valley of Laparda. It lies just north of the road heading from Metropolis into the area occupied by the Dolopians and the Athamanians just

⁶²⁸ *AA* 35 (1980): 268-269.

⁶²⁹ Dasios and Nikolaou 2012: 59-62.

⁶³⁰ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 697-698.

⁶³¹ Stamatopoulou 1999 vol. 2: 30-31.

north of that, but also Epeiros, over the mountains. It would have been in a very visible and accessible location to anyone taking that road in and out of Thessaly in this area. The area is well-watered and is thick with trees.

History of Archaeological Work:

A large mound, 2 m high, had long been known on the site, and as such, many illegal excavations have been conducted here. A decision was made to excavate the mound, led by Intzesiloglou, between 1994 and 1997 after a spike in illegal activity.⁶³²

Archaeological Remains:⁶³³

The main feature of the sanctuary was a large Doric peripteral temple (5 x 11 columns, 31.9 x 13.75 m) with an east-west orientation and an internal colonnade along the central axis. The oldest phase of the temple dates to mid-6th c. BC (based on the *sima* fragments and the antefixes).⁶³⁴

The temple underwent many changes and repairs in the following centuries. The cella was built with stone only in the lower parts, and mud brick was used for the rest. Doric columns are unfluted at the lower parts while the echini are decorated with floral chains in relief and their composition

is different on each capital, a feature that is unique to the Doric capitals of this temple. None of the superstructure of the temple was found, aside from parts of the clay *sima* and cornice, fragments of clay sculpture from the akroteria (such as the life-size protome of a horse) and Corinthian tiles. Manidaki has recently re-studied these remains from the roof and has proposed a

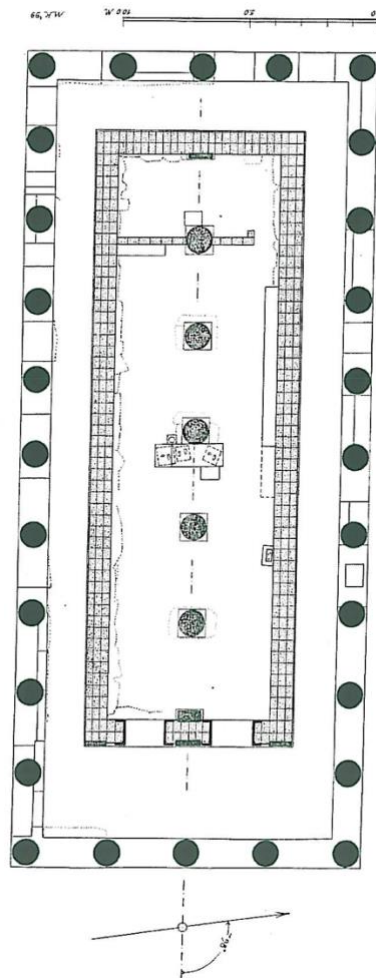


Figure 20 - Plan of the Metropolis temple, drawn by M. Korres (Intzesiloglou 2002).

⁶³² *AA* 49 (1994): 331-333, pl. 107β-108α-β; *AA* 50 (1995): 375-376; 51 (1996): 347-348; Intzesiloglou 2002a: 109-115, pl. 29-32.

⁶³³ Intzesiloglou 2002a: 109-116.

⁶³⁴ Intzesiloglou 2002a: 115.

construction date of the second quarter of the 6th c. BC for the temple based on the construction details and decorative refinements.⁶³⁵



Figure 21 - Current state of the Metropolis temple (taken 2015).

It seems that all the columns and the upper part were initially from wood and clay and the columns were steadily replaced with stone ones. Some of the roof tiles are of worse quality than others and have been inscribed with the names of two men. They may have been used for some repair of the roof during the 3rd or 2nd c. BC. Other stamps mention the city-ethnic of Metropolis.

In the interior of the cella on its central axis is a row of 5 square bases for wooden columns. In the middle of the cella, immediately to the east of the central column, was a base with cuttings of varying sizes to support three objects. At a later

stage, a mud brick wall was built to separate the western part of the cella, creating an adyton in the back. Narrow benches made of mudbrick (6.14 x 0.5 m) were added along the north wall of the cella and along the north wall of the adyton. Inside the back room were parts of a clay chest on a stone base, while in the south-east corner a vessel with a circular hole in its bottom was set into the floor. The mouth of a pot on the floor level was covered with a stone plaque.

The most notable find was a bronze statue which depicts a standing hoplite dated to the mid-6th c BC. It was found in the area of the statue base on the central axis of the temple. The right foot of another bronze statue is reported. The statue base seems to have had cuttings for two statues rather than just one. Pieces of stelai, some with traces of inscriptions were also found in the cella. In the NE of the cella was a stele/base dated to the 4th c. BC with an inscription commemorating the dedication of a bronze dog to Apollo by an individual named Peithola.⁶³⁶ Other notable finds include a figurine of a dog, a small, unfluted marble column and its square base, a small Doric capital with a shallow cavity to hold the plinth of a small statue, and fragments of an

⁶³⁵ Manidaki 2018.

⁶³⁶ SEG 52: 562.

honorary decree (3rd c. BC).⁶³⁷



Figure 22 - Horse-head akroterion from the Metropolis temple, Karditsa Museum (Taken 2015).

There is some evidence for cult use of the site prior to the mid-6th c. BC and the sanctuary seems to have been destroyed by fire and abandoned in the 2nd c. BC.

Previous Interpretations:

The identification of the site as a temple to Apollo is explicitly ascertained by inscriptions. Even without the epigraphic evidence, the form of the building as a Doric peripteral building with a cella, a central colonnade, and an adyton creates a perfectly standard temple form. In addition, the statue of the bronze warrior, found near its statue base still *in situ* in a central location in the cella, has been identified as the temple's cult statue. The temple has been identified by

inscriptions as being that of Apollo and so the hoplite must have represented a strange iconographic variation of Apollo, who has been represented in a limited number of black-figure vases as a hoplite, and on Lakonian coins as having a helmet, spear, and bow.⁶³⁸

(4.1B) Stefani, Hill of Agios Georgios, Mitropoli

GPS Coordinates: 39.3384, 21.84034

Deities: Aphrodite Kastnia/Kastnietis

Periods: Classical to Hellenistic (possibly later?)

Topography:

The hill around the church of Agios Georgios in modern Mitropoli was probably the acropolis of ancient Metropolis. As such, visibility would have been high for any structure built on top of it given that the walls of the acropolis did not obstruct the view. It would have been easily accessible in that case given its central location.

History of Archaeological Work:

There have been limited excavations conducted on the site. Leake was one of the first to document archaeological remains in the city, but the earliest archaeological work on the site was carried out by Arvanitopoulos in the early 1900s, during

⁶³⁷ Intzesiloglou 2002a: 111-114.

⁶³⁸ Intzesiloglou 2002a: 115.

which the area was largely fields reserved for agriculture.⁶³⁹ Within more recent decades, excavations have been carried out by the 13th Ephorate until 2004 when the 34th Ephorate in Karditsa was created and took over the archaeological work of most of Western Thessaly.

Archaeological Remains:⁶⁴⁰

During Leake's visit to the area and the fields around Agios Georgios, he noted architectural and sculptural fragments, as did Stählin during his later visits.⁶⁴¹ Arvanitopoulos noted that a marble statue of a goddess was found as well as a bronze-statue head that must have belonged to a life-size statue. The latter has now been dated by Deligiannakis to Late Antiquity and interpreted as the head of an emperor.⁶⁴² Arvanitopoulos also partially excavated a stereobate (only 10 m of it) as well as coins and sherds dating to the 5th-3rd c. BC.

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos suggested that the sculptural fragments depicted the goddess Aphrodite Kastnia, whom Strabo reports to have been the main goddess of the city and to whom hogs were sacrificed regularly.⁶⁴³ He interprets the stereobate he excavated to

have been the foundations to a temple of said goddess. Unfortunately, aside from these sculptural and architectural fragments, nothing else is known about the sanctuary to which this possible temple would have belonged. It does, however, seem appropriate for the temple of the chief deity of the city to have been located on the acropolis, for which case I consider Arvanitopoulos' interpretation to be likely. The finds indicate that it would have existed during the Classical and Hellenistic periods (5th to 3rd c. BC) and was still around during Strabo's time (1st c. BC), but I do not exclude the possibility that it continued to exist in later periods. The incompleteness of the excavations do not permit us to conjecture the sanctuary's use beyond the 1st c. BC.

(4.1C) Koufia Rachi, Georgiko

GPS Coordinates: 39.32745, 21.85239

Deities: Aiatos

Periods: Archaic

Topography:

The site of Koufia-Rachi lay on the plain in what would have been the *chora* of ancient Metropolis to the south of the *asty*, in the territory of the modern village of Georgiko-Xinoneri. In the current topography, the

⁶³⁹ Leake 1835 Vol. 4: 507; *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 145.

⁶⁴⁰ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 342-343; *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 145.

⁶⁴¹ Stählin 1924: 129.

⁶⁴² Deligiannakis 2013.

⁶⁴³ *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 145; Strab. 9.5.17.

earthen mound over the tholos tomb would have been very visible throughout the surrounding area, which was very flat. The tall grass in the area can prove a minor hindrance to the modern traveller approaching the tholos tomb but if the site were well-maintained in antiquity, the landscape would have provided no obstacle to accessibility.

History of Archaeological Work:⁶⁴⁴

The mound covering the tholos tomb, which is the second-largest in Thessaly discovered so far, was first archaeologically examined by Arvanitopoulos in 1917 but unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the results of his excavations from his notes. In 1960, illicit excavations on the site destroyed a section of the tholos tomb's wall structure which led Theocharis to excavate part of the fill in the interior chamber.⁶⁴⁵ More comprehensive excavations were conducted by the 13th Ephorate under the direction of Intzesiloglou starting in the mid-1990s until the early 2000s. Excavations of the *dromos* led to the discovery of this particular sanctuary.

Archaeological Remains:⁶⁴⁶

South of the entrance into the Mycenaean

tholos tomb, in a surface of around 530 square metres, Intzesiloglou notes an accumulation of stones, mostly limestone slabs and river stones, on top of which were placed hundreds of votives, mostly handmade figurines of riders and iron knives. There were also a few clay figurines of men and women, two bases for pilasters, miniature pots, a few coins, and tiles. The excavator noted the existence of black soil and animal bones. Among the finds was a tile with a fragmentary inscription of the 7th or 6th c. BC ("EAIATHION").⁶⁴⁷



Figure 23 - Exterior of the Georgiko tholos tomb (taken 2016).

Previous Interpretations:

Intzesiloglou interprets the site in front of the tholos tomb as a heröon because he restores the EAIATHION inscription as “ἡ Αἶατῆϊον”, i.e. a sanctuary of Aiatos (the

⁶⁴⁴ For the history of the excavations, see *AA* 52 (1997): 476-481.

⁶⁴⁵ *AA* 52 (1997): 479-80.

⁶⁴⁶ Intzesiloglou 2002b; *AA* 52 (1997): 479-80; *AA* 53 (1998): 439; *AA* 54 (1999): 408-9.

⁶⁴⁷ Intzesiloglou 2002b: 294.

Thessalian rendering of Aiakos), one of the founding heroes of Thessaly. The majority of the finds, which consisted of objects consistently found at sanctuary votive deposits, seem to date to the 6th/5th c. BC. It is not clear if cult continued down to the Hellenistic period.

4.2. TRIKKA

Location: Modern Trikala (Τρίκαλα)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain (continuous habitation)⁶⁴⁸

Site Description and History:

Trikka was one of Thessaly's most important *poleis* and the largest city of Hestiaiotis, located on the northwestern edge of the Western Thessalian Plain along the foothills of the Chasia mountains, stretching from the left bank of the Lethaios River to the hill of Kastro in modern Trikala, where its acropolis was probably located. The city lay on a very important route through the Thessalian plains going west through the Pindos mountains and into Epeiros. Although the area was inhabited since perhaps earlier than the Mycenaean period

(earliest ceramics from the acropolis date to the EBA and EIA), very few architectural remains from earlier than the Hellenistic period have survived (most are Hellenistic and Roman).⁶⁴⁹ The city itself was named after its resident nymph, Triikka.⁶⁵⁰ Since the modern city of Trikala spreads over the location of the ancient city, the earlier periods are not well represented, and the layout of the ancient city is not well known.

The city was attested as early as Homer's *Catalogue of Ships* and seems to have minted its own coins starting from the end of the Persian Wars and began to depict Asklepios in these coins in the 4th c. BC.⁶⁵¹ Asklepios' relationship to the city as its patron deity is attested as early as Homer who recounts that Asklepios' sons Machaon and Podaleirios fought at Troy as the generals of the Triikkaians.⁶⁵² Strabo later writes that Asklepios was born at Triikka, for which reason his oldest and most famous sanctuary was supposedly to be found in the city.

Aside from its connection to Asklepios, Triikka appears most frequently in

⁶⁴⁸ Verified by Theocharis' excavations demonstrating uninterrupted continuity from the 3rd c. BC to the current period. See M. Theochari 1959: 69–79.

⁶⁴⁹ Chatziangelakis 2015: 275-282.

⁶⁵⁰ Steph. Byz. s.v. Τρίκκη.

⁶⁵¹ Liampi 1996: 707; Rogers 1932: 176-178.

⁶⁵² Hom. *Il.* 2.729-732; Strab. 9.5.17 also considers Triikka the homeland of Asklepios. Riethmüller 2005: 91-228 traces the Thessalian origins of the cult, ultimately attributing the early spread of the cult to the Dorians who passed through Thessaly before moving south.

the literary sources in its reactions to Macedonian hegemony over Thessaly. Triikka seems to have displayed some of the most anti-Macedonian attitudes as Polyperchon excluded the Triikkaian exiles from receiving the general amnesty given to the Thessalians in 319.⁶⁵³ The Triikkaians also seem to have attempted to secure Aitolian protection in their attempts to rid themselves of Macedonian control but Antigonos Dason's victory over the Aitolians seems to have forced the Triikkaians back under the Macedonians until Flamininus.⁶⁵⁴

Triikka continued to thrive as one of Thessaly's most important cities even in the Late Antique and Byzantine periods, during which it became an important episcopal seat.

History of Archaeological Research:

The earliest excavations at Trikala were carried out by the German Archaeological Institute led by Ziehen in the late 19th c., with a specific goal of identifying the famous *asklepieion*.⁶⁵⁵ He identified architectural fragments, primarily from the Roman period, and made some guesses concerning the location of the *asklepieion* but did not uncover enough evidence to identify it.

Kastriotis began excavations around the city of Trikala in 1902, with one of its main goals being to discover the location of the city's famous *asklepieion*, claimed by the ancient Triikkaians to be the oldest in the world.⁶⁵⁶ His excavations largely turned up Hellenistic and Roman remains, including a large stoa complex at Sarafi street. Excavations were continued in the city during the late 1950s and 1960s by Theocharis, exposing more Hellenistic and Roman areas of the city.⁶⁵⁷ In more recent decades, the archaeological work in the city has been carried out by the Ephorate of Antiquities at Trikala, which was under the 34th Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities at the time. Prior to 2012, the responsibility for archaeological work at Trikala belonged to the Ephorate at Karditsa, and prior to the Karditsa Ephorate's creation in 2004, archaeological work was administered by the Larisa Ephorate.

Cult Sites

(4.2A) Stefanou Sarafi 30

GPS Coordinates: 39.55644, 21.76472

Deities: Asklepios

Periods: Hellenistic to Roman

⁶⁵³ Polyæn. 4.2.18-19; Arr. *Anab.* 1.7.5; Diod. Sic. 18.11.1.

⁶⁵⁴ Dasios and Nikolaou 2012: 50.

⁶⁵⁵ Kastriotis 1903.

⁶⁵⁶ Strab. 9.5.17.

⁶⁵⁷ *IIAE* 1958: 64-80; *AA* 1960: 169; *AA* 1966 247-249.

Topography: The site was located within the confines of ancient Trikka 120 m north of the Lethaios River and 170 m southeast of the city's acropolis.

History of Archaeological Work:

The complex was first excavated by Kastriotis in 1902 and then again by Theocharis in the 1950s and 1960s. From then until the current period, other archaeological activities have consisted primarily of rescue excavations.

Archaeological Remains:⁶⁵⁸

Kastriotis' excavations to the east of the church of Ag. Nikolaos on Sarafi street, as well as Theocharis' later excavations, yielded a Late Hellenistic stoa, a building with a mosaic floor, a Roman bath complex, and a Byzantine church. It is only the stoa and the mosaic building that will be described in this section.

The Late Hellenistic stoa was found in the centre of the site and Kastriotis excavated its northern and western sides as well as a gravel floor layer from a courtyard. This courtyard was surrounded by stoas on at least two sides. The stoa building would have been constructed in the first half of the 1st c. BC and had ceased to be in use by the

end of the 3rd c. AD, since the southern part of the courtyard had been destroyed by a Roman bath at that time.

The building with the mosaic floor (Building A) was excavated to the northwest of the stoa building. It seems to have had a 1st c. BC phase, during which the building had an isodomic floor, as well as a second phase dating to the end of the 3rd c. AD, when the floor was covered with a mosaic. The mosaic from the latter phase, depicted two scenes: one depicting the mythical king Lykourgos raising an axe to strike the nymph Ambrosia, and the other depicting a Dionysian scene.

Previous Interpretations:

Even before the site on Sarafi Street was excavated, explorers and archaeologists have been preoccupied with finding the famous *asklepieion* of Trikka, a fact which has guided the interpretations of sites excavated in the city. Kastriotis was the first to interpret the site as the *asklepieion*, identifying the mosaic building's Hellenistic phase as an *abatou* for the *asklepieion*.⁶⁵⁹ Arvanitopoulos was the first to express his doubts in 1915 concerning the interpretation of the site excavated by Kastriotis as an *asklepieion*, being of the

⁶⁵⁸ Kastriotis 1903; *AE* 1918: 66-73. *ΠΑΕ* 1958: 64-80; *AD* 1960: 169; *ΑΔ* 1966 247-249.

⁶⁵⁹ Kastriotis 1903: 27.

opinion that one of the walls excavated belonged to a tower or retaining wall. Several years later, in 1918, Kastriotis changed his opinion and preferred the courtyard of a Mr. Zournatzis' house for the location of the *asklepieion*.⁶⁶⁰ Theocharis' excavations were able to verify that the buildings dating to the Roman period at Sarafi Street belonged to a bath complex. He further identified the Hellenistic stoa as a part of the gymnasium of Ancient Trikka.

Tziafalias more recently defended the identification of the site as an *asklepieion*, arguing that recreational facilities are common features in larger *asklepieia*, such as at Epidauros.⁶⁶¹ He proposes that the later Roman bath complex was a direct continuation of the activities of the Hellenistic *asklepieion* as cleansing would have been a part of the activities of a healing sanctuary.⁶⁶² He is optimistic that future systematic excavations will clarify the nature of the site as a sanctuary. Mili, however, disbelieves the identification as an *asklepieion* due to the lack of any demonstrable evidence that this particular site served as a sanctuary to Asklepios and does not include the site in her catalogue of

Thessalian sanctuaries.

Like Mili, I would prefer to be cautious in my identification of the site. There does not seem to be any conclusive evidence of the site as a sanctuary to Asklepios. In Tziafalias' evaluation of the site as an *asklepieion*, he asks what features we should expect for a sanctuary of Asklepios and lists things one would find at other large *asklepieia*, such as temples, *abata*, tholoi, guest-houses, residences for priests, and recreational facilities. I would caution, however, that, as in the case of many sanctuaries in Thessaly, this might not at all have been the case. A site claiming to be the world's oldest *asklepieion* could have presented itself in an archaising or minimalizing manner rather than through the building of extravagant structures. I do not, however, preclude the possibility that the site could also have chosen the extravagant route. I do agree with Tziafalias that more systematic excavations throughout Trikala are needed to better understand not just the location of the famous sanctuary but also the layout and chronology of the city.

(4.2B) Kristalli and Matarangiotou (οδοί

⁶⁶⁰ *AE* 1918: 66-73.

⁶⁶¹ Tziafalias 1988: 171-218.

⁶⁶² Tziafalias 1988: 196-201.

Κρυστάλλη και Ματαραγκιώτου)

GPS Coordinates: 39.56141, 21.76697

Deities: Hermes

Periods: Hellenistic and Roman

Topography: The site was located in the easternmost border of ancient Trikka. I suggest that it must have been located near a city gate due to the liminal nature of the deity and probably near a road. Its overall visibility is variable on the location of the city walls

History of Archaeological Research:⁶⁶³

Architectural remains were found on Kristalli Street during dirt removal for the construction of a four-story building in the property of V. and O. Kalliagras, leading to rescue excavations of the site in 2004. In the same year, rescue excavations were carried out a few blocks north (Matarangiotou and Dragoumi), revealing a series of walls perhaps connected to the fortification systems of the city.

Archaeological Remains:⁶⁶⁴

Two walls made of local green sandstone and forming a corner with each other were found in the property. The first wall was oriented N-S parallel to Kristalli road (preserved at 12.20 m long, at a height of one

course of blocks). The southern part of this wall had been destroyed during construction of the modern building. The second wall, oriented E-W forms a corner with the other wall and continues under the foundations of the modern building.

The small finds include bronze coins (one Thessalian League), and Hellenistic and Roman ceramics (red ware and black gloss ceramics, and *terra sigillata*). The most significant category of finds were the large number of terracotta relief plaques depicting a male figure with a winged *petasos*, a turtle shell, and a *kyrekeion*.

Previous Interpretations:

In the initial excavation report, Chatziangelakis interpreted the site, firstly, as a public building, and secondly, as a sanctuary to Hermes, demonstrated by the number of plaques depicting the god and his undeniable symbols. If his interpretation is correct, this is the first sanctuary to Hermes discovered in Western Thessaly. The finds also date to the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods but nothing more precise than that.

The building is probably correctly identified as having been designated for the cult of Hermes but that is unfortunately as

⁶⁶³ AA 2001-2004: 586-587.

⁶⁶⁴ AA 2001-2004: 586-587. Chatziangelakis and Tselios 2009: 475 summarizes the recent

archaeological work conducted throughout Trikala, including the remains at Kristalli Street.

much as we know about the site. I would caution that it is premature to call the building a temple belonging to a *temenos* since we do not know that it was a *naos* meant to house the *agalma* of the deity.

4.3. PELINNA

Location: Site of Palaiogardiki

(Παλαιογαρδίκι) near the village of Petroporos (Πετρόπορος Τρικάλων)

Identification with Ancient Site: Probably Palaiogardiki.

Site Description and History:⁶⁶⁵

Pelinna or Pelinnaion, one of the largest cities of Western Thessaly, sits scenically atop a doline or natural sinkhole called Zourpapa (350 m in diameter, 185 m high, 100 m deep at the bottom of the crater), which provided the site with a natural fortification on one side. It lay strategically on the right bank of the Peneus river, south of which the Lethaios river joined the Peneus, commanding a pass to the north as well as to east. Pelinna was located in the mid-point between Triikka and the city of Pharkadon, another major Western Thessalian city, placing Pelinna on an important route.

The earliest evidence for habitation

appears in the Bronze Age during which there is evidence for architectural and funerary remains dating to the Mid-Helladic and Mycenaean periods. The acropolis seems to have been fortified in the 5th c. BC with a polygonal wall which ran for 1,630 m, while the lower city was encircled with a separate isodomic fortification wall (2,600 m, enclosing 59 ha) punctuated by many towers and three gates (dating to the second half of the 4th c. BC). The lower city seems to have been arranged with a regular grid plan dating to the 4th c. BC, where visitors and archaeologists have previously observed numerous structures such as a possible theatre, what seems to have been a temple complex, stoas, and cisterns. The part of the lower city that lies on the hill is better preserved than the part on the plain since the latter is heavily ploughed. Since much of the site is not thoroughly surveyed or excavated, we do not yet know the dating of many of these structures. The necropolis was located in the area of the village of Petroporos, where a large tumulus containing a Macedonian-like chamber tomb was found. The burial contained a female buried with a neonate and golden

⁶⁶⁵ Verdelis 1953-54: 189-199; Miller 1979: 25-51, 57-67; Tziafalias 1992: 87-138; *AA* 52 (1997): 512 – 522; Karapanou and Katakouta 2004: 111-126.

lamellae.⁶⁶⁶

Although a very prominent Thessalian *polis*, it is historically not well known to us. The little evidence we have, however, points to a city very much involved in Thessalian affairs. Pelinna was incorrectly placed by Stephanus of Byzantium and Pseudo-Skylax in Phthiotis (geographically impossible), which Strabo more correctly places in Hestiaiotes.⁶⁶⁷ In the 5th c. BC when a monetary union seemingly dominated by Larisa began to emerge in Thessaly, Pelinna minted symbols similar to those minted by this union (which included Pherai, Pharkadon, Krannon, Skotoussa, Triikka) on the same standard.⁶⁶⁸

During the 4th c., Pelinnaians are mentioned in Delphic inscriptions as having served in the Amphiktyony, like many other Thessalian cities.⁶⁶⁹ Pelinna also seems to have fought a war against Pharsalos in the 350s in which Philip II interfered.⁶⁷⁰ When Pharkadon was destroyed by Philip after a siege, Pelinna became an even more prominent city of Western Thessaly with Macedon's support. After Philip's death and throughout the Hellenistic period, Pelinna

takes a decidedly pro-Macedonian stance. Pelinna did not take part in the Greek revolt against Alexander nor the anti-Macedonian alliance after Alexander's death in the Lamian War.⁶⁷¹ Interestingly, the coins minted by Pelinna in the 3rd and 2nd c. no longer connected itself with the Larisaian monetary union but rather expressed its own local symbols, such as the oracle Manetho and symbols of Dionysos.⁶⁷² After the Romans gained control of Thessaly in 196, Pelinna was taken by the Athamanians, who were allied with Antiochos III of Pergamon, in 191 BC, only to be retaken by the Roman general M. Acilius in the same year.

The city seems to have started to decline after the 2nd c. BC with the loss of its favoured position and the city almost never features in any epigraphic or historical mentions. It becomes an important city once more in the Byzantine period, during which it acquires the name Gardiki, which comes from the Old Slavic word for settlement or village, and becomes an episcopal seat. The last historical mention of the city occurs in 1371.⁶⁷³

⁶⁶⁶ Stamatopoulou 1999 vol. 2: 39-40. Decourt *et al.* 2004:

⁶⁶⁷ Steph. Byz. s.v. Πέλινα.

⁶⁶⁸ Kraay 1976: 115-116.

⁶⁶⁹ CID II 24.1.13.

⁶⁷⁰ Polyæn. 4.2.19.

⁶⁷¹ Diod. 18.11.1.

⁶⁷² Tziafalias 1992: 136-137.

⁶⁷³ Dasios and Nikolaou 2012: 54-55.

History of Archaeological Research:

Palaiogardiki was explored by Stählin in the early 1900s.⁶⁷⁴ In 1906, Arvanitopoulos conducted excavations in the area, notably locating a large tumulus along the modern road. This tumulus contained a Macedonian-style burial.⁶⁷⁵ The fortified city itself, however, has not been systematically excavated. All excavations conducted afterwards have all been conducted under the archaeological authority at the time, first under the 15th Ephorate, then the 34th Ephorate, and now the Ephorate of Antiquities at Trikala. Their excavations have focused on the necropolis of Pelinna in the fields to the south, which has yielded interesting finds such as a tumulus containing a male burial in a large bronze pyxis as well as a sarcophagus containing a female burial accompanied by a neonate and Bacchic lamellae. They also excavated a monumental gateway excavated in the lower city.⁶⁷⁶

GPS Coordinates: 39.57388, 21.92368

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Undated. Hellenistic?

Topography:

The site of the supposed temple complex lies

on a raised area in the western side of the lower city and thus would have been very visible if Stählin's measurements of the building and its *peribolos* are to be believed. The fact that it was built on a raised area indicates that it was intended to be seen, and, given that it was located only 200 m away from the western wall and the western gate, it was likely easily accessed by one of the urban streets.

Archaeological Remains:⁶⁷⁷

Since the site of Pelinna has not yet been systematically investigated, I treat all possible sanctuaries of Pelinna here in this sub-section.

(1) Stählin describes a rectangular building (8 x 14 m), bipartite in the interior, and placed in the centre of a rectangular *peribolos* (30 x 40 m) that was destroyed on the north side. The southern side of the site contained a long stoa building (40 x 60 m) divided into two short outer rooms and a long inner room. Within the precinct was found a relief of Asklepios and figurines with Dionysiac overtones.

(2) There are further ruins just above this complex on the hill, one of which was a small rectangular foundation.

⁶⁷⁴ Stählin 1924: 117; 1937: 327-338.

⁶⁷⁵

⁶⁷⁶ For a good overview of the archaeological work at Pelinna, see Vambouli *et al.* 2009: 453-470.

⁶⁷⁷ Stählin 1937: 327-338.

(3) There is a third set of foundations 110 m southwest of the theatre, consisting only of rectangular, stone foundations for which Stählin does not give measurements.

Previous Interpretations:

Since only Stählin has studied and recorded these remains, his is so far the only interpretation of the remains. He tentatively interpreted the bipartite building set within a *peribolos* as a possible temple. A temple building occupying a central place within a *peribolos* does indeed seem to indicate a sanctuary (cf. the sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia at Demetrias set within the centre of a rectangular *peribolos*; see DEMETRIAS, Sacred Agora, this chapter). Having a stoa line the edges of the *peribolos* is also reminiscent of a Hellenistic sanctuary. The presence of a relief to Asklepios and Dionysiac figurines would also lend credibility to Stählin's interpretation and could perhaps identify the deities worshipped at one of the sanctuaries but I hesitate to make any conclusions as the material only appears in Stählin's less-than-cursory description.

Stählin further identifies two rectangular buildings as possible temples but his guess is as good as anyone's since the two structures are not studied.

4.4. AGIA TRIADA

Location:

The site of Dovres or Raches (Ντόβρες/Ράχες) near Agia Triada (Αγία Τριάδα Καρδίτσας)

Identification with Ancient Site:

Not associated with nor close to any major settlements.

History of Archaeological Research:

During the construction of the E65 Highway through Thessaly in the 2010s, the discovery of ancient remains at this site prompted rescue excavations. The results of the excavations were subsequently presented at the AETHSE conferences in 2012 and 2015.

GPS Coordinates: 39.46537, 21.92686

Deities: Demeter?

Periods: Archaic and Classical

Topography: The site lies in the middle of the Western Thessalian Plain and is thus on very flat terrain. The area would have been rural and isolated from even moderately populated centres and would still have been some distance away from any road connecting Triikka and Metropolis, although road networks in this part of Thessaly are not exactly well understood.

Archaeological Remains:⁶⁷⁸

The only architectural features from the site consist of a single-roomed, square structure (2.10 x 2.50), oriented N-S. The structure was built on top of a thick pebble layer and the fill of the floor contained traces of burning.

The small finds, however, were abundant in comparison. The ceramics comprise the bulk of assemblage. Although the majority of the vessels are locally produced, many of them are attempted imitations of imported vessels. These were found in the same stratigraphic layers as Archaic and Classical ceramics from Attica (e.g. one Sophilos pyxis inscribed “[ΕΓΡΑ]ΦΣΕΝ”) and other major Greek centres such as Corinth (e.g. kotyle depicting dogs) and Ionia. Forms included skyphoi, kotylai, kylikes, lekanai, column kraters, oinochoai, and pyxides. The second category of finds from the site were terracotta figurines, of which fragments of seated and standing female figurines were found inside the square structure.

The site was found in the vicinity of a contemporaneous cemetery.

Previous Interpretations:

The site, as presented by excavators Lefki Theogianni and Maria Panagou at the 5th AETHSE, has been interpreted as a rural sanctuary since the finds are typical of many similar sites. They further suggest that its proximity to a cemetery and traces of burning in the square structure would indicate that this was a sanctuary that was chthonic in nature. My opinion on such sanctuaries and the usefulness of such a categorisation has been stated elsewhere in this chapter. I find it almost certain that this site was a sanctuary given its similarities to other sanctuaries in Thessaly (on the Pharsalos acropolis, Ambelia, Anavra, Karpochori, etc.) listed in this chapter, particularly those found in rural areas throughout Western Thessaly. The concern of the sanctuary seems to have been largely agricultural and the nature of the figurines would indicate that a female agricultural deity was worshipped, but I hesitate to identify this deity as specifically Demeter because of the diverse number of other female agricultural deities from which we could choose, as well as the fact that the sanctuary need not have belonged to a single deity at all.

⁶⁷⁸ AΔ 2010: 1134-1136; Theogianni and Panagou 2020: 449-459. Finds also published in several newspapers: <https://www.makthes.gr/o->

[aytokinitodromos-apokalypse-archaia-185647](https://www.makthes.gr/o-aytokinitodromos-apokalypse-archaia-185647) (accessed 5 March 2019).

4.5. LONGOS

Location: The site of Touloumbes (Τουλούμπες) near Longos in the vicinity of Trikala (Λόγγος Τρικάλων)⁶⁷⁹

Identification with Ancient Site:

The closest major settlement is Triikka, roughly 6 km away.

History of Archaeological Research:⁶⁸⁰

During the construction of the E65 Highway through Thessaly in the 2010s, the discovery of ancient remains at this site prompted rescue excavations, which have so far only been cursorily mentioned in publications by the Ephorate.

GPS Coordinates: 39.52966, 21.82541

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Classical

Topography: The site lies in the Western Thessalian Plain on flat terrain near the Peneus River which lies to the south. It is roughly 9 km NW of the site at Agia Triada Karditsas.

Archaeological Remains:

The finds consist of a single deposit containing well-made ceramics, local and imported, such as black-gloss Attic wares, as well as bronze objects found in a layer of

earth with traces of burning. The ceramics all date to the end of the 5th c./ 4th c. BC.

Previous Interpretations:

The site has been identified as the votive deposit of a sanctuary by the excavators. The ceramics alone would not have been enough to identify the site as a sanctuary but the presence of bronze objects in burnt earth could indicate ritual activity; however, since a study of the finds has not yet been published, I would hesitate to make any secure conclusions.

Achaia Phthiotis

5.1. PHTHIOTIC THEBES (later PHILIPPOPOLIS)

Location: Mikrothives (Μικροθήβες Μαγνησίας), formerly Aketsi (Ακέτσι)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain.

Site Description and History:

The ancient site of Phthiotic Thebes was a fortified settlement on a volcanic hill on the northeastern edge of the Krokian Plain (modern plain of Almyros). The modern hill is called Kastro and lies above the town of Mikrothives, 4 km east of Nea Anchialos. The ancient *polis*⁶⁸¹ stood on the northeastern

⁶⁷⁹ <https://www.makthes.gr/o-aytokinitodromos-apokalypse-archaia-185647> (accessed 5 March 2019); Chatziangelakis 2012: 165.

⁶⁸⁰ AR 2012: 91; AA 2010: 1126-1128.

⁶⁸¹ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 717-718.

corner of the Krokian Plain, roughly 15 km south of Pherai in Pelasgiotis, 19 km southeast of Soros, and around 18 km north of Halos in Achaia Phthiotis. The city was strategically situated on the hilly range separating the Krokian Plain from the Thessalian Plains (specifically the territory of Pherai) and controlled an important route that provided access to the southern Pagasetic Gulf from the Thessalian Plains. In addition, the city had a substantial amounts of fertile plains in its vicinity, as well as a port at Pyrasos (modern Nea Anchialos) where some remains of the 4th c. BC harbour were still visible in Stählin's time.⁶⁸²

The acropolis, covering an area of 1.9 ha seems to have had a long history of occupation, having yielded Late Neolithic and Mycenaean remains.⁶⁸³ Early Iron Age sherds and Archaic votive offerings were also found in what has been identified as the temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis (see below). The remains on the Kastro reveal a fortified acropolis, a lower city that was divided into two adjacent areas enclosed by fortification walls, numerous buildings including a theatre (4th c. BC), stoas (4th – 3rd

c. BC), at least two sanctuaries (see below), and houses (pre-Hellenistic) on the western slope of the hill. The original nucleus of the city seems to have been the located on the western slope, which contained pre-4th c. remains. The fortification walls (isodomic stone socle with a mudbrick superstructure) of the city date to the 4th/3rd c. BC and run for about 2,400 m enclosing an area of 40 ha. The city had two necropoleis to the south and southeast of the city.⁶⁸⁴

Historically, the city of Phthiotic Thebes was created through the *synoikismos* of the settlement of Phylake (Homeric?) and Pyrasos.⁶⁸⁵ The name is often listed as Phthiotic Thebes, or Thebes of the Achaians, in order to distinguish it from Boiotian Thebes.⁶⁸⁶ The monumentalisation of the Phthiotic Thebes' fortification walls coincides with Pherai's loss of its port city of Pagasai, which had been given to the Magnesians and had become a Macedonian harbour. The Pheraians, and all the rest of the Thessalians, began to rely on the harbour at Pyrasos as their primary port at this time, a port controlled by Phthiotic Thebes. This city began to mint its own coins in 302 BC,

⁶⁸² Stählin 1924: 171-172.

⁶⁸³ Leekley and Efstratiou 1980: 156.

⁶⁸⁴ Stamatopoulou 1999: 3; Stählin 1924: 173; Decourt *et al.* 2004: 717; *AA* 47 (1992): 222-225.

⁶⁸⁵ For the *synoikismos*, see Boehm 2011 and 2019. For Pyrasos, see Decourt *et al.* 2004: 716.

⁶⁸⁶ Diod. Sic. 26.9; Strab 9.5.6.

depicting the figure of the Trojan hero Protesilaos, king of Phylake. In 217 BC, Philip V of Macedon destroyed Phthiotic Thebes and sold its inhabitants into slavery, resettling it with Macedonian inhabitants under the name Philippopolis.⁶⁸⁷

The creation of Demetrias naturally created competition with the harbour of Phthiotic Thebes and so the Macedonians required Thessalian merchants to use the port of Demetrias exclusively, after which Demetrias flourished economically and Phthiotic Thebes declined.⁶⁸⁸ When Strabo visited the area in the 1st c. AD, he mentions that Phthiotic Thebes was formerly a city with a good harbour, but by then its harbour was in ruins (“κατεσκαμμένος”).⁶⁸⁹ The city would again flourish under the Romans in the 2nd c. AD, during which the city expands beyond its walls. An Early Christian church would be built on the acropolis in the 5th c. AD, but the core of the city would now be at Pyrasos (renamed Nea Anchialos) rather than the acropolis.⁶⁹⁰

Overview of Archaeological Research:

The site of Kastro at Mikrothives was first

identified as Phthiotic Thebes by Leake.⁶⁹¹ It was first excavated by Arvanitopoulos in the early 20th century and then more recently excavated by the 13th Ephorate under Adrimi-Sismani.⁶⁹²

Cult Sites

(5.1A) Acropolis

GPS Coordinates: 39.27322, 22.76219

Deities: Athena Polias

Periods: Archaic to Roman

Topography:

The site is located at the highest point on the acropolis at its northern end. The temple was likely highly visible because of its location.

History of Archaeological Work:⁶⁹³

The temple, specifically, was documented by Arvanitopoulos. He never excavated the sanctuary site nor did he fully publish all his findings. Stamatopoulou has since been studying the archaeological and archival material from Arvanitopoulos' excavations.

Archaeological Remains:⁶⁹⁴

Although Arvanitopoulos excavated an abundant amount of earlier finds from the Mycenaean to the Archaic periods in the

⁶⁸⁷ Livy 32.33.

⁶⁸⁸ Livy 29.25.

⁶⁸⁹ Strab. 9.14.

⁶⁹⁰ Dina 2009: 423-429.

⁶⁹¹ *ΠΑΕ* 1907: 171-172 και *ΠΑΕ* 1908: 163; Theocharis and Hourmouziadis 1970; *ΠΑΕ* 1972: 356. *ΑΔ* 29 (1973-1974): 547; *ΑΔ* 1977: 126-129.

⁶⁹² *ΑΔ* 46 (1991): 208-210; *ΑΔ* 47 (1992): 222-229; Adrimi-Sismani 1997: 121-135.

⁶⁹³ *ΠΑΕ* 1908: 163-193; *SEG* XXV: 643; *ΠΑΕ* 1907, 171-172, 175; Rogers 1932: 174-175, no. 550-552; Stamatopoulou 2012.

⁶⁹⁴ *ΠΑΕ* 1907: 166-9; *ΠΑΕ* 1908: 171-80; *ΑΔ* 49 (1994): 323-4.

deeper layers, more recent excavations by the Ephorate on the eastern part of the site suggest that cult seems to have started at the site in the Late Archaic period (6th c. BC).⁶⁹⁵ The Archaic finds included bronze fibulae, rings, pendants, jewellery, clay figurines of birds, fruits, utensils, a terracotta figurine of a helmeted Athena, relief plaques, and Corinthian pottery. The pottery from the site dates largely to the 6th/5th c. BC.⁶⁹⁶ An inscribed stele dating to the mid-5th c. BC was recovered from the site. The inscription states that two individuals named Peisias and Epithetas built the temple during the archonship of Chabios and Pyrgon.⁶⁹⁷

The most significant remains belong to a 4th c. building which measures 9.36 m x 11.45 m, which was probably *distyle in antis*. It had a stone socle and a mudbrick superstructure, which was plastered. The architrave, pediments, and the framing of the roof were made of wood. Some of the roof tiles were inscribed π]ολι[άς. This building seems to have been copying the plan of two earlier structures: one from the

5th c. BC and an earlier Archaic one, fragments of which were reused in the 4th c. building.⁶⁹⁸

Finds from the Classical period and later include black-gloss pottery from the 5th/4th c. BC, some of which were inscribed.⁶⁹⁹ There were also nine bases for statuettes, a small marble statue of Athena, and dedicatory inscriptions dating from the 4th c. to the 1st c. BC.⁷⁰⁰ Arvanitopoulos mentions that there were four statue bases reused in the 4th c. temple as well. The find which dates the latest is a marble head of Athena dating to the Roman period.

Previous Interpretations:

The form of the building and the nature of the finds easily identify this site as a sanctuary with a temple, and the numerous inscriptions to Athena Polias as well as the iconographic depictions of the deity leaves no room for doubt as to the deity worshipped.

(5.1B) Stroma

GPS Coordinates: 39.27111, 22.77052

Deities: Asklepios

⁶⁹⁵ *AA* 1994: 324.

⁶⁹⁶ Stamatopoulou, pers. comm.; she has located the pottery in the National Archaeological Museum and is in the process of publishing the finds from the sanctuary.

⁶⁹⁷ Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2000: 167.

⁶⁹⁸ Arvanitopoulos (*IAE* 1908: 176) only distinguished two phases but Adrimi-Sismani believes there were three (*AA* 1994: 324).

⁶⁹⁹ *IAE* 1908: 178. There were bases for small statues, marble statuettes, one of which was an Athena, fragments of marble dedicatory *stelai* containing inscriptions dating from the 4th to the 1st c. BC

⁷⁰⁰ *IG IX²* 1322: a 4th c. inscribed pillar dedicated by the *archeskopoi* to Athena Polias; stray find from the western part of the city but was probably dedicated on the acropolis.

Periods: Classical to Hellenistic

Topography: The site so-called “Stroma” is located outside of the western walls of the city near the acropolis. It was placed on a downward slope to the south.

History of Archaeological Work:

In 1960, Theocharis reported statuary and other small finds that led him to believe in the existence of an Asklepieion at the site.⁷⁰¹ Adrimi-Sismani continued to excavate the site in the early 1990s.⁷⁰²

Archaeological Remains:

The main structure consists of an east-facing small building with a front porch (1.8 x 5 m) and a main room (5 x 5). Only the foundations survive, as well as the building’s roof tiles. The north and west sides of the main room had a bench running along them; the south side is poorly preserved (which does not preclude the existence of another bench). The debris from the south side yielded an inscription reading [Ἀσ]κληπιῶ. A few metres east of the building was an orthogonal foundation (1.22 x 2.75 m). Outside, a stone peribolos enclosed the building.⁷⁰³

Found within the temple were many fragments of marble statues, such as the

torso of a marble Asklepios, as well as a head of Asklepios, the heads of a girl and an ephebe, a headless Aphrodite with Eros, and human limbs. There were also terracotta figurines, pottery, *astragaloi*, and 4th c. coins, (Alexander III, Larisa, Thebes, Malia, Histiaia, and the Thessalian League) indicating that the use of the temple straddled the Classical and Hellenistic periods.⁷⁰⁴

Previous Interpretations:

The form of the building is typical of a temple with a *naos* and *pronaos*, and the nature of the votive statuary and the explicit inscription to Asklepios are indicative of an *asklepieion*. Adrimi-Sismani interpreted the foundations in front of the building as a base for a cult statue but one would expect such a structure to be more appropriate for an altar, given its position in front a temple. The report does not mention cuttings for the feet of a statue on the foundations.⁷⁰⁵

(5.1C) Nea Anchialos (anc. Pyrasos)

GPS Coordinates: 39.2688, 22.81718

Deities: Demeter

Periods: Classical?

Topography: Near the seashore, a temple would have been fairly visible from

⁷⁰¹ *AA* 16 (1960): 183.

⁷⁰² *AA* 46 (1991): 209-10.

⁷⁰³ *AA* 46 (1991): 209-10.

⁷⁰⁴ *AA* 16 (1960): 183; *AA* 46 (1991): 209-10.

⁷⁰⁵ *AA* 46 (1991): 209-10.

approaching ships. The ancient city itself would have been on a major coastal route and the fact that it is on Achaia Phthiotis' most important port while Phthiotic Thebes had possession of it.

History of Archaeological Work:

Arvanitopoulos excavated the port at Pyrasos during his explorations of Phthiotic Thebes and its surrounding region in the early 1900s,⁷⁰⁶ but was also explored by Leake and Stählin.⁷⁰⁷

Archaeological Remains:

Leake noted a site 5 minutes from the site of *Kokkina* where there are many stones and hewn blocks.⁷⁰⁸

Previous Interpretations:

Leake proposed that the stone collapse near *Kokkina* was the site of the famous Demetrium at Pyrasos. The identification is less than certain.

5.2. MELITAIA

Location: Modern Melitaia (Μελιταία)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain identification with ancient Melitaia/Meliteia.

Site Description and History:

Melitaia in an important *polis* in the foothills

of the Othrys on the edge of the plains north of the Othrys watered by the Europos and Enipeus rivers and was one of the largest cities in Achaia Phthiotis.⁷⁰⁹ The site was of strategic importance as it was placed on one of the two major roads connecting the Thessalian to Southern Greece (the other being the coastal route, controlled by Larisa Kremaste and Halos),⁷¹⁰ as well as two alternative inland routes connecting Thaumakoi, the Thessalian plain, NARTHAKION, and the Krokian plain.⁷¹¹

Strabo mentions that it was originally called Pyrrha,⁷¹² after the wife of Deucalion, who established his kingdom of Phthia here. The tomb of Hellen, he reports, was placed in the agora of the city. Antoninus Liberalis mentions that the name was changed to Melitaia after Meliteus, the son of Zeus and the nymph of the Othrys mountain (named Othrys), who was raised by bees in the Othrys to escape Hera's wrath.⁷¹³ The city is mentioned by Thucydides as a place through which Brasidas marched on his crossing to Macedonia in 424 BC.⁷¹⁴ Xenophon mentions that on Agesilaos' return from Asia Minor, he defeated the Thessalian cavalry near

⁷⁰⁶ *ΠΑΕ* 1908: 164-170.

⁷⁰⁷ Leake 1835 vol. 4: 366.

⁷⁰⁸ Leake 1835 vol. 4: 366.

⁷⁰⁹ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 315.

⁷¹⁰ Stählin, 2002: 269.

⁷¹¹ Karachristos 2007: 183, n. 10.

⁷¹² Strab. 9.5.6.24-34.

⁷¹³ Anton. Lib. 13.1.1-7.4

⁷¹⁴ Thuc. 4.78.

Melitaia in 323 BC.⁷¹⁵ Diodoros mentions that the Athenian allies, during the Lamian War in 322 BC, used Melitaia as a fortress.⁷¹⁶ Polybios notes that Philip V failed to take the city in 217 BC because of its high walls and steep slopes.⁷¹⁷

In the epigraphic record, Melitaia sent numerous *hieromnemes* to Delphi from the 4th to the 2nd c. BC for Achaia Phthiotis.⁷¹⁸ From 230-220 BC, Melitaia joined the Aitolian League and an Archippos of Melitaia became the secretary of that League.⁷¹⁹ At the end of the 3rd c. BC, Amyntander the king of Athamania donated 10 talents for the construction of its eastern gate, indicating the importance of the city's fortifications to other members of the Aitolian League.⁷²⁰ A border dispute with Peuma and Chalai is attested epigraphically, perhaps as a result of its alliance with the Aitolian League, in which it remained its membership until after Flamininus' reforms along with the western cities of Achaia Phthiotis until around 191-188 BC.⁷²¹ It resisted membership into the Thessalian

League even up to the 1st c. BC, during which it still maintained its own calendar.⁷²²

Archaeologically, the city is relatively well preserved. An enceinte of irregular rectangular blocks is visible for roughly 4 km,⁷²³ and it had an acropolis (180 m above the plain) from which the fortifications descended into the plain in a triangle. The walls further down the hill are flanked by ravines. A *diateichisma* divides the city to an upper and lower half. Buildings from the modern city seem to have been built on buildings from the ancient city (e.g. the churches of Ag. Triada and Ag. Georgios were both partly built on temple foundations). The total area of the city has been estimated at 462 km².⁷²⁴

Overview of Archaeological Research:

Stählin visited Melitaia in his travels but the area was largely unstudied until 1971 when the acropolis was excavated by Ioannidou (during which the so-called Asklepieion was identified).⁷²⁵ In 1992, in the property of Athanasios Kalamara, south of Agios Nikolaos, the Artemis Ennodia sanctuary

⁷¹⁵ Xen. *Hell.* 3.3.3-9.6.

⁷¹⁶ Diod. Sic. 18.15.1

⁷¹⁷ Polyb. 5.97.5.

⁷¹⁸ *CID* 2.32 (end of the 4th c. BC). *CID* 2.74 (337/336 BC). *CID* 2.76 (335 BC). *CID* 2.79A (334/333 BC). *CID* 2.82 (333/332 BC). *CID* 2.84 (332 BC). *CID* 2.86 (331 BC). *CID* 2.89 (329 BC). *CID* 2.92 (328 BC). *CID* 2.94 (327 BC).

⁷¹⁹ Grainger 1995:338-39.

⁷²⁰ *IG IX*² 208.

⁷²¹ *Syll*³ 546A (Delphi, 213 BC?). Grainger 1995: 339.

⁷²² *IG IX*² 206.

⁷²³ Stählin 1924: 162.

⁷²⁴ *RE* 1931 s.v. Meliteia.

⁷²⁵ Ioannidou 1972: 47-57.

was excavated and identified.⁷²⁶ The temple was not well published until Stavrogiannis studied the site and its finds thoroughly in his dissertation, in which he also gives an excellent introduction to the cults of the Othrys region.⁷²⁷ The Italian School further carried out significant surveys of the area of Melitaia.⁷²⁸

Cult Sites

(5.2A) Acropolis

GPS Coordinates: 39.03841, 22.45697

Deities: Asklepios.

Periods: Hellenistic to Roman

Topography:

The site was built on the acropolis and was in a structure connected to the fortification walls of the acropolis.

Archaeological Remains:

During the 1971 excavations, a stoa structure composed of nine subdivisions as well as two square structures were discovered. This stoa structure, however, is attached to the acropolis' fortification walls and seems almost like a tower rather than a stoa. The excavators found bronze fibulae, pins, rings, a horse-shaped pendant, and coins, all dating to the Hellenistic period. A 3rd c. inscription to Asklepios was also found

inscribed on a statue base.⁷²⁹ The architecture dates to the end of 4th c. BC and was in use until the Roman period.



Figure 24 - Site of the asklepieion on the Melitaia acropolis (taken 2016).

Previous Interpretations:

The votive nature of the finds indicated to the excavators that this was a sanctuary. The inscription to the statue base led them to believe that this was an Asklepieion complex. The stoa building was then thought to have been the *abatou* for *enkoimeteria*, strengthened, supposedly by the presence of exposed natural rock within the building. Furthermore, the inscriptions of the city attest to a cult of Asklepios in the city.⁷³⁰ The identification is dubious for several reasons. An inscription to Asklepios would not be out of place in a sanctuary that was not an Asklepieion. The finds, furthermore, are not

⁷²⁶ Dakoronia 2001: 403-410.

⁷²⁷ Stavrogiannis 2014.

⁷²⁸ Cantarelli 2008.

⁷²⁹ Ioannidou 1972.

⁷³⁰ Stavrogiannis 2010: 587.

typical of a healing sanctuary (no votive body parts, no ex voto inscriptions), although it would not be the first time that Thessaly diverged from sanctuary norms.

(5.2B) Agios Nikolaos

GPS Coordinates: 39.04402, 22.45205

Deities: Artemis Ennodia

Periods: Classical and Hellenistic

Topography:

The sanctuary was built in the lower city of Melitaia outside of the city walls. The area would have been more easily accessible being on the foot of the acropolis, especially since it was near a city gate. The position of Melitaia on a major road artery would then make the sanctuary strategically located.

Archaeological Remains:⁷³¹

The main structure was a small building (8.70 x 4.70 m) facing northeast consisting of a *naos* and *pronaos* and a foundation of unworked stones. None of the superstructure survives apart from its Laconian roof tiles. The altar was located not in front of the temple but in front of the east long wall. This altar contained traces of burning and animal bones. The building had two phases, one dating to the 5th c. and the other to the late 4th/early 3rd c. BC. It was

destroyed in the mid-1st c. BC.

A large number of finds were excavated in addition to the faunal remains near the altar: loomweights, spindle whorls, iron knives, *thymiateria*, terracotta figurines depicting women, parts of limestone and marble statues and statue bases (including a standing female with a torch). A 2nd c. statue base is inscribed with a dedication to Artemis Ennodia.



Figure 25 - The Ennodia temple at Melitaia (Stavrogiannis 2014).

Previous Interpretations:

The site is doubtless a sanctuary due to the nature of the finds and the form of the building is typical for a temple in this region. The terracotta figurines were identified as Artemis based on iconography but it was specifically identified by Dakoronia as Artemis Aspalis, a local syncretism of Artemis and the local heroine Aspalis who is attested epigraphically as having had a cult here.⁷³² The inscription to Ennodia, however, would indicate that it was not to

⁷³¹ The site and its finds, as well as the most up-to-date interpretations, have most recently been synthesised by Stavrogiannis 2020: 1001-1016.

⁷³² Dakoronia 2001: 403-410.

Aspalis that it was dedicated but to Artemis Ennodia, a syncretism of Artemis and the local Thessalian goddess.⁷³³ The identification is further backed by the specific iconography of the statue, as Ennodia as always depicted as a dadophoric deity. Scholars now prefer the site of Ag. Georgios as the sanctuary of Aspalis.

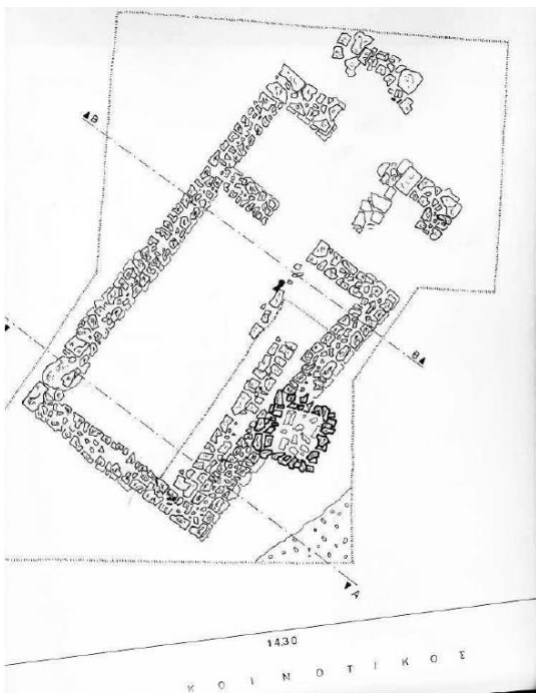


Figure 26 - Plan of the Ennodia temple at Melitaia (Stavrogiannis 2014).

(5.2C) Agios Georgios

GPS Coordinates: 39.03344, 22.46953

Deities: Zeus Othrieus or Aspalis?

Periods: Classical and Hellenistic (as early as Archaic)

Topography:

Ag. Georgios is located on a plateau of the

Othrys 2.7 km southeast of ancient Melitaia and has a nearby spring. A church stands on the site now. The area is not as easily accessible to the elevation of the plateau as well as its distance from the main settlement.

Archaeological Remains:

Close to the spring, numerous architectural members such as marble blocks and slabs as well as a limestone column were reused in the chapel. Fragments from 52 Hellenistic walls were also identified, few of which were from the Archaic period. Manumission inscriptions were also found on the site, one of which contain the word ΣΠΑΛΙΣΙΟΝ.⁷³⁴ A 2nd c. inscription mentioning the *chora* of the sanctuary of Zeus Othrieus was also found.

Previous Interpretations:

The Italians identified the area as a sanctuary based on the finds, but I would hazard caution as the reuse of spolia does not necessarily indicate the presence of a sanctuary on the spot. Cantarelli suggests that the site was a sanctuary of Aspalis as she reconstructs ΣΠΑΛΙΣΙΟΝ as Ἄσπαλίσιον (sanctuary of Aspalis).

5.3. KALLITHEA

Location: Kallithea, Municipality of Farsala (Καλλιθέα Φαρσάλων)

⁷³³ Mili 2015: 332.

⁷³⁴ IG IX² 206, 207.

Identification with Ancient Site: Probably to be identified with ancient Peuma (known epigraphically)

Site Description and History:

The site at Kallithea was built on a double-peaked hill, the higher of which stands 618 m above sea level, providing an excellent view of the surrounding region, straight east to the Pagasetic Gulf, straight north to Mount Olympos, south to nearby Othrys, whereas the west is blocked by outspurs of the Othrys. The hill, called Kastro, was surrounded by a lower enceinte which is still very visible today. The lower enceinte runs for 2.4 km, enclosing an area of 34 ha. punctuated at irregular intervals by approximately 39 towers. Two gates on the east and west provide access to the city. A *diateichisma* runs in a line from the north and south walls to the western acropolis as an additional line of defense, and the acropolis itself was enclosed by round fortification walls.⁷³⁵ The city's western acropolis contains several buildings, one of which may have belonged to a sanctuary. The agora is located on the saddle, while the

residential part of the city, laid out in an orthogonal grid plan, occupied the eastern part of the city.

The historical identification of the site is uncertain as no inscriptions that identify the site have been uncovered. It is perhaps the *polis* of Peuma, first proposed by Stählin (although earlier travellers proposed Koroneia), that is attested in inscriptions and numismatic evidence.⁷³⁶ One inscription is from Larisa and attests to the city ethnic of Πευμάτιος⁷³⁷ and two come from Delphi describing Peuma's territorial disputes with Melitaia and Chalai as well as Pereia and Phylliaddon.⁷³⁸ Peuma is attested as a *polis* into the 2nd c. BC. The earliest sign of habitation on the site comes from several EIA tholos tombs at the foot of the hill. There is, however, a lack of evidence for settlement in the Archaic period. The acropolis fortifications date to the Late Classical period and the fortification walls, as well as most of the finds, seem to date to the Hellenistic period.

Overview of Archaeological Research:⁷³⁹

The Kastro at Kallithea was first examined

⁷³⁵ See Haagsma *et al.* 2019, a recent guidebook of the site, for the most complete overview of the archaeological finds and site history to date; Tziafalias *et al.* 2006. Surtees 2012 is the publication of the survey of the hill from 2004-2006..

⁷³⁶ Rogers 1932: 11, no. 442-443; SNG 1982: 198.

⁷³⁷ IG IX² 519 1 (Larisa); Decourt 1995, 145-147 no. 131.

⁷³⁸ Ager 1996 n. 30 and n. 31.

⁷³⁹ Tziafalias *et al.* 2008: 224-231; Tziafalias *et al.* 2006: 1-135.

by Stählin with regards to its fortifications.⁷⁴⁰ After Stählin, the site was not studied until a Greek-Canadian team (the Kastro Kallithea Archaeological Project), co-directed by Sophia Karapanou and Margriet Haagsma, surveyed the hill from 2004 to 2006, identifying the layout of the city, and excavating the agora and a large domestic structure (Building 10) in the residential district on the eastern hill from 2007 to 2013. The material is currently in the process of study and publication and the staff of the project have begun a new survey of the region around the hill beginning in 2019 (the Central Achaia Phthiotis Survey).

Cult Sites

(5.3A) Agora Building 5

GPS Coordinates: 39.20082, 22.53268

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

Building 5 is located on the agora on the saddle, on which it is the northernmost structure, and would have been easily accessible being in the centre of the city. The visibility of the site, however, is dependent on the height of the building, which was located inside a walled square in the agora.

History of Archaeological Work:

The site was excavated in 2006 and 2007 by the Greek component of the *synergasia*.

Archaeological Remains:

The site consists of a building, labelled Building 5, which consisted of an enclosure (29.91 x 28.91 m) containing a courtyard space with an east-facing, small, square building (5.81 x 5.60 m) in the western part. The small building has a *naos* and a *pronaos* and an altar made of vertical limestone slabs was found in front of the entrance.



Figure 27 - 3D reconstruction of Building 5 at Kallithea by Ryan Lee (courtesy of the Kastro Kallithea Archaeological Project).

The walls are preserved to the height of their foundations and in some parts to their first row of blocks above floor level. In

⁷⁴⁰ Stählin 1914: 97; Stählin 1924: 165; Stählin 1938: 1399-1405; Kirsten 1940: 885-892; Decourt 1990: 87; Helly 2001: 244; Surtees 2012.

the interior, an extensive pile of stones was unearthed, under which was a destruction layer of brown clay soil containing a large quantity of roof tiles.

The *pronaos* contained iron nails, a coin, and a few sherds. The *naos* contained eight coins, fifteen iron nails, terracotta figurines, two *thymiateria*, a small black gloss vessel, lamp fragments, sherds of drinking vessels, pithos fragments and a small number of coarse ware sherds. In front of the entrance was an orthogonal marble block with three hemispherical protrusions, known elsewhere in Thessaly (Eretria, Pharsalos, Phthiotic Thebes, etc.). The finds date to the end of the 4th c. to the 3rd/2nd c. BC.

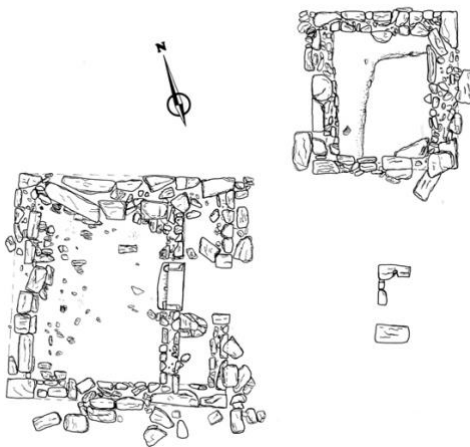


Figure 28 - Plan of Building 5 (courtesy of the Kastro Kallithea Archaeological Project).

Previous Interpretations:

⁷⁴¹ Stählin 1938: 1401-1402.

⁷⁴² *Supra* n. 709.

The identification of the site as a sanctuary is fairly secure due to the nature of the finds and the form of the building but nothing is currently indicative of the deity worshipped in the sanctuary (the figurines are currently too fragmentary and even then votive figurines are not necessarily indicative of the deity worshipped).

(5.3B) Acropolis Building 2

GPS Coordinates: 39.20107, 22.53153

Deities: Unknown

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site is located on the eastern part of the acropolis and depending on the height of the walls and the height of the building would have had a very wide viewshed, visible from a great distance.

History of Archaeological Work:⁷⁴¹

Stählin was first to note the building but it was better documented during the Greek-Canadian survey of the *kastro*. It was never excavated.⁷⁴²

Archaeological Remains:

The survey of the acropolis studied a building identified by Stählin as a “small megaron-style building.”⁷⁴³ The survey

⁷⁴³ Stählin 1938: 1401-1402.

identified an east-facing building (6.55 x 5.44 m) with a tripartite layout.⁷⁴⁴ Immediately adjacent to the west of Acropolis Building 2 is a circular hole, 2 m in diameter, lined with small irregular stones, probably a well or a cistern. The building dates to the late 4th c. BC.

