Benefaction and Urbanism in Hellenistic Thessaly

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PhD Dissertation

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Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction and History Overview

Introduction

This dissertation has multiple overlapping concerns. At its heart, it is concerned with understanding changes in urbanism over time in Thessaly and its *perioikoi* from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, with some reference to preceding periods to provide context and later periods to better present trajectories of change that were already underway in the region before the Roman period. The more specific questions raised in this connection, which this dissertation will treat, are:

1. Does urbanism in Thessaly differ from the rest of the Greek world, and if so, why?
2. Between the Classical and Hellenistic periods, what mechanisms were involved in changes in urbanism?
3. How does urbanism relate to the idea of the polis, and how does this concept change in the Hellenistic period, especially in a region known for its strong political associations and ties to Macedonia?

These are broad questions and answering them is complicated by how much is still unresolved surrounding the history and archaeology of Thessaly. While both excavation and survey projects are rapidly adding to our knowledge of the region across periods, the sheer volume of archaeological material that has not been revealed or studied means that there are many years of work remaining before we will have anything resembling a complete picture of the region's archaeology and history. This is especially challenging when trying to understand

the nature of a city holistically. In most cases, the archaeological evidence for a settlement consists of a city plan (ideally created from a systematic architectural survey) and excavations of one or more areas within it. As in the rest of Greece, it would be impossible (or at least prohibitively expensive, time-consuming, and destructive) to excavate entire cities.

Thessaly drew me because there is so much still to be understood. While working on the Kastro Kallithea Archaeological Project (KKAP) and its successor project, the Central Achaia Phthiotis Survey Project (CAPS), I was able to spend a great deal of time working in northern Greece, first on the excavation and study of material from a Hellenistic household at the site of Kastro Kallithea and then working to survey the surrounding region. The Kastro at Kallithea, potentially the polis of ancient Peuma, is a large, well-fortified city in Achaia Pthiotis dating to the Hellenistic period. While both Canadian and Greek teams have worked at the site for years, much of the site remains unexcavated, promising an amazing trove of information about Hellenistic life.

And Kallithea is certainly not the only such site. Driving through the countryside of Thessaly and its *perioikoi*, there are numerous ancient sites, ranging from *Magoula* [1] sites to clearly visible fortified settlements occupying high points in the landscape. Many of these sites have been investigated to some degree, though few have been intensively surveyed or excavated. Several early travelers, mostly from northern Europe, like Leake, Stählin, and Ussing, give detailed descriptions of their time in the region from the 19th century. These accounts touch on culture, geography, and archaeology, and often attempt to reconstruct the ancient topography, both

[1] The regional term for tell sites.

natural and anthropogenic. While these accounts provide insight into the locations and names of ancient sites and often detail what archaeological remains were visible, they can only tell us what was visible without excavation. Plans of fortifications exist in most cases, sometimes with other buildings also attested archaeologically, but many sites have not been systematically excavated. While this is valuable, fortifications alone tell us about only one facet of life within the cities.

We often lack information about domestic organization (both the large scale of urban grids and settlement planning and the small scale of household organization), the allocation of space to public and sacred functions, and the creation of industrial or economic areas.[2] This kind of information can be gained from small-scale architectural surveys or excavation, and to some extent from extensive regional surveys. [3] However, due to the number of sites, as well as finite time and resources on the part of both foreign institutions and the Greek ephorates, we are not able to say as much about their urban history as we might like.

Often the only available information is the course of the fortifications and a scattering of other remains. In some cases, even this is not known for certain or is contentious. In other cases, sites cannot even be located with confidence. I include these sites within my analysis as much as possible so that I can present an accurate picture of the density of settlement in Thessaly throughout time. When it comes to smaller-scale analysis, looking within settlements, I focus on

[2] This is further complicated by the fact that these categories are not completely distinct, with a clear overlap between sacred and public space, for example.

[3] For an example of a detailed urban survey, see Laura Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian City: The Urban Survey of Kastro Kallithea, Greece* (Ph.D. Diss., Bryn Mawr College, 2011).

what is known archaeologically. This dramatically reduces the number of sites that can be studied in detail, but it is necessary so that any conclusions are not based on suppositions.

The archaeological remains of settlements are only one aspect of evidence for the urban history of Thessaly, however. This is especially true of settlements that show heavy investment into costly projects, such as the omnipresent fortifications, civic spaces like stoae, or elaborate temples. As a result, I also draw on the epigraphic evidence for the funding of building projects from the region. Scholars such as Leopold Migeotte, Bringmann, and von Steuben have collected inscriptions related to taxation, donations, subscriptions, and royal gifts.[4] These forms of evidence have been widely used in other parts of the Greek world, especially Attica, which has a large body of epigraphic evidence from which to draw.

In contrast, the number of inscriptions related to the economics of urbanism in Thessaly is small. As a result, I talk about the handful of inscriptions we have, and include some others not strictly related to economics that I believe illuminate how citizens and later royalty interacted in the construction of settlements. While the body of evidence is small compared to regions like Attica or Delos, compared to other less intensively studied parts of the Greek mainland the number of inscriptions is comparable and I believe what we have is sufficient to show that the cities of Thessaly were engaged in many of the economic practices that are apparent in other parts of the Greek world.

[4] Klaus Bringmann and Hans von Steuben, *Schenkungen hellenistischer Herrscher an griechische Städte und Heiligtümer,* 1995. Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* (Editions du Sphinx, 1992), and Migeotte *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques,* (Editions du Sphinx, 1984).

These two strands of evidence converge under the concept of "infrastructure". I use this concept to bring together several strands of inquiry, namely how and why Greek cities invested in different forms of building, and how these priorities changed or remained the same with the transition to the Hellenistic period and the advent of Alexander's Successors. Understanding *who* built what and *why* is important because the construction of all kinds of buildings and amenities is linked to power and control, both at the level of the polis and beyond.

This form of power has been called "infrastructural power"; a name coined by Michal Mann in his extensive attempt to create a cross-cultural understanding of state power.[5] This concept has more recently been the focus of archaeologists, anthropologists, and classicists, for example with a cross-cultural volume dedicated to it edited by Clifford Ando and Seth Richardson.[6] The goal of these investigations is to better understand how ancient societies projected power and how that power could be resisted.[7] While these questions were originally aimed at societies that were considered states or empires, they have been usefully employed to understand many different scales of society, not just those that fit the modern conception of statehood.

This multiscale application of the Mann's concepts is useful when trying to understand the changes that occurred between the 5th and 2nd centuries BCE. During these centuries, Thessaly went from a large territorial association administered by several regional offices, superimposed

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[5] Michael Mann, "The Autonomous Power of the State: Its Origins, Mechanisms and Results", in *Archives europeennes de sociologie* 25 (2) 1984:185-213. Mann, "Infrastructural power revisited", *Studies in Comparative international Development,* 2008. Mann, *Sources of social power* (Camb ridge University Press,2012).

[6] Clifford Ando and Seth Richardson. *Ancient States and Infrastructural Power: Europe, Asia and America, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2017).*

[7] Clifford Ando, "Introduction to *Ancient States." In*. *Ancient States and Infrastructural Power: Europe, Asia and America,* Ando and Richardson eds. *(Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2017), 1-16.*

over numerous independent poleis, bonded together under a shared ethnic identity, to an official ethnic *koinon.* While still composed of poleis, in many cases these were under the *de facto* control of Macedonian rulers. This continued until Thessaly was "liberated" by the Romans and eventually subsumed into a province. The different forms of political, social, and religious association that accompanied these different forms and levels of governance have been shown to represent multivalent layers of identity.[8] They also represent cross-cutting forms of obligation and control, creating a complex network of sociopolitical relationships.

The polis and its elite

My argument here is that these relationships can be seen within the architecture and infrastructure that we find preserved in the archaeological record. By combining the evidence of architectural remains and epigraphic evidence related to the funding and benefaction of urban infrastructure, I aim to understand how socio-political relationships are reified within the fabric of the polis. I stress that these relationships are both social and political for several reasons. The first is that all political interaction is in some way social. The nature of political association is that it involves social bonds of some kind between the members of the political community. This is even more true in the case of the Greek world, where enfranchisement was rare in most cases. From tyrannies to oligarchies and democracies, the constitutions of the Greek world were more often exclusionary than inclusive. With the exclusion of women from most aspects of political

[8] For example, Catherine Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* (London: Routledge 2003), Denver Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly.* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), Maria Mili, *Religion and Society in Ancient Thessaly* (Oxford University Press, 2015).

life, even the broadest democratic constitution is still a broad oligarchy by modern standards.[9] These constitutions were even narrower where property and birth qualifications pertained. [10]

The nature of these political associations means that one of the core groups that will be the focus of this work is what I refer to as the "polis elite". I use this term to refer broadly to the enfranchised population of the various poleis I will be discussing. For my purposes, the polis elite are those enfranchised citizens who also had the financial means to influence the development of their cities (or others, in the case of *proxenoi*). This Thessalian polis elite were members of panhellenic upper class, bound together by the informal bonds of *xenia* and in many cases the legally codified status of *proxenia*. There is evidence for Thessalian *proxenoi* in several inscriptions from across the Greek world, at Athens, Delphi, Sparta, and other cities.[11] Meanwhile, ancient authors such as Thucydides and Xenophon mention ties of *xenia* involving Thessalian families within their historical narratives. Contrary to the view that Thessaly, and by extension, the Thessalians, have been seen as marginal to the rest of the Greek mainland, Thessalians were active politically and socially in other areas of Greece from the Archaic period onward into the Hellenistic and beyond.

These connections did not only extend south into the mainland of Greece but also north into Macedonia. While Thessaly feels very northern, especially when traveling from Attica or the Peloponnese, or when looking at maps of Greece that omit Macedonia, it occupies a central

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[9] Ironically, dedication in some forms, as discussed later, was one of the areas where women (at least wealthy women) could engage in activities associated with politically active men.

[10] We can see the effect of these restrictions at Larisa, from an inscription in which Philip V must convince the Larisans to honor a prior decree expanding citizenship. See *Syll* [3] *543 and IG IX 2.517.* M.M, Austen, *The Hellenistic From Alexander to the Roman Conquest* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), *no. 75.*

[11] Maria Stamatoupoulou "Thessalians Abroad: The Case of Pharsalos", *Mediterranean Historical Review. 22(2),* 2007: 214-28.

position on the mainland. As a result, Thessaly, and its people, especially the elite, had longstanding social and cultural ties with Macedonia to the north as well as to the south of mainland Greece. As will be shown later, this becomes even more apparent in the Hellenistic period, when external rulers became increasingly active in the region. This proves to be a major driver of the creation of settlements in the region during the Hellenistic period.

This international, wealthy Thessalian polis elite was embedded in the same sociopolitical systems as elites in other parts of the Greek world. This meant the holding of political, military, and religious offices within their cities, maintaining social bonds within and beyond their poleis, and in many cases engaging in public benefactions. These benefactions could take many forms, from monetary donations, monetary contributions to subscriptions, payment for construction, and so on. These public benefactions have often been grouped under the term "euergetism" since the term was coined by Paul Veyne. This concept of agonistic, civic giving is central to this analysis, despite there being only a handful of Thessalian examples. How euergetism functioned is still debated, but I believe it is one of the mechanisms of urban change that we see not only in Thessaly but across the Greek world. The elite who could pay for construction and had the political authority (or ambition) could use their capital—economic, political, and social—to effect physical change within their cities. In the context of the polis, some scholars have seen it as a way for the more broadly democratic communities to make use of the elite and their wealth, putting them at the disposal of the collective and reconciling the existence of an aristocracy with democratic values.[12] On the other hand, especially with the arrival of the Hellenistic period and

[12] Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens: Rhetoric, Ideology, and the Power of the People* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991). 199-204. See also, Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques, 1992., 307-8.*

changes in the political landscape, public benefaction equated money to political speech, allowing the elite to use wealth to entrench and promote themselves within the fabric of the city.

The Role of the Successors and Kings

This system of elite benefaction became complicated with the advent of Alexander the Great's Successors, the *Diadochi,* at the beginning of the Hellenistic period. Alexander had founded many cities during his campaigns, setting them up as (theoretically) autonomous poleis, which, of course, owed allegiance to him. The effectiveness of this strategy was recognized for its ability to secure territory, safeguard resources, and concentrate skilled labor with the result that the Successors quickly adopted it during their struggle for dominance. Different dynasties used this strategy differently, but the Seleucids, Antigonids, and Ptolemies all made use of it to some extent.

Given the size and scope of the city foundations undertaken by the *diodochi*, it is often suggested that their economic and military power allowed them to fund and compel the construction and population of new settlements, with little alternative open to those that might oppose being told to abandon their home and move to a new city. While I do not believe this to be inaccurate in the broad view, I think this understanding misses some of the nuance of the process of foundation. As will be shown, the Successors engaged in similar behavior to the polis elite, but on a larger scale and with larger aspirations. These powerful rulers had a large impact on the urbanism of Thessaly, shaping the urban landscape to a greater extent than anyone else in the period, though, as I will argue later, maybe not always in the ways they intended.

The Role of the Non-elite

It is an unfortunate fact of studying history that we often still prioritise the stories of the elite. In the past, this has often been the result of the biases of scholars prioritizing "great man" history or presenting grand narratives that gloss over the role of average people in history. Even Archaeology, with its potential to present the stories of everyday life through material culture, has had issues with this. Early classical archaeology was rightly criticized for its focus on impressive monumental structures at the expense of more humble remains, such as ancient households.

Over the last several decades, the focus of classical archaeology has begun to change with greater emphasis in archaeology on areas like domestic architecture, small-scale craft production, agency in building, archaeology of gender, and slavery.[13] These diverse approaches to antiquity often face numerous hurdles, mostly related to lack of evidence.[14] Yet these challenges do not mean they shouldn't be attempted, and the inclusion of subaltern narratives is an important counterbalance to grand narratives and a focus on elite actors in the archaeological record. While this study explicitly focuses on the relationship between elite actors and the urban plan of the polis and takes a top-down approach by necessity in most cases, where possible I hope to include the details of smaller-scale urban life.

[13] For example, Frey 2015 (John Frey, *Spolia in Fortifications and the Common Builder in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill, 2015)) has attempted to locate the agency of common builders in antiquity, while entire edited volumes are now appearing with the theme of writing history and archaeology from below, focused on the classical world (Courrier and Magalhães de Oliveira 2021, *Ancient history from below: Subaltern Experiences and Actions in context*).

[14] Kostas Vlassopoulos, *Unthinking the Greek Polis: Ancient Greek History beyond Eurocentrism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) 60-7.

Evidence of this is provided by domestic architecture, which contributed to urbanism just as much as monumental structures and civic spaces did. Where and how people made their homes in antiquity is an important question, and it was not solely the choice of individual people. Often rules were imposed, or financial incentives offered, such as by Antigonus Gonatas, to change people's behavior when it came to building and living in a house. This intervention could also be more direct, as in the case of synoecism. While we often do not have detailed evidence for how synoecism was carried out, there was likely a threat of force behind the order. Yet these orders were not always obeyed. As we see in the proposed synoecism of Teos, following Antigonus' death, the plans were abandoned. In the case of Thessaly, we do not have evidence for the abandonment of proposed synoecism; however, we do see the abandonment of some sites not long after their foundation. It seems likely that those cities that failed to incentivize their population to stay would face gradual depopulation of the settlement.

In addition to detailing this, I will also discuss housing remains wherever they occur. Although the sample size is comparatively small in terms of the total number of excavated houses, there are still a large number of detailed excavations that provide snapshots of individual families' lives during these periods. This includes sites such as Kastro Kallithea, New Halos, Krannon, and others. In some cases, these houses show multiple occupation and renovation phases, which further adds to our understanding of how the changes at the level of the city during these periods trickled down to affect individual people at the household level.

A Note on The Use of the Term Polis

Throughout this work, I use the term polis to describe many of the settlements discussed. This term is attested epigraphically and in literature and is normally understood as synonymous with the term "city-state". However, the term has increasingly come under scrutiny for being too broadly applied and being ill-defined in terms of what constitutes a "city-state". The historic emphasis on the term polis has also meant that it has become the main "unit" of study in the classics and archaeology, partially due to the emphasis placed on the polis by major ancient writers, notably Aristotle in his study of politics and political association in the polis.[15] Classicists, ancient historians, and archaeologists have all noted concerns with the use of the term, especially the challenges of specific definitions for the term, and the inability to tie the term to meaningful archaeological criteria.

These concerns about the contested meaning of the term polis featured heavily in the scholarship of the 1990s and early 2000s, with scholars divided on the use of the term and the society that the term reflected. One school of thought was represented by the project of the Copenhagen Polis Center, which sought to bring together ancient uses of the term polis and related terms like city ethnics in order to understand the ancient understanding of the polis. This work was published over numerous volumes of the "Studies in the Polis" series, before culminating in the 2004 *Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis edited by Mogens Herman Hansen and Thomas Heine Nielson.[16] These works focussed primarily on literary and epigraphic attestations of the polis, along with numismatic and some archaeological evidence.

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[15] Aristotle, *Politics.* Especially I.1252a-1260b.

[16] Mogens Hansen and Thomas Nielson, *Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004).

While the *Inventory* is a vital reference book, many archaeologists view the focus on textual sources as problematic, reflecting the bias of a literate minority, often from later historical periods. Scholars including Ian Morris, James Whitley, and Anthony Snodgrass argued for a focus on the material remains of the polis in an attempt to better understand the polis embedded in its cultural context. This led to an emphasis on a diverse body of evidence, including funerary remains, dedicatory practices, and the nature of the polis*'* countryside. A major current of thought in this movement was to understand the polis not only as a city but to integrate its status as a political state.[17] From this school of thought emerged the understanding of the polis not only as a physical or political state, but also importantly as a community of individuals.[18] This conception of the polis was succinctly summarized by Runciman with his description of the polis not as a city state, but as a *citizen* state.[19]

Despite this, the term still sees use, in part due to the lack of viable alternatives. Robin Rönnland has recently produced the most succinct review of the concerns with the term polis in the specifically Thessalian context, while also dealing with the numerous issues more broadly.[20] Rönnland notes that just like the term polis*,* terms like "city' and "town" also lack sufficient definition as alternative terms.[21] There is no perfect rubric for what makes a settlement, as

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[17] For example, Ian Morris, "The Early Polis as City and State" in *City and Country In the Ancient World,* eds. Rich and Wallace Hadrill, (London: Routledge 1991), 25-57. James Whitley, "The Re-Emergence of Political Complexity" in *A Companion to the Archaeology of Early Greece and the Mediterranean,* eds. Irene Lemos and Antonis Kotsonas (Wiley-Blackwell, 2020), 162-172. In a similar vein, Hanson and Neilson, *The Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* seeks to quantify and qualify the physical remains of the polis alongside the literary and epigraphic evidence.

[18] James Whitley, *The Archaeology of Ancient Greece*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 165-180.

[19] W.G. Runciman, "Doomed to Extinction: The Polis as an Evolutionary Dead End" in *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander,* eds Oswyn Murray and Simon Price (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990) 348.

[20] Rönnland, *Cities of the Plain* (Oxbow Books, 2024), 13-17.

[21] Rönnland, *Cities of the Plain.* 2024, 13.

Rönnland argues, pointing to the work of Michael E. Smith, who argues against strict definitions of urbanism and the label of "city" for the way they limit analysis.[22] Smith instead argues for the use of an "attribute-based" approach. The present study follows this approach in many ways, seeing infrastructure as a meaningful element of sites, but not necessarily defining a site as a city or polis. I have opted to use the term polis, rather than settlement, to acknowledge the importance of the political community inhabiting these sites. Below I trace some of the concerns and reasoning that informed this decision.

Studies of Greek history and archaeology often take for granted the institution of the polis, citing it as one of the fundamental organizing units of Greek civilization. The polis is not a concrete entity, but is more ambiguously set between the individual household or *oikos,* as described theoretically by Aristotle, and larger organizing units like *ethne, koine,* or empires.[23] The polis is seen as one of the defining features of multiple periods: the Early Iron Age and Archaic period is defined by the development of the polis, the Classical period is defined by the presence of the polis, and the Hellenistic period is defined by the weakening, decline, or adaptation of the polis as an institution. The polis is typically seen as a Greek institution, despite the existence of city-states in numerous other Mediterranean cultures. As the fact that this form of organization is not unique to Greece has increasingly been recognized, attempts to define the nature of the polis and the relationships that structured life within it have become more prominent.

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[22] Michael e. Smith, "How Can Archaeologists Identify Early Cities?" in Eurasia at the Dawn of Civilization, eds. Manuel Fernández-Götz and Dirk Krausse (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 166.
[23] Aristotle's *Politics,* I.1252a-1260b.

In recent decades, work by the Copenhagen Polis Center has centred on tracking the meaning and evolution of the word "polis*",* its use and related terminology culminating in *The Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis.[24] This volume brings together historical, epigraphic, and numismatic attestation for the use of the polis*,* in an attempt to define an emic understanding of the term and how it should be understood in opposition to concepts like the *kome* or *ethne*. While this work brought together numerous scholars and produced interdisciplinary works that touched on a multitude of aspects of the polis, it is not without its criticisms. Fundamentally, the works look for similarities and the unifying rubric of what makes a polis distinct, rather than engaging with the diversity of urban life across the ancient Greek world. Secondly, while the *Inventory* attempts to bring together the archaeological evidence that corresponds to known poleis, the focus is, in most cases, more on identifying the locations of historically known sites, rather than engaging meaningfully with the archaeological remains and what they tell us about the trajectories of urban life. This has given the concept of the polis a place of prominence at the expense of other forms of organization, while also reducing and flattening the variation seen amongst ancient settlements, often leaving non-polis settlements out of our understanding of the ancient world.

This work by the Copenhagen Polis Centre has, however, done a great deal to solidify the idea that the polis was a fundamental part of the Greek mind. This reliance on the concept of the polis, however, poses a problem for the study of ancient Greek urbanism: archaeologists have long acknowledged that the polis is only one part of the story of urbanism, with the rural world

[24] Mogens Hansen and Thomas Nielson, *Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004).

playing a vital role in not only supporting the urban center, but also in defining it through its juxtaposition with the rural world.[25] The regions between settlements were not depopulated, but full of human actors and while there certainly existed a division between the urban and rural, the separation was porous, with people moving between these realms frequently. Despite these concerns, defining the nature of the polis remains an important topic for Greek historians and archaeologists. At stake is the nature of the institution of the polis and the social, economic, and political relationships that constitute it.

Related to the question of how to define the polis conceptually is the question of archaeological identification. Most poleis were relatively small by most standards, both in terms of population and settlement size, while sites not attested as poleis exhibit many of the elements used to define the "polis-hood", such as fortifications or monumental architecture.[26] Yet this in fact describes the asty rather than the polis itself. As a result, non-urban fortified sites in particular pose a problem for the categorization of sites in Thessaly, with several known sites seemingly possessing fortifications but a minimal domestic presence. Sites like the Goritisa Hill settlement might initially be described as "garrisons" rather than the asty of a polis, due to the perceived military character of the site, such as a Phrourion.[27] In that case, reinterpretation and additional investigation have led to reassessments of the site as an urban settlement, albeit one that likely lost prominence due to later foundations like Demetrias. Not all sites are reassessed in this way, however, and some likely were not poleis. Should smaller, seemingly less important

[25] For example, Robin Osborn, *Classical landscape with figures,* (New York: Sheridan House, 1987).
[26] Rönnland, *Cities of the Plain*, 13-17.
[27] S.C. Bakhuizen, *A Greek City of the 4th Century BC,* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1992

sites be considered alongside larger settlements when considering the nature of urbanism, such as maybe a hill fort with Archaic walls, renovated in the Classical or Hellenistic period? While not full-fledged cities, these sites remind us that urbanism does not exist only in the "central places", but also in the smaller settlements. We should imagine the division between *Asty* and *chora* as both porous and a matter of gradations. Some people would move between the polis center or its near satellite settlements out to the edges of the *chora* territory relatively frequently for agricultural purposes, trade, or to visit religious spaces.

It should be acknowledged that the polis is a social phenomenon as well as a built environment. Fustel de Coulanges, as early as the 1860s, noted this in *La Cité Antique*. There de Coulanges noted that social relationships in antiquity, most notably the interplay of family and *phyle,* or tribe, through the medium of religion and cult, served as the foundation through which social cohesion in the polis was created. Importantly, de Coulanges drew his understanding primarily from the Athenian (and Roman) context to create a synthetic understanding of the "ancient city" as a monolithic entity. This work in some ways reduces the ancient city to a standardized, one-size-fits-all description that is somewhat reductivist, despite the importance of the work in outlining some of the important social institutions of the ancient world.[28]

Other scholars would draw attention to the socio-economic relationships of the ancient city. Notably, Max Weber's *The City,* and later *Economy and Society*, began exploring the relationship between the city and surrounding territory, with a special interest in economic

[28] It should be noted that de Coulanges also draws attention to the growing power of the aristocracy, and the rise of inequity between the social classes of the ancient world. This is an important element of the ancient city and its composition, but much of the discussion is related to the widening gap between the Plebeians and Patricians at Rome.

relationships.[29] Weber's formulation, which divides between so-called "occidental" and "oriental" modes of production, considers the city as an economic "consumer". For Weber, goods flowed into the city, forming both a concentration of wealth and being redistributed and transformed into new products through the collective skill and labour of city-based workers. Weber's work was vital for its recognition of the city as an economic center and for its acknowledgement of the complex socio-economic relationships that were embedded within the city but connected to the countryside. This study has since been critiqued for its breadth of scope, which reduces all cities down to either an eastern or western mode of production, a simplification that dramatically limits its application to diverse cultures.

Numerous scholars have challenged the assumptions laid out by Weber in the intervening years. By the mid 1920s, Michael Rostovtzeff had produced a large, multi-volume work with an explicit focus on the role socio economic relationships of the Hellenistic period.[30] Moses Finley extensively interrogated the role of economic relationships of the ancient world with his publication of *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece,* while in the late 1980s Robin Osborne explicitly brought attention to the peoples of the Greek chora with his *Classical Landscape with Figures.*[31] Scholarly interest in the nature of the city-state within the broader landscape and the

[29] Weber, *The City,* 1921. Weber, *Economy and Society,* 1924.

[30] Rostovtzeff, Michael. *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (Clarendon Press, 1926)

[31] Finley, M. I. *Economy and Society in Ancient Greece* (Chatto & Windus, 1981). Osborn, Robin. *Classical Landscape with Figures: The Ancient Greek City and Its Countryside* (G.Philip Publishing, 1987).

economic relationships inherent in this connection continues, with major works continuing to appear.[32]

We must now recognize that the *Asty* and *chora* were inextricably linked, but not in the manner described by Weber. The polis should not be seen as a parasite drawing all goods to itself. Instead, we need to understand the close ties between the city and its territory. Many members of the polis community would have spent a great deal of time in the landscape surrounding the city, whether farming, herding, hunting, travelling, or engaged in rural festivals and rituals, making the territory of the polis inextricably linked with the city itself. Thus, social and economic connections can be seen as extended between both city and territory fluidly and cannot be separated from each other.

Recent scholarship has increasingly engaged with the overlap of social and economic relationships in the polis, aiming to track the financial transactions occurring in the polis. This has taken several forms, from calculating the agricultural productivity of territories to collecting known payments, offerings, and dedications to track the economic life of the polis. The economic life of the Classical and Hellenistic worlds was fundamentally different from a market economy (for example, that of the Middle Ages, focused on by Weber).[33] Many of the largest expenses of the city would have been paid for and organized by a civic council of some kind, regardless of a polis' constitution. These transactions would have been facilitated through the

[32] See for example: Archibald, Zofia H., et. Al ,*Hellenistic Economies* (Routledge, 2006). Harris, Edward, Mark Woolmer, and David M. Lewis. *The Ancient Greek Economy: Markets, Households and City-States*. (Cambridge University Press, 2016). Von Reden, Sitta. *The Cambridge Companion to the Ancient Greek Economy* (Cambridge: University Press 2022).
[33] Rotrozzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World.* 1941.

concept of euergetism (discussed below) rather than as a part of a profit motive or central civic need as we would understand it today.

This embeddedness within the *chora* and the economic importance of civic councils for management of large economic transactions are two important factors that define the polis for the purpose of this study. The polis was an important node within the economy of the ancient Mediterranean economy, even if it was only one aspect of the increasingly interconnected economy of the Hellenistic period. Poleis were major actors, even when subsumed within larger kingdoms and spheres of influence. It is vital that a polis be able to carry out its own economic decisions. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the polis was "free" to determine its fiscal policy. As will be shown when discussing euergetism, poleis often ended up carrying out economic plans set in motion by monarchs or powerful individuals. But the social economy of benefaction was reciprocal and poleis at the same took advantage of offered economic incentives for the city's own ends and purposes.

For this study, the focus is upon the polis' funding of its physical fabric. The importance of architecture, especially monumental architecture, to the definition of urbanism and "the city" has a long history. Childe famously considered it one of the ten criteria for the definition of civilization, and monumental works are seen as one of the key indicators of social complexity. In the case of many poleis, the monumental works carried out were of a smaller magnitude than structures like the Parthenon.[34] Instead, many poleis featured fortification walls, inter- and extra-urban sanctuaries, theaters, gymnasia, and occasionally meeting spaces. The cost of many of

[34] Childe, "The Urban Revolution," *Town Planning Review* 21, no. 1 (1950)

these structures would have been steep, often amounting to hundreds of talents of silver in matériel and labour. [35] The ability of the citizen body to organize the construction of these works is in my view one of the key elements of the polis from an archaeological point of view.

In contrast to the polis, which could organize and utilize money for the construction of monumental infrastructure works, smaller sites would not be able to. This included *komai* too small to warrant large defensive walls or dedicated temples, as well as forts and garrisons, which would have been placed and maintained at the cost of a polis or league for defence of the region. Small sites like this are common in the landscape of Thessaly and often potentially are signs of a polis. Most commonly, the site of an intact acropolis, or intermittent lengths of traceable circuit walls, signal the presence of a potential polis. Complicating matters is the presence of domestic materials. Whether small structures related to the fortifications but outside of a perceived defensive circuit or surveyed ceramic material, these sites appear in many ways to be on par with sites given the status of polis, at least in terms of the infrastructure and amenities present at the sites. What separates these non-polis sites from poleis is their lack of a political community based at the site. Many of these smaller sites are likely either *komai* or garrisons, which we can imagine as having a small permanent or semi-permanent population. This population would likely have considered themselves members of larger nearby settlements, especially those who were based at a site temporarily, as in the case of garrison duty. Thus, these sites lack the civic community of an asty, and instead exist within the orbit of a polis. As such, these sites often lack

[35] Bessac, J.and S. Müth, S. "Economic Challenges of Building a Geländemauer in the Middle of the 4 Th Century BC: Quantifying the City Wall of Messene", in *Quantifying Ancient Building Economy: Panel 3.24, Archaeology and Economy in the Ancient World (Proceedings of the 19th International Congress of Classical Archaeology, Cologne/Bonn* 2020)

the same infrastructure as the town centers of the asty. Due to the nature of the evidence for "polis-hood", however, it is not out of the question that epigraphical or archaeological evidence may appear that requires a revaluation of the nature of these non-polis sites.

Thus, a definition of the polis as a settlement housing a politically active citizen body begins to emerge. It is important to note, however, there have been challenges to the idea of the polis. Western European and North American schools of thought have long prioritized the concept of the polis as the main frame of reference for Greek civilization, and civilization in general, the bar by which other civilizations are judged, making it an often-Eurocentric concept.[36] This has in many cases caused other forms of association, like the *ethnos* or *koinon,* to fade into the background in comparison. Yet the concept of the polis remains deeply in the study of Greek archaeology as an emic term for this form of settlement, even if its use must be carefully considered.

With all this in mind, I have continued to use the term polis throughout this study to denote settlements that are either described as such in epigraphic sources, such as in decrees, or possess the archaeological elements as described below in the chapters on urban infrastructure This is a broad rubric, and intentionally so; poleis were common in the Greek world and were often not large settlements. What was more important was that these sites maintained the political life associated with a citizen state, and communally constructed the infrastructure needed for such a state.

[36] Vlassopoulos, *Unthinking the Polis,* 2007. Ronnland, *Cities of the Plain: Urbanism in Ancient Western Thessaly,* 2024.

Because of the ambiguity of some sites' status in the hierarchy of settlements, these sites have been included in the catalog (Chapter 4), but noted as non-polis settlements. This allows for the inclusion of potential polis sites while also acknowledging the difficulty in categorizing urban and semi-urban sites without resorting to more general terminology like "nucleated settlement", which erases the culturally embedded nature of the polis and the political ties that are inherent in this form of organization. This decision also avoids using population as a metric for polis-hood, a metric that is both impossible to calculate accurately and does not consider the permeable boundaries of the asty and chora.

The debate about the nature of the polis is still ongoing, with increasing recognition that the nature of the institution differs across the Greek world.[37] Thessaly has long been considered marginal and different from other parts of the Greek world, with the applicability of the term polis questioned in the region. In this study, I opt to apply the term polis to settlements in Thessaly. I have chosen to do this following Runciman's argument that the polis represents a citizen state.[38] This understanding of the polis as a community, defined by personal, political, social, religious, and economic ties, is vital to understanding the importance of the civic community in the development of urbanism and elite benefaction. The polis as a community could receive benefactions from individuals in the polis and reward them in a variety of ways, including grants of citizenship or *proxenia*, as well as social and political capital from their status as a patron of the city. It is this connection between the polis community and the individual that

[37] A point already established by Catherine Morgan in her 2004 study *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*.
[38] W.G. Runciman, "Doomed to Extinction: The Polis as an Evolutionary Dead End" in *The Greek City: From Homer to Alexander, eds* Oswyn Murray and Simon Price (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1990).

enables euergetism, and why I have opted to use the term polis, while being aware of the issues surrounding the use of the term.

In the case of Thessaly, one final note must be made regarding other forms of organizations overlaying the polis. Thessaly has long been noted as being an *ethnos* with a strong Thessalian identity embedded in the region that also served as a politically salient identity. This ethnic identity was strong enough that federal leagues like the Thessalian League were viable in the region. Yet in this study, I have used the polis, not the *ethnos* as a frame of reference for the study of benefaction. The primary reason for this is that the polis appears to serve as the primary vector for benefaction and reciprocal rewards. The reason for this is that membership within the *ethnos* is an identity that anyone can claim under the right circumstances. Subscribing to this group identity would include practices like participation in ethnically important religious festivals. However, the *ethnos* did not provide the same kind of rewards to its benefactors in the way the polis could. These identities overlayed each other and were not mutually exclusive. But for an elite looking to provide benefaction, the polis provided a better outlet for their generosity, with clearer rewards such as status, citizenship, and social capital within the city, in a way the *ethnos* did not. As such, the polis serves as the primary unit of analysis in this study.

The Structure of this Work

This study begins with brief surveys of the geography and natural conditions of Thessaly and a brief outline of its history from the earliest phases of occupation until the beginning of the Roman period. This general overview shows the depth of occupation in the region, going back to

the Neolithic period and persisting through the Mycenean periods, before entering the Iron Age. This long timescale saw numerous fluctuations in the level of nucleated settlement in the area, as societies changed. Following these introductory chapters, I discuss some of the theoretical questions of urbanism and the polis related to Thessaly, what they can tell us about how life and society changed in the region across periods, and specifically how the Classical and Hellenistic periods changed the urban landscape of the region. I also present a comparative study of several cities from the region from which we have relatively complete city plans, to show how space was used in different poleis.

The following chapter discusses the concept of euergetism and how elite and royal benefaction influenced the cities of Thessaly. I discuss the known inscriptions which describe gifts given for the construction of urban infrastructure, and how the epigraphic evidence ties Thessaly into the broader world of Greek benefaction. The next chapter complements this by detailing the extent of infrastructure across Thessaly and its *perioikoi*, the vast majority of which is not attested in the epigraphic or literary record. I then conclude with a discussion section, synthesizing the previous chapters and presenting some overall conclusions and directions for further research.

The Region of Thessaly

The region of Thessaly, located in northern Greece, bordered by Macedon in the north and central Greece to the south, has been less studied than other regions of Greece despite being an important military and political force throughout the Archaic and Classical periods and shows evidence of continuous occupation starting from the Neolithic period. Increasingly, however, the

region has been recognized as important not only for its role in Greek history in general but also for its specific local history and archaeology.

The goal of this dissertation is to contribute to the continued exploration of this region, specifically by interrogating the two-way relationship between the built environment of the polis and sociopolitical power relationships of benefactor and city. The built environment reified the social order, which informed ongoing sociopolitical relationships. This analysis of urbanism will interrogate how cities changed over time in the region, focusing on the transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, with some contextual background on either side from the preceding Archaic and later Roman periods. Overall, this period spans several centuries, but the focus will be the transition between the Classical and Hellenistic periods, a time which sees subtle yet important changes to the institution of the polis and the *ethnos* throughout Thessaly, and negotiations of power both within and outside the polis, as the wealthy elite of the city and the new Hellenistic monarchs create a new status quo out of the instability of the period.

Previous scholarship has done much to elucidate how political and ethnic associations factored into the development of the region, showing how regionalism functioned within the Greek world. Past research has focused on how these different forms of identity are expressed, such as the work of Denver Graninger on Thessalian cult and Catherine Morgan on a variety of forms of evidence like cult, burial, and landscape.[39] Building on previous research, I hope to treat the built environment of Thessaly as a material culture through which we can understand the changing social and political world of the region. This will be done through an analysis of

[39]Catherine Morgan *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis (Oxford: Routledge, 2003)*. Denver Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

settlements within Thessaly, focusing on those that could be described as poleis, with all the political baggage that entails.

The key focus here is the power that identifiable individuals had in shaping the urban landscape, and therefore the archaeological record. This unfortunately means a focus on the often-monumental urban center, rather than the rural *chora* or the humbler domestic architecture of the average inhabitant of a city. The exception to this is the discussion of agency in domestic construction, where I attempt to bring together the known evidence for how homes were integrated into the infrastructure planning of the city. While a detailed study of all Thessalian domestic evidence is beyond the scope of this dissertation, it would be an important direction for future research.

Topography and Geography

Before seeking to understand the built environment of Thessaly, we must understand the environmental conditions of the region. The topography of the region has defined how Thessaly is distinct from the rest of mainland Greece. The entire region is ringed with mountains that define its travel routes and lines of communication.[40] These include Mt. Pelion and Mt. Ossa in the East, Mt. Olympus to the North, Mt. Othrys and Mt. Tymphristos in the southeast, as well as the Pindos and Karnvounian mountain ranges. Travel in and out of Thessaly is only possible via specific routes, such as the Vale of Tempe and the Melouna pass linking Thessaly and Macedon

[40] Ioannis Georganas *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly* (PhD. Diss. University of Nottingham, 2002), 9.

in the North and southern routes through the Spercheios valley leading to Phokis and Boiotia.[41] This dearth of land routes makes access to the sea and the Pagasetic Gulf especially important and a recurring concern for the founders of cities, as we shall see.

Enclosed within the mountain ranges are the large alluvial Larisan and the Trikalian plains, that make up much of the landscape of Thessaly.[42] These broad plains gave Thessaly its reputation for grazing animals in antiquity, along with providing a great deal of space for agricultural production, focusing on grain, vine, and olive production, as well as room for grazing animals.[43] As well as agricultural production, the region also featured plentiful forests which provided much sought-after timber, especially for ships.[44]

The region is watered by the second largest river in Greece, the Peneios, in addition to the Aliak as well as the Enipeus rivers in the west of Thessaly. In antiquity, several large lakes have since been drained: Boibeis, Nessonis, and Xynias.[45] The most important body of water in the region was the Pagasetic Gulf. The Gulf provided good harbors and access to the Aegean Sea, providing the easiest lines of transport and communication between Thessaly and the rest of the Mediterranean world.

Defining Thessaly

[41] Georganas, *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*, 9-10.
[42] Surtees *On the Surface of a Thessalian City*, 59.
[43] Georganas, *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*, 11.
[44] Georganas, *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*, 11.
[45]Georganas, *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*, 11.

While the physical topography of Thessaly has changed slowly but considerably since antiquity, the political and social definition of the region has changed at a far faster rate. The definition of what is and is not Thessaly is complicated by the existence of surrounding regions that existed within the orbit of Thessaly, the so-called *perioikoi.* This has resulted in the distinction of "broad" and "narrow" Thessaly, with broad Thessaly describing the plains of Thessaly as well as the surrounding regions of the *perioikoi*, while narrow Thessaly describes the plains alone. Narrow Thessaly was composed of 4 tetrads, created by the division of the Larisa and Trikala plains, Hestiaiotis Phthiotis, Thessaliotis, and Pelasgiotis.[46] These administrative and political divisions existed before the Archaic or early Classical period when the surrounding regions of Achaia Pthiotis, Magnesia, and Perrhaebia were brought under Thessalian control. These additional regions were populated by distinct non-Thessalian *ethne*.[47]

It is unclear how the relationship between the perioikic *ethne* and the Thessalians came about, due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. However, by the late Archaic period, they were under the control of the Thessalians in what Denver Graninger describes as a "dependent political relationship".[48] The Greek term used by Xenophon and Aristotle to describe the relationship is υπήκοοι and implies a level of control, especially in military matters, but also a degree of independence. As Graninger points out, these *ethne* were members of the Amphictyonic council of Delphi and administered sanctuaries, just as the Thessalians did.[49] The relationship between the Thessalians and the perioikoi did, however, include a level of control

[46] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian City,* 59.
[47] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian City,* 59-60.
[48] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 14.
[49] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 14.

and exploitation, with the Thessalians able to order tribute payments, and some sources suggesting that the *perioikoi* could be a source of the *penestai,* the indentured workforce controlled by the Thessalians.[50] As well as possible indentured servitude, the *perioikoi* are said to have been called upon by the *tagos*, the leader of the Thessalians, to provide troops in times of war, specifically light-armed troops according to Xenophon.[51]

Early Archaeology of Thessaly

As mentioned above, the political relationships both within Thessaly and its relationship with the surrounding regions were established in the late Archaic or early Classical period, though exact dates are difficult to pin down. The archaeological evidence from before this period is extremely rich, however, and can offer clues to the development of the region and the trajectory that led to the status quo of the Archaic period. Occupation of Thessaly dates to the Neolithic, with large sites developing across the region, such as Dimini. These sites, as well as several others, have long and numerous occupation phases, often becoming tell or magoula sites.[52] While many of these sites exist across several periods, persisting through the Bronze and Iron Age, Morgan has argued that urbanism, in the sense of numerous individuals living together, does not directly indicate social change or development.[53] Therefore "big sites" do not necessarily correlate with the political or economic importance of the site. For this reason, in his catalogue of Iron Age sites, Georganas notes that even given the differences in size, density, and

[50] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly.*,15.
[51] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 16. Xen. Hell. 6.1.9
[52] Georganas, *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*, 41.
[53] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis (Oxford: Routledge, 2003)*, 105.

duration of occupation, it is not possible to define a strict hierarchy of settlements within the region during the Early Iron Age, instead arguing that several sites played important roles in the region at that time, namely Volos, Velistino (Pherai) and Marmariani.[54] Georganas notes that the importance in the Early Iron Age of these sites is due for the most part to their geographic location.[55] These sites and others of the period are concentrated in the east of Thessaly, near the Pagasetic Gulf, which facilitated communication and trade, while the landscape was favorable for agricultural and economic exploitation.[56]

Since the growth of urban sites is unable to reflect the political dimensions of Early Iron Age society, scholars such as Morgan and Graninger have pointed out the importance of cult and cult sites to the development of political and social hierarchies.[57] It has been well established that the development of cultic communities and cult sites (as well as the often associated monumental architecture) serves to demarcate both physical and imagined communities, defining both worshippers and political groups.[58] Cult sites, along with regional ritual calendars, are seen as two of the primary ways that the *ethnos* was created in Thessaly.[59] These federal Thessalian sanctuaries were located at Philia, the sanctuary of Athena Itonia, which was in use as early as the 9th century BC, and the more recently constructed sanctuary of Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa. [60]

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[54] Georganas *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*, 41.

[55] Georganas, *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*, 41.

[56] Georganas, *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*, 41-42.

[57] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis,* 42-64.

[58] De Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City State* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press,1995), Morgan *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis* (Oxford: Routledge, 2003)., Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly* (Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[59] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 43.

[60] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*, 43.

Following the Neolithic period, there was a large Mycenean presence in the region. This includes habitation sites and impressive tholos tombs. These tombs and other Mycenean sites are impressive in their own right, but also become important for the formation of identity in later periods, often being associated with imagined ancestors. Habitation continued throughout the Iron Age, with small communities emerging throughout the region. Unlike many parts of Greece and the Mediterranean world as a whole, there was less of a drop in population in Thessaly following the collapse of the palaces at the end of the Bronze Age and many habitation sites do not show evidence of large-scale destructions during this period.[61] Without the drop in population seen in other areas, Thessaly saw the continued existence of large social groups, but on a smaller scale. Rather than major palace-based societies, Thessaly saw the existence of "Big Men" groups. These allowed for levels of social differentiation, the creation of a Thessalian elite, and the subjugation of the surrounding regions and *penestai* sometime before the Archaic period.

Thessaly before the Hellenistic period

Before the Hellenistic period, Thessaly was a major regional power. The Thessalians themselves believed that they had migrated into the region in the mythic past, conquering the existing populations and making them into the *perioikoi.* Regardless of whether this is historically accurate, at some point before the archaic period, the perioikic areas were brought under Thessalian control, and the system of the tetrads as administrative units under Thessalian

[61] Georganas, *The Archaeology of Early Iron Age Thessaly*.

control was instituted. Graninger suggests that because this reorganization is known already by Hellanicus, who wrote in the 5th century, the dating of the division of the tetrads should be placed to the 6th century BC.[62]

While Aristotle uses the Greek term περίοικοι in his *Politics* when he discusses the policing of serf classes by both the Spartans and Thessalians (Aristot. *Pol.* 2.2169b7), as does Xenophon in his *Hellenica* when describing the powers of the position of *Tagos (*Xen. *Hell.* 6.1. 19*),* Thucydides uses the term ὑπήκοοι or variants of it to describe a subservient relationship between the surrounding peoples of Achaia Phthiotis, Magnesia and Perrhaibia and the ruling Thessalians (Thuc. 2.101.2, 4.78.6, 8.31). The relationship between the two groups appears to include, at the very least, the ability of the Thessalians to command people from these regions to muster for war and the ability to assess tribute. However, while the division of the four tetrads and the control of the populations living in them dates to at least the archaic period and was attributed in antiquity to a mythical Thessalian lawgiver Aleuas the Red, it is unclear exactly how and when the relationship between the Thessalians and *perioikoi* developed, if *perioikoi* of all regions were under identical forms of control, and how these relationships changed over time. What is apparent is that the Thessalians possessed a level of group self-definition in opposition to the surrounding peoples, sharing a common Thessalian myth-history and sense of unity, which has led to the description of a Thessalian *ethne*, or ethnic identity.[63]

The relationship between the Thessalians and *perioikoi* is further complicated by the existence of the *penestai*, a subservient serf class often described in ways similar to the *helots* of

[62] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*, 10. BNJ *FGrHist* III 601a F1.
[63] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 44-45.

Lakedaimonia. Little is known about the *penestai,* but we hear from Aristotle that they rebelled against the Thessalians while they fought against the *perioikoi* at points in the past (Aristot. *Pol.* 2.2169b7). The composition of both the *perioikoi* in contrast to the *penestai* is unclear, though, as Graninger points out, the *perioikoi* appear to have maintained coherent "cultural, political, and religious" identities, at least it seems that way in our sources, while the *penestai* seem to have been more wholly subservient and lacking any kind of ancestral claim to a defined territory. How the *penestai* became a servant population is unknown, possibly as a result of the conquest of an entire population or by individuals being reduced to servitude and then becoming permanent members of the class.[64] It is unclear when these relationships between the Thessalians, *perioikoi,* and *penestai* began, but for the ancient authors such as Herodotus, this state of affairs was assumed to have originated from the quasi-mythical migration and conquest of the Thessalians as they moved south at some point before the archaic period. Although the historical reality of some form of large population movement is unclear, somehow a group with an ethnic identity of Thessalians was able to take political, administrative, and military control of the region and establish dominant positions over both the *penestai* and *perioikoi.*

Graninger argues that the fact that a figure such as Aleuasthe Red can be imagined and that there can be said to be a "constitution of the Thessalians" indicates that there must have been some form of regional government in the early parts of the historic period operating in Thessaly.[65] However, how this regional government interacted with the cities of Thessaly is not entirely clear. Based on the description of the position of *Tagos,* a sort of regional magistrate

[64] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 16.
[65] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*, 11.

described by authors including Xenophon, cities within Thessaly were required to supply troops and money in times of need.[66] How far back in time this arrangement goes is unknown, but the relatively early existence of the tetradic administration system suggests that this or some similar obligation must have existed previously.

These obligations were tied into the administration of the Thessalian League or *koinon*, a regional power with control over Thessaly and the surrounding perioikic areas. Like the system of tetrads, the creation of the Thessalian league is also attributed to Aleuasthe Red, a claim perpetuated by the powerful Aleuadae family. The major power base of the league was the city of Larisa which served as the league's capital in this period. While a regional power, the Thessalian league did not mean that the polis system was absent from the region; it served instead as a separate layer of administration. It is thought that a major reason that such a situation was possible was the ethnic nature of the league, serving as an organizing body for the Thessalian *ethne*. The power of the league can be seen in its influence outside of Thessaly with its position on the Amphictyonic council of Delphi and internally in its organizing effect on the separate groups of Thessaly. The league administrated two major "federal" sanctuaries, the sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia and that of Zeus Eleutherios at Larisa.[67] As well as administering sanctuaries, the league was also in a position to publish decrees and manage local Thessalian Calendars.

The Archaic period

[66] Xen. *Hell*. 6.1.19. based on the actions of Jason of Pharai. It is unclear how much of this is based on historical precedent.
[67] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 43.

The advent of the archaic period in Thessaly was accompanied by numerous changes, many of them administrative and political, yet the timeline for these changes is incomplete and still debated. It is in this period that the Thessalian Koinon or at least its foundations were laid. How this developed and what form it took are contentious. This debate encompasses many aspects of Thessalian history and archaeology but often focuses on the constitutional organization of Thessaly, its tetradic regions, and its relationship to the periodic regions.

One of the defining features of the Archaic period in Thessaly is the arrival of the Thessalians themselves, an event that likely occurred over time, starting just prior to the Archaic period. While there is debate regarding all aspects of this migration, its level of violence, its origin, and the ethnicity and language of the people, there does seem to have been an influx of new people into the region based on archaeological and linguistic evidence. These migrants could have originated in Asia Minor before crossing the Aegean or swept south from what would later be Macedon.[68] The process through which these newcomers settled in the region is not entirely clear, but it has often been suggested that they conquered those already living in the region, or at least used force to secure homes for themselves in the region, likely at the expense of the locals.[69] Many scholars have been tempted to see this as the event that led to the creation of the perioikic regions surrounding Thessaly, the subjugation of the *penestai (*see below), and set the Thessalians on a course that would bring them into conflict with those further south over issues such as the Delphic Amphictyony.

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[68]Marta Sordi, *La lega tessala fino ad Alessandro Magno,* (Rome: Instituto Italiano per la Storia Antica, 1958). Nicolas Coldstream, *Geometric Greece: 900-700 BC* (Oxford: Routledge, 2004).
[69] Coldstream, *Geometric Greece: 900-700 BC*.

This migration led to a new political power forming in Greece, a Thessalian *koinon* or association. While later history would see the emergence of the Thessalian League as a federal association of cities bound together by a perceived common ethnicity and history, the early years of Thessaly are unclear. Some scholars have argued that the subjugation of the non-Thessalians created a nearly feudal system, with the *penestai* serving on the "Baronial estates"[70] of powerful Thessalian lords. While the comparisons to feudalism are hard to verify, major settlement sites seem to have been tied historically to certain powerful families.[71] Whether and how these families controlled the territory, people and wealth of these cities is, however, unclear. While the question of indentured labor in the form of *penestai* suggests tight control, this institution could have more similarity with the Helots of Laconia rather than true feudalism.

One of the primary questions is how centralized and formal the "Thessalian state", as Bruno Helly calls it, was. In his work, Helly describes what could be considered a state, in the strictest sense, with a centralized and formal administration and bureaucracy. This administration, in his reconstruction, was able to reform land use in Archaic Thessaly to control the levying of troops. The landscape of Thessaly was carefully divided to provide the needed manpower and revenue for the maintenance of a Thessalian army. However, the evidence for this structuring of the Thessalian army which Helly provides in his reconstruction is problematic. Helly takes exception with many aspects of earlier reconstructions of archaic Thessaly, which draw anachronistically from later written sources to justify several claims regarding the

[70] J.A.O Larsen, *Greek federal states: Their Institutions and History*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).
[71] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis, 24*.

administration and leadership of the region.[72] This includes the argument that the office of *tagos* did not exist before its adoption by Jason of Pherai, the Thessalian tetrads being regions controlled by 4 cities, rather than "fourths" of Thessaly, and the early consolidation of a Thessalian state which was able to annex surrounding regions and then integrate them into its existing political administration.

The image of archaic Thessaly produced by Helly is of a highly coherent entity, which focuses on the administrative side of a united political entity. This is not entirely at odds with previous views, like that of Sordi, whose *La Lega Tessala fino Alessandro Magno* is one of the most exhaustive works on the Thessalian League before Helly. The primary point of disagreement between Sordi and Helly stems from a difference over the dating of Aleus' reforms, and the development and administration of the *koinon*.[73] Helly sees the reforms as taking place later, while Sordi places the reforms in the late Archaic period, around 500 BC. Both scholars agree on major points regarding the artificiality of the tetradic divisions, however. Despite the disagreement regarding the details, an understandable issue when dealing with often fragmentary evidence, it is clear that there was some degree of coherence in archaic Thessaly.

Thessaly during the Hellenistic period

The political situation of the whole Hellenistic world is complex, with many small regions playing important roles within the larger power struggles between the Successors. Following the death of Alexander and the following years of conflict, each successor attempts

[72] Helly, *L'État thessalien: Aleuas le Roux, les tétrades et les tagoi* (la Maison de l'Orient et de la Mediterranee Editions: 1995), 193-220.
[73] Welles, "Review: La lega tessala fino ad Alessandro Magno," *American Journal of Archaeology. 64 (1),* 1960.

first to replace Alexander. When no individual successor united the fragmentary territories conquered by Alexander, they instead shifted their policy to solidifying smaller, regional kingdoms, while positioning themselves as the heads of new dynasties.

Thessaly had been under Macedonian control since the time of Philip II, who was made the head of the Thessalian League, a federal/ethnic confederation controlling the region, likely following the Third Sacred War, which lasted between 356 and 346 BC.[74] Macedonian Control would continue throughout the time of Alexander and his Successors, with the area being strategically important for the Antigonid dynasty. A major part of Antigonid royal policy was the foundation of cities. The cost and labor required for these new cities was staggering but was a vital part of controlling and exploiting regions under royal control, and would have resulted in massive physical and demographic changes within affected areas.[75] In the case of a city like Demetrias, not only were large expenditures made to build and fortify an entirely new city, but the surrounding towns were used as a source of new residents, relocated during the synoecism by royal decree. To understand the force with which these relocations could be carried out one only needs to look to Philip's treatment of nearby Olynthus.

The advent of Macedonian control in Thessaly during the Sacred War resulted from two internal factions, the Thessalian League and the secessionist city of Pherai, searching for allies

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[74] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 23-25. Margriet Haagsma, Laura Surtees & C. Myles Chykerda. "Ethnic constructs from Inside and Out: External policy and the ethnos of Achaia Phthiotis", in *Ethnos and Koinon: Studies in Ancient Greek Ethnicity and Federalism,* Beck, Buraselis, and McAuley (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019), 32-33.

[75] Ryan Boehm, *City and Empire in the Age of the Successors: Urbanization and Social Response in the Making of the Hellenistic Kingdoms* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2018).

outside of the region.[76] This intervention increased the involvement of foreign powers within Thessaly, with the Macedonians backing the Thessalian League, while the leader of Pherai invited help from the Phokians.[77] After the victory of the league, outside influence would remain a constant, shifting from Macedonian to Aitolian influence as the strength of the rival Aitolian League grew in the 270s, then to the Romans in the early second century BCE with the victory of the Roman forces at the battle of Kynoskephalai and the settlement of T. Quinctius Flamininus.[78]

This intervention by an imperial power had dramatic effects on both the rural and urban landscape of Thessaly. As early as the reign of Philip II, plans for new fortifications and cities were being drawn up as it became clear that new foundations were the key to securing the region. Graninger argues that the greatest level of Macedonian control in the region came with the foundation of Demetrias around 290 BC.[79] New cities were built and fortified, old cities would have been depopulated, and the demographic distribution between town and country would have dramatically changed over a short period. What exactly these changes looked like is unclear. This lack of clarity is partially due to the nature of the polis/chora relationship and the still fragmentary archaeological record. However, as more archaeological work is done within the areas under ancient royal control there is the opportunity to gain an increased understanding of the dynamics between cities and regional powers by understanding the physical spaces of the

[76] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 25-6.
[77] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*, 25.
[78] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*, 28.
[79] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly*, 24.

asty and *chora.* What can be said for certain is that the Successors were able to dramatically centralize economic and military resources within new nucleated urban settlements.

Thessalian Society

Thessalian Federalism

One of the core questions regarding early Thessalian federalism, already mentioned above, is how centralized the associations of the early Thessalians were. Thessaly has often been treated as peripheral by ancient sources, distant from core areas of mainland polis-based life. Yet Thessalians were a powerful political force, involved in Panhellenic sanctuaries like Delphi and Olympia. In the case of Delphi, myths of the Sacred War form an important part of Thessalian identity and myth-making.[80]

This myth-making was an integral part of Thessalian federalism. There is little evidence of strong regional identity in Thessaly before the archaic period; while there are Thessalians in Homer, they are not referred to collectively as "thessaloi" and they do not represent Thessaly as a political entity, rather they go to Troy on account of personal ties of loyalty.[81] If this represents a view of the Iron Age, then before the archaic period there was most likely not a great deal of regional co-operation in this period, at least in political matters. Based on the available archaeological evidence this seems to be the case, with Thessaly appearing similar to many other parts of the Greek world during the Iron Age.

[80] Sordi, *La lega tessala fino ad Alessandro Magno.*
[81] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly,* 9-10.

Settlements seem to have been small, likely only a handful of extended families and did not owe political loyalty to any larger entity. Inter-settlement links were likely mediated on the personal level or through ethnic or tribal associations. These settlements and the societies to which they belonged have been described by Whitley as "unstable" societies, contrasted with the "stable" society of the polis, a development of the Archaic period.[82] These unstable societies appear as "big man" societies, in which a single person can hold on to political power through unofficial means, such as military strength or religious authority.

A uniquely Thessalian institution that is often left out of the discussion about the cohesion of the Thessalian *koinon* is the social class of the *penestai*. Unfortunately, there are many unknowns regarding the *penestai* which stem in most cases from the lack of evidence. The result is few conclusive answers, but several interesting possibilities regarding the existence of this social class with implications for the social structure of Thessaly.[83] The *penestai* were a class of indentured laborer, possibly created following the conquest of Thessaly in the Archaic period. If this is the case, the situation appears similar to that of Laconia, where the Spartan state was able to reduce an entire neighboring population to slavery, creating a distinct class different from the majority of slaves in the Greek world, in which slavery was state-controlled, to maintain the spartan army. While there are parallels with the Spartan system, it seems unlikely that the *penestai* were identical to Helots. The largest structural difference is that the *penestai* do not seem to have been controlled by any kind of central authority as was the case of the Helots in the

[82] James Whitley," Social Diversity in Dark Age Greece," *Annual of the British School at Athens.* 86, 1991, 346-52.
[83] The most extensive study on the topic is the work of Jean Ducat 1994, *"Les Penestes de Thessalie".* This volume collects what written evidence exists regarding the *penestai*, mostly in the form of later written texts.

Spartan context, with individual Spartan citizens being allotted Helots to work their agricultural lands by the state. In Thessaly, it is unclear if the *penestai* were owned by wealthy individuals or individual communities, yet there does not seem to be the same degree of control exerted over them as the Spartan polis had over the Helots. It seems that *penestai* could be freed or their ownership transferred in a manner more akin to the more widespread form of slavery practiced in the Greek world. Not only that but the written sources such as Xenophon state that wealthy individuals could call upon the *penestai* under their control to take part in military campaigns. In some cases, treaties with individuals rather than cities resulted in the deployment of *penestai* as troops. This control by wealthy individuals and the ability to call upon *penestai* to serve in a military capacity is the reason comparisons have been drawn with later European feudalism.