Previous Interpretations:

The layout of the building led the Greek-Canadian team to identify it as a sanctuary but it has not yet been verified by excavation. The open space around the building may have been reserved for religious functions. Its location may have been part of symbolic importance of the acropolis.⁷⁴⁵

5.4. PROERNA

Location: Neo Monastiri (Νέο Μοναστήρι Φθιώτιδας)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain.

Site Description and History:

Proerna is located on the very northwest of Achaia Phthiotis bordering the Thessalian plains, built on two rocky spurs (the Tapsi and the Gynaikokastro) of the Narthakion mountain range. It lay on a very important junction connecting the western part of the

Othrys and Thaumakoi with ancient Pharsalos and the rest of the Thessalian plain.⁷⁴⁶ Some scholars have argued that Proerna belonged to Thessaly, in the tetrad of Phthiotis⁷⁴⁷ while others believe that it belonged to Achaia Phthiotis⁷⁴⁸

The earliest remains date to the EBA

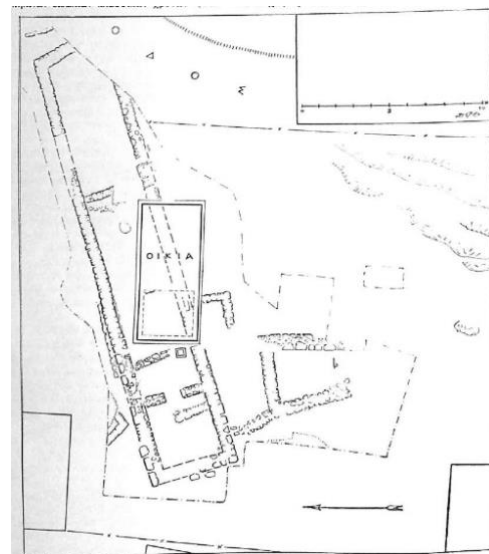


Figure 29 - Proerna sanctuary, excavated plan (Daux and de la Coste-Messelière 1924).

(3,300 – 2,100 BC) and occupation continues until the Roman period. Historically, however, the name Proerna appears only in the Roman period, first by Strabo and then by Livy.⁷⁴⁹ Several 5th c. inscriptions allude to the name of the city such as names with

⁷⁴⁴ Tziafalias *et al.* 2006, 115.

⁷⁴⁵ Surtees 2012: 137.

⁷⁴⁶ Decourt and Mottas 1997: 311-354.

⁷⁴⁷ Dakoronia 2000: 15.

⁷⁴⁸ Strabo 9.5.10; Kip 1910: 70–71; Stählin 1924: 278-279.

⁷⁴⁹ Strab. 9.5.9.15-10.11; Livy 36.14.11.1-12.3.

the epithet Προέρνιος or Προέλνιος⁷⁵⁰ as well as a 2nd BC dedication to Δήμητρι τῆ ἐμ Προέρνῃ (Demeter in Proerna).⁷⁵¹



Figure 30 - Location of the Proerna sanctuary (taken 2014).

The city is better known archaeologically than historically and even then the city's extent is not fully known. Settlement began on the hill of Tapsi on which were found the earliest Bronze Age settlements. Settlement in the EIA is attested by the EIA tholos tomb (10th-9th c. BC) from the southern slope of Tapsi. An apsidal building was found dating to the 9th - 7th c. BC.⁷⁵² A settlement is attested for the Archaic period and two distinct settlement phases occur in the 5th and the 4th c. BC. Proerna yielded the most archaeological evidence for the 4th/3rd c. BC, during which the flat-topped hill of Gynaikokastro was

fortified.⁷⁵³

History of Archaeological Research

The site of the sanctuary was excavated by Theocharis in the 1965 and 1966; however, its extent was not fully excavated. Daffa-Nikonanou includes this site in her study of Thessalian *thesmophoria*.

GPS Coordinates: 39.23919, 22.27563

Deities: Demeter and Kore

Periods: Archaic to Hellenistic

Topography:

The site is located outside the walls of the the lower city of Proerna less than a kilometre from the *gynaikokastro* acropolis.

Archaeological Remains:

The site yielded an elongated rectangular building (30 x 6 m) with stone foundations dating to the 4th c. BC. The space was further subdivided into rooms. A substantial number of finds were excavated including three white marble torsos of a female statues wearing a chiton, a dedicatory stele to Demeter, a shrine-shaped stele, terracotta figurines and small protomes, animal figurines, and eleven clay plaques.⁷⁵⁴ Leventi has recently published one of the female statues, dating it to the late 4th/early 3rd c. BC

⁷⁵⁰ Decourt *et al.* 716; Kirsten 1940. Stählin 1932: 157-158; Daux and de la Coste-Messelière 1924: 355-359.

⁷⁵¹ *SEG* XLIX, 629.

⁷⁵² Froussou 2007.

⁷⁵³ Daux and de la Coste-Messelière 1924: 356-59; Stählin 1924: 157-58.

⁷⁵⁴ *AA* 20 (1955): 319-320.

on stylistic grounds and suggesting that it may have been a statue to Demeter comparing it to two late Classical/early Hellenistic statues of the goddess found at Kos and Aigina.⁷⁵⁵

The quantity of terracotta figurines was significant. Several anthropomorphic date to the Archaic period: twenty-three female figurines carrying hydriai, twenty-four standing females, seven kourtophobic in iconography, 56 protomai, 53 seated female figurines, five standing males, three reclining males, two seated males, and a Silenos. In addition, dating to the same period, were eight clay thrones, twenty-five birds, twelve cows, sixty horses, twenty-four riders, and one turtle. The Archaic pottery included 105 small hydriai, pieces of a kernos, depictions of female genitalia, and an oinochoe. Finds from the 5th and 4th centuries include two protomai of bearded males, four female heads, a pot with a fictile attachment representing a female figure, nine coins, a bronze vessel, a figurine of a deer, bronze rings, fibulae, a pin, and part of a disc.⁷⁵⁶ The complete extent of the sanctuary was not fully uncovered.

Previous Interpretations:

⁷⁵⁵ Leventi 2012: 371-378.

⁷⁵⁶ *AA* 20 (1955): 319-320.

⁷⁵⁷ *AA* 20 (1965): 319.

In 1965, before any of the buildings were excavated, the finds (statues, stelai, figurines, pottery) led Theocharis to interpret the site as a sanctuary.⁷⁵⁷ Excavations in the following year which exposed the architectural remains and even more votives led the excavators to conclude that the site was a sanctuary to Demeter, whose importance to the city is attested in Hellenistic inscriptions as well as on their coinage.⁷⁵⁸ The identification is further supported by inscriptions from within the site itself explicitly dedicated to Demeter.

Daffa-Nikonanou addresses the issue of the incompleteness of our knowledge of the sanctuary's spatial organisation by incorporating evidence (both literary and archaeological) from other known *thesmophoria*, such as the ones on Acrocorinth, in Attica, at Eretria, on Paros, and on Delos. She states very safely that the sanctuary would certainly have had at least one altar.⁷⁵⁹ She further argues against Thompson's notion that a *thesmophorion* would not necessarily have had a temple as the one on Delos is mentioned by inscriptions as having had a temple.

The long, narrow building, which was

⁷⁵⁸ Coins: Head, *HN*² 309; Rogers 1932 no. 534; *SNG* Cop. Thessaly 248.

⁷⁵⁹ Daffa-Nikonanou 1973: 48.

subdivided into several rooms and looked more like a stoa, was probably not, however, a temple. Daffa-Nikonanou also excludes the possibility that the building was a megaron (the place into which sacrificial pigs were deposited and from which their rotten carcasses were later exhumed). She proposes that the building served the need to roof a large crowd of people during the Thesmophoria. She cites passages from Aristophanes in which he states that women celebrating the Thesmophoria often erected tents for protection from the cold October nights as well as the hot days.

5.5. HALOS

Location: Sourpi Plain, Municipality of Almyros

Identification with Ancient Site: Secure identification with Halos

Site Description and History:⁷⁶⁰

A coastal city in Achaia Phthiotis by the Pagasetic Gulf on the southeastern corner of the Krokian Plain, the territory of Halos controlled the coastal route from Southern Greece to Northern Greece. It occupied not only all of the modern Sourpi plain but also a part of the Othrys mountain. The urban

centre of Classical Halos located at Magoula Plataniotiki is known from Herodotos as having had a sanctuary to Zeus Laphystios (still unidentified)⁷⁶¹ while the patron deity was Artemis Panachaia.⁷⁶² Halos was destroyed by Parmenion, a general of Philip II, its territory depopulated and handed over to Pharsalos in the 346.⁷⁶³ It was refounded in the Hellenistic period further west inland with its acropolis at Ag. Ilias probably under Demetrios Poliorketes but abandoned again in 265 after an earthquake.⁷⁶⁴

The territory in and around Halos was inhabited since the prehistoric period. Four Neolithic sites were surveyed in the 1990s: at Karatsadagli (5800 BC), Magoula Zerelia, and two sites at Almyros (5800-5400 BC). Another Middle Neolithic site was found in the Kamara area. An impressive Bronze Age monument was found in the northern part of the Plain of Almyros at the Aïdiniotiki Magoula, and three MBA sites are known in the Sourpi Plain: Magoula Sourpi, Kastrouli, and Magoula Pavlina. The EIA is attested by the tumuli in the Voulokaliva and more recent excavations by the 13th Ephorate revealed EIA and Archaic graves along the National Road.

⁷⁶⁰ Reinders 2014: 27-44.

⁷⁶¹ Hdt. 7.197.1.

⁷⁶² IG IX² add. 205.1.A.22, B.49.

⁷⁶³ Dem. 11.1; 19.39.

⁷⁶⁴ Reinders 2009.

History of Archaeological Research

The site of Classical Halos was investigated by Vollgraff, conducting small-scale excavations at Magoula Zerelia and found a fragment of a large building as well as black-gloss sherds.⁷⁶⁵ A Dutch team under Reinders conducted a survey in 1976 and 1977, which later shifted to small-scale excavations in order to obtain a plan. An archaeological survey and subsequent excavations were begun in 1990 at the Hellenic site of New Halos.⁷⁶⁶ A new Greek-Dutch-Canadian team (of which I am a member) conducted surveys at the Classical site at Magoula Plataniotiki and test-trenching from 2013-2014 and 2016-2017, and excavations commenced in 2018.⁷⁶⁷

GPS Coordinates: 39.14442, 22.82153

Deities: Demeter and Kore

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site is located on the upper city and would have provided a spectacular view of the plain to the east. The exact topography, however, is difficult to analyze as its original location has since been bulldozed for quarrying activity.

Archaeological Remains:⁷⁶⁸

A building (10.4 x 8 m) was discovered whose foundations were made of small local poros stones. It was divided by a wall into two equal parts and these rooms were further subdivided into two. The rearmost sub-room in the southern room yielded a double grave which had been looted and whose finds were scattered around the grave.

Finds included terracotta figurines (standing females, busts, female heads), a life-size ceramic, faceless female head, a marble female head and arm, a relief plaque, and pottery (many small hydriae, bowls, lekanai, a kantharos, a juglet, an unguentarium, and two *thymiateria*). The coins found indicate a date between 306 and 297 BC.

Previous Interpretations:⁷⁶⁹

It was originally interpreted and labelled as a “sepulchral building” but has since, on the basis of the finds, been suggested to be a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore, an interpretation supported by its bipartite

⁷⁶⁵ Vollgraff 1907-1908; Wace and Thompson 1911-1912, “Excavations at Halos,” *BSA* 18: 1-30.

⁷⁶⁶ Reinders 1988 and Reinders and Prummel 2003.

⁷⁶⁷ Agnousiotis *et al.* 2015: 301-310; Stissi *et al.* 2018, “The 2016 Test Trenches at Magoula

Plataniotiki (Classical Halos): Results of the Excavations and Some First Reflections,” presented in *ΑΕΘΣΕ* 6 (publication forthcoming).

⁷⁶⁸ Reinders 1988: 137-47.

⁷⁶⁹ Reinders 1988: 137-47; Reinders 2014: 39.

plan.⁷⁷⁰ The supposed double grave contained no skeletal remains and has been reinterpreted to have been perhaps a symbolic entrance to the underworld or a sacrificial table.

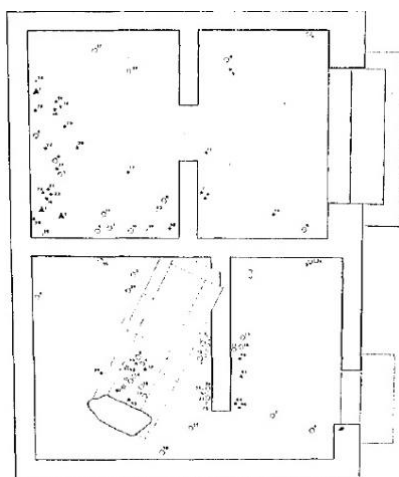


Figure 31 - The so-called "Sepulchral Building" at New Halos (Reinders and Prummel 2003).

5.6. KROUNIA

Location: Site of Krounia (Κρούνια) near the village of Achilleion (Αχίλλειο)

Identification with Ancient Site: Located in the vicinity of ancient Pteleon

History of Archaeological Research:

The site of the cave was identified and excavated as a rescue excavation in 1996 for less than three weeks under the aegis of the 13th Ephorate as well as the Ephorate of Palaeoanthropology and Speleology.⁷⁷¹

GPS Coordinates: 38.98062, 22.96376

⁷⁷⁰

⁷⁷¹ Agouridis *et al.* 2006.

Deities: The Nymphs

Periods: Hellenistic and Roman

Topography:

The cave is found in the southern tip of the *nomos* of Magnesia, 3-4 km from the village of Achilleion in the middle of the route from Achilleio to Glyfa and around 500 m from the borders of Nomos Fthiotidas. The cave itself is found on the southern slope of a low hill (187 m.) where a small platform was built. The access to the site is strange; it had an arched entrance (approx. 2 m tall, 1 m wide) with deep cuttings on the rock, which lead to a small antechamber (3 m long, 3 m wide, and a height of between half a metre to 2 m).

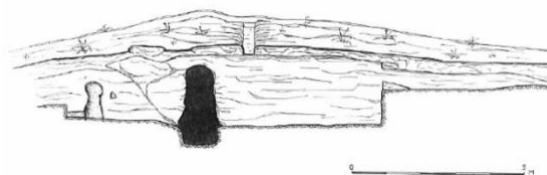


Figure 32 - View of the entrance to the Krounia cave showing the rock cuttings for the placement of the waterworks (Agouridis *et al.* 2006)..

Archaeological Remains:⁷⁷²

On the exterior of the cave, niches were cut into the rock possibly for the placement of lighting equipment or statues. Above the entrance of the cave, excavators uncovered three cisterns carved into the rock and a fourth one was found at a lower level

⁷⁷² *AA* 1996: 345-347

perhaps to collect the water that came from the other three. Above this cistern was the beginning of a clay pipe placed into a cutting on the rock for drainage.

There were abundant small finds from the site, which included lamps, loom weights, bone and metal objects such as nails, clumps of lead, iron daggers, hoops, and fragments of glass vessels. There were scattered building materials such as columns and corner blocks, that covered the site in front of the entrance, along with many roof tiles around the site and the area of the cisterns above the cave (perhaps had roofed areas). In addition, utilitarian ceramic fragments (largely amphorae but also cups and plates as well as pithos-like vessels and chytrai). There were also some animal bone and shell, stone adzes, and fragments of stone blades. There were no figurines found. The finds date the earliest phase of the cave to the 4th c. BC and are predominantly Hellenistic and Roman.

Previous Interpretations:

The cave at Krounia has been interpreted by the excavators as a cave sanctuary on the basis of similarities to other cave sites in Greece that have been demonstrated to be

nymphaea, such as the cave at Mieza in Naousa, where three caves carved into the rock were located near a spring.⁷⁷³ The Mieza cave had an entrance that was modified to have an arched lintel, carved entrance steps, and niches along the sides of the rock (possibly for statues).⁷⁷⁴ These features are common in cave sanctuaries, and the presence of waterworks by the cave has similarities to cults of the Nymphs, who had connections with water. Sporn comments that water reservoirs like the ones at Krounia were indeed common but were not exclusively connected to cultic activities.⁷⁷⁵

5.7. PHTHIOTIC ERETRIA

Location: Site east of the *kastró* above modern Eretria and Agios Charalambos (Ay. Χαράλαμπος)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain, on epigraphic grounds

Site Description and History:⁷⁷⁶

The site is located between the Krokian Plain and the Enipeus valley on a 651 m high hill, which was heavily fortified during the 4th c. BC. Its acropolis lies along the southern face of the hill which presents a steep, daunting

⁷⁷³ Agouridis *et al.* 2006: 252-255.

⁷⁷⁴ For the Mieza Cave, see *ΠΑΕ* 1966: 24-34; Romiopoulou 1997: 12-15; Hellmann 2006: 156.

⁷⁷⁵ Sporn 2013: 206.

⁷⁷⁶ The only extensive publication on the site's archaeological remains is Blum 1992.

cliff face to the road between Pharsalos and Demetrias. Its location along a major road and its proximity to Pharsalos, Kallithea, and Demetrias could indicate its significance.

Not much is known of Eretria prior to the Hellenistic period, during which it began to be urbanized. No ancient source refers to Eretria as a *polis* during this period (Strabo refers to it as a *katoikia*) until Late Antiquity.⁷⁷⁷ A prehistoric settlement is known at nearby Tsangli Magoula. From the 4th c. onwards, it became fitted with a lower enceinte encompassing a roughly rectangular area from the cliff face of the hill to the lower part of the city to the north. The acropolis was also enclosed in separate fortifications. A little further east, a probable sanctuary was located as well as a necropolis north of the city.⁷⁷⁸

History of Archaeological Research:

The site was visited by Stählin and identified with the city of Eretria but the site is still not yet well studied. The Larisa Ephorate and a German team under von Graeve conducted a survey of the hill and its surroundings between 1979 and 1980.⁷⁷⁹ No excavations had been conducted until 2018 by the Italian

Archaeological School; results of the ongoing excavations have yet to be published, although some preliminary results have been presented at conferences. I reserve further discussion on the site until more of the site has been studied and published.⁷⁸⁰

GPS Coordinates: 39.29063, 22.61184

Deities: Apollo?

Periods: Classical? and Hellenistic

Topography: The site is located east of the foot of the hill and would have been easily visible and accessible

Archaeological Remains:

Eretria had a sanctuary outside the walls on the bank of a little stream, in a small valley near the city, before the city gate to the east. Stählin and later Von Graeve found there the foundations of two buildings oriented exactly E-W, which were interpreted as a temple and a stoa. To this site also belonged a small rocky hill bearing 30 hemispherical protrusions carved onto the rock on horizontally arranged benches. Each protrusion measures between 10-30 m in diameter. They are often found in series and associated with rectangular mortises visibly carved to receive the tenon of the votive

⁷⁷⁷ Strab. 9.5.10.

⁷⁷⁸ Blum 1992: 203-8.

⁷⁷⁹ Blum 1992: 157; the results of the excavations were not published in the *AA*.

⁷⁸⁰ La Torre *et al.* 2018, "The Archaeological Profile of Skotoussa Four Years after the Start of the Italian-Greek Program," presented at *AEΘΣΕ* 6, Volos; the proceedings of the volume are awaiting publication.

stelai. At the same place were found two votive naiskoi sculpted directly on the rock.

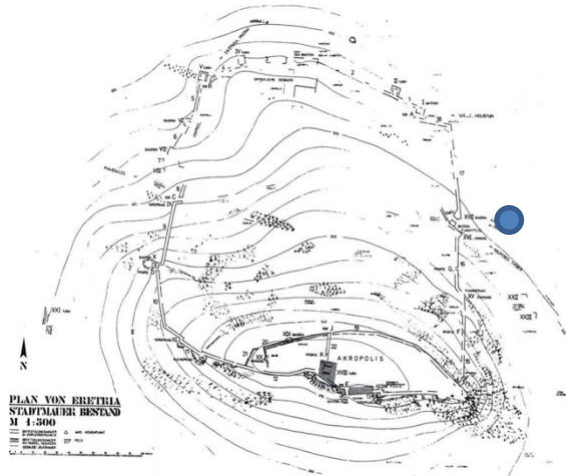


Figure 33 - Eretria site plan with the location of the sanctuary in blue (adapted from Blum 1992).

Previous Interpretations:

The site was identified by Blum as a sanctuary, interpreting the buildings to be a temple and a stoa.⁷⁸¹ Although the site has not yet been excavated, the cultic nature of the site is evident (the protrusions attested elsewhere, the cuttings for stelai, the *naiskoi*), but further excavations are needed to verify the use and nature of the site.

5.8 OTHER SANCTUARIES

The remains for several other sanctuaries have been tentatively identified in Achaia Phthiotis but are too incompletely studied and published (if at all) to warrant complete

entries in this catalogue and so I list them here with descriptions of their remains. Most were identified by Cantarelli's extensive surveys of the region. The identification of most as sanctuaries rely largely on conjecture based on the presence of potential temple buildings and/or altars.

(5.8A) Antinitsa Monastery⁷⁸²

GPS Coordinates: 38.9975, 22.402

Archaeological remains consisted of a statuette of Hygieia noted by Daux and de la Coste-Messelière, as well as a block with two hemispherical protrusions (photographed by the latter two authors, also mentioned by Stählin, now lost).⁷⁸³ These were found in the area of the current monastery, which is near the territories of ancient Xyniai, Ekkara, and Thaumakoi. An inscription found between Melitaia and Xyniai refers to a sanctuary of a male deity in the area and so the site the monastery have been conjectured as belonging to an *asklepieion*, based on the inscription (which does not mention Asklepios by name, only τὸ ἱερόν τοῦ [...]).⁷⁸⁴ It also assumes that an older cult site necessarily preceded the one currently in use there now.

⁷⁸¹ Blum 1992: 160.

⁷⁸² Riethmüller 2005: 273-274 n. 9.

⁷⁸³ Daux and de la Coste-Messelière 1924: 348; Stählin 1924: 189. For the block with protrusions,

see also, Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming, and Haagsma *et al.* 2019.

⁷⁸⁴ *Syll*³ 546 A, II. 10-11.

(5.8B) Keramochori⁷⁸⁵

GPS Coordinates: 39.02572, 22.48586

In an area near the spring at Keramochori, Cantarelli identified few remains of a structure in an area covered with sherds, but not enough to distinguish a building, which she conjectures may have belonged to a sacred building.

(5.8C) Longitsi⁷⁸⁶

GPS Coordinates: 38.98875, 22.56994

The church of Ag. Marina is built over an ancient building that Cantarelli conjectures to be a temple.

(5.8D) Limogardi (Narthakion)⁷⁸⁷

GPS Coordinates: 38.94833, 22.50666

On the acropolis of ancient Narthakion, there are the remains of a building (unmeasured) which Cantarelli hypothesizes to be a temple. Although likely given its position, there is no supporting evidence as of yet.

(5.8E) Mati Magoula, Domokos⁷⁸⁸

GPS Coordinates: 39.11547, 22.31202

On the west side of the road from Lamia passing through the sloping area by Domokos, Cantarelli identified a deposit of marble and terracotta statuettes. A votive deposit might be likely but none of these

figurines have yet been described, collected, or studied.

(5.8F) Mories (anc. Phyladon?)⁷⁸⁹

GPS Coordinates: 39.12563, 22.49861

On the acropolis of Mories there are the remains of a small rectangular building which Cantarelli hypothesizes to have been a temple, based on an amphora handle supposedly inscribed with IEPO.



Figure 34 - Acropolis building at Mories (taken 2014).

(5.8G) Mylia⁷⁹⁰

GPS Coordinates: 39.14839, 22.27846

In 1911, in the area of Sklatinioti, west of Domokos, Arvanitopolous found columns from what he assumed to have been a temple. Cantarelli's visit to the site did not confirm what Arvanitopoulos described.

(5.8H) Petroto (anc. Pereia?)⁷⁹¹

GPS Coordinates: 39.18244, 22.40538

⁷⁸⁵ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 174-175.

⁷⁸⁶ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 231.

⁷⁸⁷ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 214.

⁷⁸⁸ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 69-70.

⁷⁸⁹ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 236-238.

⁷⁹⁰ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 201-203.

⁷⁹¹ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 85-88.

Arvanitopoulos and Stählin visited the *kastro* and noted a building on the west side of the acropolis of what might have been ancient Pereia. Cantarelli notes a fragmentary inscription of “[...]ος” and conjectures that the building was probably sacred.

(5.8I) Palaiokastro, Divri (anc. Pras?)⁷⁹²

GPS Coordinates: 38.96125, 22.44108

Cantarelli identified the foundations of an ancient wall near a modern chapel to the west of the crossroads between a dirt road from the Divri pass and the one leading to the *kastro*, foundations which she conjectures belonged to a sacred building.

(5.8J) Pyrgaki, Vouzi (Hermaion)⁷⁹³

GPS Coordinates: 39.12311, 22.4023

On the *kastro* that Stählin believed to be ancient Hermaion on the hills of Pyrgaki, Cantarelli identifies a tower (14 × 14), now covered with rock tumble *pournaria*, that she identifies as a temple.

(5.8K) Alogorachi, Mount Othrys⁷⁹⁴

GPS Coordinates: 39.12908, 22.59402

Stavrogiannis recently identified ancient architectural *spolia* and a statue base for

what might have been a bronze statue built into the walls of the chapel of Profitis Ilias on the Alogorachi peak of Mount Othrys. The statue base contained cuttings for two feet. It might have belonged to a peak sanctuary of Zeus Othryios.

(5.8L) Marmara, Neochoraki⁷⁹⁵

GPS Coordinates: 39.12908, 22.59402

Finally, at the site of Marmara less than 5 km (as the crow flies) from the village of Neochoraki Domokou, Stählin identified the stone foundations of an elongated building (12.50 × 5.1 m), which was rectangular and had no trace of a *pronaos*. The superstructure was probably of mudbrick. There were traces of a *peribolos* nearby. The site gave evidence for votive deposition (fibulae, figurines, terracottas) from the Early Iron Age. Further research on the sanctuary is not possible as the site was destroyed by a bulldozer (possibly looting activity) in 2013.⁷⁹⁶ Despite the fact that it is slightly earlier than the scope of this study, I include it in this catalogue as I incorporate the site into my analysis.

⁷⁹² Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 201-203.

⁷⁹³ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 99-100; Cantarelli 2000: 64 and fig. 2; Stählin 1914: 83-103.

⁷⁹⁴ The statue base is yet unpublished but is mentioned in Stavrogiannis 2014: 19.

⁷⁹⁵ Stählin 1906: 29-30; Daux 1958: 754.

⁷⁹⁶ For the destruction of the building in 2013, see Tsintsini 2013, “Χρυσοθήρες ή αρχαιοκάπηλοι στο Νεοχωράκι στη θέση Μάρμαρα,” *Almyros.gr*, <https://www.almyros.gr/2013/04/22/χρυσοθήρες-ή-αρχαιοκάπηλοι-στο-νεοχω/>. Site accessed 24 September 2020.

Perrhaibia

6.1. GONNOI

Location: Near modern Gonnoi (Γόννοι Λάρισσας), Ott. Dereli (Οθ. Δερελί)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain identification with ancient Gonnos (Γόννος) or Gonnoi (Γόννοι)

Site Description and History:⁷⁹⁷

The ancient site of Gonnoi sits on the fortified site of Kastri (Καστρί) or Paleokastro (Παληοκάστρο) less than 2 km SE of the modern city of Gonnoi and 4 km SW of the entrance to the Vale of Tempe. The city grew on and around a ridge (separated into three hills forming a semi-circle) of the Lower Olympos foothills on the left bank of the Peneus River. It controlled two routes passing from the Thessalian Plains into Macedonia, one traversing the passes of Lower Olympos via Lake Askyris and the other through the Vale of Tempe to the coast, making Gonnoi's location strategically important. In addition to its placement at an important crossroads, Gonnoi's territory encompassed fertile plains, access to good water sources, access to good timber and mineral resources from the Olympos

foothills, and a defensible citadel.⁷⁹⁸

The area of the fortified city has been inhabited since prehistoric times, as the acropolis hill (the northeastern hill, 150 m) has yielded Neolithic remains and Mycenaean and EIA ceramics have been found at Beşik-tepe immediately south of Kastri. The settlement on the hill began to flourish significantly during the Archaic period, during which its acropolis might already have been walled with small, flat stone slabs (preserved to 6 m high), after which it continued to thrive in later periods.⁷⁹⁹ All three hills were later enclosed with an *enceinte* in the 4th c. BC, with twelve towers at regular intervals and three gates. Arvanitopoulos' excavations of the site uncovered what might have been the agora at the southern foot of the acropolis hill, on which he identified a large building, and a water channel dating to the Roman period on the northern side that brought water to the acropolis.⁸⁰⁰ He further identifies three temples, one on the acropolis and two in the lower city. Although still inhabited, the city seems to have shrunk in importance during the Roman Imperial period, as there is a significant decrease in material remains

⁷⁹⁷ Helly 1973 vol. 1: 1-131.

⁷⁹⁸ Helly 1973 vol. 1: 3-33.

⁷⁹⁹ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 723.

⁸⁰⁰ *IIAE* 1910: 252-9; *IIAE* 1911: 315-17.

from that time period. Two necropoleis, one to the north of the city and one to the south, have been identified.⁸⁰¹ The *chora* of Gonnoi would have included the settlements of Gonnokondylos and Kondylos as *komai* of the *polis*.⁸⁰²

Historically, Gonnoi is one of the most well attested settlements in all of Broader Thessaly, from both the literary sources and inscriptions, due to its long occupation as well as the strategic location, which made it an important player in the region's military history. The mythical foundations of Gonnoi are attested as early as Homer's Catalogue of Ships, in which a man named Gouneus (the eponym for Gonnoi) is listed as the leader of the Perrhaibians and the Ainianians. Herodotos mentions Gonnoi as having been a *polis* while describing Xerxes' route down Greece.⁸⁰³

After the Persian Wars, when Larisa began minting its own coins, Gonnoi, like many Perrhaibian cities, became part of the monetary union dominated by Larisa, minting coins in the mid-5th c. BC in the *polis'* name but in the same standard and with the same iconography as Larisaian coins,

indicating an alliance between Perrhaibia and Larisa, or perhaps even submission by the Perrhaibians to Larisa.⁸⁰⁴ In the 4th c., Gonnoi was listed in an inventory of eleven cities that identified as Perrhaibian, and acting as a political union, by making a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios at Oloosson.⁸⁰⁵

From the start of Philip II's ascendancy in Greece throughout the duration of Macedon's hegemony over Thessaly, the Macedonians showed a keen interest in Perrhaibia. Philip promoted his friend, the former *penestes* Agathokles, as governor of Perrhaibia. It was during Philip's reign, according to Helly, that Gonnoi was fortified.⁸⁰⁶ In Antigonid times, Gonnoi seems to have been a constant residence for Macedonian officials and royal family members. Antigonos Gonatas, according to Porphyry, acquired his epithet because he was apparently born at Gonnoi. A large number of official inscriptions was found at Gonnoi, which included royal decrees or grants of proxeny, decisions concerning territorial conflicts (which were favourable towards the Gonneians), and religious decrees.⁸⁰⁷ These inscriptions show that

⁸⁰¹ Stamatopoulou 1999 vol. 2: 14-15.

⁸⁰² Helly 1973 vol. 1; 46.

⁸⁰³ Hdt. 7.128, 173

⁸⁰⁴ Helly 1973 vol. 1: 75.

⁸⁰⁵ SEG 29.546. See Helly 1979 for a discussion of the inscription.

⁸⁰⁶ Helly 1973 vol. 1: 82

⁸⁰⁷ For a full list of the inscriptions of Gonnoi, see Helly 1973 vol. 2.

Gonnoi flourished under royal favour and many of its buildings and public works were created during this period.

Flamininus removed Perrhaibia from the Macedonians and the region was eventually given back to the Thessalian, but Perseus took back Gonnoi in 171 BC and garrisoned and refortified it with its triple ditch and rampart until the effective dissolution of the kingdom of Macedon after the Battle of Pydna in 168. Although Gonnoi prospered for a time, the removal of the Perrhaibian League from Macedonian control had an adverse effect on Gonnoi's flourish. Gonnoi became an unimportant settlement throughout the Roman Imperial period, during which few mentions of the city appear.⁸⁰⁸

Mentions of the city stop almost completely after the 2nd c. AD but the city seems to have continued to be inhabited until the Byzantine period. The final abandonment of the city is unclear, but it remained occupied during the Byzantine period until the 14th c. AD, and at some point afterwards, the population (or perhaps a new population?) seems to have moved to slightly northwest of the three hills to the

location of the modern settlement.⁸⁰⁹

Overview of Archaeological Research:

Gonnoi is one of the more extensively documented sites in Thessaly. It was visited by many early explorers, such as the Swedish traveller Jakob Jonas Björnsthål in 1779, the doctor and Consul General of France François Pouqueville in 1835, Leake in 1806, Mézières in 1854, Heuzey in 1884, and Stählin in the 1900s. It was excavated by Arvanitopoulos in 1910 and 1911, exposing the city's layout and major buildings.⁸¹⁰ Its wealth of inscriptions has been studied since 1884, when Lolling was first able to correlate the site with ancient Gonnoi epigraphically. It was further surveyed and studied by the CNRS Lyon and published extensively and comprehensively by Helly.

Cult Sites

(6.1A) Acropolis

GPS Coordinates: 39.8554, 22.49627

Deities: Athena Polias

Periods: Archaic to Hellenistic

Topography:

The site is located on the peak of the acropolis hill and was the only building on the acropolis. Despite its small dimensions, it would have been very visible to anyone

⁸⁰⁸ Helly 1973 vol. 1: 123-130.

⁸⁰⁹ Helly 1973 vol. 1: 131-134.

⁸¹⁰ *IAE* 1910: 252-9; *IAE* 1911: 315-17.

walking into the acropolis as well as the surrounding area. The elevation of the Ossa foothills on the right bank of the Peneus on which the road into Tempe was located allows the acropolis and any building on it to be visible from those travelling north and south on this major road.

History of Archaeological Work:⁸¹¹

The acropolis was excavated by Arvanitopoulos in 1910 and 1911 and further incorporated by Helly in his synthesis of the archaeological, historical, and epigraphic work on Gonnoi in 1973. As with the rest of Arvanitopoulos' excavations, the archival material is now being studied by Stamatopoulou.⁸¹²

Archaeological Remains:⁸¹³

The main feature of the site is an apsidal structure (11.5 x 6.5 m), oriented N-S with the entrance to the south. This building was built on stone foundations while its walls were made of stones up to 0.94 m, and mudbrick above that, topped by a wood and terracotta superstructure. Its entrance was flanked by two columns, as has been deduced from the presence of two stone, Doric capitals. The presence of terracotta

metopes, anthemias, and cornice indicates that the façade would have been dominated by a triangular pediment. The roof in the back of the building would have been of a semi-dome construction ("cul-de-four"), similar to the apsidal temples at Thermos. Some of the roof tiles were inscribed with the city ethnic *ΓΟΝΝΕΩΝ* while others were inscribed with names, perhaps of the builders or funders of the structure. The building dates to the second half of the 7th c. BC, but it seems to have been renovated in the same plan in the 4th/3rd c. BC.

The earliest finds from the site were terracotta figurines found in lower strata from the excavation, along with bone and metal finds. Arvanitopoulos excavated fibulae, bronze rings, knives, bone pins, metal pots, and lead weights. The figurines, along with the tiles, the metopes, and other parts of the clay superstructure dated to the end of the 7th/early 6th c. BC. From the Hellenistic period, the interior of the building yielded a large number of inscribed stelai, several of which mention Athena in various epithets (Pallas, Hoplophoros, Polias). The inscriptions were either civic

⁸¹¹ *ΠΑΕ* 1910: 252-9; *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 315-17.

⁸¹² Stamatopoulou 2012.

⁸¹³ *ΠΑΕ* 1910: 252-9; *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 315-17; the archaeological remains and the scholarship on the

site has been well synthesised by Helly 1973 vols. 1 and 2.

decrees or dedicatory inscriptions. The fragments of a life-sized marble Athena as well as other statues were found in the building as well, also dating to the Hellenistic period. Pottery from the Classical period was present on the site, particularly fragments of a red-figured vase depicting Athena. Arvanitopoulos also found a rectangular base (1.04 x 0.91 x 0.60 m) with cuttings on top indicating that it must have been a statue base, possibly for the cult statue.

The most enigmatic find, however, was a rectangular large stone block whose top has been cut into a pyramidal shape and whose bottom was fitted with a projection that Arvanitopoulos interprets as having been for fitting onto a slot on the floor.

The confines of the sanctuary are not known but just south of the building on a downhill slope Arvanitopoulos observed cuttings for stele slots on the bedrock, as well as three retaining walls supporting the side of the hill.⁸¹⁴

Previous Interpretations:

The interpretation of the site as a sanctuary is certain. Despite a form that is strange for the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the

nature of the finds (terracotta figurines, statues and a statue base) are diagnostic of a sanctuary.⁸¹⁵ This interpretation is further verified by the epigraphic material found on site, all referring to a cult of Athena.⁸¹⁶ Athena Polias seems to have been the tutelary deity of the city whose main sanctuary was on the acropolis, as is supported by the fact that civic decrees were erected at this site. Her identification of the deity of the sanctuary is ascertained not only by the inscriptions but also by the presence of the female statue and the Attic red-figure depicting Athena.

Arvanitopoulos further interprets the stone block with a pyramidal top as an aniconic betyl that was worshipped in this sanctuary.⁸¹⁷ Arvanitopoulos did not take his interpretation very far, but if he is correct I would suggest that such an object might even have been an aniconic representation of Athena and could even have been the cult focus of this sanctuary and not necessarily whatever statue stood on the statue base. I entertain the notion, but I confess it is purely speculative due to the lack of further evidence. Such aniconic images were

⁸¹⁴ *ΠΑΕ* 1910: 253.

⁸¹⁵ Helly 1973 vol. 1: 147-148.

⁸¹⁶ See Helly 1973 vol. 2 for all the inscriptions from Gonnoi, esp. nos. 149-155 for those related to Athena Polias.

⁸¹⁷ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 315-317.

thought to have been from an older period of Greek religion, which Gaifman has argued against, citing evidence that such litholatry was present even in Athens in the 4th c. BC but presenting evidence that aniconism could be used as a means of (re-)writing a history in an attempt to present a place as from an older time, when in reality these aniconic images co-existed with figural images.⁸¹⁸

(6.1B) Lower City⁸¹⁹

GPS Coordinates: 39.85551, 22.49472

Deities: Artemis Eleia

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site is located in the lower city, still intra-muros, close to the city's west wall and the gate leading north to Olympos. It would have been in a less prominent location than the acropolis sanctuary but would have been near a major thoroughfare of the city and would have been visible to many passersby. Arvanitopoulos states that the gate would have been a fairly large one, and many Perrhaibian cities would have had to approach the city through this entrance.⁸²⁰

History of Archaeological Work:

The site was excavated and identified by Arvanitopoulos in 1910. It has not been studied since but Arvanitopoulos' published findings are included in Helly's Gonnoi volumes.

Archaeological Remains:

Arvanitopoulos discovered several walls made of large stones in the substructure for a building whose superstructure was made of small rectangular, stone blocks. As in the Athena temple on the acropolis, they found the floor layers full of ceramic sherds, particularly black-glossed vessels. Arvanitopoulos' excavations uncovered a large number of inscribed stelai, two of which were stelai dedicated to Artemis by women. A small inscribed altar whose dedication has been reconstructed to Artemis Eleia.⁸²¹

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos suggests that the building was a temple to Artemis but does not say so with certainty.⁸²² This identification is supported by the inscriptions that were found on site, at least two of which were to Artemis. The presence of an altar also lends weight to Arvanitopoulos' supposition that

⁸¹⁸ Gaifman 2012.

⁸¹⁹ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 317-319; *ΑΕ* 1916: 121.

⁸²⁰ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 318.

⁸²¹ Ἐλεΐα can mean "merciful" or "of the marshes," *LSJ* s.v. ἐλείος.

⁸²² Helly 1973 vol. 1: 148-149 discusses the cult of Artemis Eleia at Gonnoi.

this was a temple. Since the site is minimally described by Arvanitopoulos, however, we are currently deprived of any certainty. The fact that it is a small, rectangular building can make it similar to many temple buildings in Broader Thessaly but perhaps further study of Arvanitopoulos' material could shed more light on the function of the site. The publications do not give a date range for the sanctuary but the inscriptions to Artemis from Gonnoi all date between the 3rd to the 1st c. BC.

(6.1C) N. Tsiaple Field (Άγρος Ν.

Τσιαπλέ)

GPS Coordinates: 39.85152, 22.50046

Deities: Asklepios

Periods: Hellenistic to Roman

Topography:

Located directly southwest of the acropolis on the Peneus plain, outside the city walls, along the road leading from Tempe to Gonnoi. As Gonnoi was a convenient stop along the Tempe road, this sanctuary would have been in an area that drew a decent amount of traffic, and the flatness of the terrain would have provided no obstacles to visibility.

History of Archaeological Work:

A site directly west of the acropolis was first excavated and identified by Arvanitopoulos in 1910, who uncovered several stelai to Asklepios.⁸²³ He also identified foundations for a building roughly 300 m south of the first site, which was determined to be the site of the Asklepieion. Arvanitopoulos continued further rescue excavations at the second site in 1914 which in 1977 Tziafalias further excavated, identifying further remains associated with the Asklepieion. These finds were included in Helly's synthesis of the work at Gonnoi.⁸²⁴

Archaeological Remains:⁸²⁵

Excavations southwest of the acropolis in 1910 and 1914 revealed the stylobate of an elongated building, oriented north-south, and subdivided into several rooms. Arvanitopoulos was unable to determine the full length of the building but measured the width to be 4.40 m. The building had two floor layers. One dated to the 3rd c. BC and contained a mosaic floor of white and black tesserae held together by mud as mortar and placed on top of a layer of large pebbles. The second dated to the Roman period and consisted of beaten clay. In 1910, Arvanitopoulos had excavated several

⁸²³ ΠΑΕ 1910: 248; ΠΑΕ 1914: 209; ΑΔ 1977: 136-7.

⁸²⁴ Helly 1973 vol. 1: 149.

⁸²⁵ ΠΑΕ 1910: 248; ΠΑΕ 1914: 209; ΑΔ 1977: 136-7.

inscribed stelai to Asklepios in the same area,⁸²⁶ and in 1914 he found further fragments of thick roof tiles and small fragments of the cornice.

In 1977, Tziafalias excavated a paved courtyard and walls of a large roadside building. He also found fragmentary marble statuettes of children, initially identified as *arktoi* (young female initiates into the Arkteia for Artemis) but later determined to be statuettes of boys, as well as relief stelai, dedicatory stelai, statue bases, and the headless statue of Asklepios. Fragments of a ceramic drainpipe, one of which was inscribed, and some coins were also found.⁸²⁷

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos first identified the site 300 m west of the acropolis as an Asklepieion because of the stelai dedicated to Asklepios but since the building foundations at Tsiaple field was found associated with Asklepios-related finds, it is more likely that the Asklepieion is there and that the stelai found north of Tsiaple's field were stray artefacts from the sanctuary. The statues and the dedications are typical of other asklepieia in

Thessaly where statuary and inscribed dedications were often left *ex-voto*.

The building has been dated to the 3rd c. BC but the finds indicate that the sanctuary was in use from at least the 4th c. BC. The building seems to have gone out of use sometime in the Roman period, but unfortunately the excavators have not been able to provide a more precise date, which can perhaps be given by a closer study of the material.⁸²⁸

6.2. PYTHION

Location: Hill of Ag. Apostoloi (Αγ. Απόστολοι) near Modern Pythio (Πύθιο Ελασσόνας), formerly called Selos (Σέλος)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain identification with ancient Pythion (Πύθιον/Πύθειον or Πύθοιον).⁸²⁹

Site Description and History:

Located in the north of Perrhaibia, Pythion formed a league with the cities of Azoros and Doliche called the Perrhaibian Tripolis.⁸³⁰ The area between these three cities formed a basin guarding strategically important passes from Macedonia into Thessaly and Southern Greece: the Petra pass controlled

⁸²⁶ ΠΑΕ 1910: 248.

⁸²⁷ ΑΔ 1977: 136-7.

⁸²⁸ Riethmüller 2005: 55-90 discusses *asklepieia* in Thessaly.

⁸²⁹ Lucas 1997: 182.

⁸³⁰ Livy 42.53.5; Polyb. 28.13.1.

by Pythion, the Sarantaporo (Voloustana) pass controlled by Doliche, and the pass from Azoros to Aiginion (mod. Kalambaka).⁸³¹ The ancient city itself was located in the hill of Ag. Apostoloi, a kilometre south of the modern village of Pythio.

The vicinity of the hill has yielded EIA burials containing a large number of terracotta figurines⁸³² but nothing is known of the settlement history of the region until the 4th c. BC. The internal organisation of the city has never been studied but the CNRS' surveys have shown that the hill of Agioi Apostoloi carried Pythion's acropolis, which encircled by an oval fortification wall (60 x 90 m) made of small stone slabs.⁸³³ They also identified several sections of a fortification wall around the lower city, whose complete path was not ascertained. The walls were made of well-cut isodomic quadrangular limestone blocks, which must have had towers at regular intervals.⁸³⁴ The western and southern slopes of the hill seem to have been densely occupied, whereas the northern and eastern sides were less suited for construction. There were traces of

ancient quarrying activity in the northeastern foot of the hill, which seems to have been the source of limestone for the Apollo temple.

The history of the city is not well known in the literary sources. The earliest references to Pythion are epigraphic and numismatic. Herodotos mentions the region as it was one of Xerxes' routes south, but Pythion is not mentioned by name. Perrhaibian Tripolis minted its own coins beginning in the 4th c. BC, and in the late 4th c., a *theorodokos* from Pythion is listed in an Epidaurian inscription.⁸³⁵ The majority of the epigraphic evidence for Pythion, however, is Hellenistic and Roman. Interestingly, although Pythion and the rest of the Tripolis were geographically located within Perrhaibia, they seem to have had more of an affinity with the north rather than with the Perrhaibians. For example, in the aforementioned Epidaurian inscription, the *theorodokos* from Pythion is listed among the Macedonians rather than with the Perrhaibians. A 3rd c. inscription from Delphi, furthermore, refers to a grant of

⁸³¹ Lucas 1997: 181; Hdt. 7.128.1; *SEG* 29.546.

⁸³² *AA* 1997: 499-501.

⁸³³ Although visible in 1984, Lucas 1997: 182-3 notes that by 1990 the acropolis wall had disappeared,

disturbed by the creation of a path up to the chapel on top of the hill as well as the *pournari* growth.

⁸³⁴ Lucas 1997: 183-184.

⁸³⁵ Tripolitan coins: Liampi 1990. Epidaurios: *IG* IV² 194.

proxeny to a Macedonian from Pythion.⁸³⁶ More interestingly, a 4th c. inscription from Oloosson, in which the Perrhaibians made a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios, omits the Tripolitans in its list of Perrhaibian communities.⁸³⁷ It is possible that the Perrhaibian Tripolis was under Macedonian control from the second quarter of the 4th c. BC. In the 3rd c. BC, royal letters from Antigonos III Doseon indicate that the Tripolis was ruled by a Macedonian governor.⁸³⁸ Other indications concerning Tripolitan self-affiliation come from Pythian inscriptions referring to a cult of Apollo Doreios (“Dorian Apollo”) which appear at Pythion starting from the 4th c. BC.⁸³⁹ It is possible that the existence of such a cult indicates that the Tripolitans might have identified with the Dorian *ethnos*, as the Macedonian Argead royal family did by tracing their descent to Argos and ultimately to Herakles. The Thessalians claimed a similar descent to Herakles and therefore the Dorians but the Perrhaibians and Magnesians claimed to be of Aiolian stock.⁸⁴⁰

Inscriptions from the Hellenistic

period indicate that Pythion seems to have been the most important of the Tripolitan cities as inscriptions and later literary sources state that it was home to the primary sanctuary of their alliance, the sanctuary to Apollo Pythios, who gave the city its name and whose symbols are minted on Tripolis’ earliest coins.⁸⁴¹ The later history of the city is fragmentary. Pythion and the Tripolis seems to have fought with the Macedonians at the Battle of Sellasia in 222, and a group of manumission inscriptions from Pythion indicate that by 146 BC, Tripolis and the rest of Perrhaibia had been formally subsumed into the Thessalian League, after having initially been freed as an independent Perrhaibian League (to which the Tripolis was given over) in 196 by Flamininus. The Tripolis continued to be inhabited in the reign of Augustus, during which two temples were built in the sanctuary to Apollo Pythios. It has been suggested that these buildings were a restoration of the sanctuary due to it having perhaps been destroyed during the Roman civil wars.

History of Archaeological Research:

⁸³⁶ *FDelphes* 3.4 417.3.5.

⁸³⁷ *SEG* 29.546. See Helly 1979 for a discussion of the inscription.

⁸³⁸ The inscriptions, dated to the summer of 222/223, are published in Tziafalias and Helly 2001: 71-125.

⁸³⁹ Helly 1977.

⁸⁴⁰ Helly 1977: 1.

⁸⁴¹ Moustaka 1983: 100; Liampi 1990: 11-22.

In the 19th century, Leake hypothesised based on the written sources that the city of Pythion would have been located somewhere between Livadi and Kokkinoplo, which was reasonable since the hill of Ag. Apostoloi lay in this area (although he identifies the hill as Leimone).⁸⁴² Heuzey was the first to identify the ruins on Ag. Apostoloi as that of Pythion.⁸⁴³ No systematic excavations were carried out on the hill at the time. The sanctuary to Apollo Pythios was famous in antiquity, known from both epigraphic and literary sources, and much of the debate prior to the discovery of the sanctuary centred around locating the sanctuary. Heuzey proposes the acropolis of Pythion on Ag. Apostoloi, Georgiadis proposes the caves on the side of the hill, while Theocharis proposes a site called Palaiochano 100 m southwest of the city.

The area of the Upper Titaresios basin was surveyed in 1979 until the 1990s by the CNRS Lyon as a part of a broader project that aimed to reconstruct the geography of the ancient cities of Thessaly mentioned in the epigraphic sources, published in 1997 by Lucas.⁸⁴⁴ His

publication described the ruins found on and around the hill and proposed a general layout for the city based on the little surviving information. Little excavation work has been conducted around the hill. In 1988, several stelai to Poseidon Patroos as well as two *pithoi*, and Hellenistic ceramic fragments were recovered from a field 100 m south of the hill by a rescue excavation.⁸⁴⁵

A sanctuary was identified roughly a hundred metres south of the hill, inside a thick forest of *pournari*, because of looting activity, prompting rescue excavations in 1996 and 1997. Tziafalias published a summary of the site in 2000, as does Nikolaou in 2012 but a full study of the site has not yet been published aside from the preliminary reports.⁸⁴⁶

GPS Coordinates: 40.05424, 22.21839

Deities: Apollo Pythios and Poseidon Patroos

Periods: Hellenistic to Roman

Topography:

The site of the sanctuary lies on the eastern edge of the flatter part of the Titaresios basin, specifically at the site of Palaiochano, 100 m south of Ag. Apostoloi. The strategically important Petra and

⁸⁴² Leake 1835: 341-345.

⁸⁴³ Heuzey 1861.

⁸⁴⁴ Lucas 1997: 13-16.

⁸⁴⁵ *AA* 43 (1988): 267

⁸⁴⁶ Tziafalias 2000a; Nikolaou 2012.

Sarantaporo converge in this basin, which places the sanctuary near an important mobility network, although it would not have supported as much traffic as the coastal route through Tempe. The area of the sanctuary gently inclines upwards towards the east and rises up the western Olympos foothills. The site would have lain outside the city walls, if Lucas' proposal of the location of the lower enceinte is correct. The sanctuary is further separated from the city by a stream flowing on the south side of the hill. The sanctuary with its two *hekatompeda* would have dominated the viewshed of anyone passing any road along the south and west of the city, and the view north from the sanctuary would have been blocked settlement on the hill while Mount Olympos dominates the view to the west.

Archaeological Remains:⁸⁴⁷

The sanctuary is dominated by three buildings in a row facing southeast. The first and northeasternmost temple is a long rectangular building (33 x 13 m, i.e. a *hekatompedon*) with a pronaos and an interior row of square columns along the cella's central axis.⁸⁴⁸ The second building to the southwest of the first was built on a 0.50

m high podium on which there was a paved, rectangular platform, on which a temple (28.20 x 13.20 m, another *hekatompedon*) was constructed. The temple's cella had walls built with schist orthostates, the interior of which had a lining of coloured plaster. The floor of the cella was made of marble and had been disturbed heavily by looters who removed many of the marble blocks to get under the floor. The columns around the temple do not survive but based on the plan, the building was probably peripteral. A little further south on the corner of the second temple's raised platform is a much smaller third building, whose measurements are not published but is roughly 10 x 4.5 m based on the published aerial photographs. This building has a simple cella and pronaos. These buildings all date to the reign of Augustus.

In the fill underneath the floor of the cella of the peripteral temple was a large number of inscribed stelai and sculptures from an older phase of the sanctuary. Fifty-five of these stelai were dedicatory in nature and attest to a variety of gods: Asklepios, Artemis Agagylaia, Artemis Phosphoros, Zeus Keraunios, Zeus Olympios, Aphrodite,

⁸⁴⁷ *AA* 43 (1988): 267; *AA* 51 (1996): 364; Tziafalias 2000a: 90-1.

⁸⁴⁸ This building is not fully described in the publications cited above.

Apollo Doreios, and above all Apollo Pythios and Poseidon Patroos.⁸⁴⁹ Stelai that were more official in nature were found, including three letters from Macedonian kings and two decrees of the city of Pythion. The statues included three marble statuettes, three headless and naked statues of children, and the headless cult statue of Apollo with a lyre. The latter rests on a support inscribed “Φιλήμον ἐποίησε.” The finds from within the cella all date to the Hellenistic period, or at the earliest, the Late Classical (4th c.).⁸⁵⁰

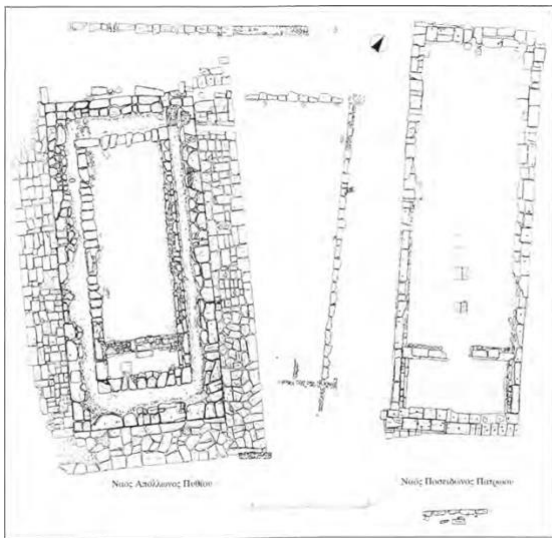


Figure 35 - Excavated plan of the Pythion temples (Tziafalias 2000a).

Previous Interpretations:

The interpretation of the site’s use and the deities to which they were dedicated are not problematic. The site is doubtless a sanctuary since the two large buildings are

clearly temples and the finds from the fill of the cella are very clearly from a sanctuary, as even explicitly stated by the excavated inscriptions. In addition to the epigraphic evidence, the scale of the sanctuary allows for the interpretation of the site as the league sanctuary of the Tripolis, the famed Apollo Pythios sanctuary. The inscriptions have allowed the excavators to identify the peripteral building as the temple to Apollo Pythios and the elongated building as the temple to Poseidon Patroos. The smaller third building has been identified by the Larisa Ephorate as a temple to Artemis, who is indeed mentioned in the inscriptions, as indicated by their signs at the archaeological site, but the rationale for the identification is currently unpublished.⁸⁵¹ It also seems that numerous other deities were worshipped at the sanctuary simultaneously, which is not unusual as numerous deities aside from Zeus Thaulios and Ennodia were worshipped at their Makalorema sanctuary, for example.

The sanctuary, however, is incompletely excavated as only the ruins from the Augustan period have been exposed. The Hellenistic sanctuary, from which the finds within the cella floor came,

⁸⁴⁹ The inscriptions are unpublished but are referenced by Tziafalias 2000a: 91.

⁸⁵⁰ *AD* 1996: 364.

⁸⁵¹ I have only seen this attribution to Artemis in the Ephorate’s information plaques at the Pythion archaeological site itself.

has not been excavated. The foundation date of the sanctuary is unknown but Tziafalias has suggested that the Hellenistic sanctuary was destroyed during the Roman civil wars at the end of the Republican Period. Tziafalias further proposes that the sanctuary was rebuilt with Imperial patronage during the time of Augustus, who had himself declared the general of the Thessalian League and who enacted many institutional reforms in Thessaly, including to its local cults. The new temples, according to Tziafalias were built by Imperial decree and the sacred refuse from the destruction of the older sanctuary was buried underneath the cella floor of the Apollo temple.

6.3 OTHER SANCTUARIES

The remains for several other sanctuaries have been tentatively identified in Perrhaibia but are too incompletely studied and published (if at all) to warrant complete entries in this catalogue and so I list them here with descriptions of their remains.

(6.3A) Kastri, Loutro (anc. Mondaia)

GPS Coordinates: 39.95705, 21.90672

The CNRS Lyon's mapping of the Upper

Titaresios Valley surveyed the ancient remains on the hill of *Kastri* halfway between Azoros and Deskati and identified this hill as the acropolis of Mondaia.⁸⁵² Within the acropolis walls, the team noted the presence of buildings, consisting of rectangular wall blocks surrounded by Hellenistic ceramics. Lucas wonders if one of these buildings were a temple to Themis, which inscriptions from Gonnoi and Dodona place in Mondaia.⁸⁵³

(6.3B) Elassona (anc. Oloosson)⁸⁵⁴

GPS Coordinates: 39.89797, 22.18341

On the steep, white-sided acropolis of one of the most important Perrhaibian cities, Stählin noted isodomic walls belonging to a building and wonders if it perhaps belonged to an acropolis temple.⁸⁵⁵ These remains were located just north of the Panagia Olympiotissa monastery, into which inscribed blocks were built.

(6.3C) Tsiourva Mandria (anc. Olympias)

GPS Coordinates: 39.86363, 22.47461

Arvanitopoulos excavated a funerary complex dating to the Hellenistic period, containing graves, a tumulus, half of a double-leaf gate, grave stelai, and a building

⁸⁵² Lucas 1997: 199-203.

⁸⁵³ Lucas 1997: 201.

⁸⁵⁴ Leake 1835 III: 345-347; *IIAE* 1914: 150-153,

160-168; *AE* 1916: 891. Note that Homer *Il.* 2.739

calls Oloosson "Ὀλοοσσόνα λευκήν" ("white Oloosson")

⁸⁵⁵ Stählin 1924: 23-24.

that he interpreted as a temple or a *heroon*.⁸⁵⁶ The latter interpretation is due to inscriptions commemorating a certain Damokrates and his ancestors and descendants as well as inscriptions to Hermes Chthonios.⁸⁵⁷ Many of his diagrams, photographs, and notes were never published but are archived.⁸⁵⁸ The building in question is likely a mausoleum rather than a *heroon*.

(6.3D) Tyrnavos (chora of Phalanna)

GPS Coordinates: 39.71727, 22.27713

In 2009, the Larisa Ephorate found architectural members of a large Doric building on the riverbed of the Titaresios, just west of Tyrnavos. A systematic study of 140 architectural parts (various blocks and column drums) and the immediate area was carried out, and the remains moved to the courtyard of the Philharmonic School of Tyrnavos.⁸⁵⁹ The architectural fragments may have belonged to a temple (possibly to Athena Polias, to whom Phalanna is known to have had a sanctuary), but I would hazard caution as no foundations have been

found and the architectural fragments could easily have belonged to any public building.⁸⁶⁰

Magnesia

7.1. DEMETRIAS

Location: Demetrias, Nomos of Magnesia (Δημητριάς/Δημητριάδα Μαγνησίας)

Identification with Ancient Site: Certain

Site Description and History:⁸⁶¹

Demetrias was a large urban settlement on a peninsula in the northwestern corner of the Pagasetic Gulf 1.5 km southwest of modern Volos. The site is mostly enclosed by a 7 km perimeter wall, much of which is still preserved at several courses high. Demetrias was founded by Demetrios Poliorketes in 294/3 through a *synoikism* of various smaller towns: Neleia, Pagasai, Ormenion, Rhizous, Sepias, Olizon, Boibe, Iolkos,⁸⁶² Homolion, Aiolis, Halos, Korope, Spalauthra,⁸⁶³ Glaphyrai,⁸⁶⁴ and Amphanai.⁸⁶⁵ The inhabitants of these

⁸⁵⁶ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 320-329.

⁸⁵⁷ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 323.

⁸⁵⁸ Stamatopoulou 2012 vol. 2: 19

⁸⁵⁹ *ΑΔ* 2009: 586-587.

⁸⁶⁰ For the cult of Athena at Phalanna, see Rakatsanis and Tziafalias 2004: 55-57.

⁸⁶¹ Stählin *et al.* 1934; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002; Stamatopoulou 2018 gives an overview of the

archaeological and epigraphic developments in our knowledge of Demetrias.

⁸⁶² Strab. 9.5.15.

⁸⁶³ *IG IX²* 1109.

⁸⁶⁴ Helly 1971: 555-57.

⁸⁶⁵ Arvanitopoulos 1929a: 126 n. 423.

communities were relocated to the new urban centre, as was the preference of the Antigonid rulers.

The perimeter walls of Demetrias had a stone socle and a mudbrick superstructure and stretches for 11 km starting from the area of Pefkakia in the northeastern tip of the city, curving southwest and up the hill of Profitis Ilias, continue further west along the plain, and then climb up the high western hills and then end on a steep cliff in the northeast of the city right before the marshes of Bourboulithra.⁸⁶⁶ 182 towers punctuate the fortification walls. All in all, it enclosed an area of 440 ha. The city is divided into two sectors: (1) the western sector on the hills along the Aligorema valley that served a primarily defensive function, and (2) the eastern sector along on the plain and the peninsula that served as the residential and commercial area of the city.⁸⁶⁷

The acropolis on the westernmost hill of Palatia is fully enclosed by fortification walls and is one of the largest such structures in the Hellenistic period.⁸⁶⁸ A second hill opposite the acropolis hill was further fortified along its ridge by another

course of wall that projects from the southern city wall, and at the eastern foot of this hill was built a 3rd c. BC theatre. The eastern sector was laid out in Hippodamean organization with regular city blocks fitted with drainage and houses following the typical Greek house plan with a central courtyard surrounded by rooms. On a low hill on the western end of the eastern sector, roughly in the middle of the city, stood the large palace complex which spread over several terraces surrounding a large peristyle. South of the palace hill before the southeastern city wall lay a sacred agora (identified by inscriptions), which was a walled enclosure, in the middle of which was a temple to Artemis Iolkia, excavated in 1961.⁸⁶⁹ The main Hellenistic necropoleis lay to the southeast and north of the city from which more than a thousand burials have been excavated.

The area in and around Demetrias was inhabited during the Neolithic period, the Bronze Age, and the Archaic and Classical periods but the city of Demetrias itself was founded in 293 BC by the Antigonid king,

⁸⁶⁶ Arvanitopoulos 1928 describes the fortifications of Demetrias as a context for the painted stelai which form the focus of his publication.

⁸⁶⁷ Batziou-Efstathiou 2002.

⁸⁶⁸ Marzloff 1987: 1-47.

⁸⁶⁹ *IG* V2 367, *IG* IX² 1105, 1106.