It appears that the *penestai* were a separate class of indentured laborer, who were confined mostly to the countryside for agricultural labor, with the potential to be mobilized in times of war, distinct from the slaves found in Thessaly and the rest of the Greek world. At the same time, it is likely that the *penestai* existed side by side other slaves and experienced similar forms of control and subjugation but were governed by different legal and social controls. The labor of the *penestai* would have been a major source of economic power for the wealthy landowners of Thessaly, who could exploit this class of captive labor to bring the productive land of Thessaly under cultivation while concentrating wealth in the hands of a few powerful families. Eventually, however, the practice of keeping *penestai* eventually ended.

Thessalian Social Organization

There are many gaps in our understanding of the Archaic period in Thessaly. Yet we can begin to create a possible picture of what the region may have looked like. Following the collapse of the Mycenaean palace system, there appears to have been less of a drop in population than in other parts of the Greek world, but the centralized administration of the palaces ceased, ceasing to organize the control and redistribution of resources or to exercise political control. As in the rest of the Greek world, the collapse of the Bronze Age gives way to the Iron Age and smaller, less socially complex communities consisting of a handful of extended families. These communities were controlled by so-called "big men" who offered protection in exchange for social control and prestige. These communities were the unstable societies described by Whitley, short-lived and unable to perpetuate themselves due to their nature of being controlled by a single politically powerful individual.

During this time, the region that would become Thessaly was comparatively cut off from other parts of the Greek world, with some ties to the north and south, but less contact with the developing cultural centers of Athens and Corinth, at least until the late Geometric period when imported pottery begins to appear in higher quantities at larger sites in Thessaly. It is also during this period that newcomers arrive in Thessaly either from the North or more likely coming from across the Aegean, based on the influence of the Aeolic language in the region.[84] The ancient literary tradition of this migration is one of conquest, and this is certainly not unlikely, with the

[84] Sordi, *La lega tessala fino ad Alessandro Magno.*

incoming population displacing the existing communities, and possibly reducing them to slavery or the status of *penestai*.

The image of Thessaly at the start of the Archaic period, is not unlike other parts of Greece, with several notable exceptions. At this time, communities were becoming larger and adopting permanent institutions, moving from being unstable communities to being cogent political communities. The polis, as in other parts of Greece, was becoming an important part of life for many people. A strong sense of tribal association, either real or perceived, existed in the region. This does not mean that an ethnically-based state existed, simply that there was a strong sense of kinship existing at a level above both the extended family and the immediate community. There also seems to have been a strong economic and political elite in the form of powerful extended families. These families were often tied to a certain polis and commanded a great deal of wealth in the form of land, livestock, slaves, or *penestai* labor.[85] While the term feudal is certainly anachronistic when speaking about these elites, even given the military and economic obligations of the *penestai*, it represents a peculiar economic arrangement more akin to the helots of Sparta than institutions seen in most other parts of the Greek world.[86]

Archaic Urbanism

While the evidence of urban activity during the archaic period in Thessaly is lacking compared to other parts of the Greek world, there were comparatively large urban centers at this

[85] Larsen, *Greek federal states: Their Institutions and History*.

[86] It is worth noting that similar systems may have existed in other regions, such Crete, though debate is ongoing. See Lewis, D. M. *Greek Slave Systems in Their Eastern Mediterranean Context, c.800-146 BC*. (Oxford University Press, 2018), 147-166.

time. While the physical evidence of the sites may be covered by later building, has not been intensively studied, or is poorly preserved, the evidence from major sites like Larisa and Pherai shows that there was already activity at these sites in the Iron Age, and in some cases earlier. As in many parts of the Greek world, the Archaic period sees the increasing size of urban sites. Some of these sites, such as Larisa, continue to be important centers throughout the Archaic period and into the post-Hellenistic world.

In her comparison of Thessaly, Macedonia, and Thrace, Archibald sees these regions as tied together by similar social, geographic, and economic factors. She also argues that Thessaly demonstrates an unexpected level of continuity between Bronze Age and later Iron Age sites and Archaic period settlements.[87] She also notes, based on the work of Halstead on the transition to Neolithic farming, that the changing economy and exploitation of the environment are likely a major factor in the changes between the Iron Age and Archaic period.[88] These changes, both in the ongoing development of the economy to wider exploitation of the environment and the building of new sites in relation to the older sites, are not as straightforward as building new sites over top of the old or exploiting the same resources to a greater degree. Instead, new sites develop in relation to earlier based on a complex mix of factors. Archibald notes that this complexity makes understanding the relationships between sites is difficult, and in the case of Thessaly, we lack much of the evidence needed to draw definitive conclusions. To remedy this, she suggests the use of statistical modeling of the type used in northern Europe where written

[87] Zosia Archibald, "Space, hierarchy, and community in Archaic and Classical Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace," in *Alternatives to Athens: Varieties of Political Organization and Community in Ancient Greece* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 227.
[88] Archibald, "Space, hierarchy, and community in Archaic and Classical Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace", 227.

sources are lacking as a way to better understand settlement continuity, moving beyond trying to match sites with likely counterparts mentioned in sources like Homer.[89]

Catherine Morgan takes a different approach to settlements, especially major sites. While describing the changes that occur at the various major sites in Thessaly, she notes that as attractive as using major sites as "fixed points" from which to make regional arguments, the focus on these sites obscures major changes that may be occurring across a region.[90] By noting that important ideological changes can be situated across a region, not only at major sites, Morgan questions the value of using urbanism as a direct indicator of social complexity. Instead, she takes into account a broad spectrum of evidence to indicate the presence of social and political relationships, such as burials, the movement of goods and people, and sanctuaries, all areas she describes as being socially charged.[91] Morgan has argued that while the evidence of settlement in Thessaly during its early periods is incomplete, three different developmental trajectories can be identified from the sites of Larisa, Pherai, and the interactions of Dimini, Sesklo, and Volos.[92] Based on combined evidence from numerous excavations in the region, Morgan argues that Larisa saw building activity on its Phourion hill as early as the Mycenean period, continuing through the geometric period (in the form of an apsidal mud brick structure) and into the Archaic and Classical periods.[93] Alongside this evidence, there are a number of other burials and structures throughout the region which show an expansion away from the

[89] Archibald, "Space, hierarchy, and community in Archaic and Classical Macedonia, Thessaly, and Thrace," 227.
[90] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 105-6.
[91] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 105-6.
[92] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 95.
[93] Morgan *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis,* 89.

Phourion hill to the surrounding region around the 6th century BC.[94] Morgan suggests that this diversity in location and material culture, including burial form, indicates the diversity of the social and political ties across the ancient territory of Larisa.

In contrast to Larisa, Morgan suggests that Pherai followed a trajectory more like sites in southern Greece, becoming a prominent site in the Geometric period after sporadic settlement in the region in the Neolithic and Mycenean periods. The focus of development in the area was the central plateau of the city. In the same way as many other cities, Pherai urban development was focused on a defensible acropolis.[95] The creation of a major sanctuary of Zeus or the local goddess Enodia towards the north also speaks toward the importance of religious sites in the development of communities, a major factor in communities across the Greek world as studies since De Polignac's work on the topic have borne out.[96]

The final area discussed by Morgan consists of the three smaller urban sites of Dimini, Sesklo, and Volos, which she argues were involved in a form of peer interaction between small or medium-sized sites. [97] These three sites show no evidence of being formally connected and resisted ever synoecizing into a single larger community. Despite this, the three sites were major forces within the region during different times, with the balance of power in the region shifting over time.

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[94] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 90.
[95] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 92.
[96] Francois De Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City State (Chicago: University of Chicago press,* 1995).
[97] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 96.

It is important to note that the three Thessalian scenarios discussed by Morgan are all taken from the east of Thessaly, with Larisa and Pherai both located within the same tetrad of Pelasgiotis.[98] There is a great deal from other parts of Thessaly we simply do not know due to lack of evidence, but Morgan's illustration of the variety of possible trajectories along which sites can develop should caution us not to look for one, simple, overarching picture of development across the region.

Ethnic Identity

In recent years, many scholars have shifted from understanding the organization of social and political associations in the Greek world in a mainly legalistic sense, focusing on the constitutions and decrees of cities, to appreciating the importance of ethnicity in structuring relationships.[99] This has led to new questions being asked of the material and written records and provided new insight into how relationships were structured both within and between groups. Earlier scholars, notably Westlake, had described ethnic groups as "tribes", the equivalent of the Greek *phylai,* and seen them as a holdover from before the rise of the polis and voluntary political association.[100] As Mackil notes, this is a "primordialist" view that sees these associations tied to specific population groups.[101] What this formulation misses is that ethnic

[98] Morgan *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 92. Hall, John, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press,1997)

[99] For Example, Grainger, *Cult and Koinon*. Mili*, Religion and society in Ancient Thessaly*. Rönnland, *Cities of the Plain: Urbanism in Ancient western Thessaly.*

[100] Westlake, *Thessaly in the 4th C. BC* (Methuen and co. publishing, 1935.)

[101] Mackil, "Ethnos and Koinon," in *A Companion to Ethnicity in The Ancient Mediterranean,* edited by Jeremy McInerney (Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 270-71.

associations are also constructed and can be invoked when needed, just as a political association can be.

A great deal of scholarship has focused on the polis not only as the primary political unit of ancient Greek life but also as the end of an evolutionary trajectory from primitive family associations to larger tribal units and eventually arriving at the polis, which remained at the apex of political development until the territorial kingdoms of the Hellenistic period. Catherine Morgan has noted that this evolutionary line of thinking has run through most of the past scholarship, but that in recent years the evidence for complex political institutions before the dominance of the polis has continued to mount.[102] This includes archaeological evidence demonstrating multiple layers of community associations beyond the polis, evidence for communal political action taken by entities other than the polis, and the well-documented use of religion to create and maintain ethnic communities.[103]

In his study on Greek ethnicity, Jonathan Hall argues that ethnicity is inherently constructed, drawing on elements such as myths of common ancestry, and thus "imagined consanguinity", and shared territory.[104] Hall also notes, however, that elements like language dialect cannot be directly mapped to Greek ethnicity. Ethnicity is very much a constructed element of identity though one with real benefits and uses politically and socially. As such, it is

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[102] Morgan *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 9.

[103] Graninger, *Cult and Koinon in Hellenistic Thessaly.* Margriet Haagsma, Laura Surtees & C. Myles Chykerda. "Ethnic constructs from inside and out: External policy and the ethnos of Achaia Phthiotis", in *Ethnos and Koinon: Studies in Ancient Greek Ethnicity and Federalism,* Beck, Buraselis, and McAuley (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2019).

[104] Hall, Jonathan, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 60-62. Mackil, "Ethnos and Koinon," in *A Companion to Ethnicity in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. Jeremy McInerney (Wiley Blackwell, 2014), 271.

important to understand that membership in an ethnic group does not necessarily keep an individual from being a part of other kinds of group.[105] Morgan, following the work of Orlando Patterson, describes ethnicity as being a conscious act of claiming membership within a group in opposition to an out-group. Claiming membership in these groups is, as Morgan puts it, "a matter of continuing choice, manipulation, and politicization".[106] In many cases, these identities, or tiers as Morgan describes them, overlap with other group identities and one or another can be emphasized as needed. This situational use of identity is a major factor in the structuring of social and political communities.[107] Thus a person could be a Thessalian, a member of a particular tetrad, a religious community, a citizen of a polis, and a particular family, and might choose to put particular emphasis on one of these layers of identity at a particular time for any number of reasons, but importantly separating themselves from those that were not part of that particular community.

This complexity of social relationships means that there was likely no problem with a person being both a member of the Thessalian *ethnos*, while also being a citizen of their city or town. This meant there was little difficulty with individual poleis being members of a regional association based on ethnicity. Following Morgan, this provides a more nuanced view of the political life of Thessalians instead of arguing that the rise of the polis was at odds with a strong ethnic identity. On the contrary, as Mackil argues, ethnic identity is instead a way to build ties of community and cooperation between communities. It is in fact this cooperation building that

[105] Though it should be noted that some in/out-groups would have been mutually exclusive.
[106] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis*, 10.
[107] Morgan, *Early Greek States Beyond the Polis,* 10.

leads eventually from the social category of the *ethne* to the political articulation of the *koinon.*[108] This can be seen across the Greek world, with regions such as Aitolia, Boeotia, and Thessaly all asserting politically powerful and advantageous claims to regional identities. The same is true of smaller areas as well, like the periokic region of Achaia Pthiotis, which Haagsma et al. have shown possessed a local identity through its material culture, including the minting of regional coinage and offering of locally significant votives.[109] The creation of these multi-tiered identities was a direct reaction to the social and political situation of the wider Greek world and, as Morgan has shown, they were constructed to the advantage of those emphasizing identities. This does not change in Thessaly as the political situation changes between the archaic and the Roman periods and would continue to be important in the politically fraught Hellenistic period.

[108] Mackil, "Ethnos and Koinon," 272.

[109] Haagsma, Surtees and Chykerda. "Ethnic constructs from inside and out: External policy and the ethnos of Achaia Phthiotis," 285-320.

Chapter 2: Funding, Benefaction, and Synoecism: Mechanisms of Urban Policy

Archaeological studies of urbanism often focus on the social and environmental factors that drive demographic changes, leading to changes in settlement density, population, or the creation and abandonment of settlements. These are all important considerations and are at the core of this study, but they do not illustrate the mechanisms of change and the agency of those experiencing the changes in urbanism. It is known from countless modern and premodern examples that changes in settlement patterns are complex and are rarely caused by a single factor and so we must try to uncover as much as possible of the historical and archaeological context to understand the developments that occurred.

In the case of Hellenistic Thessaly, it is known that this period brought increased connectivity across the Mediterranean world along with warfare, instability, and changes to the demography. To understand this process and to supplement the archaeological record, this chapter undertakes an analysis of the funding and construction activity that occurred in the region, as determined from epigraphic evidence. In studying the inscriptions from Thessaly that document the collection of funds for, and the administration of, polis building projects, we can gain a better understanding of what was being built in communities, who was building them, and who was paying for them. These inscriptions take various forms but are generally monumental inscriptions relating to the collection of funds from the wealthy by donations, subscriptions, or loans, for the good of the city.

The economic system of the poleis was not centralized and in the Classical and Hellenistic period, there was no robust taxation system that allowed for the financing of large city-building projects.[110] While money was certainly collected and redistributed, it was done in a manner which was patchwork and seemingly *ad hoc*, carried out mostly at the local level. This process was tied up with the relationships of the elites and the polis. This phenomenon has been termed "euergetism", coined first in French literature to describe the benefaction shown to poleis by elites.[111] The purpose of this chapter is to analyze how this system of benefaction functioned to allow for the construction of urban infrastructure. The emphasis will be on the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, but attention will also be paid to the development of the institution before this period as well. Prior research has emphasized the development and change of euergetism over several centuries and used it to explain political and social relationships between wealthy polis elites and the rest of the citizen body. While this is not the primary focus of this work, it is important to understand who had agency in the funding and construction of cities. By exploring how and by whom infrastructure was funded, we can begin to understand what drove urbanization and why demographics shifted during different historical periods.

Defining Euergetism

[110] Rolf Strootman, "The Entanglement of Cities and Empires", in *Benefactors and the Polis: The Public Gift in Greek cities from the Homeric World to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020)*, 147-8.*

[111] The English translation of Paul Veyne's *Bread and Circuses* is often credited with popularising the concept of euergetism. Other major works included Gauthier 1985, Migeotte 1992, and others. Gygax and Zuiderhook 2020 provide a detailed literature review: Domingo Gygax and Arjan Zuiderhook, "Benefactors and the Polis: a long-term perspective", in *Benefactors and the Polis: The Public Gift in the Greek Cities from the Homeric World to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 1-7.

Euergetism is a broad term, possibly overly broad. As Domingo Gygax has noted, it is, at its most basic level, a form of "voluntary benefaction". This benefaction can take numerous forms, from monetary donations to services rendered. Already the multitude of possible benefactions is daunting, as donating money for the construction of a temple seemingly fits within the same category as a gift for the construction of a fortification wall or gymnasium. This is complicated by the complex relationships between benefactors and those who benefit. The importance of inter-benefactor competition has long been recognized as a part of the culture of agonism that defined the elite of Greek cities, but the relationship between the giver and receiver was equally important and illuminates the tensions between the wealthy and politically powerful and the demos at large. This tension between different segments of the polis population comes in large part from the nature of benefaction and the ties of reciprocity that it created. These ties of reciprocity form one of the core elements of euergetism in the analysis of Gygax.[112] His study focuses on the gift/counter-gift dynamic created by polis elites through their sponsoring of benefaction. While his focus is on the development of the institution of euergetism, mostly at Athens, which he located in the archaic period, growing out of the honoring of foreigners and athletic victors, his focus on the complex relationships and tensions created by the institution is applicable across poleis. As he puts it "the sense of indebtedness created by the gifts of the elites served to maintain the social status quo but made rewards for benefactors counterproductive. The counter-gifts elites were pursuing was subordination[.]."[113]

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[112] Domingo Gygax, *Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016)

[113] Gygax, *Benefaction and Rewards in the Ancient Greek City*, 252.

This interplay of reciprocity and subordination was not limited to elites within the polis. Benefaction was an accepted and expected part of Hellenistic kingship, and the bonds it created are attested in the epigraphic record.[114] The Hellenistic kings and the economic and political elite of the polis were able to leverage this relationship to maintain and strengthen their positions. These facets of euergetism have been studied extensively and their effects on the politics of the late classical and Hellenistic periods have been well shown. This has often been done by studying inscriptions laying out the gifts and responding to honors offered by the polis, giving us an understanding of what could be offered on each side of the benefaction equation. What has been less well studied is how this benefaction influenced the urban landscape of the polis.

Euergetism and Urbanism

Just as few studies of ancient urbanism deal with the funding mechanisms that contribute to the physical development of cities, so too do studies of benefaction and euergetism seldom engage with the physical imprints of elite benefaction.[115] In large part, this is due to the evidence and the questions being asked. It is often not possible to tie an inscription to a contemporary piece of architecture or public space. Likewise, studies of benefaction are more concerned with understanding sociopolitical and economic conditions represented by honorary inscriptions and what they can tell us about the nature of polis society and how it changed through time. Bringing these methods together will contribute to the understanding of how the changing polis of the

[114] Angelos Chaniotis, "Public Subscriptions and Loans as Social Capital in the Hellenistic City: Reciprocity, Performance, Commemoration" in *Epigraphic Approaches to the Post-Classical polis: Fourth century BC to Second century AD,* eds. Paraskevi Martzavou and Nikolaos Papazarkadas (Oxford Unioversity Press, 2012), 12-14.
[115] Though some have, see Zuiderhoek "Oligarchs and Benefactors: Elite demography and culture of the Greek cities of the Roman Empire," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age,* eds. Richard Alston and Onno Van Nijf (Leuven: Peeters Publishers, 2011).

Hellenistic period was shaped by the decisions of the benefactors who contributed to its civic institutions.

By understanding who was donating to the polis, why they were donating, and what was being donated, it is possible to reveal the priorities of those with the means to steer public policy. This is unfortunately not an exact translation of priorities as set out by benefactors to construction carried out in the polis, but as will be discussed, there is a complex social network surrounding benefaction that makes it necessary to interpret this information carefully, especially when it comes to the motivations of the Hellenistic kings. Without a bureaucracy or extensive system of taxation, the poleis of the classical and Hellenistic periods instead turned to the wealthy to fund construction, the military, religious festivals, and other civic expenses.[116] Whether or not the increased reliance on the wealthy represented an "oligarchisation" of the polis is a matter of debate, but this reliance provided the money for the polis to function. [117] As Van der Vliet has noted, those who had the means to pay for polis administration were the ones who had a vested interest in its success.

When the Hellenistic kings became protagonists within the Greek poleis, they integrated themselves into this system of benefaction. Just as the elites of the polis had used their wealth to set the course of the polis, the kings were now able to influence policy in the polis by offering

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[116] Richard Billows, *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism* (New York: Brill 1995), 73.

[117] The term Oligarchisation is controversial, suggesting a trend towards narrower political control at the expense of democratic governance. Further discussion of the issue can be found in: Van der Vliet, "Pride and Participation: Political Practice, Euergetism and Oligarchization in the Hellenistic *Polis*.", in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age (Leuven: Peeters Publishers,* 2011*),* 156-8. Money for administration, see Harter-Ubiopuu "Money for the *Polis*: Public Administration of Private donations in Hellenistic Greece," in *Political Culture in the Greek City after the Classical Age*. Eds. Richard Alston and Onno Van Nijf *(Leuven: Peeters Publishers,* 2011).

support and money. This was a complicated relationship, and Greek poleis were wary of royal involvement.

Subscription (Epidosis)

A subscription was a call for monetary support from a polis (or subdivision such as a deme or group of citizens) to its residents. [118] This included anyone with the necessary wealth to provide support and the money given could come in various amounts based on the giver.[119] The focus here will be the use of subscriptions within the polis to fund public infrastructure, or put another way, how a polis could rely on its citizens to contribute to projects that must have been considered necessary for the city, a public good. The projects which could be funded by subscription were diverse, but the construction and maintenance of public buildings were frequent goals.[120]

What makes subscription decrees important for understanding the nature of urbanism for this study, is how they came about through the desire of those living within the city, both citizens and non-citizens.[121] Subscriptions are decrees that were debated and passed by the assembly of a polis, calling for donations from those financially capable.[122] Projects which were deemed important by the assembly could be funded this way. While previous descriptions of subscription have described it as a way for desperate cities to raise money, Migeotte has argued that this is not

[118] Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, 5.
[119] The most detailed work on the subject is that of Migeotte 1992, who has collected surviving inscriptions as well as literary references to subscriptions.
[120] Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, 327-8
[121] As Migeotte 1992, 357-8 notes, preserved inscriptions do not always include who could offer money. In the case of Krannon, it was limited to citizens, but examples exist from other cities open to residents, metics, and women.
[122] Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, 310

the case and that a minority of the preserved examples are from crises.[123] Instead, subscription was a relatively common way of raising funds outside of normal taxation or benefaction from a single wealthy benefactor. It seems to have been a popular way of raising funds for urban projects, especially in the Hellenistic period.[124] While Migeotte's collection includes only three examples of subscriptions from poleis within Thessaly, the total number of preserved documents is, as he notes, relatively low for the entirety of the Greek world, likely due partially to preservation and the practice of writing the decrees on wood rather than on stone in some cases, and so we should not assume the practice was less common in Thessaly than elsewhere.[125] Migeotte's three examples of subscriptions from cities in Thessaly are all datable to the Hellenistic period, from Larisa, Krannon, and Gonnoi.[126] We can add to this a possible subscription decree from the city of Skotoussa.[127] These inscriptions are discussed below.

Loans

The most focused study of the loans taken out by ancient poleis is that of Leopold Migeotte. These studies have focused mostly on the financial, legal, and political consequences of the loans.[128] While evidence from across the Greek world provides a solid basis for understanding how loans operated in the polis, we certainly do not have a complete picture, especially of earlier periods. Yet reinterpretation of the existing evidence, mostly from the

[123] Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, 346.
[124] Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, 298-9
[125] Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, 304-5.
[126] For Krannon, Moretti II.99, Migeotte 1992 no.34. For Larisa, Diachronic Museum of Larisa (inv. No. 83/132). For Gonnoi, ArchEph (1913) 48, 177.
[127] For Skotoussa, Diachronic Museum of Larisa (inv. No. 83/6).
[128] Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques*, 2.

Classical and Hellenistic periods has given us a clearer understanding of the institution and why and how it might be used by a city. As Migeotte notes, the lack of movable wealth in classical and Hellenistic Greece made financing more rudimentary in some ways and restricted the ways loans could be made. Loans have often been considered less attractive options for cities, unlike today when they are an established part of financial policy.[129] Yet Migeotte notes that while not a "normal" form of financing for ancient cities, loans were not necessarily a sign of instability and distress. They could be used in an emergency, and many of our sources do reference measures taken in hard times, but they could also be used to pay more normal, but unforeseen expenses, such as construction or restoration costs, purchasing grain, and military needs.[130] Just as loans could be used for a variety of projects, they could also be secured from several sources. These included other cities and states, private individuals, and temples. As Migeotte has argued, the frequency with which different sources were used changed over time, with the Hellenistic period seeing an increase in the reliance on wealthy and powerful individuals.[131] Regardless of the source, these loans represented the city's assembly attempt to meet unforeseen circumstances, even if they did not represent an existential threat to the city. From the cities of Thessaly three epigraphic documents describe loans, or the steps taken to repay them. One of these is the subscription from Krannon (Moretti II.99), the others are an honorary inscription (Larisa, SEG XIII 390 and 393) and an arbitration (Skoutoussa, Larisa Muesuem inv. No. 83/6).).

Donations

[129] Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques,* 1.
[130] Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques*, 400-1.
[131] Migeotte, *L'emprunt public dans les cités grecques*, 400.

Donations, gifts of money, goods, or even privileges, were a major part of polis economic life. Partially this emphasis on gifts may be the result of the surviving inscriptions, which often memorialize the giving of gifts. This honoring of the giver illustrates one of the most important facets of donations in the polis, namely that they were not a one-way gift, as might be assumed from the term "donation" or the more general term "euergetism". The giving of gifts helped to create webs of obligation and reciprocity.[132] As Domingo Gygax has argued, this institution was long-lived, starting at least in the Archaic period and evolving with the polis until its disappearance beyond the Roman period.[133] The institution begins with foreigners, and non-citizens who render some service, whether monetary or otherwise. This gift, seen by the polis as valuable, must be repaid by the city in the same way gifts between individuals must be, as in the relationship of *xenia.* Originally, non-citizens received gifts such as *proxenia* and its accompanying benefits as a reward. Another category which received early honors, using similar language to that of *proxenia* were Athletes. These athletes were already citizens and so received honorary decrees like those which accompanied *proxenia* grants in exchange for service, in this case, their athletic victories abroad. Honoring athletes for increasing the prestige of the city through athletic victories opened the door for honoring members of the polis in this way.[134]

As time went on and the polis became more complex, its economic systems did not keep pace.[135] As a result, gifts from wealthy citizens became more important to keep the city afloat.

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[132] Gygax, *Benefaction and Rewards,* 6.

[133] Gygax, *Benefaction and Rewards,* 5-6.

[134] In Gygax's view, it was only later that citizens eventually became eligible for similar rewards, with the first candidates likely athletic victors.

[135] Gygax, *Benefaction and Rewards,* 73.

These gifts became formalized in some cases, in the forms of liturgies, trierarchies, and other established institutions. While these new formal institutions moved away from being donations *per se*, many of these venues remained open for donations, especially in times of need. These expenses were often taken on voluntarily by the city's wealthy; as Gygax has noted, those with a vested interest in the polis, like its elite, wanted to keep the city functioning. This shift to the wealthy elite of the polis providing benefactions for rewards and honors, in addition to the honoring of athletes and *proxenoi,* also opened benefaction as a space for competition. As all citizens had a stake in the political life of the polis, there was also a sense of competition, especially among the politically active, often wealthy, members of the political community. This led to increasing engagement with the economic system of the polis by the wealthy when the city required it, to support the city in exchange for honors throughout the late Archaic and Classical periods.

During the Hellenistic period, the changing political landscape had major implications for independent poleis. The new prominence of Hellenistic monarchs, many of whom had complex relationships with the Greek cities, preached the "freedom of the Greeks" while also intervening in their political affairs. These new rulers with territorial ambitions were able to engage in the same benefactions as polis elites but with larger sums. This engaged the rulers of the Hellenistic monarchies in the reciprocal relationships of euergetism and could provide them with a means to influence polis policy, a risk the leaders of poleis were well aware of.[136] Most importantly for this investigation, the economic intervention of kings would have allowed them to move urban

[136] Rolf Strootman, "The Entanglement of Cities and Empires" in *Benefactors and the Polis: The Public Gift in Greek cities from the Homeric World to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020),164-7.

development in the direction that benefited them. This would have been especially true in the case of new foundations, which would require a great deal of money and other resources to build and populate. The gifts of kings could take various forms, such as direct monetary donations, payments in kind, loans, or deferrals of taxes. The rulers of the Hellenistic monarchies were not above using their financial resources to influence the poleis in the direction they desired. This undoubtedly influenced the development of the cities in which they took interest.

The Hellenistic Economy, Greek Cities, and Monarchs

The system of Hellenistic benefaction is complex and seems in many ways to be inefficient. This is especially true in the case of Hellenistic monarchs who were carrying out endless wars fought largely by well-paid mercenaries, supporting their administrations across the Mediterranean, manning garrisons, sending gifts, and building settlements. The question is, how does benefaction fit into the economic policy of the Successors? Would it not be simpler to provide the funds for construction rather than to do so under the pretext of gift giving and benefaction? We must wonder how the amount of money given through benefactions compared with the amount of money spent outside of the institution of euergetism.

It is firstly important to recognize that benefactions, as a part of the established world of the polis, allow Hellenistic monarchs to engage with the polis in a meaningful way. While it is probably not possible to have a perfect understanding of the finances of either a Hellenistic kingdom or a polis due to the incomplete nature of our evidence (though some kingdoms such as Ptolemaic Egypt have more complete records), we can still arrive at an understanding of how these kingdoms' finances were managed and the comparative size of incomes and expense.

Given the large volumes of money Hellenistic monarchs required for their enterprises, why expend precious funds on euergetism?

As Billows has shown in his study of Macedonian imperialism, the negotiation between monarchs and poleis was important in the Hellenistic period. As he points out, good relations were needed with cities to keep them under control and to access the skilled labor of the Greek cities, which was vital to the administration of the kingdoms.[137] The integration of monarchs into the traditional institutions of the polis smoothed relations between kings and cities, presenting them as benefactors in the same way as the more conventional polis elite. Again, as noted by Billows, normalized relations between kings and their subject cities were important, and even if in reality most poleis were subjects with less real autonomy than in previous periods, the appearance of respect and autonomy from the kings was important.[138] Even if the overall percentage of money being spent on benefactions was lower than other non-commemorated spending, the political value of benefaction was significant.

While it is likely that while euergetism was an important component of policy in the development of urbanism in Thessaly, given the number of preserved inscriptions that could be categorized as some form of benefaction, the only monetary donations from a king that we know of is from King Amyandus, whose status was uncertain and will be addressed below, and Philip V. In the case of Philip V, the king appears as the first benefactor, alongside numerous citizens, for the renovation of a gymnasium at Larisa (Inscription 4). While the sum of money given is not known, it is safe to assume that as both a king and the first listed benefactor, the amount was the

[137] Billows, *Kings and Colonists*, 56-7
[138] Billows, *Kings and Colonists,* 56-58

greatest of those provided. Just as significant is the fact that Philip wanted to show himself as a benefactor to a quintessentially Greek institution, the gymnasium. This integration of kings within the polis institution of euergetism, assisting wealthy citizens in the restoration or construction of buildings important to the polis, provided a legitimacy in the eyes of the polis which could not easily be found elsewhere. Keeping the polis, especially the elite, "on side" made an often troublesome region easier to govern and provided a visible propaganda victory for a royal benefactor, which helps to explain why benefaction was an attractive option for the Hellenistic monarchs.

But what about those examples that do not represent royal benefaction, but rather citizens contributing to their cities? Benefactions by citizens to their cities, such as those benefactors listed with Philip V (or in an example from Krannon [Inscription 2]), are also attested in Thessaly. These inscriptions represent the more traditional form of euergetism, which evolved through the classical period. This earlier institution did not cease to exist but was rather expanded to include the monarchs in the Hellenistic period. While the polis was not as bereft of revenue streams as some earlier scholars suggested, with taxes existing on various animals, houses, imports, etc., their revenue was not necessarily such that they could pay for large expenses when the need arose, especially when unexpected events occurred.[139] It was in these cases that the wealthy citizens could be called upon or may offer to provide funding for an important project or the payment of debts. By the Hellenistic period and the development of

[139] Michel Austen, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006). Austen notes in the context of the subscription from Krannon that Thessaly would have been in financial trouble following the wars of Roman intervention in Thessaly against Antiochus. (Austen, 264). Evidence for eisphora in Thessaly: see Migeotte *Les souscriptions,* 346. Migeotte sees it as an exceptional direct tax in this case. Though it would only have fallen on those with a certain level of wealth.

Macedonian hegemony, things had clearly changed economically, but the culture of benefaction still existed, and now was also a valuable tool for the Successors of Alexander to maintain a good relationship with the Greek poleis with whom they interacted, to the point that benefaction was seen as a core aspect of "ideal" Hellenistic kingship. [140]

Discussion

Despite the limited number of inscriptions describing direct funding from Thessaly, the number is not unusual compared to most other regions of the Greek world, with the exceptions of Athens and Delos, two cities that were major centers in antiquity and have received disproportionate scholarly attention. The presence of five inscriptions that discuss either the direct funding of construction or maintenance of buildings from Thessaly demonstrates that by the Hellenistic period at the latest the same forms of public financing were in use in the region as were utilized in the wider Greek world. Hellenistic monarchs were engaged in the same exchange relationship between polis and ruler across the Mediterranean, exchanging gifts for political legitimacy. While we do not know how much money was being contributed by Hellenistic monarchs, the fact that they were also contributing alongside individuals, as in the inscription from Larisa, seems to suggest that they were not fully funding all projects, as Migeotte noted.[141] Even the contribution from Amyandros (if he was a king), while large, was not enough to fully fund the fortification of Melitaea. Instead, contributions seem to focus on infrastructure which cast monarchs as good members of the Hellenic community.

[140] Billows, *Kings and Colonists,* 58

[141] Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques*, 95-7 (no. 33).

This brings us to one of the central questions of this study: Does euergetic funding by Hellenistic monarchs represent a form of coherent policy to shape the form of the polis? Yes and no. It was not conceived of as a modern spending plan, with funds earmarked for different projects across a ruler's territory. Instead, in the case of those donations attested in honorific inscriptions, the primary goal seems to have been the same as those of wealthy elites from the cities, namely, exchanging gifts for honor and recognition within the community, and any political benefits which came with that. Rulers were following the same protocols as the polis elite, in terms of using the polis as a venue for political advancement. They seem not to have used benefaction to carry out large and costly projects, such as the construction of fortifications or cities. That is not to say that they did not pay for these projects, which are attested in literary sources, though often without details. Those benefactions inscribed and displayed publicly were instead designed to portray rulers in a positive light, integrating them into the honorary systems of the polis along with local elites.

The question of whether the Hellenistic period saw a lessening of democratic values and an "oligarchisation" of the polis is a complicated one, and it assumes that the polis of the classical period was a democratic institution. As we see in the case of Athens, which even at its most radically democratic was still a deeply unequal city, the *demos* was able to utilize the wealth of the elite of its own ends though a symbiotic relationship of benefaction and honors.[142] Euergetic institutions like the trierarchy, *choregea*, and liturgies can be seen as ways for the democracy to make use of the wealth of individuals for the good of the city. While this is an

[142] An argument made in depth by Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens* (Princton University Press, 1991).

interpretation centered on Athens in the Classical period, we can see the structure more broadly. In most parts of the Greek world, euergetism was a way for elites to use their wealth to purchase honors and political power, with benefaction of the people as a secondary goal. Yet this interaction allowed the city to turn the wealth of the elite to its own ends via collective decision making. Certainly, the Hellenistic monarchs had no trouble fitting themselves into the framework as it existed at the start of the Hellenistic period, and cities were wary of the motives of monarchs from the start.

Overall, in Thessaly, there are three confirmed examples of public subscription, from Larisa, Krannon, and Gonnoi. Alongside this, we see an inscription detailing civic works carried out at Skotoussa by local figures related to the administration of public fortifications and the donation of a large sum of money to the fortifications of Melitaea for the construction of a section of fortifications by Amyandros.[143] We see subscriptions and donations both attested, with monarchs taking part in both institutions, alongside citizens. We see this both with the practice of euergetism as well as with the larger scale practices of synoecism, discussed below.

Ruling by decree and benefaction?

How should we understand the funding of infrastructure and the meeting of other costs in Hellenistic cities by benefaction? While the inscriptions related to benefaction from Thessaly are limited, they demonstrate two things related to funding and policy in the Hellenistic period. First,

[143] V. Missailiadou-Despotidou, "A Hellenistic Inscription from Skotussa (Thessaly) and the Fortifications of the City," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 88 (1993), 217.

they show that euergetism was a part of polis life in Thessaly, with the same dynamics as in the rest of Greece, despite the smaller number of inscriptions. Gift-giving was still important in Thessaly, despite the perceived peripherality of the region. The elites of Thessaly were as integrated into the fabric of competitive benefaction as were the elites of other regions. As Stamatoupoulou has shown, Thessalians are attested internationally, just as elites from other regions are.[144]

Secondly, as we can see from the lengthy inscription from Skotoussa, which is not a euergetic inscription *per se*, the citizen councils of Thessaly were still engaged in the daily minutiae of civic politics in the Hellenistic period.[145] Civic councils were important parts of polis administration, even during the Hellenistic period when the Successors were in power. This is illustrated by the fact that even Demetrias, an *ex novo* foundation of the Antigonids, had the civic council and political workings of a polis, despite the control and investment of its founders. These civic councils were the interface through which the Successors worked to achieve their goals. Especially after Antigonus' proclamation of the freedom of the Greeks, both the Antigonids and other Successors chose to portray themselves as benefactors on the side of the Greek poleis. Even the frequent use of the title *euergites* by the Successors speaks to this. When they provided money directly to cities in the form of benefactions, it made political (and propagandistic) sense to frame them as gifts, despite the self-serving nature of the benefaction. When non-monetary gifts were given, they were religious or military dedications, though both

[144] Maria Stamatoupoulou "Thessalians Abroad: The Case of Pharsalos", *Mediterranean Historical Review. 22(2),* 2007, 214-28.
[145] SEG 41.311.

those and gifts for the construction or maintenance of infrastructure did the same thing: they legitimatized the Successors and integrated them into the social circle of the Greek polis elite. We can see this in donations such as that for the refurbishment of the gymnasium by Philip V, literally placing himself as first among equals in the list of benefactors.

While the few inscriptions we have from Thessaly do not treat polis finances in much detail, there is at least one exception, Krannon.[146] This inscription details not only the call for benefaction from members of the city's elite but also demonstrates how dire the city's financial situation was. As Austen notes, the city was likely under great financial stress from the constant wars in the region.[147] Yet when the city was in need, it is interesting that they turned to their own citizens and not an external benefactor.

Outlines of Antigonid Foundations

Unfortunately, the evidence for foundations in Thessaly in not as detailed as in other parts of the Greek world, such as Ptolemaic Egypt or the Seleucid Empire.[148] However, we can understand some of the dynamics of the policies and strategies in the region by looking at how these processes worked in other locations, from which there is more abundant epigraphic evidence. Combined with the archaeological remains, we can begin to better understand how urbanism changed between the late Classical and Hellenistic periods.

Processes of Synoecism

[146] Originally published as Moretti II.99, later in Migeotte 1992 no.34. See 85-86 below for further discussion.
[147] Austen, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest,* 227-8.
[148] Exceptions, notably Demetrias, do exist however.

Synoecism, the act of bringing two or more settlements into one political community, under the same constitution, is an important but still not wholly understood process.[149] The process of Synoecism was part of the original formation process of the polis, while the age of the Successors brought about a new intensity and new context for the act. The Successors were familiar with the process thanks to their time campaigning with Alexander, who founded numerous settlements. The Successors adopted this strategy and turned it to the ends of their dynastic ambitions.[150] This resulted in the creation of numerous planned settlements designed to consolidate power in different regions.

In Thessaly, this includes sites such as New Halos, Demetrias, and Kallithea/Peuma. This process was a formidable and costly challenge, requiring vast resources. Each city would also require a population drawn from a mix of sources, including mercenaries and veterans, whom the Successors wished to settle (in a similar way to *kleruchies*). It would in many cases also include people from settlements, usually nearby, which would be either partially or fully depopulated, and maybe physically destroyed, possibly against the people's wishes. In this light, it is not surprising that not all of these settlements were successful in becoming long-lasting urban communities. This included the creation of a constitution and political community alongside the building of the physical settlement. While we have some documents from Thessaly that shed light on the social and political makeup of poleis from this period, we lack the detailed accounts that we see in other parts of the Greek world.

[149] Though in some cases the physical settlements may remain distinct.

[150] Austen, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest,* 99.

One of the most detailed examples is that from the synoecism of Teos and Lebedus, in Asia Minor. While this inscription does not come from Thessaly, it does represent an act of Antigonus Gonatas, who also operated in Thessaly. This is the case even though the plans were abandoned after the death of Antigonus, and as Austen notes, the communities seem to have been uninterested in the idea.[151] Austen argues that while the letter is framed as offering advice to the two cities, it is, in fact, an order, requiring the settlements to join together for Antigonus' benefit. This dynamic of imperial rulers phrasing their commands as friendly advice is not unusual, and it falls in line with the Successors', and especially the Antigonid, approach to the rule of Greek cities after the proclamation of the "freedom of the Greeks" by Antigonus.[152] There were likely many strategic reasons for forcing the settlements to synoecize. As Billows has noted, Macedonian imperialism required Greek "person power", in the form of both mercenaries and trained, Greek-speaking administrators, to function.[153]

The inscription, SEG 2.79, suggests that it would be the Lebedeans who moved from their city to the new site, with the Teans remaining. It is unclear whether the site of Teos would remain in the exact same place, or if it was to be shifted slightly (as seen with the refoundation of New Halos a short distance from the site of the destroyed Classical Halos). It appears the Lebedeans, and presumably the Teans if the city were moved, would be provided with plots of land on which to build new homes. The inscription also includes the provision that enough houses should be left standing to provide shelter to citizens of both cities for the duration of

[151] Austen, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest,* 99.
[152] Austen, *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest,* 80-82. Diodorus 19.27.2-29.
[153] Billows, *Kings and Colonists,* 206-12.

construction of the new synoecized city. These free building plots came with several stipulations. Notably, there was a time limit within which construction of a house had to begin, otherwise the land would revert to public ownership. Given the large incentive that the roofs of the Lebedeans' houses would be provided (a sizable contribution given the weight and transport costs associated with roof tiles), there was likely reluctance amongst the Lebedeans to undertake the move to Teos. The fact that the houses needed to be constructed within three years and roofs would be paid for only in the four years following the proposed synoecism suggests that there was a relatively short timeline for the construction of the new city. The threat of demolition for any homes falling outside of the city limits also suggests a desire for centralization and control of the population. It would be unsurprising if the intent of demolishing homes outside of the city limits was to bring the entirety of the city within a new, yet-to-be-constructed fortification circuit, while also controlling movement in and out of the city.

The strategy to manage financial issues related both to public and private debts, as well as the burden of specific benefactions, is also apparent. It appears from the inscription that Lebedus was in worse financial shape than Teos. As a result, Teos would help to cover the debts of Lebedus, so that the new city could start its life debt-free.[154] A provision with similar intent also covered private debts, setting a time limit for bringing cases of default to court and limiting the amount of interest that could be charged. At the same time, steps were taken to limit the burden that liturgies would have on the wealthy of the city, exempting those who had already paid for some liturgies in the older cities while also exempting the Lebedeans entirely for a set time.

[154] SEG 2.79, lines 5-19, cover numerous goods that will be exempted from taxation, including woolen goods, beehives, dyeing, and timber products.

While new benefaction was limited in order to ease the financial burden, those who had already received rewards for their benefaction were entitled to keep those benefits in the new city, in the same manner as *proxenoi* rights, speaking to the importance of benefaction to the city's elite.

If the inscription represents what was in practice an order from Antigonus, it would appear from it that he relied principally on incentives rather than force. However, the willingness of Antigonus to use force, if necessary, would have not been lost on the cities in question. The Successors had vast armies that could be called on if cities did not comply. Compare, for example, Philip V's letters to Larisa "gently" implying that he would be present for any hearings relating to citizenship disputes that went against his previous suggestions.[155] This thinly veiled threat of violence was, however, not the first choice of the Successors. The propaganda value of good relations with poleis was more valuable for maintaining control over the Greek world following Antigonus' claim that cities would be self-governed (even if their independence involved a Macedonian garrison being stationed in the city). These incentives included land within the city for the construction of homes, subsidies for the building of those homes (especially the expensive and heavy roof tiles), the retention of honors granted by the synoecized cities, and citizenship within the new city. Additionally, in line with the Macedonian policy of self-governance, the citizens of the new city were allowed to select under what constitution they would be governed (they opted for the constitution of Cos).[156] Alongside these benefits,

[155] *Syll* [3] *543 and IG IX 2.517. Austen no. 75.* At lines 35-39, Philip expresses his desire that citizenship be restored to any who have had it revoked. In any cases where offenses were committed against the city or the monarch, he states he will personally deal with them upon return to the city.

[156] It is not clear why they opted for the constitution of Cos. It is, however, interesting that they chose to select an existing city's constitution rather than drafting their own, new constitution. It would be unsurprising if this choice was made to expedite the project of synoecism.

provisions are made for the repayment or cancellation of debts as well as the resolution of legal cases. Taken together, this would have allowed for the creation of a politically autonomous and financially viable city. Given that Lebedus seems to have been in bad financial straits, this may have been an opportunity to deal with the difficulties of Lebedus while also centralizing Antigonid control.[157]

It is worth bearing in mind, that these decisions would have overwhelmingly benefited the cities' citizens, that is to say, a substantial minority, excluding women, slaves, and those who for financial or other reasons did not qualify for citizenship. This again is unsurprising, given that the Successors were most concerned with their ability to control areas of the Greek world, draw Greek-speaking manpower from the cities in the form of administrators and mercenaries, and extract wealth from their holdings.[158] Yet it is worth remembering that the majority of people affected by the synoecism would likely not be covered under the provisions for synoecism if they were not landowners in some capacity. Our understanding of how the disenfranchised would have experienced this form of imperial synoecism is still not complete, but it was likely not a positive experience, involving the removal from traditional homes, followed by the destruction of those homes. One of the few benefits offered to much of the population would have been the provisioning of grain for the new city. This would have been a necessity to feed the population, especially given that we do not know how the synoecism would have changed the ownership of agricultural land outside of the city and its productivity.

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[157] Perhaps an Antigonid "cooking of the books", effectively canceling outstanding debts by decree.
[158] Billows, *Kings and Colonists,* 79-80.

Thessalian Synoecism in Practice: Demetrias

We can contrast the proposed synoecism of Teos and Lebedus with that of Demetrias in Magnesia. Demetrias was founded on the Pagasitic Gulf, and its creation involved the synoecism of numerous settlements in the region, described by both Strabo (9.5.15) and a later inscription detailing settlements absorbed later as the city expanded.[159] Like Teos and Lebedus, Demetrias was planned by the Antigonids and, despite its name, was begun under the direction of Antigonus Gonatas in 293 BCE. The site was therefore planned slightly earlier than the 303 BCE inscription from Teos, but we see similar goals in the foundation and strategy of the Antigonids there. Both sites aimed to consolidate people and resources and drew together a population from the surrounding settlements. In both cases, provision was made for the governance of the new settlements, despite the seeming differences in scale between the two synoecisms. Demetrias was conceived to control the Pagasetic Gulf, allowing access to the sea from Thessaly, and by extension Macedon to the north. This made the city a lynchpin to Antigonid strategy in mainland Greece and one of the "fetters of Greece".

Yet while Demetrias was clearly a part of not only the military strategy of the Antigonids but also their political and royal strategy, with its *anaktoron*, it was also a polis. There has been scholarly debate about the polis status of the city: the question of how a city ruled by Macedonian kings could be considered a self-governed political community is a divisive one, caught up in broader questions of the status of the polis during the Hellenistic period.[160] However, self-governance on the on the level of the city and overarching control by a larger

[159] Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical sites, *Demetrias.* Strabo, *Geo*. 9.5.15.
[160] John Ma, *Antichos III and the Cities of Asia Minor,* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 150-174.

kingdom are not mutually exclusive. Tyrannic and oligarchic constitutions have always been a part of the political landscape of the Greek world, and while the Hellenistic period changed the dynamic with more powerful, centralized, imperial authorities, the polis continued to exist as one layer of political association, with other leagues based on regional or ethnic associations co-existing. Rather than viewing the idea of an independent, "pure" polis free from outside influence as the only form of polis, we should look to the institutions of the city to understand the daily administration and life of the people of the city, and the effects of the changing political association on them.[161] From this point of view, despite Antigonid control or intervention, we still see a city that operated in a recognizable way, with civic councils, phylic associations, festivals, and other "polis" institutions still present.[162]

The Antigonids attempted to tie themselves into the fabric of a Greek polis by associating with those institutions that were traditionally part of an autonomous community. Demetrias had priesthoods in the same manner as any other polis, and the city celebrated important festivals as is customary in all Greek cities. In Demetrias (as at other cities, compare the new tribal associations named after Antigonus and Demetrias), the Antigonids integrated themselves into religious and civic life by sponsoring sacrifices. We also see institutions like the *Kynegoi*, roughly equivalent to the *epheboi*, but with a more Macedonian heritage, attested at Demetrias.[163] The Antigonids even went as far as to celebrate a cult of the *ktesiai* at Demetrias, a

[161] Hansen, M. H. "The Autonomous City-State. Ancient Fact or Modern Fiction?." In *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*, ed. Mogens H. Hansen and Kurt Raaflaub, (Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), 43.
[162] Ma, John, *Antichos III and the Cities of Asia Minor,* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 214-219.
[163] Babis Intzesiloglou "The Inscription of the Kynegoi of Herakles from the ancient theater of Demetrias," in *Inscriptions and History of Thessaly: New Evidence* (Volos: Hellenic Epigraphy Society, 2006) 73-7.

form of worship associated with the foundation and founders of colonies. This process of integrating the Antigonids with the newly founded city was likely not unique to Demetrias, as the spread of the ruler cult in the Hellenistic period suggests.

Part and parcel of this process was the use of funding and benefaction, both direct monetary funding or dedications and gifts, with their accompanying honors, both provided important propaganda value in line with the declaration of the "freedom of the Greeks", while also allowing the Successors to present themselves as the first among equals when it came to competitive gift giving. That said, the total value of the benefactions given in this way seems relatively minor. When we look at the whole Greek world to fill in the gaps in our knowledge from Thessaly, royal gifts more frequently consisted of dedications than gifts for infrastructure. When they did occur, this kind of gift was likely more valuable for its creation of goodwill and the smoothing over of tensions with poleis. Yet massive amounts of money must have been invested into construction and infrastructure. Looking at the remains of the Hellenistic period, there is construction on an entirely new scale within Thessaly and the wider Greek world. This is despite the political instability of the period. The Successors had the wealth to build massive fortifications such as those at Demetrias, as well as to subsidise the construction of households at places like Teos. This is while also outlaying large amounts of money for the payment of soldiers, the conduct of military campaigns, and countless other expenses. Compared to the bankrupt poleis like Krannon, they seemed to have been in far better financial positions.

Inscriptions from Thessaly

Isolated *Epidosis* inscriptions

One category of inscriptions that have not been touched on in the main text of this chapter are isolated inscriptions bearing only the term "epidosis". Being only one word, interpreting these inscriptions is difficult, and a satisfactory explanation has not been reached regarding them. Four are known from New Halos, four from Demetrias, one from Phthiotic Thebes.[164] In the case of New Halos and Phthiotic Thebes, the context of the inscriptions appears to be domestic. On the other hand, two of the examples from Demetrias come from near the city walls (one possibly in the area of a quarry) and one is inscribed on the back of a grave stele.[165] Haagsma offers two possible suggestions for the examples from Halos. Firstly, that these inscriptions represent a kind of honorary decree displayed in relation to the household, and secondly, they commemorate the gift of land to the household, related to the foundation of the city. This seems to be the more likely of the two possibilities, given the private display of the stones and lack of other text. However, Harder et al. have argued that the context for the inscriptions is too unclear to come to solid conclusions, but still suggest they could have functioned like *horoi*, and marked out some form of mortgage.[166] In the cases of the New Halos inscriptions and those from other cities in Thessaly, it is currently not possible to come to a firm conclusion on these inscriptions, but they are included here for completeness.

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[164] Haagsma 2010 also includes an example from Almiros, but this example also includes the name if a dedicator Eukratis, and the dedicatee, Artemis, seemingly making it a votive inscription.

[165] For New Halos: Margriet Haagsma, *Domestic Economy and Social Organization at New Halos (PhD. Diss. University of Groningen* 2010), 225-8. Harder et al. "Inscriptions form Halos," *Pharos.23 (2),* 55-60.
For Demetrias: IG IX.2.395., *Praktika 1907, 1912.* For Phthiotic Thebes *Praktika 1907.*

[166] Harder et al. "Inscriptions from Halos," *Pharos.23 (2),* 60.

1. Gonnos

- - - - - - - - - - - - - -
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -- - - - - - -Δ
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -- - - - - - ΛΑΟΥ
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - λωνίδης Ευπο-
λέμοθ -χ- - - - - - - Σ -Μάνιγχος
- - - - - - - - - - χ-Ευρύλαος Αντιγόνου -Τ -Πι
- - - - - - - - - ου – Τ- Δημαίνετος Διχαι
- - - -χ - - - - - - Παρ]μενίωνος -Τ-Δημο-
- - - - - - - - χ - - - κράρης Ευνόστου – Φ
- - - - - - - - - - - - - - και ο αδελφός – Φ-
- - - - - - - - - - - τόνου – Σ -Σωκράτης
- - - - - - - χ - - - -Πυρρίχου – Σ -Ευφη
[μος - - - -χ- - -ης Σωκράτους – Σ-
- - - - - - - - -Σ- - Ευβίοτος Δη –
- - - - - - - - - - - - - Τράτου -Σ-Μενε-
- - - - - - - - - - - -οτος Αμυνάνδρου -Τ-
(Traces of three lines)

The focus of the funding is not known, but the names of funders and large quantities of money in the hundreds (though denominations are not known) led both Migotte and Helly to suggest this is a list of public subscription donors.[167] The names are too incomplete for prosopographic study, but Helly puts the number at around 20 individuals.[168] He suggests that the subscription may be similar to that at Krannon, aimed at dealing with the city's debt.[169]

[167] Originally published in ArchEph (1913) 48, 177. Migeotte, *Les souscriptions publiques dans les cités grecques* 1992, 96. See Arvanitopoulos 1913, *Arch. Eph.* Helly 1973, 133-4 (number 113). Migeotte 1992, number 35, for further discussion.

[168] Helly, *Gonnoi II: les Inscriptions*, 133.

[169] Helly, *Gonnoi II: les Inscriptions,* 134.

2. Krannon

Ὁμολοθίοι δευτέρα, στραταγέ[ν]-
τος τοῦν Πετθαλοῦν Κτρατεραί-
οι Διοδοθείοι Λασσαίοι, ταγευόν-
τοθν Φείδοθνος κρατιππείοι, Ἀν-
τιφάνει Κρατιππείοι, Φείδουνος
Εὐδοζείοι, Πανταύχοι, Ἀγασικρα-
τείοι, Ἀναξίπποι Μαρυαίοι, ταμι[ευ]-
όντουν Μενάνδροι Φιλοκλείοι, Φιλο-
κλεῖ Ἀστοδαμείοι . ἐπειδεί ἁ πόλι[ς]
ἐν δανείοις πλειόνεσσι ὑπάπχει δι-
ὲ τὸς πεστάντας αὐτα πολέμος καὶ
χρόνος εἴδει πλείονας ἔλκονθαι τὰ
δάνεια. Ἀναξίπποι Μαρσυαίοι λέ-
ξαντος. ἔδοξε τοῦ κοινοῦ τᾶς πόλ-
λιος. πρέπον<τον> ἔμμεν καὶ ἐπιτάδει-
ον τοῖς πολίταις ἕκαστον ἐς τοῦν κα-
θ ἰτδίαν ἀντιλλαβέσθαι τΑς πόλλι-
ος οὔστε μάλιστα μὲν ἐς πάντουν ἐ-
γλυθεῖ τοῦν δ[α]νείου, εἰ δὲ μεέ γε ἐς
τοῦν πλείστουν, καὶ ἐπαγγέλλασθαι
τΑ πόλι τὸς δευμένος παρ᾽ ἐκκλεισίαι
ἕκαστον καττό κε βελλείτει δοθρρὰν τᾶ
<τα> πόλι ἐν τὰ διεσφειμένα δάνεια.
τὰμ μὰ ἐπαγγελλίαν ποιείσασσθα[ι]
ἐν τᾶ Κραστεραίοι στραταγία καὶ τὸς ἐ-
παγγελλαμένος ἐπαινεισαῖ τὰν πό-
λιν οὔστε φανερὸν εἶ πάντεσι ὅτι ἁ
πόλις μναμονεύει τοῦν ἀυταν εὐερ-
γετεισάντουν. τὸς μὰ ταμίας φροντι-
σαι οὔστε πὰρ τοῦν ἐπαγγελλαμένουν
γενειθεῖ τᾶ πόλι ἁ δόσις τοῦν χρειμά-
τουν καττὰς ἐπαγγελίας. ὀνγραφεῖμεν
μὰ τὸς ἐπαγγελλαμένος ἐν κίονα λιθί-
ναν ἕκαστον αὐτοῦν πατρόθεν καθούς
κε ἐπαγγέλλουνθαι, τὸν προῦτον ἐπαγ-
[γ]ελλάμενον προῦτον και τος ἄλλος ἔ-
[πειτα] κα[ττὸ] πλεῖθος τὸς ἐπανγελλα-
[μένος καὶ] σταθεῖμεν τὰν κίονα ἐν ἀ-
[κρόπολιν ἐν τοῦ ἐπιφ]ανεσστάτου τόπου.
----------ταμίας φροωτίσαι
----------ΣΕΠΙΤΑΔΕΙΟΝ
----------ΟΝΓΡΑΦΕΙ
----------ΟΓΝΟΝΟ
----------ΡΟΣ----

See also: Moretti II.99, Migeotte 1992 no.34, Austen 2006, 121.

Translation (after Migeotte 1992)

"Homolouios, second day; being strategist of the Thessalians Crateraios son of Diodouros, Larisean; being tagos Pheidon son of Cratippos, Antiphanès son of Cratippos, Pheidon son of Eudoxos, Pantauchos son of Agasicratès, Anaxippos son of Matsa; being treasurers Menandros son of Philocles and Philocles son of Aristodamos; Since the city has many debts due to the wars which surround it and because these debts have already accumulated for several years; Anaxippos son of Marsyas has made the proposal; it pleased the community of the city: that it

was convenient for the citizens that each one, on his private goods, comes to the assistance of the city, so that it is free, if not of all its debts, at least of the majority, and that the volunteers promise to the city, in front of the assembly, each one according to his desire, a gift to the city for the debts mentioned; that they make the promise while Crateraios is general and that the city honors those who have promised, so that it is clear with the eyes of all that the city remembers its benefactors; that the treasurers take care that those who have promised pay to the city the sums according to their promise; that they inscribe on a stone stele the names of each one of those who will have promised, with their patronymic, what they will have promised, the first to promise in the first place, then the others who will have promised, according to the amount; that one erects the stele on the acropolis, in the most prominent place, ... that the treasurers take care ..

3. Melitaia

Ἀμύανδρος
Μαχάειος τᾶι
Πόλι ἄδωκε έ-
ν τὰν πύλαν κ-
αὶ ἐν τὰ τείχ-
η ἀργυρίου τ-
άλαντα δέχα

Translation: Amyandros, son of Maches gave to the city for the gate and the walls ten talents of silver.

See IG IX.2.208

4. Larisa

Side A
Ταγευόντων Κρατίνοι Κλεομα-
χιδαίοι, Φιλογ[.... ....]ιδαί-
οι, Ῥαδίοι Πανδοκεί[οι], Μολούροι
Σιμείοι, Νυσσάωδροι Θεοδοτείοι,
ταμιεύοντουν τᾶς πόλιος [Θ]εοδό-
τοι, Ἀρχελαιδαίοι, Δαμοιτα Σιμακεί-
οι. τοῦν ποτομφορὰν ποιει-
σαμένουν πὸτ τὸν δᾶμον πὲρ τᾶς
ἐπισκευᾶσ τοῖ γυμνάσσοι καὶ προτρεπομέ-
νουν ἐν τὸ ἐζ ἐπαγγε <λ>ίας γενέσθειν
[τὰ]ν ἐπισσκευάν διὲ τὸ μεῖ ἔμμεν
[χρ]είμματα ἐν τοῦ κοινοῦ καί παρκαλέν-
[το]υν τός δυναμένος.

Side B
Φιλιππος Βασιλευς
Ιπποδρομος Ανδρομαχειος
Ομφαλιουν Μαχουνειος
Αργεαδας Ιπποστρατειος
Πετθαλος Μικιναιος
Φιλισκος Πετθαλειος
Μενανδρος Πολυαινειδαιος
Λύσουν Φειδίαιος
Αλεχανδρος Κρατεισίππειος
Δαμόφιλος Δαμάρχειος
Νικόστρατ[ο]ς Αναζίππειος
Αριστοκλέας Αριστιοθνειος
Περσεύς Φιλίπποι
τοῖ Βασιλείος
Αντιοχος Εχεκρατίδα[ιος]
[...]ιος Μνασία[ιος]
Αστοκράτεις Αστ[οκράτειος]

See: SEG XIII 390 and 393. Moretti II. 102. Migeotte 1992, no. 33. For the most recent analysis Micaletti 2021.[170]

Translation:

When Kratinos, son of Kleomachideas, was tagos, Philog…, son of …ides, Rhadios, son of Pandokos, Molourus, son of Simias, Nysandros, son of Theodotus, When the treasurers of the city were Theodotos, son of Archelaidas, Damoitas, son of Simakos. The tagoi brought forward to the people a proposal for the renovation of the gymnasium because there was no money in the public coffers and suggested the renovation be paid for by donations and made an appeal to those able to do so.