Demetrios Poliorketes.⁸⁷⁰ This was carried out through a synoecism of the older settlements in the area.⁸⁷¹ The purpose of this new foundation was to serve as one of the three “fettters” of Greece in addition to Chalkis and Corinth—strategic locations from which the Antigonid kings could assert their dominance over the rest of Greece.⁸⁷²

Macedonian investment in the city led to its economic success throughout much of the Hellenistic period and became quite a cosmopolitan port city with many international connections. Cults from the Near East and Egypt (e.g. Kybele, Isis and Sarapis, and Anubis, etc.) were known to have been worshipped at Demetrias.⁸⁷³ After the Roman defeat of the Macedonians in 197/6 BC, however, the Macedonians were relieved of its control over Demetrias which became the new capital of the newly formed Magnesian League under the Isthmian Declaration.⁸⁷⁴ Demetrias would come under Macedonian rule in 191 BC until the Romans again defeated the Macedonians at Pydna in 167 BC. Magnesia and Demetrias were once again given their independence

and the walls of the city of Demetrias were ordered demolished.⁸⁷⁵

After a chaotic century, Demetrias would fall into decline in the 1st c. BC, now having lost its Macedonian patrons. Much of the city was abandoned in that century and by the Roman Period, the settlement was concentrated in the northern part of the city where houses and baths have been excavated.⁸⁷⁶ Demetrias would continue to be the chief *polis* of the Magnesian League, which continued to exist as a *koinon* despite the rest of the original Thessalian *perioikoi* having been subsumed into the Thessalian League. From its founding until the 4th c. AD when Diocletian incorporated Magnesia into the Thessalian League, Demetrias was never, in fact, politically Thessalian, but it still played a seminal role in the complex story of identity formation processes in Broader Thessaly.⁸⁷⁷

Overview of Archaeological Research

The *magoula* at Pefkakia, on the northeastern tip of the peninsula, was the first area to be excavated in the late 1800s. The finds were largely Mycenaean but the

⁸⁷⁰ See section 1.4 of this chapter for the earlier history of the area.

⁸⁷¹ Strab. 9.436 and 443.

⁸⁷² Plb. 18.11.

⁸⁷³ See Chapter 5, 3.4 for a discussion on international cults.

⁸⁷⁴ Graninger 2011: 134, n. 76

⁸⁷⁵ Batziou-Efstathiou 2002: 13-15.

⁸⁷⁶ Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2006: 193-20; Batziou-Efstathiou 1996: 11-43.

⁸⁷⁷ Graninger 2011: 109-114; See SOROS (1.4) for the history of Demetrias pre-*synoikism*.

northern section of the Hellenistic fortification walls was exposed as well. Stais and Arvanitopoulos continued working in Pefkakia from 1906-1910, exposing Mycenaean and Byzantine burials, leading Wace, Thompson, and Stählin to suppose that this area contained the necropolis of Iolkos.⁸⁷⁸ Theocharis continued the excavations at Pefkakia in 1957, uncovering prehistoric remains from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age. The DAI led by Miložčić conducted excavations over a broader area from 1967 to 1977.⁸⁷⁹ Marzolff's survey of the architectural remains of the city revealed most of what we know concerning its layout as well as its development, identifying three phases of development: (a) the first foundation under Demetrios Poliorketes, during which the *enceinte* was created, (b) the major development of the infrastructure during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, and (c) a final phase during the reign of Philip V.⁸⁸⁰ In the last decade, the Laboratory of Geophysical, Satellite Remote Sensing and Archaeoenvironment of the Institute for Mediterranean Studies (FORTH) conducted geophysical surveys of parts of Demetrias

(the region of the ancient theatre, the area around the palace, the agora, as well as along the shoreline to the north of the city).⁸⁸¹

Excavations showed that the site at Pefkakia was only inhabited as a settlement until the Middle Bronze Age and had been converted into a necropolis in the Late Bronze Age (14th/13th c. BC). It would not be inhabited again until the 12th c. BC.⁸⁸² When the 13th Ephorate resumed excavations in the 1980s, it was determined that the area of the settlement in the Mycenaean period covered an area of roughly 0.8 ha. and is thought to have served as a harbour, perhaps of the city of Iolkos.

The broader area of the Hellenistic city was first excavated in the early 20th c. under Arvanitopoulos, who excavated the fortification walls and the towers (into some of which the famous painted stelai were built), as well as the southern necropolis and part of the Palace (which at the time was still identified as a Sarapeion).⁸⁸³ Arvanitopoulos also excavated the nearby regions, including Soros, which might have been Amphanai. Papachatzis then published his identification of the then-called Sarapeion as a Macedonian

⁸⁷⁸ Stählin *et al.* 1934.

⁸⁷⁹ Miložčić and Theocharis 1976; Eiwanger 1981; Bakhuizen *et al.* 1987.

⁸⁸⁰ Marzolff 1980; Stamatopoulou 2018: 348.

⁸⁸¹ Sarris *et al.* 2014 and 2015.

⁸⁸² Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 1998.

⁸⁸³ Batziou-Efstathiou 2008: 259-265.

palace in 1958, right after which Theocharis excavated the sites of the theatre and the palace in 1961. The palace was then excavated by the University of Heidelberg from 1967 to 1981. The Magnesia Ephorate carried out continuous excavations, some rescue and some systematic, at Demetrias from 1977 until the present.⁸⁸⁴ As a result, the layout of the city, its fortifications, and the development of the site is more well-known to us than most sites in Thessaly.

Cult Sites

(7.1A) Sacred Agora

GPS Coordinates: 39.34145, 22.93296

Deities: Artemis Iolkia

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site stands within the area interpreted as the “sacred agora” which lay in the flat area between the palace hill and the southeast city wall. The agora was a large square that was bounded by walls on all sides with a row of shops on the west side. The temple to be discussed in this section stood on the western part of the square, equidistant from the north, south, and west boundaries of the agora. Marzloff suggests

that the sacred agora was the main entrance to the palace complex, in which case the temple would have been in an area of relatively high (although probably socially restricted) traffic.⁸⁸⁵ The walls of the agora would have made the temple relatively invisible to the outside, but its viewshed would have been forced upon anyone entering the palace from the sacred agora.

Stamatopoulou notes that there is further archaeological and epigraphic evidence that the sacred agora was bounded by stoas, attested by architectural remains excavated by Batziou-Efstathiou on the west side of the agora.⁸⁸⁶ An inscribed honorary decree from the 2nd c. BC found reused in the Basilica of Martyrios at Nea Anchialos states that this decree was to be set up on the entablature (?) of the south stoa of the sacred agora at Demetrias, giving evidence for a stoa on at least one more side.⁸⁸⁷ The recent geophysical surveys at Demetrias have also revealed dense collections of linked architectural features under the surface in this area. The FORTH team suggests that these buildings would have provided the temple and the sacred agora

⁸⁸⁴ *AA* 40 (1985): 185-191; *AA* 42 (1987): 246-253; *AA* 51 (1996): 333-342; *AA* 53 (1998): 414-419; *AA* 54 (1999): 397-400; *AA* 60 (2005): 495-503; *AA* 58-64 (2003-2009) *Μελετές*: 211-324.

⁸⁸⁵ Marzloff 1976: 47-62.

⁸⁸⁶ Stamatopoulou 2018: *AA* 56-59 (2001-2004): 29-30; *AA* 17 (1961/1962): 172-174.

⁸⁸⁷ *SEG* 30: 533; cf. *IG IX*² 1105, 1106.

with a “monumental architectural backdrop.”⁸⁸⁸

History of Archaeological Work:

The sacred agora was first excavated by Arvanitopoulos in the early 20th c. but the temple itself was excavated by Theocharis in 1961 and published thereafter by Marzolff. FORTH also conducted geophysical surveys in this area, along with several other areas of Demetrias in the last ten years.⁸⁸⁹

Mattern has further conducted a study of the temple, attempting to classify the building with other small, peripteral temples in Hellenistic agoras.⁸⁹⁰

Archaeological Remains:⁸⁹¹

On the west part of the agora were excavated the foundations for what would have been a peripteral building measuring 9.60 × 16 m. The building consisted of three courses of foundations, a cella, a *pronaos* that was distyle *in antis*, a *peripteros* of 6 × 10 columns, and no *opisthodomos*. The foundations of the cella are at a shallower depth than the foundations for the *peripteros*, which could indicate that the temple had a mudbrick superstructure, requiring lighter foundations. A pedestal was found in the western part of the cella

and might have been the base for the cult statue. The temple would have faced east with the shops of the agora behind it. No part of the superstructure survives but given the proportions of the building, the sanctuary would have been an Ionic, not a Doric, peripteral building, one of if not the northernmost Ionic peripteral building in mainland Greece. Fragments of Ionic columns and bases have been found in the agora but cannot be certainly associated with the building.

Previous Interpretations:

The interpretation of this area as a sacred agora is secured by several inscriptions that refer to a “sacred agora” containing a temple to Artemis Iolkia in the city of Demetrias by the *anaktoron*. The location, layout, and finds in this complex confirm the epigraphic identification.⁸⁹² This is the only instance of a sacred agora being excavated and identified in Thessaly (see LARISA 1.1B for similar issues).

Artemis Iolkia’s cult existed in the area since long before the *synoikism*, with a sanctuary to Iolkia at Iolkos (Palaio Volo), where she was the patron deity. The cult of Artemis Iolkia, as Kravaritou discusses, was

⁸⁸⁸ Sarris *et al.* 2014: 4; Stamatopoulou 2018: 355.

⁸⁸⁹ Sarris *et al.* 2014 and 2015.

⁸⁹⁰ Mattern 2013.

⁸⁹¹ Marzolff 1976: 47-62.

⁸⁹² IG IX2 1105, 1106, Stählin 1929: 212, 216, 221.

maintained within the city of Demetrias after the Roman liberation of the region with the cults of Zeus Akraios and Apollo Koropaios as the patron deities of the Magnesians League.⁸⁹³ Boehm suggests that the duplication of the Artemis Iolkia sanctuary in the heart of Demetrias reflected an interest on the part of the Macedonian kings to capitalize on the symbolic importance of ancient Iolkos. The imagery of Artemis on the prow of the Argo was borrowed, for example, on the coinage connected to Demetrios Poliorketes.⁸⁹⁴ Given that the temple was probably Ionic, it would have been the smallest Ionic temple in northern Greece. Boehm suggests that the small scale of the temple might have been more symbolic; it was not meant to replace the original sanctuary at Iolkos.⁸⁹⁵ Stamatopoulou, however, notes that many Hellenistic temples were generally small and that small temples were typical for the Hellenistic period.⁸⁹⁶ Mattern connects the size of this temple with a miniaturising trend in Hellenistic temple architecture, connected particularly with Asia Minor.⁸⁹⁷

⁸⁹³ Kravaritou 2011: 123.

⁸⁹⁴ Boehm 2011: 101; cf. Kravaritou 2011.

⁸⁹⁵ Boehm 2011: 106.

⁸⁹⁶ Stamatopoulou 2018: 356.

⁸⁹⁷ Mattern 2013: 221-223.

⁸⁹⁸ Stamatopoulou 2018: 357.

(7.1B) Phanos

GPS Coordinates: 39.34546, 22.94105

Deities: Demeter and Kore?

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site of Phanos is located within the city walls in the eastern part of the residential district, 20 m to the east of which, right before the eastern wall, is a low hill (Hill 36).⁸⁹⁸ The excavated deposits were found on the hill. Visibility was probably low given its location amongst buildings and hidden from the outside of the city by the walls but its position on a hill indicates that it was at least visible within the immediate neighbourhood.

History of Archaeological Work:

Arvanitopoulos first excavated the site in 1915 when he noted architectural members and sculptural fragments.⁸⁹⁹ More recent excavations in the area have been carried out recently by the Magnesia Ephorate under Batziou-Efstathiou.⁹⁰⁰

Archaeological Remains:⁹⁰¹

In the eastern part of Demetrias inside the wall, Arvanitopoulos excavated the lower

⁸⁹⁹ *IIAE* 1915: 191-194.

⁹⁰⁰ Batziou-Efstathiou 2010: 179-188 and Kravaritou 2011: 122.

⁹⁰¹ Arvanitopoulos 1928: 96 f; Arvanitopoulos 1929b: 32-34; Mili 2015: 326.

parts of building walls, and noted that nearby building included many reused architectural remains (Ionic column drums and capitals, and thresholds). He also found ten bases for small marble statues with dedicatory inscriptions to Kore with a small number to Demeter. There were also parts of marble statuettes, many fragments of stelai, the leg of a throne with the traces of the clothing of a seated figure, terracotta figurines, small stone triglyphs, small plaques with incised circles, mould-made skyphoi, and several handles from large Knidian amphorae, and roof tiles.

The more recent excavations by the Ephorate, near where Arvanitopoulos may have been excavating, yielded architectural remains (walls, floors, pipes, tiles) in two phases, the first dating to the 3rd c. BC and the second to the 2nd c. BC (both dated by sherds and coins). The small finds include fifty-six terracotta figurines, mostly of women and children, but with one depicting a naked, seated figure with an anklet ("sacred-slave" type figurine). There were also coins, 115 loomweights, two grinding stones, two mortars, a mould for a Dionysiac plaque, stamped amphora handles (some

from Knidos), and a lead weight.⁹⁰²

Arvanitopoulos mentions that in one inscription, a man was dedicating on behalf of his daughter. An even more important inscription, however, is one from the 3rd c. BC, found nearby on Hill 36, mentioning the existence of various institutions and civic officials in the city, including a *boule* and *astynomoi*. It also mentions that a place of cult had been reused as a sanctuary of Demeter, Kore, and Plouton in the 3rd c. BC.⁹⁰³

Previous Interpretations:

After originally identifying the site as a sanctuary to Poseidon based on the existence of a marble head of a bearded male, Arvanitopoulos identified this site as having been a *thesmophorion* based on an inscription found in the vicinity which places a *temenos* to Demeter, Kore, and Plouton, which stands where a *thesmophorion* once stood.⁹⁰⁴ Daffa-Nikonanou points out that the nature of the terracotta votives is similar to those from other known Demeter sanctuaries. The association of certain types of votives with Demeter originates from Dorothy Thompson's ascription of certain types of figures from Troy as belonging to a

⁹⁰² Batziou-Efstathiou 2010: 179-188.

⁹⁰³ Arvanitopoulos 1929b: 32. For the *astynomoi*, see Mili 2015: 200.

⁹⁰⁴ For the inscription, see Arvanitopoulos 1929b: 32-34. Stamatopoulou 2018: 348 n. 27, 357-358; Kravaritou 2011: 122 and Table 2.32.

sanctuary of Demeter, which is not necessarily always the case. In fact, at Demetrias, Stamatopoulou notes that the finds at the Pasikrata sanctuary (see below) are similar in nature but the deity is not Demeter. Although the identification as a sanctuary to Demeter and Kore is highly likely, the provenience of the *thesmophorion* inscription is uncertain and so it cannot securely identify this deposit as belonging to a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore.

There is no date given by the publications on Demetrias on when the Artemis Iolkia sanctuary might have ceased to be used but the palace was abandoned in 120 BC, perhaps as a result of a natural disaster so it is possible that the Sacred Agora, which served as the main entrance to the palace, might have also ceased to be used at that point. This of course does not necessarily mean that the cult ceased to be important in the city.

(7.1C) Hill 84

GPS Coordinates: 39.3431, 22.92031

Deities: Demetrios Poliorketes

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site is located on the spine of the high hill above the theatre, the centre of the city, and

as such would have been visible from all of the lower city of Demetrias to the east, as noted by Boehm, and was in the direct line of sight to Pelion. It is also adjacent to one of the major roads into the city and would have been .

History of Archaeological Work:

The site was first excavated by Arvanitopoulos in the early 20th century⁹⁰⁵ and then cleaned and restudied by German excavators in the 1980s.⁹⁰⁶

Archaeological Remains:

On top of Hill 84, there is a structure with a large rectangular platform (37.5 x 150 m) on which stood a rectangular monument (16.08 x 10.72 m) whose plan is uncertain. An underground cavity was built into the platform below the monument, which might have been a *bothros* or a burial chamber. Stählin further found, in a nearby lime kiln, well-made architectural members of Parian marble in Ionic style with two sculptural fragments of a lion and a deer, which resembled funerary motifs in architecture from Asia Minor. The monument was never completed but may still have been until the removal of Demetrias from Macedonian

⁹⁰⁵ Arvanitopoulos 1928: 96 f.

⁹⁰⁶ Marzolff 1987: 1-47; Marzolff 1996b.

control.

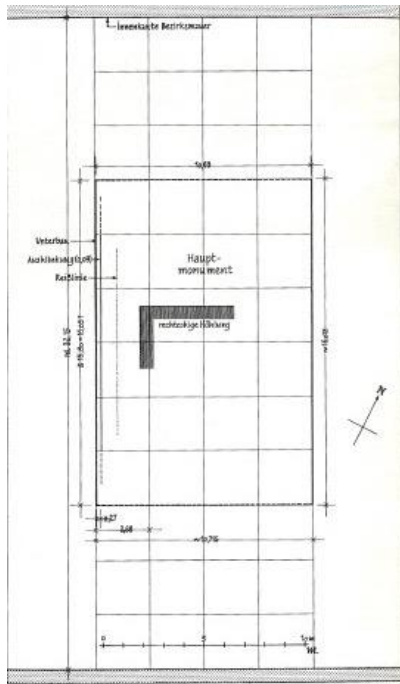


Figure 36 - Plan of the Demetrias Heroon (Marzloff 1987).

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos first interpreted this site as a sanctuary to Dionysos; however, it is now probably unlikely.⁹⁰⁷ More recent evidence from the German study of the site led Marzloff to propose that this was more likely the sanctuary dedicated to Demetrios Poliorketes as founder of the city.⁹⁰⁸ The layout of the monument is similar to other Hellenistic mausolea, and several 2nd c. inscriptions from the city refer to a public

shrine to the ἀρχηγέται καὶ κτίσται or to the ἱερῶι τῶν ἀρχηγετῶν.⁹⁰⁹ Kravaritou proposes that the use of the plural indicates that the dedicatory inscriptions are meant to refer to kings Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Gonatas, who were worshipped together as founders of the city.⁹¹⁰ The underground chamber which has been tentatively identified as a burial chamber which might have been intended to house the remains of Demetrios Poliorketes. Boehm notes the difference between Demetrios Poliorketes' placement of the local cults of the city in the lower city and the location of his shrine looming above the city on a high hill. He also notes that despite the building having never been finished, it is possible that it may still have been used, as at least one inscription was set up in its sanctuary and a coin and Hellenistic plain wares were found on site.⁹¹¹ Kravaritou, however, does not agree that the inscriptions could have been set up at a sanctuary that was left unfinished.⁹¹²

(7.1D) South Cemetery

GPS Coordinates: 39.33869, 22.92986

Deities: (Aphrodite) Pasikrata

⁹⁰⁷ Arvanitopoulos 1928: 96.

⁹⁰⁸ Marzloff 1987: 1-47.

⁹⁰⁹ For the *ktistai* and *archegetai*, see Mili 2015: 146, 201-203; Batziou-Efstathiou 1996; Kravaritou 2013.

⁹¹⁰ Kravaritou 2013: 274.

⁹¹¹ Boehm 2011: 105; *IAE* 1909: 149 (inscription); *AA* 364: 375 (coin); Marzloff 1987: 33-34 (Hellenistic pottery).

⁹¹² Kravaritou 2013: 266.

Periods: Hellenistic to Roman

Topography:

The topography of the area has been significantly changed particularly during the 20th century because of agricultural and habitational use of the area. The exact location of the sanctuary is unknown and its relation to the cemetery is uncertain. The site is located near the southern cemetery of Demetrias, near the 5th stelai-tower and one of the gates on the city walls on the road leading to the southern harbour of Demetrias (modern Alikes Beach). As such, the site would have been easily accessible. The visibility, however, might have been fairly minimal from a distance as there were architectural structures on the site, although smoke from sacrifices could easily be seen from the harbour and smelled closer to the site. Due to the fact that it was located in a high-traffic area, it was likely seen by many approaching the city from Alikes.

History of Archaeological Work:

Arvanitopoulos excavated the site along with the southern cemetery from 1912-1915 but did not complete his excavations nor fully publish an overall synthesis of his

findings, and he lost his excavation daybook when he was drafted during the Balkan Wars.⁹¹³ Since 2002, Stamatopoulou has received the responsibility for publishing the material.⁹¹⁴ She has undertaken the task of analyzing the excavated material and the archival data that have survived, many of which were not originally inventoried properly and some of which were in private collections.⁹¹⁵

Archaeological Remains:

Arvanitopoulos excavated several pits situated near the graves in the southern cemetery, with no indication of any nearby cult building. Most of these pits were small and were filled with terracotta figurines. A deeper, larger pit contained inscribed stone altars, marble statuettes, inscribed stelai, altars, and bases, and the marble head of a female figure. Another pit at a higher level contained terracotta figurines (children, boys wearing *chlamys* and *kausia*, pottery, small votives, elaborately decorated clay altars, lamps, heads of marble statuettes, and fragments of a large clay bust.⁹¹⁶ The inscriptions include one dedicated by a Theano after she had served as a priestess,

⁹¹³ Arvanitopoulos 1912: 189-209, 1915: 162-164, 187-191; 1928: 62; *AA* 1 (1915), *Parartema*: 56-58; *ΠΑΕ* 1920: 21-25; *ΠΑΕ* 1921: 35-36; Stamatopoulou 2014: 208-9.

⁹¹⁴ Stamatopoulou 2014.

⁹¹⁵ Stamatopoulou 2014, n. 5.

⁹¹⁶ Arvanitopoulos 1912: 201-205; 1928: 44, fig. 48.

indicating that the sanctuary had an organised cult.⁹¹⁷

The pottery that was found was plentiful but only a few were diagnostic, and were of Hellenistic and Roman date (cups, jugs, *phialai*, *thymiateria*, and lamps). The marble female head dates to the Hellenistic period and might have belonged to a cult statue, identified as Aphrodite but the facial features are too generic and could belong to any other goddess. There are several marble statuettes of Aphrodite holding an Eros, Artemis the huntress, and a standing female figurine—all Hellenistic. The inscriptions are largely to Pasikrata but one is to Artemis Ennodia.

Stamatopoulou further adds that many figurines in various publications of the Pasikrata sanctuary were not found in the deposits but were stray artefacts from the immediate area.⁹¹⁸ She also notes that it is likely that Arvanitopoulos was not able to identify a cult building among the various walls that were excavated and ascribed to funerary buildings but also suggests that the cult building might have been made of modest materials, which he dismissed as

“later” or “crude”.⁹¹⁹

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos first ascribed the deposits from this site to a sanctuary of Pasikrata, whom he identified with Aphrodite due to the way she is depicted in several of the statues. Based on the finds, he proposed that the sanctuary would have been in use from the 3rd c. BC to late 2nd/3rd c. AD.⁹²⁰ Arvanitopoulos originally suggested that the sanctuary was located elsewhere and that the offerings were transferred to the site in later times⁹²¹ but he reversed his opinion later on.⁹²² Papachatzis was the first to discuss the sanctuary in any great detail. He proposed that Pasikrata was an underworld deity and called her “Aphrodite of the Dead” due to the location of her sanctuary.

Stamatopoulou has since called into question the cult’s relation to the dead. She states that the finds from the sanctuary are not distinct from ones we would find in urban sanctuaries. The finds at the so-called “Thesmophorion” of Demetrias at Phanos (See 7.1B above), for example, are very similar to the finds here. She suggests that the cult involved dedications for the well-

⁹¹⁷ The inscriptions: *ΠΑΕ* 1912: 206-208, *ΠΑΕ* 1920: 22 nos. 1-4 and Heinz 1998: K 30.

⁹¹⁸ Stamatopoulou 2014: 210, and 210 n.11.

⁹¹⁹ Stamatopoulou 2009: 211.

⁹²⁰ Stamatopoulou 2014: 208.

⁹²¹ Arvanitopoulos 1920: 23-24

⁹²² Arvanitopoulos 1928: 44-45.

being and protection of children performed by both women and men. Stamatopoulou further deconstructs the so-called funerary sanctuaries of Thessaly stating that these funerary connections are unlikely (See also the Pheraian sanctuaries at Makalorema 1.2A and Alepotrypes 1.2D).⁹²³ Stamatopoulou, based on the quantity and character of the votives and inscriptions states that this sanctuary was organized, had a priesthood, and received offerings from men and women.⁹²⁴

(7.1E) Zerva Property, Magoula Pefkakia

GPS Coordinates: 39.34407, 22.93875

Deities: Mother of the Gods

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site is located on the eastern part of the city within the northern part of the residential district not far from the “Thesmophorion”, located on the Phanos area.⁹²⁵ It would have been easily accessible due to its location.

History of Archaeological Work:⁹²⁶

The site was first excavated by the Ephorate in 1988 and work continued until 1990.⁹²⁷

Archaeological Remains:

Excavations at the Zerva plot revealed a building with rooms surrounding a peristylar courtyard with four unfluted, poros, Doric columns on each side. Several Doric capital fragments survive. One roof tile was stamped with BA, short for ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΗ or ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, meaning that they were royally funded. The courtyard also contained a well with a drainage pipe for rain collection. At some point, the building was renovated and a wall was erected between the columns, dividing the courtyard in two unequal parts. It created an area that was bounded by another wall to the south. Finds from the courtyard include one large and two small *thymiateria* in the northeastern area of the courtyard, along with numerous terracotta figurines, and pieces of small clay, decorated altars. The terracotta figurines depicted Zeus Meilichios, Aphrodite, Ennodia, Hekate, and the Mother of the Gods (Kybele). All the finds from the building date from the beginning of the 3rd to the mid-2nd c. BC.

There were three rooms to the east of the courtyard, in which figurines, loomweights, lamps, household wares such as amphorae, chytrae, and plates, as well as

⁹²³ Stamatopoulou 2014: 216-232.

⁹²⁴ Stamatopoulou 2014: 215.

⁹²⁵ See 7.1B for the Demetrias thesmophorion.

⁹²⁶ AA 44 (1989): 227-9; AA 45 (1990): 201; Batziou-Efstathiou 1996: 22-4; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002: 31-32.

⁹²⁷ AA 43 (1988): 241.

coins. The pottery included West Slope ware and some mould-made bowls depicting scenes from the Trojan War. A large square room was found to the south of the courtyard which was indirectly connected to the courtyard by an anteroom. A second entrance to the east led to one of the eastern rooms. The courtyard was connected by a small corridor to two narrow rooms to the west that might have been used as a bath because a pipe and a clay bathtub with an attached lead pipe were found here.

Previous Interpretations:

Batziou-Efstathiou first identified the building as a house because of its peristylar courtyard, or as a meeting place for an association.⁹²⁸ She later changed her opinion, however, and proposed that the building was the city's sanctuary to the Mother of the Gods/Kybele—a *metroon*—similar to that found at the agora of Pella, since the royal stamp on the royal stamp would indicate that it was not merely a meeting place.⁹²⁹ Mili brings up the issue of the royal stamp on the rooftile which have only ever been discovered at the palace, indicating perhaps that the use of the building was not strictly domestic. Mili

highlights the complexity of identifying private and public spaces and suggests perhaps a private *thiasos* of high-status worshippers in the cult of Kybele.⁹³⁰

(7.1F) Katsifa property, Aivaliotika

GPS Coordinates: 39.34841, 22.92355

Deities: Mother of the Gods?

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography:

The site lies to the north of the city of Demetrias outside of the city walls and within its *chora*. The building would have been easily accessible from the road to Iolkos but the structure could be rendered inconspicuous by its house-like appearance.

History of Archaeological Research:

Rescue excavations were conducted in 2000 by Triantafyllopoulou after ancient remains were found on site.⁹³¹ Impressive Roman period buildings were also found in the area in the 2000s.⁹³²

Archaeological Remains:

A house-like structure was found, with a stone krepis and mud bricks walls covered with coloured plaster (indicated by traces of colours). It had a room connected with a semicircular bench with traces of coloured mortar, red at the south end and black at the

⁹²⁸ *AA* 43 (1988): 241; Batziou-Efstathiou 1996: 22-24.

⁹²⁹ Batziou-Efstathiou 2002.

⁹³⁰ Mili 2015: 207.

⁹³¹ *AA* 55 (2000): 466-8.

⁹³² *AA* 56-59 (2001-2004): 463-365, 476-478.

north end. Three bases and a number of figurines of Demeter and Kybele have been found. There were also baths and drainage canals found on the site.⁹³³

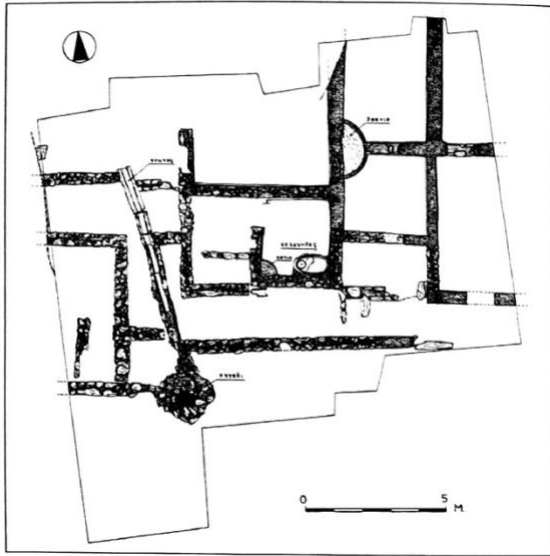


Figure 37 - Excavation plan of the Katsifa property, Aivaliotika (AΔ 2000)

All finds date to the 3rd and 2nd c. BC and include ceramics, coins, bronze objects and terracotta figurines. An earlier phase of the site is known and dates to the 4th c. BC.

Previous Interpretations:

The excavators thought that the baths were linked to the cult of Kybele, implied by the purificatory rituals and the presence of figurines similar to those at Demetrias but have since identified the site as a domestic structure with a shrine.⁹³⁴ As with the supposed cult buildings to Kybele at Chani

Kokonas in Tempe and at the Zerva plot in Demetrias, I would bring up the difficulties in identifying whether these were temples dedicated specifically to the Mother of the Gods/Kybele or merely domestic structures with more than the usual amount of cultic activity. *Metroa*, furthermore, do not necessarily require a temple, as shall be discussed in Chapter 4.

Other Possible Sanctuaries at Demetrias:

Arvanitopoulos proposed the existence of two other sanctuaries in the area of Demetrias in 1915 but not enough material evidence was described to warrant a complete discussion.

The first (7.1G) is a supposed sanctuary of Hera near the Bourboulithra springs at Aivaliotika, where Arvanitopoulos excavated an incompletely preserved enclosure of polygonal stones he dates to the Archaic period as well as an incompletely preserved stone inscribed with “---ερας δαμό[σ]ιτο[ς]” in Archaic lettering.⁹³⁵ He reconstructs the first word as “Ἡρας (the η would have been written with an ε in the Archaic period) and identifies the site as a sanctuary of Hera, within a *peribolos*. I would, however, cast doubt on this

⁹³³ AR 2009-2010: 101 and fig. 109; AΔ 55 (2000): 466-468.

⁹³⁴ AΔ 55 (2000): 467.

⁹³⁵ ΠΑΕ 1915: 159-160.

interpretation, as the inscription and the stone on which it was written were too incompletely preserved to be able to say for certain that -ερας referred to Hera, as this was a fairly common ending (e.g. κέρας, τέρας, γέρας, γῆρας, δέρας). Furthermore, no other material attesting to cultic activity was found in and around this enclosure.

The second possible sanctuary **(7.1H)** was identified by Arvanitopoulos near the remains of the Roman aqueduct (the site called Δόντια in modern times), dedicated to Harpokrates (a Ptolemaic Hellenisation of the Egyptian god Horus). The evidence for this identification is an incompletely preserved pedimented stele inscribed “—ΠΟΚΡΑΤ—” (i.e. Ἄρποκράτης), as well as a marble statuette depicting the goddess Isis holding a child Horus/Harpokrates.⁹³⁶ The stele and the statuette were found within the remains of a rectilinear structure whose walls he excavated (although did not describe them, aside from the structure being small). Other remains found within this structure include a column capital of the Ionic order and a fragmentary terracotta lion head. Although Arvanitopoulos’ interpretation of the inscription as a dedication to Harpokrates

seems to be plausible due to the presence of the statuette of Isis and Harpokrates, I would hesitate to agree with his interpretation of the building as a sanctuary based on such little evidence. Due to the lack of any detailed description of the building’s measurements or stratigraphy, it is impossible to analyse the relationship between the structure, the stele, and the statuette. Were these few finds found *in situ* or were these perhaps carried in from elsewhere? Even if the finds and the structure were all part of the same context, these are not enough to identify the building as a place of ritual, as many private and public spaces could contain random dedications.

7.2. GORITSA

Location: Volos

Identification with Ancient Site:

Ormenion (Ὀρμένιον), later Orminion (Ὀρμίνιον) in Strabo’s time (identification debated)

Site Description and History:⁹³⁷

The site is a fortified settlement on a hill east of modern Volos. This hill is an outspur of Mount Pelion, to which it is connected by a narrow neck. The upper part of the hill is a plateau sloping gently to the southeast,

⁹³⁶ *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 160-161.

⁹³⁷ Bakhuizen 1972.

while the northwestern side of the hill is topped by a long ridge. Goritsa's highest point is 200 m above sea level. This peak gives a commanding view of the Pagasetic Gulf and is in the direct line of sight of Demetrias across the Gulf of Volos. The plains of Agria and Lechonia flank Goritsa on either side and these are further surrounded by the Paliouri and Kapourna hills as well as Mount Pelion. These plains are connected to the Pelasgiotid plain via the pass of Pilaf Tepe. As such, the site was located in an area of high mobility.

Goritsa was revealed to have had a well-preserved interior with a complete street-grid. The fortifications enclose an area of 33 ha. on the upper part of the hill encircling the plateau. The northeast was the most heavily fortified and two main gates opened to the northern plain. The survey mapped eighteen NS streets and ten EW streets with regular city blocks. Outside the walls were cemeteries (outside the West Gate) as well as quarries which were located both inside and outside the walls.

History of Archaeological Research

⁹³⁸ Filippidis-Konstantas 1791: 212-213, 225; Dodwell 1819: 90-91; Gell 1819: 263; Leake 1835: 375-378; Leonardos 1836: 117-118; Mézières 1854: 152-159; Ussing 1857: 96-97; Magnis 1860: 38-40; Tozer 1869: 128-130; Georgiadis 1880: 185-188; Lolling in Baedeker 1883: 201-202; Schinas 1883:

From the late 1700s until the early 20th century, visitors to the site have described ancient remains on the hill, mistaking it for the city of Demetrias which had not yet been discovered.⁹³⁸ Fredrich, although still taking it for Demetrias, was the first to make a detailed account of the ruins, including a sketch a map of the site and taking nine photographs.⁹³⁹ Wace, also thinking this site was Demetrias, documented the West Gate and other fortifications, as well as the foundations of houses. He also noted two streets at right angles.⁹⁴⁰ Arvanitopoulos dug test trenches within the fortress and suggests that the site was said to be more military than residential. His excavations across the Gulf of Volos securely identify Demetrias and so he identifies Goritsa as Neleia.⁹⁴¹ Giannopoulos argues that this site is New Iolkos since Old Iolkos had been identified with Kastro Palaia at the time. Stählin is the first to argue that the site is Ormenion, a city built, according to Strabo (9.5.15-18), 27 stades from Demetrias, as a twin fortification to protect the latter city.⁹⁴² Vasilakos and Polizois conducted limited

206-207; Saunders Forster 1887: 110-113; Efigmenitis 1892: 347-348; Kent 1905: 166-169.

⁹³⁹ Fredrich 1905: 221-244.

⁹⁴⁰ *AA* 27 (1972): 408-9; Bakhuizen 1992: 306.

⁹⁴¹ *ΠΑΕ* 1907: 171-174; *ΠΑΕ* 1908: 219; *ΠΑΕ* 1912: 216-218.

⁹⁴² Strab. 9.5.18:

excavations exposing more of the fortifications as well as a cemetery outside the West Gate.⁹⁴³ Giannopoulos excavated the Roman-Byzantine town at the western base of Goritsa and assumed that the site on the hill had been abandoned by then. Bakhuizen rejects its identification as Orminion but prefers it as the site of New Iolkos, while Winter merely sees it as an outlying fort of Demetrias. Helly prefers its identification as Methone arguing that the city at Goritsa no longer existed by Strabo's time, which Strabo implies still existed.⁹⁴⁴ The complete chronological limits of Goritsa, however, is not completely known. I would prefer the identification as Ormenion as Strabo notes that the city was 27 stades away from Demetrias and 7 stades from Iolkos, which mirrors the approximate distance between Goritsa, Kastro Palaia, and Demetrias.

A Dutch team conducted a survey between 1970 and 1981 in an attempt to document the previously incompletely published site. Measurements were first taken inside the fortifications in 1970 and cleaning was conducted throughout the site. The survey was not able to distinguish the

complete chronology of the city but it seems that most of the material can date to the second half of the 4th c. BC to the 3rd c. BC, while the acropolis was rebuilt later. The city would have been inhabited by about 400 to 500 families.

No sanctuaries were surveyed inside the walls of the city but outside the city walls, a small cave sanctuary to Zeus was identified.

GPS Coordinates: 39.35634, 22.98069

Deities: Zeus Meilichios

Periods: Hellenistic

Topography: The site is a cave located outside the city walls on the flank of a ravine between Tower 11 and the East Gate. Although it would have been in an area of relatively high traffic, being near one of the main gates, the position of the cave makes it easy to miss.

Archaeological Remains:

The cave has an interior 4 m wide and 2 m deep. The opening, however, had been modified to form a frame during WWII as the Germans used the cave to store munitions. The cave is now empty with traces of smoke in the interior but with no indication of the dates of usage. 1.5 m to the

⁹⁴³ BCH 55: 1931: 487-491; AA 47 (1932): 151-153; *Θεσσ. Χρον.* 5 (1936): 130.

⁹⁴⁴ Helly 2006 gives a decent summary of the candidates for the ancient name of Goritsa.

right of the entrance, (north of the cave), an inscription was cut on the rock 2.5 m above ground level: Διός Μιλιχίου (“of Zeus Meilichios”). The dating of the inscription is difficult, based on the inscription alone, but the lettering and the orthography would seem to date it to the 3rd c. BC.⁹⁴⁵

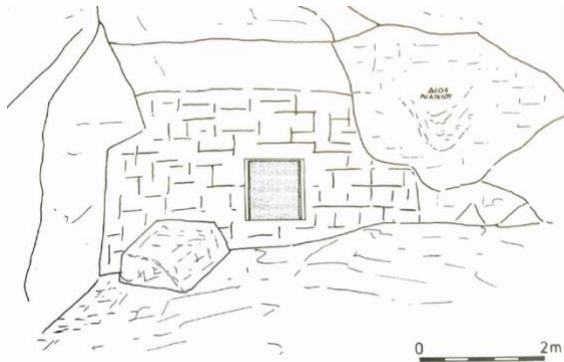


Figure 38 - The Goritsa cave with the location of the inscription (Te Riele 1972).

Previous Interpretations:

Te Riele interprets the cave as a sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios as the cave inscription in the genitive would indicate that the place was the property of the god.⁹⁴⁶ Bakhuizen cautions that the cult need not necessarily be associated with the city. If the 3rd century date is correct and the Dutch team is correct that the city was no longer occupied by then, the cave may have been a rural cult.⁹⁴⁷

7.3. KOROPE

⁹⁴⁵ Te Riele, “Les inscriptions trouvées à Goritsa” 408-411, Appendix to *AA* 27 (1972): 396-411.

⁹⁴⁶ Te Riele 1972: 408-411.

Location: Petralona Hill (Λόφος Πετράλωνα), Koropi, Magnesia (Κορόπη Μαγνησίας)

Identification with Ancient Site:

The remains found around the modern town of Koropi (formerly Boufa/Μπούφα) has been securely identified with ancient Korope by inscriptions since 1882.⁹⁴⁸

Site Description and History:

The site is located on the west coast of the Pelion peninsula along the Pagasetic Gulf, on the right bank of the Boufa river and on the southern slopes of Petralona hill. It is roughly 20 km southeast of Volos. From Petralona’s peak at 175 m and along its slopes, there are traces of settlement in the form of rooftiles and pottery. There is a semi-circular retaining wall (1 to 2 m high, polygonal masonry) southeast of the peak, further south of which, on the slopes, are two tombs. There is no evidence for an acropolis or defensive fortifications. All remains on the hill date from the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic periods. Closer to the shore, the sherds are largely Late Hellenistic and Roman indicating a shift in the residential core of the settlement.

⁹⁴⁷ Bakhuizen 1992: 306-7.

⁹⁴⁸ *IG IX²* 1109.

Korope is known in the literary sources as the *polis* and site of the *manteion* of Apollo Koropaios. The city existed since at least the Archaic period but its population is among those synoecized with Demetrias. The oracle, however, continued in use until the Roman period. After the removal of Magnesia from Macedonian control, the Magnesians League chose the cult of Apollo Koropaios (in addition to that of Artemis Iolkia, and Zeus Akraios and Chiron) as one of the three official cults of the Magnesians.

History of Archaeological Research:

The area was excavated by Arvanitopoulos in 1906 and 1907 but only partially published. The architectural members of the site have been studied by Leventi.⁹⁴⁹ Stamatopoulou has since been studying some of Arvanitopoulos' archival material.

GPS Coordinates: 39.29119, 23.15805

Deities: Apollo Koropaios

Periods: Archaic to Roman

Topography:

The sanctuary is located on level ground at the foot of Petralona hill near the right bank of the Boufa. It is easily accessible as it lay on the least cost path from Iolkos down the Pelion peninsula. The issue of visibility is

more difficult. Even though it lay on relatively flat ground, the area around the Boufa river is more heavily wooded. In fact, inscriptions refer to the area as a sacred grove.⁹⁵⁰ Furthermore, as shall be discussed below, there was only one building excavated at the site (although there was perhaps a temple of unknown size in the Archaic period).

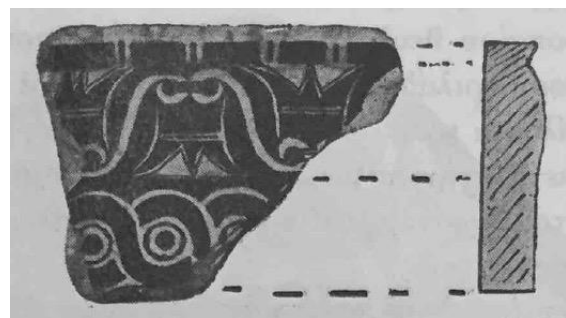


Figure 39 - Terracotta sima from the Korope sanctuary (IIAE 1906).

Archaeological Remains:⁹⁵¹

Excavations uncovered carefully built walls (34 x 45 m in length) interpreted by Arvanitopoulos as the peribolos wall of the sanctuary. Papachatzis suggests they formed a stoa.⁹⁵² Their construction suggests an Archaic date according to Arvanitopoulos. Some of the well-worked stones are believed to have come from an Archaic temple. Arvanitopoulos suggests that these were built with stone for the foundation and the lower parts of the walls, while mudbrick and

⁹⁴⁹ Leventi 2018.

⁹⁵⁰ IG IX² 1109.

⁹⁵¹ IIAE 1906: 123-5.

⁹⁵² Papachatzis 1960.

clay was used for the upper parts.

The terracotta architectural refinements of this temple seem to have been elaborate and include parts of the cornice, sima, and the akroteria (of which fragments, belonging to the leg and wing of a sphinx, survive).⁹⁵³ Van Buren suggests, from his examination of the terracotta revetments from the site, that there were restorations during the 4th c. BC, and that fragments of a terracotta drainpipe indicate the existence of other buildings in the sanctuary at that time.⁹⁵⁴ Among the finds were numerous sherds of fine black-figured pottery dated to the 6th c. BC, parts of large clay plaques with colourful decoration and depictions of animals, and the base of a small marble statuette (2nd/1st c. BC).

Several 2nd/1st c. BC inscriptions come from the area: *IG IX² 1109* (regulation for the proper functioning of the oracle including the prohibition of the destruction of any trees, the grazing of cattle, and the spreading of manure in the sacred grove); 1110 (sacred law concerning sacrifice and selling of animal hides); 1202 (sacred law); 1203 (sacred law), 1204-5 (dedicatory

inscriptions); 1206 is fragmentary.

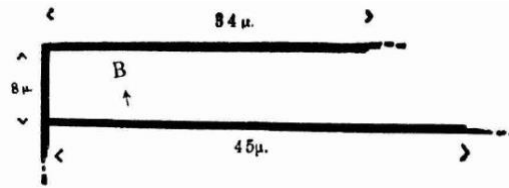


Figure 40 – “Stoa” from the Korope sanctuary (Arvanitopoulos).

Previous Interpretations:

The site is undoubtedly the sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios as is attested by the presence of votive deposits, temple fragments, and especially the explicit inscriptions of sacred laws that name the place as a sanctuary to Apollo Koropaios as well as a *manteion*.⁹⁵⁵ As mentioned above, the walls excavated by Arvanitopoulos were interpreted as a peribolos wall by himself and as a stoa by Papachatzis. Mili includes Korope with Soros and the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and Chiron where there was an absence of activity after the end of the 4th c. BC.⁹⁵⁶ The finds, she says date either to the 7th/6th c. BC or the 2nd/1st c. BC, although I would point out that restorations were made to the sanctuary in the 4th c. BC, according to Van Buren, and Kravaritou reiterates that the oracular sanctuary probably survived

⁹⁵³ Leventi 2018: 132. The sphinx fragment: Volos Museum ΠΕ 20/05, BE 41380.

⁹⁵⁴ Van Buren 1926: 41-44.

⁹⁵⁵ In addition to *IG IX² 1109*, an inscription from Demetrias specifies the existence of an oracular sanctuary at Korope (*SEG 17: 302*).

⁹⁵⁶ Mili 2015: 203.

the *synoikismos*.⁹⁵⁷ Finally, Leventi's recent study of the terracotta refinements from the roof states that the roof sculptures of this temple are comparable to those from Southern Greece in the Late Archaic and Classical periods.⁹⁵⁸

It must be emphasised that despite the philological importance of this sanctuary, as mentioned above, very little of the site has been excavated and the exact location of Arvanitopoulos' excavations at Korope is no longer apparent.

7.4. PELION

Location: Pliasidi Peak

Identification with Ancient Site: Mount Pelion (certain)

Site Description and History:

The highest peak yielded remains of habitations carved into the rock as well as an elliptical wall enclosure. Such rock-carved habitations are known at Demetrias, Pagasai, Phthiotic Thebes, etc.⁹⁵⁹ These were fitted with slots meant to hold timber for roofing and were probably meant for short-term habitation. Abundant traces of ceramics as

well as remains of houses were found on the surface of the slope facing the sea.

Herakleides reports a visit that he made to the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and cave of Chiron on Pelion. It seems that, the communities on the port annually processed to a sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and Chiron on one of the peaks of Mount Pelion.⁹⁶⁰ The cult of Zeus Akraios becomes one of the three most important cults of the Magnesians (the other two being those of Artemis Iolkia and Chiron) when the Roman liberated the region from the Macedonians. A 2nd c. AD inscription from Demetrias, in which a priest named "Aurelios Teimasitheos of the Centaur" dedicates to Zeus Akraios, indicates that the cult is alive and well in the Roman period.⁹⁶¹

History of Archaeological Research:

The peak of mount Pelion was excavated by Arvanitopoulos in 1911 but he never fully published the site. Stamatopoulou is currently studying Arvanitopoulos' archives and the material excavated from this site. The site is now inaccessible as it lies within

⁹⁵⁷ Van Buren 1926: 41; Kravaritou 2015: 144.

⁹⁵⁸ Leventi 2018.

⁹⁵⁹ *ΠΑΕ* 1907: 236.

⁹⁶⁰ *BNJ* 2 369A F 1, with commentary by McInerney. See also Van Nijf *et al.* 2019 which incorporates the Pelion sanctuary in their study of festival networks in Classical Antiquity. Wiznura and Williamson

(forthcoming) also discuss peak sanctuaries of Zeus, including the Pelion sanctuary. I thank Adam Wiznura for sending me their draft of the article, which is currently in review.

⁹⁶¹ *IG IX²* 1128: Αὐρ(ήλιος)

Τεμμασίθεος/Κενταύριος ὁ ἱερ[ε]-/ὺς τῷ Ἀκραίῳ
Δι[ί]

the bounds of a military base.⁹⁶²

GPS Coordinates: 39.40307, 23.03885

Deities: Zeus Akraios and Chiron

Periods: Classical to Roman

Topography:

The site is located on a rocky mountain peak at 1,547.60 m above sea level and would regularly not have been accessible for many people. Annual processions, however, did take place on the mountain. Visibility to and from the sanctuary would have been maximal due to its elevation.

Archaeological Remains:⁹⁶³

The elliptical wall enclosure on the peak had a poorly-preserved gate with two towers (dating to the 5th c. BC) on either side. One of these towers was placed on a carved rock face which has since fallen apart. There may also have been another gate to the south of the enclosure. Within the enclosure, we find two buildings whose walls were made with small stones and were 1 m thick, preserved up to a height of 1 m. One of these two buildings (called Building A by the excavators) had a round plan, like the temple of Athena Polias at Gonnoi. Near this building there is a large, steep rock, on which the mouth (2 m wide) of an elliptical cave can

be seen. Modern inhabitants from the area (from the early 1900s) have intentionally covered the opening with rocks. Building B was larger with one side measuring 11.4 m while Building Γ seems to have been a stoa. There seems to have been a separate peribolos to the south containing two buildings (F and Z) built from carefully worked rectangular blocks.

Near Buildings A, B, and Γ test excavations yielded fragments of black-glossed vessels, mostly small skyphoi, from the 5th to the 4th c. BC but also lamps, and *kylikes*. Metal finds consisted of one bronze coin from Chalkis (4th c. BC), bronze and iron nails, the handle of a knife, a bronze bring, bronze pots, and a dedicatory spearhead. Small undiagnostic fragments of unpainted terracotta figurines were also found as well as three pieces of dedicatory marble *stelai*. Arvanitopoulos dates all the finds from the site to the Classical and Hellenistic periods but one inscription dates to the Roman period.⁹⁶⁴ It should be noted again that, since the sanctuary cannot now be located and the remains verified, we must treat

⁹⁶² I thank Maria Stamatopoulou for informing of the location of the sanctuary within the military base.

⁹⁶³ *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 305-312.

⁹⁶⁴ Inscriptions mentioning Zeus Akraios or Cheiron: *IG IX²* 1103, 1105, 1108, 1109.54, 110, and 1128.

Arvanitopoulos' dates with caution.

Previous Interpretations:

The character of the finds makes it certain that this site was a sanctuary, verified by the dedicatory nature of the inscriptions. Arvanitopoulos first identified the site as the peak sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and Chiron known from the literary sources, supported by inscriptions to Zeus Akraios. Cheiron is



Figure 41 - Rough plan of the Pelion sanctuary (ΠΑΕ 1911).

only hinted at in one inscription mentioning a man who has adopted the epithet “Kentauros.” Since Chiron has a general association with caves, the only evidence for Cheiron’s presence in the sanctuary is the cave feature itself. Given that there are no sanctuaries on Pelion’s other peaks, it would make sense to place the famous peak sanctuary at Pliasidi. The presence of two *periboloi* in the sanctuary might have indicated, according to Kravaritou, that the second, smaller *peribolos* was a later

addition by the Macedonian kings possibly in order to connect themselves to Zeus.⁹⁶⁵ Bremmer suggests that this sanctuary of Chiron on Pelion was perhaps used for initiating youths into adulthood with rites of passage because of Chiron’s connection to the education of heroes in myth.⁹⁶⁶ An inscription from Demetrias indicates that the cult of Zeus Akraios was the official cult of the Magnesians starting from the 2nd c. BC.⁹⁶⁷ Cult at this sanctuary, along with the sanctuary of Apollo Koropaios, continued throughout the Hellenistic period until Late Antiquity as Demetrias conducted annual processions, attended by locals and foreigners alike, to these sanctuaries.⁹⁶⁸

7.5. IOLKOS

Location: Volos

Identification with Ancient Site: Probably Kastro Palaia (Κάστρο Παλαιά)

Site Description and History:

The mythological importance of Iolkos does not need repeating but the importance of the legendary city has caused significant debate over the location of the Mycenaean centre, which has been proposed to be either (a) the large Mycenaean complex at Dimini, (b) the

⁹⁶⁵ Kravaritou 2015: 144.

⁹⁶⁶ Bremmer 2012: 34.

⁹⁶⁷ IG IX²

⁹⁶⁸ Kravaritou 2011: 120. Also discussed by Aston 2006: 351 and Mili 2015: 203, 206, 292, 334-335.

settlement at Pefkakia, or (b) Kastro Palaia. This section will not, however, weigh in on the debate and will focus instead on historical Iolkos, which was probably at Kastro Palaia.

Kastro Palaia yielded remains from as early as the 15th c. BC, a Geometric settlement, and from a Classical settlement, which led to its potential identification as Classical Iolkos.⁹⁶⁹ Archaeological evidence for Classical Iolkos is largely funerary. Rescue excavations in 1981 unearthed a large cemetery with cist graves and sarcophagi from the Classical period as well as small EIA tholos tombs that were reused in the Classical period.⁹⁷⁰ The Hellenistic period has almost no remains, which corresponds with the *synoikismos* of Demetrias. The proximity of the city in Thessaly's most important body of water for seafaring as well as to the north-south road near Pherai, made the site of Iolkos economically important, as the modern city of Volos is today.

Historically, in comparison to its mythological importance, little is said about Iolkos. It was controlled by the Thessalians,

specifically the Pheraians, in the 6th c., as it was offered by the Thessalians to Hippias of Athens in 510 as if it were their property. Iolkos had a port called Neleia, which Decourt and the Lyon team place at Pefkakia but whose existence Bakhuizen doubts, asserting that it was merely an epithet for Iolkos ("the city of Neleus").⁹⁷¹ It was known as a Magnesian city in the 4th c. BC, when it was called a *polis* it minted its own coins depicting Artemis Iolkia. Kravaritou suggests this has to do with the region passing into Macedonian control. Philip II's acquisition of the northwestern Pagasetic drew Magnesians living on Pelion to now settle near the port, from which Philip could collect taxes. We know from numerous sources that Iolkos was one of the cities synoecized with Demetrias in 293, during which Iolkos was either completely or partially abandoned.⁹⁷²

History of Archaeological Research:

Arvanitopoulos carried out excavations on the site in 1909 and identified building materials from the Classical period under the church of Agioi Theodoroi.⁹⁷³ The area was again excavated by Theocharis who

⁹⁶⁹ Intzesiloglou 1994a: 34-42; *AA* 53 (1998): 419-23.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷¹ Decourt *et al.* 2004: 689.

⁹⁷² Hdt. 5.9; Theopomp. fr. 53 (*FGrH* 115); cf.

Bakhuizen 1987: 321; Helly 2006, 146-7; Intzesiloglou 1996: 94-5; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002: 10-11; cf. Helly 2012-2013: 194-5.

⁹⁷³ *IIAE* 1909: 42-48.

uneearthed architectural fragments from Late Bronze Age buildings (containing Linear B tablets) as well as the Geometric settlement.⁹⁷⁴ The Magnesia Ephorate under Skafida and Gkardalinou conducted further rescue excavations at Palaia in the early 2000s identifying further architectural remains under Ag. Theodoroi.⁹⁷⁵

GPS Coordinates: 39.36455, 22.93511

Deities: Artemis Iolkia?

Periods: Classical to Hellenistic

Topography:

The area identified as a sanctuary by Arvanitopoulos lies under Agioi Theodoroi. The modifications of the Kastro and the settlement that grew in and around the site prevent an accurate reconstruction of the ancient topography.

Archaeological Remains:⁹⁷⁶

The remains consist of columns found built into the Byzantine wall of Palaia as well as under Ag. Theodoroi, only briefly mentioned and identified by Arvanitopoulos. Skafida notes that the architectural remains underneath Ag. Theodoroi seem to have been from a large building.⁹⁷⁷

Previous Interpretations:

⁹⁷⁴ Theocharis 1970: 198-203; 1957; *IIAE* 1956: 119-130, pl. 42-45; *AA* 16: 176-177.

⁹⁷⁵ *AA* 56-59 (2001-2004): 510-515.

⁹⁷⁶ *IIAE* 1909: 42-48.

⁹⁷⁷ *AA* 56-59 (2001-2004): 510-515.

The existence of a sanctuary at Iolkos is certain although the association with the *spolia* is far from secure. Several inscriptions mention an important sanctuary to Artemis Iolkia at Iolkos.⁹⁷⁸ Kravaritou discusses the ramifications of symbolically moving this cult from Iolkos to a new sacred space at Demetrias (see DEMETRIAS 7.1A for the discussion). Helly, however, argues that the cult continued at Iolkos even after the *synoikismos*.⁹⁷⁹ Stamatopoulou, however, notes that there is no evidence for cult continuity at the Iolkia temple.⁹⁸⁰

7.6. HOMOLION

Location: On the mouth of the Vale of Tempe,⁹⁸¹ on the right bank of the Peneus. Traditionally identified with modern Omolio (Ομόλιο, former Λασποχώρι).

Identification with Ancient Site:

Usually identified with modern Omolion.

Site Description and History:

Homolion (Ὁμόλοιον/Ὁμόλιον) was one of the most important cities of Magnesia and the most important Magnesian city outside

⁹⁷⁸ Sear 1978: 201, no. 2077; Furtwängler 1990: 307; Liampi 2005: 24-5.

⁹⁷⁹ Helly 2012-13: 190-8, esp. 194-5;

⁹⁸⁰ Stamatopoulou 2018: 355-357.

⁹⁸¹ *Ap. Rhod.* 1.594-95

of the Pagasetic Gulf area.⁹⁸² Its importance comes from its placement on Magnesia's northernmost border with Perrhaibia and Thessaly, as well as its location along a major ancient highway and position by the sea. It frequently sent *hieromnemes* to the Delphic Amphiktyony on behalf of Magnesia, indicating its political importance within the region. It was one of the cities synoecized with Demetrias.⁹⁸³ Helly prefers an identification at Palaiokastro Karitsas, but the only remains at that site is a Byzantine Wall.

History of Archaeological Research:

The site was excavated by Arvanitopoulos before he was drafted in the Balkan Wars and visited by Stählin later.⁹⁸⁴

GPS Coordinates: 39.89497, 22.62833

Deities: Zeus Homoloios

Periods: Classical to Hellenistic

Topography:

Regardless of the identification of Omolio, the site stands on a very prominent location on the acropolis of whatever site it stood on, with a commanding view of the mouth of Tempe.

Archaeological Remains:

The building identified as a temple lies a

little below the highest peak of the acropolis, where there are also walls from what was the church of Ag. Ilias. Arvanitopoulos found at a depth of up to 2 m walls from later buildings made of clay, and at a deeper level, fragments of black-glazed vessels from the 5th - 4th c. BC, a small dedicatory marble stele crowned with a horizontal geison, on which there was a worn inscription. Under the geison, there was a smooth space for a carved relief.

Similar stelai have already been found on the Cave of the Nymphs at Ossa and many from Gonnoi. There was also a fragment of a clay anthemion from the *akroterion* of a temple. According to Arvanitopoulos, there were also several clay plaques with traces of paint from the metopes and perhaps its geison, similar to those at Gonnoi, and stamped rooftiles with a monograph found in the temple of Apollo Koropaios, on the towers of Pagasai, and on the temples of Athena Polias at Phthiotic Thebes.⁹⁸⁵ There are also stamps to a "Menon." Due to the slope, Arvanitopoulos believed that all the dedications and parts of the temples came from the same area.

It is also notable that in the NE corner

⁹⁸² Ps.-Skylax 33; *CID* II 74.1.55 (337/6 BC).

⁹⁸³ *IG* IX² 1109.

⁹⁸⁴ Stählin 1924; PAE 1910.

⁹⁸⁵ See *IIAE* 1908: 176 and *IG* IX² 396.

within the second peribolos there are traces of an important building with many roof tiles. There, he found a large terracotta foot with a sandal strap bearing the thunderbolt of Zeus, dating to the Classical period.⁹⁸⁶

Previous Interpretations:

Arvanitopoulos interpreted the building as a temple due to the nature of the finds and architectural features, noting its similarities to the temple of Athena Polias at Gonnoi.⁹⁸⁷ It was identified as a sanctuary to Zeus Homoloios because of the discovery of the Zeus-foot at the site, in combination with the epigraphic and numismatic evidence that there was a cult to Zeus Homolieus at Homolion.⁹⁸⁸ The argument would fall apart, however, if the site of Omolio is not ancient Homolion.

Mazarakis has further commented on the elliptical temple forms and the role of archaism in Thessalian temple building.⁹⁸⁹

7.7. OSSA

Location: A large cave at the site of Plaka on Mount Ossa.

Identification with Ancient Site: Mount Ossa (also called by its Slavonic name,

Kissavos)

Site Description and History:

Mount Ossa, like Pelion, is a mythologically charged site, although not as symbolically potent. There are no settlements on the mountain itself; they are located on its lower slopes (e.g. Homolion, Eurymenai, Kerkinion, etc.).

History of Archaeological Research:

The site was only ever excavated by Wace and Ormerod at the beginning of the 20th c.⁹⁹⁰

GPS Coordinates: 39.7973, 22.66638

Deities: Nymphs

Periods: Classical to Roman

Topography:

The site, despite being at such a high elevation, is relatively hidden, being located in a cave.

Archaeological Remains:

On Mount Ossa, one hour away from the village of Spilia at a site called Plaka there is a large cave and by this cave, there are inscribed stelai, slots for which have been found outside the cave. The excavators found fragments of vases from 5th-4th c. BC, bronze clasps and figurines, a coin from the

⁹⁸⁶ The foot was recently on temporary display at the Volos Museum in the spring of 2018.

⁹⁸⁷ ΠΑΕ 191: 183-184. For my more recent interpretation of elliptical buildings in northern

Thessaly, see Canlas 2017 and Chapter 5, 2.3 in this dissertation.

⁹⁸⁸ IG IX² 1109.

⁹⁸⁹ Mazarakis-Ainian 2017: 182.

⁹⁹⁰ Wace and Thompson 1908-1909: 243-247

Roman period, a bronze ring with an Eros figure (Larisa Museum).

Previous Interpretations:

The cave has been interpreted as a sanctuary to the nymphs due to the inscriptions found on site, eight of which are dedicated to the nymphs.⁹⁹¹ The votive dedications are, furthermore, reminiscent of the finds from the cave near Pharsalos.

7.8. CHORTO

Location: Chorto Argalastis (Χόρτο Αργαλάστης), Pelion Peninsula

Identification with Ancient Site:

Chorto is probably the ancient polis of Spalauthra,⁹⁹² which Pseudo-Skylax describes as being in the Pelion Peninsula, far from Iolkos, and bordering Olizon to the southeast, and Korope and Korakai to the northwest.⁹⁹³ The only differing opinions are Leake's who believes Chorto to be the city of Magnesia, whose existence is not even certain, and Georgiadis, who places Spalauthra at Baou (Μπάου), which is a higher hill but is on a less strategic location.⁹⁹⁴

Site Description and History:

Not much is known about Spalauthra in the ancient sources. Spalauthra is called a Magnesian *polis* in the literary and epigraphic sources and is said to have had a sanctuary to Artemis Soteira.⁹⁹⁵ The scattered archaeological evidence from the site suggests occupation from the Archaic to the Roman period.⁹⁹⁶ It is epigraphically listed as one of the Magnesian cities synoecized with Demetrias;⁹⁹⁷ however, Liangouras' excavations unearthed grave stelai as well as a Hellenistic and Roman cemetery on the eastern slopes of the hill containing both local pottery and Attic red-figure,⁹⁹⁸ whereas a large organized settlement seems to have occupied several terraces on the hill called Pyrgos. Unlike Soros and Goritsa which seem to have been abandoned post-*synoikism*, life seems to have continued after the foundation of Demetrias, as at Homolion.⁹⁹⁹

Overview of Archaeological Research

In 1931, an Early Christian basilica was excavated, but no further excavations would be conducted until Liagouras in 1964 when

⁹⁹¹ Wace and Thompson 1908-9: 245 and 246; Wace 1906: 149-150; *ΠΑΕ* 1910: 219-20; *BCH* 44 (1920) Chroniques: 398; *IACP* s.v. Spalauthra, no. 358.

⁹⁹² Decourt *et al.* 721.

⁹⁹³ Ps.-Skylax 65; *IG IX²* 1111, 35.

⁹⁹⁴ 34 Dem. *Olynth.* i. 12, 15, ii. 20; *Philip.* ii. 71; Schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 580; Paus. vii. 7.6.

⁹⁹⁵ *IG IX²* 1111, line 17.

⁹⁹⁶ *AR* 58 (2012): 78.

⁹⁹⁷ *IG IX²* 1109.

⁹⁹⁸ *ΑΔ* 19 (1964): 263.

⁹⁹⁹ *AR* 58 (2012): 78.

two 4th c. BC graves were excavated on the road to Milini and in 1977, when he unearthed a portion of a Classical cemetery.¹⁰⁰⁰ Vouzaxakis and Mamaloudi conducted rescue excavations in the area starting with test trenches in 2008 and continuing until 2009.¹⁰⁰¹

Ag. Nikolaos on Chortokastro Hill

GPS Coordinates: 39.21583, 23.21777

Deities: Artemis?