[170] Vincenzo Micaletti "Contributo dei maggiorenti di Larisa per il restauro di un ginnasio", *Axon* 5(1), 2021, 171-185.

King Philip, Hippostratus, son of Andromachos; Omphalion, son of Makon; Argeadas son of Hippostratus, Petthalos, son of Mikines; Philiskos, son of Petthalus; Menander, son of Polyaineidaius; Lyson, son of Phidias; Alexandras, son of Admetus; Admetus, son of Alexander; Theophilidas, son of Thersippus; Lykormas, son of Admantus; Thersandros, son Kratesippus; Damophilus, son od Damarchus; Nikostratus, son of Anaxippus; Aristocleas, son of Aristion; Perseus, son of King Philip; Antiochus, son of Echekrades; …ios, son of Mnasias; Astrocrates, son of Astrocrates.

5.Larisa

[----------] ΕΙΑΒ. [----------]
[---------- -]ένιαυτ[ο---------- -]
[---------- -]ΨΑΦΙΣΜΑ. [----------]
[---------- φρο]ντίξειν οὕστε [----------]
5 [.----------] χ ς τά τοϋν τειχ[έουν]
[---------- έπ]ανγελία τάς προε. [----------]
[----------]N vac. Άφρίοι υστέρα ά[γο------- -]
[ράς νομίμας έόνσας τοϋν τα] γοϋν ποιεισαμένουν μνε[ί]
[αν πότ τόν δάμον πέρ τ]άς έπισκευάς καί κατασκευ-
10 [άς τοϋν τειχέουν πράξειν;] δσσα άναγκαϊα εἴεν καί ύχυ-
[— γραφέντουν τοϋν όνα] λουμάτουν έν τοΰ κοινού τάς
[πόλιος· τάς μά χρείας άναγ]καίας έόνσας καί κατεπειγόν-
[σ α ς---------- έπανγέλ]λονθο τά πόλι rasura
[---------- Ό]μφαλιούνε[ι]ος rasura
15 [έν τάν έπισκευάν καί κατα]σκευάν τοϋν τειχέουν πλινθευ-
[σέμεν δουριάν έν τοϋ] ένεστάκοντι ένιαυτοϋ ές τοϊ ίδιοι
[---------- -] rasura μυριάδα παρεχόνσας τάς π[ό]-
[λιος;---------- -]ος, ές τοϋν δεύσει πλινθευέμεν ΚΑ.-
[.---------- -] Α έπανγέλλανθο μά ούσαύτους ΚΑ-
20 [----------]αιος πλινθευσέμεν δουριάν έπί Ε.-
[.---------- σ]τραταγόν Πόλλιχον τόν ένια[υ]
[τό ν ---------- -]δας δύας καί Ίππόλοχος Άλε-
[ξίππειος καί Κρατίνο]ς Κλεομαχίδαιος καί Με. [-]
[. ---------- .] rasura
25 [----------]Κόττυφος[--------]
[---------- -].Α ΣΤΡΑ Τ.[------- -]

[----------J Α οϋστ[ε ------ -]
[.---------- -]Γ Ε Λ [----------]

See: Tziafalias, A. 1992. " ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΛΑΡΙΣΑΣ " in Διεθνες συνεδριο για την αρχαια Θεσσαλια: στη μνημη του Δημητρη Ρ. Θεοχαρη. Athens: Εκδοση του Ταμειου Αρχαιολογικων Πορων και Απαλλοτριωσεων.

An unusual inscription, recovered as spolia from a church yard enclosure. The small stele is now located in the Diachronic Museum of Larisa (inv. No. 83/132). The inscription describes the need for wealthy citizens to assist in the reconstruction of the cities' fortifications, but by providing mudbricks rather than money.

As Tziafalias notes, the inscription is too fragmentary for a detailed translation of the text: "An exact translation of the inscription is not possible because its verses are quite fragmentary. However, if we focus on the words πλινθευεμεν and πλινθευσεμεν we are informed for the first time that the walls of ancient Larissa were built of raw bricks. The verb πλινθευο, which appears here with the forms πλινθευεμεν (present infinitive) and πλινθευσεμεν (future infinitive), means to make raw bricks."[171]

6. Skotoussa

SEG 43.311

Α
Λειτορεύοντος τοῦ Ἀσκλαπιοῦ Φοξίνοι
Ἐμπεδδιουννε[ίοι μει]ννὸς
Ἑρμαίοι ὑστέρα ἐπ᾽ ἰκάδι: ταγευόντουν
Νικοκράτε̣ο[ς Φοξι]̣νείοι,
Μεγαλοκλέαο Κλεοβουλιδαίοι, Ὀρθαγόραο
Φιλοκρατείοι, Ἀ[μ]φι̣στρά-
4
τοι Ἀμφιττολεμείοι, Νικοκράτεος
Φρυνιαδαίοι · Ἐψαφίξατο ἁ πόλις·
Νικοκράτεος καὶ Πραΰλοι Φοξινείουν,
Ἀγεισίπποι Νικοκρατείοι, Κλε̣ο-
μένεος Νικιαδαίοι, Ὀγχειστοδούροι
Ἀστοδαμείοι λεξάντουν·
συγχουρεισάντουν Δαιμονίοι
Πλειστοξενείοι, Γοργίδαο Γοργείο[ι],
8
ΠΕΡ[- - - - - - -]ΑΟΥΝ κρίσσουν πὸθ αὐτὸς
καὶ τοῦν λοιποῦ[ν]
πάντουν συ[- - - -]αμένουν κ̣τᾶσις πὸτ τοῖς
τειχέεσσι καὶ οἰδε-

[171] "Ακριβής μετάφραση της επιγραφής δεν είναι δυνατό να γίνει διότι οι στίχοι της είναι αρκετά αποσπασματικοί. Αν σταθούμε όμως στις λέξεις πλινθευέμεν και πλινθευσέμεν πληροφορούμαστε για πρώτη φορά ότι τα τείχη της αρχαίας Λάρισας ήταν κατασκευασμένα από ωμές πλίνθους. Το ρήμα πλινθεύω, το οποίο εμφανίζεται εδώ με τους τύπους *πλινθευέμεν* (απαρέμφατο ενεστώτα) και *πλινθευσέμεν* (απαρέμφατο μέλλοντα), σημαίνει κατασκευάζω ωμές πλίνθους." Tziafalias, A. 1992. " ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΑ ΤΕΙΧΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΑΣ ΛΑΡΙΣΑΣ " in Διεθνες συνεδριο για την αρχαια Θεσσαλια: στη μνημη του Δημητρη Ρ. Θεοχαρη. Athens: Εκδοση του Ταμειου Αρχαιολογικων Πορων και Απαλλοτριωσεων, 394.

νὸς ἀντιλέξαντος [- - - -]μένος ὑ̃τ τᾶς πόλιος Νικοκράτειν
Φοξίνειον καὶ Πραΰ̃λον Φοξίνειον, Σουίδαν Νικίαιον, Μεγαλοκλέαν
12
Κλεοβουλίδαιον, Κλεομένειν Νικιάδαιον, Ὀρθαγόραν Φιλοκράτειον,
Πολυκράτειν Νικοκράτειον, Ἁγείσιππον Νικοκράτειον, [Φιλο ?]κρά-
τειν Ὀρθαγορί[δαιον, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -, - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]
Νικιάδ̣αιον[- -]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 6 lines missing -]
22
[- - -ca. 25 - - - - -]ΕΙ[- -]
[- - -ca. 26 - - - - -]Σ[-]
24
Χ. .Ε[- - - ca. 28 - - - -]Ε[- -]
ΘΑΙ. . . . . .Ν[-]
[-]
[- - - ca. 27 - - - -]Ε.Τ[- -]
28
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - ca. 25 - - - - - - - - - - - -]Ξ.Ε.Σ[- - - ca. 10 - - -]ΤΑΠΟΔ
[- -]Π[. .]
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - ca. 42 -]ΕΙ. .Ν. . .Ε.ΕΝ
[- - - - - - - - - - - - ca. 26 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -]ΑΘΕΛΕ.Ε[. . . . . .]ΕΤ[. . . . . .]Υ. .
[- 5 lines missing -]
38
[- -]Τ.Π[- -]
[- -]ΑΙΑ. .Ν
[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 27 lines missing -]
67
[-]τὸ Ἐννεα-
68
πέλεθρον[-]
ΚΑ· ἂτ τοῖ ὑστέροι πύργοι ΤΑ[- -]ΑΡΙΟΣ ἄκαιναι δέκα· ἂτ τοῖ τρέττοι
πύργοι ἄκαιναι δεκαέξ· ἂτ τοῖ ὄντοι τόποι μὲς πὸτ τὰν καμπὰν
τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι τοῖ κὰτ τὸ Κερδοῖον, ν ἐ̣πειδεὶ πλείουν τόπος εἶε {Σ} δά-
72
μοσσος, οἷ κεχόρτισται· ἂτ τᾶς καμπᾶς τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι τοῖ κὰτ τὸ
Κερδοῖον ἄκαιναι πέτταρες, πόδες ἕξ· ν ἂτ τοῖ πύργοι τοῖ γουνιαίοι
τοῖ ἐκκάτου τοῖ Κερδοίοι ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες πέντε· ἂτ τοῖ πύργοι
τοῖ ἒτ τοῦ γουνιαίου τοῖ ἐκκάτου τοῖ Κερδοίοι μὲξ ἐμ ποταμὸν δαμόσ-
76
σαν ἔμμεν μὲς πὸτ τὸν Βύσταν, τὸμ μὰ ὄχον ν ἰδδιουστικὸν ἔμμεν·
ἂτ τοῖ Βύσταο ἂτ τοῖ πρότοι πύργοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ, πόδες ἕξ· ἂτ τοῖ ὑστέ-
ροι πύργοι κὰτ τὰν καμπὰν τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ, πόδες πέν-

τε· ἂτ τοῖ ὑστέροι πύργοι ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες ἕξ· vacat
B
ἂτ τᾶς καμπᾶς τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι ἄκαιναι ἑττά, πόδες
τρεῖς· ἂτ τοῖ τρέττοι πύργοι ἄκαιναι πέντε· ἂτ τοῖ γουνιαίοι τοῖ ἐπι-
στρέφοντος πὸτ τὸν πέτροτον πύργον ἄκαιναι πέντε, πό-
4
δες πέταρες· ἂτ τοῖ πετρότοι πύργοι ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες
ἕξ· ἂτ τᾶς καμπᾶς τοῖ πὸτ τοῦ Ἡρακλείου μεσαπυργίοι δεξᾶς
ἐξειόντουν τὰν πύλαν τὰν ἐπὶ Σκάβας ἄκαιναι ἑττά, πόδες
ἑττά· κὰτ τὸν προῦτον πύργον ἓτ τοῦ κρειμνοῦ, χόρτος· κὰτ τὸ ὕσ-
8
τερον μεσαπύργιον ἓτ τοῦ κρειμνοῦ, χόρτος· κὰτ τὸν ὕστερον
πύργον ἓτ τοῦ κρειμνοῦ, χόρτος· κὰτ τὸν τρέττον πύργον ἓτ τοῦ
κρειμνοῦ, χόρτος· κὰτ τὸν πέτροτον πύργον ἓτ τοῦ κρειμνοῦ, χόρτος·
κὰτ τὸ ἐχόμενον μεσαπύργιον ἐπάνου τοῖ ὄχοι ἓτ τοῦ πρόποδι, χόρ-
12
τος· κὰτ τὸν πέντον πύργον ἐπάνου τοῖ ὄχοι ἓτ τοῦ πρόποδι, χόρτος·
κὰτ τὸν ἕκτον πύργον ἐπάνου τᾶς κράνας, χόρτος· κὰτ τὸν ἕδ-
δομον πύργον πὸτ τᾶ ἀλούου, χόρτος· κὰτ τὸ ἐχόμενον μεσαπύρ-
γιον πὸτ τᾶ ἀλούου, χόρτος· ἂτ τοῖ πύργοι τοῖ γουνιαίοι τοῖ κὰτ τὸ Ἀκε-
16
ράτειον τοῖ ἐπιστρέφοντος ἓτ τὰν πύλαν τὰν ἐπὶ Σκοτέσσαν
ἄκαιναι ἑττά· ἂτ τοῖ ὑστέροι πύργοι ἄκαιναι ἑττά, πόδες τρεῖς·
ἂτ τοῖ τρέττοι πύργοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ, πόδες τρεῖς· ἂτ τοῖ πετρότοι
πύργοι ἄκαιναι ὀττού· ἂτ τοῖ πέντοι πύργοι ἄκαιναι πέντε· ἂτ τοῖ
20
ἕκτοι πύργοι ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες τρεῖς· ἂτ τοῖ ἑδδόμοι πύργοι
ἄκαιναι ἓξ καὶ πός· ἀπομέσοι τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι τοῖ ἀστερᾶς χερρὸς
ἐξειόντουν τὰν πύλαν τὰν ἐπὶ Σκοτέσσαν ἄκαιναι πέτταρες,
πόδες τρεῖς· ἂτ τοῖ γουνιαίοι τοῖ ἐπικαμπίοι ἄκαιναι πέτταρες, πο-
24
δες ὀττού· ἂτ τοῖ ἐπικαμπίοι τοῖ ὑστέροι μεσαπυργίοι ἄκαιναι πέτ-
ταρες, πόδες δύοι· ἂτ τοῖ τρέττοι μεσαπυργίοι κὰτ τὰν ὑδραγου-
γὸν πὸτ τὸν αὐτὸν χόρτον ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες πέντε· ἂτ τοῖ ὑστέ-
ροι πύργοι ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες τρεῖς· ἂτ τοῖ τρέττοι πύργοι ἄκαι-
28
ναι πέτταρες, πόδες ὀττού· ἂτ τοῖ πετρότοι πύργοι ἄκαιναι πέτ-
ταρες, πόδες ὀττού· ἂτ τοῖ ἐχομένοι μεσαπυργίοι τᾶς ὑστέρας
δειξόας ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες ὀττού· ἂτ τοῖ γουνιαίοι τοῖ πέντοι πύρ-
γοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ· κὰτ τὸν αὐτὸν πύργον ἂτ τοῖ γουνιαίοι τοῖ ἐπιστρέ-
32
φοντος πὸτ τὰν ἄκραν ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες ἑττά· ἂτ τοῖ πρού-

τοι πύργοι τᾶς ἄκρας τοῖ ποτεχέ⟨ο⟩ς τοῦ Μιρούνδα ἄκαιναι ἑττά, {π}
πόδες τρεῖς· ἀτ τᾶς καμπᾶς τοῖ ἐχομένοι μεσαπυργίοι ἄκαινα[ι]
ἕξ, πόδες πέντε· ἀτ τοῖ ὑστέροι πύργοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ· ἀτ τοῖ ἐχομ[έ]-
νοι ἐπικαμπίοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ· ἀτ τοῖ ὄντοι ἐπικαμπίοι, οὑς τὸ προπάπβα[σ]-
σόν ἐστι, δαμόσσαν ἔμμεν· ἀτ τοῖ πύργοι τοῖ τρέττοι τοῖ ἐπὶ γουν[ο]ῦ
ἀτ τοῖ προπβάσσοι ἀκαιναι πέντε, πόδες ὀττού· ἀτ τ[οῖ] ἐχομένοι
μεσαπυργίοι ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες ὀττού· ἀτ τοῖ πετρότοι πύργοι ἀκα[ι]-
ναι ἕξ· ἀτ τοῖ πέντοι πύργοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ· άτ τοῖ έκτοι πύργοι άκαιναι
ἕξ· ἀτ τοῖ ἐχομένοι μεσαπυργίοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ· ἀτ τοῖ ἑδδόμοι πύργοι
ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες πέντε· ἀτ τοῖ ὀδδόοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ, πόδες δύοι·
ἀτ τοῖ ἐνότοι ἄκαιναι ἕξ· ἀτ τοῖ δεκότοι ἄκαιναι ἓξ καὶ πός· ἀτ τᾶς
διεξόας τᾶς κὰτ τὸ ἐχόμενον μεσαπύργιον ⟨πὸτ⟩ τᾶ πυλίδι ἄκαιναι
ἕξ· ἀτ τοῖ προύτοι πύργοι τοῖ πὸτ τᾶ πυλίδι τοῖ ἐπιστρέφοντος πὸτ
τὰν πύλαν τὰν ἐπ᾽ Αὐλούνα ἄκαιναι ἓξ καὶ πός· ἀτ τᾶν ὑδραγου-
γοῦν τᾶν κὰτ{ο} τὸ Ἐλένειον ἄκαιναι ἓξ καὶ πός· ἀτ τᾶς καμπᾶς
τοῖ ὑστέροι πύργοι τοῖ ἀτ τᾶν ὑδραγουγοῦν ἄκαιναι ὀττού, vacat
πόδες ἕξ· κὰτ τὰν διεξόαν τὰν ὑστέραν τοῖ αὐτοῖ μεσαπυργίοι
ἄκαιναι ἐννέα, πόδες τρεῖς· ἀτ τᾶς καμπᾶς τοῖ μεσαπυργίοι, οὑς
ά ὑδραγουγός ἐστι, ἄκαιναι ἐννέα, πόδες δύοι· ἀτ τᾶς ἐχομένας
καμπᾶς ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες ὀττού· ἀτ τοῖ ἐχομένοι μεσαπυργίοι
ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες τρεῖς· ἀτ τᾶς ἐχομένας καμπᾶς τοῖ μεσα-
πυργίοι ἄκαιναι πέντε· ἀτ τοῖ πύργοι τοῖ γουνιαίοι τοῖ ἔ⟨τ⟩ τοῦ κρειμνοῦ
τοῦ πὸτ τᾶ πύλα τᾶ ἐπ᾽ Αὐλούνι ἄκαιναι πέντε, πόδες τρεῖς· vacat
Τὰ ἐντὸς τᾶς πόλιος ἀτ τοῦν Ἀντιλαείουν μὲς πὸτ τὸν πύργον τᾶς
πύλας τᾶς Αὐροσχαδοφόροι ἐκρίνναμεν ἀτ τοῖ τείχεος ἀπεχέμεν
πόδας δεκαδύος, ἀτ τοῖ πύργοι τοῖ ὑστέροι τᾶς Αὐροσχαδοφόροι μὲς
πὸτ τὰν πύλαν τὰν ἐπ᾽ Ἐννεαπέλεθρον, ἐπιδεὶ πλείουν τόπος εἶε
δάμοσσος, οἷ τ᾽ ἐχορτίσθει, ἀτ τᾶς πύλας τᾶς ἐπ᾽ Ἐννεαπέλεθρον
ἀτ τοῖ τείχεος κύκλου μὲς πὸτ τὸν Μιρούνδαν, οὑς ά ποτοικοδομία ἐστι
τοῖ τείχεος τοῖ ἐς πόλιος πὸτ τὸ τεῖχος τᾶς ἄκρας πόδας ἵκατι ν κὰτ
τὸς τόπος, τὸς κεῖνθαι χόρτοι, τᾶν ΕΝΤΟΣΟΥΙΑΝ τᾶς πόλιος, κὰτ τὸν
τρέστεγον πύργον ἐπάνου τᾶς ἐσδρομᾶς τᾶς ἀτ τοῖ τρεστέγοι, κὰτ
τὸν ὕστερον πύργον ἀτ τοῖ τρεστέγοι, κὰτ τὰν ὄμβασιν τὰν προύταν
ἀτ τοῖ τρεστέγοι, κὰτ τὸν πέτροτον πύργον, κὰτ τὰν καμπὰν τοῖ τεί-

χεος τὰν προύταν ἂτ τοῖ ἐχομένοι πύργοι,
κὰτ τὸν ἕκτον πύργον,
68
κὰτ τὰν πύλιδδα, κὰτ τὸν πύργον ἂτ τᾶς
πύλας τᾶς ἐπὶ Σκάβας,
κὰτ τὸν ὕστερον πύργον, κὰτ τὸν τρέττον
πύργον, κὰτ τὸν πέτροτον
πύργον, κὰτ τὸν πέντον πύργον, κὰτ τὸν
ἕ̣κ̣τον πύργον, κὰτ τὸν ἕδ-
δομον πύργον, κὰτ τὸ γουνιαῖον τοῖ ὀδδόοι
πύργοι, κὰτ τὸν ἔνοτον πύρ-
72
[γο]ν, κὰτ τὸν δέκοτον πύργον, οὑς ἀ
ὄμβασίς ἐστι, κὰτ τὸν ἐνκαιδέ-
[κο]̣τον πύργον ἂτ τοῖ ἐπικαμπίοι τοῖ κὰτ
τὰν Περσείαν, κὰτ τὸν κα-
[. .]ν ἐν τοῦ κάπου Δαιμονείου τοῖ
Πλειστοξενείοι, κὰ̣τ τὰν κράν-
[α]ν τὰν κὰτ τὰ Γοργίδαια, κὰτ τὰν ὄμβασιν
τὰν κὰτ τὰ Γοργίδαι

Translation (from Missailidou-Despotidou 1993)

(A)

When Phoxinos, son of Empeddioun, was priest of Asklepios on the 22nd day of the month Hermaios, during the office of the tagoi Nikokrateis, son of [D]einos, Megalokleas son of Kleboulidas, Orthagoras son of Philokrateis, …stratos son of Amphittolemos, Nikokrateis son of Phryniadas, after Nikokrateis and Praylos sons of Phoxinos, Ageisippos son of Nikokrateis, Kleomeneis son of Nikiadas, Echestodoros son of Astodamos had proposed and with the support of Daimonios son of Pleistoxenos and Gorgidas son of Gorgos, the city voted that ... toward them ... towards the city walls and ... by the city Nikokrateis son of [D]einos... son of Kleoboulidas ... Polykrateis son of Nikokrateis (?) ... Kleomeneis son of Nikiadas ...

…from the second tower... ten akainai (?), from the third tower five akainai ... from the upper (?) ... as far as the bend of the curtain near the Kerdoion because there was more public space, there it has been left uncultivated as pasturage; from the bend of the curtain near the Kerdoion, 4 akainai 2 (?) feet; from the tower at the corner below the Kerdoion, 5 akainai 5 feet; from the tower near the corner one below the Kerdoion as far as the river to be public area as far as towards Bystas, but the conduit to be private.

From Bystas, from the first tower, 6 akainai 6 feet; from the second tower near the bend of the curtain, 6 akainai 5 feet; from the second tower, 5 akainai 6 feet; from the bend of the curtain, 7 akainai 3 feet; from the third tower, 5 akainai; from the corner of the curtain which turns towards the fourth tower, 5 akainai 4 feet; from the fourth tower, 5 akainai 6 feet; from the

bend of the curtain towards the Herakleion on the right hand as you go out of the gate leading to Skabai, 7 akainai 7 feet.

By the first tower near the cliff, pasture; by the second curtain near the cliff, pasture; by the second tower near the cliff, pasture; by the third tower near the cliff, pasture; by the fourth tower near the cliff, pasture; by the next curtain above the conduit at the foot of the cliff, pasture; by the fifth tower above the conduit at the foot of the cliff, pasture; by the sixth tower above the spring, pasture; by the seventh tower towards the threshing-floor (?), pasture; by the following curtain towards the threshing-floor (?), pasture.

From the tower at the corner by Akerateion, which turns towards the gate leading to Skotessa, 7 akainai; from the second tower, 7 akainai 3 feet; from the third tower, 6 akainai 3 feet; from the fourth tower, 8 akainai; from the fifth tower, 5 akainai; from the sixth tower, 5 akainai 3 feet; from the seventh tower, 6 akainai and 1foot; from the middle of the curtain lying on the left hand as you go out of the gate leading to Skoutessa, 4 akainai 3 feet.

From the corner of the epikampion, 4 akainai 8 feet; from the epikampion of the second curtain, 4 akainai 2 feet; from the third curtain near the water-channel towards the same pasture, 5 akainai 5 feet; from the second tower, 5 akainai 3 feet; from the third tower, 4 akainai 8 feet; from the fourth tower, 4 akainai 8 feet; from the next curtain of the second exit (?), 5 akainai 8 feet; from the corner of the fifth tower, 6 akainai; near the same tower from the corner (of mesapyrgion?) which turns towards the citadel, 5 akainai 7 feet.

From the first tower of the citadel situated next to Miroundas, 7 akainai 3 feet; from the bend of the following curtain, 6 akainai 5 feet; from the second tower, 6 akainai; from the

following epikampion, 6 akainai; from the upper (?) epikampion where the propapbasson is, to be public area; from the third tower on the high place (?) from the propbasson, 5 akainai 8 feet; from the following curtain, 5 akainai 8 feet; from the fourth tower, 6 akainai; from the fifth tower, 6 akainai; from the sixth tower, 6 akainai; from the following curtain, 6 akainai; from the seventh tower, 5 akainai 5 feet; from the eighth, 6 akainai 2 feet; from the ninth, 6 akainai; from the tenth, 6 akainai and 1 foot; from the exit (?) near the following curtain towards the postern, 6 akainai.

From the first tower near the postern which turns towards the gate leading to Aulon, 6 akainai and 1 foot; from the water-channels by Heleneion, 6 akainai and 1 foot; from the bend of the second tower from the water-channels, 8 akainai 6 feet; by the second exit (?) of the same curtain, 9 akainai 3 feet; from the bend of the curtain where the water-channel is located, 9 akainai 2 feet; from the following bend, 5 akainai 8 feet; from the following curtain, 5 akainai 3 feet; from the following bend of the curtain, 5 akainai; from the tower at the corner situated near the cliff which is towards the gate leading to Aulon, 5 akainai 3 feet.

As for properties inside the city, we decided that from the Antilaeia to the tower of the Auroschadophoros gate they should be kept from the wall 12 feet; from the second tower of the Auroschadophoros gate to the gate leading to Enneapelethron because there was more public space, 160 there it was left as pasturage: from the gate leading to the Enneapelethron, from the city wall all around as far as to Miroundas where there is the construction of another wall from the city wall to the citadel wall, (to be kept away) 20 feet and (?) to be the places where there are pastures inside (?) the city: by the three-storeyed tower above the sally-port from the three-storeyed tower; by 165 the second tower from the the three-storeyed one; by the first ascent to

the walls from the three-storeyed (tower); by the fourth tower; by the first bend of the wall from the following tower; by the sixth tower; by the postern; by the tower by the gate leading to Skabai; by the second tower; by the third tower; by the fourth 170 tower; by the fifth tower; by the sixth tower; by the seventh tower; by the corner of the eighth tower; by the ninth tower; by the tenth tower where the ascent to the walls is; by the eleventh tower from the epikampion of the curtain located by the Perseia; by the ... (?), inside the garden of Daimonios son of Pleistoxenos; by the fountain near the property (?) of Gorgidas; by the ascent to the walls by the property

7. Pharsalos

Dedication of a stoa. IG 9.2.243. Dedication of a stoa to the city of Pharsalos. Inscribed block out of context, held at Almiros Museum.

[— — — — —]ος
[— — — —]χου Κραννώ-
[νιος πρ]οστάτης τῆς
[πόλεω]ς τὴν στοὰν
[καὶ τὸ σι]τοβόλ̣ειον
[τοῖς θ]εοῖς κα[ὶ τ]ῇι πό-
[λει].

Translation

"…of Krannon, was patron of the city, having set up a stoa to the city and the gods

8 Stoa at Pharsalos

Inscription IG IX.2 Thess I.52, from Pharsalos, 300-250 BCE.

Λεωνίδης Πρωτέου Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς τὴν στοὰν καὶ τὰ οἰκήματα τὰ ἐν τῆι στοᾶι πάντα ἀνέθηκεν
τῆι πόλει. ἡ δὲ πόλις καὶ οἱ ταγοὶ ἀεὶ οἱ γινόμενοι καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐκ τῶν προσόδων τῆς στοᾶς καὶ τῶν οἰκημάτων πάντων παρέξουσι διὰ βίου τοῖς νεανίσκοις τοῖς ἐν τῶι γυμνασίωι ἀλειφομένοις
ἔλαιον ἱκανὸν δίδοντες κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς γυμνασιάρχοις καὶ προσδιδότωσαν
τοῖς γυμνασιάρχοις εἰς ἀγῶνα γυμνικὸν καὶ λαμπάδα μνᾶς δύο. ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν προσαγορευέσθω Λεωνίδεια καὶ ὁ κῆρυξ ἀνακηρυσσέτω τὸν νικῶντα· {²*rasura*}² τὸν δὲ ἀγῶνα οἱ γυμνασίαρχοι ποιείτωσαν
Διψίου τῆι τετράδι ἰσταμένου· τὸ δὲ περισσὸν ἀργύριον λαμβανέτω ἡ πόλις, ἐπισκευαζέτω δὲ τὴν στοὰν κατ᾽ ἐνιαυτὸν ὧν ἂν προσδέηται.

Translation:

"Leonidas, son of Proteas, of Halicarnassus, dedicated to the city the Stoa and all the stores located in the Stoa. The city and the tagos successively in office and the treasurers, from the revenues of the Stoa and all the shops, will provide the young people who take part in the gymnasium exercises oil, which they will give in sufficient quantities each year to the to the gymnasiarchs, and they must also give the gymnasiarchs two mina for a gymnastic game and a lampadedromy (footrace). The game must be named Leonidaia and the herald must proclaim the winner. The gymnasiarchs must celebrate the game on the fourth day at the beginning of the month Dipsios. The city will receive any remaining funds, but will make annual returns to the stoa, every year, for the necessary repairs".

Translation (after Béquignon, BCH 59 (1935) 514, VIII)

This dedication from Pharsalos in many ways shows the ideal relationship of beneficiation. The benefactor, Leonidas, has provided a one-time donation in the form of a stoa, the revenues of which will not only help pay for the Gymnasium of the city but will also fund an annual race in the benefactor's honor. Leonidas secured his place in the elite of the city, while also ensuring his gift was self-sustaining, repaired and funded by the revenues of the stoa itself.

Making sense of Thessalian Inscriptions

This body of inscriptions is relatively small in comparison to areas where a great deal more archaeological investigation has been carried out, such as Athens and Attica. What is more important is that there is evidence for civic beneficiation in Thessaly involving both kings and citizens. More importantly, this interaction does not seem unusual. This form of civic interaction at the polis level is not only attested in Thessaly, but also well into the Hellenistic period. Like other parts of the Greek world, Thessaly was a region with a robust polis culture, whose elite mediated relationships between the city and Hellenistic monarchs using the language of financial bonification and honorary reward.