Periods: Classical?

Topography:

The *kastro* is a steep, isolated hill by the shore.¹⁰⁰² The site is remote enough that it would not have been a major traffic area but it lay on the main route from the southern tip of Pelion to Iolkos. The site would have been on the acropolis and might have had high visibility.

History of Archaeological Work:

The site on the *kastro*, specifically, was examined by Wace in the early 1900s.

Archaeological Remains:

The only remains are foundations visible under the church of Ag. Nikolaos. Wace does not provide a date for it nor give a description of the building.

Previous Interpretations:

Wace was the first to identify it as a temple but there is insufficient remaining evidence to verify the existence of such a temple.

7.9 OTHER SANCTUARIES

The remains for several other sanctuaries have been tentatively identified in Magnesia but are too incompletely studied and published (if at all) to warrant complete entries in this catalogue and so I list them here with descriptions of their remains.

(7.9A) Palaiokastros, Trikeri (anc. Olizon?)¹⁰⁰³

GPS Coordinates: 39.14222, 23.22416

On the hill joining the Trikeri peninsula to the Pelion peninsula, Wace identified a few remains of an acropolis wall, an inscribed statue base, and the foundations of a small, marble building of uncertain plan which he suggests might have been prostyle. Locals informed him that Corinthian capitals were found nearby but Wace did not himself see any. I would also question whether the capitals and the foundations went together. No date was given. Wace suggested that this was the sanctuary of Artemis Tisaia because of a Roman reference to Diana Tisaea in this part of the Pelion peninsula.¹⁰⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰⁰ AR 58 (2012): 77.

¹⁰⁰¹ AA 64 (2009): 557-560.

¹⁰⁰² Wace 1906: 149.

¹⁰⁰³ IIAE 1910: 217.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica* 2.7.

(7.9B) Theotokou, Kato Georgi (anc. Sepias?)¹⁰⁰⁵

GPS Coordinates: 39.187, 23.34942

By the chapel on the southeastern tip of the Pelion peninsula, Wace carried out excavations in 1906. The chapel, built ninety-nine years before Wace's excavations, included ancient *spolia* in its walls, and traces of wall foundations can be observed north and south of the chapel. A heap of architectural remains lay west of the chapel, including six partly-buried Doric column fragments. A seventh was found in a field further west and an eighth was noted by locals but disappeared.

Arvanitopoulos and Wace believed that the early 19th c. chapel stood on the foundations of an ancient temple.¹⁰⁰⁶ The

column drums all had twenty flutes and may have once been covered in stucco. This, as well as the profile of one capital fragment, allowed Wace and Droop to date it to no earlier than the 4th c. BC.¹⁰⁰⁷ From local rumours, Wace heard that the building might have been peripteral, although I would cast doubt on it as likely no one would have been alive when the chapel was built on top of the ancient foundations; they would have observed the the column drums standing partly buried (as Wace found them), but not *in situ*. Wace and Droop themselves believed that the building was too small to be peripteral and would have been *distyle in antis* or *tetrastyle prostyle* but the building was too poorly preserved to reconstruct an exact plan.¹⁰⁰⁸

¹⁰⁰⁵ Wace and Droop 1906/1907: 309-327; Wace 1906: 148-149; *AA* 51 (1996): 331-333.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Wace and Droop 1906/1907: 310-311.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Wace and Droop 1906/1907: 312.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Wace and Droop 1906/1907: 313.

4

CATEGORISING SACRED SPACES

“O wretched ones, what do I care about well-fed hecatombs of oxen, of shiny fabulously-golden statues, and of images adorned with bronze and silver? The immortals require no possessions, but only what is traditional. These they delight in.”

Oracle of Apollo,
Didyma, 2nd c. AD¹⁰⁰⁹

1. A Preface to the Categories

The sanctuaries presented in Chapter 3 are categorised in this chapter with respect to their material remains in the first section in order to demonstrate the patterns evident in this region. I have divided the sites into the two most obvious physical characteristics: (1) sanctuaries without any architecture in them and (2) sanctuaries that contained architecture. The rationale behind this categorisation lies in the fact that the patterns I am investigating concern acts of identification preserved in the archaeological record and reflected in various acts of monumentalisation, which often involve the creation of structures that are usually—but not always—architectural, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Very often, this monumentalisation takes the form of converting natural or human-made structures into stone (e.g. gradually turning a wooden building into one made of limestone or marble, or creating stone representations of votive cakes, as mentioned in Chapter Three) in order to preserve them perpetually, but divergent forms of monumentality, as

¹⁰⁰⁹ My translation of *IDidyma* 217.1-5 as reconstructed by Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, vol. 1: 76-77:

[ὧ̃ μέλει, τί μοι] εἰλιπόδων ζατρεφεῖς ἑκατόμβαι
[λαμπροί τε χρυ]σοῖο βαθυπλούτοιο κολοσσοί
[καὶ χαλκῶ̃ δεῖ]κηλα καὶ ἀργυρω̃ ἀσκηθέντα;
[οὐ μὴν ἀ]θανατοὶ κτεάνων ἐπιδευέες εἰσὶν
[ἀλλὰ θεμιστ]εῖης, ἧ̃περ φρένας ἰαίνονται.

I caution against my translation of “traditional” as most of the Greek word (θεμιστεῖης) is supplemented by Merkelbach and Stauber. This interpretation, however, fits with the theme of the rest of the inscription.

discussed in Chapter 2, such as the preservation of a ruin or an antiquated appearance, also exist. As monumentalisation was most pronounced in the architectural medium, the simplest way to identify such patterns would be to divide the sanctuaries between those that did and did not contain any architecture. This division also helps to isolate forms of monumentality that existed in non-architectural media.

The two categories are further subdivided into more specific groups based on the recorded physical features. The sanctuaries without architecture are divided into (a) sanctuaries whose main features were caves, (b) peak sanctuaries, (c) sacred groves, (d) sacred springs, (e) sanctuaries for which the only evidence are votive deposits, and (f) sanctuaries whose only constructed features were non-architectural installations and modifications on the natural topography of the site.

The sanctuaries that contained architecture are subdivided into (a) sanctuaries with temples, and (b) sanctuaries without temples but contained other non-templar building. This subdivision presents some difficulties and so I add the following caveat. Although a site can be identified as a sanctuary, it can still be difficult to identify a temple within the same site because a temple refers specifically to a building intended to house a cult image. Greek temples often had easily recognisable forms (e.g. Doric peripteral, distyle *in antis*, prostyle, etc.), but many of the sites discussed were not studied systematically and so the buildings in them cannot certainly be identified as houses for cult images. This definition of a temple presents some complications in a Broader Thessalian context since, as this chapter will show, the line between temple and other ritual functions is often blurred.

The diversity of architectural remains found within the sanctuaries of Thessaly warrants further subdivision of the architectural categories. The sanctuaries with temples are divided according to architectural types: (i) peripteral temples (ii) small, rectangular temples (iii) apsidal/round temples, (iv) elongated, rectangular temples, (v) bipartite temples, (vi) house-like *metroa* and (vii) temples of uncertain plan. Sanctuaries with only non-temple buildings are divided according to the types of buildings found within them: (i) thesmophoric buildings, (ii) commensal buildings (iii) stoas (iv) burial shrines, and (v) waterworks.

These categories are not mutually exclusive. Some sites can belong to multiple categories, such as the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and Chiron on Mount Pelion which was

simultaneously a peak sanctuary, a cave sanctuary, and a complex with multiple buildings. Furthermore, a sanctuary's categorisation can change from one phase to the next. For example, some sanctuaries, such as the great sanctuaries at Pherai and Philia contained no architecture in its earliest phases but were later fitted with buildings. It is also possible for a sanctuary containing architecture to revert to an open-air sanctuary in a later phase.

It is, furthermore, important to emphasise that the majority of the sanctuaries addressed in this dissertation are incompletely known, because they were destroyed/not well preserved, because they were incompletely excavated and/or studied, and because many early excavations (e.g. by Arvanitopoulos) can no longer be located and so the findings from those sites can no longer be verified. I will therefore add this caveat that these categories should not be seen as an authoritative typology that can be used to date particular types of sanctuary morphologies, but rather a classification of the evidence that we have (or might have), however limited that might be.

2. A Physical Taxonomy of Sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly

2.1 Sanctuaries without Architecture

The sanctification of a space sometimes involved nothing more than the act of leaving it in its natural state, either entirely or almost entirely. These sanctuaries were often located in or around natural phenomena that conveyed, to the ancient Greeks, a sense of sacredness to the place.¹⁰¹⁰ These can be the echoing tops of mountains from which farmers can ask sky gods for rain, thickly-wooded groves where worshippers danced with the *daimones* of the wilds, or springs and caves in which nearby inhabitants could leave gifts to the nymphs that dwelled within them.¹⁰¹¹ They can be chosen simply for their extraordinary beauty, features that seem supernatural, or the occurrence of a naturally unnatural event (such as a spot being struck by lightning).¹⁰¹² When the Greeks recognised a perceived inherent sacredness in these natural settings, these areas were ritualised through the repetitive performance of symbolic acts of interaction with their perceived

¹⁰¹⁰ Mylonopoulos 2008: 51-83; Horster 2010: 455-456; Harmanşah 2014; 1-12.

¹⁰¹¹ Giesecke 2007: 35-78

¹⁰¹² Horster 2010: 455.

divinity. This ritualisation did not necessarily involve the creation of a formal *temenos*; the area, for whatever reason, is recognised as sacred and those who recognised it as sacred behaved accordingly.¹⁰¹³

The archaeological evidence for these behaviours consists most commonly of votive deposits in the form of pottery, figurines, jewellery, and diverse other objects meant to be a reciprocal gift to the deities of that place. The altar of an open-air sanctuary sometimes survives but they very often did not, either because the eventual de-sacralisation of a sacred space was accompanied by the removal of the space's cult focus (for clearing, repurposing, destruction, etc.), or because the altar was not made of lasting material. For example, in the Altis of the earliest ritual phases at Olympia, the altar was formed only by the bones and ashes from sacrifices, which was not recovered by the site's excavators.¹⁰¹⁴ Ritualisation could involve the modification of the natural environment of the site, such as carving steps and niches onto a cave, sculpting sacred symbols onto bedrock, or the engraving of inscriptions. More often than not, the *temenos* boundaries were not walled and would only consist of natural markers such as the treeline or a cliff face, or at most an inscribed boundary stone since these *temene* were not ones "cut apart" by human beings but by gods, as imagined by human beings.¹⁰¹⁵ Despite the fact that the boundaries of nature sanctuaries were often minimally marked, sacred laws often governed them and the activities that were or were not permitted within them, as described at Korope in the previous chapter. These nature sanctuaries containing no architecture at all are found not only in rural or wild locations but also in the midst of cities.

It is necessary, however, to address a trend in scholarship that sees early Greek sanctuaries as indeterminate spaces (i.e. places that were informally located, organised, or boundaried). De Polignac first suggested that early Greek sanctuaries were spatially indeterminate, relying primarily on the Homeric sources.¹⁰¹⁶ He cites as his main example Telemachos' arrival at the beach of Pylos to witness the Pylions sacrificing bulls to Poseidon, a rite that included no explicit altar or defined space.¹⁰¹⁷ From this, he infers that

¹⁰¹³ On the topic of landscape and religion, see Horden and Purcell 2000: 401-460.

¹⁰¹⁴ Sinn 2001: 52-53.

¹⁰¹⁵ Burkert 1985: 84-87.

¹⁰¹⁶ De Polignac 1984: 27-31.

¹⁰¹⁷ Hom. *Od.* 3.1-8.

EIA sanctuaries required no area delineated for the performance of ritual. He also cites as evidence the fact that the sacred grove or *alsos* is the most common type of sacred space mentioned by Homer; for this reason, he presumes that sanctuaries were often not organised spaces in the 8th c. when the Homeric epics were being composed.¹⁰¹⁸

De Polignac's inferences are problematic for many reasons. Firstly, the evidence he provides is cherry-picked; he gives instances of rituals being performed outside of sanctuary settings but largely ignores cases in which temples within well-defined *temene* are attested, as Sourvinou-Inwood notes.¹⁰¹⁹ She cites several examples of Homeric sanctuaries that had fixed altars and clearly defined enclosures, and one case in the *Odyssey* in which spaces for the gods are among those that were differentiated upon the foundation of a city in Scheria.¹⁰²⁰ Secondly, I would add that none of the cases cited by de Polignac are uncommon practices in later periods. Rituals were never restricted to sanctuaries alone, and an *ad hoc* sacrifice at the beach (or at any other space for that matter) would not be inappropriate. For example, the Eleusinian Mysteries involved a day in which the initiates ritually bathed at Phaleron, which was not a formal sacred space but could be used in this case for ritual purposes.¹⁰²¹ De Polignac's presumption that the *alsos* is a disorganised space is also incorrect because *alse* often had altars and, although their borders were usually minimally marked, their bounds were indeed defined and the activities within them were strictly regulated, as I discussed above in this section.¹⁰²² Contrary to de Polignac's suggestion that EIA sanctuaries were not located in a fixed space, what we do see in Homer is that they often were, but rituals could also occur in indeterminate spaces, which is not unique to early Greek cult but a feature of it throughout Antiquity.¹⁰²³

Nevertheless, the creation of and participation at a sanctuary without architecture does evoke different emotions than at a sanctuary with buildings and various amenities. The bodily interaction with these wild places at the edges of the civilisation—or places only

¹⁰¹⁸ De Polignac 1984: 28 n. 14.

¹⁰¹⁹ Sourvinou-Inwood 1994: 2-3.

¹⁰²⁰ Sourvinou-Inwood 1994: 2-4; Hom. *Il.* 11.773-775, 11.806-808, *Od.* 6.7-10, 22.334-336.

¹⁰²¹ For the “ἄλαδε μύσται” rite of the Eleusinian Mysteries celebrated on 16 Boedromion, see Polyaen. 3.11.2, *IG* I 53 a35, and II 385 d20.

¹⁰²² Sourvinou-Inwood 1994: 4.

¹⁰²³ Haysom 2020: 333-339 discusses the emergence of a distinct concept of sacred spacing during the 8th c. BC, incorporating *Philia* into his discussion. He notes that this was accompanied by the “crystallization” of the kinds of objects that were deemed appropriate to leave at these spaces.

made to seem wild within the confines of civilisation—conveyed a sense of communion with forces both primordial and elemental, while the general lack of human artifice in them projected an aura of authenticity. Although they can be perceived as originating from a more primitive form of worship, one step down from templed precincts in the evolution of a sanctuary, nature sanctuaries thrived alongside more massive and elaborate precincts throughout all time periods, and were no less important, as can be seen in the sanctuaries of Broader Thessaly.¹⁰²⁴

(a) Cave Sanctuaries

Caves carried a sense of mystique that came from their naturally mysterious settings. The thought of cold, dark caverns leading into the earth, out of which gods-know-what could emerge, resonated in the Ancient Greek imagination as they still do in the contemporary period.¹⁰²⁵ From the prehistoric periods until modern times, caves continued to be used as shelters for livestock and people (although less common in the chronological limits of this study), and as sources for water.¹⁰²⁶ Caves in mythology, however, were often the homes of nature deities and other divine or semi-divine beings often wild, chaotic, rustic, and with power over the forces of nature.¹⁰²⁷ They were particularly associated with nymphs who made their homes in caves but were also thought to have been inhabited by Centaurs (e.g. Chiron), Cyclopes, Pan, and other mythological figures who lived in the wilderness. Even some Olympian deities, such as Zeus and Hermes spent their early years living in caves.¹⁰²⁸ Unlike a normal *temenos*, however, the deities venerated at a cave could be wholly unspecified because it was less important to worship a specific deity than to recognise that the place hosted divine beings.

Because of its association with invisible divine forces, caves often became the locus for ritual, the purposes for which often had to do with petitioning the divine inhabitants for healing, because of the caves' associations with water sources, as well as for concerns over

¹⁰²⁴ Sourvinou-Inwood 1994: 3-4.

¹⁰²⁵ For caves and senses, see Hamilakis 2014: 141-142, 159. For sacred caves in general, see Sponcel 2015.

¹⁰²⁶ Katsarou and Darlas 2018 discuss sacred caves as requiring specialised archaeological research with a focus on Aitolokarnania, as well as the activities at such caves and how their findings can be applied beyond the region. Wickens 1985 discusses the history of cave use in Attica from prehistory to Late Antiquity.

¹⁰²⁷ Larson 2001: 227-258.

¹⁰²⁸ Sporn 2013: 203.

pregnancy, childbirth, child-rearing, rites of passage, and agro-pastoral activities.¹⁰²⁹ Some caves were restricted to women in all stages of life and some caves hosted rites of passages that were strictly for ephebes. The evidence for these rituals consists largely of votive deposits, which were left in the caves repeatedly for generations, as we know from the more famous cave sanctuaries on Crete from the Bronze Age and later periods.¹⁰³⁰ Book 13 of Homer's *Odyssey* describes a cave sacred to the nymphs on Ithaka, which contained offerings of kraters and stone amphorae. It also describes bees making honey in the cave and the resident Naiads using the natural rock formations of the cave as a loom to weave purple cloth, which could explain why loomweights were sometimes left at caves such as at Krounia in Magnesia.¹⁰³¹ The natural features of the cave are sometimes modified, e.g. steps could be carved into the cave floor or rock formations could be carved into altars. In some cases, the cave could be fitted with a built altar could be added to the cave, as at the Korykian Cave in Phokis. It was only starting in the Hellenistic that architectural features were added to or integrated with the cave. For example, the Cave of Herakles on Delos was artificially enlarged through the creation of a pitched roof formed by large stone slabs. Evidence from literary and artistic sources indicate that rituals that would not necessarily leave a large amount of archaeological evidence were also carried out, such as dancing and feasting.¹⁰³²

The cave sanctuaries of Thessaly are predictably found primarily outside of the tetrads, since the tetrads were largely plains and contained few karstic formations such as caves. The one known tetradic cave sanctuary is the Pharsalian Cave on Mount Karaplas, which is located away from the urban settlement, on a fairly wooded site, on difficult terrain that hides the entrance to the cave.¹⁰³³ It is fortunate that the entrance to the cave was well inscribed, allowing us to learn that the many of the improvements made on the cave (the steps, the niches, dedications) were undertaken by an individual named Pantalkes, who inscribed a dedication to unnamed goddesses (presumably nymphs)

¹⁰²⁹ Sporn 2007: 39-62.

¹⁰³⁰ See Tomkins 2012 for an analysis of Neolithic and Bronze Age cave use on Crete, for which he argues that these caves can only be sufficiently understood if we approach them from the perspective of ritual and ritualisation.

¹⁰³¹ Hom. *Od.* 13.102-112.

¹⁰³² Horster 2010: 435-458.

¹⁰³³ Levi 1923-1924 and Wagman 2015.

sometime in the early 5th c. BC, and for whom a posthumous, hexametric dedication was written, naming numerous deities associated with healing, the wild, and pastoralism, demonstrating that these caves did not have to be consecrated to particular deities but were still considered the haunt of various gods and thus could be used as a sanctuary. It is also unique among the cave sanctuaries as it is the only one with the explicit written evidence to describe the benefits that visitors could receive from paying cult at the cave, specifically to “forget all bad things, be given good things and overcome conflict” (lines 20-21).

The Karaplas cave is similar to the Krounia cave in that the natural bedrock of the cave was altered for the purposes of the cult at the cave.¹⁰³⁴ Both were fitted with niches for the placement of statuettes, votive plaques, or perhaps lighting equipment. In the case of the Karaplas cave, the inscription mentions that steps (no longer extant) were added to the small cliff that one needs to climb in order to enter the cave, and in the case of the Krounia cave, four cisterns were added to the exterior of the cave, which the excavators thought perhaps connected to water rituals for nymphs, who were closely connected with water sources. I would suggest that the insertion of these artificial springs was part of the trend in nature sanctuaries in the Hellenistic period during which natural features were often “tamed” through the addition of man-made features rather than simply leaving the cave in its natural state.¹⁰³⁵ This is further supported by the rooftiles found strewn about the site, which could have indicated that at least parts of the sanctuary were fitted with a roof. The fact that the Krounia cave was sacred to the nymphs is verified by several inscribed stelai, bases for which were found carved into the bedrock of the cave as well.

Both caves received votive deposits from the Late Archaic/Early Classical to the Hellenistic period in the case of Karaplas and from the Hellenistic (4th c. at the earliest) to the Roman period in the case of Krounia. Karaplas, however, received an abundant amount of terracotta figurines whereas none were found at Krounia. The deities at Karaplas received figurines, statuettes, plaques, and pottery (both utilitarian and finer vessels), whereas the nymphs at Krounia were given, in addition to utilitarian pottery, various small

¹⁰³⁴ Agouridis *et al.* 2006: 252-255.

¹⁰³⁵ Giesecke 2007: 35-78.

objects such as lamps, loomweights, daggers, various iron nails and hoops, glass vessels, bone and shell, and lithic adzes and blades. The differences in the types of finds in the two caves can perhaps be reflective of differences in what the surrounding communities deemed to be appropriate gifts to the deities in their respective caves. The types of finds found at Karaplas, for example, are similar to those found in votive deposits in rural sites in the plains. The presence of bone and shell might also have indicated that meals were eaten at the cave, or perhaps that it was appropriate to leave food for the goddesses of the cave. It is interesting that there are loomweights in the Krounia cave as it might show that they were leaving tools for the nymphs to use, as Homer's *Odyssey* noted as an activity of the Ithaca cave's resident nymphs.¹⁰³⁶ The deposition of lithic tools on site might also have been gifts for the nymphs to use and the fact that they are lithic tools could be a sign that the dedicants believed that more primitive implements were more appropriate gifts to nature deities perceived as tied to the landscape. The presence of building materials (nails, hoops, rooftiles), in addition, probably indicates the addition of several built features to the cave.

The finds in the Plaka cave on Ossa are similar in nature to the latter two, in the way that the main evidence for ritual activity is in the continuous deposition of small objects from the 5th c. to the Roman period.¹⁰³⁷ The bulk of the finds consisted of terracotta figurines, which are unfortunately not described by Arvanitopoulos but are similar to the votives in the Karaplas cave. The votives also included some bronze fibulae and one ring, which seem like gifts for the goddesses to use, unlike the terracottas. The natural environment of the cave is unaltered except for the addition of stele slots on the bedrock. The finds and the nature of the inscriptions (names of dedicants and the recipient nymphs), not just at the Plaka cave but also in the other two, suggest cult for more personal purposes than a wider community scope.

Despite Sporn's assertion that caves were not important in rituals of the *polis* there is evidence that cave sanctuaries can become settings for community rituals.¹⁰³⁸ Outside of

¹⁰³⁶ Hom. *Od.* 13.102-112.

¹⁰³⁷ Wace-Thompson 1908-9: 245 and 246; Wace (1906): 149-150; *ΠΑΕ* 1910: 219-20; *BCH* 44 (1920) Chroniques: 398; *IACP* s.v. Spalauthra, no. 358.

¹⁰³⁸ Sporn 2013.

Thessaly, the Korykian Cave and the Idaean Cave were used for ephebic initiation rituals, and the Pliasidi cave on Pelion might have acquired a similar function. A 3rd c. BC historian named Herakleides the Cretan, known to us from only three surviving fragments in pseudo-Dikaiarchos, mentions that the inhabitants of the coastal communities around Mount Pelion celebrated an annual procession to a sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and Chiron on the peak of Mount Pelion (most likely the Pliasidi sanctuary). Bremmer suggests that the cult had an initiatory nature concerned with ephebic rites of passage because of Cheiron's association with the education of young heroes.¹⁰³⁹ I would in fact add that the Roman period inscription by a dedicant Aurelios Timasitheos who referred to himself with the epithet *Kentaurios* or "of the centaur" was probably one of the initiates receiving his rites of passage, in the same way that an Athenian girl receiving her rites at Brauron could be called *Arktos* or "bear."¹⁰⁴⁰ The fragmentary written sources mentioned above provide few details, but the procession apparently involved the aristocratic men from the coastal areas of the Pelion peninsula climbing up to the sanctuary wearing ram skins.¹⁰⁴¹ Contrary to the nature of the caves at Karaplas and Krounia, the Pliasidi cave served the needs not only of individual dedicants but of the Magnesians *ethnos*. The expansion of the site during the Macedonian rule of Thessaly also demonstrates that when the majority of Pelion's population was moved to Demetrias, the rituals at this sanctuary continued and might in fact have been supported by the Macedonian kings.

Archaeologically, however, the cave is unexplored as shepherds had blocked off the entrance with rocks before Arvanitopoulos' excavations, and the results of Arvanitopoulos' limited excavations at the site cannot be verified given its location within a military base. The site is interesting because unlike the other sacred caves in Thessaly, Pliasidi was also fitted with a sanctuary complex, dating from the Classical to the Roman period. A round peribolos was added possibly in the 5th c. BC (a date which cannot be verified for reasons stated above), incorporating the cave at its west end. It had two buildings interpreted as temples, the one closest to the cave being round like the Gonnoi acropolis temple.

¹⁰³⁹ Bremmer 2012: 34. Aston 2009: 99-106 also comments on the kourotrophic nature of Cheiron's cult and contrasts it with the kourotrophic aspects of Thetis' cult.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *IG IX²* 1128.

¹⁰⁴¹ Herakleides in Pseud.-Dikaiarchos 2.8 (*GGM* 1.107).

Arvanitopoulos excavated neither building. Although the literary sources assign this sanctuary to Zeus Akraios and Cheiron, all of the inscriptions referring to the site are dedications to Zeus Akraios and not to Cheiron, and it seems that the only feature of the sanctuary that would be appropriate to Cheiron is the cave identified by Arvanitopoulos. I would tentatively suggest that the original sanctuary at this peak was simply the cave but was incorporated with the cult of Zeus Akraios (“of the peak”) since the two shared a common sacred space. I would, however, hesitate to state this with any certainty given that it is currently not possible to verify and revisit Arvanitopoulos’ findings and interpretations.

A final cave was the small rock-cut, artificial cave found in a ravine outside the East Gate of Goritsa.¹⁰⁴² The cave is inscribed to Zeus Meilichios and unfortunately no artefacts have been recorded but what is interesting is that the city of Goritsa was no longer inhabited when this cave was in use in the 3rd c. BC. It probably drew largely rural cult, perhaps shepherds and cowherds leaving votives (of which we have none surviving unfortunately) while grazing their livestock on the hill, or perhaps by the people squatting in the abandoned city.

(b) Peak Sanctuaries

The tops of mountains were often ritualised as they were often symbolically charged but also inherently appropriate places of worship for certain gods, particularly Zeus but also other deities associated with the mountains and the heavens.¹⁰⁴³ Mountains were appropriate places for communities to pray to weather gods, centuries before the periods with which I am concerned in this dissertation.¹⁰⁴⁴ In the Middle Minoan Period, Cretan mountaintops accumulated concentrations of votive deposits. Many of these deposits consisted of terracotta figurines, often predominantly animal figures, especially of cattle and sheep, which could also indicate that herders traversing the mountains with their flocks also often performed rituals related to their agro-pastoral concerns. They could also be figurines of dedicants with their arms lifted up to heavens in prayer, such as the large

¹⁰⁴² Te Riele 1972: 408-411.

¹⁰⁴³ For peak sanctuaries in general, see Belis 2015. Bradley 2000 addresses the reasons certain natural places were given a sacred character (see pp. 81-96). For comparisons from Arcadia, see Baleriaux 2015.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Mylonopoulos 2008: 63-65.

forest of figurines left on the peak of the refugee site at Karphi.¹⁰⁴⁵ The two prevailing scholarly views of Minoan peak sanctuaries were that (a) these were frequented by pastoralists and farmers to address their cultic needs, and (b) that these sites were symbolically charged areas that could be used to establish or consolidate power and authority.¹⁰⁴⁶ I will not engage in the discussions concerning the continuity of of cult at Minoan peak sanctuaries (among other types of Minoan cult sites) into Classical times but I would suggest that the above two views could apply to peak sanctuaries from later periods and I would add that these were not contradictory functions of a peak sanctuary.

Like Minoan peak sanctuaries, Greek peak sanctuaries often served agro-pastoral concerns. A famous Attic example is the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Hymettos, where farmers left dedications praying for rain. Most such peak sanctuaries contained few architectural remains (usually none) and the finds often consisted of votive figurines and pottery.¹⁰⁴⁷ Mountaintops could also be symbolically charged as many mountains were settings for many important mythological events. For example, the peak of Mount Oita, the mythological setting for the death of Herakles, housed a peak sanctuary whose excavated remains concentrate around a rock cult altar.¹⁰⁴⁸ Another famous peak sanctuary on Mount Lykaion, which seated a monumental ash altar to Zeus Lykaios, whose long-standing cult at the site (continuity in cult activity since the Early Iron Age) served as one of the unifying focal points for the Arcadian *ethnos*,¹⁰⁴⁹ which was a political entity by the 5th c. BC.¹⁰⁵⁰

There are only three peak sanctuaries in this catalogue, all of which are understandably in *perioikoi* since the tetrads are largely flat. All three are located in mythologically important places. Two of these are sanctuaries I have already mentioned as they were also cave sites: the sanctuaries on Ossa and Pelion.¹⁰⁵¹ The cult at the Ossa sanctuary was smaller in scope but the Pelion sanctuary was one of the more important

¹⁰⁴⁵ Wallace 2021 is a recent reassessment of the settlement at Karphi.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Haysom 2018: 19.

¹⁰⁴⁷ For a summary of the excavations, see Langdon 1976: 1-148.

¹⁰⁴⁸ For the excavations, see Béquignon 1937b: 204-26. For the more recent excavations, see Pantos 2018.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Romano and Voyatzis 2014: 569-652 and 2015: 207-276.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Morgan 2003: 38.

¹⁰⁵¹ The peak sanctuary to Zeus Olympios on the peak of Agios Antonios, although important to the Thessalians, is excluded from my analysis for the same reason that Oita is excluded: it is outside of the geographical bounds of this dissertation as it is technically in Pieria. Parker 2010: 115 comments on Agios Antonios and its identification with the Thessalian Olympia.

sanctuaries of the Magnesian *ethnos*, as mentioned above, just as the Lykaion sanctuary was important to the Arcadians.¹⁰⁵² The third sanctuary lies on the peak of Mount Othrys. Unfortunately, the evidence for the sanctuary currently comprises only some architectural remains built into the chapel of Profitis Ilias. The deity worshipped is uncertain but if there were a sanctuary on the Othrys peak, it would most likely have been Zeus Othryios (“Othrian Zeus”). The importance of this sanctuary, if it was indeed that of Zeus Othryios, seems to have been limited since the cult is attested only from Melitaian inscriptions. At most, the cult of Zeus Othryios had a micro-regional focus (i.e. only around the vicinity of the Othrys peak) since the inscriptions mentioning the sanctuary concerned inter-polis treaties. It is possible that the Melitaians appropriated the cult which fell within its *chora*.

(c) Sacred Groves

The ἄλσος, which is the general Greek word for a grove of trees, is often used to refer to a sacred grove. As with the sacred caves, the *alsos* provided a portal enabling interactions between the ordered, human world and the Otherworld filled with uncanny powers to which humans cannot give order.¹⁰⁵³ The grove can be a naturally treed area or an artificially planted one but in either case it is meant to be perceived as an environment inhabited by supernatural natural forces, especially by nymphs. This can be but is not necessarily a thick grouping of trees; in fact, in some cases a single tree can be considered sacred (e.g. the oracular oak at Dodona). These groves could be fitted with an altar which would become the focal point of ritual and fulfill one of the two basic requirements for an area to be considered a *temenos*. The second requirement is the boundary, which for a sacred grove usually comprised a naturally delineated area (i.e. it ends when the trees do) but it can also be fitted with an artificial boundary, which can be posts or stones but also a wall in some cases. In some cases an *alsos* can be given a temple and a sanctuary complex.

The most famous example of a sacred grove is at Olympia where the focal point of the site’s massive complex is the grove of trees at the base of the Kronion Hill (perhaps the original locus of cult at the site) which gave the name “Altis” to the original *temenos* (a

¹⁰⁵² Although the Pelion sanctuary at Pliasidi is archaeologically problematic, as discussed in Chapter 3, its importance is attested philologically; see Herakleides in Pseud.-Dikaiarchos 2.8 (*GGM* 1.107).

¹⁰⁵³ Barnett 2007: 253-255. On sacred groves in general, see Birge 1982.

corruption of the word *alsos* in the Elean dialect, according to Pausanias).¹⁰⁵⁴ The site was originally a rural meeting place that developed to a common sanctuary for the Elean *ethnos*, which evolved into a panhellenic sanctuary. The early *temenos* at Olympia included this *alsos*, the large ash altar, the heroon of Pelops, and what might have been an apsidal temple to Zeus. As the sanctuary grew in its panhellenic importance, it received several temples, a massive *temenos* wall, athletic venues, treasuries, and many other subsidiary buildings and structures.¹⁰⁵⁵ Despite its colossal architectural and artistic expansion, the most sacred structures at Olympia remained in the Altis whereas the agonistic structures remained outside it. During Pausanias' time, there seemed to have been very specific rules concerning the use of the grove within the Altis. There was a special office called the *xyleus* ("woodcutter") whose duty it was to provide wood for the altar of Zeus. He was the only person allowed to cut down and sell the white poplar wood from the Altis to states and individuals at a fixed rate as a prerequisite for sacrificing at the altar of Zeus. Using any other type of wood other than what is provided by the *xyleus* was forbidden. Furthermore, it was the duty of *xyleis* to ritually taste the neck of the black ram offered to Pelops, after which they would be considered ritually impure and unable to enter the temple of Zeus until purified, indicating that the space, which hosted several distinct precincts, had complex sets of rules governing movement and use of the natural environment within the Altis.¹⁰⁵⁶ It also seems to be the case, from the inscribed sacred laws that have survived from the sanctuary, that personnel from within the Altis should be distinct from personnel of the sanctuary outside the Altis.¹⁰⁵⁷

The case of the Altis at Olympia is a hyperbolic example of what can happen to an *alsos* and can help us understand the sacred groves of Thessaly via comparison. There is Thessalian epigraphic evidence for sacred laws, such as those at Korope and at Tempe, governing activities within an *alsos* as well as the addition of additional features to it, but nowhere near the scale of Olympia.¹⁰⁵⁸ The inevitable problem with the archaeological evidence for sacred groves is the fact that very few of them leave obvious material traces.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Paus. 5.10.1.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Michael Scott 2010: 6

¹⁰⁵⁶ Paus. 5.13.2-3.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Murray 2014: 314.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Tempe: *AA* 1960: 175-6; Korope: *IG IX²* 1110, 1202, 1203.

In the case of Olympia, there is ample written evidence to describe the existence of the grove despite the fact that the grove and the ash altar were never recovered by the German archaeologists. There were definitely more sacred groves in Thessaly than we know of in the epigraphic and archaeological record, and the reality of it is that the ones that have survived are known either because the site received additional features or because there are written testimonials attesting to the existence of a sacred grove at a site. It is, furthermore, more than likely that many of the archaeologically-known sanctuaries had groves that we do not have evidence for. Early excavation practices, the same ones that did not take osteological material into account, would also have missed any evidence for the presence of an *alsos*.

The most well-known example of a sacred grove from Thessaly is the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia, which is an ideal case study since it was in use as a cult site for a millennium. Theocharis was the first to suggest that the site was an open-air one in the EIA and Archaic Period, while Intzesiloglou later suggested that the many of the votives would have been hung on a tree since many were found in a single ash layer containing no bones (i.e. not an ash altar). The grove, or part of it, might have burned down sometime in the Archaic period, hence the ash layer, but the sanctuary continued to be in use afterwards. The sanctuary probably had more than just a local significance because of the sheer number of finds excavated (and looted) from the site. Kilian-Dirlmeier's analysis of the small finds demonstrates that a large proportion of the finds from the site that are currently unavailable were from outside of the region, and of the non-Thessalian material, a significant number was not from mainland Greece, originating from the Balkans, the Baltic, West Phoenicia, Syria, and elsewhere in the Near East.¹⁰⁵⁹

I again reiterate that only one-fiftieth of the total site has been excavated and the rest of the site may yield architecture, but based on the current state of the evidence, throughout the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, the site may have continued to be an open-air sanctuary and was probably still a wooded area despite the burning from the previous phase (the area was by the river and susceptible to thick tree growth, as it is now). The earliest evidence for architecture (that we have so far) dates to the late 5th c. BC

¹⁰⁵⁹ Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002: 225.

period but it is not until the Hellenistic period (3rd c. BC) that the sanctuary received the first certain building (excluding the Mycenaean period of the site when there was a trapezoidal building of unknown function). Unfortunately, there were no foundations excavated so the size of the building is not certain. The only evidence for some sort of structure are architectural fragments. We do not know its plan or function (i.e. whether it was a temple, stoa, or another building). We do know that the sanctuary's early life was probably without architecture. The steepest decline in votive activity that has been identified so far from the available material (3rd c. BC) corresponds with the presence of the first certain building on the site as well as the first epigraphic attestations of the site's supra-political importance, potentially demonstrating what could be a shift in the cult focus similar to what happened at Olympia when its first buildings were constructed.¹⁰⁶⁰ The case of Philia, however, differs from that at Olympia as this change happened in the Hellenistic period at Philia, whereas at Olympia it had begun centuries earlier. I do not, however, exclude the possibility that more votive deposits could be found if more of the site could be excavated.

A similar case can be observed at Agia Paraskevi in the Vale of Tempe whose only excavated remains are the stylobate of a large altar and four stelai inscribed to Apollo Pythios.¹⁰⁶¹ Keeping in mind that site was only minimally excavated and no longer accessible, I would tentatively propose that the site may have been a sacred grove since the area is naturally thickly wooded and was known from Plutarch as the place from which the laurel branches for the Pythian Games were brought to Delphi during the enneatric Septeria festival.¹⁰⁶² It is possible that further archaeological explorations of this area of Tempe could reveal some architectural remains, but in any case, the fact that it was known for its laurels seems to indicate that the wooded nature of the area was the main focus. The inscriptions explicitly mentioning Apollo Pythios make it very likely that the site at Agia Paraskevi was the specific precinct that gave the Pythian Games their wreaths. The Pythian Games had been celebrated since 582 BC making it possible that this area had been

¹⁰⁶⁰ See Eder 2001 for early Olympia.

¹⁰⁶¹ *AA* 1960: 175-6

¹⁰⁶² Plut. *Quaest. Graec.* 12 (*Mor.* 293 B-F); cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Graninger 2009 and 2011: 102. A cult of Apollo Tempeitas is also attested in two inscriptions from Larisa: Tziafalias 1984: 215-216, no. 94 and *SEG* 35, 607.

considered sacred since then, whether or not offerings were being dedicated at the spot. The altar was added only in the 4th c. BC, meaning that there were likely no other structures on the site beforehand. I would tentatively propose that the site was originally an open-air sanctuary, whether or not it was a formal *temenos*, which had the laurel trees as its main feature. Unfortunately, I can only leave this as a hypothetical since the site no longer exists and nothing more was found by Arvanitopoulos' small-scale rescue excavations. I cannot exclude the possibility that there were further material remains in the vicinity in the form of votive offerings or other structures. There were probably no buildings due to the steep sides of the gorge at Tempe leaving only narrow banks beside the river, which are densely packed with trees. With the existing evidence, however, it does seem that the altar was the first structure and it was not built until the 4th c. BC.

The inscriptions from the sanctuary of Apollo at Korope indicate the probable presence of a sacred grove. The natural topography of the site beside the Boufa river is well-wooded and was most likely also very wooded in Antiquity. One of the inscriptions from the site, a substantial sacred law running 94 lines, decreed in 100 BC, places restrictions on the sorts of activities that can be conducted in the sanctuary's precinct.¹⁰⁶³ These restrictions include a prohibition on destroying trees in the sanctuary (an offence that carries an unnamed punishment), on grazing herds, as well as spreading manure. Although it is possible that the site was originally an ancient grove before it received any architecture, the earliest evidence for activity on the site reported by Arvanitopoulos are fragments of the Archaic building so it might have had architecture since its beginning. The sanctuary, however, might have ceased to have any architecture by the 1st c. BC. The inscribed sacred law mentioned above at no point mentions a temple, and the last renovations to it were carried out in the 4th c. BC if Van Buren's interpretation of the terracotta revetments are to be trusted.¹⁰⁶⁴ The building identified by Arvanitopoulos, and to which the terracotta refinements may have belonged, might have gone out of use by the time the sacred law was published.

Despite the possible absence of buildings at the Korope *temenos* in the Late

¹⁰⁶³ *IG IX² 1109*.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Van Buren 1926: 44; Mili 2015: 330-331.

Hellenistic period, the sanctuary seemingly did not cease to be important. In fact, the aforementioned sacred law was decreed not by the priest of Apollo Koropaios but that of Zeus Akraios, the official cult of the Magnesian League, as well as the League's *strategoï*, the *strategoï* of the Aiolian League, with whom the Magnesians were allied, and the *nomophylakes* ("guardian of laws"), after it had passed through a *boule* and *ekklesia*. The sanctuary at Korope had more than just a local character as it was clearly administered by more than just a *demos* at Korope but by the Magnesian League itself. The possible lack of buildings did not make it less important.

Several sacred groves are known only from inscriptions or literary mentions and not archaeologically. The cave near Pharsalos is in a wooded area of Karaplas hill and its forested exterior could also be considered a sacred grove.¹⁰⁶⁵ The larger metrical inscription etched onto the wall of the cave's entrance mentions the area as a place that the nymphs walk. It also mentions that Pantalkes, the overseer of the sacred cave, planted the area, indicating that the grove outside the cave was also part of the sanctuary, or at least recognised as the haunt of gods. The archaeological evidence for cultic activity outside the cave is unknown. The famous Demetrium at Pyrasos is known from literary sources, particularly Strabo. Leake, during his exploration of Nea Anchialos (anc. Pyrasos) noted an ancient stone at the site of Kokkina, where he places the sanctuary of Demeter. The flaw in his identification, however, lies in the fact that he was attempting to locate a temple at the Demetrium. Strabo's text explicitly mentions the sanctuary as an *alsos*,¹⁰⁶⁶ which means that the main feature would have been a grove that may or may not have had a temple. It would be wrong to assume that there would be a temple in the sanctuary because of its fame because it is possible for a sanctuary to be famous without having any architecture, as we know in the early phases of Olympia.

(d) Sacred Springs

Like the previous natural features, springs could also be considered sacred as the haunt of a resident nymph or other nature deities. According to Larson, nymphs were

¹⁰⁶⁵ This was the situation during my last visit in 2014 and it seems to have been the case in satellite photos from before 1950.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Strab. 9.5.14.

primarily spring deities who eventually came to represent other features of landscapes.¹⁰⁶⁷ Sacred springs are mentioned as early as Homer who mentions a sacred spring outside Ithaka, which consisted of a fountain, an altar, and a sacred grove of poplars.¹⁰⁶⁸ In Thessaly and Magna Graecia, more than any other regions of Greece, resident nymphs were often appropriated as symbols of the community and minted on coins (e.g. Hyperia at Pherai, Larisa at Larisa). These springs could be entirely natural, or they could be incorporated into municipal waterworks as at Megara. The problem with identifying them in the archaeological record is the same as identifying sacred groves: the rituals often do not leave traces. For example, at Syracuse where there was a state festival at the spring of Cyane, a sacrificed bull is ritually immersed into the spring.¹⁰⁶⁹ Such an act would not necessarily leave material traces. An altar and votives would not necessarily be made of durable material and architectural structures were usually not added. The evidence for sacred springs in Thessaly presented below is often epigraphical with only some being archaeological. There are only four springs mentioned in this section because they are the only springs for which we have evidence of either cultic activity or at least the recognition of sacred status but there are doubtless many other sacred springs throughout Thessaly.

The first sacred spring is the Hypereia spring at Pherai, one of the most famous in the region. This spring, around which the city of Pherai was built, was well known for its powerful gushing waters and was surrounded by lush vegetation (especially plane trees) until the last century. This spring was thought to have been inhabited by the nymph Hypereia and was given a fountain house with lion-head spouts in the 4th c. BC, similar to the Kastalian spring at Delphi, perhaps as a symbolic monumentalisation by the tyrants of Pherai. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, there were no remains for ritual activity (except perhaps the deposition of coins into the fountain) but I include the Hypereia spring in this list as the spring most definitely held a sort of sacred status given its symbolic importance to the city, even if it were not a *temenos* in the strict sense. A city that grew around a spring would probably have held some state rituals in its waters as they did in Sicilian cities that had a resident nymph. I would also think it very likely that one or more

¹⁰⁶⁷ Larson 2001: 5.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Hom. *Od.* 13.102-112.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Larson 2007: 62.

of the buildings found around the fountain house could have been cultic structures.

There is another possible sacred spring at the modern site of Keramochori near ancient Thaumakoi in Achaia Phthiotis. Cantarelli noted the poorly preserved foundations of a structure of some sort, not enough to identify it as a building.¹⁰⁷⁰ I would suggest that it is just as likely to be an altar rather than a building but since Cantarelli does not give measurements for the ruins, we cannot even say for certain if it had a cultic function. Sherds are strewn about on the site but Cantarelli does not provide a date or function for the sherds so we cannot be certain of the date of the so-called sacred structure. If, however, Cantarelli's interpretation of the structure as being related to cult is correct, I would propose that it could have had a connection with the spring beside which it was built, which might have been considered sacred. The scattering of sherds throughout the area of the fountain could indicate votive deposition to the deity worshipped at the spring. Given the nature of the evidence, however, I dare not propose anything with certainty.

One spring cult is known only through an inscription which gives an indication of its location. It consists of a stele indicating the presence of a sanctuary of Poseidon in front of one of the gates leading up to the acropolis.¹⁰⁷¹ Since the stele was found *in situ*, the sanctuary would have been located in the vicinity of the stele. The stele indicates that the deity worshipped was Poseidon Kranaios Pylaios (Poseidon of the spring at the gate). There must have been a spring, natural or artificial, placed at the base of the acropolis near this location, and it seems to have been sacred to Poseidon, who is often connected to freshwater in Thessaly with epithets such as Κραναίος, Κρηνούχος, or Νυμφαγέτης ("of the spring," "spring-bearer," and "nymph-leader" respectively).

There is one other sacred spring not included in Chapter Three of this dissertation because there has not yet been any associated archaeological evidence nor has there been an inscription specifying its location. Gérard Lucas proposes that there is a sanctuary to Hades and Persephone in the vicinity of the Mati spring which feeds the Titaresios river. There was an inscription on a stele found built into the church of Phaneromeni in the area of Tyrnavos which indicates that there was a territory of land containing a *temenos* sacred

¹⁰⁷⁰ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 174-175.

¹⁰⁷¹ Verdelis 1955.

to the infernal couple. This stele consists of a 2nd c. BC decree in which the sacredness of the territory (ἄ ἱερὰ χούρα) was reaffirmed after desecrations by people who had been appropriating its agricultural land, building houses, and squatting on the sacred chora. The decree restores the proper usage of the sanctuary and instructs magistrates to enact the restoration, clear out the chora's abusive occupants, and erect the decree in the sanctuary of Hades and Persephone.¹⁰⁷²

Lucas proposes that the sanctuary described on the stele should be located in Perrhaibia, likely Phalanna, not only because of its discovery in Tyrnavos but because one of the presiding agents of this decree was a priest of Asklepios, whose priests appear on other official Phalannaian decrees. Given this detail, Lucas believes that the most likely place for this sanctuary to Hades and Persephone is at the Mati spring, whose powerful springs feed the Titaresios river, which mythological traditions as early as Homer say are fed by the waters of the Styx in the Underworld. Homer and Strabo narrate the belief that the Titaresios flows into the Peneus but since the Titaresios flows into the Styx, the waters of the two rivers do not mix.¹⁰⁷³ Lucas notes that the marshy topography of the Mati spring is typical of locations of known Ploutoneia, such as at Elis, Hermione, Koroneia, Eleusis, and Triphylia near Argos. He also notes that these areas are frequently associated with entrances to the Underworld which are often swamps, lakes, caves, or faults. The area around Mati is swampy, fertile, and would match the stele's description of agricultural lands, while the large and powerful spring is the main outlet of a deep aquifer along the Tyrnavos fault line and could have been seen as an entrance to the Underworld. Unfortunately, the first three lines of the inscription, which would have named the city, do not state the exact location and the area of the Mati is unsurveyed so we do not have any archaeological remains that would corroborate Lucas' proposal.

If Lucas' suggestion is correct, then the Mati spring (Ott. *Karadere* "black valley") would have been the main feature that would have given the area its perceived sacredness. It would have included a formal *temenos* dedicated to Hades and Persephone, as mentioned by the inscription, as well as a sacred chora, activities within which were for the purposes

¹⁰⁷² Lucas 2002: 107-124; Thess. ἄ ἱερὰ χούρα = Att. ἡ ἱερὰ χώρα.

¹⁰⁷³ Hom. *Il.* 2.751; Strab. 7.15.

of the *temenos* and regulated by decrees passed by the *polis*. The nature of the *temenos* and its contents are unknown. Given that it was named specifically as a *temenos*, we can expect, at least, an altar and a boundary of some sort but we cannot say for certain whether there were architectural structures or other features. We also know very little of the sacred site's history and development because of the lack of an archaeological site or any further textual evidence. We are ignorant of whether the ritualisation of the site started with some offerings around the spring, which then developed into a fully-fledged *temenos*. At some point before the decree's publication in the 2nd c. BC, the sacred chora (and perhaps also the *temenos*?) had begun to lose its perceived sacred character, necessitating its restoration in the decree.¹⁰⁷⁴

(e) Votive Caches

A number of the sites in the non-architectural category consist only of votive deposits without other man-made or topographical features. These deposits present some interpretational complications. Since we do not currently have the information to reconstruct the ancient landscape of these sites in most cases, we cannot say for certain whether these signs of ritual were carried out within a grove of trees or a body of water that has since dried up. It is also important to remember that these objects do not always appear in the archaeological record as remains of a single ritual event; they often represent numerous rungs in ritual behaviour. Without a quantitative study of the objects and their contexts, we usually do not know whether these represented acts of primary deposition as gifts set up for display with a communicative purpose to divine beings and other people, or if they were deposited there as deconsecrated refuse from a sacred site.¹⁰⁷⁵ The discovery of votives in pits or *bothroi* does not automatically indicate secondary deposition as the intentional burial of gifts to deities can occur in rituals such as in a foundation offering or the deposition of sacrificial carcasses as at the Thesmophoria.

It is still possible to analyse patterns of deposition regardless of other informative features. By observing typological, chronological, and spatial distributions of artefacts in an area, we can make some hypotheses concerning the nature of the cult, such as the nature of

¹⁰⁷⁴ *IG IX² 1229*.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Pakkanen 2015: 38.

the concern of the votaries, the identity and role of the divinity, changes in the appropriate forms of worship at the site, as well as insight into the culture that produced and deposited them. In the case of Thessaly, however, I once again have to add the caveat that at many sites, we do not have fully quantified or fully published votive assemblages which hampers our ability to answer many of the questions posed above.

In the list below, I exclude sites that contain votive deposits but no other features if they have already been categorised above because they were had other topological features that could categorise them as sacred groves/caves/peak sanctuaries/sacred springs.

The first example of votive deposits without any other features is the first phase of the Makalorema sanctuary at Pherai. During the Early Iron Age/Early Archaic period, the site did not have any architecture but instead contained several *bothroi* with a wealth in bronzes and terracottas comparable to the Philia sanctuary. No building would appear on the site until the Late Archaic period. The deposits at Makalorema indicated a shift at the end of the Early Iron Age in the deposition of wealth from cemeteries to sanctuaries. The Early Iron Age necropolis underneath this sanctuary, for example, contained graves with very few goods. Unlike at Philia, however, there are no indications of how the offerings may have been set up in the sanctuary; what we have are most likely secondary deposits buried after their display at the sanctuary was no longer necessary. This display was likely an arena of competition and exhibitions power due to the sheer quantity of wealth deposited at the site, comparable to the Early Iron Age phase at Olympia.

The rest of the examples contain only non-architectural phases. The proposed sanctuary to Demeter and Kore at Ambelia near Pharsalos contained a wealth of terracotta figurines (predominantly animals, many of which were pigs, but also some human figurines, predominantly female). The next two sites present a similar case as Ambelia. Karpochori's deposit largely contained terracottas (animals and female figurines) and miniature pottery, while Longos yielded pottery and bronze objects.¹⁰⁷⁶ It is possible that these sites give evidence to sanctuaries in the area that addressed largely rural concerns due to their locations away from cities and the similarities of the objects to known rural

¹⁰⁷⁶ <https://www.makthes.gr/o-aytokinitodromos-apokalypse-archaia-185647> (accessed 5 March 2019); Work of the 34th Ephorate.

sanctuaries. The deposits at these three sites raise some important questions. Did these constitute sacred refuse ritually deposited after use in a sanctuary? Or was the deposition itself the purpose of some ritual in the sanctuary (as is known for other cults of Demeter and Kore)? Was there a sanctuary at all? Was this perhaps a deposition for a rural ritual that was meant to happen in the fields and not in a sanctuary? These questions unfortunately have to remain open because of the absence of any other contextual information.

The remaining two sites containing only votive deposits are both at Demetrias. The Pasikrata sanctuary is well known for its wealthy deposits found in pits near the South Cemetery of the city. The majority of the votives were terracotta figurines as well as ceramics, which is typical of the votives found in this subsection, but finds such as stone altars, and marble statuary not found in the other sites indicate a different character in the nature of the worship at the Pasikrata sanctuary. Furthermore, despite the fact that what we have consist largely of votive deposits, we know from inscriptions that the cult would have had a priesthood as well as some sort of organisation, which would not necessarily be absent despite the absence of buildings. The finds from the Pasikrata sanctuary are similar to those from Phanos hill within the city walls of Demetrias, but those from Phanos are fewer in number. I do acknowledge the possibility that the Phanos site might have had a building of some sort as Arvanitopoulos noted reused architectural remains in nearby structures, but it remains uncertain. I agree with Stamatopoulou's assessment of the nature of the cult at the Pasikrata sanctuary as being largely to do with kourotrophy rather than with the dead and the similarity of the finds with those from Phanos might indicate that the two sanctuaries shared similar concerns.¹⁰⁷⁷

(f) Sanctuaries with Constructed Features (non-architectural)

This subsection deals with open-air sanctuaries that were given some sort of feature but not any architecture. In three cases, these features were possible altars while the remainder consisted of sites whose physical topography (particularly rock formations) were modified. An open-air sanctuary with an altar is the most basic form that a formal

¹⁰⁷⁷ Stamatopoulou 2014: 208-9.

temenos can take but the absence of any other structures in the sanctuary does not necessarily diminish its importance.

The sanctuary of Apollo at the Vale of Tempe has already been mentioned above. It contained, as far we know, only the foundations for an altar within a sacred grove. One would misjudge the panhellenic importance of this sanctuary and the region in which it was located by assuming that the lack of any other structures amounts to insignificance. The altar was monumentalised in the 4th c. BC but the cult was older and its importance was literarily attested despite its material simplicity. Similarly, the sanctuary of Herakles on the hill of Spartia at Latomeio contained an altar that was monumentalised in the Hellenistic period, but which was demonstrably important in earlier periods.¹⁰⁷⁸ Unlike at Tempe, however, the Spartia sanctuary's earlier phases were archaeologically better attested. The remains of the sanctuary contained, in terms of features, a grouping of stone cairns (Archaic period) around some sort of cultic focal point, the remains of which consisted of an ash layer filled with burnt animal bones. This could perhaps have been an altar, the remains for which do not survive since a raised stone altar is placed on top of it during the Hellenistic period. The type of altar in the Archaic period is unknown. It might have been of less durable material or perhaps even an ash altar and a commensal area. I would entertain the possibility that there was no altar at all, but instead there was simply a commensal area, explaining the burnt faunal remains. No building would be constructed until the Classical period (5th/4th c. BC) and so the sanctuary was open-air during the Archaic period. The placement of the sanctuary on a major thoroughfare and its connection to a deity strongly connected to Pherai in mythology could be reasons for the votive wealth of this site. It is also interesting to note that the majority of the votives were deposited prior to the construction of a building, as at Philia and Pherai. The pre-temple stone cairns at Spartia marked areas of deposits rich with dedications (bronzes, terracottas, ceramics, burnt faunal remains, *kouroi*, and *korai*).

In any case, the absence of large structures is not necessarily an indication of lack of importance. A final site with only an altar is the Keramochori site mentioned above. The foundations by the spring could have been an altar but no systematic study of the site has

¹⁰⁷⁸ ΠΑΕ 1911: 300. ΠΑΕ 1911 and 1915. ΑΔ 1999: 405; ΑΡ 2007–8: 59.

been conducted and therefore all that I can state concerning the site is that we cannot assume that the site was necessarily unimportant.

Of the five sites that only contained alterations to the natural environment, three had rock formations on which hemispherical protrusions were worked, two of which are in the area of Pharsalos. The first of the two belongs to a sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios on Ag. Paraskevi, which contained numerous hemispherical protrusions cut on the bedrock as well as one inscription to Zeus Thaulios on the rock.¹⁰⁷⁹ The existence of any architectural features is merely hypothesised based on the presence of spolia in later structures. The second lies on a hill within the southeast corner of the city walls of Pharsalos and has been interpreted epigraphically as a sanctuary to Asklepios. It contained no architectural remains but had these hemispherical protrusions worked in rows onto the bedrock of the hill alongside slots for stelai. In the case of these two Pharsalian sanctuaries, the hemispherical protrusions were placed on hills in areas of high mobility, displaying that the area was marked as divine or belonging to divinities. The protrusions would have been the most visually distinct features of the sanctuary and are not isolated cases in the immediate region, as Haagsma and Karapanou have most recently noted (to be discussed in more detail in the next chapter).¹⁰⁸⁰ The same protrusions appear at the proposed Asklepieion in the vicinity of the Antinitza monastery in Achaia Phthiotis which had a block containing two protrusions (unfortunately not *in situ* and has been lost since). The latter would not have been in an area of high mobility being located on difficult terrain, but since it was built along a mountain route, it would not have been invisible sanctuary either. Since the majority of these were located in the two Phthiotic regions, with only a handful in the rest of Thessaly, it is highly likely that these were an idiosyncratic feature of Phthiotic religion.

The remaining two sanctuaries consist of sanctuaries that were more difficult to access and probably served a smaller community: the Karaplas cave (already mentioned above) and the quarry sanctuary at Atrax. The Karaplas cave's only features were cut into the rock (niches, steps, inscriptions), and it seems clear that, as a nature sanctuary, the intent was to maintain the natural environment of the cave intact as much as possible. Only

¹⁰⁷⁹ *AA* 1964: 260–1. Riethmüller 2005: 293.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming.

those “in the know” would have been able to access the site, given the difficulty of the terrain, which I personally experienced. The rectangular quarry sanctuary at Atrax was largely cut into the terrace of a quarry (apart from the retaining walls supporting the cliffs on two sides) with slots for stelai. I would suggest that this was a formal *temenos* given the delineated boundary, despite the absence of an altar (which does not often survive). Its placement on a terrace on a cliff would have been difficult to approach even though it faced a pass along the river, and so the small sanctuary probably served the needs of mainly the quarry-workers.

2.2 Sanctuaries with Architecture

The majority of the sanctuaries in this dissertation contain architectural features. This does not necessarily mean that sanctuaries without buildings were less prevalent in Broader Thessaly; a sanctuary is generally easier to identify *because* of the presence of architectural features, since part of the ritualisation process of a formal *temenos* involves the addition of architectural features, which served, simultaneously, as expressions of piety, wealth, power, and—as some cases in this region demonstrate—affiliation. The presence of architecture, especially temples, in a sanctuary would in most cases imply that the site was a formal *temenos* but sacred sites that did not have formal *temene* could also contain architectural remains, such as a spring house or a funerary monument at which various acts of ritual could take place without there being formal sanctuary institutions, such as a priesthood.¹⁰⁸¹ This section divides the architected sacred sites of Broader Thessaly into sanctuaries with temples and sanctuaries that contained no temples but had other architectural structures. I reiterate the caveat, as with the previous non-architectural section, that the data on the sites listed in this section are not uniformly well-studied and many are not securely identified. Some have been systematically excavated but others have only been preliminarily identified by scholars working in the various regions of Thessaly.

(a) Sanctuaries with temples

I begin with the templated sanctuaries since they comprise the largest architectural

¹⁰⁸¹ Burkert 1985: 83-87.

category, and because as Walter Burkert has well remarked, Ancient Greece was demonstrably a temple culture. The temple, as many scholars have noted, was not a necessary element of a *temenos* but it was often the medium through which a community, an aristocratic body, rulers, families or private individuals could most effectively display piety, power, prestige, social agenda, or political propaganda, whether consciously or subconsciously.

A temple can often be one of the most easily recognisable architectural forms since in many parts of Greece, they followed prescribed architectural conventions. This is particularly true of Doric peripteral temples, which were planned with fairly restrictive design prescriptions and only minor deviations in plan.¹⁰⁸² Other temple types, however, predominated in Thessaly. Peripteral temples were rare in comparison to non-peripteral temples. I quantify these temple types in this subsection in order to demonstrate the diversity of Thessalian temple forms and highlight regional patterns in sanctuary architecture. I begin with the peripteral temples since they constitute a minority of the dataset and then proceed to the other temple forms.

(i) Peripteral temples

Perhaps one of the most potent visual representations of Greekness, the peripteral temple was near-ubiquitous in the Greek landscape, with the Doric order being more common in the mainland and in Magna Graecia and the Ionic order in the Cyclades and Asia Minor. The inhabitants of the Mediterranean have engaged in a discourse on the peripteral temple's role in expressions of Greek identity since the Archaic period. The Western Greek temples are prime examples of this. The placement of a Doric peripteral temple in a frontier region, can be used to demonstrate the Hellenicity of a *polis*, a trend particularly visible in Sicily and Southern Italy.¹⁰⁸³ Sjöqvist and Mertens have argued that the colossality of the temples in Western Greece in comparison to the Greek homeland represented a desire to over-emphasise Greekness.¹⁰⁸⁴

This is not only evident in temples built by Greek cities, but also in the case of Egesta

¹⁰⁸² Coulton 1975: 59-60; Waddell 2002: 1-31.

¹⁰⁸³ De Polignac 1995; Edlund 1987: 143; Marconi 2007.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Sjöqvist 1973: 64; Mertens 1996: 319, 334.

(Lat. Segesta), which was an Elymian city. Burford demonstrates that the Egestans began building its colossal Doric peripteral temple in 416 BC, employing Greek architects, during the same time that they began enticing Athens to invade Sicily during the Peloponnesian War. The Egestan temple, she argues, was part of the Egestan deception of the Athenian envoys, which involved covering Egesta with a veneer of wealth and an enthusiasm for Greek culture.¹⁰⁸⁵ In the end, the disastrous failure of the Athenians' Sicilian Expedition in 413 BC halted any desire to finish the construction of the temple, leaving only the incomplete *peristasis* of the temple to survive to this day.¹⁰⁸⁶

Woodward argues that the historical context of the construction of the Western Greek temples weakens the argument for their cities' desire to assert a Greek identity since (a) the Greek colonies in Sicily and Italy were no longer in a position where they threatened by their non-Greek neighbours, (b) the cities of the homeland, although they built smaller Doric temples, built more of these temples, and (c) the construction of colossal temples were rather an expression of wealth and superiority rather than of Greek identity.¹⁰⁸⁷ I would argue that none of Woodward's reasons are necessarily contradictory with the need to express Hellenicity. It is not only when a community is threatened by outsiders that it could wish to assert a particular identity; sometimes it comes from a desire to express belonging within a larger community identity (in this case, a panhellenic identity), a desire that was enabled by its wealth. The need to express belonging with a community, moreover, does not oppose any competitiveness with said community; not only did they wish to express their Greekness, they also meant to say that they could express their Greekness better, hence the over-compensatingly large Doric temples.

The opposite appears in Thessaly, where there are only four known peripteral temples built within the one-thousand-year scope of this dissertation. The earliest of these is the Archaic temple at Metropolis in Hestiaiotis (4.1A), built during the mid-6th c. BC and used until its destruction in the 2nd c. BC. This Doric peripteral temple was a *hekatompedon* (31.9 x 13.75 m, 5 x 11 columns) made of local sandstone and is the best and largest preserved temple in all of Thessaly. The cella seems to have had a mudbrick superstructure

¹⁰⁸⁵ Burford 1961: 91-93. Thuc. 6.46.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Burford 1961: 93.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Woodward 2012: 57.

and the entablature was wooden. It also seemed that the columns were originally made of wood and when the temple was destroyed, not all the columns had yet been converted to stone. This temple was fitted with some unusual features, such as the floral reliefs on the column capitals, the horsehead akroteria, the situation of the cult statue in the middle of the cella rather than in the back, the integral benches in the cella, and the depiction of the cult-statue as a hoplite Apollo. These, however, do have parallels outside of this sanctuary. The floral reliefs are attested in the column capitals of the Archaic temple at Makalorema in Pherai,¹⁰⁸⁸ horsehead akroteria are known from Kalapodi,¹⁰⁸⁹ integral benches are found in the temple of Apollo at Soros,¹⁰⁹⁰ and the depiction of a bearded, hoplite Apollo is known from Lakonia.¹⁰⁹¹ This Archaic Doric temple, which may seem unusual to those with only a general familiarity with Greek temples, is connected to other parts of Thessaly and the rest of Greece, as its builders show familiarity with other contemporary innovations in visual material culture both in Thessaly and other parts of mainland Greece.

Next chronologically is the great temple of Ennodia and/or Zeus Thaulios at Pherai, which had two temple phases: a Late Archaic phase and a late 4th c. BC phase. I discuss only the latter phase since the plan of the Late Archaic temple is not known. Despite the fact that only the northeastern *krepis* of the temple survives, the temple could be reconstructed as a Doric peripteral temple and a marble *hekatompedon* (30.73 x 14.44 m, 6 x 12 columns). Unlike the Metropolis temple, the architectural refinements were deliberately panhellenising. Erik Østby, who conducted the architectural analysis of the temple, noted that “the similarities in the architectural details between the temple at Pherai and the temple of Apollo at Delphi are too similar to be coincidental.”¹⁰⁹² The number of columns on the short ends, their proportions, and minute technical details seem to indicate that the eastern façade of the Pheraian temple was closely modelled after the Apollo temple, albeit smaller. The sides of the Pheraian temple differ from that at the Delphi temple (which had longer sides and fifteen columns vs. twelve at Pherai) but that might have to do with the

¹⁰⁸⁸ See Chapter 3, 1.2A.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Lemos 2011-2012: 19; Hellner 2014.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See Chapter 3, 1.4.

¹⁰⁹¹ For Archaic Lakonian vases depicting a bearded Apollo, see *LIMC II* (1984), s.v. Apollo, p. 316. The only other hoplite Apollo appears in Pausanias’ description of the colossal statue of Apollo at Amyklai: Paus. 3.19.1-5.

¹⁰⁹² Østby 1994: 142.

fact that the Pherai temple was respecting the length of its Archaic predecessor. In Addition, (1) the width of the stylobate and of the normal axial spacing of the temple at Delphi is replicated with precision at Pherai, (2) the procedure with which the two temples solved the problem of corner contraction is similar, (3) both temples used Z-shaped dowels which were rare after the 5th c. BC instead of Π-shaped ones more common in the 4th c., and (4) horizontal channels for letting in water are visible on the krepis of both temples.¹⁰⁹³ It is, however, necessary to keep in mind that the Makalorema temple was only partially excavated and that Østby based his analysis only on the limited surviving architectural remains and that there are many variables in the appearance of a Doric temple that cannot be predicted from just the foundations of the east façade.

Less than half a century later, another peripteral temple was built in the Sacred Agora of Demetrias in Magnesia, at the founding of the city in 293 BC, dedicated to Artemis Iolkia, the patron deity of Iolkos, which was one of the communities dissolved and amalgamated with the city of Demetrias. Unlike the previous two peripteral temples, the Iolkia temple was small (9.60 x 16 m, 6 x 10 columns) and was probably Ionic rather than Doric. Its placement within the Sacred Agora along the main entrance to the palace made it a rather symbolic statement of the new Macedonian rulers' projected image as honouring the local cults within the framework of their new regime. This homage to the poliadic divinity of Iolkos was fitted with a panhellenising façade, as the building was given a peripteral plan, and moreover, in the Ionic order, following a trend after the 4th c. BC when Hellenistic kings were constructing fewer Doric temples and more Ionic ones.¹⁰⁹⁴

The last peripteral temple of Thessaly is located in the city of Pythion in Perrhaibia on the Olympian foothills. It dates the latest out of the four, having been constructed during the reign of Augustus. Likely built by decree of Caesar, it was another *hekatompedon* (28.20 x 13.20 m, unknown intercolumniation), dedicated to Apollo Pythios, juxtaposed with a fraternal twin, the temple of Poseidon Patroos, which was also a *hekatompedon* but non-peripteral.¹⁰⁹⁵ By this period, it is possible that it was the only peripteral temple left in

¹⁰⁹³ Østby 1994: 139-142.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Tomlinson 1963; Boehm 2012: 41.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Tziafalias 2000a: 91 mentions an inscription, which he has not published, stating that the construction was undertaken "κατὰ τοῦ Καῖσαρος κρίμα".

Thessaly. The Metropolis temple had burned down two centuries prior, the Iolkieion at Demetrias may have been abandoned a century earlier, and the Pherai temple ceased to be used around the same time that the Pythion sanctuary was built. The sanctuary was located on the Volustana Pass which was a major route from Western and Central Macedonia to Southern Greece and vice versa. Anyone passing through this pass would have had to enter the visual territory of the sanctuary, whose peripteral temple may have been the last peripteral temple that they would see until they reach the south of Thessaly—unless further archaeological research brings more to light.

The four peripteral temples are indeed anomalous in a Broader Thessalian context and do not fit any regular patterns in the landscape, especially considering that there was very little overlap in their existence. When the Metropolis temple was built, it was the first and only known peripteral temple in Thessaly until the Archaic temple at Pherai was built. The Metropolis temple would burn down in the 2rd century leaving the Pherai temple the only Doric peripteral temple in Thessaly until the construction of the Pythion temple. The miniature Ionic temple at Demetrias is an anomaly amongst the anomalies as it would be the only Ionic peripteral temple ever built in Thessaly. There is also no one particular region in which these occur as each of the four is located in a different region (Hestiaiotis, Pelasgiotis, Magnesia, Perrhaibia). The major commonality that these temples had is the fact that they had patronage from rulers. The temple at Metropolis seems to have been funded by the oligarchic elites from Hestiaiotis, the 4th century temple of Pherai built either by the Pheraian tyrants or Demetrios Poliorketes, the temple at Demetrias also by Poliorketes, and the temple at Pythion by Augustus. It is also noteworthy that these peripteral temples were often initiated by non-Thessalians, as in the case of the Iolkieion and the Pythieion (and perhaps even the 4th c. phase of the Ennodia temple was partially funded by Poliorketes¹⁰⁹⁶).

(ii) Small, Rectangular Buildings

The greater part of the temples in Broader Thessaly, if their plans are known, are small and rectangular (often almost square), sometimes with and sometimes without a

¹⁰⁹⁶ Chrysostomou 1998: 42 entertains the notion that the Pherai temple was rebuilt by Poliorketes, who took the city in 302 BC, corresponding with Østby's dating of the temple to ca. 300.

pronaos. These small-scale structures are usually simple in design and often consist of stone socles and either wattle-and-daub or mudbrick superstructures. Fred Winter notes that this building form was common in early Greek temples because, aside from being economical, it avoided any complicated design issues.¹⁰⁹⁷ Although in much of the Greek world after starting from the Late Archaic period, Winter asserts that builders preferred to construct larger and more impressive temples, peripteral whenever possible, in Broader Thessaly they preferred the non-peripteral buildings even when a sanctuary could afford one.

The buildings in this section often present difficulties in interpretation because, unlike peripteral temples, the plan alone is often not enough for the building to be interpreted as a temple because their usage is not exclusively restricted to the housing of a cult image, unlike a peripteral temple. In this region, the finds associated with these buildings are, furthermore, not well documented and so it is often difficult to verify whether these were cultic buildings, and even less certain that they were meant to be houses for cult statues. This function is not the same as a building that is used to house votive statuary (e.g. at Ag. Theodoroi in Thessalotis) since the statues placed inside those buildings were not objects of worship but gifts left by worshippers in gratitude (or advance gratitude).

A pattern immediately evident in this category is the fact that almost all of the small, rectangular buildings with *pronaoi* are located in Achaia Phthiotis. The earliest of these is the temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis of Phthiotic Thebes. This temple (surviving dimensions of 9.36 × 11.45 m) was *distyle in antis* and dated to the 4th c. BC but it seems to have been copying the plan of underlying Archaic and Classical temple phases, whose architectural material it reuses. Although Phthiotic Thebes was sacked by Philip V in 217 BC, the sanctuary of Athena Polias on the acropolis seems not to have gone out of use as dedicatory inscriptions continued to be offered until the 1st c. BC and various materials, including a marble head of Athena, were also found dating to the Imperial period. The *asklepieion* in the lower city is also a small, porched temple *in antis* (06.80 × 05.00 m) with an altar in front. Unlike *asklepieia* in other parts of Greece with multi-building complexes

¹⁰⁹⁷ Winter 1991: 194-195.

for cult, healing, and various other activities, this *asklepieion* contained a single building—perhaps a Broader Thessalian phenomenon since the healing sanctuaries at Melitaia and Soros also consist of a single building. Note that the supposed Triikka *asklepieion* is likely a Roman bathing complex rather than a healing sanctuary.¹⁰⁹⁸

Probably close in plan (although roughly half the size) and in setting is the temple on the acropolis of the *kastro* of Kallithea, which, although unexcavated, has been documented to be a rectangular temple which probably had a front porch (6.55 × 5.44 m,) despite its disturbed preservation, due to its dimensional similarity with the agora temple of the same site.¹⁰⁹⁹ This latter building was a temple *in antis* (5.81 × 5.60 m) with an altar in front. Both date to the Hellenistic period, neither later than the early 2nd c. BC.¹¹⁰⁰ Unlike the temple on the Phthiotic Thebes acropolis, there are no inscriptions indicating that either one from Kallithea belonged to a poliadic divinity or that either sanctuary housed the city's decrees. The acropolis temple at Kallithea would, however, be a prime candidate for something similar due to its similarity in setting and form. The agora temple is notable for the presence of another block with hemispherical protrusions, as discussed earlier in the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios and Asklepeios at Pharsalos. Further south, the temple to Artemis Ennodia in Melitaia is similar in scale (8.70 × 4.70 m) and plan (cella with *pronaos*) but narrower than the ones at Phthiotic Thebes and Kallithea. It maintained its original Classical plan up to the Hellenistic period. One notable unique feature of this temple is that its altar was located on one of its sides rather than in front of the entrance. The fact that the temple was dedicated to one of the region's indigenous deities is notable. It stands in contrast to the temple of Ennodia at Pherai which was an intentionally panhellenising temple whereas this one would seem to be more regionalising.

Of the known small temples with *pronaoi*, there are only two outside of Achaia Phthiotis, both of which are in Thessalotis. Despite being small and porched like the Phthiotic Achaian temples, the two Thessalotis temples have their own idiosyncrasies. The first, at Kedros (ancient Orthos), is *distyle in antis*, located in a suburban *temenos*. It is

¹⁰⁹⁸ See Chapter 3, 4.2 for Triikka.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Surtees 2012: 137. Communication with Margriet Haagsma, who thinks it likely that the building had a front porch because of the similarities with Building 5.

¹¹⁰⁰ Tziafalias *et al.* 2006 and Surtees 2012.

larger than the latter four temples (10.00 × 7.50 m) and is a Hellenistic temple to Artemis Bendis, an imported Thracian deity, but with material expressions similar to other Thessalian sanctuaries. It belonged to a larger complex consisting of two other buildings and a peribolos, differentiating it from the previous sanctuaries of this type, which were all single-building *temene*. The temple was the main locus for setting up offerings as numerous terracotta figurines depicting the deity were found inside the building.

The second Thessaliodid temple is another building at Anavra near Karditsa. It was a building within a complex consisting of two one-roomed buildings, a roofed open area, and five votive pits. The two buildings were identified as *oikoi* in a chthonic sanctuary but I would question why Structure 1 cannot also be a *naos*. The building is *distyle in antis* (3 × 3 m), and an upright stone near the entrance seems to have been a locus for libations and burnt offerings, thereby acting as a more rustic altar.¹¹⁰¹ The large protome found along the western wall of the interior of the structure sounds suspiciously like a cult image meant to be the focus of the building, but having not seen the protome, I hesitate to speak with certainty.

The remaining small, rectangular temples in Thessaly either do not have *pronaoi* or, more commonly, are not excavated completely enough to verify the existence of *pronaoi*, and it is likely that some of them may have had one. These buildings are geographically more widespread than the small, porched temples. The early temple at Ktouri is the only certain temple from the tetrad of Phthiotis. It consists of a single-roomed, elongated, rectangular building (14 × 6.3 m) with a votive pit on the inside and palm *akroteria* on the roof. The entrance (north side) is too badly preserved to indicate the existence of a porch, but the possible inclusion of one would demonstrate that the region's conservatism in sacred architecture stretches back to the Early Iron Age. Béquignon identified the building as a temple but I would cast doubt on his proposed function since in order to be considered a *naos*, the building would have had to have been used specifically to house the image of the god. The types of finds at the site resemble those generally found at sanctuaries, and the presence of burnt bones might indicate evidence for ritual feasting but exclusively cultic activity in a building does not necessarily signify a temple.

¹¹⁰¹ Karagiannopoulos and Chatziangelaki 2015: 229.

The case of the sanctuary called Marmara near Neochoraki (5.8K) in Achaia Phthiotis presented a similar, elongated building (12.50 × 5.1 m), which was rectangular and had no trace of a *pronaos*. The site gave evidence for votive deposition from the Early Iron Age, although I would not rule out its continued use into the Early Archaic period since the various finds (fibulae, figurines, terracottas) resemble those from Early Archaic sanctuaries (e.g. the Early Iron Age to Mid-Archaic phase at Philia). Its identification as a temple is also tenuous if we are defining a temple as a house for a god, as with the Ktouri “temple.” Giannopoulos further omits the context in which he located the finds (e.g. whether they were in a pit or scattered about).

A “temple” at Pherai is of a similar nature but from a much later date. The sanctuary to Ennodia and Zeus at Alepotrypes (5th-4th c. BC) had a building whose length unfortunately does not survive in entirety (5.35 × >11 m). Like at Ktouri, a votive pit was dug into the floor and then filled with figurines and other objects of a certainly cultic nature. The building also seems to be an elongated rectangle as at Ktouri and Neochoraki. Whether this was a *naos* in a strict sense or just a ritual building is also uncertain. The ambiguous nature of the rectangular buildings mentioned above would fit with the nature of other ritual buildings from the EIA and Archaic period during which the function of temples had not yet been as firmly established as they would be later. In Thessaly, however, the use of the inside of a temple for both housing a cult image and feasting is not unheard of (e.g. presence of integral benches at Soros, Metropolis) and it could have been the case that the formalisation of a *naos* as a repository of a cult image was not universal in the region. It may be that the inhabitants of this region made use of the interior of temples for commensal and votive purposes in addition to housing a *xoanon*, subverting the convention that the main rituals to a deity (sacrifice, offerings, etc.) were to be performed outside.

The remaining rectangular temples are too insubstantially described to be analysed. Building B at the sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and Chiron (significance previously discussed earlier in this chapter) was a rectangular building measuring 11.40 m in length but Arvanitopoulos does not give a width, but it does seem to have been the largest building in the precinct. He further does not describe the context of the small finds from the sanctuary,

just that they were located in the vicinity of Buildings A, B, and Γ. The last two “temples” are both at Pelinna and consist only of cursorily mentioned rectangular foundations without any further description. The absence of any date given by Stählin is also problematic.

(iii) Apsidal or Round Buildings

Built either freestanding or in groups, with stone foundations and a mudbrick superstructure, apsidal and round (usually ovoid) buildings have existed in the Greek landscape since the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age but are the quintessential architectural structures in the Early Iron Age. Older scholarship connected the appearance of apsidal buildings in the Early Helladic III period to be an ethnic marker associated with the coming of Greek-speakers into the mainland; however, this supposition loses ground due to the existence of apsidal buildings even before the EHIII period.¹¹⁰² Apsidal and round buildings were ubiquitous in the Early Iron Age but they began to lose popularity in the Archaic period. Some of these buildings continued to be in use in the Early Archaic period, particularly the ones that had begun to be used as temples in the 8th c. BC. Mazarakis suggests that apsidal buildings built after the Early Iron Age were often meant to emphasise a community’s connections with its past, which is why apsidal buildings were often dedicated to Apollo whose cult was important in the Early Iron Age. Oval buildings seem to become more popular than apsidal buildings near the end of the 8th c. BC but ovoid sanctuary buildings become rare after the Early Iron Age.¹¹⁰³

The apsidal/oval buildings found in Broader Thessaly were usually not Archaic in date; with the exception of one, all of them date to the Classical period or later. I would again caution, however, that all of the ones mentioned here are incompletely excavated (if at all) and in all cases, it is not possible to verify what Arvanitopoulos had described. The earliest of these is the most famous, the temple of Athena Polias (11.50 × 6.50 m) on the Gonnoi acropolis at Perrhaibia. It was originally built around 700 BC, during which time its form would not have been odd for a temple. What is curious is that the building maintained its form until the end of its life. Upgrades were made to the building, such as the addition of

¹¹⁰² Mazarakis 1997: 110-114.

¹¹⁰³ Mazarakis 1997: 110-114.

metopes and a cornice, and there were further renovations to it in the Hellenistic period, but throughout its long life, the Gonneans maintained its apsidal form.¹¹⁰⁴ The possible use of a betyl as the temple's cult image might have been another archaizing feature of the sanctuary. Although worship of aniconic representations were not necessarily a more primitive feature of Greek religion (aniconic images were worshipped even in the Hellenistic period), what is important is that they were often perceived as such even in antiquity.¹¹⁰⁵ The identification of the stone with a pyramidal peak as a betyl, however, should be questioned as the material from this site has not yet been restudied to verify Arvanitopoulos' assertions. What I present here can only be a possibility rather than a certainty.

Right across the Peneus river from Gonnoi, on the Pelasgiotid side of the plain, also on the acropolis of Evangelismos, sat a similarly shaped temple, this time with finds dating only to the 5th and 4th c. BC. Unfortunately, the hasty excavations turned up no more than a few fragmentary stelai, which could have been dedicatory in nature, as well as pottery, some of which was glossed. Not far from Gonnoi and Evangelismos at the acropolis of Homolion is another elliptical building. The identification of the settlement as Homolion and acropolis building itself as a temple to Zeus Homoloios is less than certain but the building did seem to have functioned as a cult site, as demonstrated by the dedicatory stelai and the terracotta Zeus-foot. Like the temple at Gonnoi, the building was given features of Classical temples, such as the akroteria, the possible *geison*, and the painted metopes, while maintaining the elliptical form. Like the Evangelismos temple, its finds dated to the 5th and 4th c. BC. In the case of the latter two temples, because they were not thoroughly excavated, it is not possible to determine the date of their construction, i.e. whether they were built in the Late Geometric/Early Archaic and maintained into later periods, like at Gonnoi, or whether they were built in the Classical period with their archaizing forms.

The final elliptical temple is again on the Pelion peak sanctuary to Zeus and Chiron. Building A, which, as mentioned previously in this chapter, was located in a complex including another temple, a stoa, two smaller buildings, and a sacred cave. Arvanitopoulos

¹¹⁰⁴ Van Buren 1926: 38-39.

¹¹⁰⁵ Gaifman 2012: 18-46.

did not excavate these and so his interpretations of the functions of these structures should be suspect. The sanctuary was in use since the Archaic period but the finds around the elliptical temple, the rectangular temple, and the stoa date to the 5th and 4th c. BC. Perhaps the juxtaposition of the older-looking round temple with the rectangular temple is a reflection of the cults to which the sanctuary was dedicated, to Chiron and Zeus. Chiron, being a centaur native to Mount Pelion, is often associated with the primitive and natural, and it was perhaps appropriate to erect an older-looking building as his temple, just as it was more appropriate to give Zeus the larger rectangular building. It is particularly interesting that the four elliptical temples are found in northeastern Thessaly. Three are found on either side of Tempe while one was on the Pelion peak, all resting on the mountainous wall separating Thessaly from the sea. If Arvanitopoulos was correct in his documentation of these four sites, then they may represent a trans-regional phenomenon in the east and northeast of Broader Thessaly since one appears in Perrhaibia, two in Magnesia, and one in Pelasgiotis.

(iv) Elongated, Rectangular buildings

Winter discusses long, narrow buildings as a stepping-stone from smaller rectangular temples to peripteral temples.¹¹⁰⁶ The narrowness of such a building allowed architects to construct larger buildings but still maintain a space that could be easily spanned by the crossbeams of the roof, and even then, an internal row of columns was often needed. The exterior peristyle was created as a means of widening the available interior space in the cella, and in most sanctuaries, this meant that elongated non-peripteral buildings decreased in popularity. During the Late Archaic, peripteral buildings still sometimes retained a remnant of the elongation of earlier temples, such as in the narrow cella the Olympian Heraion (overall ratio of 1:1.266) and the Old Parthenon (1:2.84).¹¹⁰⁷ Winter's discussion of these types of temples treats them teleologically, as if these types of buildings were only a rung in the evolutionary ladder on the Greek temple's voyage to becoming peripteral. The evidence in Thessaly concerning this category of temple, however, indicates that the *telos* of the ladder does not always lead to the

¹¹⁰⁶ Winter 1991: 196-197.

¹¹⁰⁷ Winter 1991: 197.

peripteros. Although they do not comprise a significant dataset, the elongated buildings of Thessaly are significant monuments in the landscape.

An early example in Thessaly is the Late Archaic temple of Apollo at Soros in Pelasgiotis (an area later incorporated into Magnesia in the 4th c. BC). Built in the 6th c. BC, this building (22.42×8.33 m, 1:2.69) consisted of *pronaos* and a cella with columns along its central axis. What is problematic is the identification of the building as a *naos*. The architectural evidence for the building suggests functions that are not usual for a temple. All the sculptures were votive dedications and not cult statues. Granted, a wooden *xoanon* would not survive, but the construction of the building indicates that the cella was used, as Mazarakis has rightly interpreted, primarily for feasting, as is indicated by the eschara, the benches, the predominance of drinking vessels, and the concentrated presence of ovicaprid bones. In the strictest sense, then, this sanctuary might technically not have had a *naos* but would still have had all the requirements of a canonical sanctuary, which were the altar and the sacred boundary. The temple at Metropolis, however, contained integral benches in its cella and so I would hesitate to completely discount this building as a temple since the two functions might not have been entirely exclusive in Thessalian temples.

Aside from Soros temple, there were very few that could fit this category prior to the Roman period. Some buildings are elongated and non-peripteral but were probably not temples. The asklepieion outside the city walls of Gonnoi was revealed to have had an elongated building with several rooms inside, but its full dimensions are unknown and its status as a temple is questionable. The long stoa from Proerna, which had several rooms and a width to length ratio of 1:5 (6×30 m), does not seem to have been used as a repository for a cult statue but possibly as gathering place for people celebrating Thesmophoria. Our very incomplete knowledge of the sanctuary's spatial organisation, however, prevents any certainty concerning the existence of a temple at the sanctuary and the function of the long building. The temple at Neochoraki might fit into this category, but it is not as elongated (1:2.45) and neither is the temple at Ktouri (1:2.22). Unlike the elliptical temples or the porched temples, this category does not seem to form a noticeable pattern in the landscape.

During the reign of Augustus, however, the largest temple of this category was built in the previously mentioned sanctuary of Apollo Pythios and Poseidon Patroos at Pythion. This temple

had a *cella* and *pronaos* without an exterior peristyle, as well as an interior row of columns. Unlike the previous examples, it was a *hekatompedon* (33 × 13 m, 1:2.54), specifically one dedicated to Poseidon Patroos, which was set beside the peripteral *hekatomedon* to Apollo Pythios. It is interesting that the deity indicated as “ancestral” was given a form that is archaizing. It is even more noteworthy that the archaism had few precedents in Thessaly, which will be discussed further in the next chapter.

(v) *Bipartite Temples*

In cases of cults shared by multiple deities, sanctuaries sometimes contained partitioned temples, as in the case of the temple of Aphrodite and Ares at Sta Lenika on Crete, which had a bipartite plan—one room for each deity.¹¹⁰⁸ An extreme example of multiple partitions in a temple to accommodate several cults was the Erechtheion which was tetrapartite. A temple could also be partitioned evenly in order to accommodate different ritual functions with each room. For example, the bipartite temple (Structure O) to the Epidotes (gods of good deeds) at the Asklepieion of Epidauros had one room for cult statues and one room for other ritual activities.¹¹⁰⁹ The problem with the interpretation of this category of temple is similar to those in previous categories. It is often difficult to distinguish temples of this type from other types of sacred buildings, such as *megara* or *oikoi*.

The most completely excavated building of this type is the so-called Sepulchral Building on the acropolis of New Halos, which has now been reinterpreted as part of a sanctuary to Demeter and Kore (Hellenistic). The rectangular building, which was partitioned into two areas, each further subdivided into two rooms, contained statuary evidence (life-size ceramic head of a female, marble female head and arm) for use of the two spaces to house cult images. What was formerly interpreted as a double grave has more recently been proposed to have been perhaps an entrance to the underworld or a sacrificial table. Another alternative that I would propose is that it could have been used as a pit into which sacrificial piglets were placed to rot during some thesmophoric festival, or perhaps a pit that was meant to receive votive offerings. Any sacrificed piglets would likely

¹¹⁰⁸ Bousquet 1938: 386-408.

¹¹⁰⁹ Lembidaki 2002: 123-137.

not leave any osteological remains in the ground since the soil mixed with the decomposed remains would have been exhumed the next year and scattered on fields as a fertility ritual. Such a pit is found in the Hellenistic phases of the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Corinth.¹¹¹⁰

It could be that one of the two partitioned areas was used to house the cult statues and the other for the thesmophoric ritual, similar to the bipartite temple to the Epidotes at Epidauros, or it may have been that the space used to house one or more of the cult statues was also used for said ritual, as we have seen previously in other parts of Thessaly. Unfortunately, the interior of the building was looted and the spatial distribution of the finds was disturbed and so it is difficult to verify any of these hypotheses, especially now that this part of the hill has been destroyed by quarrying.

One more bipartite temple has been found at Pelinna in Hestiaiots. Stählin did not date the building (most likely Hellenistic) but he described its plan as being divided into two spaces in the interior, located in a precinct with a peribolos that was occupied by a stoa on the long side. Evidence for Dionysos and Asklepios were found at the site and so I would propose that it is possible that the bipartite arrangement of the building might have been to house both cults. Unfortunately, no further work has been conducted at the site and the exact function of the building and the activities held within it cannot be ascertained. It is possible that other temples of this type existed in Thessaly, particularly at the many Demeter and Kore sanctuaries described in Chapter Three, but the plans of many temples are too incomplete or unknown.

(vi) Metroa

Sanctuaries to the Mother of the Gods have existed in the Greek world since the 6th c. BC. Originally a Phrygian cult of Kybele, the goddess becomes syncretised with various Greek mother goddesses, such as Rhea or Gaia. Her entrance into the Greco-Roman religious spheres gave her cult features of mystery cults, celebrated with orgiastic frenzies and loud noises with much an exotic and orientalising flavour, in addition to the initiatory aspects of the cult.¹¹¹¹ The cult was first introduced to the Greek cities of Asia Minor but

¹¹¹⁰ Bookidis 1997: 72.

¹¹¹¹ Kallini 2013.

would become widespread throughout Greece, particularly in the Hellenistic period. When the cult of the Mother was introduced into Athens at the end of the 5th c. BC, the Old Bouleuterion was repurposed into a *metroon*, which served both as a sanctuary to the Mother as well as a repository for the city's archives.¹¹¹²

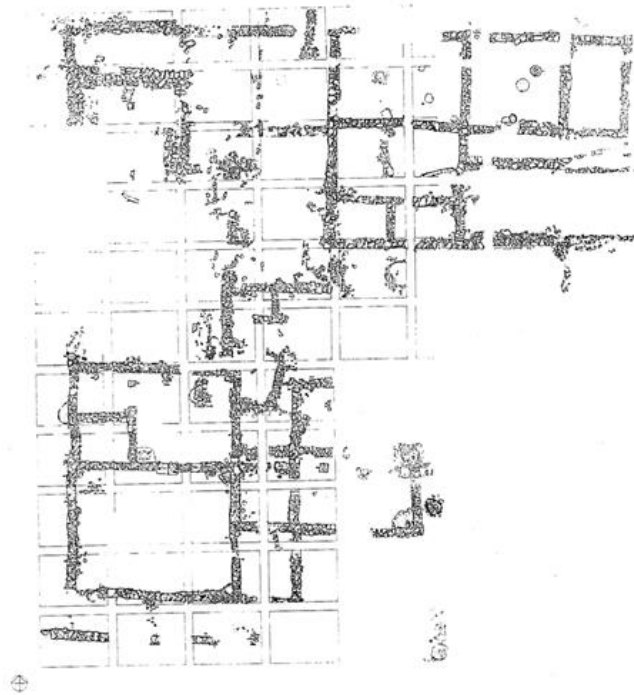


Fig. 1 - Aigai (Vergina) Metroon

Temples to the goddess often did not take the form of anything resembling a Greek temple since the needs of the cult differed from the cult of a normal Greek deity. The main ritual area would not have been outside the temple but inside. They were often house-like structures with multiple rooms for various functions.¹¹¹³ The Agora *metroon* (surviving remains date to the 2nd c. BC) was a four-chambered building (one chamber had a peristylar courtyard) united by a colonnade in the façade. The *metroon* at Aigai (3rd c. BC phase built over a Late Classical phase) was a large house-like building (52 × 52 m) with a large double *pastas*, porticos, and numerous rooms, several of which had evidence for sacrificial use. An exception seems to have been the Olympia *metroon* which was a Doric peripteral temple (mid-4th c. BC). These *metroa* did serve as houses for the cult image of the

¹¹¹² Camp 2001: 182.

¹¹¹³ Drougou 2009: 121-132.

Mother and as such, they would be *naoi* in the regular sense, but with those regular functions mingled with other ritual activities.

There are four known *metroa* in Thessaly—or at least, four sites with architectural remains that can be identified as *metroa*. The earliest *metroa* in Thessaly dates to the 4th c. BC, from the site of Chani Kokonas in the western entrance into the Vale of Tempe. Its structure was similar to the Aigai metroon and consisted of a house-like structure with numerous rooms (at least ten rooms at Chani Kokonas), two of which had *escharai*. One of the rooms housed the cult image of Kybele in a niche. It was abandoned in the 2nd c. BC.

Two possible *metroa* are found at the city of Demetrias. The building originally identified as a *metroon* at Aivaliotika is similar to the one at Tempe, consisting of several rooms, some of whose walls were decorated with painted plaster, and some of which had waterways perhaps for purificatory facilities. A unique feature from this building is the semi-circular bench in one of the rooms. The full extent of the building, however, was not fully exposed during the rescue excavation but all the finds date between the 3rd to the 2nd c. BC.¹¹¹⁴ The excavator has since proposed that this building is a domestic structure with a shrine, again demonstrating the difficulty in differentiating *metroa* from houses.¹¹¹⁵ The second *metroon* is found at Pefkakia in the northeastern part of the city and also consisted of several rooms, in this case surrounding a peristylar courtyard. The cult might have had royal patronage since a roof-tiles bore a royal stamp that has only been found at the palace. As at Aivaliotika, it dated to the 3rd to late 2nd c. BC.

The final *metroon* was found at Pharsalos where there was also a house-like structure, partly destroyed by later buildings, whose excavated dimensions were 8.85 x 5.10 m, and which consisted of several rooms.¹¹¹⁶ Although the structure was house-like in many respects, the finds consisted artefacts consistent with items found in other *metroa*: pottery (largely kantharoi, kernoi, and skyphidia), terracotta figurines of females, large protomai, and naiskoid-plaques depicting the Mother of the Gods.¹¹¹⁷

Although there are only four in this category, they represent a significant set since

¹¹¹⁴ There is an earlier architectural phase dating to the 4th c. BC but whether that function was still ritual is unknown.

¹¹¹⁵ See 7.1F for this building; *AR* 2009-2010: 101 and fig. 109; *AA* 55 (2000): 466-468.

¹¹¹⁶ Katakouta 2013: 435-448.

¹¹¹⁷ Katakouta 2013, 445.

they number the same as peripteral temples or elliptical temples. Their chronological distribution is firmly between the 3rd and 2nd c. BC and seem to be connected to the Macedonian ascendancy in Thessaly since the four *metroa* went out of use around the same time that the Macedonians lost control of the region. It is notable that two of the *metroa* were at Demetrias, a Macedonian foundation, while the Vale of Tempe is a major passageway from Thessaly to Macedon. There does not seem to have been much of an impetus to maintain *metroa* after the Macedonians were driven out, a factor that will be further discussed in the next chapter.

(vii) Temples of Uncertain Plan

The unfortunate situation of the archaeological evidence for sanctuaries in Thessaly is that a large portion of the sites are incompletely documented. The largest category of temples in this section consists of temples whose plan cannot be determined either because the remains were too incompletely preserved, or because the site was incompletely studied, if studied at all. In many cases, these were certainly used as temples but in many cases, their identifications as temples are preliminary interpretations assigned by scholars who have visited the sites. Often, some factors will allow for a viable interpretation as a temple, such as the location and context of a building, the associated finds, and sometimes inscriptions; however, in many cases, these are unavailable and so these only allow for minimal analyses to be performed. Furthermore, the finds from these sites are usually not described in enough detail for any sort of quantifiable or qualifiable analysis. Because the spatial layouts of the temples in this category are incompletely known, it is likely that they would fit into any of the previous architectural categories listed above. I list these “temples” here in order to demonstrate the incomplete state of our knowledge of sanctuaries in Thessaly that limits our ability to quantify patterns in the landscape.

Of the three potential temples in Larisa in Pelasgiotis, none have their plans surviving. The proposed sanctuary to Athena Polias on the acropolis (whose existence is certain epigraphically) had foundations of over 23 m long but none of the superstructure survives to give an indication of the plan aside from spolia in the vicinity. Column drums and parts of the euthynteria (Late Archaic to Early Classical) are scattered on the Frourio,

which could indicate that this was a peripteral temple (perhaps a *hekatompedon* since its surviving length was already approaching one-hundred Doric feet), but without the ability to quantify the columns, we cannot say for certain whether this was the case or if the temple had a different plan (which in Thessaly would not be unlikely). We can witness the same scenario in the case of the Apollo Kerdoos temple (4th c. BC) and the Eleuthereion, both in the Free agora, the evidence for both of which is only in spolia. Unlike the acropolis temple, however, neither of these two had surviving foundations. The types of architectural remains that were described (column drums, triglyphs, euthynteria blocks) are not necessarily restricted to temple architecture but could also be used in stoas and other buildings that did not necessarily have a sacred function.

Although, in general, Pherai's (Pelasgiotis) sacred sites are better preserved than Larisa, as they are buried under a large, continuously inhabited city since antiquity, some have been destroyed by later agricultural activity. The site of the proposed sanctuary of Herakles at Agios Charalambos yielded a *euthynteria* with other architectural fragments but is too destroyed and minimally described for further analysis. The *temenos* of Herakles at Latomeio was more completely excavated, revealing centuries-long votive activity. The sanctuary contained no architecture for most of its history and might only have received its first temple in the 5th c. BC, a temple that would not have been large, and then a monumentalised altar in the Hellenistic period. The only evidence for said temple, however, are geison and metope fragments (terracotta, as at Korope). Although those fragments might have belonged to a temple, not enough of it survives to verify the existence of a temple; the same fragments could easily have belonged to a treasury or another type of building.

In the works of Arvanitopoulos, Stählin, and in the earlier travels of Leake and Heuzey throughout the rest of tetradic Thessaly, all authors noted several buildings on *acropoleis* that were likely temples. Arvanitopoulos excavated a site he interprets as a temple on the acropolis of Krannon (Pelasgiotis) but he does not describe the remains of the architecture in any detail and so we cannot know what kind of plan it would have had. The site, however, was likely of a temple (possibly to Athena Polias), given that it was the sole building on the acropolis and the fact that the site yielded terracotta and bronze figurines, as well as dedicatory stelai (from both Arvanitopoulos' excavations and looting

by local inhabitants). At the site of Stefani, on the acropolis of ancient Metropolis (Hestiaiotis), Arvanitopoulos excavated 10 m of an incomplete stereobate with no other finds indicating that the building belonged to a sanctuary. A final possible temple in the tetrads is a set of rectangular foundations identified by Stählin at Pelinna, which he unfortunately does not describe any further.

The remaining buildings in this category were all found in the *perioikoi*, and the largest number were found in Achaia Phthiotis. The quantity from this region is in large part due to the work of Cantarelli and the Italian School whose extensive surveys of Achaia Phthiotis noted numerous sacred buildings. The identifications are of course not without extensive problems since in many cases these buildings were only ever recorded by Cantarelli and no previous nor further archaeological studies have been conducted.

The following Phthiotic Achaian sanctuaries are all hypothetically identified as having had temples but since none of them have been excavated, their identifications as *naoi* (or even as sanctuaries) are uncertain. These sites include Mories, perhaps ancient Phyliaion,¹¹¹⁸ which has a building identified tentatively from a supposed inscription (“IEPO”) on an amphora handle found on the site (Classical/Hellenistic?); a possible acropolis temple at Limogardi (anc. Narthakion), which is undated but the surrounding acropolis dates from the Classical to the Roman periods;¹¹¹⁹ a supposed Classical tower-temple (14 x 14) at Vouzion (anc. Hermaion);¹¹²⁰ the foundations of an ancient building at Divri (anc. Pras?) which may have been a temple;¹¹²¹ at Milia by Domokos (in the chora of anc. Thaumakoi),¹¹²² where Arvanitopoulos reports the foundations of a possible temple (unmeasured) from which came an inscription concerning a dispute between Angeiai and Ktimene (Hellenistic); the Kastro at Petroto (anc. Pereia) which has a possible temple on the west side of the acropolis¹¹²³; and finally an possible temple at Longitsi over which the church of Ag. Marina was built.¹¹²⁴ A final Phthiotic Achaian sanctuary has been identified at Eretria by Stählin and Von Graeve consisting of two buildings interpreted as a temple

¹¹¹⁸ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 236-238.

¹¹¹⁹ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 214.

¹¹²⁰ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 99-100; Cantarelli 2000: 64 and fig. 2; Stählin 1914, 83-103.

¹¹²¹ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 201-203.

¹¹²² *ΠΑΕ* 1910, 197; Arvanitopoulos 1911: 289-293; Stählin 1924, 167-68; Cantarelli *et al.* 2008, 67-68.

¹¹²³ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 85-88.

¹¹²⁴ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 231.

and a stoa. Excavations are currently ongoing and so any discussion of the significance of the architectural layout needs to be tabled until results have been published.

Of the remaining potential temples, two were located in Magnesia and one in Perrhaibia. The earliest was a building in the sanctuary to Apollo Koropaios, which dates to the Archaic period and consists only of architectural fragments, which include well-worked stone blocks for the foundations as well as parts of the terracotta superstructure. Aside from the fact that it was Archaic, there are no indications of the plan, only that it would have been renovated sometime in the 4th c. BC, according to Van Buren.¹¹²⁵ The *manteion* at Korope might have continued to stay in use even after the *synoikismos* of this area into Demetrias into the Roman period. Whether the temple continued its existence until the abandonment of the sanctuary is unknown due to the incompleteness of the archaeological work at the site.

The second is the original temple of Artemis Iolkia on Kastro Palaia whose remains consisted only of spolia built into the Byzantine wall of the Palaia and supported only by the epigraphic and literary evidence for a temple of Artemis Iolkia at Iolkos. Of the scale and plan of the temple, nothing could have been deduced from the spolia. Boehm, in his dissertation, argues that the small size of the Iolkia temple in Demetrias was meant to symbolise that the original cult at Iolkos was more important, which he assumed to be larger than the small Ionic temple at Demetrias. As is evident from the remains at Palaia, however, the Iolkos temple's original dimensions cannot be known; furthermore, the general trend in the region is towards smaller temples and so rather than the scale of the Demetrias temple having been meant to symbolise the pre-eminence of the Iolkos temple, the Demetrias temple might have been an homage to the original.

The final temple, as with many of the possible temples in this category, is a reminder of the problems with approaching the archaeological evidence for sanctuaries in Thessaly. This building is what Arvanitopoulos identified as a temple to Artemis (3rd to 2nd c. BC) in the lower city of Gonnoi. The most he describes is the foundations of a building and the remains of several walls, without any measurements or any further description. It seems likely to have been a temple, given the concentration of inscribed dedicatory stelai, as well

¹¹²⁵ Van Buren 1926: 41.

as an inscribed altar, found on the site, but the fact that the remains no longer exist a century after Arvanitopoulos' first excavations denies us the ability to ascertain his conclusions. Arvanitopoulos writes that ceramics were found but does not describe their shapes or name any diagnostic features. For this reason it is impossible to conduct a thorough landscape analysis of sanctuaries in Thessaly; it should act as a caveat that the patterns discussed in this chapter and the next are lacunose.

(b) Sacred Spaces with Only 'Non-Temple' Architecture

Temples were only one type of building that appeared in a sanctuary. A large sanctuary complex can include a variety of buildings, such as stoas, theatres, gymnasia, dining rooms, houses, treasuries, waterworks, and a wide array of structures for different functions, both sacred and mundane. Although a temple was usually present in a *temenos*, it often did not appear, while still hosting other buildings. For example, the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on the north slope of Acrocorinth stretched over an area of 770 m and yielded an array of dining rooms dating from the 6th c. BC until 146 BC. Until the Roman phase of the sanctuary, no obvious temple existed on the site.¹¹²⁶ Furthermore, sacred spaces are not restricted to *temene* (e.g. the ἱερόν of the aforementioned Ploutoneion near Tyrnavos vs. the τέμενος of the same site); many of our sites received formal cult but did not necessarily have a formal precinct (e.g. worship at a tomb monument) and therefore need to be quantified as well.

(i) Thesmophoric Buildings

Despite their widespread popularity in the Mediterranean, sanctuaries to Demeter and Kore are relatively under-studied. These rarely have regular peripteral or prostyle temples but various small buildings for a variety of purposes, such as dining rooms and *megara* (used to decompose piglets).¹¹²⁷ It would be a mistake to assume that Demeter and Kore were the only deities to have been worshipped in these types of sanctuaries as the Greeks had a wide array of agricultural deities, some of whom could replace Demeter and

¹¹²⁶ A large building interpreted as an *oikos* might have been the temple in the Archaic and Classical period but the use of the building is uncertain (Bookidis 1997: 72).

¹¹²⁷ Burkert 1985: 143.

Kore due to regional or local variations in belief. For this reason, I refer to these types of buildings as thesmophoric buildings, which may not have been used to celebrate the Thesmophoria festival specifically, but a variety of seasonal agricultural rituals.

These types of buildings would have existed in formal *temene*, which did not need to have a temple. One of the larger “*oikoi*” from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore on Acrocorinth, for example, was interpreted to have been the house for the cult statue in the Archaic and Classical periods but at the same time the large space could have been used for the deposition of votives under the floor, in which case the blurring of lines between temple and other ritual functions might also be the case in Corinthian *thesmophorion*.¹¹²⁸ In this case, these types of buildings were not necessarily non-temple structures but I include them in this category since their functions were primarily not as gods’ houses and it is difficult to prove when they did serve the function of a temple simultaneously.

As is to be expected, the Thessalian plains were dotted with numerous rural sanctuaries, several of which contained buildings in this category. The sanctuary on the acropolis of Pharsalos (Phthiotis) contained at least one building (4th c. to 3rd c. BC), or possibly two (one measuring 8.50 × 5.90 m, the other unmeasured), but since the site was never completely excavated, its relationship to the finds (three large pits of votive figurines related to the cult of Demeter and Kore) is uncertain (see . The location of this sanctuary being reminiscent of the *thesmophorion* on Acrocorinth might indicate a similar usage for the site, and its location on the acropolis indicates probable usage for official festivals of the *polis* as at Athens (although the Athenian *thesmophorion ἐν ἄστει* was never found)¹¹²⁹. The buildings might have represented *megara* and dining rooms as well. The sanctuary at Prodromos (6th to 5th c. BC) yielded four small buildings (all ca. 4.60 × 4.20 m), around which were pits for votive figurines, recalling the situation at the previous sanctuary as well as the forest of dining rooms at Corinth. Intzesiloglou has identified one of these buildings as a potential *megaron*, and the rest as *oikoi*, an identification which I prefer not to use since *oikoi* in sanctuaries, like stoas, are not built for a specific purpose and could refer to a variety of small buildings with various functions. They could easily have been

¹¹²⁸ Bookidis 1999: 1-54.

¹¹²⁹ Broneer 1942: 250-274.

dining rooms, rooms in which offerings were buried, or for other ritual functions (multi-functionality was also likely). We see yet another similar situation in Anavra (Thessaliotis), what was found there? which had two single-roomed buildings, one roofed area, and three votive pits, as in the previous two sanctuaries (all buildings dating from the 4th c. and later). The same scenario is repeated at the sanctuary at Dovres/Raches (Thessaliotis), which contained a very small, square building (2.10 × 2.50 m) found with a thick concentration of ceramics and terracotta figurines.

The bipartite building at the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Halos could also have fit into this category but unlike the sanctuaries included in this section, it did not consist of several small buildings but rather one with a bipartite plan, perhaps to accommodate in just one building the various functions that the sanctuaries in this category accommodated in several buildings. Thesmophoric cults, furthermore, did not always necessitate buildings. As at Ambelia in the *chora* of Pharsalos, ritual acts might have involved no buildings at all. The Pasikrata sanctuary and the Phanos site, both at Demetrias, might have had cults with similar thesmophoric functions based on similar finds but for different deities.

(ii) Commensal Buildings

The act of eating, commemorating and feasting together is perhaps the lowest common denominator of Greek religions from all time periods. These are ritual acts performed at both public and private levels, in sanctuaries, at tombs, on roadsides, at agoras, in caves, and in houses.¹¹³⁰ The ritual of *thysia*, sacrifice, is almost always followed by the consumption of the parts of the animal that are not burned for the gods (the few exceptions include holocaust offerings and cases such as the disposal of piglets into *megara*). Both blood and bloodless sacrifices are offered to the gods, and in both, a portion is given to the gods and a portion is for the worshippers—in this way, humans are in fellowship with the gods, who are thought of as present at the meal, as well as each other. In the Marmarini inscription listing the sacred laws from the sanctuary of Artemis Phylake (northern Pelasgiotis, site remains undiscovered), a worshipper at the sanctuary can choose to pay for a *trapeza* and fill it with meat, various cakes, wine, and share it with

¹¹³⁰ Gill 1974: 117-137; Bookidis 1999.

initiates into the cult.¹¹³¹ The sacred parts of the meat are removed and offered at the altar with a portion of the non-meat offerings. The ubiquity of commensal activity in Greek ritual necessitates that facilities for the preparation and consumption of food be present at many ritual sites.

In the previous sanctuaries in this chapter, some templated sanctuaries were listed as having had dining rooms, most visible by the presence of benches built into the sides of buildings. They are also evidenced by the presence of dining ware as well as organic remains, both faunal and floral, the former of which is often ignored in early publications and the latter almost never collected in early excavations, thereby creating large gaps in our knowledge of ritual dining. When dining buildings are not present, evidence for ritual can still be found in concentrations of consumption vessels often mixed with votive figurines, bone, and traces of burning (e.g. ritual is evident in the cave sanctuaries at Pharsalos and Krounia). In Archaic Thessaly, the line between temple and dining room was often blurred, as they were in earlier periods. The structure at Metropolis had integral benches in its cella and the interior of the building at Soros, if it were a temple, would have been used for dining (benches, *eschara*) in addition to being a repository for votive sculptures.

All the buildings in this section have already been mentioned in previous sections but their function as dining rooms bear repeating. All of the previous thesmophoric buildings, where the various small squarish buildings might have served various functions, among which was ritual dining for agricultural rituals. The Demeter and Kore sanctuary at New Halos probably accommodated a similar function if it were indeed a *demetrion*. The *metroa*, if it turns out that they were not temples in function, could be included into this category since they did in fact house dining activities in addition to their numerous other functions.

(iii) Stoas

Appearing in numerous forms from the Archaic period onwards, a stoa is a multi-

¹¹³¹ Parker and Scullion 2016: 5 (inscription side B, lines 48-49). The inscription was first published by Decourt and Tziafalias 2015. The inscription was revisited by Bouchon and Decourt 2017, correcting earlier assumptions. This inscription will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 5.

purpose building with a roofed portico that was not restricted to *temenos* settings. They served public functions and often housed spaces that were used for shops, galleries, and offices. They often framed open spaces such as agoras or sanctuaries, especially in the Hellenistic period (the Hellenistic Athenian Agora was framed on all sides by stoas), and could come in a variety of shapes (L-shaped as at Perachora, or with two projecting wings as at the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios in the Athenian Agora).¹¹³² At sanctuaries, they can serve almost any purpose. The Asklepieion at Epidauros used one as an *abaton*, the South Stoa at the Samian Heraion served as part of the *temenos* boundary, while the Stoa of Antigonos at Delos was used as a repository for votive offerings. Many stoas are found in Thessalian sanctuaries but in the case of three sites, the sanctuaries to which the stoas belonged did not have any known temples, but had stoas.

One of these stoa buildings has been mentioned previously in this section. It is the elongated building in the sanctuary of Demeter at Proerna (Achaia Phthiotis or Thessaliotis), the only architectural feature in the incompletely excavated *temenos* that has been found. The multi-roomed structure might have served as a gathering place for people celebrating *thesmophoric* rituals. It is possible that this also replaced the various small buildings found in similar agricultural sanctuaries in Thessaly that served as dining rooms and *megara*. Interestingly, the Hellenistic phase of the building had a pebble mosaic floor, which was replaced by a beaten earth floor during its Roman phase, perhaps an intentional act to make the sanctuary more modest.

At Agioi Theodoroi in the chora of Kierion (Thessaliotis), the sanctuary (4th to 2nd c. BC) had two buildings, one of which was a repository for votive statuary (Building A, not a temple), and the other was a Γ-shaped stoa (Building B). Building B delineated the edge of an open courtyard and seems to have served a similar function as Building A. In fact, Building B yielded even more votive statuary than Building A, which I would not hesitate to call a stoa as well. Building B was built directly on top of Building A and I would propose that the former was meant to replace the function of the latter. It is possible that this sanctuary served as an *asklepieion* since Asklepios was among the deities found in the sculptural assemblage, but Artemis and Aphrodite were also found at the site. It is possible,

¹¹³² Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios: Camp 2001: 150-151; Perachora: Coulton 1964: 101-131.

then, that the site's main concern was kourotophy since the three deities shared kourotophic concerns. This site is a prime example of how a sanctuary does not need temple architecture in order for rituals to take place.

The final stoa comes from the supposed Asklepieion of Trikka. The site was a complex consisting of several buildings (Late Hellenistic stoa, Late Hellenistic building with a mosaic floor, and a Roman bath complex). The site, however, did not yield any evidence pointing to ritual or any connection to Asklepios and so the stoa might have simply been a stoa located in a public place.

(iv) Burial Shrines

This category is not related to the so-called “funerary shrines of Thessaly,” whose problems I discussed in the previous chapter. These burial shrines do not necessarily constitute formal *temene* but involve the ritualisation of a funerary monument. The performance of ritual acts at particularly important burials goes beyond an act of piety towards an ancestor/relative/hero. By paying cult at a tomb, an individual or a community establishes a connection between themselves and whoever was remembered at the tomb. This formed connection can be either direct descent (biological, ancestral) or indirect descent (an affiliate, a political successor, a member of the same community) and can be a means to legitimise or consolidate political power, establish one's place in the social hierarchy, or justify one's existence in a region.¹¹³³ The act of honouring ancestors and heroes can often be difficult to distinguish from each other, as in many cases the lines are blurred, as are the lines between heroes and deities at times.

These acts can take the form of modifications to older tombs, the creation of an archaising tomb, or the creation of a tomb that was both mausoleum and shrine, or the simple act of worship at a tomb. This subsection deals with all architectural manifestations of this phenomenon in Thessaly (i.e. when a building/structure had to be created for the tomb cult. The construction of a building intended for the worship of the heroised dead marks a distinction between the simple act of commemoration at a tomb and the monumentalisation of memory. It becomes an overt statement rather than a mere act of

¹¹³³ Stamatopoulou 2016: 181-204.

piety, a statement that formally ritualises a space, and as such, demands examination in this dissertation.

A particularly widespread form of funerary monument in Thessaly were tholos tombs. These tombs were vaulted, monumental burial structures (from the Greek “*θολός*,” meaning rounded vault) consisting of a circular chamber cut into a hillside and roofed by a dome-like frame of stones in ever-decreasing rings, creating a beehive-shape. The whole structure is then sealed and covered with earth. There is a special passageway, the *dromos*, leading to its entrance, called the *stomion*. The tholos tomb would have been a conspicuous feature of the landscape and would have been seen from the outside as a *tumulus* or burial mound. The burials (usually inhumed, sometimes cremated) were usually placed in shafts dug into the floor. A tholos tomb usually contained multiple burials, spanning generations of dead occupants. The tholos tomb was the characteristic form of royal monumental burial in the Mycenaean world. It replaced the shaft grave as the preferred royal burial at Mycenae during the 1600s BC. The tholos tomb was the primary expression of royal wealth and power before the Mycenaean palaces were built.

The tholos tomb was not restricted to the large Mycenaean centres of the Peloponnese but are found throughout the Mycenaean world, as far north as Thessaly,¹¹³⁴ which had the largest concentration of said tomb outside of the Peloponnese. Examples of Mycenaean tholos tombs from Thessaly include those at Dimini, Georgiko, Kazanaki, and Dranista.¹¹³⁵ In most regions of Greece, the collapse of Mycenaean civilization at the end of the Bronze Age brought a complete end to the creation of tholos tombs. This is not the case in Thessaly where the practice of constructing tholos tombs continued well after the Bronze Age and into the Early Iron Age (1100-800 BC), during which Thessaly had the highest concentration of tholos tombs in all of Greece, whereas during the Bronze Age, Thessaly was only third after the Argolid and Messenia.¹¹³⁶ The tholos tomb tradition continued after the Early Iron Age in a handful of cases: two Archaic tholos tombs in the

¹¹³⁴ Feuer 1983: 75.

¹¹³⁵ Dimini: Tsountas 1908; Hourmouziadis 1979. Georgiko: *AA* 52 (1997): 476-481 and Chapter 3, 4.1C. Kazanaki: Adrimi-Sismani and Alexandrou 2009: 132-145. Dranista: *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 351-353 and Galanakis and Stamatopoulou 2009: 205-218.

¹¹³⁶ Georganas 2002.

eastern necropolis of ancient Pharsalos, and one Classical tholos tomb at Krannon.¹¹³⁷

Early Iron Age tholos tombs from Thessaly differed from Mycenaean tholos tombs in several ways; they are generally smaller (the largest is 6.67 m in diameter, Kapakli) than the Mycenaean tholoi, did not have imposing entrance façades with relieving triangles above the *stomia*, and the construction method and materials seem to have been of inferior quality (no regular courses, usually made of unworked schist and limestone rather than ashlar blocks).¹¹³⁸ Despite these differences, Georganas argues that all the features on Early Iron Age tombs in Thessaly are still in fact architecturally following the Mycenaean model as all features that appear on Early Iron Age tholoi appear on the Mycenaean tombs of Thessaly, some of which are only 3-6 m in diameter, some of which have no *dromoi*, and many of which have no relieving triangles on the *stomion*. Tholos tombs often received some form of cult, in the form of offerings left for the individuals buried or the heroes imagined to have been buried in the tomb.¹¹³⁹

The earliest evidence for the creation of a sanctuary in front of the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Georgiko. The ritualisation of the space involved the creation of a platform made of limestone slabs and river stones that became a structure for receiving votive offerings (6th/5th c. BC). An inscription has led to the interpretation of this area as a heroon to Aiatos, one of the founding heroes of the Thessalians.¹¹⁴⁰ The creation of a sanctuary in front of this tholos tomb might have been a way for a group (perhaps the Hestiaiotid aristocracy?) to connect themselves to the hero imagined to have been buried in the tholos tomb, in this case the hero Aiatos, from whom the aristocracy might have considered themselves directly or indirectly descended. By creating a space in which the community can worship the hero, they reinforce their connection with the hero to the community.¹¹⁴¹

Around the same time (late 6th c. BC), a Mycenaeanising tholos tomb was built in the necropolis of Pharsalos, right over a Mycenaean chamber tomb. Although the Archaic tomb did not itself contain any burials, it might have been a monument only meant to look like a

¹¹³⁷ Krannon: *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 173-174; *ΠΑΕ* 1924: 37-38. *ΑΔ* 28: 332. Pharsalos: *ΠΑΕ* 1951: 157-163; *ΠΑΕ* 1952: 185-198; *ΠΑΕ* 1953: 128-131; *ΠΑΕ* 1954: 153-159. Gerakari: *ΑΔ* 28 (1973): 329-332, Gallis 1973: 251-266.

¹¹³⁸ Georganas 2000: 50.

¹¹³⁹ Georganas 2000: 52-54.

¹¹⁴⁰ Intzesiloglou 2002b: 294.

¹¹⁴¹ See Chapter 3, 4.1C.

heroic burial, a possibility supported by the many imitations of heroic burial at the site (placement of a krater on the dromos, representation of Patroklos on said krater, creation of an archaising mound). Marzolff has suggested that this was meant to be a *heroon*, and therefore a formal space meant to commemorate a hero through ritual. This hypothesis, however, can only stand if the tomb was indeed a cenotaph, which cannot be verified because the tomb was heavily looted. If the *heroon* hypothesis does stand, then it is similar to the case at Georgiko, except that a tholos tomb had to be built in the absence of one. Whether or not it was used as a *heroon*, the tholos tomb reflects a trend in Thessaly from the EIA to the Classical period, in which tholos tombs were built long after the collapse of the Mycenaean palace civilisation, in order to, as Stamatopoulou phrased it, “forge a link to the past.”¹¹⁴² Worshipping a hero buried in a tomb meant to appear hundreds of years older has implications on links between place and identity. This trend is not isolated here but also appears at Krannon, in which tholos tombs were being built until the 5th c. BC. I do not include them here in detail since the tombs themselves did not reveal any evidence for ritual, but they belonged to this particular tetradic Thessalian idiosyncrasy.

A final example is the heroon on Hill 84 above the theatre at Demetrias. Perhaps dedicated as a sanctuary to the founding heroes of the city (Demetrios Poliorketes and Antigonos Gonatas), the building was never completed and the site was incompletely excavated.¹¹⁴³ If it had been completed, the building would not have resembled a canonical temple since the middle of the building’s interior contained an underground cavity that might have been a burial chamber or a *bothros*. The sculpted architectural refinements of the heroon were in the Ionic-style, made of white Parian marble. Even without a surviving plan, the temple would have been slightly out of place in Broader Thessaly, being Ionic and a house for ruler cult, but it would have been meant to stand out in its imposing context—looming over the city and visible for miles around—standing in stark contrast to the traditional ancestral cults placed in the lower city.

(v) Towers and Fortifications

Although not used as sanctuaries in the Greek world, there are cases in Thessaly

¹¹⁴² Stamatopoulou 2016.

¹¹⁴³ See Chapter 3, 7.1F.

(one in Pelasgiotis and two in Achaia Phthiotis) where three towers were repurposed as cult sites. No known parallels exist elsewhere in the Greek world and so they deserve their own subsection in this study.

The first sanctuary is the supposed *asklepieion* on the acropolis at Melitaia. The excavators identified a stoa structure with nine subdivisions, but images of the structure make the building look suspiciously like a tower rather than a stoa (Fig. 2). The stoa building contained statuary and inscriptions to Asklepios leading the excavators to propose the structure as an *abaton*. I would suggest that even if this site were an *asklepieion*, this particular building did not have to be an *abaton* since *asklepieia* in Thessaly generally did not have the same structures that southern *asklepieia* usually had (theatres, recreational buildings, baths, *abata*, etc.). The *asklepieion* at Phthiotic Thebes, for example, had only a simple *distyle in antis* temple. Often, Thessalian places where Asklepios was worshipped (often in conjunction with other deities) had no evidence for architecture (e.g. Ag. Charalambos at Pherai, Antinitsa Monastery, Ag. Nikolaos in Pharsalos, the Karaplas Cave near Pharsalos).

The second site is the beacon tower on Malouka Hill by Pherai that seems to have been used as a Classical kouroutrophic sanctuary based on the finds left inside and around the building, namely figures of children among fragments of terracotta figurines and statuary that indicate the concerns of those who left votives on site. It is likely that the site was not a formal *temenos* but received ritual activities because of the deity associated with the tower. Certain deities were associated with protection at borders, crossings, gates, and, in connection, fortifications (e.g. Hekate Prothyraia, Hermes Pylaios, Apollo Agyieus) and such a role connected them to kouroutrophy because they are able to lend protection during periods of transition from one phase of life to the other.

The third site is a building identified by Cantarelli as a tower-temple at the site of Pyrgaki near Vouzion (perhaps anc. Hermaion) in Achaia Phthiotis. The building, however, was heavily covered in vegetation and could only be minimally described. The lack of information does not allow us to verify the function of the building but if it were a tower-temple, its presence along with the Melitaia *asklepieion* might indicate the faint traces of a

Phthiotic Achaian trend.¹¹⁴⁴

(vi) *Waterworks*

Water was and is an essential component in Greek rituals. As mentioned in the above section on springs, the presence of water sources in the natural and the human world were seen as places inhabited by various deities, nymphs predominant among them. Water was used in both ritual and non-ritual purification in all religious contexts. Permanent water fixtures are common at sanctuaries but they often do not survive. Here I list several non-templed sites in which water installations were among, if not the only, features in their respective sites.

The first site is the Hypereia Spring at Pherai, which I include in this analysis even though it does not appear in Chapter 3 because of the fact that it was sacred to the city's resident nymph; there was some recognition of the spring as sacred even though it did not constitute a *temenos*. Despite the general lack of cultic material found at the site of the spring, the probability that this place received cult is very high given its association with Hypereia, who must have had a cult at this site given that the city chose her and her fountain as one of the symbols of their community's identity.¹¹⁴⁵ It is highly unlikely that no cultic activity ever occurred at the site of the most famous and most important spring in this part of Thessaly. Even if it is not a formal sanctuary in the strictest sense, the spring seems to have borne a sacred status. The fountain's monumentalisation in the 4th c. BC. Its appearance, based on the excavated fountain house and depictions of the lion-head spouts on 4th c. coins indicates that the fountain house bore similarities with the Kastalia Spring at Delphi, which might have been yet another act of Pythianising at Pherai, as the temple of Ennodia was also made to look like the 4th c. temple of Apollo at Delphi.¹¹⁴⁶

The sanctuary to Poseidon Pylaios Kranaios at Larisa did not have any archaeological remains except for the stele found *in situ* indicating a possible spring sanctuary to Poseidon by the acropolis gates. It is highly likely that there were structures,

¹¹⁴⁴ Cantarelli *et al.* 2008: 99-100; Cantarelli 2000: 64 and fig. 2; Stählin 1914: 83-103 believed that the city of Hermaion was found on one of the hills of Pyrgaki.

¹¹⁴⁵ Béquignon 1937a: 21; *AA* 53 (1998): 437-438.

¹¹⁴⁶ Rogers 2017 ("The 'Hypereia Krini' at Ancient Pherai," a public lecture presented at the ASCSA on 30 March 2017).

perhaps a fountain house or a simple reservoir for the spring water to collect.

The cave sanctuary at Krounia, unlike the Karaplas cave, contained several modifications to the natural topography in order for the sanctuary to accommodate water installations (three cisterns and a reservoir, connected by piping). Being a cave to the nymphs, water was likely important to its rituals and general image. Waterworks could have been added in order to facilitate certain rituals, and/or perhaps for aesthetic purposes.

3. Concluding Remarks

I end here by synthesising and summarising the patterns discussed in this chapter that we will further analyse in the proceeding chapter. One overall pattern evident throughout the broader region is a contradiction *in terminis*: the seeming lack of pattern seems to be the predominant pattern. Many of the categories mentioned above contained two or three sites with few unifying characteristics. There is incredible diversity in the locations, spatial layouts, and architectural forms found in the various sites, even from just the admittedly incomplete archaeological evidence. I have, however, noted some very important trends throughout this chapter.