Chapter 3: Thessalian Infrastructure

Defining infrastructure

This chapter has several objectives. Firstly, to demonstrate the extent of the cityscape and the scale of construction in the region, fragments of which are often covered in more isolated specialist studies and excavation reports, but not integrated into wider urban and regional studies. Secondly, to show where the written and epigraphic evidence for the financing of urban infrastructure ends, where the archaeological evidence begins, and where the two overlap. Finally, to show the diachronic changes in urban infrastructure that indicate the development of Thessalian urbanism. The overall aim is to understand the association between polis and the Hellenistic kings.

Throughout this chapter, the terms "infrastructure" or "urban infrastructure" are used to describe an extremely broad category of archaeological remains. In some cases, it may seem difficult to justify the inclusion of theaters, defensive fortifications, and gymnasia within the same category. Undoubtedly, my use of this category is broader than that of some other scholars. For example, Karagiorgou's dissertation on the urban and economic life of Thessaly from the 3rd

to 7th centuries AD is more discriminating with its categorizations, dividing more utilitarian constructions like cisterns from the more cultural sites like gymnasia and religious buildings.[172]

The broad inclusion of archeological remains complements the focus on benefaction from the previous section. One way or another, through donations, subscriptions, taxation, or some other, irregular influx of money, urban infrastructure was funded and built. In most cases, these projects were on large scales, taking a great deal of time and money. It stands to reason that those in charge of organizing the finances and logistics of construction did so because there was some form of benefit to themselves and the community (though as the anecdote from Herodotus of Themistocles and the oracle from Delphi to construct "wooden walls" shows, there could be much disagreement when it came to how money should be spent in the name of the community).[173] Though the record of financing is not as complete as we might like, by comparing it to the excavated remains of infrastructure, we can still better understand how infrastructure was funded and constructed, and the resulting political entanglements.

Power and Infrastructure

In dealing with the construction of ancient infrastructure through the competitive venue of benefaction, this study draws loosely on the concept of power and more specifically, infrastructural power as formulated originally by the sociologist Michal Mann.[174] In his discussion of Greek power relations, Mann focuses on the developments of the classical period,

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[172] Cf. Olga Karagiourgou, *Urbanism and Economy in Late Antique Thessaly* (Ph.D Diss., University of Oxford, 2001).

[173] Herodotus, *Histories,* 7.141-144.

[174] Michael Mann,. *The sources of Social Power, Vol. 1: A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760* (Cambridge University Press, 1989).

the polis, and the development of an elite that led to the eventual weakening of democratic ideals.[175] This narrative, and the sociological explanations for them, along with his recognition of the issues with the lack of cohesion of Greek poleis in the face of Macedonian control are compelling, even if they are not all-encompassing. Moreover, Mann's categorization of different forms of power has proven a useful framework for sociologists, historians, and archaeologists to understand and interpret power relationships. This has led to Mann's theories being picked up at different times and utilized in different ways. More recently this has included cross-cultural comparisons by archaeologists and classicists who recognize the utility of these concepts when applied to the written and archaeological record.[176]

It is in this vein that Mann's theory of power is applied here, with particular emphasis on infrastructural power, a facet of social power. While Mann's analysis of Greek antiquity focused on the Classical period and saw the Hellenistic Period and Macedonian domination as an end, as many scholars of the time did, these same theories of social power can be used to understand the complex relationships of different segments of the polis population, the wider Thessalian community, and outside influences from the Macedonians, southern Greeks, and eventually Romans. As Mann notes, societies are made up of "overlapping and intersecting sociospatial networks of power", a framing that describes well the situation in any polis and the broader region.[177] Mann's original conception of his theory breaks power down into categories of power

[175] Mann, *The sources of Social Power, Vol. 1,* 227-28.

[176] For example, Whitmeyer 1997 "Mann's Theory of power – A Sympathetic Critique," *The Journal of British Sociology* 48, no. 2 (1997). For a Classically and Archaeologically focused volume, see Ando and Richardson 2017. *Ancient States and Infrastructural Power: Europe, Asia and America, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2017).*

[177] Mann, *The sources of Social Power, Vol. 1,*1.

such as economic, military, ideological, and political.[178] As Whitmeyer succinctly explains, power is the ability to enforce the decisions or rulings of a government. A political entity that was impotent and unable to enforce its legislation could be said to have little power.

From an archaeological perspective, how is infrastructural power from an ancient state tracked? Is it normally seen as the ability for a state to "get things done", or have its commands followed? In the case of archaeological remains, is it possible to work backward? Physical infrastructure represents the ability of the state to build. In this way, can we track the exercise of power in the archaeological record? This study argues it is possible, but in the context of the polis, this becomes in some ways more complex. Much of the recent scholarship on ancient power has understandably focused on ancient empires, operating on larger scales.[179] However, by understating the dynamics of competitive benefaction, we can understand one facet of how infrastructure was funded and constructed in the polis.

Polis infrastructure

The polis was a site that saw the creation of communal infrastructure. "Communal" need not necessarily imply democratic, or state-controlled, but rather built or provided "for the good of the community". What was "good" for a community was debatable, and undoubtedly infrastructure was experienced differently by individuals of different classes and categories. The value of a theater to a wealthy, male citizen was far greater than the value of the same theater to

[178] Mann *The sources of Social Power, Vol. 1*. Whitmeyer, "Mann's Theory of power – A Sympathetic Critique". *British Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 2 (1997).
[179] See collected papers in Ando and Richardson. *Ancient States and Infrastructural Power: Europe, Asia and America.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2017).

a slave, but readily available drinking water, from fountain houses or eventually aqueducts, would constitute important infrastructure for a broad spectrum of a settlement's community.

As we have seen in the previous chapter, benefactors had their contributions of all kinds commemorated by inscriptions, offering us a view of what they wished to be remembered for. These gifts, recorded as inscriptions on stelai for others to see, must have been considered "worthy" of commemoration. We have seen examples such as the renovation of gymnasia and the construction of fortifications. However, in large part due to lack of preservation, we see far more examples of what can be termed "urban infrastructure" than we have inscriptions detailing the mechanisms of funding. Based on information from outside of Thessaly, it appears that elites and monarchs were engaged in the benefaction of certain kinds of projects, such as fortifications, gymnasia, and stoas. Unlike the polis elites, it was the monarchs who were more likely to begin synoecisms or (re) foundations of cities during the Hellenistic period. This is in contrast to earlier periods of Greek colonization and expansion, when local elites would take on the role of *oikist* and lead an expedition to found a new settlement, often abroad. While this was not solely the purview of the kings during the Hellenistic period, the Diadochi made the process of foundation a matter of royal policy, an extension of the processes started by Philip II and Alexander the Great.

Outside of Thessaly, the proliferation of Greek settlements founded by Alexander and then his generals are well noted. These settlements, especially in the east under the Antigonids and the Seleucids, were integrated into the military strategy of the Successors by the settlement of troops as cleruchs, simultaneously offering military control and fostering Hellenism in the local populace (as a means of imperial control/policy towards indigenous groups). As has been

shown previously, Thessaly had been home to Greek settlements for centuries, which prompts the question to what degree new settlements founded there shared the goals of those founded in areas more distant to the core of the Greek-speaking Mediterranean? Should they be seen as more like the coast of Asia Minor, where, like Thessaly, there was a long history of local polis life?

These questions, while useful, also distract from engaging with the material of Thessaly on its own terms. Comparison with other parts of the Greek world is unavoidable, especially when trying to understand the Mediterranean-wide similarities in Hellenistic city planning and contextualizing the issues of common architectural principles, costs of constructions, and pan-Mediterranean models of elite benefaction. However, as much as possible, this study will attempt to bring these ideas back to the localized study of Thessaly and its perioikoi.

Synoecism, (Re)Foundation, and the polis

The processes of synoecism and refoundation would have had clear effects on the built environment and spatial organization of settlements. The most immediately apparent change, as of the late Classical and Hellenistic periods, is the planned character of the settlements. Orthogonally planned cities with regular urban grid plans had been attested for several centuries in the Greek colonies of the west, in Italy and Sicily. The construction of new, *ex novo* settlements allowed for experimentation with preplanned, pre-divided plots of land amongst the settlers, without the complications of existing property claims or older buildings in the way.

In contrast to this, many older settlements on the Greek mainland were constrained by earlier layouts, often building around or overtop of earlier occupation phases. In many cases, this

resulted in urban plans in mainland Greece where we see two separate hills, one with an older occupation and one with a new grid planned layout, preserved by its destruction in the Hellenistic period. As we will see below, this same process is also attested in Thessaly, though it often consists of an older upper city (an acropolis, generally lacking evidence of habitation), and a later lower city.

Synoecism and the foundation of new settlements in Thessaly and across the mainland theoretically would not have needed to deal with previous settlements in their construction. This would have made them similar in many ways to colonial foundations in Magna Grecia. One major difference was where the citizens would have been drawn from. This has already been discussed in reference to the attempted synoecism of Teos and Lebedus by Antigonus Gonatas, but it bears repeating. In many cases, the people of these cities already had homes and may not have wished to be resettled, especially in a city that may have had a Macedonian Garrison. This movement would have led to the abandonment or destruction of homes, and dramatic changes to the lives of the people in some cases. This centralizing of the population may not have been popular in many cases and could be the reason some of the Hellenistic foundations seem to be abandoned comparatively soon after their foundation.

When it came to selecting locations for new foundations on the mainland, there was also the issue of selecting a site. Unlike in other parts of the Mediterranean, where Greek colonists were founding their settlements in lands unclaimed by previous Greeks, the mainland had existing poleis whose territory had to be respected. This is in contrast to a colonial context, where though regions were certainly inhabited, we do not know how colonial interactions between locals and incoming Greeks played out, whether these interactions were peaceful and

accommodating, or whether the Greeks simply did not respect existing territorial claims. Existing territorial claims complicated the selection of settlement sites in the mainland. Decisions would need to be made by those planning a new city to ensure it was a viable settlement without encroaching on the territory of an existing polis.[180]

In the mainland context, foundations such as Demetrias accomplished this by seemingly depopulating nearby settlements. Demetrias was placed on a prominent cape around the Pagasetic Gulf to control the region and the sea. In being so it usurped the role of the earlier site located at the Goritisa hill. This site seems to have either been depopulated completely or folded into the community of Demetrias, maybe as a suburb of the city. Yet it was not enclosed within the walls and was not a part of the new planned settlement. As is often the case with Demetrias, it is something of an exception. Being located on the Pagasetic Gulf, it occupies a prime location that in antiquity was long occupied, not only by the Hellenistic settlement at the Goritisa Hill, but also by older sites like Ioklos. This density of settlement can be contrasted with Thessalian settlements that are farther from other previous settlements, such as Kastro Kallithea or New Halos.[181] In both these cases there seems to have been far less dense urban settlement.

Infrastructure Categories

The following sections group together categories of public infrastructure identifiable in Thessalian settlements. Specific architectural remains are confined to Thessaly and its Perioikoi,

[180] In Magna Grecia, local peoples such as Sikels and Oenotrians made up segments of the population in new Greek colonies. We must imagine that similarly diverse groups were stake holders in these newly synoecized settlements, with people from numerous parts of the region being drawn together.
[181] With the exception for old Halos, near New Halos, which had previously been destroyed and not rebuilt.

but theoretical and typological background literature draws from across the Greek world. Examples from beyond Thessaly are used to situate archaeological remains from this region within the wider study of Greek architecture and urbanism. Two broad categories are identified: fortifications, defined by their military character, and civic spaces, defined by their operation by the polis.

Fortifications

Fortifications, as a category of archeological evidence and as discreet monuments, have been studied for a very long time. Due to their significant height, the impressive size of building blocks, large footprint, and often high, visible location, fortifications are obvious and make attractive targets for documentation and study. Due to their size and solid construction, they were often reused by later inhabitants, even when offensive weapons and tactics had surpassed a given fortification's defensive capabilities. Often, castles and forts have become symbols of settlements, such as the Acropolis of Athens, the White Tower of Thessaloniki, Acrocorinth, or Moorish Castles in Spain. Lower city fortifications, a circuit wall and enceinte, can also become a historically important locations, such as the Themistoclean wall at Athens, described by Thucydides as incorporating all manner of available material, including grave stelai, to defend the city as quickly as possible before the arrival of an invading force.

The reuse of building materials raises an interesting facet in the life cycle of fortifications not seen to the same extent in all forms of infrastructure. The defensive nature of walls often meant that communities were engaged in an arms race with offensive technologies, requiring renovation and new construction. Many sites include walls dated to different periods or multiple building phases in the same wall. A major aspect of the narrative of the Hellenistic period has

typically been the development of siege weaponry, leading to a corresponding increase in fortifications to counter them. This included the increased use of circuit walls that were longer than in previous periods to encircle more of the inhabited area of a settlement, as well as the *chora* and attendant farmland, increasing the height and width of the walls, constructing using the *emplekton* style (walls consisting of two parallel wall facings filled with rubble and soil fill) to better resist impacts, and both more and larger towers and gates. In some cases, it appears that with the advent of the Hellenistic monarchs, there was also a level of excess, what Reinders has described in the case of New Halos as a "giantism."[182] This excessive military preoccupation has generally been attributed to the personalities of the Successors. In the case of New Halos, blaming Demetrius Poliorketes for his track record of siege engine misadventures is an appealing choice.

These changes in size and scale came after the classical and archaic periods when the acropolis was generally the most common form of defensive architecture at the community level. These were smaller than the circuit walls of the Hellenistic period and were located on high, strategic points to benefit from the natural advantages of the terrain. In some cases, walls were not even needed on all sides of the acropolis since the steep approaches or cliffs were deemed enough. The major functional difference between the acropolis and the circuit wall was that the acropolis was a place of refuge, possibly not large enough to fit the entire population of the city, where as the circuit wall aimed to defend the entire urban site.

[182] Reinder Reinders, "Classical and Hellenistic Halos in their Historical Context," in *The City of Halos and its Southeast Gate.* (Barkhuis Publishing, 2014), 18.

Questions remain about the rationales behind these different forms of defence. While it seems that there simply was not a need in many cases to build large classical circuit walls on the scale of those in the Hellenistic period in the Classical period, they did certainly exist in the Greek world.[183] Thessaly, like many parts of the Greek world, seems to have had more diffuse settlements prior to the Classical period.[184] If this was the case, the acropolis would have very possibly been a more realistic and effective way of defending scattered, non-nucleated, settlements than the kilometers-long fortifications of the Hellenistic period.[185]

Many sites with visible fortifications in Thessaly were studied by early archaeologists and travelers such as Arvanitopoulos, Leake, and Stählin.[186] Many scholars have pointed out that fortifications are preserved well due to their size, construction mostly of stone, their deliberate durability, and their high visibility in the landscape.[187] The result is that both inside and outside of Thessaly, voluminous scholarship has been produced on the topic.[188] More recently, works have shifted from predominately technical and historical analysis to including discussion of the cultural, symbolic, and urban planning sides of fortification.[189]

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[183] For example, at Athens, the Themistoclean wall was deemed so necessary during the Peloponnesian war that the fortification rapidly integrated reused grave markers in the construction.

[184] Robin Rönnland, *A city on a Hill can not be Hidden* (PhD. Diss., University of Gothenburg, 2018), 115.

[185] Rönnland, *A city on a Hill can not be Hidden,* 115.

[186] Arvanitapoulous *Πρακτικα του* 1907. Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien,* 19.

[187] Silke Müth, "Urbanistic Functions and Aspects." In *Ancient Fortifications: A Compendium of Theory and Practice,* eds. Silke Müth, Peter Schneider, Micke Schnelle, and Peter D. De Staebler. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016).

[188]This includes the foundational texts including Winter's 1971 *Greek Fortifications* and Lawrence's 1976 *Greek Aims in Fortification*.

[189] This work has been caried out by larger networks of scholars, notably with the publication of *Focus on Fortifications*, a large, interdisciplinary analysis of fortifications in the eastern Mediterranean. See Frederikson, Müth, Schneider, Schelle, 2016.

Taking this past scholarship on fortifications into account, the following sections discuss the evidence for fortification infrastructure within Thessaly. Each section details the common methods and dates of construction, geographic distribution, and historical context. My goal is to provide a picture of the trajectory of defensive infrastructure within Thessaly between the Classical period into the Hellenistic. This chapter focuses on three categories of fortifications, the circuit wall, acropolis fortifications, and the *diateichismata,* which make up the fortifications present across periods studied, before drawing some general conclusions on fortification infrastructure in Thessaly.

Circuit Walls

Circuit walls, also known as an *enceinte* or *geländemaurer* (when enclosing large areas of unbuilt-up land as well as the urban area), are the largest form of fortification infrastructure in antiquity.[190] These walls were constructed to defend large areas of an urban site, including public space, sanctuaries, housing areas, and so on. The area enclosed within the circuit wall could be hundreds of hectares within an *enceinte* that stretched for kilometers, in the case of larger sites, with Demetrias' large walls enclosing 440 ha with its 19.5 km wall. The general trend within Greece was the increase in size and scale of circuit walls as the classical and Hellenistic periods progressed. As mentioned above, this fits into the larger narrative of the Hellenistic period seeing the advent of new weapons and matching innovation in defensive technology.

[190] Silke Müth, "Urbanistic Functions and Aspects" in *Ancient Fortifications: A compendium of Theory and Practice,* eds. Silke Müth, Peter Schneider, Micke Schnelle, and Peter D. De Staebler eds. (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016). 160-164

In the case of circuit walls, this innovation took several forms. The overall size and scale of the walls increased, which made a greater percentage of the settlements' inhabited area defensible, as well as controlling entrance into the city to a greater degree than had been previously possible.[191] Corresponding to the greater length of the wall, there were often numerous towers, gates, and posterns to control approaches and access to the city. The size of these was such that Reinders has suggested that the fortifications at New Halos may represent a "gigantism" of construction, fortifications designed as much as to intimidate as defend, going well beyond the arms race that was occurring with newly employed siege engines.[192] Beyond the scale of these new constructions, new forms of building were also used. Rather than using older forms of mudbrick, the *emplekton* style became common.[193] *Emplekton* masonry consists of two facings of stone blocks, with headers and stretchers between the two facings at intervals, creating compartments between the facings. These compartments are filled with soil and rubble, creating a strong, damage resistant wall, while also saving on stone.

Attested circuit walls

Circuit walls are one of the most conspicuous forms of infrastructure. Numerous examples exist in Thessaly, too many to reasonably deal with here. Below is a summary table of circuit walls for which published information is available. Full details about the sites can be found in chapter 4, below. Where possible, the preserved length, date(s) of construction for

[191] Müth, "Urbanistic Functions and Aspects," 163. There is still debate as to whether this allowed the control to an extent that taxation was possible on goods coming into the city via land.
[192] Reinder Reinders, "Classical and Hellenistic Halos in their Historical Context," in *The city of Halos and it's Southeast Gate.* (Eelde: Barkhuis Publishing, 2014), 18.
[193] Spencer Pope, "Protection and Trade" in *Blackwell Companion to Greek Architecture,* 261-7. *(New Jersey: Blackwell 2016).*

various phases are included. When length is available, an estimated cost, based on the estimates of Bessac and Müth is also presented.[194] These estimated costs illustrate the massive spending associated with construction in Thessaly. It should be noted that these estimates are only provided for Hellenistic phases when we have evidence for the construction costs of the period. Evidence is less reliable for the classical and earlier periods.

Site	**length**	**Date of Construction**	**Est. Cost[195] (in silver talents)**
Antron	Unknown	Unknown	NA
Atrax	3 km	4th c. BCE	c. 115- 195
Demetrias	19.5 km (inner and outer)	290s BCE	c. 750 – 1270 (445 – 740 main circuit)
Echinos	Unknown	Hellenistic	NA
Ekkara	775 m Preserved	4th c. BCE	NA
Goritsa	2.64	Late 4th c. BCE	c. 100 - 170
Herecleia	Unknown	Hellenistic	NA

[194] Jean-Claude Bessac and Silke Müth, "Economic Challenges of Building a *geländemaurer* in the middle of the 4th century BC: Quantifying the City Walls of Messene," in *Quantifying Ancient Building Economy: Archaeology and Economy in the ancient world,* eds. Michael Meizelmann and Cathalin Recko (Heidelberg: Propylaeum, 2020). 28-33.

[195] Rounded to nearest multiple of 5.

Hypata	Unknown	Unknown	NA
Kallithea (Peuma?)	2.4 km	3rd c BCE	c. 90 - 155
Kierion	Unknown	unknown	NA
Krannon	Unknown	unknown	NA
Kypaira	unknown	unknown	NA
Kypaira	Unknown	Unknown	NA
Ktimene	200 m	unknown	c. 8-12
Lamia	7 km (divided between inner and outer circuit)	Hellenistic	C. 270- 450
Larisa	Total unknown, at least 4 km preserved	Hellenistic	NA
Larisa Kremaste	2.7 km	Hellenistic (?)	c. 105-175
Melitaea	Likely 3.5 km	Hellenistic (?)	c. 137 - 227
New Halos	7.7 km	3rd c. BCE	c. 300 - 500
Pherai	2.4 km	Likely Hellenistic	c. 90 - 155
Phthiotic Eretria	1 km	Hellenistic (c. 340s?)	c. 38-64
Phthiotic thebes	2.4 km	3rd c BCE (?)	c. 90 - 155

Proerna	unknown	Late 4th/early. 3rd C BCE	NA
Skotoussa	Unknown (publication forthcoming)	Unknown (publication forthcoming)	NA
Thumakoi	Unknown (8-900 m preserved)	unknown	NA
Vlochos	Intermittently preserved	Classical/Hellenistic	NA

Figure 1 Proerna, Emplekton Masonry

Figure 2 Proerna Hellenistic circuit wall

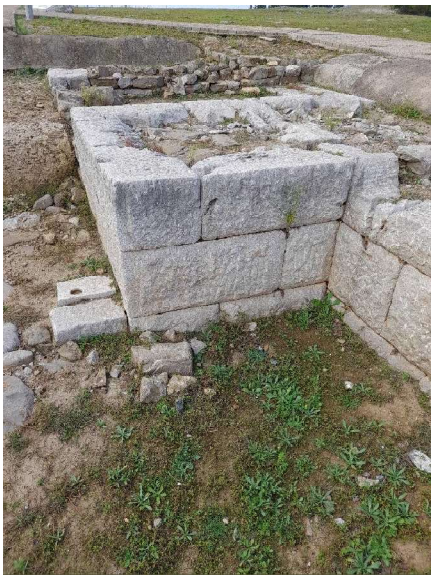

Figure 3 Pharsala, Emplekton circuit wall

Figure 4 Gonnoi, potential emplekton circuit wall

Figure 5 Gonnoi, potential emplekton circuit wall

Figure 6 Pelinna, emplekton circuit wall

Acropolis

In terms of numbers, the acropolis is one of the most common forms of infrastructure attested, for the same reason as fortification walls, but with the added elements of concentration to a small area and elevation over the surrounding landscape. Yet acropoleis form a strange category for this form of analysis, since consistently they predate the rest of a settlement's preserved remains in Thessaly, with the older, classical, or sometimes even Archaic walls remaining in use at the same time as Hellenistic circuit walls. Overall, the acropolis was likely not as effective at defending a city in the Hellenistic as it had been in previous period, if for no other reason than the entire population of a settlement could not fit within the acropolis' walls.[196]

[196] Rönnland, *A city on a Hill can not be Hidden,* 115-6.

As Rünnland has argued, any use of an acropolis as a refuge would be confined to a period before large circuit walls, when communities were more scattered and smaller.

The role of the acropolis changed with the transition from the Classical to Hellenistic period, and how the older fortified areas of the city were integrated into the new defensive plans is not immediately clear. Certainly, a secondary "fallback point" would have been desirable, if not for the fact that a protracted siege was likely not to go in the defender's favor. As Rönnland astutely suggests, the acropolis in Thessaly and elsewhere likely became garrisoned. As he argues, the funding for much of this fortification came from Hellenistic kings or political groups like the Thessalian League.[197] This scenario would see the city fortified to protect it from outside attack, while a small group of soldiers could maintain control of the city from its acropolis, now a *phroura*.[198] This was common in the Hellenistic period, with Macedonian garrisons in numerous poleis, the "fetters of Greece" being especially important. Moreover, in the event that a *synoecism* proved unpopular, it would be the garrison that enforced the rule of the king within the polis.

Diateichismata

Diateichismata are interior fortification walls, running across an urban area, constructed in the same manner as normal circuit walls.[199] Sokolicek, who has produced a synthetic study on the topic, notes that there are a number of reasons why *diateichismata* may be constructed. These

[197] Rönnland, *A city on a Hill can not be Hidden,*121.

[198] Rönnland, *A city on a Hill can not be Hidden,*121.

[199] Alexander Sokolicek, *Diateichismata: Zi dem Phänomen innerer Befestigungsmauern im griechischen Städtebau* (Wien: Osterreichischen Archaeologischen Institutes, 2009), 63.

include the historical context of the Hellenistic period, both the advances in siege craft that required larger fortification walls and a supposed decrease in population that would make defending smaller lengths of wall more feasible.[200] Broadly speaking, diateichismata made sites more defendable by shortening the length of the circuit and providing a location to fall back to of the outer walls were breached. Diateichismata are relatively common in Thessaly, especially at Hellenistic foundations. This may represent an innovation employed at sites where it fit the geography.

Sites with Attested Diateichisma	**Date of Construction**
Demetrias	Began 3rd c BCE
Atrax	post archaic
Pthiotic Eretria	4th/3rd C. BCE
New Halos	4th/3rd C. BCE
Larisa Kremaste	217 BCE (?)
Kallithea (Peuma?)	Unknown, walls 3rd c. BCE
Kypaira	unknown

[200] Sokolicek, *Diateichismata*, 65-6. Whether such a decrease in population would have made circuit walls as well as acropoleis unideal is perhaps unlikely.

Pherai	First half 4th c. BCE
Skotussa	unknown
Vlochos	unknown

(Table after Sokolicek 2009)

Civic spaces

The civic spaces of the polis have been an area of study since the beginning of archaeological investigation. These were normally high traffic areas within the city, sites of intense social, economic, political, and religious activity.[201] They were focal points within the city, and so saw not only intense daily use from all strata of society, but also a great deal of investment, taking a manner of forms. This investment in often monumental structures has meant that they have been attractive sites for excavations, while the Western fascination with the polis as a self-governed political institution has led to an interest in possible sites of citizen assembly in civic spaces.[202]

This invites the question: how do we define public space? In terms of an analytical framework, the definition of "any space frequented by the public" is too vague and broad to be of use. Any space will be frequented by some segment of the public, and all spaces will have defined rules regarding their use and access. Drawing on the work of the social theorist Henri Lefebrve, who argues that continuous action produces social spaces, we can define civic spaces as those that are

[201] Barbara Seilhorst, "The Collective Image of a City: Structure and Meaning of Hellenistic Agorai" in *Ancient Urban Planning in the Mediterranean,* (Routledge Publishing, 2015), 53-4.
[202] This interest was made explicit by McDonald in his 1943 study *the Political Meeting Places of the Greeks.*

culturally defined as such through continued, socially accepted use.[203] This poses some difficulties for archaeologists, who would rather locate space in the physical remains of the archaeological record, but it is important to acknowledge that spaces lacking architectural elaboration could still be civic spaces. This is especially important when considering meeting places, defined by the social practice of assembly. While many poleis likely had elaborated meeting places, it was likely that in many classes any open area like the agora or theater could also serve as a meeting place. In cases where we do have architecturally elaborated spaces, this framework means we must remember that the space is only one part of the equation. In his work, McDonald attempted to synthesize the textual evidence for meeting places and their development and physical elaboration. McDonald's work acknowledged the difficulty in situating political assemblies in the built environment, since often meetings would have taken place in whatever space was available, such as in a theater, agora, stoa, or outside of the city on open plains.[204] McDonald however does bring together the literary and archaeological evidence available at the time, to present a developmental time line of meeting places, though his emphasis on the structural elaboration of Athens cannot be easily applied to other parts of the Greek world.

Agorae

Agorae formed one of the key spaces of public life in the Greek world, dating back far beyond the Hellenistic and Classical periods, attested in Homeric times. Agorae form a special case in Greek city planning, being defined by the absence of built structures (though in the

[203] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Wiley, 1992).
[204] William Andrew McDonald, *The political meeting places of the Greeks,* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1943).

Hellenistic period, their borders were defined by the built environment).[205] These spaces were central to the polis, at least in terms of centrality to public life.[206] While early agorae may have been mostly open functional spaces, over time they became elaborated with numerous public buildings, with Sielhorst describing them as an "infrastructural center".[207] The agora became home to meeting and administrative buildings, such as *bouleteria* and *prytenaia*, gymnasia, sanctuaries, and stoae that served to architecturally define the Agora.[208]

Agorae have received a great deal of attention in the last decade. Both Sielhorst and Dickinson have presented detailed accounts of the development of these sites both architecturally and politically. Both have pushed back against older concepts of the post-Classical agora as having lost its political importance, slowly shifting to become a kind of "museum" of past greatness.[209] While the operation of polis politics may have changed in the Hellenistic period, it by no means ceased. The forms of interaction simply changed. The agora would remain a site of political interaction, both for internal polis politics and for the interaction of the polis with outside forces like the Hellenistic kings. We should see this as being a space deeply tied to the political life of the city, regardless of period.

In the Thessalian context, agorae are a rare find. This is somewhat unexpected, given that they were a common feature of Greek settlements across time and space. There are several

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[205] Seilhorst, "The Collective Image of a City," 51-3.

[206] As Seilhorst and von Gerkan before note, even if not physically the center in terms of number of streets to the agora from the outside of the city, they were still central to the city.

[207] Seilhorst, "The Collective Image of a City," 51.

[208] Seilhorst, "The Collective Image of a City, 51-2.

[209] Dickenson, *On the Agora: The evolution of a public space in Hellenistic and Roman Greece (323* BC-*267 AD),* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 396.

reasons for this. Across the Greek world, it can be difficult to identify the space occupied by the agora prior to excavation or survey, with the need to identify other structures or artifacts which delinate the space of the Agora difficult. Kastro Kallithea represents the only confirmed and published agora in the region. An argument could also be made that the so called "sacred agora" of Demetrias could be considered one, but this identification is contested.[210] Additional agorae are known to have existed in Thessaly, but are often not extensively excavated or published, and are sometimes only known from references to them in inscriptions.