The first is the active (but not necessarily conscious) predilection towards minimalism. One-third of the sites mentioned contained no architecture whatsoever. Although it is common for Greek sanctuaries to begin with an open-air phase, they often developed architectural phases, usually from the Archaic period onwards. Although that may have happened in the open-air sanctuaries of Thessaly (e.g. Makalorema at Pherai), a greater number either developed architecture much later in the Hellenistic or Roman periods (e.g. Philia, if the small portion excavated does indeed reflect what occurred in the rest of the site) or maintained no architecture at all despite a long period of use (e.g. Apollo at Tempe). By minimising the human-made features of a sanctuary, one emphasises and elevates the natural setting as sacred.¹¹⁴⁷

¹¹⁴⁷ Elevating the physical environment as sacred is, of course, not the only thing that minimalism accomplishes, as will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Connected to the minimalistic aspect is a trend that could be described as “a return to modesty” in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. In addition to creating and maintaining sanctuary buildings as small, we witness that some sanctuaries actively removed its more ostentatious features (e.g. the removal of the floor mosaic during the Roman phase of the stoa at Proerna, the removal of the Korope building). Sometimes, when a new building is constructed, it is intentionally given a modest size, such as the Iolkia sanctuary at Demetrias, which was given a very modest size despite its importance and its royal funding sources. Some sanctuaries may have demonstrated a return to a non-architectural phase, as occurred at Korope whose building was Archaic but may have been in use as an open-air sanctuary long after the building was gone. In some cases the modesty is monumentalised. For example, the possible petrification of votive cakes throughout Thessaly (particularly in the southeast) becomes an idiosyncrasy of the region in the Hellenistic period.

Doubtless related is the powerful pull towards anachronistic archaism in the region. Buildings that were common in the Early Iron Age, such as apsidal/oval buildings, small, porched buildings, and elongated temples, were constructed or maintained throughout the Hellenistic period. The areas in which these buildings appeared indicate micro-regional preferences for specific types of buildings. The small, porched buildings were particularly popular in Achaia Phthiotis, and the apsidal/oval buildings occurred largely in northern and eastern Thessaly (Perrhaibia, Pelion, the Dotian Plain). In addition to the architecture, this can include the inclusion of archaising forms of worship, such as the worship of the aniconic *betyl* at Gonnoi, and the dedication of prehistoric tools at Krounia. These acts are also connected to the performance of ritual at older prehistoric or seemingly prehistoric monuments, which, like the archaistic construction of architectural features, are meant to forge a link to the past.

In the next chapter, I will also highlight the ambiguity of the function of the temple as the house for the cult statue throughout the region. As I discussed throughout this current chapter, the cella of a *naos* is meant to be the building that housed a cult image, but in Thessaly there were numerous cases in which sacrifice, dining, and votive deposition could take place within the same space that the cult image was meant to be kept (e.g. Metropolis, possibly Soros, and the various *thesmophoric* sanctuaries).

We have also seen some trends come and go throughout this chapter, while some

persist. For example, the Macedonian ascendancy brought with it the worship of the Mother of the Gods to the region. *Metroa* appeared in several places throughout eastern Thessaly, particularly in places connected with the Macedonians, but in all cases, the *metroa* seem only to have been in use until the 2nd c. BC and were not re-used afterwards. In contrast, we have also seen sanctuaries, such as the oracle at Korope and the acropolis sanctuary of Phthiotic Thebes, which continue to be used even after its community was moved (e.g. the *synoikism* of Magnesians and the deportation and replacement of the citizens of Phthiotic Thebes).

Finally, we observe trends which seem to assert panhellenism or regionalism. In some cases, as at Pherai, we see attempts to imitate what was popular in the Greek *koine*. The Pheraians built several monuments that form a connection with the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. This is also seen in the Roman monumentalisation of the sanctuary at Pythion and the Delphic symbolism that the Perrhaebian Tripolis chose to manifest in their visual expressions of identification. The temple at Metropolis presents a curious case because although it presents a panhellenising building in the form of a Doric peripteral hekatompedon, the Thessalian flavour of the temple, including the mixing of temple and dining room functions, betrays clear regionalism. What it means to be Greek and Thessalian, however, will be further deconstructed in the next chapter, and the lines between panhellenism and regionalism will be further blurred. The proceeding chapter will place these trends into their historical contexts in order to reveal acts of identification with local, regional, and global affiliations, and the roles of these sacred sites as agents in the negotiation of these intersecting affiliations.

5

CRYSTALLISING AND DISSOLVING GROUP IDENTITIES

Praxagora: I truly believe that what I will teach is useful but what I fear most is that the audience will not wish to innovate but continue doing what they are already accustomed to doing.

Blepyros: No need to worry about them not wanting to innovate. Doing that and neglecting tradition are first and foremost for us.

Aristophanes' *Ekklesiazousai*¹¹⁴⁸

1. *Could They Even Afford Them?*

In this chapter, I will elaborate on particular characteristics of sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly discussed in the previous chapter and embed these observations in a discussion on regional social and geopolitical developments in order to expand on their place in the processes of identity formation. The Archaic and Classical periods saw a rise in homogeneity in the physical characteristics of sanctuaries in Greece, for example, through the creation of large-scale temples that were similar in layout, the use of worked stone and roof tiles, sculptural similarities, and the widespread use of the peristyle—indicating a growing common knowledge of appropriate material articulations of sacred space.¹¹⁴⁹ During this period of rapid change, however, the administrators of Thessaly's sanctuaries tended to resist these panhellenic innovations (e.g. peripteral temples, monumental

¹¹⁴⁸ Ar. *Eccl.* 583-587:

Πραξάγορα

καὶ μὴν ὅτι μὲν χρηστὰ διδάξω πιστεύω: τοὺς δὲ θεατὰς,
εἰ καινοτομεῖν ἐθελήσουσιν καὶ μὴ τοῖς ἡθάσι λίαν
τοῖς τ' ἀρχαίοις ἐνδιατρίβειν, τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ὃ μάλιστα δέδοικα.

Βλέπυρος

περὶ μὲν τοίνυν τοῦ καινοτομεῖν μὴ δείσης: τοῦτο γὰρ ἡμῖν
δρᾶν ἀντ' ἄλλης ἀρχῆς ἔστιν, τῶν δ' ἀρχαίων ἀμελήσαι.

¹¹⁴⁹ Mazarakis-Ainian 2016: 24-25 lists monumentality, use of worked stone, roof tiles, and the peristyle as common innovations from the 7th c. BC onwards, but he does note that some regions tended to be more conservative concerning these innovations (citing examples from Thessaly and Andros). Hall 2014: 306 correlates the rise of the term *Hellenes* with the rise in substantial investment at interregional sanctuaries. For common knowledge, see Chwe 2013.

sculpture, the classical orders), as has been discussed in the last two chapters.

The first question that one should ask concerning the lack of such developments is whether the region's various entities could even afford to build large temples and add elaborate sculptural refinements on architecture at all. The regions of Thessaly not only possessed the financial capability of undertaking such building projects, they also produced personnel with the expertise to execute the building of more panhellenic architectural expressions. In fact, Thessalian investment at Delphi seems to have been considerable and demonstrates the region's economic ability to finance building projects. Their capacity to raise money for Pythian Apollo is demonstrated again and again throughout the region's involvement with the sanctuary, as the next section will show. Before his assassination, Jason of Pherai organised an extravagant procession to Delphi for the Pythian festival, according to Xenophon. He made a modest request of the Thessalian *poleis* for livestock but received far more than expected: at least a thousand head of cattle and ten thousand more of other livestock.¹¹⁵⁰ This indicates that the region does not at all lack material wealth nor an interest in ritual investment, even though this was a one-time event that required a charismatic figure like Jason of Pherai to execute. Yet, there is abundant evidence that the Thessalians and their *perioikoi* clearly had the ability to pour investment into sanctuaries.

1.1 Broader Thessalian Investment at Delphi

It is an interesting phenomenon that, although the Thessalians rarely financed large temple building projects within their region, as far as we can tell from the surviving archaeological evidence, they helped finance them outside of Thessaly. After the Alkmaionid temple to Apollo at Delphi was destroyed by an earthquake in 373 BC, numerous Thessalian *poleis* contributed large sums to its reconstruction. In addition, there were numerous donations to the sanctuary of Apollo by Thessalian cities over time. Sometimes they were acting individually and sometimes collectively; the Thessalians made a collective donation to the construction of the temple of Apollo at Delphi at least twice:

¹¹⁵⁰ Xen. *Hell.* 6.4.29: ἐπιόντων δὲ Πυθίων παρήγγειλε μὲν ταῖς πόλεσι βοῦς καὶ οἴς καὶ αἴγας καὶ ὄς παρασκευάζεσθαι ὡς εἰς τὴν θυσίαν: καὶ ἔφασαν πάνυ μετρίως ἐκάστη πόλει ἐπαγγελλομένῳ γενέσθαι βοῦς μὲν οὐκ ἐλάττους χιλίων, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα βοσκήματα πλείω ἢ μύρια. ἐκήρυξε δὲ καὶ νικητήριον χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἔσεσθαι, ἥτις τῶν πόλεων βοῦν ἠγεμόνα κάλλιστον τῷ θεῷ θρέψειε.

once in 358 BC and then again in 325 BC.¹¹⁵¹ Several *poleis* of Thessaly made individual donations throughout the 4th c. BC: surviving inscriptions list that Pherai made a contribution at least once, Pharsalos at least twice, Peirasia at least once, and Metropolis gave at least once. The perioikic cities of Angeia, Homolion, and Methone also gave individual donations as well.¹¹⁵²

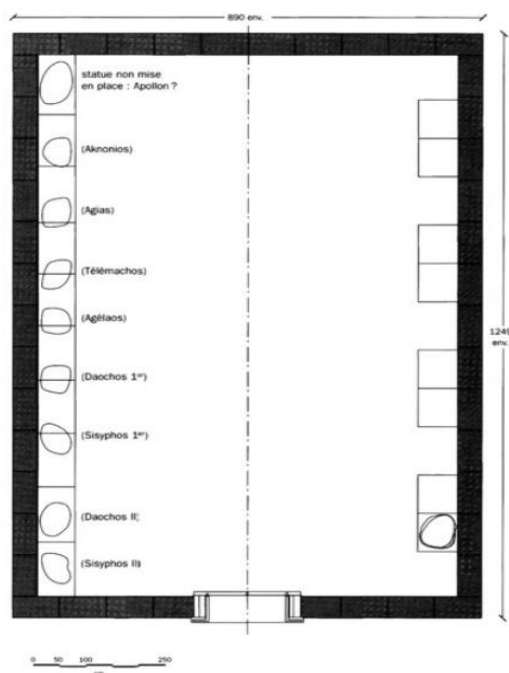


Fig. 2 - Reconstruction of the Treasury of the Thessalians at Delphi (Jacquemin and Laroche 2001)

In addition to funding the temple, there were numerous Thessalian dedications at Delphi mentioned in the literary sources and inscriptions, although only the Daochos monument survives archaeologically. This monument was dedicated by a Thessalian *hieromnemon* to the Amphictyony from the city of Pharsalos from 337-332 BC. The monument, which consisted of a long base and nine statues, commemorates Apollo, Daochos II himself, and seven of his ancestors whose achievements were connected to the sanctuary of Apollo.¹¹⁵³ The monument consists of a long base topped by nine statues

¹¹⁵¹ 358 BC: *CID II* 5.11.32-33; 325 BC: *CID II* 100.11.5.

¹¹⁵² Angeia: *CID II* 8.16; Homoloion: *CID II* 1.1.18, *IG IV* 617.13; Methone: *CID II* 5.11.39; Peirasia: *CID II* 8.11.6.

¹¹⁵³ Daochos monument: Thémélis, P., 1979, "Contribution à l'étude de l'ex-voto delphique de Daochos" *BCH* 103, pp. 507-520; Pouilloux, J., 1976, *Fouilles de Delphes. (Épigraphie. Fascicule IV). Les inscriptions de la terrasse du temple et de la région nord du sanctuaire* Vol. 3, Paris; * Homolle, Th., 1898, "La date de l'ex-voto des Thessaliens", *BCH* 22, p. 633; Evans, K.E., 1996, *The Daochos Monument*, Princeton.

depicting the aforementioned figures (identified by inscriptions on the base). The Daochos monument was formerly thought to have been a free-standing monument but has more recently been proven to have been located inside a Treasury of the Thessalians built by Agelaos (brother of Daochos' great-grandfather) in 361.¹¹⁵⁴

Other dedications include a statue of Apollo dedicated by Echekratidas of Larisa,¹¹⁵⁵ a statue of a horse dedicated by the Thessalians in 457 after the battle of Tanagra,¹¹⁵⁶ a statue of riders dedicated by Pherai in 457 in celebration of the victory over the Athenian cavalry,¹¹⁵⁷ a statue of Achilles and Patroclus dedicated by Pharsalos in the 2nd half of the 5th c. BC,¹¹⁵⁸ a statue of a horse dedicated by Pharsalos during the 5th or 4th c. BC,¹¹⁵⁹ and a statue of Pelopidas dedicated by the Thessalians in 369 BC.¹¹⁶⁰

Moreover, the board of *naopoioi* ("temple-builders"), those responsible for supervising the rebuilding of the temple, represented by various member-*ethne* of the Amphictyony, were dominated by the Thessalians.¹¹⁶¹ Throughout the 4th c. BC, twenty-eight states (some *poleis*, some *ethne*) sent delegates to serve as *naopoioi* at Delphi to represent the various member-*ethne* of the Amphictyony. Of these twenty-eight states, eight are from Thessaly or its *perioikoi* (Pharsalos, Larisa, Gyrton, Pherai, Krannon, Pelinna, Skotoussa, and Perrhaibia). Of all the *naopoioi* from Greece, only three are listed as having served at least 21 years: Amyntor of Pherai, Oiolikos of Larisa, and Orestas of Krannon—all Thessalians.¹¹⁶² A *naopios* usually served a temporary posting, but in two cases a *naopios* handed his post down to a son or grandson; one was Etymondas of Delphi and the other Aristophylidas of Larisa.¹¹⁶³ The Thessalians' disproportionately high representation in the college of *naopoioi* in comparison to the other states, and their ability to stay in their posts for longer than any other states demonstrates the seniority of the Thessalians in the temple

¹¹⁵⁴ Jacquemin and Laroche 2001.

¹¹⁵⁵ Paus. 10.16.8.

¹¹⁵⁶ *SEG* 17.423.

¹¹⁵⁷ Paus. 10.15.4.

¹¹⁵⁸ Paus 10.13.5

¹¹⁵⁹ *SEG* 1.210.

¹¹⁶⁰ *SEG* 22.460.

¹¹⁶¹ de la Coste-Messelière 1974: 199-211; Davies: 1-14; Rhodes and Osborne 2007: 328-336 (esp. no. 66. "Accounts of the Delphian *Naopoioi*, 345/4—343/2").

¹¹⁶² Davies 1998: 4 n. 20.

¹¹⁶³ For hereditary membership into the Amphiktyony, see Roux 1979: 98.

of Apollo's reconstruction project.

The Thessalians' major role in the reconstruction of the 4th c. BC temple of Apollo does not necessarily mean that they themselves had the architectural expertise to execute the building of a large temple; however, it does imply that there were Thessalians who could administer such an undertaking. The responsibilities of the *naopoioi* involved collecting and disbursing the funds for the reconstruction, and Delphic inscriptions enumerate the architectural minutiae—labour, materials, transportation—for which the *naopoioi* allocated funds.¹¹⁶⁴ Such administrative expertise was indeed put to use within Thessaly by the Pheraians, who constructed a Doric *hekatompedon* at the site of Makalorema in the late 4th c., closely resembling the 4th c. temple of Apollo at Delphi.

And thus, the answer to the question posed by this section is “yes, they really could afford them.” The inhabitants of Broader Thessaly were able to make investments in places of worship, on the individual level and on the collective level of city-state or *ethnos*. Not only did they have the money to fund the building of large temples, they also had personnel with experience in spending that money to get such works done. Yet, this investment was not made in Thessaly itself, except in a few cases. Rather than adorning their own cities and countryside with magnificent temples, the Thessalians chose to make their investments in one of the largest and most international sanctuaries of the Hellenic mainland, Delphi, for the whole Hellenic world to see the collective value of the Thessalian *ethnos*. Following this, one might expect that the investments Thessalians made in local sanctuaries would focus on those that were important to the collective identity of the *ethnos* as a whole, not in the least, because the *ethnos* would be better financially equipped to raise funding compared to individual poleis. This, however, is not what we see from the evidence that currently survives.

1.2 A Lack of Monumentality?

Upon the formalisation of the Thessalian League in 196, the sanctuaries of Athena Itonia at Philia and Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa became headquarters of the Thessalian League—the focal points for all its business (e.g. creating and setting up decrees), as well as

¹¹⁶⁴ Davies 1998: 5-9.

the symbolic centres of the *ethnos*.¹¹⁶⁵ It is possible that the remains of the latter were enormous due to the size of the architectural spolia found on Panagouli 9 in Larisa; however, due to the lack of foundations *in situ*, we cannot determine for certain whether the fragments did in fact belong to the sanctuary or if they belonged to a temple at all.¹¹⁶⁶ As such, it is difficult to include it in this discussion. One thing to note with the Eleutherian sanctuary is that it was created as part of Flamininus' reforms and creation of federal Thessalian sanctuaries, unlike the Itoneion at Philia, which had symbolic importance prior to the Hellenistic period.

The sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia, in contrast to the Zeus Eleutherios sanctuary at Larisa, has been located through archaeological work (albeit incompletely excavated and published). What is unusual in this sanctuary is that despite its continuous use since the 10th c. BC, no architecture would appear on site until the Late Hellenistic period at the earliest, but certainly during the Roman period (and even then these buildings would have been small).¹¹⁶⁷ The early investment into this sanctuary came in the form of a significant amount of votives, numbering in the thousands, ranging from small fibulae to other types of jewellery to weapons, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic figurines, and bronze tripods.¹¹⁶⁸ There were probably thousands more because the site had been badly looted before the excavations and many of these have turned up in museums and private collections within the last century.

Despite having had no temple, this site was one of the most important sanctuaries in all of Thessaly during the Hellenistic period and probably earlier. Prior to 196 BC, the sanctuary may not have had a pan-Thessalian nature but its concerns definitely exceeded the polis level (decrees of *sympolitiai* and a Koan *theoria* inscription).¹¹⁶⁹ From the 2nd c. BC onwards, the sanctuary of Athena Itonia became the place in which the official decrees of the Thessalian League were set up.¹¹⁷⁰ In the case of Philia, it is possible, based on the

¹¹⁶⁵ Graninger 2005: 91-132.

¹¹⁶⁶ See 1.1D in Chapter 3 for a discussion of the Sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios.

¹¹⁶⁷ See 3.1 in Chapter 3 for a discussion of Philia.

¹¹⁶⁸ Kilian-Dirlemeier 2002 presents the small finds from the Itoneion but it is important to note that she focuses more heavily on the looted and recovered bronzes and less on the terracotta, ceramics, etc. Those that were not looted are yet to be completely studied.

¹¹⁶⁹ Discussed in Chapter 3.

¹¹⁷⁰ Graninger 2011: 44.

sections of the site that have been excavated, that the absence of a large temple does not equate to the absence of investment or a lack of importance.

Another sanctuary that was of great pan-Thessalian importance is the sanctuary of Apollo in the Vale of Tempe, on the right bank of the Peneus River. The mythological importance of the Vale of Tempe had to do with Apollo's slaying of Python, after which he had to come to this area to be purified, as well as his attempted assault of the nymph Daphne which created the laurel tree. Aelian describes the festivals at Tempe, including the physical environment at Tempe.¹¹⁷¹ The Septeria festival, which mimicked the slaying of Python, Apollo's flight, redemption, and return to Delphi, are held every year and involve a procession to and from Tempe via a route Aelian says was called the Pythian Road (Πυθίας Ὀδός). He also mentions a festival held every eight years involving the procession of Delphi's aristocratic children to Tempe where they would perform elaborate sacrifices and bring back laurel wreaths to be used in the Pythian Games.

Despite its important connection to the cult of Apollo at Delphi, and the Thessalian interest in the cult of Apollo at Delphi, the archaeological remains from the site of Agia Paraskevi, identified epigraphically as the sanctuary of Apollo at Tempe are rather meager. The most significant and in fact the only structure found at Agia Paraskevi consists of the foundations of a large altar which the excavator dates to the late 4th c. BC. Aelian's much later description of this sanctuary also only mentions an altar.¹¹⁷² However, the earliest inscriptions dedicated on the site (all to Apollo Pythios) date as early as the beginning of the 5th c. BC. No buildings were ever erected at the site for most of its history, which lasted until the 2nd c. BC based on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence but perhaps later if said altar was still in use during Aelian's time. The full chronology of the site's use, as well as the exact extent of the sanctuary, cannot now be determined since it was destroyed by the construction of the bridge at Agia Paraskevi.¹¹⁷³

What we may be seeing at both Philia and Tempe is that the absence of a large temple does not necessarily equate to the absence of investment or a lack of importance. I

¹¹⁷¹ Ael. *VH* 3.1. The processional route for the festival probably imitated the route taken by Apollo in *Hom. Hym. Ap.* 182-285 (Fachard and Pirisino 2015: 147).

¹¹⁷² Ael. *VH* 3.1: ἔστι δὲ καὶ βωμὸς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐστεφανώσατο καὶ τὸν κλάδον ἀφείλε.

¹¹⁷³ See Chapter 3 1.7B for the Apollo sanctuary at Tempe.

propose that the reason for the lack of large temples in Thessaly goes beyond the economic level; the phenomenon of open sanctuaries without “monumental” temples does not imply lack of interest, lack of economic resources or lack of piety. Rather, I wish to argue that the absence of large and expensive structures was a deliberate and willful strategy that was part and parcel of a broader range of “acts of identification” by various groups in Thessaly. This absence of colossality does not, as I discussed in Chapter 2, imply a lack of monumentality but rather a divergent form of monumentality expressed in a vocabulary that was typical to the sanctuaries of this broader region, and which contributed to group identification on the level of settlement, *perioikos*, and the Thessalian *ethnos*. Yet, it is interesting to note that based on the limited surviving this regional Thessalian cultic vocabulary may have diverged significantly from the one expressed in more international panhellenic settings. The predominant, observable characteristics in Broader Thessalian sanctuaries are their small scale in terms of built features their and conservative (often archaising) appearance. How can we explain the human agency behind these different patterns? The previous chapter identified aspects of ritualised material culture that may have played a role in Thessalian processes of identification. This following section contextualizes the observations on these morphological and spatial patterns throughout the landscape in the long-term mythical traditions of the origins of the communities that populated Broader Thessaly.

I do, however, have to emphasise very strongly that my interpretations of the patterns described comprise only working hypotheses. The majority of the sites discussed were minimally studied by the archaeologists who documented them, and there are still large parts of Thessaly that are archaeologically unexplored. As the previous two chapters have shown, the sanctuaries of Broader Thessaly are still, in fact, largely a mystery to us—a mystery that we have barely begun to unveil. We can only start peeling back this veil with which the sanctuaries are shrouded by continued systematic excavations, intensive and extensive surveys, and artefactual studies from the region. Since many of the interpretations presented are standing on shaky archaeological ground, this chapter is not meant to be the final word on the sanctuaries of Broader Thessaly; rather, it is a practice on what can be done, through the application of theoretical approaches, when faced with limited and problematic archaeological evidence. Shaky archaeological ground, I would

argue, is not grounds for silence. The questions I ask of the available data are questions that need to be asked in order to point archaeologists in directions for future archaeological research and predict potential answers. In good archaeological practice, these questions need to be asked, not only in the future when the archaeological data has been collected, but before excavations and surveys have even begun.

2. An Archaising Façade

2.1 Foundation Myths: the Indigenous Colonizers of Thessaly.

It is necessary to discuss the foundation myths of Broader Thessaly in order to embed the sanctuaries in this dissertation within the discourse of the use of the imagined past in the processes of community and identity formation. It is possible that the archaising features of the sanctuaries of Broader Thessaly had a connection with aetiological stories of origin and belonging. Foundation myths, stories told to explain the origins of a community, are crucial points of reference for the negotiation of group identities. Groups tell these myths to set criteria for what constitutes a community identity—ethnic, political, or otherwise. They can be used to justify who does and does not belong to the group, to connect the group with larger communities, and to legitimise one's dominance over others. Naoíse Mac Sweeney emphasizes the plurality of foundation myths that coexist in a region. She cites the well-known example of the Athenian claim to both autochthony as well as descent from the Ionians:¹¹⁷⁴

Taken together, the different foundation myths of Athens suggest a fundamental plurality in the way Athenians conceived of their civic identity: a schizophrenic desire for splendid isolation and Athenian particularism on the one hand; and simultaneously for engagement with a wider Hellenic community on the other.

The seemingly contradictory foundation myths of Attica served to be invoked in suitable situations and sentiments, sometimes simultaneously. For this reason, Mac Sweeney argues that scholars should not consider these myths in isolation but as part of a discourse in which the different stories were told, experienced and lived not separately but simultaneously, by diverse audiences.

¹¹⁷⁴ Mac SweeneyMac Sweeney 2015: 1.

Thessaly's foundation myths are equally diverse and contradictory. On the one hand, there are many myths attributing the Thessalian arrival in the region to conquest, and on the other, there are also myths connecting the Thessalians' descent to the original inhabitants of the region. There is, however, an inherent problem in the sources, since all of them were written from outsiders' perspectives for non-Thessalian audiences. They do not reflect the nuances of Thessaly as a region of micro-regions with a multitude of overlapping group identities. They also do not necessarily recount myths told by Thessalians about their own origins but others' perceptions of those origins. Any reading of Thessalian foundation myths, therefore, needs to take these problems as a caveat.

Mili points out that the diverse sources on the mythical origins of the Thessalians all have the eponymous hero Thessalos as their lowest common denominator.¹¹⁷⁵ These sources on Thessalos are chronologically widespread, dating as early as Homer and as late as Servius' commentary on Virgil in the early 5th c. AD.¹¹⁷⁶ Thessalos is the common ancestor of all Thessalians in all the sources available, but the heroic ancestry of Thessalos and the method by which the descendants of Thessalos came to be the dominant population of the region differs widely. Thessalos' ancestry is usually tied to panhellenic heroes that connect Thessaly with specific regions of Greece, as we will see in the rest of this section. Thessalos' malleable genealogy finds a parallel in the shifting paternity of Theseus in Attica. Theseus' mortal father Aigeus is conveniently replaced by Poseidon sometime around 475 BC when the Athenians made a show of bringing back the hero's bones from Skyros.¹¹⁷⁷ At the same time, neither father ever disappears from the mythical traditions. Turner argues that the competing traditions of Theseus' paternity served in the negotiation of different elements of Athenian identity. Aigeus roots him to autochthonous Attica, whereas Poseidon vaunts Athens' naval superiority while linking the *polis* to a much wider panhellenic network.¹¹⁷⁸

Although the sources for Thessalos' genealogy are more fragmentary, it is possible to see negotiation between traditions in them. Both Mili and Graninger have already noted

¹¹⁷⁵ Mili 2015: 220-225.

¹¹⁷⁶ Serv. *In Aen.* 8.600.

¹¹⁷⁷ Kimon's discovery of Theseus' bones: Plut. *Kimon* 8; Plut. *Theseus* 36; Paus. 3.3.7

¹¹⁷⁸ Turner 2015: 71-102.

that ethnic Thessalians are absent in the Homeric epics. There was no region called Thessaly in the Catalogue of Ships; rather, it refers to the individual lands of the Perrhaibians, Magnesians, Phthians, Pelasgians, and other tribes living in what was later Thessaly, but not ethnic Thessalians.¹¹⁷⁹ The Thessalians are also conspicuously absent in the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* (early 6th c. BC¹¹⁸⁰) which details Apollo's route from Delphi to Tempe, making mention of the Ainianians, Magnesians, and Perrhaibians but not Thessalians.¹¹⁸¹ The hero Thessalos is not, however, absent from the Catalogue of Ships; he is presented as the son of Herakes, a king of Kos, and the father of Antiphos and Pheidippos, with no mentioned connection to Thessaly. The Thessalian absence in Homeric tradition would indicate that an *ethnos* self-identifying as Thessalians did not yet exist in the Early Iron Age and Early Archaic periods.¹¹⁸²

The most prevalent traditions concerning the origins of the Thessalians involve an invasion of descendants of Thessalos into the region starting as early as the late 6th/early 5th c. BC. Herodotos mentions that the Thessalians came from Thesprotia to conquer the land of the Aiolians (i.e. later Thessaly).¹¹⁸³ Thucydides elaborates further saying that the Thessalians drove the Boiotians out of Arne (Kierion) to Kadmeis (later Boiotia).¹¹⁸⁴ Archemachos (4th c. BC) adds a detail that the Boiotians who stayed became the *penestai*.¹¹⁸⁵ In contrast, Theopompos believes that the Thessalians acquired their *penestai* from the Perrhaibians and Magnesians who lived in the plains before their conquest.¹¹⁸⁶ The tradition of a Thessalian invasion persisted throughout the Hellenistic period and into the Roman period. Strabo recounts a tradition that the cult of Athena Itonia came to Koroneia in Boiotia because they already worshipped her while still inhabiting

¹¹⁷⁹ The "Thessalian" section of the Catalogue of Ships: Hom. *Il.* 2.681-759.

¹¹⁸⁰ Chappell, 2006: 332.

¹¹⁸¹ *Hom. Hym. Ap.* 182-285.

¹¹⁸² Contrast Sprawski 2014, who argues that Homer's mention of Koan Thessalos showed his awareness of the tradition that the Thessalians did not live in Thessaly during the Trojan War, citing as evidence the fact that the poet does not mention any settlements in the tetrad of Thessaliotis (the area that the Thessalians conquered first) in order to avoid any anachronism. Homer does mention Arne (Kierion) but he lists it among the territories in Boiotia (Hom. *Il.* 2.508).

¹¹⁸³ Hdt. 7.176.4.

¹¹⁸⁴ Thuc. 1.12.3.

¹¹⁸⁵ *FGrH* 424 F1.

¹¹⁸⁶ 115 *FGrH* 122

Thessaly.¹¹⁸⁷ He also writes that Koan Thessalos' two sons, Antiphos and Pheidippos, conquered Thessaly from Ephyra in Thesprotia.¹¹⁸⁸ Pseudo-Apollodoros skips the Thesprotian connection and has the two sons of Thessalos sailing straight to conquer Thessaly from Troy. The Thessalian invasion myth can also be coupled with traditions in which other Greeks trace their descent to Thessaly, such as the Aiolians of Asia Minor who trace their original homeland to Thessaly before their expulsion by the descendants of Thessalos, and the Chians who claim descent from the expelled Pelasgians of Thessaly. A later tradition from Polyainos attributes the conquest of Thessaly to Aiatos (Attic Aiakos), son of Pheidippos and grandson of Thessalos. In this version, as Aiatos is fighting with the Boiotians, Polykleia, his sister, tricks him and she becomes the ruler of Thessaly, forcing him to marry her and rule jointly with him.¹¹⁸⁹

In the majority of these sources, Thessalos is emphasised as being one of the Heraklidai (with the earliest source, Pherekydes, stating that he was a son of Herakles and the Koan Princess Chalkiope), but there are competing traditions that shift his paternity.¹¹⁹⁰ Dionysios Skytobrachion (rhetorician and mythographer working in Alexandria in the 3rd c. BC) names Jason as Thessalos' father and Medea his mother.¹¹⁹¹ He says that Thessalos comes from Corinth to reclaim his father's homeland of Iolkos. The Jason tradition appears only in this one source but a far more common rearrangement of Thessalos' genealogy involves the addition of Pelasgos to his ancestry. Rhianos of Crete was the first to add that Pelasgos was the grandfather of Thessalos, while Strabo knew of a slightly different account in which Thessalos was the son of Haimon and grandson of Pelasgos.¹¹⁹² A contemporary of Strabo, however, Dionysios of Halikarnassos provides a different story altogether, in which Pelasgos was the son of Poseidon and the nymph Larisa.¹¹⁹³ Pelasgos left the Peloponnese with Achaïos and Phthios and settled in Haimonia (later called Thessaly), naming their territories Pelasgiotis, Achaia, and Phthiotis. The

¹¹⁸⁷ Strab. 9.5.9-10.

¹¹⁸⁸ Strab. 9.5.23.

¹¹⁸⁹ Polyæn. *Strat.* 8.44.

¹¹⁹⁰ *FGrH* 3 F 78.

¹¹⁹¹ *FGrH* 32 F 14.

¹¹⁹² *FGrH* 265 F 30; Strab. 9.5.23.

¹¹⁹³ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.17.3. Other authors say that Larisa is either the mother or the daughter of Pelasgos: Hellanikos *FGrH* 4 F 91; Paus. 2.24.1; Hyg. *Fab.* 145.2.

descendants of Pelasgos would not remain in Thessaly but would be driven out and forced to settle in Sicily. Dionysios does not indicate who drove out the Pelasgians but I would consider it probable that he implied that the population living in Thessaly during his time (i.e. the Thessalians) were the ones that expelled them. In the latter version, there is no familial connection between Pelasgos and Thessalos.

The inclusion or exclusion of the Pelasgians into Thessalian ancestry has numerous implications. The Pelasgian issue has long been a problem in Classical scholarship, primarily because the usage of the term constantly shifted in Antiquity. The Greeks spoke of them as pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece, perhaps as a blanket term for the various indigenous populations of Greece, and assigning them the eponymous ancestor Pelasgos. McInerney argues that the Pelasgian discourse served as a convenient instrument in the negotiation of Hellenic identity by providing a distant past that helped define who and what was and was not Greek:

The Pelasgians supplied the deep past with a concrete identity, allowing different communities to share that past, to stake a claim to the past even in ways that were frequently contradictory; but myth systems are open and dynamic, so that such inconsistencies are frequently encountered. More ominous than the inconsistencies of the stories is their function: historicizing difference.¹¹⁹⁴

Despite their original appearance in the literary sources as non-Greek, various Greek communities traced their descent to the Pelasgians.¹¹⁹⁵ The Arkadians claimed that the grandfather of their eponymous ancestor Arkas was Pelasgos, the Argives claim that their city was founded by Pelasgos, Herodotos states that the Athenians were originally Pelasgians who were Hellenised, and as mentioned before, some sources trace the Thessalians' ancestry to Pelasgos.¹¹⁹⁶ Hall ascribes the paradox of ancestral claims to both Hellen and the Pelasgians to fragmentary geographic and political landscape of Greece, in which the inhabitants of the Greek homeland did not "subscribe to a monogenetic origin" but were instead an aggregate of various groups, Pelasgian and otherwise, which slowly

¹¹⁹⁴ McInerney 2014: 52-53.

¹¹⁹⁵ Hall 2002: 33.

¹¹⁹⁶ Hdt. 1.57.3, 2.171.3, 8.73.1, 2.51.1-2, 6.137-138.

came to call themselves Hellenes.¹¹⁹⁷

The association of the Pelasgians with Thessaly appears as early as Homer, where the Pelasgians seem to have occupied a territory near Larisa under the domination of Achilles, as well as in the area of Dodona in Epeiros.¹¹⁹⁸ Herodotos places the Pelasgians among the original inhabitants of Thessaly but lists them as neighbours of Dorians who lived in Thessaliotis.¹¹⁹⁹ Strabo is aware of numerous traditions concerning the distribution and origins of the Pelasgians, citing the opinions of earlier authors (e.g. Ephoros, Euripides, Hesiod, Aeschylus), and defining Pelasgian Argos as the region between the Pineios and Thermopylae. These varying opinions were still around in the early 5th c. AD, when Servius expressed his awareness of them and adding his opinion that Thessaly was the most likely candidate for the origin of the Pelasgians given the numerous Pelasgian toponyms found in Thessaly.¹²⁰⁰

Although the Pelasgians have been associated with Thessaly as early as Homer, the genealogical connection between Thessalos and Pelasgos does not appear until the 3rd c. BC (Rhianos). Prior to that, with the exception of one source connecting Thessalos to Jason, the predominant tradition connected Thessalos to Herakles. As was the case with Athens, these heroic genealogies were a means of forming a wider network of community connections (and disconnections). These stories of common descent provided a means of legitimising real political alliances between these mythologically related communities. For example, I have previously mentioned an inscription from Kos containing a decree that a *theoria* is to be sent to Thessaly (perhaps to Philia as I discussed in Chapter 3) every four years as an invitation for the Thessalians to participate in the Koan Asklepieia, indicating that the Heraklid ties between Thessalos and Kos had very real political implications. A more substantial early 3rd c. BC inscription also contains a decree, passed by the Thessalians possibly in 280 BC at the Thessalian Olympic Games on or near Mount Olympos according to Parker,¹²⁰¹ that gives certain rights and privileges to the citizens of Kos, Aiolis, and Magnesia on the Maiander (intermarriage, tax exemptions, and citizenship anywhere in

¹¹⁹⁷ Hall 2005: 35.

¹¹⁹⁸ Hom. *Od.* 19.177, *Il.* 16.233

¹¹⁹⁹ Hdt. 1.146, 7.94, 7.95, 1.57.

¹²⁰⁰ Serv. *In Aen.* 8.600.

¹²⁰¹ Parker 2011: 111-118.

Thessaly).¹²⁰² The cities mentioned in the two inscriptions all have mythological ancestral ties to Thessaly, particularly with respect to the Heraklid version of these myths, and because of these ties, the Thessalians granted them rights not granted to other communities. Mili has in fact commented that the myth of sibling marriage between Aiatos and Polykleia was used to restrict exogamous marriages,¹²⁰³ but in the latter inscription we see a way in which myths could also provide an exception to this restriction.

But what kind of group dynamic does the appropriation of Pelasgian heritage represent to the Thessalians and the neighbouring *ethne*, particularly in the Hellenistic period when these mythical ties appear? Mili suggests that Larisa's appropriation of their Pelasgo-Argive past increases their importance by excluding all the other traditions in which other populations migrate into Thessaly.¹²⁰⁴ Here Mili accepts the mythical tradition connecting the hero Pelasgos to the heroes of Argos. While I so far agree with Mili's argument, I do believe that it can be taken further. A Pelasgian connection, I would argue, does not necessarily imply a connection with Peloponnesian Argos. Argos is not the only region with a claim to Pelasgos and the Pelasgians, as I have mentioned previously; Thessaly is in fact one of the more persistent claimants to the original homeland of the Pelasgians. As Servius noted in the Late Imperial period, many of Thessaly's toponyms explicitly refer to the Pelasgians.¹²⁰⁵ The region in which Larisa sits, for example, is Pelasgiotis, i.e. the region of the Pelasgians. By linking themselves to Pelasgos, the inhabitants perhaps started, at some point, claiming descent from the indigenous inhabitants of the region, and thus claiming autochthony to the region and its resources.

A claim to autochthony in the Late Classical/Hellenistic period speaks of strengthening ties to territorial claims during a period when those claims were made tenuous. The 4th c. BC saw Thessaly fall under Macedonian hegemony, and the death of Alexander would turn Thessaly into a battleground between *diadochoi*, which would end in the 2nd c. BC with formal but gradual domination by the Romans.¹²⁰⁶ Throughout this period, many cities in Broader Thessaly underwent deportation, reorganisation,

¹²⁰² The inscription is published in Malay and Riel 2009.

¹²⁰³ For Polykleia being a way to restrict blood lines: Mili 2011: 84.

¹²⁰⁴ Mili 2015: 193.

¹²⁰⁵ Serv. *In Aen.* 8.479, 10.183.

¹²⁰⁶ Graninger 2011: 153-158.

depopulation, or utter destruction. Contemporaneous to these territorial uncertainties are the first mentions of Thessalos' genealogical affiliation with Pelasgos, which can be interpreted as a connection back to one of the perceived original inhabitants of the region. The reimagination of Thessalian mythical ancestry by tracing it to Pelasgos circumvents the traditions in which the Thessalians arrive from elsewhere; they are instead rebranded as having always been there despite the influxes of new populations with the hopeful implication that they will always be there.

The Thessalians also mediated their relationships with their allies and subjects through foundation myths. Hall suggests that the Thessalians used Hellenic genealogical myths (specifically by appropriating the Amphiktyonic Genealogy) to promote themselves as leaders of the Delphic Amphiktyony, particularly in the Archaic period, as well as to exclude the Thessalian *perioikoi* from claiming full Hellenic ethnicity.¹²⁰⁷ Similarly, a scholiast to the *Aeneid* traces the genealogy of *penestai* to Thessalos, which might have originated from a tradition that legitimises the incorporation of a serf population of Aiolian descent into the Thessalian *ethnos*.¹²⁰⁸ Penestism may have already been in decline by the 3rd c. BC when an inscription was set up at Pharsalos indicating that the institution may have been abolished (at least in Phthiotis) and the *penestai* were given citizenship rights.¹²⁰⁹ By the Hellenistic period, the institution seems to have already disappeared in Thessaly.¹²¹⁰ This myth of descent is one way of making their assimilation acceptable.

The discussion of the foundation myths of Thessaly is necessary in this section on archaism because I will argue that the sanctuaries that are the topic of this dissertation are an important medium in the formation of imagined communities and identities: they should be “read” and embedded in a discourse referring to an imagined past.¹²¹¹ Just as trends in foundation myths correlate with historical circumstances in which the region's inhabitants perceived territorial threat, I will show in the following section that material references to the past also occur in specific spaces and times that were under duress.

¹²⁰⁷ Hall 2005: 168-171.

¹²⁰⁸ *Scol. Ven. Marc.* 474; Ducat 1994: 96.

¹²⁰⁹ *JG IX*² 234; Decourt 1990: 163-184.

¹²¹⁰ Ducat 1994: 105-13; Mili 2015: 223. For relationships between archaeology, religion, and the Modern Greek state, see Hamilakis and Yalouri 1999: 115-135; Kotsakis 1991: 65-90; and Skopetea 1988.

¹²¹¹ Anderson 1983 introduces us to the concept of modern nations as “imagined communities.”

2.2 Nostalgia and Amnesia for an Imagined Past

The construction of social memory is a collective act, reinforced through performance (as discussed in chapter 2) in settings defined by materiality. This act of collective remembering is selective, highlighting only the aspects of the perceived past that contribute to a group's desired self-image and forgetting episodes that do not fit the desired narrative. This process is therefore by nature discursive, as groups and group identities overlap and diverge over time. Material culture is an important medium for writing and re-writing group histories. When the newly independent Modern Greek state, for instance, removed the post-classical monuments on the Acropolis, it wrote a national narrative that skipped over parts of the past when Greece was dominated by foreign powers and connected itself directly to a past perceived as more glorious and desirable to foreign nations.¹²¹² The creation of this social amnesia with respect to post-classical monuments and associated cultures and beliefs finds a parallel in the use of archaism in Ancient Thessalian material culture.

2.3 Apsidal Temples in Northern Thessaly

In the previous chapter, I listed several categories that would fall under the category of archaizing sanctuaries. The first and most obviously archaizing category are the round and apsidal buildings found in Gonnoi (sanctuary of Athena Polias), Evangelismos, Homolion (Zeus?), and Mount Pelion (Zeus Akraios and Cheiron). Three of these were found around the Vale of Tempe, which was a strategically important pass where the corners of Pelasgiotis, Perrhaibia, Magnesia, and the Macedonian region of Pieria met. The earliest of these is the acropolis sanctuary at Gonnoi, which dates as early as the Archaic period (7th c. BC) and which was in use until the Hellenistic period. All the other round or apsidal buildings in the broader region date to the Classical and Hellenistic periods. At the time of its construction, the temple at Gonnoi would have been comparable to other buildings, including the houses and temples, from the rest of the Greek world, for example at Thermon and Perachora.¹²¹³ We also know these building forms from apsidal house-

¹²¹² For a discussion of the demolition of post-classical Acropolis monuments, see McNeal 1991: 49-63.

¹²¹³ Mazarakis-Ainian 2016: 24-25.

temple models such as those found at the Perachora, Argos, and Samos.¹²¹⁴ In later periods, however, this temple form is less common; in most areas in Greece, many of the apsidal or round temples in sanctuaries were replaced by peripteral temples or other temple types, as for instance at Kalapodi.¹²¹⁵

Taking a phenomenological perspective, Greeks living in the Hellenistic period who approached the Gonnoi temple cannot have been struck visually by colossally impressive architecture, based on Arvanitopoulos' limited study of the site. Instead, they perceived a building reminiscent of an older time, apsidal in shape and built only of mudbrick resting on a stone socle. The apsidal temple at Gonnoi shows signs of having been renovated in the Hellenistic period (4th/3rd c. BC) in exactly the same form, showing a desire to maintain the original humble form, size and building materials.¹²¹⁶ In addition, it was not the exterior of this temple alone that was archaizing; there is a possibility that the cult image in the temple itself was meant to represent "age." I refer, of course, to the stone with the pyramidal peak found inside the temple conjectured by Arvanitopoulos to have been a possibly aniconic cult image.¹²¹⁷ Aniconic images, as Gaifman posits, were not at all an older form of Greek cult object but coexisted with iconic images all throughout Antiquity.¹²¹⁸ They were, however, perceived by the Greek and Roman authors (including early Christians), to have been an older form of cult image whether or not they were really more ancient.¹²¹⁹ These functioned as mnemonic devices that invoked imagined memories that served as a unifying social symbol or metaphor. The inclusion of an aniconic cult object within the Gonnoi temple would then complete the visualization of an archaizing environment within and around the temple, thus enhancing the participants' experience.

¹²¹⁴ Schattner 1990.

¹²¹⁵ Thaler 2020: 385-387.

¹²¹⁶ See Chapter 3 6.1A for a discussion of the Gonnoi sanctuary.

¹²¹⁷ *ΠΑΕ* 1910: 252-9; *ΠΑΕ* 1911: 315-17.

¹²¹⁸ Gaifmann 2010: 63-86.

¹²¹⁹ Mylonopoulos 2015: 275-277.

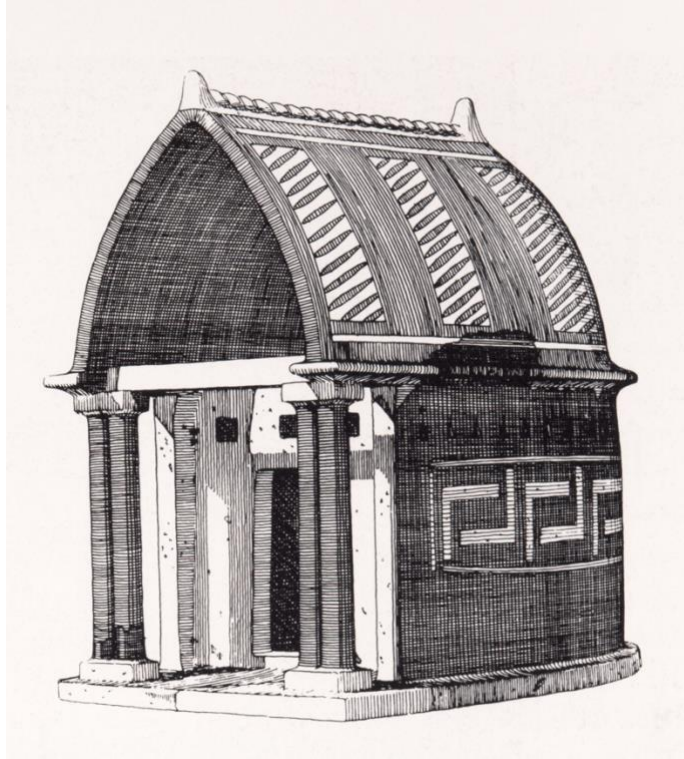


Figure 42 - Illustration of an apsidal house-temple model from Perachora (Neer 2018).

The Athena temple at Gonnoi may not have been an isolated case but part of an archaizing religious landscape throughout northern Pelasgiotis, Perrhaibia, and Magnesia—all found in the north and east of Broader Thessaly. Aside from Gonnoi, the other apsidal/round sanctuaries Evangelismos, Homolion, and Pelion (if Arvanitopoulos' interpretations of the now unlocated and unverifiable remains, as well as his dating of these sites, can be trusted) were built during the Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, when these types of buildings had gone out of fashion. Despite this, these apsidal/round temples were built and maintained in this landscape. At Gonnoi, Homolion, and Evangelismos, the temples were built on the acropoleis of their respective settlements, clearly made to be highly visible and positioned in one of the most symbolically significant locations in a city. Robin Rönnlund addresses the dynamic symbolism of Greek acropoleis with particular emphasis on Thessalian acropoleis. Acropoleis were often charged with symbolism and memory, often tied to a polis' pride in victory and shame in defeat, he

writes.¹²²⁰ Acropolis sanctuaries to Athena Polias in Thessaly, as Mili writes, were often associated with the *phrouroi* and *archeskopoi* (guards and head-watchmen), usually connected with cultic and military functions.¹²²¹ The Gonnoi sanctuary, in particular, yielded such inscriptions. De Polignac emphasized the role of an urban sanctuary, particularly acropolis sanctuaries, in representing a state's wealth and power.¹²²²



Figure 43 - Sanctuaries with apsidal/round sanctuaries.

The anachronism potentially presented by the archaizing apsidal/round buildings may have represented a desire of people living in this region to commemorate its past, whether real or imagined. But why would those living in this landscape choose to monumentalise older temple forms specifically in this micro-region and particularly during the Hellenistic period? The sanctuaries that housed these potentially round/apsidal buildings seemed to form a concentration around the Vale of Tempe, a major passageway from northern to southern Greece and the site of numerous military confrontations. Tempe is only one of several passes that led through or into this region. Perrhaibia, in particular, is located near the Petra Pass, which crossed from Lower Olympus into Pieria, and onto the passes of Sarantaporos and Volustana, which led to the Haliakmon Valley and Upper Macedonia. The route through the Vale of Tempe represents easiest land route between northern and southern Greece. Perrhaibia's most prominent cities prospered particularly

¹²²⁰ Rönnlund 2015, "All That We See or Seem': Space, Memory, and Greek *Akropoleis*," *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 30.1: 37-43.

¹²²¹ Mili 2015: 105-107. For inscriptions mentioning the *phrouroi* and *archeskopoi* in Thessaly, see *IG IX²* 1057 and 1322.

¹²²² De Polignac 1984; Marinatos 1993: 180.

because of their placement along these passes, including Gonnoi which was situated near the mouth of Tempe and, as such, a major stop for travellers proceeding south from one of the northern passes mentioned above.

As a militarily strategic location, Tempe and the surrounding area was the site of numerous military confrontations. Tempe was the location of the Greeks' first stand against Xerxes' march south from Macedonia but the Greeks abandoned the Thessalians at the pass when the Persians found one of the other passes into Perrhaibia.¹²²³ When Broader Thessaly first came under Macedonian domination in 346, Philip II made Gonnoi Perrhaibia's gubernatorial seat, placing Agathokles of Krannon in charge of the region.¹²²⁴ The Greeks attempted to bar Philip's son Alexander from passing through Tempe in 336 BC only for Alexander to construct a stairway up Mount Ossa.¹²²⁵ During the reign of Demetrios Poliorketes, the populations of many Magnesians cities, including Homolion, were forcibly relocated to Demetrias adding to the territorial uncertainty felt by many in the Tempe region.¹²²⁶ Strabo writes that the city of Demetrias thereafter controlled the passes through Tempe but this situation seems to have changed when the Macedonians lost their control of the region, as Strabo adds that by his time the passes were toll-free and open to all.¹²²⁷ Later in 171 BC, Perseus of Macedon attempted to prevent a Roman incursion into Macedonia at Tempe only to have his defences broken ultimately leading to his defeat at Pydna in bordering Pieria in 169.

In summary, the area of the Vale of Tempe was a politically volatile border region, with Thessaly, Perrhaibia, Magnesia, and Pieria's borders meeting at this gorge. The *perioikoi* Perrhaibia and Magnesia had a complex relationship with Thessaly starting from the Archaic period, during which they were both independent allies and subjects of the Thessalians. The two *perioikoi* were removed from Thessalian domination by the Macedonians but Perrhaibia would regain their independence as *koina* separate from

¹²²³ Pritchett 1961: 369-375 concludes that Herodotos' described route through the Volustana Pass is the most feasible route.

¹²²⁴ Agathokles is described as a *penestes* by Theopompos which should be taken with a grain of salt (*supra* n. 99)

¹²²⁵ Polyæn. *Strat.* 4.3.23.

¹²²⁶ For Homolion: *IG IX²* 1109. Regardless of the ancient identification of modern Omolio, many communities in the area were deported to Demetrias and so it was likely that the site was affected by the *synoikismos*.

¹²²⁷ Strab. 9.4.15.

Thessaly after Flamininus' Isthmian Declaration in 196, but would gradually be subsumed back into the Thessalian League by the 140s (*terminus ante quem*, 147/6). The Magnesians League would fall back under Macedonian control under Philip V but Magnesia was re-liberated after the Macedonian defeat in 168.¹²²⁸ It remained independent and not politically part of Thessaly until the reign of Diocletian (AD 284-305).¹²²⁹ Parts of the Vale of Tempe itself belonged to Magnesia, Perrhaibia, and Thessaly, as stated earlier. The Olympos foothills on the north side of the Peneus belonged to Perrhaibia, most of the Ossa massif on the south side of the Peneus belonged to Magnesia, and various cities like Gyrtion controlled territory on the south side of Tempe (including the sanctuary of Apollo at Tempe).

If one thing could characterise the conditions in this sub-region during the existence of these apsidal/round temples, it would be territorial insecurity. Located in important geopolitical transitional landscapes, many communities were under constant threat of outside interference. They could fear losing their ancestral homes through deportation or destruction, and saw armies, merchants, and new settler populations constantly passing through. These invasions and influxes of new populations created new economic opportunities for the region in terms of new trading relationships, but also tension and uncertainty as they now also have new economic and territorial uncertainty.¹²³⁰

The anachronistic assertion of this area's past during a time of turmoil and anxiety presents several possible cultural choices and implicit narratives.

- (1) The sanctuaries near the Vale of Tempe could be interpreted as emphasizing the indigeneity of its inhabitants: the construction of the region's sanctuaries in a deliberately archaising way points to a desire for inhabitants to anchor themselves to a perceived territorial homeland, expressing the idea that they have always been there, during a time when they felt their territory to be threatened.
- (2) One of the sentiments that may have inspired this sense of archaism, and that also served as a strategy of expressing cultural belonging is the emphasis on a

¹²²⁸ Graninger 2011: 33, 37.

¹²²⁹ Zelnick-Abramowitz 2013: 71; Graninger 2011: 33; Larsen 1968: 295.

¹²³⁰ For borders regions as socially constructed spaces and how to approach them, see Van Houtum 2005.

connection to a mythical past: Magnesia and Perrhaibia were listed by Homer to have been among the original inhabitants of this region, settled in the area even before the Thessalians.¹²³¹ Emphasising the archaic materiality of religious settings may have served as an effective tactic to remind the neighbouring Thessalians that their settlements had been there first.

- (3) The inhabitants of the Vale of Tempe may have extended their group identities to include cross-regional affiliation: group identities transcend artificial borders, which were often malleable, ambiguous, contested, and prime locations for ordering and othering processes.¹²³² The fact that one of the sanctuaries was located in Pelasgiotis could show that there were differences in ethnic affiliation throughout the sub-region. It is possible that the settlement at Evangelismos (in Pelasgiotis) claimed a more indigenous ancestry than others in Pelasgiotis (which did not have any apsidal temples) or perhaps claimed to be more closely related Perrhaibian or Magnesian, and for this reason, they created a temple similar to others found in Perrhaibia and Magnesia.

The narrative emphasising a connection to multiple mythical pasts, on the one hand emphasising a singular concept of indigeneity and on the other emphasising an invader narrative, is not necessarily self-contradictory; in fact, the two aspects of the narrative were probably intertwined. The use of an archaising material vocabulary in this region could serve as a claim to a Pelasgian mythical past just as much as to a Homeric past. Furthermore, the inhabitants of the Vale of Tempe did not necessarily have to hold onto a specific mythical or historical past; rather, they could have been associating themselves to the past in general or to multiple contested pasts. In addition, the act of claiming indigeneity, i.e. pre-Thessalian, does not necessarily mean that they did not identify as Thessalian; they were probably juggling multiple modes of identification simultaneously or at different times, as discussed in Chapter 2. Their mythical claims to descent from both Pelasgos and Thessalos indicates that attempts were made to reconcile the two foundation myths by the reshuffling the genealogical connections between the two heroes—the

¹²³¹ See section 2.1 of this chapter.

¹²³² Van Houtum 2005.

Thessalians were claiming to be both invaders and indigenous. By claiming the past through anachronistic architecture, the inhabitants of these communities associated themselves with a time when their imagined ancestral territory was not dominated by foreign powers and their standing in international affairs not as insignificant. Just as the modern Athenian Acropolis has had its post-classical monuments removed, the anachronistic landscape and material culture in Northern Thessaly shows nostalgia for a perceived glorious and burden-free past.

2.4 The Small, Rectangular Temples of Southern Thessaly

Another pattern that can be recognized in the distribution of religious architecture in Thessaly is the frequency of small, rectangular buildings (usually nearly square) with front porches. They make up a significant portion of the extant temple architecture in Broader Thessaly. Although structurally different from the apsidal/round buildings, they present similar architectural features and spatial configurations. Just as the apsidal/round temples concentrated around the Vale of Tempe, the majority of the small, rectangular buildings are concentrated in Thessalian Phthiotis (Ktouri) and Achaia Phthiotis (Melitaia, Neochoraki, Limogardi, Mories, Vouzion, Pereia, Longitsi, two at Kallithea, and two at Phthiotic Thebes). The majority of these were built in the 4th c. BC, although a few were slightly earlier, but almost all of these temples were in use during the 4th c. BC until the end of the Hellenistic period.¹²³³ Many show signs of renovation, which means that these areas were choosing to maintain the original form and scale of these buildings, despite other forms of temple architecture being more popular in the rest of the Greek world.

I include these architectural forms in the archaising category because two of the earliest sanctuary buildings from Achaia Phthiotis and Phthiotis, those at Marmara and Ktouri (both EIA/Early Archaic), are also small (on average, no more than 11 m on the long side) and rectangular. Based on this, we can state that the continuation of small, rectangular buildings, unbroken from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period and later, may represent a form of regional archaism which harkened back to the earlier forms of temples in the region. The form of these buildings with their small cella and *pronaos* (usually *in*

¹²³³ Chapter 3, 1.8, 6.1A, 7.4, 7.7.

antis) are also reminiscent of the small house-temples found at Perachora that are rectilinear rather than apsidal.¹²³⁴ We can just as easily consider this an act of conservatism in temple architecture rather than archaism but the effect would be the same: they are still a means linking the present to the past and a monumentalisation of nostalgia.



Figure 44 - Illustration of a rectilinear house temple model from Perachora (Neer 2018).

The timing of these buildings parallels that of the apsidal/round buildings in Northern Thessaly, as do the topographical contexts in which they were placed. Achaia Phthiotis and Thessalian Phthiotis were located near several major thoroughfares connecting northern and southern Greece. Their landscapes, however, could not be more different; the two regions represent starkly contrasting landscapes with Phthiotis occupying a plain and Achaia Phthiotis being dominated by the Othrys highlands. Any travellers proceeding to Southern Greece on the road that leads south from Tempe would inevitably have to travel through Achaia Phthiotis, taking either the coastal route, east of the Othrys, via Halos, or through the hinterland, west of the Othrys via Thaumakoi. Yet, either way, the only true manner to bypass Achaia Phthiotis on a voyage from Athens to Macedonia is by ship, which was for many too much of an investment, especially in transporting large numbers of people. In 424 BCE, the Spartan general Brasidas, for instance, had to lead his army through this region. He took the western route, stopping at

¹²³⁴ Schattner 1990.

Melitaia and Pharsalos before proceeding to Perrhaibia on his march northwards to Thrace. During his travels he and his army faced significant difficulties in crossing Achaia Phthiotis, and then Thessaly) and he had to use all his wits to maneuver Thessaly's political alliances and entangled networks of guest-friendship.¹²³⁵

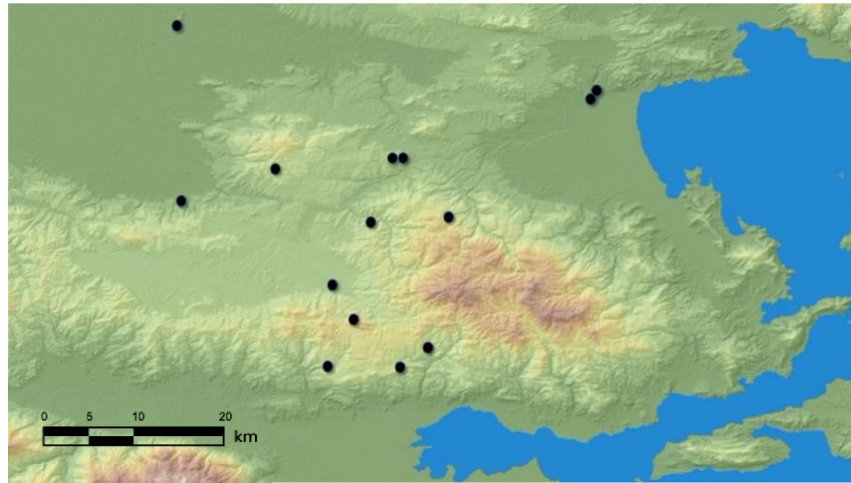


Figure 45 - Small, rectangular buildings in Phthiotis and Achaia Phthiotis.

As in Perrhaibia, the Macedonian ascendancy and the Hellenistic wars of succession took their toll on the region. Allegiances were usually split throughout Broader Thessaly whenever they became embroiled in panhellenic wars, and this split in allegiances is particularly visible in Phthiotis and Achaia Phthiotis whose communities did not act in unity but took sides against each other, with consequences for the two regions. In 353 BCE, Philip II was voted archon of the Thessalian League partly in order to curb Pheraean domination of the area.¹²³⁶ Philip transferred the port of Pagasai (Pelasgiotis), which bordered the Phthiotic Achaian coastal area, to the control of the Magnesians for this reason. A few years later, Halos, on the Pagasetic coast, was destroyed by Philip's general, Parmenion, its port handed over to Pharsalos, who had fought with Philip against the Halians.¹²³⁷ Halos would be refounded under Poliorketes in 302 BCE, only to be abandoned again less than two generations later after 265 BC.¹²³⁸ Halos was not an isolated case; the Antigonids were notorious for reshuffling populations throughout the region, by nucleating

¹²³⁵ Thuc. 4.78-9.

¹²³⁶ Sprawski 1999: 106-107.

¹²³⁷ Dem. 11.1; Strab. 9.5.8.

¹²³⁸ Reinders 2003, "Introduction," in Reinders and Prummel (eds.), *Housing in New Halos: a Hellenistic Town in Thessaly, Greece*, Lisse, p. 19.

dispersed populations into new urban settlements (e.g. Peuma, Goritsa, Demetrias).¹²³⁹



Figure 46 - Krannon tholos tomb interior (taken by Adam Wiznura, 2017).



Figure 47 - Krannon tholos tomb exterior (taken by Adam Wiznura, 2017).

During the Lamian War (323/2 BCE), the revolt against the Macedonians after the death of the Alexander, much of Broader Thessaly participated in the rebellion, but Perrhaibia and Magnesia did not, nor did Phthiotic Thebes or tetradic Pelinna.¹²⁴⁰ Pharsalos, possibly taking offence to Alexander's restoration of these two latter cities to some of the populations that Philip had exiled, led the Thessalian core of the revolt.¹²⁴¹ Despite the short-lived stability created by the reign of Antigonos Gonatas, the Aitolian-Roman wars against the Macedonians created even more fracturing among Phthiotic Achaian allegiances, as discussed by Haagsma, Surtees and Chykerda. They demonstrate the existence of numismatic evidence for an east-west split in influence in Achaia Phthiotis, with the east dominated by the Macedonians and the west by the Aitolians.¹²⁴² Control over these areas fluctuated several times. Pharsalos (Phthiotis) and Phthiotic Thebes (eastern Achaia Phthiotis) allied themselves with the Aitolians leading to Philip V having to reclaim the two in 217, destroying the latter, enslaving its inhabitants, repopulating the city with Macedonians, and renaming it Philippopolis.¹²⁴³

Archaism would have provided these regions a means of establishing a connection

¹²³⁹ Haagsma *et al.* 2019: 296.

¹²⁴⁰ Graninger 2011: 24.

¹²⁴¹ Bosworth 1988, *Conquest and Empire: the Reign of Alexander the Great*. Cambridge, p. 227.

¹²⁴² Haagsma *et al.* 2019.

¹²⁴³ Pharsalos: Polyb. 9.45; Phthiotic Thebes: Polyb. 5.100.8.

with a past perceived to be more stable, during a protracted period of near-continuous instability.¹²⁴⁴ As Haagsma *et al.* have shown, archaism through modesty, as a set of social memories in many forms, provided Achaia Phthiotis a means of connecting with the past during times of turmoil (in this case connected to the Macedonian, Aitolian, and Roman wars). In our previous section, we have seen that similar dynamics can be found in other micro-regions, such as the area around the Vale of Tempe. It is no coincidence that the small, square temples became the predominant expression of sanctuary architecture during this turbulent time. As with Northern Thessaly, Phthiotians and Phthiotic Achaians strongly connected to a mythical Homeric past to which they can anchor themselves. The two regions, although later inhabited by different *ethne* in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, must have formed the unified region of Phthia in earlier times, to which the Homeric epics refer. Phthia was, most famous for being the homeland of Achilles. Despite the idea that there are no clear “hero cults” dedicated to Achilles or his direct mythological family, the two Phthiotic regions had a history of appropriating Achilles and its Homeric past, perhaps as early as the Archaic period (in the case of the 6th c. tholos tomb at Pharsalos), but certainly from the 4th c. onwards.¹²⁴⁵

The Archaic tholos tomb in the necropolis at Pharsalos, for example, in addition to being a Homericising form of burial, contained a black-figured krater in the manner of Exekias as an offering in its *dromos*, a krater depicting the battle for Patroklos’ body.¹²⁴⁶ Around the same time that the small, square temples of Achaia Phthiotis were appearing in the Hellenistic period, several Phthiotic Achaian cities began minting their own coins (perhaps as part of the Macedonian encouragement of Achaian cities’ display of cohesion as part of their liberation propaganda), and the cities of Peuma and Larisa Kremaste depicted their Homeric heroes on these coins.¹²⁴⁷ Larisa Kremaste (southern Othrys) portrayed Achilles on the obverse of their coins with Thetis carrying Achilles’ shield on the reverse, while Peuma depicted a laureate head of Achilles on the obverse.¹²⁴⁸

The erection of these archaising monuments is a performance connected to

¹²⁴⁴ Haagsma *et al.* 2019.

¹²⁴⁵ Stamatopoulou 2007: 329 n. 136, 340 and 2009: 216.

¹²⁴⁶ National Archaeological Museum: NM 26746.

¹²⁴⁷ Harvey 2018; Haagsma *et al.* 2019: 297-300.

¹²⁴⁸ *Triton XV*: 175, 240.

commemoration, in which certain groups, associating with the region's myth-historical inhabitants, experience and demonstrate nostalgia for an imagined heroic past. At the same time, it is a performance of forgetting; by choosing not to build more contemporary forms of temple architecture, the inhabitants of this region actively choose to skip over less desirable aspects of the past. In this case, it is the more recent Classical and Hellenistic past which saw a decline in Broader Thessaly's standing in panhellenic affairs and increase in territorial instability. It is significant that in the Hellenistic period, groups living in and associated with the region of Achaia Phthiotis seem to have performed these commemorations far more often than those in the region Phthiotis, based on the surviving evidence. I speculate that this difference is rooted in and boosted by a profound change in association with myths of origin. Because Pharsalians, along with other tetradic Thessalians, founded their origins on an invasion myth, the Phthiotic Achaians could appropriate the same tradition to promote their much older presence in the region, as they traced their descent to the heroes who lived in here in the Homeric epics and earlier (i.e. before the mythical Thessalian invasion). Materially, they displayed these connections most visibly in the iconography that they chose for their cities' coinages. For example, Jason's sandal and the Argo's prow were minted on Pheraean coins, Achilles may have appeared on the coins of Peuma, and Phrixos riding the Golden Ram (whose fleece Jason would later seek at Kolchis) appeared on the coins of Halos.¹²⁴⁹ This can also be accomplished through the establishments of cults to these heroes, as the city of Melitaia did by creating a shrine to Hellen in their agora.¹²⁵⁰

Rather than using an economic argument alone for the presence of simple and small temples, we should—in addition—argue for a symbolic appropriation by the Achaians of Phthiotis of the previously existing small, rectangular sanctuary buildings in both Phthiotis and Achaia Phthiotis during the EIA/Archaic Period. These newly built sanctuaries serve as a reminder to the Thessalians of Phthiotis, as well as the foreign presences in this region, that Phthiotic Achaian material expressions of cult have existed in this area longer than others, and by extension, so has their *ethnos*, which has not been as visually cohesive in the

¹²⁴⁹ Halos: Rogers 1932: 83-85; Iolkos: Liampi 2005: 23-40; Peuma: *Triton XV* 564; Reinders 2004.

¹²⁵⁰ Strabo 9.5.6.

past as with these archaizing temples. Other forms of material culture, such as the deliberately simple dedications support such a take on material expressions of religious acts.¹²⁵¹ These archaizing acts in sanctuaries also connect well with the appropriation of the past in other Thessalian *perioikoi* and additional archaizing tendencies in Achaia Phthiotis, such as the hesitance to adopt the new Thessalian-wide religious calendar upon the foundation of the Thessalian League. One might even state that the outside political and cultural pressure on Achaia Phthiotis during the Classical and Hellenistic periods led to a more visually cohesive form of temple building—simple and basic—compared to the region’s “real” past.

2.5 Cult at Mycenaeanising Tombs in Tetradic Thessaly

I include cult at tholos tombs in this section on archaism because the ritual actions at these places can also be seen as forms of commemorative performance that tie the present to an imagined past. Tholos tombs are strongly associated with the characteristic Mycenaean royal burial. In most parts of the Greek mainland, the end of the Bronze Age heralded the replacement of tholos tombs by individual cist graves and cremation pits. In Broader Thessaly, however, tholos tombs became popular forms of burial during the EIA and later periods, be it for a particular segment of the population.¹²⁵² These tombs, however, were no longer being built for Mycenaean *wanakes* but for the new upper stratum of society, whoever they may be in this region (perhaps the Homeric *basileis*, whom Mazarakis argues are less like kings and more like chiefs or Big Men).¹²⁵³ Furthermore, during the EIA, tholos tombs began to be built in a smaller scale and using lesser quality material, but they still maintained the basic features of Mycenaean tholos tombs in Thessaly (corbel vaulted dome, round inner chamber, *stomion*, earthen mound, and sometimes a *dromos*), as described in Chapter 4. The *stomion* of an EIA tholos tomb was often too small to be functional (i.e. you cannot walk through them).¹²⁵⁴ The presence and function of a vestigial *stomion* could only have been to legitimise a visual connection with

¹²⁵¹ For those modest dedications, see Haagsma *et al.* 2019 and Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming.

¹²⁵² Georganas 2002 and 2009.

¹²⁵³ Mazarakis-Ainian 1997: 358-362.

¹²⁵⁴ For example, see the *stomia* of the tholos tombs in Katakouta 2012: 247-248.

Mycenaean tholos tombs. The individuals or families building these tholos tombs wanted to establish, through the creation of archaizing (i.e. intentionally old-looking) tombs and the subsequent burial of members of their family in them, a connection with the LBA rulers, in order to consolidate and legitimise their social standing in their communities.

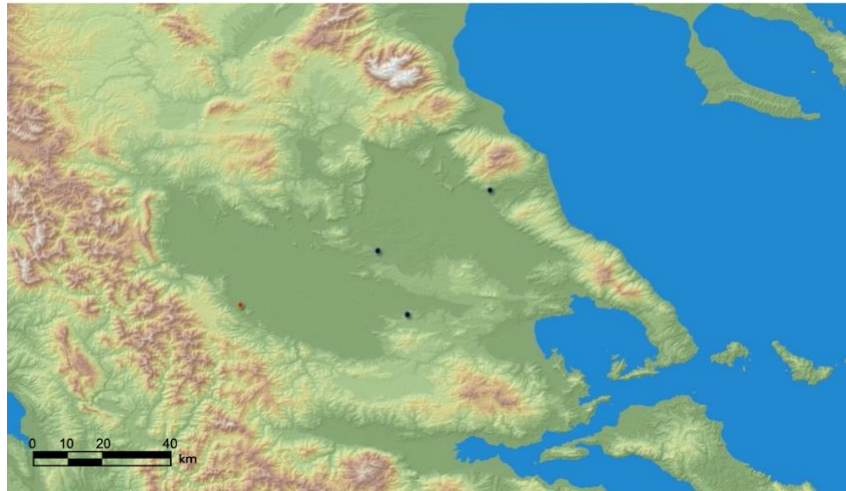


Figure 48 - Post-EIA tholos and corbel-vaulted tombs (dark blue) and Archaic heroon at a Mycenaean tholos tomb (orange).

This phenomenon continues into the Late Archaic and Classical periods but to a much less widespread degree, as they are now only found in two cities in tetradic Thessaly. Stamatopoulou notes that the tholos tombs from the Archaic period and later shared many of the same characteristics as the EIA tholos tombs in Thessaly, although the construction techniques and quality differed. Tholos tombs dating to the Archaic and Classical periods are especially concentrated at necropoleis near the settlements of Pharsalos and Krannon.¹²⁵⁵ The western necropolis of Pharsalos contained a diversity of burial types including two tholos tombs dating to the Archaic period. Although not necessarily a formal *temenos*, the more well-preserved tomb may have been used as a *heroon* (although the evidence is minimal).¹²⁵⁶ The fact that this tholos tomb incorporated an older Mycenaean chamber tomb perhaps indicates that a Pharsalian family from the Late Archaic period associated, perhaps genealogically, with the heroic inhabitants of this area from an imagined glorious past. Krannon's necropolis, located on the road to Pharsalos, also

¹²⁵⁵ Krannon: *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 173-174; *ΠΑΕ* 1924: 37-38. *ΑΔ* 28: 332. Pharsalos: *ΠΑΕ* 1951: 157-163; *ΠΑΕ* 1952: 185-198; *ΠΑΕ* 1953 128-131; *ΠΑΕ* 1954: 153-159.

¹²⁵⁶ See Chapter 3, 2.1F.

contained a tholos tomb but dating to the 5th c. BC, the latest such tomb in Thessaly. The chamber's interior contained two sarcophagi and the tomb was covered by a mound of earth.¹²⁵⁷



Figure 49 - Krater from the Pharsalos Tholos Tomb, National Archaeological Museum (NM 26746), taken 2015.

In addition to the tholos tomb at Krannon, there were two chamber tombs with pyramidal roofs in the vicinity. Both were also covered with a mound and dated to the 4th c. BC. Pharsalos also had a similar tomb in its necropolis with similar corbel-vaulted architectural features, as does a pyramidal tomb at Gerakari in the eastern edge of Pelasgiotis just north of now-drained Lake Boibeis.¹²⁵⁸ These two tombs are less well preserved and whether or not they were covered with an earthen mound is uncertain.¹²⁵⁹ Stamatopoulou notes that the latter two pyramidal tombs, along with monumental tholos and chamber tombs (of which pyramidal tombs are a development), are not attempting to imitate older tombs exactly but are selecting features that are reminiscent of earlier elite tombs.¹²⁶⁰ Once under an earthen mound, the only visible aspect of these tombs would be the mound—all that is necessary to create the archaising façade—legitimised by the hidden *stomion* and the rare *dromos* to those who knew of its architectural existence.

Stamatopoulou further argues that these tombs, coexisting with a diversity of elite grave types, formed part of aristocratic identity-building.¹²⁶¹ At Krannon, in addition to the

¹²⁵⁷ Stamatopoulou 2016: 186-187.

¹²⁵⁸ Gerakari: *AA* 28 (1973): 329-332, Gallis 1973: 251-266.

¹²⁵⁹ Stamatopoulou 2016: 189-190.

¹²⁶⁰ Stamatopoulou 2016: 190.

¹²⁶¹ Stamatopoulou 2016: 191.

tholos tombs and pyramidal chamber tombs, the cemetery contained tile-covered graves, sarcophagi, cist graves covered by mounds, and in one case a *tumulus* covering twenty-six graves.¹²⁶² Pharsalos presents a similar case, with a necropolis containing Attic-style *peribolos* tombs, a *tumulus* covering sarcophagus burials, sarcophagi not under a *tumulus*, large built tombs, and cist graves, in addition to the two tholos tombs and the built chamber tomb.¹²⁶³

Stamatopoulou contextualises the diversity of these tombs within the context of competition among Thessalian oligarchic families, some of whom consolidated their power over communities by “forging a link to the past.”¹²⁶⁴ One way for an aristocratic family to establish dominance is by connecting themselves to the ancestral heroes of a community, which is accomplished by the appropriation of a Mycenaean tomb features and reinforced by successive burials and continued cult paid at the tomb. In the case of the tholos tomb at Georgiko in Hestiaiotis, the tomb dates to the LBA and in use from LHIII B-C¹²⁶⁵ but a hero sanctuary was built in front of the *dromos* in the Archaic period. Just as the *krater* at the Archaic tholos tomb at Pharsalos shows evidence of probably having had a connection to Achilles, a hero of Phthia, the Georgiko tholos tomb yielded an inscription connecting it to the hero Aiatos, the father/son of Thessalos who conquered Thessaly.¹²⁶⁶ Both cult sites are meant to show continuity with their respective sub-region’s mythical past, and thus accomplishing the same intent of justifying an aristocratic family’s power over their communities by establishing and monumentalising a family’s heroic pedigree.

The appropriation of Mycenaean forms of burial is not a new phenomenon of the 6th-4th c. BC; rather, it shows continuity from the EIA, during which Thessaly had the largest concentration of post-Mycenaean tholos tombs in the Greek world.¹²⁶⁷ In 2002, Georganas accounted for 55 EIA tholos tombs in Thessaly, and since then many more post-Mycenean tholos tombs have been discovered throughout tetradic and perioikic Thessaly.¹²⁶⁸ The

¹²⁶² Stamatopoulou 2016: 190-191.

¹²⁶³ Stamatopoulou 2016: 190.

¹²⁶⁴ Stamatopoulou 2016.

¹²⁶⁵ Intzesiloglou 1997, 1999, and 2002.

¹²⁶⁶ Intzesiloglou 2000 and 2002.

¹²⁶⁷ Georganas 2002 and 2009.

¹²⁶⁸ For more recently excavated tholos tombs around Velestino, see Arachoviti 2002: 48-63, and 2012: 95-113. For the tholos tombs found in the area of Farsala, see Katakouta 2012: 241-250. Haagsma et al. 2020b.

Central Achaia Phthiotis Survey, for example, has identified a concentration of 17 in the vicinity of the village of Kallithea (Peuma, Achaia Phthiotis).¹²⁶⁹ These EIA tholos tombs were usually of a lesser scale and quality of materials than Bronze Age tholos tombs. They often had architectural particularities (such as the frequent lack of a *dromos*, an extended *stomion*, and the absence of a relieving triangle over the lintel), which would be unusual for Mycenaean tholos tombs. Georganas, however, argues that Mycenaean tombs in Thessaly actually display some of these features which make them particularly Thessalian (e.g. Georgiko's had an extended *stomion* leading into the chamber rather than just a canonical Mycenaean *dromos* which was not roofed).

While in the EIA, archaising tholos tombs were found in both tetradic and perioikic Thessaly, in the Late Archaic and Classical periods, new tholos tombs were restricted to tetradic cities. They appeared in smaller numbers in wealthy necropoleis and seem to be associated with aristocratic families who wished to connect themselves to their ancestral heroes. The fact that the phenomenon of the Thessalian EIA tholos tombs developed in this region demonstrates that 6th-4th c. tetradic Thessalians wished to continue adding links to this continuity. It is noteworthy that acts of commemoration at tholos tombs could be used to promote different foundation narratives. The aristocrats at Georgiko were linking themselves to an invading Thessalian hero whereas those at Pharsalos linked themselves to a hero that is thought to be pre-Thessalian. In either case, the effect is the same: the performance of a perceived tradition gives those in the present a groundwork on which they can build an identity. The coexistence of these Mycenaeanising tombs with a variety of other tomb types should remind us of the plural nature of foundation myths that can occur synchronically in a community.

2.6 Archaism in Localism, Modesty, and Moral Superiority

Finally, I deal with the open-air sanctuaries (those without architecture) amongst the archaising sanctuaries of Broader Thessaly even though they do not present an obviously anachronistic façade, because they do provide a way to connect to a region's

¹²⁶⁹ Haagsma *et al.* 2020, "Mapping 'Marginality': Results of the 2019 Central Achaia Phthiotis Survey." Paper presented at the 121st Annual Meeting of the AIA (Washington DC).

most distant past. Along with these open-air sanctuaries, I discuss the sanctuaries with minimal architecture (i.e. they had either little to no architectural elements, and those that existed were very small) but instead emphasise their topographical and environmental setting. The act of leaving a space in its natural state—or in some cases, the creation of the illusion of a natural space—can be the ultimate act of archaisation. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, these minimalistic spaces permitted the human body to interact with the wild and conveyed a sense of the elemental. Nature recalls the state of the land prior to human interference. By creating a sacred space with minimal human modifications, one creates the illusion of a primordial environment either during the early days of humankind or even earlier—a time before civilisation when sanctuaries were imagined to have had no temples, as discussed in the previous chapter.

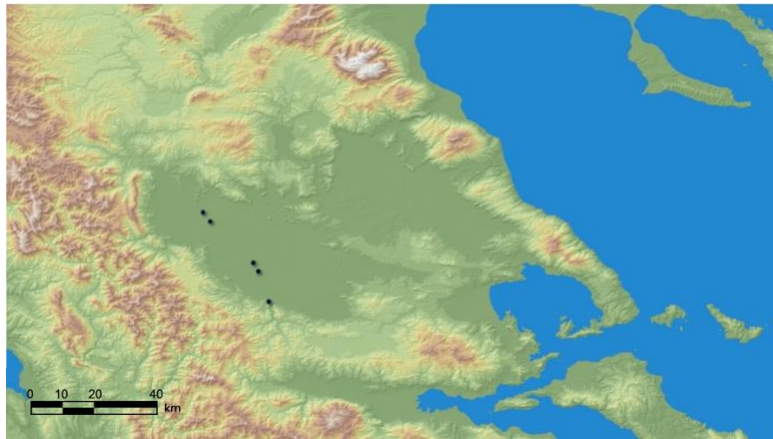


Figure 50 - Rural sanctuaries of Western Thessaly.

It is difficult to see any chronological and geographic patterns in the distribution of open-air sanctuaries because they comprise the most widespread category of sanctuary, appearing in every region of Broader Thessaly in all time periods. They also present some of the more archaeologically challenging sites for analysis since the archaeological evidence for them are minimal and many had later phases which received architecture, obscuring the layout of the open-air phases. What is significant is how the open-air phases of some sanctuaries were had no correlation with the sanctuary's importance. In its current state of incomplete research, the Itoneion at Philia, one of the two league sanctuaries of the Thessalian League, does not seem to have had any certain evidence for architecture until the 3rd c. BC, despite the sanctuary's use as early as LHIIC and its use in the Classical and

Early Hellenistic phases as a sanctuary with supra-*polis* concerns. The Apollo sanctuary at Tempe, a place of panhellenic importance, was also probably never architecturally articulated aside from its built altar in the Hellenistic period.

These minimalistic spaces became active agents in memory crafting, in which the space acquires new meanings through human bodily interactions with the place's materiality, and in turn influences the ways in which the space is imagined and used by human beings. The maintenance of a sanctuary that has little or no architectural features, I would argue, would have provided an alternate way of appropriating the past, accomplishing many of the same goals as the construction and maintenance of sacred architecture with archaizing features. Observed in isolation, an open-air sanctuary can seem insignificant but the fact that they are spread across the region, constituting a significant percentage of the sanctuaries of Thessaly in any time period, creates the illusion (at least for outsiders) of a much older landscape through the absence of morphological and spatial characteristics that would have been considered more current in sanctuaries. The open-air sanctuaries do not accomplish this on their own; the majority of sanctuaries in Thessaly had minimal architecture and those that did have architectural features, such as temples and *oikoi*, usually had only modest buildings. The rural sanctuaries of western tetradic Thessaly form an ideal case study for this category since this sub-region presents some idiosyncrasies.

The inhabitants of Thessaliotis and Hestiaiotis sacralised several sites in rural areas not located in the immediate vicinity of large urban settlements (Prodromos, Anavra, Agia Triada, Karpochori, Longos); although some likely belonged to the *chora* of a *polis*, the *asty* to which the sanctuary belonged is difficult to identify, because they were situated in areas that could belong to two or more *poleis*.¹²⁷⁰ Features at these sites usually comprised minimal architecture, usually a grouping of up to three small buildings (2 to 6 m²), if they had any buildings at all. Those without architecture at all (Longos, Karpochori, the Archaic and Classical phases at Anavra) are characterised by caches of votive deposits, consisting largely of pottery (often miniature), terracotta figurines, and various bronze objects. These contained both local and imported pottery (esp. Attic black gloss), as well as local

¹²⁷⁰ The sanctuary at Anavra is located near a settlement: *AA* 68 (2013): 506-512.

imitations of imported wares (at Agia Triada). The sanctuaries with small buildings contained caches with similar votives.

The sites mentioned above are slightly earlier than the small temples of Achaia Phthiotis; all except one date as early as the Archaic period, all were in use in the Classical period, and two or three date as late as the Hellenistic period.¹²⁷¹ Despite the minimal architectural remains, each of these sites were in use for multiple periods, with the exception of Longos which only had evidence for the Classical period.¹²⁷² These sanctuaries are rural and relatively remote (i.e. far from major settlements and transportation routes). Agia Triada, for example, is located far away from any road connecting Triikka and Metropolis. With the possible exception of Anavra which lies near a pass from Dolopia to the plains, these sanctuaries were not on areas of high mobility or visibility, and there did not seem to have been any attempt to render them more visible throughout their generations of use (with the exception of Anavra which started as an open-air sanctuary and received small buildings in the 4th c. BC).

The fact that these minimalistic Western Thessalian sanctuaries were largely in areas of low visibility and mobility stands in contrast to the apsidal/round buildings, most of which were placed on acropoleis at the hearts of settlements—the most visible possible locations. The minimalistic sanctuaries were not meant to be an imposing visual statement meant to draw attention from passersby, but were instead targeted towards “insiders,” i.e. those who already knew of and made use of these sanctuaries. These were not all necessarily agrarian residents from the immediate vicinity but could have included various pastoralists who either worked or made use of the land. Unlike sanctuaries with architecture and a more well-planned design, these minimalistic sanctuaries provided spaces that were spatially more tangible and less restrictive, and still culturally meaningful despite their lack of ostentation.¹²⁷³ Their relatively remote locations allowed for meanings, attachments, and collective memories to form, dependent not on the prescriptions of authorities at the larger urban sites, but on everyday, long-term bodily

¹²⁷¹ Karpochori is undated in the publications and could have dated anywhere from the Archaic to the Hellenistic periods (see Chapter 3).

¹²⁷² The material at Longos, however, was recovered largely from looting and the site is incompletely known.

¹²⁷³ Harmanşah 2007: 179-204 has argued for similar approaches to non-ostentatious ritual sites in Anatolia.

interactions with and activities at these spaces.¹²⁷⁴

The quiet endurance of these remote shrines, hiding in the midst of vast plains, barely changing for generations, stands in contrast to the turbulence of the region, around the larger urban sites, during the Late Classical period into the Early Hellenistic period. Ritual activity at most of these sites began when the two largest settlements of Western Thessaly were still smaller (Triikka) or non-existent (Metropolis). The small settlements that formed Metropolis would not be synoecised until 358. Triikka, although already mentioned by Homer and already minting coins by the 5th c. BC, has not yet yielded any archaeological evidence pointing to a significant city in the Archaic and Classical periods.¹²⁷⁵ The history of most Western Thessalian cities is poorly understood outside of accounts of military events (largely Macedonian) in which they play only minor roles. Like Achaia Phthiotis, the cities of Hestiaiotis often had split allegiances in panhellenic affairs. Whereas Pelinna consistently displayed pro-Macedonian sentiment, Triikka seemed to have been vehemently anti-Macedonian in policy.¹²⁷⁶ Philip II seems to have destroyed Triikka in the 350s (or at least deported many of its citizens), along with Pharkadon, when the two were in conflict with Pelinna.¹²⁷⁷ The disappearance of Pharkadon was favourable to its pro-Macedonian neighbour, Pelinna, who flourished from the 4th c. onwards, and Pelinna did not participate in the revolt against Alexander in 323/322 which landed them in favour with the Macedonians.¹²⁷⁸ When Polyperchon announced a general amnesty for Greek states that had committed treason against the Macedonians, he explicitly named Triikka and Pharkadon as being exempt from this amnesty; its exiled citizens were not allowed to return.

The rest of the Hellenistic period was no less chaotic for Western Thessaly.

¹²⁷⁴ See also Forbes 1996: 69–96 for Modern Greek analogies on the importance of non-architectural spaces and collective memory.

¹²⁷⁵ Dasios 2012: 48-52.

¹²⁷⁶ Pelinna: Diod. Sic. 18.11.1. Helly 1991: 325-343 gives epigraphic evidence for conflicting factions among the leaders of Triikka as well (some pro-Macedonian, some pro-Aitolian).

¹²⁷⁷ Polyaeus. 4.2.18-19 for Philip's siege of Pharkadon. I base Triikka's possible destruction by Philip on Polyperchon's refusal to allow the Triikkaians to return (Diod. Sic. 18.56.5). Since Pharkadon, which was destroyed by siege, is listed beside Triikka, it might have been the case that the latter was also destroyed and rebuilt. It is possible that only the anti-Macedonian faction of Triikkaians were expelled (*supra* n. 70). In either case, the Triikkaians seem to have been punished because of the existence of an anti-Philip policy (Decourt *et al.* 2004: 707).

¹²⁷⁸ Dasios 2012: 52-53.

Metropolis was attacked by the Aitolians when Perseus V was driven in retreat in 198. Its *chora* was burnt but the city repelled the attack, forcing the Aitolians to attack nearby Kallithera, also unsuccessfully.¹²⁷⁹ Pelinna would become briefly occupied by the Athamanians in 191 BC during the war between Antiochos III and the Romans, only to be reconquered by the latter.¹²⁸⁰ In 48 BC, Caesar captured and sacked Gomphoi because they closed their gates to him during his march southwards through Thessaly to confront Pompey but left the Metropolitans alone since Gomphoi's example convinced them to side with Caesar, despite the Thessalian *koinon*'s preference for Pompey.¹²⁸¹ Almost all the rural sanctuaries in this section persisted in their rituals as the urban centres that surrounded them appeared and disappeared in a near-continuous stream of conflict. I propose that the simple, rural sanctuaries of Western Thessaly provided several simultaneous benefits discussed below.

Firstly, they provide a neutral space for interaction between agro-pastoral communities. Franck, in her analysis of the rural temples of the Peloponnese, comments on the social, economic, and political functions of sanctuaries that were found in rural areas and border regions and the networks that they formed. She reminds us that these sanctuaries were often neutral spaces that facilitated exchange between different groups, e.g. urban and rural communities that formed part of a *polis*, and both agrarian and pastoral populations (which included nomadic and semi-nomadic components).¹²⁸² Like the rural sanctuaries discussed above, the Peloponnesian rural sanctuaries Franck discusses contain only modest buildings and are found largely in remote locations, although she only discusses sanctuaries with temples. She notes that the agricultural land of a sanctuary could provide economic opportunities for agrarian and pastoral groups, citing better known cases such as at the Phokian sanctuary of Artemis at Hyampolis, which did not restrict the fields in its territory but leased them out for cultivation and free grazing for passing pastoralists, and at Delos where inscriptions attest to the leasing of sacred land for grazing as well as for agriculture.¹²⁸³

¹²⁷⁹ Livy 32.13.10-12.

¹²⁸⁰ Livy 36.10.5; 36.13.7-9, 14.3-5

¹²⁸¹ Caes. *BCiv.* 3.80; App. *B Civ* 2.64; Dio Cass. 41.51.

¹²⁸² Franck 2014: 129.

¹²⁸³ Franck 2014: 128-131.

Although there are no inscriptions on rights to graze or cultivate sacred land from the Western Thessalian sanctuaries concerned, there are known inscriptions in Thessaly that deal with restrictions on such rights (e.g. at Korope and near the Mati spring).¹²⁸⁴ There are also numerous Thessalian grants of *epinomia* (grazing rights) to foreigners, indicating that pastures were jealously guarded by the Thessalians.¹²⁸⁵ The fact that there are sacred laws that specify that certain sanctuary grounds cannot be used as pasture indicates that the opposite also happened. These spaces would then allow for various groups to make use of the space, encouraging interaction between communities and fostering a sense of regional identity, as Franck demonstrates for the rural sanctuaries of the Peloponnese.¹²⁸⁶ This is accomplished not only through cooperation, but through competition over these sanctuaries, as amongst the Thessalians themselves, conflicts have arisen over grazing rights at sacred lands, demonstrating the importance and connections of sanctuaries to pastoral activities.¹²⁸⁷

Secondly, these sacred spaces provide a familiar space that confers comfort during a turbulent time. The conservatism in the Western Thessalian rural sanctuaries' spatial layout and morphology, being modest and maintaining the appearance of an older form of sacred space, helped to create a familiar and seemingly unchanging environment. Just as the archaising apsidal temples provided symbols of stability during an unstable period in urban settings, within which they were placed on highly visible locations in the centre of the *asty*, the Western Thessalian rural sanctuaries provided people with spaces that are "natural" and, as such, recognisable as ancient, and from which they can take comfort and with which they could identify. The latter sanctuaries differ from the Northern and Southern Thessalian sanctuaries because they were not meant to be highly visible and were placed dead centre in the hinterland of Western Thessalian plains, giving them the air of having been made (or at least selected for use and re-use in ritual) "for us, by us" (i.e. for and by those who lived around and made use of the sanctuaries and the lands around them).

¹²⁸⁴ For the Mati, see Lucas 2002 and *IG IX²* 1229. For Korope, see *IG IX²* 1109 and section 7.3 in Chapter 3.

¹²⁸⁵ Howe 2003: 134; Mili 2015: 71 n. 76.

¹²⁸⁶ Franck 2014.

¹²⁸⁷ Inscriptions relating to conflicts at Thessalian grazing sites have been collected by Daverio-Rocchi 1988. See also Ager 1996, no. 31.

Following from the previous observation we can state that, in Western Thessaly, we see an example of how rural sanctuaries contribute to identity formation from a bottom-up perspective. Whereas the leaders of the *poleis* surrounding these rural sanctuaries (and the fields around them) displayed official stances concerning political and military events, often in disunity with each other, those dedicating at these rural sanctuaries—more likely those who worked the land, grazed their livestock, or lived further away from the urban centres—display a show of solidarity in material expressions of cult. Haagsma, Surtees, and Chykerda have previously demonstrated a comparable phenomenon in the case of the stone protrusions found largely in Phthiotis and Achaia Phthiotis.¹²⁸⁸ These objects consisted of stone (blocks, stelai, or natural bedrock) on which one or more hemispherical protrusions were carved, and were usually found in sanctuary and domestic contexts in the 3rd/2nd c. BC. They have been found at Pharsalos, Phthiotic Thebes, Phthiotic Eretria, Antinitsa, Kallithea, Skotoussa,¹²⁸⁹ Pelinna, and Kierion¹²⁹⁰ (with the exception of three cases, all come from Phthiotis and Achaia Phthiotis).¹²⁹¹

Previous scholars have interpreted these as breasts (which would be anatomically incorrect),¹²⁹² stone weights,¹²⁹³ altars,¹²⁹⁴ omphaloi,¹²⁹⁵ as well as sacrificial cakes.¹²⁹⁶ Haagsma and Karapanou follow Blum, Mili, and Decourt's previous interpretation of similar stones as cakes but have taken the argument further.¹²⁹⁷ Blum and Decourt liken these protrusions to cultic cakes set on *trapezai* and have argued that these protrusions were monumentalisations of simple offerings which were made locally, as the excavations of a domestic structure at Kallithea (Building 10) have shown.¹²⁹⁸

Haagsma, Surtees, and Chykerda further contextualised these petrified cakes within

¹²⁸⁸ Haagsma *et al.* 2019: 290.

¹²⁸⁹ Haagsma *et al.* 2019: 305, n. 127.

¹²⁹⁰ Pers. comm. with Foteini Tsioukas.

¹²⁹¹ Haagsma and Karapanou presented their research on the stone cakes at the *BSA* conference entitled "*Λατρείες και ιερά στην Αρχαία Θεσσαλία*." The proceedings are currently still awaiting publication but I am grateful to Margriet Haagsma for allowing me to view their manuscript.

¹²⁹² Stählin 1924: 189; Daux and de la Coste-Messelière 1924: 348.

¹²⁹³ Forsén 1996: 10-13.

¹²⁹⁴ Toufexis in *AD* 43 (1988): 273.

¹²⁹⁵ Blum 1992: 206.

¹²⁹⁶ Kearns 1994: 65-70.

¹²⁹⁷ Blum 1992: 197, 203-208; *IThess* vol. 3 no. 71 and 120.

¹²⁹⁸ Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming.

the volatility of the Phthiotic regions in the 3rd and 2nd c. BC, characterised by military conflicts between the Macedonians, Aitolians, and Romans and leading to the Roman establishment of a formal Thessalian League in 196 and the gradual re-incorporation of the *perioikoi* into Thessaly, not as separate political entities but as part of a homogenised whole. Haagsma and her colleagues argue that the monumentalisation of these cakes in Phthiotis and Achaia Phthiotis served the regions' need to hold on to the comfort of local forms of cult in an age of insecurity.¹²⁹⁹ We can see the Western Thessalian rural sanctuaries as accomplishing the same thing but in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic periods, when Western Thessaly suffered the destruction of several cities from involvement with external powers.



Figure 51 - Block with hemispherical protrusions from Kallithea Building 5 (taken by S. Karapanou, courtesy of the Kastro Kallithea Archaeological Project).

The petrified cakes discussed above provided, in Haagsma's words, a "visual tactic for passive resistance,"¹³⁰⁰ which helped perpetuate a sense of togetherness in the Phthiotic regions. Their distribution indicates that a sense of regional belonging is not necessarily bothered by formal administrative boundaries of regions like tetradic and perioikic Phthiotis. They demonstrate an emphasis on local traditions and resistance to what could have been perceived as non-local forms of cult being introduced at larger urban

¹²⁹⁹ Haagsma and Karapanou, forthcoming.

¹³⁰⁰ Haagsma *et al.* 2019: 289-290.

centres, such as the Macedonian port-city of Demetrias. By monumentalising the humble, this passive resistance, as Haagsma and Karapanou argue, might also have been expressing a form of moral superiority, as a reaction to the intense changes brought about by this period.¹³⁰¹ This discourse—this push and pull from the elaborate to the simple—already existed in antiquity, as discussed by Mylonopoulos. For example, a 2nd c. AD oracular inscription from the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma criticises the fabulous and advocates for the traditional:¹³⁰²

[ὦ μέλαιοι, τί μοι] εἰλιπόδων ζατρεφεῖς ἑκατόμβαι
 [λαμπροί τε χρυ]σοῖο βαθυπλούτοιο κολοσσοῖ
 [καὶ χαλκῶ δει]κηλα καὶ ἀργυρῶ ἀσκηθέντα;
 [οὐ μὴν ἀ]θανάτοιο κτεάνων ἐπιδευέες εἰσὶν
 [ἀλλὰ θεμιστ]εῖης, ἧπερ φρένας ἰαίνονται.

O wretched ones, what do I care about well-fed
 hecatombs of oxen, of shiny fabulously-golden
 statues, and of images adorned with bronze and
 silver? The immortals require no possessions, but
 only what is traditional. These they delight in.

I would propose that the conservation of the modest forms of the Western Thessalian rural sanctuaries is a form of petrification as well—not a literal one, as in the case of the stone cakes, but a petrification through the resistance of change, by holding onto what is perceived to be traditional as a coping mechanism.

3. Greeking: the Dance of Localism and Panhellenism

3.1 Panhellenism

This following section will deal with articulations of affiliation with the broader Hellenic community. As I have emphasized throughout this dissertation, forms of group identity, such as ethnicity, are not an inherent part of a person or a group, but rather the outcome of an act, or a series of acts, performed by the collective either actively or passively. Individuals in a community can identify with multiple group identities, in both dissonance and harmony with itself. These group identities become emphasized (or

¹³⁰¹ Haagsma *et al.* 2019: 305.

¹³⁰² *IDidyma* 217.1-5; see n. 943.

solidify) at certain times in reaction to external and internal interactions (i.e. interactions between the various members of the community and interactions with outsiders). In the previous section, I identified several ways in which political and military interactions between the various Broader Thessalian communities and foreign powers in the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods facilitated the formation of various group identities within the region and their subsequent preservation in the archaeological record. The individuals and the communities they formed in these pockets of the Broader Thessalian landscape began to articulate visual signifiers of micro-affiliations. How, then, did Thessalians articulate their affiliations with the overarching Hellenic community during this volatile period?

Panhellenism was not a term ever used in antiquity; the notion did exist in ancient times but the term itself was only coined in modern times to refer to ancient expressions of belonging to a shared Hellenic community.¹³⁰³ Mitchell traces the scholarly discourse on panhellenism systematically, exploring the ways in which scholars have disagreed on the nature and development of the concept to deconstruct the term's ambiguity.¹³⁰⁴ Some have focused on the political and philosophical nature of panhellenism. For example, Perlman contends that panhellenic ideals never became widespread in Greek *poleis* outside of intellectual circles, arguing that such an ideal only ever served to justify imperialistic or hegemonic rule by polarising Greeks and Barbarians.¹³⁰⁵ Others focus on panhellenism's cultural aspects, such as Hall, who focuses on the Greek conceptualisations of self-identification and its relation to the notion of a shared Hellenic culture.

There is significant disagreement on when panhellenism developed. Nagy sees the interconnections among the Archaic Greek states as evidence for the cultural roots of panhellenism.¹³⁰⁶ Hall, on the other hand, argues that the recognition of a common Hellenic identity came fairly late at the end of the Archaic period as a reaction to the Persian Wars.¹³⁰⁷ In his last chapter, he discusses the othering of "barbarians" as well as the central role of the Athenians in creating what defines "Hellenicity." To Hall, panhellenism was an

¹³⁰³ Michell 2007: xv

¹³⁰⁴ Mitchell 2007: xv-xvii.

¹³⁰⁵ Perlman 1976: 4.

¹³⁰⁶ Nagy 1979: 7.

¹³⁰⁷ Hall 2002.

inherently Athenocentric phenomenon, emphasizing the role of Isocrates' rhetoric in the promotion of the ideal.¹³⁰⁸

Mitchell nuances the multivalence of panhellenism using a wide variety of sources on the changing nature of the Greek relationship with the Barbarian. She defines panhellenism as “a system of stories and representations that generated, gave definition to and expressed Hellenic identity and created and sustained the self-conscious and boundaried community of the Hellenes.”¹³⁰⁹ She maintains that, although conflict with the Other during the Persian Wars, as well as the subsequent process of Othering the Persians in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, did indeed have a profound effect the formation of Hellenic identities, the notion of a shared Hellenic past did in fact exist in mid-6th c. BC narratives of common cult, shared descent, friendship, and practices.¹³¹⁰ She de-romanticises the role of the Persian Wars in the formation of a united Greek community, pointing out that relatively few Greeks actually joined the resistance against the Persians. Rather, the conflicts with the Persians later became used as the foundations for the “symbolic community” of the Hellenes.¹³¹¹ While people began to identify themselves and others as community members definitively by the 6th c. BC (a process that had begun earlier in the Archaic period) that later developed into *poleis* and *ethne*, the processes involved were long and complex with no single point of conception. Notions of Hellenicity had to be continually remade at various moments of realisation through continuous telling and re-telling of the foundational narratives of the Greeks (e.g. the various ways of tracing descent to Hellen).¹³¹² She emphasizes the role of the various Greek states in diversifying the definition of what it meant to belong to the broader Greek community.

Mitchell's arguments are largely philologically oriented, and so they need to be grounded in the material evidence for shared notions of Hellenicity. Archaeologically, a sense of panhellenism is most visible in the common sanctuaries of the Greeks, particularly those at Delphi and Olympia, which hosted the panhellenic games which started between

¹³⁰⁸ Hall 2002: 205-220.

¹³⁰⁹ Mitchell 2007: xi

¹³¹⁰ Mitchell 2007: 3-5.

¹³¹¹ Mitchell 2007: 77-78.

¹³¹² Mitchell 2007: 65.

the 8th and 6th c. BC.¹³¹³ Common dedications at these places of social, economic, and political cooperation and competition (at least among the elites), from as early as the EIA, demonstrate that these sites began to act as focal points in which formal relations between different Hellenic states, thereby allowing for the creation and dissemination of values among these states.¹³¹⁴ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, shared values could manifest in common visual expressions of what it meant to be Greek, such as the increased use of worked stone, roof tiles, and the peristyle from the 7th c. BC onwards, as Mazarakis states; he adds, however, that some regions were more conservative than others when it came to adopting these innovations, citing Andros and Thessaly as examples.

Shared ideologies may also be seen in Greek domestic architecture. For example, Hoepfner and Schwandner linked the development of the self-contained, courtyard house with the rise of the ideologies of egalitarianism and autonomy in the development of the *polis*.¹³¹⁵ Westgate clarifies the means by which the development of Greek citizenship shaped Greek domestic architecture.¹³¹⁶ She points out the problems with suggesting that these types of houses were evidence for the ideology of egalitarianism wherever they can be found and instead places these architectural developments in the context of the “corporate power struggles” occurring at the end of the EIA and Archaic period. Rather than connecting similar house sizes and repetitive cookie-cutter patterns to democratic ideology, she instead associates the courtyard house “with the ideal of equal access to power within a bounded citizen group.” Not all houses and settlements planned in this way were democracies, she adds; instead, the creation of houses to appear in this way was meant to advertise that their inhabitants (who were not necessarily citizens) adhered to shared values.¹³¹⁷

Like all Greek states, the Thessalians and their *perioikoi* generated their own “stories and representations” that defined their version of Hellenicity. How then did the Thessalians and their *perioikoi* “Greek”? Here, I will use the ethnic as a verb to emphasize

¹³¹³ Whitley 2001: 134-164; Morgan 1993: 14-33.

¹³¹⁴ Morgan 1993: 18-44. Morgan warns that we should not see these values as having already been extant in the EIA despite these sites later becoming panhellenic sanctuaries.

¹³¹⁵ Hoepfner and Schwandner 1994; cf. Morris 1997: 91-105.

¹³¹⁶ Westgate 2007: 229-245.

¹³¹⁷ Westgate 2007: 241.

that the modes of identification with the dynamic concept of Greekness consisted of performative acts rather than states of being, acts which simultaneously moulded the constant fluidity of Hellenicity according to social, economic, and political circumstances. In what ways did the Thessalian version of “Greeking” differ from, say, the Athenian notion of “Greeking”? Were there internal tensions in how local communities of Broader Thessaly chose to “Greek”? I present several cases in which the Broader Thessalians used visual and material expressions to affiliate themselves with the wider Greek community. In addition, I discuss the longevity of the adoption of such representations (i.e. how well they anchored themselves in the region).

3.2 Peripteral Temples

Having established the connection between peripteral temples and visual expressions of Hellenic identities in Chapter Four, I begin this section on expressions of panhellenism in Thessaly with the peripteral temples of Broader Thessaly.¹³¹⁸ From the Archaic to the Early Roman period, a total of four peripteral temples in Broader Thessaly are known. Most are the Doric *hekatompeda* at Metropolis, Pherai, and Pythion, and one is a small, Ionic peripteral temple at Demetrias. The Apollo temple at Metropolis was built in the middle of the Archaic period and lasted until the 2nd c. BC, whereas the great temple at Pherai was built in the Archaic period and was rebuilt in the 4th c. lasting until the Julio-Claudian period.¹³¹⁹ The Ionic temple at Demetrias was built at the same time as the construction of the palace in the 290s BC and probably went out of use in the 2nd c. BC when the Macedonians were relieved of Demetrias in 196 and again in 167; there is no archaeological evidence for the use of the Sacred Agora, in which this temple was located, at Demetrias past the Hellenistic period. The peripteral temple at Pythion was Augustan in date and it is uncertain whether the Hellenistic phase had a temple with a similar plan.¹³²⁰

The four peripteral temples give evidence that this form of architectural expression did not have deep roots in Thessaly. The Apollo temple at Metropolis does seem to display

¹³¹⁸ As cited earlier in this chapter, Mazarakis counts the peristyle among the innovations that became common in Greek sanctuaries during the 7th c. BC.

¹³¹⁹ See Chapter 3 1.2A and 4.1A.

¹³²⁰ See Chapter 3 7.1A for Demetrias and 6.2 for Pythion.

a desire by the Western Thessalian elites to express their wealth in their ability to construct a large temple that mimics forms of temples that are built in other parts of Greece. The temple was built before the *synoikismos* of the *polis* of Metropolis in 358, and would therefore have been located far away from the control of any coexisting *polis* for two-hundred years after its construction, indicating a probable joint effort between various communities in the temple's construction. This temple combines local architectural styles incorporated in a panhellenic conceptual design. The horse-head *akroteria*, for example, are a Thessalian innovation; horse-and-rider *akroteria* are common enough in Western Greece but the use of a horse-head as an *akroterion* is unique to this temple and does not appear elsewhere in the Greek world.¹³²¹ The decoration of the Doric capitals with floral motifs are also unique to this temple (in fact, each capital is unique). Furthermore, the cella of the temple incorporates dining benches along its walls. Such a feature seems to be a Thessalian in nature, since in many other cases listed in the previous chapter (e.g. Soros), the usage of a cella for both housing cult statues as well as for commensal purposes did not seem become divided in Thessaly, as it did elsewhere in the Greek world.

The cult statue of the Apollo temple at Metropolis, furthermore, represented Apollo as a bearded hoplite, an iconographic peculiarity which is only attested in Lakonia during the Archaic period.¹³²² I would suggest that the portrayal of a bearded hoplite Apollo might have been the elite's desire to cultivate a Dorian connection, since many of the Thessalian elite did express genealogical links to Herakles.¹³²³ The largest temple in Western Thessaly, visible for many kilometres since it stood on a slight bump, it would have drawn significant economic investment, both for the sanctuary and the *polis*, because it lay along a major route leading to a pass at the border between Thessaly and the Pindos *ethne*. The sanctuary could also have been a uniting factor for the settlements in its vicinity in the Archaic and Classical periods and it could also have contributed to the continuing economic growth of Metropolis (after it was synoecised in the 4th c. BC) up to the Roman period. Its location at the entrance of a pass from Thessaly into the territory of the Dolopians, Athamanians, and

¹³²¹ For horse-and-rider *akroteria*, see Goldberg 1982: 196.

¹³²² For Archaic Lakonian vases depicting a bearded Apollo, see *LIMC II* (1984), s.v. Apollo, p. 316. The only other hoplite Apollo appears in Pausanias' description of the colossal statue of Apollo at Amyklai: Paus. 3.19.1-5.

¹³²³ Helly 1977.

the Epeirotes in the Pindos would have placed it in an area of high mobility and visibility—an expression of local wealth and power to the less developed Western *perioikoi* but also perhaps a show of Greekness to the Epeirotes whose inclusion among the Hellenes has often been in question.

The *hekatompedon* at Pherai presents a more explicit case of “Greeking,” showing explicit connections to the region’s Pythian affiliations. As discussed in the previous chapter, despite the poor preservation of the building, it is evident that the eastern façade of the temple seems to have mimicked the 4th c. Apollo temple at Delphi (completed in the 330s). The fact that it is only in the front (i.e. the side that faced the road leading north from Pherai) that the Pherai temple imitated the 4th c. temple of Apollo at Delphi indicates that the Pheraians wished to project a visual connection between their *polis* and Delphi to those passing. Østby explains the difference in the long sides between the Pherai and Delphi temples as a desire by the Pheraians to maintain the original length of the Archaic temple.¹³²⁴ It could assert a frontal connection to Delphi while maintaining the traditional dimensions of the old temple.

There are arguments to make for the similarities between the between the two temples. Thessaly, like most of its *perioikoi*, was among the founding *ethne* of the Delphic Amphiktyony in the 6th c. BC. The Thessalians, along with their *perioikoi*, exerted a great amount of influence on the Amphiktyony, having had a controlling number of votes in council (twelve out of thirty) when they acted as a single body.¹³²⁵ As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Thessalians and their *perioikoi* could exercise extraordinary privileges over the council, and their various *poleis* heavily invested in the Apollo sanctuary at Delphi. A physical projection of a connection with Delphi would remind those passing by or entering the *temenos* of the power that Thessaly had over many Central Greek states.

If Østby’s dating of the temple to the late 4th c. BC is correct,¹³²⁶ then the construction of the temple’s second phase, in marble rather than limestone, came at a time when Thessaly’s role in panhellenic affairs had been diminished and Pherai was still recovering from defeat. The Pheraian tyrants had entered into a war with the other

¹³²⁴ Østby 1994: 141-142.

¹³²⁵ For a discussion of Thessaly and the Amphiktyony, see Graninger 2011: 115-151.

¹³²⁶ Østby 1994: 142.

Thessalian states, chief among them Larisa and Pharsalos, ending with the Aleuads calling on Philip II to attack Pherai. The last of the Pheraian tyrants were expelled, and its control over the port of Pagasai (Pherai's main source of income) was expropriated by the Macedonians for their own benefit. The Pheraians did not enter into a period of decline at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, but actually flourish economically throughout this time period, despite its losses earlier in the century, as Philip II only meant to ensure the disappearance of the tyrants and not to cripple the city economically.¹³²⁷ His symbolic peace-making with Pherai through his marriage to Jason's niece Nikesipolis, as well as the city's economic boom in the manufacturing of high-quality ceramics (evident in the workshops and pottery excavated in and around the city), from the late 4th c. onwards, attests to this intent.¹³²⁸ A Pheraian expression of a connection to the Amphiktyony and to Delphi, where they had achieved most prestige and panhellenic importance through their control of the sanctuary of Apollo starting from the Archaic period, served to remind other Thessalians that they are still powerful, wealthy, and in a sense unbeaten. And for those seeing the peripteral temple at Pherai, who were not familiar with the 4th c. temple at Delphi, the one at Pherai would still have been a potent display of what the Pheraians could accomplish architecturally and economically, from the fact that they could imitate large temples common in the rest of Greece.

The fact that the temple at Pherai was a sanctuary dedicated to Ennodia and Zeus Thaulios is equally important. Ennodia, a local Thessalian deity, was the patron deity of the Pheraians. Despite having been widely worshipped throughout Thessaly (attested in all four tetrads and three *perioikoi*), the Pheraian tyrants had appropriated her cult in the late 5th/early 4th c. BC, portraying her on their coinage (particularly Alexander of Pherai) and built a second, smaller temple to her at the southern entrance into the city.¹³²⁹ The so-called Altar of the Six Goddesses, which possibly dates to the Late Classical period and was found on the Pherai acropolis, indicates that the Pheraians included Ennodia among their Dodekatheon.¹³³⁰ It is also in the 4th c. BC that the city's official decrees began to be erected

¹³²⁷ Arachoviti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2000: 70.

¹³²⁸ Buckler 1989: 62; Arachoviti and Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2000.

¹³²⁹ For Ennodia in general, see Chrysostomou 1998.

¹³³⁰ Miller 1974.

in the Makalorema sanctuary. Regardless of where Ennodia originated in Thessaly, starting from the 4th c. BC, she became known outside of Thessaly as Artemis Pheraia (“Artemis of Pherai”), indicating the Pheraian tyrants’ successful promotion of the goddess as their own.¹³³¹ In addition to being an expression of a connection to Delphi, the *hekatompedon* also vaunted its local traditions in a panhellenic medium.



Figure 52 - Viewshed of the sanctuary of Zeus Thaulios and Ennodia at Makalorema, Pherai.

The location of the sanctuary at the northern entrance of the city was also significant as it was located on the road leading directly to Larisa, with whom the Pheraians had been at war less than fifty years ago. A viewshed analysis of the *hekatompedon*, one of the two largest buildings in Thessaly at the time of its construction, demonstrates that the temple was highly visible from the north of the city, dominating the view of anyone approaching the city from the Larisa road all the way to Lake Boibeis. Perhaps choosing to invest more heavily in the northern sanctuary of Ennodia rather than the southern one, the city was showing more concern in demonstrating their power and cosmopolitanism to the

¹³³¹ Graninger 2009: 119-120.

Larisaans and the rest of Pelasgiotis rather than to those approaching from the south. It is also possible that the message was also directed to the Macedonians who would have approached from this same road as well, and who had become the hegemon of Thessaly before the end of the 4th c. BC.

The Roman-period temples at Pythion, a city that was named to emphasise its connection to Apollo Pythios at Delphi, also present a similar case of expressing a connection to Delphi as Pherai. Rebuilt after its Hellenistic phase had been destroyed possibly by the civil wars a few decades earlier, the Pythion sanctuary was fitted with two new temples in the Augustan period, one to Apollo Pythios and the other to Poseidon Patroos.¹³³² The two temples are more complete than the Pherai *hekatompedon* but also less well-studied. The Poseidon temple was an elongated temple with an internal row of columns while the Apollo temple was peripteral. Unfortunately, not enough of the architectural details have been published and possible similarities to the Delphi temple, like at Pherai, cannot yet be established. What is known of Pythion historically is that the city formed part of the Perrhaibian Tripolis along with Doliche and Azoros.

Numismatic and epigraphic sources from Perrhaibia in the Classical period provide a sense that there was an awareness of a shared Perrhaibian identity as an *ethnos* and that some semblance of political unity had begun to form as early as the end of the Persian Wars. For example, some Perrhaibian cities minted coins as early as the 5th c. BC inscribed with “Perrhaibians” (usually abbreviated as Π, ΠΕΡ, or ΠΕΡΑ, but given in full as ΠΕΡΡΑΙΒΩΝ starting in the 4th c. BC), which contrasts the case of Achaia Phthiotis discussed above.¹³³³ These so-called Perrhaibian League coins formed part of a monetary alliance headed by Larisa which minted coins depicting the hero Thessalos wrestling a bull (*taurokathapsia*).¹³³⁴ The depiction of a Thessalian hero on Perrhaibian coinage may give evidence for Perrhaibian affiliation with the Thessalians (not necessarily ethnic), but it could also have been a means for the Perrhaibians to curry favour with the Larisaans to whom they paid tribute. The identification with both *ethne* is not necessarily a contradictory one, but demonstrates the realities of multi-tiered regional identities.

¹³³² Lucas 1997: 182-183; Tziafalias 2000, pp. 90-91.

¹³³³ Liampi 1996: pp. 109-110; *SNG Cop. Thessaly* 193-95.

¹³³⁴ Kraay 1976: pp. 115-116; Mili 2015: p. 259, no. 188.

We see another case of expressions of a united Perrhaibian identity on a stele from Oloosson from the early 4th c. BC which lists the *poleis* belonging to the Perrhaibian *ethnos* in a joint dedication to Apollo Pythios.¹³³⁵ This makes sense since Perrhaibia is listed as one of the founding *ethne* of the Amphiktyony. The Perrhaibian Tripolis, however, was not included in this inscription. The Tripolis seems to have formed a separate group within Perrhaibia whose identity as Perrhaibians fluctuated occasionally. During the second quarter of the 4th c. BC, the Tripolis, being in the northernmost region of Perrhaibia, was often susceptible to Macedonian influence and seems to have been annexed by Macedonia before the mid-4th c. BC but was given back to Perrhaibia in 196.¹³³⁶ The Tripolitans also did not join the expression of a united Perrhaibian identity in their coinage. The Tripolitans began to mint their own coins in the 4th c. BC, and rather than depicting Thessalos as the rest of the Perrhaibian cities did, the Tripolitans minted images connecting themselves to Delphi (e.g. laureate Apollo and a tripod), to establish a more direct connection to Delphi than the rest of Perrhaibia, which is also evident in their giving of the name Pythion to their most important city.¹³³⁷

The assertion of such Tripolitan connections to Delphi, which included the “colossalisation” of their main sanctuary to Apollo Pythios, works on several levels. At the time of its construction, the Tripolitans had been reincorporated into Perrhaibia, and by the Augustan period, the Perrhaibians had lost their votes in the Amphiktyony since Augustus’ reforms combined the *perioikoi* with Thessaly and gave its extra votes to the new foundation at Nikopolis.¹³³⁸ On the one hand, the two new large temples at Pythion, perhaps funded by the Romans (by Imperial decree according to Tziafalias) since Augustus had had himself declared *strategos* of the Thessalian League had enacted many institutional reforms in Thessaly, including those concerning its cults.¹³³⁹ The rebuilding of the sanctuary with its two new temples could have formed part of Imperial propaganda promoting their benevolence toward the region, as well as a sense of renewed unity for

¹³³⁵ SEG 29.546. See Helly 1979 for a discussion of the inscription.

¹³³⁶ Liampi 1990; Graninger 2011, pp. 23–24; Diod. Sic. 18.11.1.

¹³³⁷ Moustaka 1983, p. 100; Liampi 1990, pp. 11–22.

¹³³⁸ Graninger 2011: 123.

¹³³⁹ Tziafalias: 91 refers to inscriptions (among the 55 excavated at the sanctuary at Pythion) that are unpublished but which he claims states that the temples were built “κατά του Κάισαρος κρίμα”.

Perrhaibia, since the cult of Apollo Pythios was also one that united the communities of the region, as shown by the joint Perrhaibian dedication from Oloosson. It could also have been meant to create a sense of unity between the region with Thessaly, which had formerly been important in the Amphiktyony. If the sanctuary, though, was not in fact aggrandised by Roman decree but by the newly reunited Perrhaibians themselves, the Perrhaibians were perhaps monumentalising their regional identity as a formerly sovereign *ethnos* that at some point played a role in panhellenic affairs.

What is also curious is that the temple to Poseidon Patroos (“ancestral Poseidon”) is similar to the long, rectangular sanctuary buildings of Thessaly, discussed in the previous chapter, whereas the temple directly connected to the Pythian cult is peripteral.¹³⁴⁰ It is possible that the opposition between the two, one resembling a panhellenic norm and one archaising, indicates that there was some sort of awareness of what was traditionally Thessalian versus what was perceived to be Greek. The architectural form of the Poseidon temple is not necessarily how the Tripolitans perceived their temples to be, but perhaps how the Romans perceived the Thessalian norms to be, particularly during this time period when the definition of who belonged to Thessaly was expanding. If this were a Roman construction, the marriage of the innovative with the traditional would fit what is known so far of Roman propaganda in Thessaly starting from the Late Hellenistic period. For example, Flamininus’ reformation of the Thessalian League included the formalisation of the official cults of the *koinon*, which were Zeus Eleutherios and Athena Itonia. One is a deity newly introduced to the region representing the liberation propaganda of Flamininus while the other paid homage to one of the oldest cults of Thessaly. The former, according to Graninger, was situated in Thessaly’s most important political urban centre, whereas the latter helped claim territory (southern Thessalotis) that was often disputed by Thessalians, Aitolians, Athamanians, and Macedonians.¹³⁴¹

The final peripteral temple dedicated to Artemis Iolkeia at Demetrias dates to the 290s BC and is unusual for being an Ionic peripteral temple, the only one of its kind in Thessaly and perhaps the smallest Ionic peripteral temple in the Greek world. Founded in

¹³⁴⁰ Compare the Patroos temple to the Soros temple, as presented in Mazarakis 2016.

¹³⁴¹ Graninger 2011: 86.

293 BC by Demetrios Poliorketes and named after himself, Demetrias was supposed to be one of Poliorketes' "fettters of Greece" along with Corinth and Chalkis, and was meant to become his royal residence.¹³⁴² It was also created through a *synoikismos* of smaller communities throughout Magnesia. The Ionic temple was part of a cultic programme that formed part of Poliorketes' propaganda for the new foundation. This included the introduction of several new cult institutions, such as the cult to the *archegetai* and *ktistai* (chiefs and founders) of the city, the cult of the *kynegoi*, and a new religious calendar, combined with the traditional cults of the Magnesians.¹³⁴³ In addition, the cosmopolitan nature of Demetrias gave rise to the adoption of many foreign cults in the city (e.g. Serapis, Isis, Anubis, Harpokrates, Kybele, Atargatis).¹³⁴⁴

The traditional cults included that of Artemis Iolkia, which originally had its Classical sanctuary at Kastro Palaia (the acropolis of ancient Iolkos) but which was moved to the Sacred Agora of Demetrias, that of Chiron and Zeus Akraios with its sanctuary on Mount Pelion, and that of Apollo Koropaios which had an oracular sanctuary at Korope in the Pelion peninsula.¹³⁴⁵ These three cults were incorporated into the visual propaganda of the Macedonian rulers, forming part of what Kravaritou calls a ritualisation of the diplomatic negotiations between the synoecised communities and the royal founders.¹³⁴⁶ Zeus Akraios, Cheiron, and Artemis Iolkia appeared on the obverse of 3rd c. Demetrian coins often with the prow of the Argo on the reverse.¹³⁴⁷ As for the Akraios and Koropaios cults, inscriptions indicate that Demetrias administered the two sanctuaries by electing their priests and by regulating protocols for oracular consultation at Korope.¹³⁴⁸ The integration of these cults might be supported by Marzolff's suggestion that the founders of the city intended there to be visual interaction between the Koropaios sanctuary, the Iolkia sanctuary, the royal heroon on Hill 84 overlooking Demetrias, and the palace, all of which formed lines of sight with each other.¹³⁴⁹ The inclusion of Magnesia's traditional cults into

¹³⁴² Strab. 9.436 and 443.

¹³⁴³ Kravaritou 2011, 2016, and Boehm 2011. Poliorketes was also honoured as a hero-founder (*ktistes*) in Hellenistic Sikyon (Diod. 20.102.3). See also Kravaritou 2013: 257.

¹³⁴⁴ Kravaritou 2011: 122.

¹³⁴⁵ See Chapter 3, 7.3.

¹³⁴⁶ Kravaritou 2016: 138.

¹³⁴⁷ Kravaritou 2011: 119.

¹³⁴⁸ Boehm 2011: 88-89.

¹³⁴⁹ Marzolff 1996a: 110.

the new cultic framework of Demetrias served the construction of a “new religious and political identity” by stressing continuity with the pre-*synoikismos* cults of the region, according to Kravaritou.¹³⁵⁰

Boehm rightly argues that Macedonian founders of Demetrias used the Magnesian cults of Artemis Iolkia (originally at Iolkos), of Zeus Akraios (on Mount Pelion), and of Apollo Koropaios (at Korope) in conjunction with each other to create a focal point of common identity for the new *synoikismos*.¹³⁵¹ These three Magnesian cults, now administered by the city of Demetrias, operated alongside the aforementioned royal cults (*archegetai, ktistai, kynegoi*) and foreign cults (to be discussed in their own section below) to cater to the diverse needs of an international community.¹³⁵² Boehm proposes that the cults to Koropaios and Akraios may have also had sanctuaries within the city of Demetrias since the Iolkia cult had a sanctuary at the heart of the city, from which all three cults were now being administered. The three Magnesian cults became the foci of a centrifugal procession to Mount Pelion, which would have led past the old sanctuaries of the three cults. Such a procession bodily and emotionally reinforced and celebrated the antiquity of the new foundation’s traditions.

One of the features of Boehm’s argument is that the temple of Artemis Iolkia at Demetrias was intentionally made to be small since it served as a “succursal” sanctuary (i.e. an ancillary shrine supporting a main one, like a chapel to a main cathedral).¹³⁵³ By doing so, the new sanctuary paid homage to the old one and symbolically tied the two. The Macedonian rulers also symbolically elevated the cult by putting it in a location associated with the palace (the Sacred Agora), a symbolic act paying respect to the old customs of the people they now ruled.¹³⁵⁴ Although I agree with Boehm’s assertion that the new temple was meant to pay homage to the original, I disagree with the manner in which this is accomplished materially. Given that small sanctuary buildings were the norm for sanctuaries in Magnesia, as in the rest of Broader Thessaly, I would disagree that the diminutive size of the Iolkieion at Demetrias was necessarily intended to be small in

¹³⁵⁰ Kravaritou 2011.

¹³⁵¹ Boehm 2011.

¹³⁵² Boehm 2011: 89.

¹³⁵³ Boehm 2011: 89.