Stoae

Stoae and porticos were covered, open air areas that served as multifunctional spaces. They provided shade and acted as commercial space and meeting places within the city. Often stoae served as architectural boundaries for the agora, and defined space within them.[211] Frequently, stoae and covered porticos are also found around sanctuaries, and in the case of Demetrias, near the Macedonian palace. Outside of Thessaly, we know that stoae were a popular form of benefaction, with famous examples such as the Stoa of Attalos in Athens. Within Thessaly, examples have been located at Kastro Kallihea, Demetrias,[212] Pharsala,[213] Trikala,[214] and Paliakastra (Aghio Theodoroi)[215].

[210] Dickenson, *On the Agora:* 2017, 66.
[211] Seilhorst, "The Collective Image of a City", 56.
[212] BCH 122.2 (1998), 828-30
[213] AD 61 (2006) B1, 635
[214] BCH 116.2 (1992), 995
[215] BCH 110.3 (1995), 928

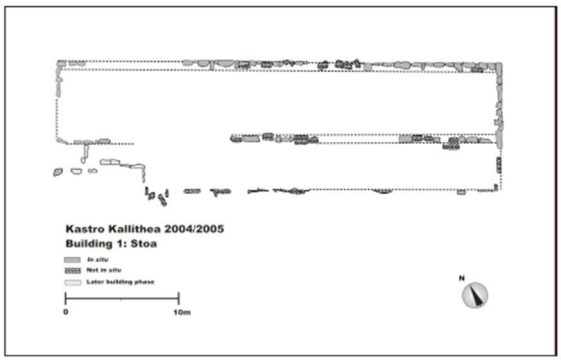

Fig. 43 Plan of Building 1; a stoa building. Tziafalias et al. 2006a, pl. 9.

Figure 7 Kallithea Stoa, after Surtees 2012

Theaters

Theaters have long been a focus of archaeological and historical study. They are seen as an important sign of the development of Greek culture, the physical evidence of the worship of Dionysus through drama, the development of civic dramatic festivals that brought the community together, and the location of the flourishing classical literary scene.[216] Architecturally, theater buildings present an easily identifiable type, with a great deal of consistency in style at the regional level. Differences are more readily visible between the Greek style *theatron*, the Roman theater, the Roman odeon, and the gallo-roman theater.[217]

Thessaly follows trends of the rest of the eastern Greek world in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods, with monumental *theatra* being attested at numerous poleis. There are

[216]See, for example, Isler 1994 in *Teatri e Greci Romani,* ed. Umberto Pappalardo (Edizioni SEAT, 1994).
[217] This regional typology follows the regional typology set forward in Rossetto and Sartorio's 1994 *Teatri Greci e Romani*. This exhaustive three volume work collects all then know examples of the theater and odeon.

several well-preserved and excavated theaters located in Thessaly, all dating to the classical and Hellenistic periods. A number of other theaters are also attested by historical sources and inscriptions but are either unlocated or unconfirmed. This follows trends in the rest of the Greek world, with well-preserved theaters built of stone appearing somewhat later than the development of drama in the 5th c. BCE.[218] In these earlier periods, dramatic performances were staged using temporary architecture, likely wooden, and utilizing the natural environment such as hills and slopes to create the seating area. It was only a century or two later that elaborate monumental theaters became common throughout the whole of the Greek world. This architectural form then stays relatively consistent across a large geographic region, changing mostly to fit the local physical environment. The architectural features, the orchestra, seating, skene, etc., stay largely the same, although variation does exist, especially in the size and capacity.

Frederikson has argued that the theater was an important architectural form tied to the political institution of the polis.[219] Taking into account the differences in regional distribution of theaters across the Greek world, he suggested that one reason some parts of the Greek world might have less evidence for monumental theaters, in terms of physical, literary, and epigraphic attestation, was that the building type was less common in areas where power was concentrated in oligarchies or tyrannies. While he was not suggesting that oligarchies and tyrants do not sponsor theaters and dramatic festivals (as he points out, the western tyrants were large spenders

[218] Isler "Greek Theater" in in Rossetto and Sartorio's 1994 *Teatri Greci e Romani* 1994, 88-9.

[219] Rune Frederikson, "The Greek Theater: A Typical building in the Urban Center of the Polis?" in *Even more studies in the Greek Polis* (Stuttgart: Frans Steiner Verlag, 2002)

in this respect), he notes that the theatrical infrastructure was located in cities under their control. As he notes, however, the evidence from many regions, Thessaly included, does not provide a full picture. While Thessaly does have fewer known theaters than some other parts of the Greek world, it is likely that a number of them have simply not yet been discovered or excavated. For example, there are likely theaters at sites like Pherae, Melitia, Pharsala, and others as noted by depressions in the landscape. The fact that our knowledge is so incomplete for the region in this respect makes drawing firm conclusions difficult.

From attested theaters, which include Demetrias, Pthiotic Thebes, two at Larisa, and Skotussa, it is notable that the majority of them are located in settlements dated before the Hellenistic period and the urban policies of the Successors. The only exception is Demetris. Notable examples of Hellenistic foundations, like Goritsa, Kallithea, and New Halos seemingly lack evidence for theaters. This is not entirely unexpected, given that Demetrias saw far heavier investment in its infrastructure as part of its design as an Antigonid capital. From this small sample, it seems that in these cases theaters were not as much of a priority in the standard designs for a new settlement. Any conclusions on this point, however, must be tempered in light of the lack of evidence.

Site	**Date of Construction**
Demetrias	First half 3rd c. BCE
Larisa A	3rd c. BCE

Larisa B	1st C. BCE
Phthiotic Thebes	Classical?
Skotoussa* (literary attestation)	Classical?

Larisa

There are two theaters located in Larisa, theater A (the larger, earlier, and more elaborate) and theater B (the somewhat smaller, and later). While Theater A is considerably larger than theater B, both have been restored and are used by the modern Demos of Larisa for cultural events, though as of 2022 Theater A is undergoing a major restoration project.

Theater A, Larisa

Dates from between the 3rd C. BCE to the 3rd C CE. It has been argued that this theater was also used as the administrative meeting place for the Thessalian League after the 2nd C. BCE.[220],[221]

[220] Athanasios Tzisafalias, "Αποκάλυψη αρχαίων θζάτων Λάρισας" in *Αρχαία Θέατρα Θεσσαλίας*, 23.

[221] Isler, H.P. 1999, "Larisa" in *Teatri Greci e Romani,* vol 2, 245; Tziafalias, A. *Les Theatres de l'amtique cite de Larisa,* in "Les Dossiers de l'archaeologie. 159, 1991, 50-52; Tziafalias, A. Deltion 35, 1980 (1988) Chronika, 275.

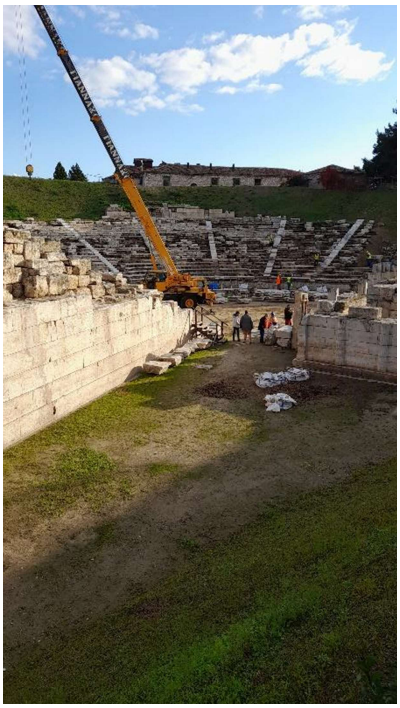

Figure 8 Larisa theater A, undergoing modern restoration. Photo by author.

Theater B, Larisa

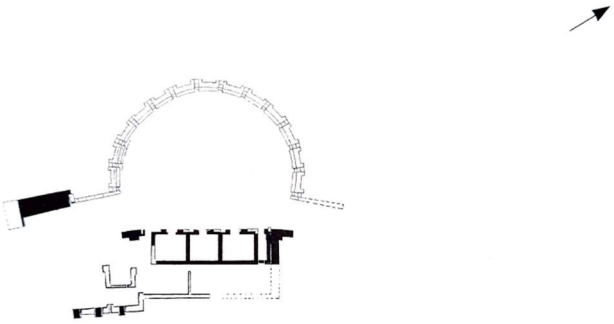

Figure 9 Larisa, theater B, Rosseto and SartorioDated to the 1st C. BCE, construction was abandoned. This theater is notably smaller than theater A.[222]

Demetrias

Date: First half 3rd c. BCE. Continued use until 4th c. CE.[223]

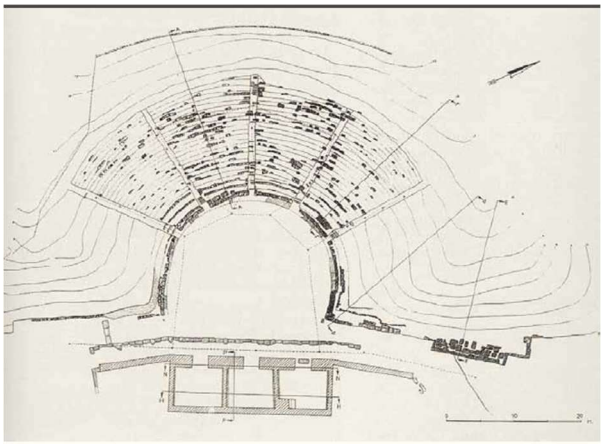

Figure 10 Theater, Demetrias, From Archaia Theatro Thesslaia

[222] Isler, H.P. 1999, "Larisa" in *Teatri Greci e Romani,* vol 2, 246; Tziafalias, A. *Les Theatres de l'amtique cite de Larisa,* in "Les Dossiers de l'archaeologie. 159, 1991, 50-52.
[223] Anthi Batziou-Efstathiou, *Demetrias* (Athens: Hellenic Ministry of Culture) 33-4.

Pthiotic Thebes

Figure 11 Plan, Theater Phthiotic Thebes. AD 68 (2013) B1, p. 539-542.

Urban east-facing theater, built in limestone. 60m cavea.[224]

Date: probably 4th c. BC

Gymnasia

The gymnasium was seen by ancient authors such as Pausanias to be one of the core aspects of the polis, and the spread of gymnasia has long been associated with Greek culture, especially with the spread of the polis beyond the Greek mainland. However, more recently there have been suggestions that the institution may be less widespread in some parts of the Greek world than others, such as the East.[225] Traditionally the narrative of the gymnasium and its

[224] Rossetto and Sartorio, *Teatri Greci e Romani*, (Edizioni SEAT,1994) 266.

[225] Frank Daubner "Gymnasia. Aspects of a Greek Institution in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East", in *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed.* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 32-35.

development is one of decline in the Hellenistic period, with old civic virtues being abandoned for decadence, a sign of the decline and death of the polis.[226] This is certainly an exaggeration, with the Hellenistic "death of the polis" itself being a well critiqued view at this point. Gymnasia, where they existed, likely continued to be important social and civic spaces while they operated.

However, the issue does remain that well-excavated examples of gymnasia are relatively rare. In the case of Thessaly, no excavated examples remain. We know that one existed at Larisa because of the inscription describing the call for renovations to the building to be provided by wealthy benefactors. Recently the dating of this inscription and the issues of chronology have been discussed by Micaletti, with a "high" date of 197-187 BCE being the most common.[227] The gymnasium of Larisa itself does not survive. However, the inscription still provides valuable evidence for the involvement of both kings and benefactors in building at Larisa.

Harbors

Since Thessaly is composed mainly of large plains enclosed by mountain ranges, access to the Aegean Sea via the Pagasetic Gulf has been important as long as the region has been settled. This means that the coastal regions, the eastern area of Achaia Phthiotis, and the Magnesian peninsula (both perioikic regions) have seen continuous settlement activity. These settlements would have certainly included harbor infrastructure of some kind, even in the earliest periods. The myth of Jason even holds that he and the Argo set sail from Ioklos, located in

[226] Daubner "Gymnasia. Aspects of a Greek Institution in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East," 32-35.
[227] Micaletti "Contributo dei maggiorenti di Larisa per il restauro di un ginnasio," *Axon* 5(1), 2021, 179.

Magnesia. Unfortunately, for several reasons, our knowledge of ancient harbors is not as detailed as we would like.

While this is changing, the study of harbors faces numerous challenges. These challenges include the rising of sea levels, overbuilding of ancient harbors with modern ones, and dealing with underwater archaeological material.[228] While these issues are being met and more publications on Mediterranean harbors are being published, we still know relatively little about those in Thessaly. One of the biggest issues in the case of the Pagasetic coast is the number of settlements, both ancient and modern, that occupy the narrow area of the shore. As stated previously, access to the Aegean was highly valued, and we see early on more inland poleis like Pherai and Larisa attempting to gain access through the control of coastal routes and the construction or occupation of settlements on the gulf, to allow for the export of Thessalian natural resources. This area also becomes a hotbed for synoecism and urban engineering under the Successors, first with the sites like Goritsa designed not as a harbor, but as a fortress to defend the coastline going out of use in favor of Demetrias. Goritsa and numerous settlements known from the account of Strabo were synoecized into Demetrius' massive new capital, which was not only well defended, but had excellent sea access from its harbour.

While Demetrias shows us a site that must have clearly invested heavily in harbour infrastructure, we still do not have as much archaeological data as we would like from the region. Below are the known examples of harbour architecture from Magnesia and Achaia Phthiotis. Also included are the know remains from the small islands just off the coast of Magnesia, which

[228] Chiara Mauro, *Archaic and Classical harbours of the Greek world: The Aegean and Eastern Ionian contexts.* (Oxford: Archaeopress,2019), 2-5.

must have been in close contact with the settlements of the region. Not included are those sites that include only post-Hellenistic material, despite the fact that many prime harbor sites were likely reused over successive periods. Only those with certain evidence of Classical and/or Hellenistic activity and some built infrastructure are included. This unfortunately means that there are few examples of infrastructure that can be presented from the region. However, in his study of Byzantine harbors, Ginalis provides a cohesive reconstruction of the pre-Byzantine harbor landscape.[229] The destruction and abandonment (like that of Classical Halos or Goritsa) and foundation of new settlements (like Demetrias) on the coastal regions of Thessaly were often done with access and control of the sea. Despite his focus on the Byzantine period, Ginalis also notes that maritime connectivity is attested extremely early in Thessaly.[230] This concern must certainly be taken into account when looking at changing settlement patterns in the region. Ports of the classical period attested in the region, though not necessarily archaeologically, were Almyros (the port of Classical Halos), the port on the island of Skiathos, and Pagasai. These do not show Hellenistic phases, with the port of Almyros being destroyed by Philip II. With the construction of Demetrias, the harbour of Pagasai also went out of use, as did many of the settlements in the region, emphasizing the Successors' desire for control of sea access.

Financial aspects of Harbours

Harbours and their infrastructure rarely appear in inscriptions related to personal donations. Most often they appear to be linked with the polis or a ruler such as a successor.

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[229] Alkiviadis Ginalis. *Byzantine Ports: Central Greece as a connection Between the Aegean and the Black Sea. (PhD. Diss. University of Oxford, 2014).*
[230] Ginalis, *Byzantine Ports* 65, 194.

Mauro notes that two of the largest turning points in the construction of harbours and their architectural elaboration are harbor works of the tyrant Polycrates at Samos and Themistocles in Peiraeus.[231] At least in Athens, it was more common for a wealthy individual to be charged with providing a liturgy for a trireme. The harbour infrastructure itself seems to have fallen to the polis.

A major reason for this would have been taxation and harbour dues. Controlling access to the city and its markets and who could leave would have provided a steady source of income in the form of import and export duties. While in past decades the Greek world and the polis were seen as relatively free from taxation, this is increasingly seen as oversimplified or incorrect. By the classical period, and certainly by the Hellenistic period, there was the desire and ability to collect large amounts of revenue from trade and shipping. It is not hard to believe that one of the major motivators for the creation of new cities with access to the sea was to concentrate taxable goods in one port of entry.

Demetrias

Date: Hellenistic

Stone foundation of breakwater. Mentioned by Stalin in Pagasai und Demetrias.

Ginalis 2014, 163-177.

Pagasia

[231] Mauro 2019, *Archaic and Classical harbours of the Greek world,* 23.

Date: Classical and earlier

Mauro (2019) cites the potential for a double harbour, but archaeological evidence is scant.

Skiathos

Date: Classical

4th BCE wreck, plus late antique wreck. Possibly long-lived port (*AD* 68 (2013), B'2, p. 904-905.). Harbor survey (AD 67 (2012), B'2, p. 853-854.)

Volos/Pefkakia

Date: unknown

. Batziou-Efstathiou identifies Pefkakia as Pagasai port of Iolkos.

A. Batziou-Efstathiou, Αρχαία Ιωλκός, p. 59-69., les résultats des fouilles menées en 1986-1988 (cf. BCH 117 [1993], Chron., p. 833). BCH 118.2 (1994), p. 734-734

Discussion

These examples do not represent the whole range of possible infrastructure in the polis, and the number of examples from different categories are heavily skewed. This is especially noticeable with fortifications, which preserve so well and are so visible, even without excavation. In contrast, our evidence for harbours is minimal. Other categories known from other parts of the Greek world, such as roads, are unattested. Yet from the material shown here, we can see that the

Classical and even more so the Hellenistic period saw heavy investment in the cityscape of settlements across Thessaly.

What does this body of infrastructure tell us about this period in Thessaly? Firstly, despite the over representation of fortifications, given the historical background of the period and the overall scale of construction, it is hard not to note the importance of defence in the region. All manner of fortifications were used to secure territory in the conflicts of the Hellenistic period. Conversely, we also see investment in civic spaces with the construction of theaters in cities across the region. While we do not have physical remains for gymnasia, we know from the inscription at Larisa discussed in the previous chapter, that they also saw investment. Even in the turbulent Hellenistic period, money was found for the construction and maintenance of infrastructure. As was shown in the previous chapter, this money could come from various sources, including from several individuals. There was a desire to maintain the infrastructure of the city, which its citizens felt was necessary. This necessity was not felt only for military fortifications, but also for the cultural institutions of the polis.

Chapter 4: Archaeological Remains of Infrastructure

Understanding the distribution of ancient sites in Thessaly and its *perioikoi* has been an ongoing project for centuries, with early travellers and scholars, like Leake and Stählin working to connect visible surface remains to toponyms preserved in ancient geographies and histories. More recently reference works such as the *Barrington Atlas of the Ancient World* and *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis have also included sections on Thessaly, further refining our understanding of occupation in the region. With the *Inventory* especially, this project has gone beyond just mapping, but also seeking to unify the data to answer specific questions, to understand the development and political distribution of the polis.[232]

This raises an important point about the use of this geographic data: in many cases, it has not yet been possible to carry out systematic excavations of every known site. This means that while numerous sites of different kinds are known, by name and in many cases general location, we have few details about the history of the site, beyond a handful of historical events. This data has still been put to impressive use, with dissertations like Kaczmarek collecting hundreds of sites, ranging from farms to settlements, between the Neolithic and Roman periods to comment on changing patterns of land use.[233] Similarly, Rönnland has focused on known acropoleis from both Thessaly and Boeotia to further understand the changes and representation in the literature of acropoleis.

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[232] Hansen and Nielson 2004, *Inventory*. Nikolaou and Kravaritou also published a 2012 volume collecting archaeological information on known poleis of Thessaly and its Perioikoi in Greek. Lauffer 1989 collects historical evidence for known cities across Greece.

[233] Crysta Kaczmarek, *A Name and a Place: Settlement and Land Use Patterns, Identity Expression, and Social Strategies in Hellenistic and Roman Thessaly. (PhD. Diss. University of Leicester,* 2015)

These differing approaches however raise an important question: How to constrain a data set that is comparable and manageable, but also addresses archaeological questions? In the case of this study, the evidence included is both constrained temporally and based on the presence of published archaeological remains. Sites included come from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, with earlier and later phases being mentioned in passing to provide context. Sites are also chosen based on the presence of archaeological and epigraphic remains relevant to the study (i.e., remains defined as infrastructure in Chapter 3). This produces a data set designed to be comparable with the epigraphic evidence collected below.

One issue that must be addressed is the political standing of the sites included. Because this study is concerned with the political will of the community and benefactors via funding, it would make sense to include only those settlements that can be confirmed to be poleis, either through epigraphic, numismatic, or literary evidence in the manner of the *Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis. However, this leaves out many well-documented sites that are almost certainly poleis*,* but lack definitive confirmation (for example Kalithea, Vlochos), as well as comparatively small forts, which in some cases can be similar in size to small settlements (such as Xynai, Kastro Vrinenas). This second category especially may seem to require more explanation but given the fact that sites like Kastro Vrinenas seem to have included settlements outside of their circuit walls,[234] they are included under the assumption that they were not just fortifications and that their construction was funded in some way by the community or a benefactor.

[234] Vladamir Stissi et al. "Halos: The Preliminary Report of the 2011-20013 Field Survey Campaigns," *Pharos 21(2)* 2015, 75.

While this certainly does not take into account every site of the Classical and Hellenistic periods in Thessaly, it does provide an outline of the level of settlement within Thessaly. Unlike earlier assessments of Thessalian urbanization, it can be seen that the Classical period already showed a large number of nucleated settlements, many of which would have been politically autonomous poleis, while others would have been smaller communities.[235] Accordingly, the number of Hellenistic settlements founded *ex novo* is relatively low compared to the overall number of settlements, with the founded poleis including Demetrias, Olympias (near Gonnoi), Philipopolis/Gomphoi, Philipopolis/Phthiotic Thebes, New Halos, Kallithea, and Goritsa Hill.[236] This foundation of fortified settlements was likely done in most cases by the Hellenistic monarchs, with ongoing conflicts resulting in attempts to control the landscape with a fortified physical presence.[237] This synoecism would have had major effects on the demography of surrounding towns, such as the abandonment of the Goritsa Hill settlement and other cities near Demetrias, as well as the countryside, results noted by Kaczmarek in the abandonment of small farms during the Hellenistic period.

These issues of chronology, as well as the problems of site identification, are dealt with below. Sites are organized by subregion of Thessaly, whether tetradic Thessaly or *perioikoi.* Ancient names are included wherever possible, but in cases where they are unknown or there are multiple possible ancient toponyms, this is mentioned. Sites that may not have been fully fledged

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[235] Crysta Kaczmarek, *A Name and a Place: Settlement and Land Use Patterns, Identity Expression, and Social Strategies in Hellenistic and Roman Thessaly* (PhD Diss., University of Leicester), 80-91.

[236] For historic settlements of both Philipopolis at Gomphoi and Phthiotic Thebes, See Cohen 2006

[237] G. Wieberdink, "A Hellenistic fortification system in the Othrys mountains (Achaia Phthiotis)," *Netherlands Institute at Athens. Newsletter* 3 1990, 50-51. Chykerda et al, "Landscapes of Defense: Kastro Kallithea and Its Role in Fourth Century-BCE Achaia Phthiotis," *Backdirt* 2014.

poleis are included if archaeological remains corresponding to the infrastructure categories below are present and published. Conversely, known sites lacking excavated infrastructure are omitted from the catalog.

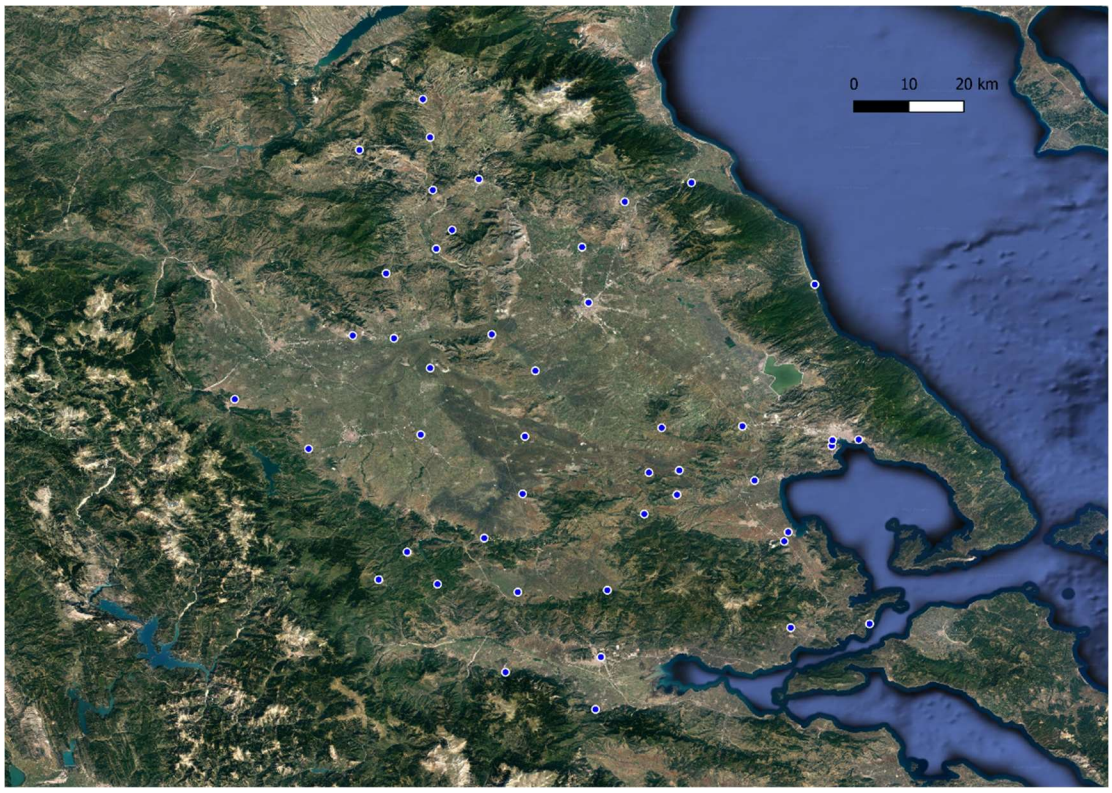

Figure 12 Settlement distribution, Classical and Hellenistic

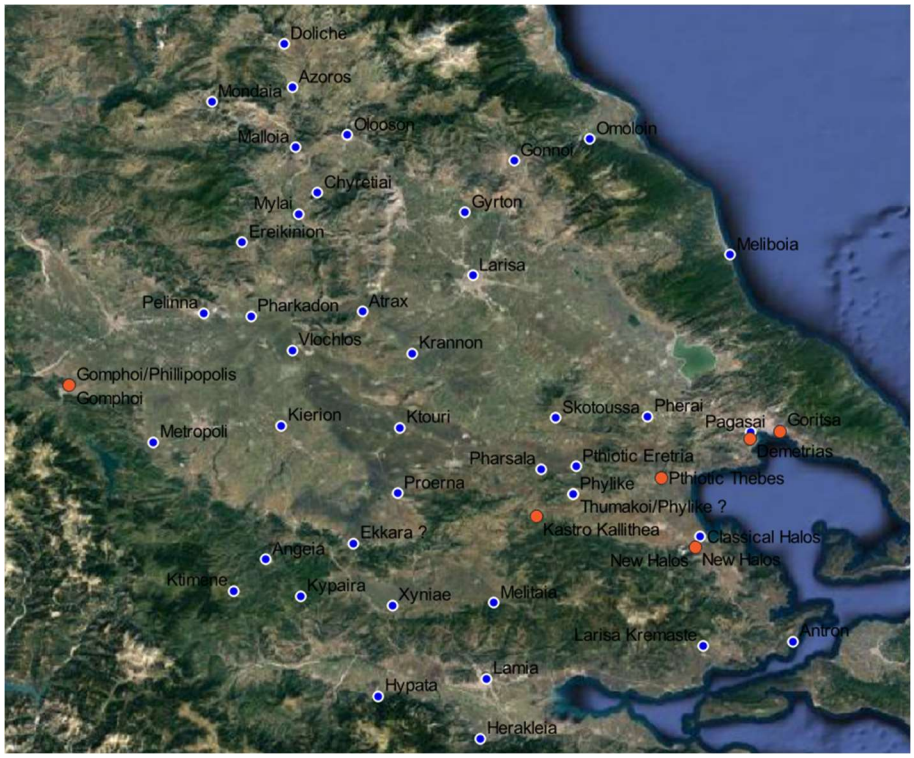

Figure 13 Map of Thessaly with major urban sites indicated; archaeologically attested Hellenistic foundations shown in orange

This dataset of sites draws from many sources. The basis of much of the research remains early travelers such as Leake and Stählin; the investigation continued with the production of numerous volumes and catalogs. Some of the most frequently consulted and most exhaustive are *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis edited by Hansen and Nielsen, the Barrington Atlas of the Ancient World edited by Talbot, Αρχαίς Πόλεις Θεσσαλία και Περίοικων Περιοχών edited by Nikolaou and Kravaritou. Cantarelli et al.'s *Acaia Fthiotide I: indagini geostoriche, storiografiche, topografiche e archaeologiche* covers the region of Achaia Phthiotis. Two recent dissertations that have collected many of the references to ancient sites are Kaczemarak 2015, which brings together sites of all different categories, and Rönnland 2018, which focuses on sites with documented *acro*poleis.

Primary sites

Sites below form the core of this study. They are the focus due to well-published architecture and site plans, as well as detailed historical details.

Demetrias

Region: Magnesia

Infrastructure: Fortifications, Harbour, theater, "sacred agora", Anaktoron

Date: Hellenistic (founded c. 294/3 BCE)

Select Bibliography: Stählin and Meyer 1934. Marzolf 1992, Msrzoloff 1994 Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012. Kravaritou 2016. Stamatopoulou 2018, 343-76.

Details:

The city of Demetrias is one of the most extensively studied Hellenistic settlements in the Thessaly. Founded in 293 BC by the Antigonids, this new foundation must have involved dramatic changes in the surrounding region in terms of settlement patterns and demography. Despite being named after Demetrios Poliorketes, construction of the site began under his father Antigonus Monophthalmus.[238] The variety of evidence provided by the city, including fortifications, domestic spaces, sanctuaries, civic spaces, royal architecture, and funerary remains, gives a broad view of life in the city during the Hellenistic and early Roman period.

[238] Maria Stamatopoulou "Demetrias: The Archaeology of a Cosmopolitan Macedonian Harbour," in *Βορειοελλαδικα*: *Tales from the Lands of the Ethne, Essays in honour of Miltiades B. Hatzopoulos* (Athens: National Hellenic Research foundation, 2018), 348.