¹³⁵⁴ Boehm 2011: 89-90.

relation to a larger temple at Iolkos.

Boehm's suggestion operates under the assumption that the sanctuary at Iolkos would have had a large temple but that has not been established; the remains under the Agioi Theodoroi church in Kastro Palaia consist of architectural spolia without any indication of the function of the building.¹³⁵⁵ Not all Doric building remains are indicative of sacred architecture and the ruins under Kastro Palaia did not necessarily belong to the temple of Artemis Iolkia. It is possible that the original temple was diminutive in size based on the norms in Magnesia that we have observed so far, although I do admit that it is premature to say that architectural minimalism was certainly the norm based on the incomplete nature of archaeological research throughout the region. Furthermore, I hesitate to agree with Boehm's suggestion that the cults of Zeus Akraios and Apollo Koropaios necessarily received corresponding new sanctuaries at Demetrias, as the sanctuary of Artemis Iolkia did, because the archaeological evidence from Kastro Palaia indicates that the area of the original Iolkieion had been abandoned by the 3rd c. BC, whereas the sanctuaries at Pelion and Korope continued to be in use until Late Antiquity.¹³⁵⁶ There was a need for a new cult location for Artemis Iolkia whereas there was no need in the case of the other two cults. Boehm is correct in suggesting that the creation of a new Iolkieion at Demetrias was a symbolic act of keeping the community's traditions together with them in their new location, but I would suggest that the act may have paid homage by acknowledging and imitating the cultic architectural vocabulary of the area, if further archaeological explorations reveal that the currently surviving sanctuary buildings do reflect the predominant architecturally minimalistic trend in Antiquity. At the same time, the temple was fitted with a peripteral façade, giving it a more panhellenic style. The building, then, accommodated both the traditional and the panhellenic, an act that spoke to the new cosmopolitanism of Demetrias.

As I have mentioned in the previous two chapters, Stamatopoulou addresses Boehm's assertion that the Iolkieion at Demetrias as unique in its miniaturisation as the northernmost small temple in mainland Greece, when in fact miniaturisation was a

¹³⁵⁵ Boehm 2011: 106.

¹³⁵⁶ Kravaritou 2011: 117.

common trend in Hellenistic temples.¹³⁵⁷ If such were the case, one could surmise that the building of the Iolkieion followed trends common in the rest of the Greek world. I would argue, however, that we need to take into account the reasons for which individuals and communities accept or reject certain innovations. Although several Hellenistic temples were indeed smaller in scale (e.g. Priene, Pergamon, Megalopolis), some (e.g. Didyma, Kos, Samothrace), were colossal in scale.¹³⁵⁸ The Macedonian builders of the Demetrias Iolkieion, therefore, had two parallel trends from which to choose, and they chose the miniaturising trend. Since, as I have discussed above, the Macedonians incorporated local traditions into their town planning of Demetrias, I would propose that that a possible reason for the builders to create a small Iolkieion could have been to speak to their new subjects in an architectural vocabulary that was somewhat familiar, mixed with loanwords that were more familiar to those outside the region (e.g. “Ionic,” and “peripteral”).

Of the four peripteral temples discussed above, two were not created as local initiatives. The Iolkieion at Demetrias was part of a Macedonian programme and the Pythion sanctuary was possibly created by Imperial decree, as Tziafalias states. When the inhabitants of Broader Thessaly did build them (in the case of the Pheraian and Metropolitan *hekatompeda*), it is clear that they used architectural expressions to show a connection to the broader Greek community to those that live with and around them. These expressions are not contradictory to articulations of local identity but can be complementary to them, as in all cases presented above, they never disregarded local traditions.

3.3 *The Mother of the Gods*

This final case study reflects on the persistence and ephemerality of certain cults in Thessaly, i.e. which cults lasted and which ones did not. The cult of the Mother of the Gods presents an ideal case study for such trends since it was an imported cult that enjoyed a brief vogue in Thessaly during the Hellenistic period, during which there were more *metroa* in the region than peripteral temples. The cult seems to have been introduced to the

¹³⁵⁷ Stamatopoulou 2018: 356; Mattern 2013.

¹³⁵⁸ Senseney 2016: 227; Wescoat 2016: 433-434.

region in the 4th c. BC but *metroa* seem to have largely disappeared by the 2nd c. BC. This case study asks why some cults take anchor more deeply and why others fail to.

The Mother of the Gods was introduced to the Greek world sometime in the 6th c. BC from Phrygia, where she was known as Matar Kubileya, or simply Matar (“Mother”), and in Lydian as Kuvava. Her cult became widespread in the Greek world where she continued to be known as Kybele, *Meter* (“Mother”), *Meter Theon* (Mother of the Gods) or simply *Meter*, *Meter Oreia* (“Mountain Mother”), and in Rome as *Mater Deum Magna Idaea* (“Great Idaean Mother of the Gods”), usually shortened to *Magna Mater* (“Great Mother”).¹³⁵⁹ The Greeks often conflated Kybele with either Rhea, Ge, or Demeter and depicted her as a matron wearing a turret crown or *polos*, carrying a scepter, a *phiale* and/or a *tympanon*, and usually seated on a throne accompanied by one or more lions.¹³⁶⁰ Her depictions are usually in a relief framed by a *naiskos*.¹³⁶¹ She was often connected with the protection of cities and political power, a factor in the cult’s popularity among the Macedonian kings.¹³⁶² Despite having been a foreign import and a mystery cult (i.e. one that involved secret initiation and the transmission of secret knowledge), with elements that the Greeks and Romans often found problematic (e.g. eunuchs, self-flagellation, frenetic music, and raucous rites), the cult of Meter did not remain peripheral but was incorporated into state cults (e.g. the Metroon in the Athenian Agora, the temple to Magna Mater on the Palatine).¹³⁶³

The diffusion of cults between Thessaly and Macedonia (e.g. Ennodia, Macedonian Dionysos, *kynegoi*, Pasikrata) occurred fairly commonly beyond the political level¹³⁶⁴ but there is good reason to suggest that the cult of Meter in Thessaly was probably connected with the presence of Macedonians in the region. Most dedications to Meter date to the 3rd/2nd c. BC and none are earlier than the late 4th c. BC, which dates less than half a century after Thessaly fell under Macedonian hegemony. The majority of the evidence for the cult, furthermore, comes from the vicinity of Macedonian port of Demetrias, where there are several inscriptions and artistic representations of her, two or three *metroa*, and one house

¹³⁵⁹ Roller 1999: 2.

¹³⁶⁰ Roller 1999: 110.

¹³⁶¹ Katakouta 2009: 442.

¹³⁶² Bøgh 2012: 32-67.

¹³⁶³ For Kybele in the Graeco-Roman world, see Vermaseren 1977.

¹³⁶⁴ Graninger 2010: 324.

with evidence for the domestic cult of Kybele.¹³⁶⁵ One of the *metroa* is located at the Zerva property at Magoula Pefkakia while the other is located just north of the city outside the city walls at Aivaliotika.¹³⁶⁶ The establishment of the Pefkakia *metroon*, furthermore, was royally funded according to an inscription.¹³⁶⁷ Arvanitopoulos identified one at Pagasai as a *metroon* but the building has more recently been identified by Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou as a house.¹³⁶⁸ The other two *metroa* are found at the western entrance of the Vale of Tempe and within the city of Pharsalos.

Several elements indicate that the cult of the Mother of the Gods was perceived as having been connected to the Macedonians, aside from the synchronicity of the cult's rise and fall in popularity with the rise and fall of Macedonian hegemony in the region. Firstly, all *metroa* in Thessaly are of a similar plan—house-like buildings containing a cluster of rooms or subdivisions for various functions. This arrangement resembles the *metroa* at the Macedonian capitals of Aigai and Pella, as well as at Kallipetra and Potidaia (more so than the one in the Athenian Agora, for example), not just architecturally but also in the types of finds found within them (e.g. similar terracotta figurines and pottery).¹³⁶⁹ Secondly, Thessalian cults to Kybele (Pharsalos, Demetrias) are often connected to Aphrodite, who was worshipped alongside the goddess, a Macedonian feature of the cult of the Kybele. This parallel worship emulates the cult of Kybele at Pella, where the sanctuary of Kybele is also dedicated to Aphrodite.¹³⁷⁰ Thirdly, there is evidence that some sections of the Macedonian population claimed that Kybele was an autochthonous goddess in their region rather than a foreign import. At Lefkopetra near Beroia, there is a sanctuary to *Meter Theon Autochthon* (“Indigenous Mother of the Gods”), which yielded 82 (out of around 200) inscriptions describing Kybele as autochthonous (i.e. she had always been there) rather than a foreign

¹³⁶⁵ Kravaritou 2011: 130; the possible third *metroon* at Demetrias is unpublished and contained a “small temple” and several terracotta figurines identified and under forthcoming publication by Stamatopoulou.

¹³⁶⁶ See also Chapter 3, 2.1E (Pharsalos), 7.1E (Demetrias) and 7.1F (Aivaliotika) for the descriptions of the archaeological remains and bibliographical information.

¹³⁶⁷ Batziou-Efstathiou 2001: 31-2.

¹³⁶⁸ *AE* 1916: 31; Batziou-Efstathiou and Triantafyllopoulou 2000: 301-303. The votive inscription is currently unpublished but was presented by Batziou-Efstathiou at the “Λατρείες και ιερά στην αρχαία Θεσσαλία” conference in 2012 at the British School in Athens. The publication of the volume is pending so I cannot comment on its content here.

¹³⁶⁹ For the characteristics of the cult of Kybele in Macedonia, see Hatzinikolaou 2007, esp. pp. 181-188. For the cult in Beroia and the sanctuaries at Lefkopetra and Kallipetra, see Stefani 2010: 114.

¹³⁷⁰ Lilimbaki-Akamati 2000.

import. The sanctuary, excavated hastily and incompletely in 1965 due to constructions along the Egnatia Motorway, dates to the 1st and 2nd c. AD. The tradition of the goddess' autochthony seems to go back earlier to at least the Hellenistic period in Beroia.¹³⁷¹ It is possible that the existence of such claims that the Mother of the Gods was Macedonian were known in a Broader Thessaly, where material expressions of the cult mimicked the Macedonian expressions. Finally, the majority of the material evidence for the cult in Broader Thessaly predominated in and around Demetrias, which had a city *metroon* within the city walls and one other possible one in the northern sector of the city (Aivaliotika, which the excavator now proposes to be a house).¹³⁷² The association of the cult with a Macedonian foundation could have led to further perceptions by the inhabitants of Thessaly and its *perioikoi* that the cult was connected to their new Macedonian rulers.

The *metroa* in Thessaly generally resemble the Macedonian manifestation of the cult more than in other areas of Greece (e.g. the types of pottery, close connection to Aphrodite, house-like temple).¹³⁷³ Other dedications to the goddess have been found at Larisa, at Atrax, and at modern Damasi and Tyrnavos (in the chora of Phalanna), which could indicate the probable existence of other *metroa*.¹³⁷⁴ None have been found in Western Thessaly.

All of the above *metroa* were constructed in the 3rd c. BC but went out of use by the end of the 2nd c. BC, not long after Thessaly and its *perioikoi* were freed from Macedonian rule. All other types of evidence date to the 3rd/2nd c. BC with the exception of a 4th c. BC inscription from Larisa and one from Damasi that dates to the 1st/2nd c. AD.¹³⁷⁵ The cult of the Mother of the Gods became popular in Macedonia in the Hellenistic period and seems to have been connected with the power of the state and the protection of cities.¹³⁷⁶ The fact

¹³⁷¹ For the tradition on autochthony predating the 1st c. AD, see Stefani 2010: 115. For the excavations, see *AA* 21 (1966): 352-353.

¹³⁷² Batziou-Efstathiou (forthcoming), 'The Sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods in Demetrias', in Morgan and Stamatopoulou (eds.), *Sanctuaries and Cults in Ancient Thessaly. Proceedings of the Conference held at the British School at Athens, 30 November-1 December 2012*, Oxford.

¹³⁷³ Katakouta 2009: 445.

¹³⁷⁴ Mili 2015: ID nos. 345-350; Tziafalias 1984, no. 71; *AM* 52 (1927): 88 no. 4; *IG IX²* 583; *AA* 40 (1985): 206; *AE* (1916): 17 no. 271; Heinz 1998: K 294. The inscriptions from Demetrias are still unpublished: Batziou-Efstathiou (forthcoming).

¹³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

¹³⁷⁶ Bøgh 2012.

that, except for one inscription, the cult all but disappears from Broader Thessaly after the Macedonians are removed from the region demonstrates that the region's inhabitants also perceived a connection between the cult and their former rulers.

The presence of this cult in Thessaly functioned differently on various levels of identity. In the case of Demetrias, the introduction of the Mother's cult and its incorporation into the new foundation's cultic sphere formed part of the Macedonians' intention of creating a new Demetrian identity (as discussed above) which involved intermingling traditional cults with new ones, to cater to both the needs of the synoecised populations as well as the incoming Macedonian populations. The cult of the Mother of the Gods, being connected with power and sovereignty, formed part of their expressions of royal power at Demetrias along with the unfinished heroon, the cult to Herakles Kynagidas, and others.¹³⁷⁷ In this way, the cult provided a conduit for Macedonian social control of the area. The inhabitants of Demetrias, in turn, had the agency to choose whether or not to participate in these cults introduced by their rulers.

The adoption of Meter during the Macedonian hegemony could be seen as a desire by some elements of Broader Thessalian society to associate themselves with their new rulers. De Polignac, in discussing sanctuaries in an Archaic, Western Greek, colonial context, argues that non-urban sanctuaries provided indigenous elites with a means of competing with each other for status by adopting the cultural forms of the Greeks.¹³⁷⁸ Although usually not located in urban Thessalian contexts (with the exception of the *metroon* at Chani Kokonas), *metroa* could provide a theatre for prestige competition for what would have mostly been the elite of the population that was dominated by the Macedonians (i.e. the Thessalians and their *perioikoi*). The act of imitating or associating with the Macedonians by participating in their cult of the Mother could give a sense of exclusive social superiority, heightened by the initiatory nature of Kybele's mystery cult.

The removal of Macedonian control from Broader Thessaly also removed much of the incentive for participation in the cults associated with Macedonia. In fact, the new-found independence of Thessaly and its *perioikoi* could have attached negative

¹³⁷⁷ For the *heroon*, see Chapter 3, 7.1C. For Herakles Kynagidas, see *SEG* 56.625; Intzesiloglou 2006; and Mili 2015: 205-6.

¹³⁷⁸ De Polignac 1995: 17.

connotations to cults associated with the former hegemon, leading to these sanctuaries gradual disuse and eventual abandonment. In the case of Pharsalos, one could argue, that the city's destruction or depopulation during the 2nd c. BC was the ultimate cause of its *metroon's* abandonment but there are numerous instances of the continued use of sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly after the settlement to which it belonged was either destroyed or depopulated. The case of the sanctuaries at Korope and Pelion demonstrates this. Many of the Magnesians settlements on the Pelion peninsula and the northern Pagasetic Gulf were synoecised into Demetrias. Magnesian Korope, the settlement near which the oracular sanctuary was located, was abandoned and showed no archaeological evidence past the 4th c. BC. The Apollo sanctuary, however, rather than being abandoned after the *synoikismos*, in fact expanded during the Hellenistic period and remained in use until Late Antiquity. Such was also the case with the sanctuary dedicated to Cheiron and Zeus Akraios, which, despite the closest settlements having been depopulated by the *synoikismos*, continued to play a role in important festivals until Late Antiquity. Pharsalos itself, although the city does not show evidence of occupation after the 2nd c. BC until the 6th c. AD, had a nearby cave sanctuary that showed signs of use until Late Antiquity.¹³⁷⁹ Clearly, when the motivation exists, a sanctuary could be maintained as long as there was a group of people willing to use and maintain it.

It is not enough to pin the cause of the abandonment of the *metroa* on the disappearance of their associated settlements. The abandonment of the cult indicates that the demand for what it supplied no longer existed, and that the motivation to maintain it vanished with the Macedonians, whom sections of the Thessalian population no longer needed to please. Other cults met a similar fate: the heroon to Demetrios Poliorketes was left unfinished and the cult of the *kynegoi* are no longer mentioned in inscriptions. The cults that did endure, however, seem to have been those of traditional local deities. This is most evident in the two Magnesians cults mentioned above. It is interesting to note that the sanctuaries of Zeus Akraios/Chiron and Apollo Koropaios had archaising and minimising features. The Akraios sanctuary had only a sacred cave and several small buildings with one being elliptical in form, whereas the only structures found in the Koropaios *manteion*

¹³⁷⁹ See Chapter 3, 2.1B.

were a *peribolos* wall and a stoa. In both cases, it is the natural setting that is highlighted by their configuration.

3.4 International Cults and Tensions with the Local

The cult of Kybele was only one among several international cults imported into Broader Thessaly during the Hellenistic period. Demetrias, being a cosmopolitan port city with visitors and settlers from throughout the Hellenistic world (Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, Anatolia, Sicily, Epeiros, Thrace, Illyria, Cyprus, Cyrene, Crete, Boiotia), accommodated cults from Egypt, the Near East, and eventually Rome.¹³⁸⁰ Starting from the 3rd c. BC Demetrias became the home to many Egyptian deities (Isis, Serapis, Anubis, and Harpokrates) with an Serapeion within the city as the official cult centre (not yet located).¹³⁸¹ These Egyptian cults (which were also being established at other cosmopolitan port cities such as Delos, Eretria, Piraeus, Thessaloniki and Priene) may have been privately introduced to Demetrias by a priest to Isis, named Ouaphres son of Horus from Bousiris in the Nile Delta, who is attested in a 3rd c. BC grave stele found at Demetrias.¹³⁸² Kravaritou proposes that the Egyptian cults were probably open to all ethnicities, and that Macedonian soldiers, who had served in Egypt, likely comprised some of the Egyptian cults' earliest followers.¹³⁸³ She also mentions that intermarriages between Egyptian and non-Egyptian inhabitants of Demetrias could have been a factor in the growth of the cult, as Hellenised Egyptian names can be found in the onomastics of Demetrias' grave stelai.¹³⁸⁴ No cult sites, however, have yet been identified archaeologically (unless Arvanitopoulos is correct in his identification of the dubious Harpokrates sanctuary) and it is still impossible to determine the material characteristics of their sacred spaces and how they compared to other sanctuaries to Egyptian gods in the Greek world, which could lend insight into the development of their

¹³⁸⁰ Kravaritou 2011, 2013, and 2015: 137. The Roman cults are those of the divine Roman emperors (Kravaritou 2011: 123), which first appear at Demetrias in the 1st c. AD and will not be discussed in this dissertation.

¹³⁸¹ Kravaritou 2011: 122. For inscriptions to these deities, see *SEG* 43 525 (Isis), *IG* IX² 360 (Serapis, Anubis, and Isis), *ΠΑΕ* 1915: 160-161 (Harpokrates), and *SEG* 25.681 (generic dedication to unnamed Egyptian deities).

¹³⁸² Stamatopoulou 2008: 249-257

¹³⁸³ Decourt and Tziafalias 2007: 337; Stamatopoulou 2008: 254.

¹³⁸⁴ Kravaritou 2015: 143; Stamatopoulou 2008: 254 n. 71; Decourt and Tziafalias 2007: 339-40, 342-3.

cults at Demetrias.¹³⁸⁵

Aside from the Egyptian cults, it is also possible that a bilingual inscription (in Greek and Phoenician) attests to a Hellenised Phoenician cult at Demetrias in the 3rd c. BC.¹³⁸⁶ The subject of the inscription is a priest named Askapiadas of Sidon, a Greek name equivalent to the Semitic theophoric name bearing the name of the god Eshmoun (who bore similarities to Asklepios); this connection is still uncertain and it may be that this refers to a Sidonian individual who happened to become the priest of a Greek cult of Asklepios (if he even saw an essential difference between Eshmoun and Asklepios).¹³⁸⁷ The Phoenicians comprised the largest group of foreigners at Demetrias so it is surprising that the earliest certain evidence for a Semitic cult does not appear until the 3rd/4th c. AD (beyond the scope of this dissertation) when the Phoenician goddess Atargatis first became attested here.¹³⁸⁸

These various foreign cults served to cater to an international community in a city with a very diverse population, forming numerous entangled communities with internal tensions that added to the processes of place-making and identity formation. In their interactions with each other, as well as with the people who visited and made use of their city, the people who inhabited Demetrias formed their own ideas on what defined their various communities. What did it mean to be a Magnesians or Thessalians in this new multicultural environment? What did it mean to be Egyptian or Phoenician in a Greek city? What aspects of one's perceived traditional traits does one preserve/re-create/abandon and what aspects of other cultures are acceptable/advisable/beneficial to adopt and adapt? These are some questions that Demetrians would face in their multicultural environment, questions which would not only arise when the city was newly founded but also throughout its continued existence. The answers to these questions would never have been uniform and they would have changed according to the social contexts and political climates of the time.

Outside of Demetrias, foreign cults are largely found around urban centres, which is understandable since cities would have drawn larger migrant populations than rural areas.

¹³⁸⁵ See Chapter 3, 7.1G for the Harpokrates "sanctuary."

¹³⁸⁶ For the bilingual inscription, see Masson 1969: 689-696.

¹³⁸⁷ Kravaritou 2015: 143.

¹³⁸⁸ Kravaritou 2011: 123. Atargatis: *SEG* 26.646.

No sanctuaries have been found but it is likely that some may have come from sanctuaries. The Egyptian cults, outside of Demetrias, have also been attested in inscriptions from Larisa, Gonnoi, Krannon, and Atrax (the earliest dating from the late 4th/early 3rd c. to the 1st c. BC at the latest).¹³⁸⁹ A Syrian goddess known referred to as Parthenos (possibly Atargatis) is attested at Krannon (where she bears the epithet Bambykaia) and possibly at Pherai (both 2nd c. BC).¹³⁹⁰

A particularly interesting 2nd c. BC inscription with evidence for the mixing of Greek and Eastern cults was found at Marmarini, roughly 20 km east of Larisa.¹³⁹¹ The substantial inscription was engraved on two sides of a tall, pedimented, marble stele and contained the regulations for participation in the cult and the activities of a sanctuary attested in the text. This sanctuary's location is unknown and the stele itself is likely not from the village of Marmarini, as there have been no archaeological remains found in the area dating to the historical periods.¹³⁹² The inscription does, however, mention a temple, a *peribolos*, a *propylon*, and a *peristyle* courtyard. Decourt and Tziafalias propose that the sanctuary would have been by a body of water, based on the content of the inscription and its description of the bathing of the cult statue in a body of water, perhaps by Lake Nessonis or the Amyros River.¹³⁹³ These activities include initiation into the cult (as if into a mystery cult), the appropriate offerings from both initiates and non-initiates, participation in two festivals, and the bathing of the cult statue at a lake at night.¹³⁹⁴

Numerous aspects of the cult seem to be eastern in origin, but not from one clear ethnic group. The primary deity of this sanctuary was Artemis Phylake, but the inscription also mentions a host of other deities, some of whom were Greek, like Helios and the Moirai,

¹³⁸⁹ Gonnoi: Tziafalias 1984b, no. 82; Helly 1973b, no. 205. Krannon: *IG IX*² 465. Larisa: Tziafalias 1984b, no. 102; *IG IX*² 590.

¹³⁹⁰ The inscription from Pherai is mentioned by Béquignon 1937: 91, no. 64 (dating to the late 3rd/early 2nd c. BC), dedicated to a Parthenos goddess, which Kravaritou 2015: 144 suggests may refer to the cult of a Syrian goddess who was sometimes called Parthenos; although, I am doubtful that this necessarily refers to the Syrian cult as Parthenos can refer to several Greek goddesses (e.g. Athena, Artemis, Hestia, all of whom are attested at Pherai), and there is no information on the inscription except for the name of the dedicant (Phylakine, daughter of Bathyllos), the goddess Parthenos, and the amount (50 staters) donated to the unlocated sanctuary.

¹³⁹¹ Decourt and Tziafalias 2015.

¹³⁹² Decourt and Tziafalias 2015: 2.

¹³⁹³ Decourt and Tziafalias 2015: 41.

¹³⁹⁴ Decourt and Tziafalias 2015: Side A, lines 4-7.

while others seem to be Near Eastern deities, among whom were Mēn, Adara, Mogga, Alaia, Lilla, and a deity described by the text as the Syrian equivalent of Pan (the name only survives as “...ΠΑΕΝ”). Of these deities, only Mēn (an Anatolian and Levantine moon god) is attested elsewhere, whereas the others are only known in this inscription (unless the deity Adara is related to the month of Adar in Semitic calendars).¹³⁹⁵ The two festivals mentioned in the inscription, the Nisanaia and the Eloulaia/Aloulaia seem to be named after the months Nisan and Elul in the Mesopotamian calendar (also used in the Hebrew and Phoenician calendars), although their dates correspond with months in the Thessalian League calendar rather than Near Eastern calendars.¹³⁹⁶ In addition, there are various practices in the sanctuary that would have been strange in a Greek context but suitable in a Semitic context, such as the prohibition of pig sacrifices, the use of unleavened bread (λαγάνα), and the frequent prescription of holocaust sacrifices (the complete burning of an animal). The latter is uncommon in Greek rituals, except on rare occasions, but are widely attested in Near Eastern spring festivals.¹³⁹⁷

The various elements of the cult at Marmarini described above seem to be connected to the Levant but do not seem to be restricted to one particular ethnic group, but rather seem to be catering to the needs of Greeks and various Levantine groups (Syrian, Phoenician). Most of the regulations and practices described in the text conform to normative Greek rituals, but they are mixed with forms of ritual practice that seem to be Near Eastern, interpreted in a Thessalian context.¹³⁹⁸ The regulations and descriptions of practices on the stele appear to be attempting to be as inclusive as possible to serve the needs of a multicultural cultic community.

It is unfortunate that no other evidence for this sanctuary exists outside this inscription, as an analysis of its spatial layout and material remains would provide better information. For example, it could shed light on the ways in which it was physically presented and whether the architectural elements described (*propylon*, *peribolos*, peristyle court, temple) conformed more to regional or panhellenic norms in terms of scale and

¹³⁹⁵ Parker and Scullion 2016: 2.

¹³⁹⁶ Carbon 2016: 115.

¹³⁹⁷ Parker and Scullion 2016: 10-12.

¹³⁹⁸ Carbon 2016: 115.

appearance. It may also show a spatial development in the sanctuary, perhaps starting off with more Near Eastern elements and adapting more Thessalian or Greek features, or if the process occurred in the reverse (i.e. the cult did not take on a more Eastern character until later). Furthermore, an archaeological site for the sanctuary would provide important information concerning the location of the cult (was it rural or urban?) and its chronology (i.e. founding and disuse), which could coincide or not with the disappearance of the *metroa* from the region.

Although cults in parts of Broader Thessaly did cater to the needs of communities that were becoming increasingly more international in the Hellenistic period, the geographical and chronological extent of foreign cults seem to have been limited. A large number of these were located at Demetrias, as we have seen in this section, and those that were attested outside Demetrias were usually found in urban areas (e.g. Larisa, Krannon, Gonnoi, Atrax). Cults of Egyptian deities began appearing certainly in the 3rd c. BC but after the 1st c. BC, they become less common.¹³⁹⁹ Inscriptions concerning Syrian and Levantine cults (e.g. to Parthenos and the various deities mentioned in the Marmarini inscription) date mostly to the 2nd c. BC, with the exception of a 3rd/4th c. AD inscription to Parthenos at Demetrias.¹⁴⁰⁰ These dates coincide with the lifespan of the cult of the Mother of the Gods in Broader Thessaly discussed in the previous section.

After a tumultuous two centuries, the cults that flourished in the Late Hellenistic period were those perceived to be local, and cults that were international or perceived to be foreign went into decline or were relegated to a more peripheral role. The sense of familiarity produced by the archaising and minimalistic forms of articulation and spatial configuration must have provided a source of comfort onto which individuals from communities could hold, as discussed earlier in this chapter. The removal of Macedonian control of the region and the promulgation of Roman liberation propaganda seems to have prompted the disuse of cults associated with the former rulers.

Magnesia presents a particular case because unlike the rest of the *perioikoi*, the Magnesians League was not reincorporated into the new Thessalian League, but would

¹³⁹⁹ Mili 2015: cat. nos. 324-334.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Von Graeve 1976: 145.

remain independent until it was handed over to the Thessalian League by Diocletian (ca. AD 300).¹⁴⁰¹ The fact that the most enduring cults in the Broader Thessaly (e.g. the sanctuaries at Korope and Pelion) are found in Magnesia could point to a Magnesians reaction to its long occupation (and more direct rule) by the Macedonians as well as the wide-reaching reforms being enacted in the Thessalian League. The original *perioikoi* and some new *ethne* (Malians, Ainians, Oitaians, Athamanians) were gradually subsumed into a single Thessalian *koinon*, which adopted a common currency and calendar (both of which many *poleis* resisted until their eventual concession by the 1st c. BC), as well as two official state cults.¹⁴⁰² By the time of the Augustus' First Settlement in 27 BC, all these *ethne* were considered politically Thessalian and Thessaly's controlling number of twelve votes in the Delphic Amphiktyony had been reduced to two. The *perioikoi* had become, as Graninger called them "politically invisible."¹⁴⁰³ Magnesia, on the other hand, was not invisible. The Magnesians retained an independent seat in the Amphiktyony and were still able to choose the cults of Zeus Akraios, Artemis Iolkia, and Apollo Koropaios as the tutelary deities of their newly independent *koinon*.¹⁴⁰⁴ The persistence of these cults in Magnesia well after the Hellenistic period points perhaps to a response to the homogenising forces in neighbouring Thessaly—perhaps driven by the fear of this homogenisation, or a desire to flaunt their independence to their neighbours, or both.

3.5 Thessalian Greeking

The dynamism in the negotiation of identities in Broader Thessaly demonstrates intertwining narratives of localism, regionalism, and panhellenism, which are impossible to disentangle from social and political affiliations. When the inhabitants of Broader Thessaly wished, they associated themselves with the other Greeks through their sacred spaces in an architectural vocabulary that is more familiar in a panhellenic context, but more often than not, within Broader Thessaly, the people who inhabited this region spoke a sanctuary dialect. In a context like Delphi, they could participate in panhellenic forms of sacred

¹⁴⁰¹ Graninger 2011: 33, 37.

¹⁴⁰² Graninger 2011.

¹⁴⁰³ Graninger 2011: 154.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Boehm 2011: 38. The three cults are named in *IG IX²*, 1109, lines 54-56.

expression, as is evident in their investment into the 4th c. Apollo temple and their numerous dedications of monumental sculpture that are not commonly dedicated at sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly. In contrast, the Apollo sanctuary in the Vale of Tempe, which formed part of the panhellenic Septeria festival, was minimalistic in configuration, in the current state of the documented evidence. At the same time, although the majority of sanctuaries within Thessaly were minimalistic or archaising, a small minority articulated the panhellenic dialect of peripteral temples (but always mixed with more than a hint of a local accent), as at Pherai and Metropolis. It is clear that the Thessalians code-switched their sanctuary vocabulary on different levels—different ways in a local scale and different ways in a broader scale.

The local, however, is not the antithesis of the panhellenic. As discussed earlier, the various Greek states did not have one standard of what panhellenism should include or look like (although some, like Athens, had their idea of what it should be). The people of this region all constructed their own stories and representations that articulated their definitions of what it meant to Greek. Thessaly's apparent resistance to panhellenic architectural norms may not have been resistance at all, but an articulation of what Greeking should look like. Hellen's Hellas, after all, did not refer to all of Greece but to the southernmost part of what would later become Thessaly. The weaving of narrative strands that connect Thessaly with its distant past could easily have been an articulation of panhellenism in addition to localism. Because Hellas and the earliest Hellenes were construed as mythologically originating from a part of Broader Thessaly, the anachronism that was so prevalent in the sanctuaries of the region could have been an articulation of authenticity in Hellenism.¹⁴⁰⁵ The inhabitants of Thessaly and its earliest *perioikoi* were creating a self-image that laid claim not just to the traditions of Broader Thessaly but to the traditions of all the Greeks. They are claiming that they are conducting their rituals in the way that they were conducted not just by the earliest populations of Broader Thessaly but by the earliest Greeks—Thessalising was Greeking.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Strab. 9.5.23: ἔνιοι δὲ διελόντες δίχα τὴν μὲν πρὸς νότον λαχεῖν φασι Δευκαλίωνι καὶ καλέσαι Πανδώραν ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν Αἴμονι, ἀφ' οὗ Αἰμονίαν λεχθῆναι: μετωνομάσθαι δὲ τὴν μὲν Ἑλλάδα ἀπὸ Ἑλλήνος τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος, τὴν δὲ Θετταλίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ υἱοῦ Αἴμονος: τινὲς δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Θεσπρωτίδος ἀπογόνους Ἀντίφου καὶ Φειδίππου, τῶν Θετταλοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἐπελθόντας ἀπὸ Θετταλοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν προγόνου τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαι.

3.6. Facing the Limitations

Again, I emphasise the incomplete nature of our evidence for sanctuaries in Broader Thessaly. As I have mentioned throughout this dissertation, much of the material from the sites discussed are often minimally excavated and usually only summarily published. Too often, these sites were not systematically studied but only noted, with the material only ever described in passing. How then does the quality of our evidence impact the seemingly grand interpretations presented in this chapter?

Architectural remains, on which many of the interpretations of this dissertation were based, are often incompletely documented in terms of dimensions, such as the temple of Athena Polias at Phthiotic Thebes (which has not yet been examined by architectural specialists), and so some of the sanctuary buildings discussed in my analysis may yet defy arguments concerning minimalism if future archaeological research demonstrates them to be significantly larger than previously thought. Incompletely excavated sanctuary precincts such as the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia, which I have tentatively analysed as an open-air sanctuary, may yet reveal that its Archaic and Classical phases were not at all devoid of architecture.

These limitations in the quality of the archaeological data, however, do not defeat the purpose of this current study. Many of the analyses and interpretations presented in this chapter are indeed premature, given the fact that Thessaly is in large part archaeologically unexplored. This, however, does not mean that questions such as those posed by this study should not yet be asked until the state of archaeological work in the region is in a much better state. Such questions can guide future directions in archaeological research by highlighting *lacunae* in our data and revealing which areas of study could prove to be most fruitful. Many of the interpretations presented in this chapter will likely be deconstructed by the continued increase in the archaeological research of the region. The questions posed in this study, however, should not only be asked when the state of the data has improved in the distant future, but before the pickaxe hits the ground.

6

CONCLUSION

“Although I am a Greek by speech, I would still never say that I am a Greek because I never believed as the Greeks believed, but I would prefer to be called by my faith. If someone asked me who I was, I would answer that I am a Christian and a Byzantine. And although my father lived in Thessaly, I do not say I am Thessalian, since I was born in Byzantium.”

Gennadios II, Patriarch of Constantinople¹⁴⁰⁶

Thus states Patriarch Gennadios II his self-identification when asked about his identity. The first Ecumenical Patriarch (r. 1454-1464) after the fall of Constantinople to Mehmet II, he does not consider himself to be Greek because he did not believe in the gods of the Ancient Greeks nor does he consider himself to be a Thessalian even though he was of Thessalian descent; he considered himself a Christian and a Constantinopolitan because he preferred to be identified according to his faith and place of birth.¹⁴⁰⁷ Although this statement was made nearly a millennium and a half after the scope of this present work, it brings us back to the driving question behind this dissertation: what even is Thessaly and what performances of identity constitute being Thessalian or Greek? Gennadios' self-definition displays the complexity and flexibility of group identities, even though what it meant to be Greek and Thessalian had changed by his time (which again goes to show the changeable nature of group identities). It also presents an instance of the circumstantial nature of self-identification as this statement was made in a context of conquest, and perhaps if he were not under Ottoman rule, or if he were perhaps addressing a different audience, he might have identified as a Thessalian Greek. This dissertation has demonstrated that, far from

¹⁴⁰⁶ Petit *et al.* 1930: 253. My translation of “καὶ αὐθις Ἕλληνας ὡς τὴν φωνὴν, οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ φαίην Ἕλληνας εἶναι διὰ τὸ μὴ φρονεῖν ὡς ἐφρόνουν ποτὲ Ἕλληνας, ἀλλ’ ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας μάλιστα θέλω ὀνομάζεσθαι δόξης καὶ εἴ τις ἔροιτό μοι τίς εἰμι, ἀποκρινοῦμαι Χριστιανός εἶναι. Καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Βυζάντιος, καὶ τοῖ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκ Θεσσαλίας ἐνταῦθα μετωικηκός καὶ οὐ φημι Θεσσαλός εἶναι, ὡς ἐν Βυζαντίῳ γεγεννημένος.”

¹⁴⁰⁷ Leustean 2018: 12.

being a uniform entity with a unified agenda, Broader Thessaly was a mosaic of group identities, generated by the individuals who inhabited, passed through, and made use of the landscape. These group identities co-existed and overlapped, and were constantly in flux.

In this dissertation, I have catalogued the data for over 80 sites that have been, at some point, interpreted as sanctuaries. There is a great diversity in their morphological forms, judging from the data that has been reported. A large number, as far as we can tell at this point, contained no architectural features and served as open-air sanctuaries or nature shrines (e.g. caves, groves, rural places of offering). Many had small buildings, which could include temples. Of those with temples, the majority were small and rectangular, often *in antis* but for many, the complete plan of the building cannot be reconstructed and their identification as temples are not beyond a shadow of a doubt. A handful of sanctuary buildings are apsidal or round temples, in which cases, they are always found on a peak (either an acropolis or a mountain). Only four peripteral temples (at Pherai, Metropolis, Demetrias, and Demetrias) have been identified securely and of these, only two were made as Thessalian initiatives, and at most, only three ever co-existed simultaneously.

It seems to be the case that the peripteral temple, one of the most iconic symbols of panhellenism, did not take root very firmly in Broader Thessaly. There is some evidence that there was some recognition that Doric peripteral temples were a non-local architectural expression, as might be seen in the juxtaposition between the peripteral Apollo Pythios temple with the non-peripteral temple of Poseidon Patroos at Pythion. The cult that was seen as panhellenic (Apollo Pythios') was given a *peripteros*, while the cult called ancestral (Poseidon Patroos') was given a non-peripteral building. Other cults and sanctuaries that were perceived to be non-local did not tend to anchor firmly in the region. *Metroa*, for example, only seem to have been in use in the region between the 4th and 2nd c. BC. Cults meant to serve an international community (e.g. the cults of Isis, Serapis, Harpokrates, Atargatis) were geographically and chronologically limited. The majority of them were only popular between the 3rd and 1st c. BC and were concentrated in and around large urban centres, like Larisa and especially Demetrias.

The predominant morphological configurations in sanctuaries of Broader Thessaly are either minimalistic (i.e. there are few to no structures in the space) or archaizing (i.e. the space is fitted with anachronistic features made to seem older than they actually are).

These two are not contradictory and often occur in the same sanctuary. I identified several groups of sanctuaries fitting these two categories forming constellations in the landscape. The first are the apsidal/round temples, which appear in northern Pelasgiotis (Evangelismos), Perrhaibia (Gonnoi), and Magnesia (Homolion and Pelion). Such architectural forms were common in the Early Iron and Archaic periods throughout Greece but the apsidal/round temples of Thessaly were in use during the Hellenistic period. Three of these anachronistic buildings were located at important passes and their presence, as well as their maintenance and continuous usage, I have argued, indicates a desire by the inhabitants of this region to demonstrate a connection with their distant past, whether real or imagined. The timing of these buildings, in use during the early Hellenistic period, seems to coincide with the beginning of the wars that raged between the Diadochoi, into which Thessaly and its *perioikoi* became embroiled.

The territorial uncertainty caused by these wars might have prompted a desire on the part of the inhabitants of these areas to establish stronger links to the past, particularly as these were located in highly visible areas close to areas that saw foreign armies passing north and south. The sanctuary of Zeus Akraios and Cheiron on Mount Pelion presents an interesting case because it is not in a border region, but it was one of the cultic focal points of Magnesian identity throughout Magnesia's domination by the Macedonians. Although it would not have been a place by which armies, merchants, and new settlers passed, it was a place in which the Macedonians interfered and a location that received a large number of visitors, both local and foreign, during its annual processions. Furthermore, although not in a border region, it was, in a sense, in a boundary region, since it was a space in which the wild interacted with civilisation, the lowlands with the highlands, through the participation of the inhabitants of these different spaces in its common festivals. Claims to the ancient past through the archaisation of cult buildings in these areas served to display a link from the perceived ancient inhabitants of the region to the Late Classical and early Hellenistic inhabitants—a means of demonstrating the antiquity of their cults (and by extension, themselves) within this region and saying that they have been here long before the new populations arrived.

A similar case can be seen further south in Achaia Phthiotis, where the majority of

the small, porched, rectangular buildings in Broader Thessaly can be found.¹⁴⁰⁸ These buildings were on average under 11 m on the long side when the full measurements of the building were complete enough to be taken. Those whose plans could be reconstructed bear resemblance to EIA rectilinear house models from Perachora as well as two EIA/Early Archaic cult buildings from the Phthiotic regions. The appearance of these buildings, conservative and archaising in architectural form, helped to establish similar connections to the past as the apsidal/round buildings from the north. Like the apsidal/round buildings, the rectangular buildings become more numerous and more pronounced in Southern Thessaly in the Hellenistic period. During this time, no area here was untouched by the series of wars that ungunled the broader region, first with the Diadochic Wars, and then the wars between the Romans, Aitolians, and the Macedonians. The deportations of entire cities, like Phthiotic Thebes, the destruction and refoundation of Halos, and the partial abandonment of Pharsalos must have created a sense of impending territorial loss. A fear of losing their homeland may have prompted a desire to hyper-emphasise cult buildings that were perceived to be traditional. Clinging onto familiar architectural forms and spatial layouts in their sanctuaries provided a sense of comfort during these uncertain times.

In addition to providing a coping mechanism for the inhabitants of these regions in times of duress, archaising sanctuaries and other places of ritual also provided a material connection to a perceived glorious past and the manipulation of foundation narratives to solidify the connection to this past. An example of such strategies is the performance of acts of commemoration at tetradic tholos tombs, which did not cease to be built in the LBA but continued until the 5th c. BC. Since at least the Archaic period (and probably earlier), Mycenaean tholos tombs in the plains received commemorative rituals, the earliest of which was at Georgiko, which was fitted with a sanctuary, possibly to the Thessalian founder-hero, Aiatos. At Pharsalos and at Krannon, new tholos tombs were built in imitation of the external appearance of LBA tombs and used in the Archaic and Classical periods. By creating new and anachronistic tholos tombs, and by paying cult at Mycenaean tombs, wealthy aristocrats may be linking themselves to their perceived ancestral heroes, thereby justifying their power and station in life, in competition with other aristocratic

¹⁴⁰⁸ See Chapter 4, 2.2 for a complete list of these buildings.

families.

In contrast to the aristocratic investment in commemorative cults at tholos tombs, we also observe coping mechanisms performed by the inhabitants of Western Thessaly from the bottom-up. Several rural sanctuaries in the heartland of the Karditsa plain (Prodromos, Anavra, Agia Triada, Karpochori, Longos) received either minimal or no architecture. Those with buildings contained only one to three squarish buildings measuring between 2 to 3 m². Despite the lack of any large-scale investment into the physical and spatial morphology of these sanctuaries, individuals left offerings for generations, one as early as the Archaic period, most from the Late Classical period, and most enduring throughout the Hellenistic period. As I have emphasised throughout this dissertation, the lack of architecture or other features in a sanctuary did not necessarily indicate that a sanctuary was unimportant as several of Thessaly's most important sanctuaries (e.g. at Philia and the Apollo sanctuary at Tempe) were without architecture for most of their existence. The largely unchanging physical morphology of the sanctuaries in Western Thessaly stands in contrast to the particularly chaotic political and military situation, particularly from the Late Classical to Early Hellenistic periods when the inhabitants of Triikka and Pharkadon were exiled by the Macedonians, and new cities, such as Metropolis, were being created. The rural shrines continued to be in use as if cities around them were not rising and falling. Conservatism on the part of those who used and managed these sanctuaries helped provide a comforting sense of the familiar to the agro-pastoral communities and individuals who performed ritual acts in these places.

The archaism and minimalism observed in the apsidal temples, the porched rectangular buildings, the rural sanctuaries, and the cults at tholos tombs can be hypothetically interpreted as acts of identification to local group affiliations because they appear to resist what we would consider panhellenic norms in Greek sanctuaries (e.g. the classical orders, peripteral temples, monumental sculpture). Architectural forms that were more panhellenic did sometimes appear in Thessaly but were often initiated by foreign powers like Rome and Macedon.

Peripteral temples, perhaps the quintessential visual expression of Greeking (acts of affiliation with the broader Greek community), are only certainly attested in Broader Thessaly in four cases (the great temple of Zeus Thaulios and Ennodia at Pherai, the temple

of Apollo at Metropolis, the temple of Artemis Iolkia at Demetrias, and the temple of Apollo Pythios at Pythion). In the case of the peripteral temples at Demetrias and Pythion, the construction was commissioned by foreign powers (the Macedonians in the case of Demetrias, and Rome in the case of Pythion). The peripteral temples at Pherai and Metropolis were first built, as Thessalian initiatives, in the Archaic period, in a context of increasing competition among the Thessalian elite through investment in the construction of large-scale monuments. By creating architectural forms that were common in Greek sanctuaries, the construction of these two temples can be seen as a way of visually connecting themselves to the broader Greek community, which was producing similar temples. These acts of Greeking were not necessarily contradictory to localism but the two often ran parallel with each other. The two peripteral temples at Pherai and Metropolis, although visually Greeking, also had a local flavour to them. At Metropolis, the temple contained architectural refinements unique to this temple (e.g. horse-head *akroteria*, floral embellishments on its capitals, a statue of Apollo as a bearded hoplite), and at Pherai, the temple was meant to house the cult-state of the Thessalian goddess, Ennodia.

Other means of affiliating with the rest of the Greek world and beyond include the adoption of cults perceived to be non-local. The cult of Kybele/the Mother of the Gods, which originated in Anatolia and spread throughout the Greek world in the 6th c. BC, seems to have been adopted within Thessaly in the 4th c. BC and lost popularity by the 2nd c. BC. It is possible that the rise and fall of the cult's popularity is linked to the rise and fall of the Macedonian hegemony over Thessaly, which coincided with the lifespan of the cult in Broader Thessaly. In addition to the synchronicity between the Macedonian hegemony and the cult's lifespan in the region, the Thessalian manifestation of the cult can be connected to the Macedonians for several reasons: (1) the architectural similarities between the *metroa* in Broader Thessaly and the *metroa* at Pella and Vergina, which are more similar than those between the *metroa* in Broader Thessaly and those at Athens, for example; (2) the parallel worship of Kybele and Aphrodite in Broader Thessalian *metroa* and at Pella; (3) the Macedonian claim that the Mother of the Gods was an autochthonous cult at Lefkopetra, which may have been partly accepted within Broader Thessaly; and (4) the predominance of evidence for the cult at the Macedonian-founded port of Demetrias. It is possible that it is because of the association with the Macedonians that the cult became popular—those that

wanted to associate themselves with the new rulers participated in the cult (alongside Macedonian settlers who themselves made use of the cult) in order to increase their social credit. That same social credit would have been of reduced value once the Macedonians had been driven from the region, which would explain the cult's decline in the 2nd c. BC.

The various communities that comprised the Greek world, however, all produced varying ideas on what did and did not constitute the values, ideas, and visual representations that constitute Hellenicity. The minimalism and archaism, which I have argued to be articulations of localism and regionalism, are not contradictory to affiliations with the rest of the Hellenic world. Broader Thessaly played a prominent role as a setting in the narratives of the mythological descent from Hellen, who was believed to have ruled the area later occupied by Phthiotis and Achaia Phthiotis. In addition, the rest of Broader Thessaly played an important role in the Homeric epics as the homeland of numerous heroes sent to Troy. By emphasising minimalistic and archaising features in the architectural and spatial layout of their sanctuaries, the inhabitants of Broader Thessaly could have been emphasising their connection to the early ancestors of the Greeks—a sort of puristic redefinition of what it meant to be Hellenic, as if saying that they still paid cult to the gods as the ancestors of the Greeks did. In this case, the local was also the panhellenic.

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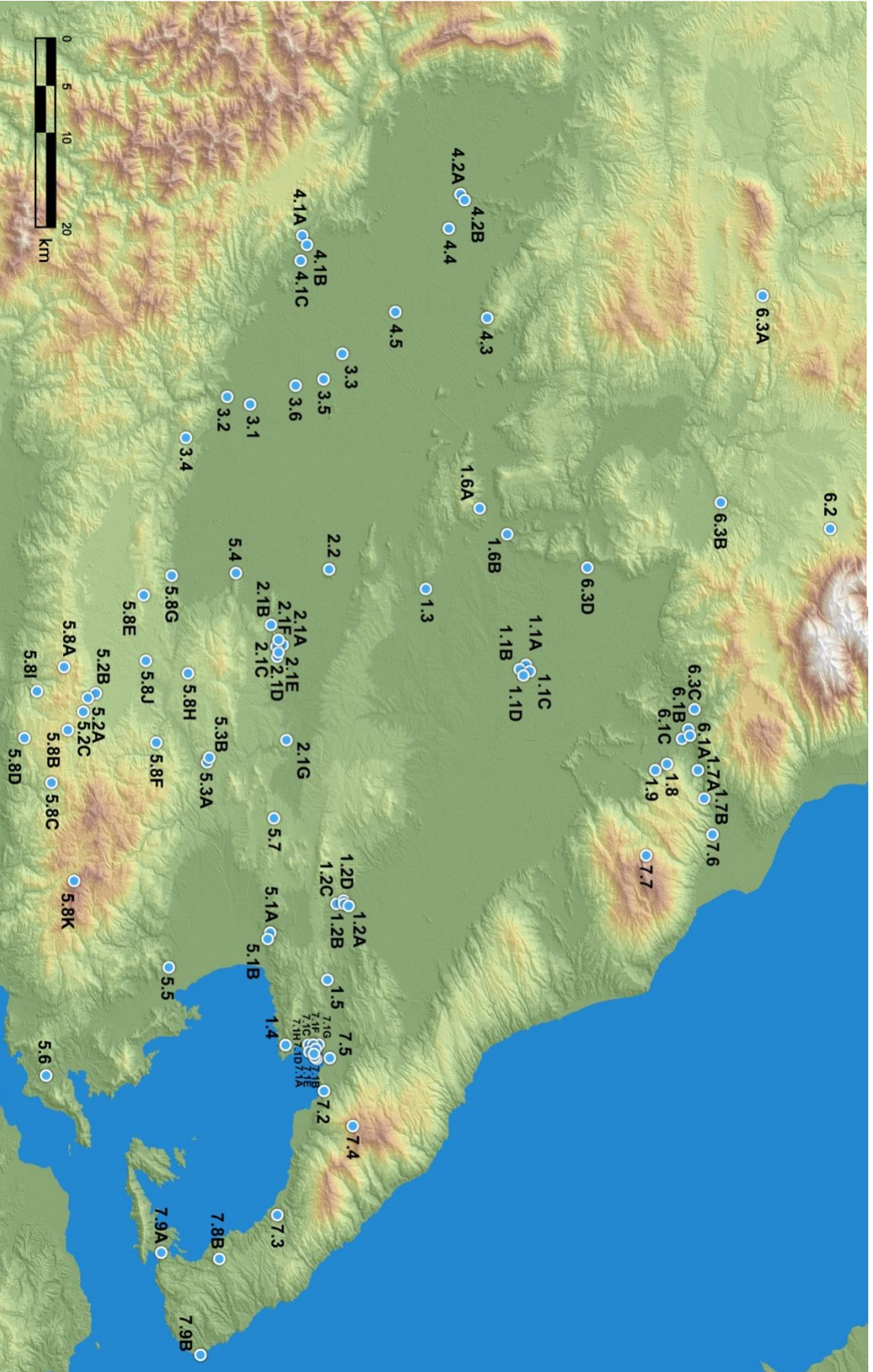
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APPENDIX B: Maps



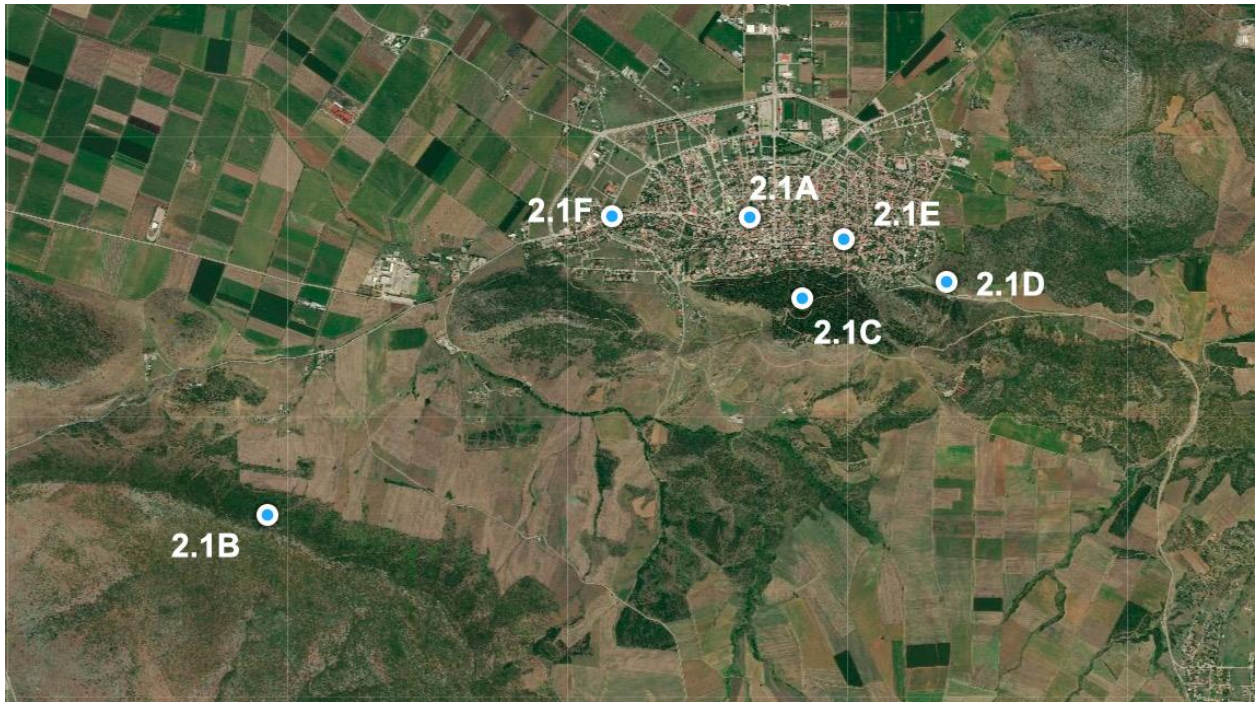
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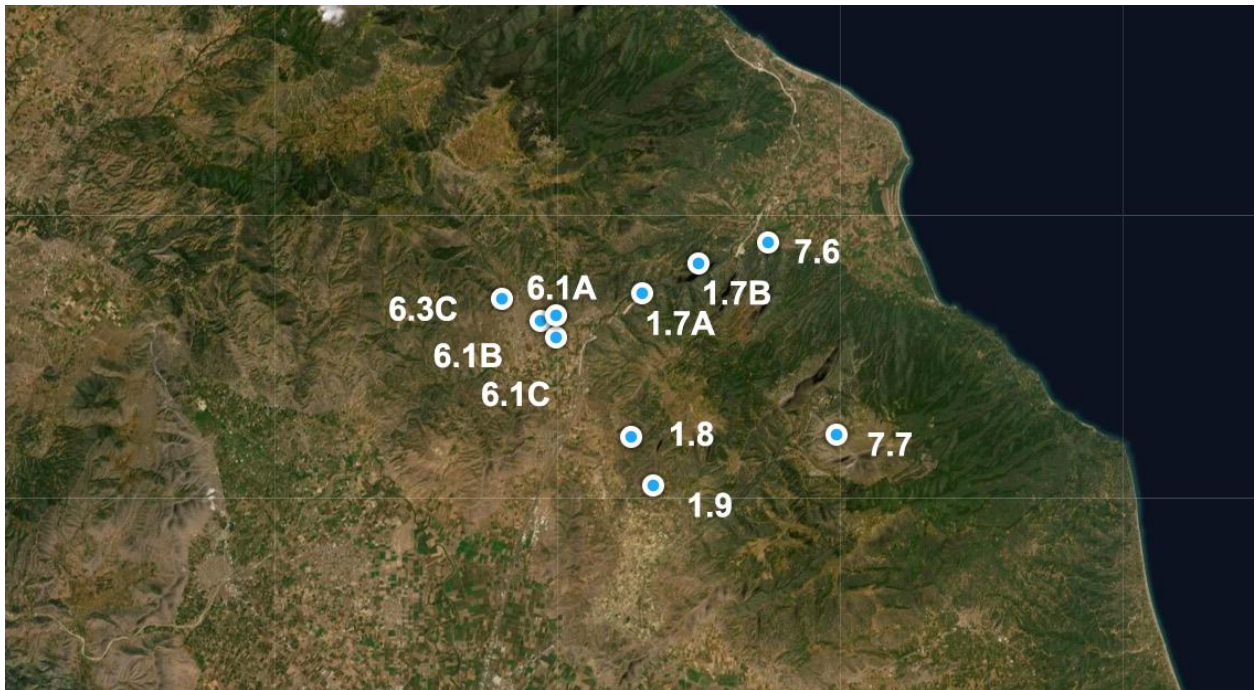
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Map 5 - Possible sanctuaries in and around the Vale of Tempe.

Cat. No.	Location	Level of Certainty	Deities	Archaic	Classical	Hellenistic	Roman
1.1A	Larisa – Polikarpou and Mitropolitou	2	Athena Polias?	*	•	•	
1.1B	Larisa – Roosevelt and Papakyriazis	2	Apollo Kerdoos?		•	•	
1.1C	Larisa – Dimitros Street	3	Poseidon Kranaios		•		
1.1D	Larisa – 9 Alexandrou Panagouli	2	Zeus Eleutherios?			•	•
1.2A	Pherai – Makalorema	4	Ennodia and Zeus Thaulios	•	•	•	•
1.2B	Pherai – Agios Charalambos	3	Herakles, Asklepios (two sanctuaries)		•	•	
1.2C	Malouka Hill	3	Ennodia?		•		
1.2D	Alepotrypes	4	Zeus Meilichios and Ennodia		•		
1.3	Krannon	3	Athena Polias?		•		
1.4	Soros	4	Apollo	•	•		
1.5	Spartia-Latomeio	4	Herakles	•	•	•	
1.6A	Atrax – Palaiokastro quarries	2	Unknown		○	○	
1.6B	Atrax – Koutsochero	2	Poseidon			○	
1.7A	Tempe – Chani tis Kokonas	4	Mother of the Gods			•	
1.7B	Tempe – Agia Paraskevi	3	Apollo		○	•	*
1.8	Evangelismos	4	Unknown		•	•	
1.9	Elateia Larisas	2	Herakles			○	
2.1A	Pharsalos – Agia Paraskevi hill	3	Zeus Thaulios	○	○		
2.1B	Mount Karaplas	4	Nymphs, Pan, etc.	•	•	•	*
2.1C	Pharsalos – Profitis Ilias (acropolis)	3	Demeter and Kore?			•	
2.1D	Pharsalos – Agios Nikolaos hill	3	Asklepios			•	
2.1E	Pharsalos - Kyritsis property, Canada Street	4	Mother of the Gods			•	
2.1F	Pharsalos – 156 Lamias, Verdelis tomb	3	Hero?	•	•		
2.1G	Ambelia	3	Demeter and Kore?	•	○		
2.2	Ktouri	3	Unknown	*			
3.1	Philia	4	Athena Itonia	•	•	•	•
3.2	Prodromos	3	Unknown	•	•		
3.3	Kedros	4	Artemis-Bendis			•	
3.4	Anavra	4	Unknown	•	•	•	

3.5	Agioi Theodoroi Karditsas	4	Asklepios, Artemis, Aphrodite			•	
3.6	Karpochori	2	Demeter?	○	○	○	
4.1A	Metropolis, Lianokokkala	4	Apollo	•	•	•	
4.1B	Stefani, Agios Georgios hill	2	Aphrodite Kastnia		○	○	
4.1C	Georgiko, Koufia Rachi	3	Aiatos	•			
4.2A	Trikka – Stefanou Sarafi	1	Asklepios			○	•
4.2B	Trikka – Kristalli and Matarangiotou	3	Hermes			○	○
4.3	Pelinna	2	Unknown (at least 3 sanctuaries)			○	
4.4	Dovres/Raches, Agia Triada Karditsas	3	Demeter?	•	•		
4.5	Longos Trikalon	2	Unknown		*		
5.1A	Phthiotic Thebes – acropolis	4	Athena Polias	•	•	•	•
5.1B	Phthiotic Thebes - Stroma	4	Asklepios		•	•	
5.1C	Nea Anchialos	1	Demeter		○		
5.2A	Melitaia – acropolis	2	Asklepios			•	*
5.2B	Melitaia – Agios Nikolaos, Ath. Kalamaras property	4	Artemis Ennodia		•	•	
5.2C	Melitaia – Agios Georgios	2	Zeus Othrieus or Aspalis?	○	○	•	
5.3A	Kallithea Farsalon – Agora Building 5	4	Unknown			•	
5.3B	Kallithea Farsalon – Acropolis Building 2	3	Unknown			•	
5.4	Proerna	4	Demeter and Kore	•	•	•	
5.5	New Halos – “Sepulchral Building”	3	Demeter and Kore?			•	
5.6	Krounia	3	Nymphs			•	•
5.7	Phthiotic Eretria	2	Apollo?		○	○	
5.8A	Antinitsa Monastery	2	Asklepios?			○	
5.8B	Keramochori	2	Unknown			○	
5.8C	Longitsi	2	Unknown			○	
5.8D	Limogardi	2	Unknown	○	○	○	○
5.8E	Mati Magoula, Domokos	2	Unknown			○	○
5.8F	Mories	2	Unknown			○	
5.8G	Mylia	2	Unknown			○	○
5.8H	Petroto	2	Unknown	○	○	○	○
5.8I	Palaiokastro, Divri	2	Unknown	○	○	○	

5.8J	Pyrgaki, Vouzi	2	Unknown		○		
5.8K	Alogorachi, Othrys	2	Unknown		○	○	
5.8L	Marmara		Unknown	○			
6.1A	Gonnoi – acropolis	4	Athena Polias	•	•	•	
6.1B	Gonnoi – lower city	3	Artemis Eleia			•	
6.1C	Gonnoi – N. Tsiaple field	3	Asklepios			○	○
6.2	Pythion	4	Apollo Pythion and Poseidon Patroos			•	•
6.3A	Kastro, Loutro	2	Themis?			○	
6.3B	Elassona	2	Unknown			○	
6.3C	Tsiourva Mandria	1	Hero?			○	
6.3D	Tyrnavos	2	Athena Polias?		○	○	
7.1A	Demetrias – Sacred Agora	4	Artemis Iolkia			•	
7.1B	Demetrias – Phanos		Demeter and Kore?			•	
7.1C	Demetrias – Hill 84	2	Demetrios Poliorketes			•	
7.1D	Demetrias – South Cemetery	4	(Aphrodite) Pasikrata			•	•
7.1E	Demetrias – Zerva property, Magoula Pefkakia	3	Mother of the Gods			•	
7.1F	Demetrias – Katsifa property	3	Mother of the Gods			•	
7.1G	Demetrias – Bourboulithra	2	Hera?	○			
7.1H	Demetrias – Dontia	2	Harpokrates			•	
7.2	Goritsa	3	Zeus Meilichios			•	
7.3	Korope	4	Apollo Koropaios	•	•	•	•
7.4	Pelion, Pliasidi	4	Zeus Akraios and Chiron		•	•	•
7.5	Iolkos, Kastro Palaia	2	Artemis Iolkia		•	○	
7.6	Homolion	3	Zeus Homoloios?		•	•	
7.7	Mount Ossa	4	Nymphs		•	•	•
7.8	Chorto Argalastis	2	Artemis?		○		
7.9A	Palaiokastro, Trikeri	2	Artemis Tisaia?				○
7.9B	Theotokou, Kato Georgi	2	Unknown		○	•	

Level of Certainty: 4 (certain), 3 (probable), 2 (possible), 1 (improbable). **Date ranges:** • (certain phase), ○ (possible phase)