Demetrias appears to have been founded to secure the coastal area of Thessaly and the vital harbors of the Pagasitic Gulf, on the western mouth of which the city is located.[239] This allowed the city to leverage its location and secure harbors to secure maritime trade routes and the ability to export the economic production of Thessaly. This location and dominant maritime position also led to a diverse population, with peoples from across the Mediterranean world being attested in funerary and religious spaces, resulting in an ethnically diverse, cosmopolitan city.[240]

While economic prosperity was a clear concern in the foundation of Demetrias, the unstable political situation, risk of warfare, and the innovations in siege technology required the city to also be well defended. This took the form of two concentric enceinte walls, the outer 11 km long and the inner 8.5 km long and enclosing a total of 440 ha. While a second phase of building took place during the Mithridatic wars, the majority of the fortifications, including artillery and postern gates was carried out in the initial Hellenistic phase.[241] These walls were supplemented with *proteichisma* within the circuit walls in the north of the city, as well as a *diateichisma* which separated the *Anaktoron* from the main urban areas of the city, separating the royal residence form the rest of the city as a distinct fortified area.[242] These defensive measures

[239] Stamatapoulou, "Cosmopolitan Harbour,*"* 2018, 355.

[240] Sofia Kravaritou "Imperial Cult, Greek Goda and Local Society in Demetrias (Thessaly)" in *Vir Doctus Anatolicus: Studies in Memory of Sencer Şahin* (2016). Stamatopoulou, "Cosmopolitan Harbour,*"* 2018.

[241] P. Marzolff, *developpement urbanistique de Demetrias in la Thessalie,* in CAPON, Vol 2 (CAPON 1994), 58. Stamatopoulou, "Cosmopolitan Harbour*"*, 349.

[242] Stamatopoulou "Cosmopolitan Harbour*",* 2018, 350 (for proteichisma*)*. Stamatopoulou "Cosmopolitan Harbour*"*,2018, 353. *(*For diateichisma*).*

secured not only the city, but were a part of the wider strategy to secure and control the region itself, the Pagasitic Gulf, and movement between the north and south of Greece and Macedon.

The foundation of Demetrias involved the movement of peoples from a variety of surrounding communities, both to populate the new city and, very probably, to provide control over the region and reallocate labor forces to the new city.[243] While estimates of population based upon the remains of domestic architecture are generally not highly precise or accurate, they can give a rough idea of the comparative population size of settlements, and Marzolff estimates the number living at Demetrias to have been 25,000 at its peak. The housing for the general population was laid out on an orthogonal grid plan with insulae orientated running north/south and measuring 100.5m by 50.5 m, or a roughly 2:1 ratio. In addition to excavated and surveyed regions of the urban grid produced by early excavators, recent geophysical exploration has confirmed the suggested reconstruction of the urban grid as well as locating new urban areas in the east of the city.[244]

Of the houses within these insulae only five have been partially excavated and none fully.[245] From houses that have been excavated, it so far appears that the *pastas* style house was favored rather than the peristyle houses found in some other cities.[246] These houses are comparatively modest, with none yet featuring mosaics, but some showing evidence of wall and

[243] Cohen 1995 lists the settlements included Iolkos, Nelia, Pagasai, Ormenion, Sepias, Rhizous, Olizon in the initial act of foundation, with Aiole, Halos, Spalauthra, Korope, Kasthanaia and Amphanai included at a later date, based on the account from Strabo 9.5.15. To this list we should also likely include Goritsa, also located on the Pagasitic gulf.

[244] Apostolos Sarris et al., "Towards an Integrated Remote-Sensing Strategy for Revealing the Urban Details of the Hellenistic- Roman City of Demetrias," *Archaelogia Polona 53 (2015).* 353-4.

[245] Stamatapoulou,"Cosmopolitan harbour," 361.

[246] Stamatapoulou, "Cosmopolitan harbour," 361.

ceiling plaster decoration. There is also evidence, in the form of lead lumps, strips, metal clamps, and tools, from a house north of the theater, that workshops were sometimes a part of the households of Demetrias in the Hellenistic period.[247] Stamatoupoulou has described these houses as not excessively wealthy, but comfortable, as would be expected from a wealthy "bourgeoisie". While this provides an interesting picture of the city as an affluent urban center, it does not tell the entire story, as Stamatoupoulou points out, despite the long history of investigation at Demetrias there are still sections of the city that are not well understood, such as the western areas of the city and the north of the theater. This includes areas with roads of variable widths, meaning we cannot make definitive claims about the organization of space within the city.[248]

Beyond featuring well-appointed domestic architecture, Demetrias had at least one harbor in the north of the city, though the existence of a second commercial harbor has been suggested in the south. The lack of archaeological evidence and unsuitability of terrain have cast doubt on this suggestion, however. Regardless of the number of harbors, the city was planned as a way for the Macedonians to not only secure Thessaly and the land routes between the north and south but also to control the maritime trade flowing through the Pagasetic Gulf. Based on the evidence from the funerary contexts in the city, many people of diverse ethnic backgrounds made their way to the city, likely drawn by the bustling trade of the city. However, it is unclear exactly what form that trade took.

Boehm has suggested that trade at Demetrias marked a change from the earlier patterns of trade in the region, such as from nearby Pagasai. While trade had previously been directed south

[247] Stamatapoulou, "Cosmopolitan harbour," 361.
[248] Stamatapoulou, "Cosmopolitan harbour," 351.

towards commercial contacts in Attica and the Peloponnese, this changed with Demetrias, which seems to have expanded trade routes with the north Particularly Thasos, but to a lesser extent the Black Sea area and Aegean islands.[249] This suggestion is not universally accepted, and it has been argued that Boehm overemphasizes the evidence of transport amphorae from a small number of contexts such as the *Anaktoron,* while other cities such as New Halos and Pella show a similar distribution of *amphorae* types, while at the same time Demetrias could be shown to have trade links to Athens looking at the fine wares from the 3rd century CE which show Attic imports and imitations.[250]

Beyond the domestic and commercial aspects of Demetrias, its status as a major royal foundation and a key part of Antigonid economic and military policy meant it saw a great deal of investment in the infrastructure expected of a great city. Some of these buildings had the effect of showcasing the ascendancy of Macedonian royalty, such as the royal residence, the *Anaktoron*. This impressive and richly decorated structure was located near the eastern central area of the city and was integrated into the orthogonal plan of the city but kept partially distinct by the *diateichisma* which provided an extra line of defense. [251] The existence of a palace within Demetrias sets the city apart from most other cities in the Greek mainland at the time, with the existence of a royal residence being far more common in the east than in the western Greek world.[252] We can in this case see the presence of the palace as result of Demetrius' upbringing in

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[249] Boehem, *Synoikism,Urbanization, and Empire in the Early Hellenistic period.*, 58.

[250] Stamatopoulou, "Cosmopolitan harbour", 361-2.

[251] Maria Kopsacheili, *Palaces and Elite Residences in the Hellenistic East: Late Fourth to Early first century BC: Formation and purpose,* (Phd. Diss. Oxford University, 2012), 85.

[252] P. Marzolff "Der Palast von Demetrias," in *Basileia*. *Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige. Internationales Symposion in Berlin vom 6.12.1992 bis 20.12.1992, (*Berlin: Universitat Berlin, *1996)*, 163.

the east and his familiarity with eastern modes of kingship. The palace itself consisted of three connected terraces, constructed in three phases.[253]

The *anaktoron* was not only a royal residence but part of a system of interconnected, politically motivated projects. These included the *hiera agora,* or sacred agora, which incorporated a temple to Artemis Iolkia. These structures were both physically near the *anaktoron* and integrated into its planning. Along with the Heroon to the north, which is orientated towards the *anaktoron* along with the nearby theater, these buildings show the importance of the built environment to the project of projecting and creating royal authority within the city. As many scholars have noted, the interplay of religion and the political project of Antigonid rule are visible in the structures of Demetrias.

From the evidence of cult activity, attested archaeologically and epigraphically we can see the importance of religion in the negotiation of the new synoecized community. As Kravaritou notes, the reorganization and renegotiation of political communities would require the same for religious communities since the two were so closely linked.[254] This included the introduction of new cults like that of Artemis Iolkia and Hercules Kynagidas and the modification and addition of a royal component to the cult of the founders in the form of the *Archegetai* and *Ktistai,* alongside the continuation of traditional Thessalian cults of Hermes, Ennodia, Zeus, and others.[255]

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[253] Kopsacheili, *Palaces and Elite Residences in the Hellenistic East*, 85.

[254] Sofia Kravaritou, "Synoecism and Religious interface in Demetrias (Thessaly)." *Kernos* 24 (2011), 112.

[255] Sofia Kravaritou, "Sacred Space and the Politics of multiculturalism in Demetrias (Thessaly)" in *Hellenistic Sanctuaries between Greece and Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 2015), 134-138.

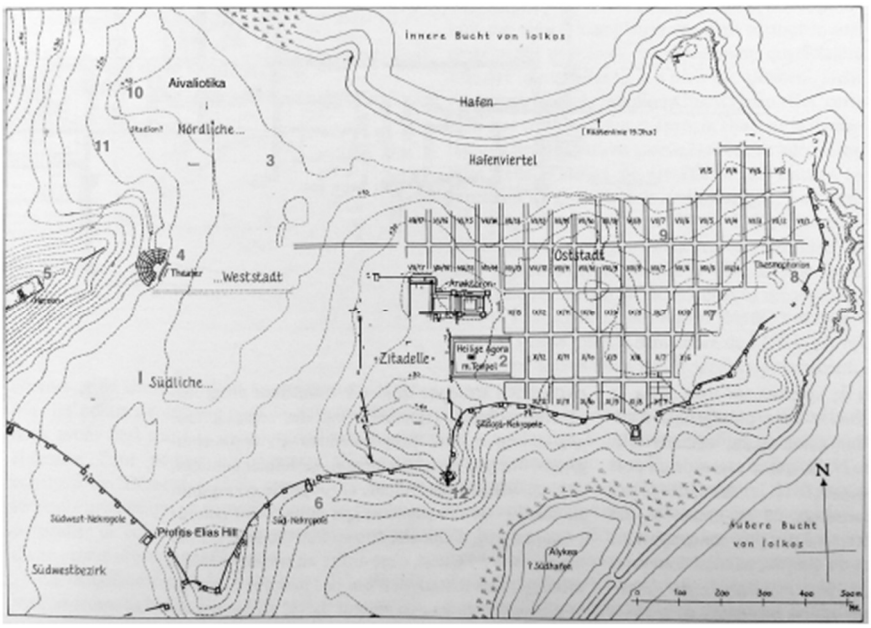


Figure 15 Demetrias, after Stamatapoulou 2018

Goritsa

Region: Magnesia

Infrastructure: Fortifications, “great battery”

Date: Hellenistic (4th c.)

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924. Bakhuizen 1992.

Details:

The settlement located on the Goritsa hill, which is located near the base of Mount Pelion in Magnesia, was noticed by many early scholars who suggested several possible identifications

of the site.[256] Following a detailed architectural and geological survey, Bakhuizen argues these identifications are incorrect and opts to call the site simply Goritsa or the Goritsa hill settlement.

Before the survey supervised by Bakhuizen, the site was thought to be a Hellenistic military base, a category that Bakhuizen notes is less well understood than their Roman equivalents. The reason for assuming a mainly military function was the compact and remote nature of the site. The site is located 100-150 m above the plain of Volos, sits on the strategically important Pagasetic gulf, and is approachable from only three routes. This combined with the presence of the so-called "Great Battery" led to the initial belief that the site was a Hellenistic military base. Following the survey, however, it was clear that the site was a full-fledged settlement, based on the presence of housing blocks and a planned urban grid organizing the site. Nineteen north-south running and ten east-west streets have been identified, creating forty-four habitation blocks of differing sizes. These blocks fall into several size categories similar to those at Olynthus and Kassope. These ratios have been modified, in Bakhuizen's view, to adapt the city plan to the geographic position of the site. [257] While house plots have not been excavated at the site, we can expect some form of subdivision of these blocks into house plots as seen in other cities.

The fortifications at Goritsa consist of an outer enceinte with numerous towers, three gatehouses a series of outworks, and the great battery. The circuit wall of the enceinte is constructed of limestone from the quarries located on-site and is preserved in most places no more than 2 courses and sometimes is either destroyed or not visible. The blocks are irregular

[256] This included Demetrias and Orminion, both of which now seem unlikely.
[257] S.C. Bakhuizen, *A Greek City of the 4th Century BC,* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1992), 219-20.

and pseudo-isometric in shape.[258] The remains of 15 towers have been identified along the course of the wall. Unlike other sites, most notably nearby Demetrias, there was no evidence of washed down mudbrick near the walls. This suggests that the walls were constructed entirely of stone as opposed to mudbrick on a stone socle.

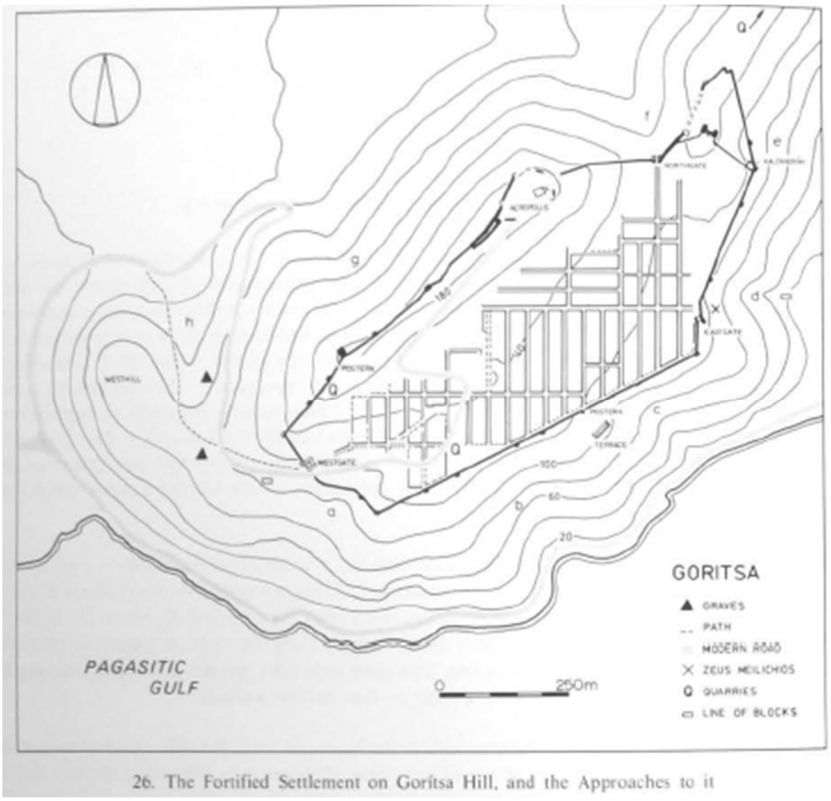
The gates are located so that they are approached through narrow ravines. This may have meant that at least two if not all three gates could only be approached on foot or with animals and would have excluded wheeled traffic. There is an additional gate leading into the enclosed area of the acropolis, located in the long northeastern stretch of the circuit wall. Near the north gate is a series of defensive outworks, formed by a triangular set of walls. Integrated into these defenses is one of the most unusual aspects of Goritsa's construction, the Great Battery. This structure consists of a thick north-south wall connecting two large U-shaped towers with the rounded face pointing north. This structure was built from a mix of local limestone and harder breccia. The breccia blocks are in parts of the structure that would have been more likely to receive enemy artillery fire. The purpose of the battery was to house artillery, four catapults in the reconstruction presented by Bakhuizen. This allowed the battery to cover the main avenue of a possible attack, namely the approach to the north gate.

Based on the few datable finds from the survey, it appears that the Goritsa settlement was built in a single planned building phase, sometime in the late Fourth century, and was only occupied for a single generation. This raises questions about the relationship between Goritsa and Demetrias. Based on the ceramics found during the survey the broad chronological range of

[258] Bakhuizen, *A Greek City of the 4th Century BC*, 123.

the site is 350-250 BCE, with Bakhuizen suggesting that the construction might have been carried out by Kassandros and completed between 316 and 298/7 BCE. This would mean that there was only a short time before the construction of Demetrias, occupying the same relatively small territory with much greater size and investment, located only a short distance away.[259] The inability of two poleis to occupy the same small area likely contributed to the demotion of the Goritsa settlement to a *kome* and its eventual abandonment. There seems to have been a gradual decrease in population, with a segment of the population probably moving (or being moved) to Demetrias as a part of its synoecism. After this, it seems that habitation further diminished over several years.[260]

[259] Bakhuizen, *A Greek City of the 4th Century BC*, 312.
[260] Bakhuizen, *A Greek City of the 4th Century BC*, 312.



26. The Fortified Settlement on Goritsa Hill, and the Approaches to it

Figure 16 Goritsa, after Bakhuizen 1992

New Halos

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Hellenistic (c. 300 BCE)

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924. Reinders 1988. Haagsma 2012. Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012. Reinders 2014. Stissi et al. 2015

Details:

The city of New Halos was founded around 300 BCE, following the destruction of Classical Halos by Parmenion in 346 BCE.[261] It is located on a relatively flat alluvial area located between the Soúrpi and Almirós plains, in the region of Achaia Phthiotis. The city was abandoned in 265 BCE following an earthquake, after which the city's residential areas were no longer occupied, although there are signs of habitation around the city such as in the reused southeast gate. This makes Halos an interesting case amongst Hellenistic foundations as one in which there are reliable dates for both the beginning and end of its occupation. It is not entirely clear who founded the city and from where the population was drawn or whether the creation of New Halos was a synoecism of surrounding communities or conceptualized as a refoundation of the classical city. Reinders argues that the construction of the city was carried out on the orders of Demetrius, though there have been arguments that the foundation could have been the work of Kassander. Either way, the site was likely chosen for its strategic value and access to the Pagasetic Gulf.

The site of New Halos is a short distance from the site of Classical Halos, which has been identified as *magoúla* Plataniótiki.[262] It is possible that any survivors of the destruction of Classical Halos and their descendants could have been living in the vicinity of the new foundation and could have been moved to the new city along with others from nearby towns and villages. Due to the small number of sites discovered during the archaeological survey of the surrounding area, it is also possible that the inhabitants were drawn from more distant places.

[261] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate* (Barkhuis Publishing, 2014), 15.
[262] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate*, 14.

The walls of New Halos consist of two parts, the square lower city fortifications, and those of the triangular upper city. Together they enclose 50 hectares, with the lower wall measuring 4.7 km and the upper wall measuring 3.0 km.[263] Combined, the upper and lower city fortifications feature 120 towers. The lower city was reserved mainly for residential use, possibly containing an agora. In contrast, public buildings were likely located in the upper city, though only one has been thoroughly explored, the temple of Demeter and Persephone. The city was accessed by five main gates and smaller postern gates, while the acropolis had only one gate.

The walls of New Halos are constructed of large trapezoidal blocks of limestone, organized in two parallel facings with a rubble core between. The blocks are dressed on most sides, but not on the outer facings. This would have improved the wall's resistance to impacts from siege weaponry.[264] Towers have been located on all sides of the lower city enceinte, except the east side. The upper city walls are noticeably smaller in scale than those of the lower city. Reinders has argued that the natural defensibility of the upper city meant that it did not require the same scale of defensive works as the lower city. The exact layout of the acropolis is unclear, due to the presence of a Byzantine fort built in the 12th century. The remains of sixteen buildings have been identified in the upper city, with more likely unidentified. The only structure completely excavated in the upper city is a temple of Demeter and Persephone, which was initially visible. It consists of a 10.40 m by 8.0 m rectangular structure divided by a main

[263] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate*, 32.
[264] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate*, 34.

partition into north and south ends, with these being further divided in half.[265] The upper city shows little planning in the distribution of buildings.[266]

The lower city has seen the excavation of six households, which provides a sample of the domestic layout of the city. The lower city was given over almost entirely to residential space, except for an agora. Strict planning is apparent in the lower city, where the orthogonal streets and avenues create sixty-four blocks 100 Doric feet wide (30 m) by various lengths. These different lengths, 80 m, 180 m, and 210m, created three standardized house plot sizes rather than a single uniform house size that might be expected.[267] The houses were constructed using mostly local limestone from the nearby quarry on the hill with some use of conglomerate and poros stone.[268] The stone foundations of the houses were several courses high and would have supported a mudbrick upper
wall.[269]

The city's southeast gate was excavated in 1995 to protect it from illegal digging.[270] This provided not only a detailed plan of one of the city's main gates but also evidence of renewed occupation following the abandonment of New Halos. The gate was described by excavators as an interior courtyard gate constructed of limestone and conglomerate blocks with a mudbrick superstructure, consisting of two towers that flanked a 6.78 m gateway that opens onto a square

[265] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate.* 2014, 38,
[266] Haagsma et al., *Hellenic-Canadian work at Kastro Kallithea, 2014,* 24.
[267] Haagsma et al., *Hellenic-Canadian work at Kastro Kallithea, 2014,* 24.
[268] Haagsma et al., *Hellenic-Canadian work at Kastro Kallithea, 2014,* 28-9.
[269] Haagsma et al., *Hellenic-Canadian work at Kastro Kallithea, 2014*, 30-1.
[270] Dickenson et al., "The Southeast Gate of the Hellenistic city of New Halos: Description and Analysis of the Architectural Remains." *Pharos* (13) 2006., 76.

courtyard.[271] The towers are just under 7 meters to a side, with the western tower's foundation measuring 6.85 m x 6.06 m while the eastern is 6.74 m x 6.11 m. The courtyard is an open space of 68 square meters created by walls extending from the city wall, a staircase inside the courtyard leads up behind the western tower. "Spur walls" at the rear of the courtyard separated the space off as a guard room.[272] During excavations, it was found that the spur walls had been extended to seal the gate using poros stone blocks. This combination with pottery from later periods found in a hole left by a looter suggested that the gatehouse was reoccupied after the earthquake that led to the abandonment of the main city.

This second phase habitation was marked by the use of the gatehouse as a possibly fortified farmstead. This involved both the clearing of any debris left from the earthquake that damages Halos around 265 BCE and the modification of the structure.[273] Unlike the initial phase that used dressed limestone and conglomerate blocks, the second phase used poros stones to seal the entrances of the gate, leaving only small entrances for those living there. This phase was then destroyed by a fire after which artifacts were salvaged post destruction before an eventual Byzantine reoccupation. How much of the fortifications survived and how fortified this farmstead would have stayed is not clear, since as Reinders notes the curtain wall collapsed over time and mudbrick would dissolve quite quickly from exposure to the elements, especially if roof tiles had been damaged or removed after the earthquake.[274]

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[271] Dickenson et al., *The Southeast Gate of the Hellenistic city of New Halos,* 78-9, 2005.
[272] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate.* 2014, 76.
[273] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate.* 2014, 70.
[274] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate.* 2014, 71.

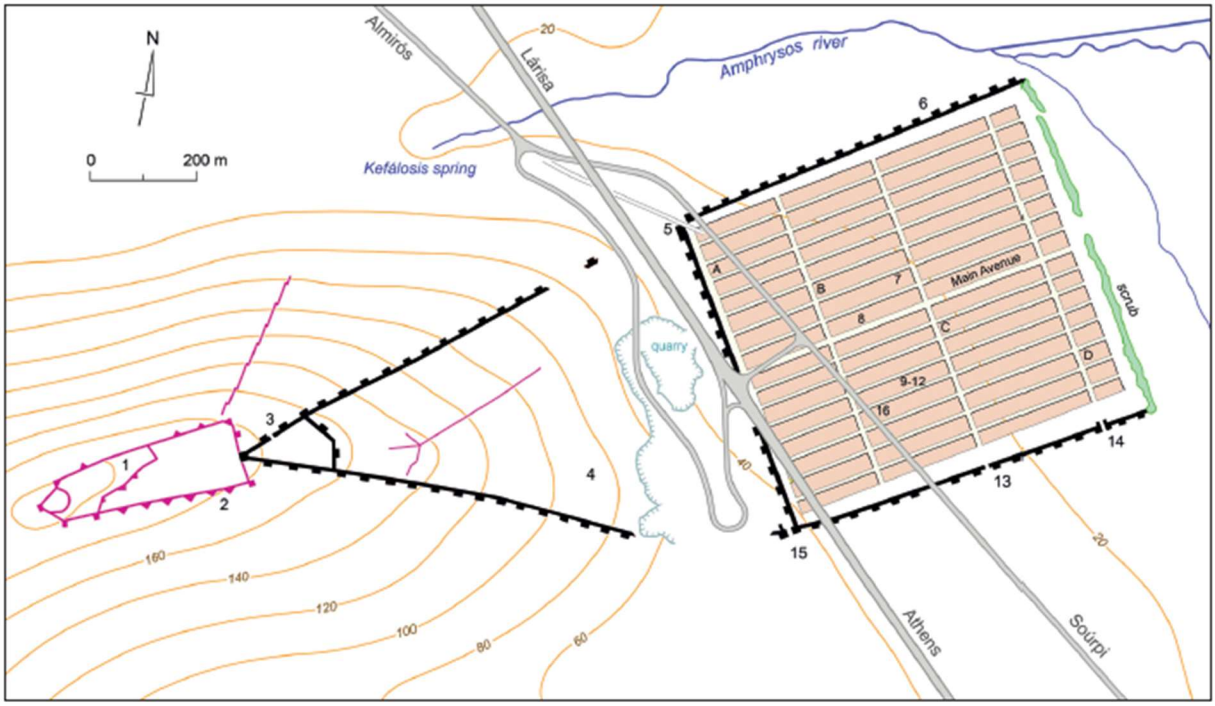


Figure 17 New Halos, after Reinders 2014

<u>Kallithea/Peuma</u>

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Agora, Fortifications, Stoa.

Date: late 4th – early 1st century BCE

Select Bibliography: Haagsma et al. Surtees 2012.

Details:

The site of Kastro Kallithea, possibly ancient Peuma, is located in-land from the Pagasetic Gulf, in the region of Achaia Phthiotis, in the pass between the Othrys and Narthakion

mountains.[275] Halos and Pthiotic Thebes lie towards the east and north-east near the coast, while Pharsala lies to the north-west and Melitaia to the south-west. The site, on the evidence from survey and excavation, was occupied in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods before being abandoned until some light activity in the Byzantine period.[276] Since then the site has been mostly undisturbed except by the grazing of animals by shepherds. This, along with inaccessibility due to the heavy overgrowth by prickly oak, has resulted in a high degree of preservation of the site.

Kallithea is located on a double-peaked hill, with the two peaks separated by a "saddle", all of which is enclosed within the circuit wall of the enceinte. The site's fortifications consist of a well-preserved circuit wall, with up to five courses of stone preserved in some places.[277] The circuit wall measures 2.4 km with thirty-nine towers, spaced at uneven intervals. This uneven spacing allows for the concentration of towers where the approach to the walls is less steep and required a heavier defensive presence, such as the western stretch of the wall.[278] The walls fortify both summits of the Kastro, as well as the saddle between them. The wall was constructed using the emplekton technique, with two facades enclosing a rubble core, with cross walls introduced to strengthen the construction against impacts. The sides of the wall blocks were smoothed to fit together, while the outer face was left rough with bossing or quarry marks.[279] The height of the walls may have been increased from the preserved height by a mudbrick upper section. The

[275] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 1.
[276] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 23.
[277] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 125.
[278] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 127.
[279] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 125.

fortifications are constructed in considerable part from the local grey-blue limestone, possibly quarried on or near the site.

The towers' average width is 6.7 m and except for towers 1 and 15, which are rectangular, all are square. The estimated height of the towers is around 13 m. While the number of towers is smaller than some other nearby sites, notably Demetrias and New Halos, Surtees has noted that the ratio of towers to the length of the walls is similar.[280] The irregular distribution of towers to better defend site-specific weak points, in this case, the west wall, is similar to other sites in the region, such as the settlement at Goritsa.[281]Access to the city was possible through two main gates, located on the east and west sides of the city, as well as four postern gates spaced along the walls. The west gate is orientated north/south and is integrated into the enceinte wall. It is a courtyard gate, with the interior separated into two compartments by spur walls.[282]

[280] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 126.
[281] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 126.
[282] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 129.

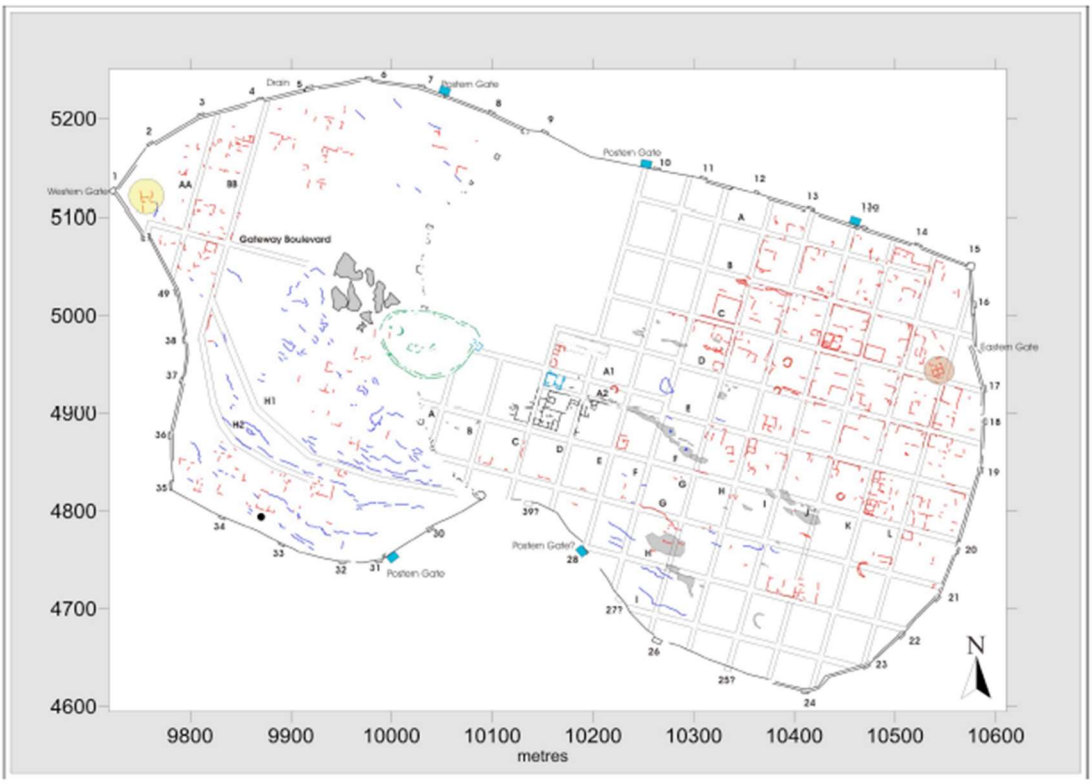


Figure 18 Kastro Kallithea, after Surtees 2012

Melitaia

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical

Select Bibliography:

Details: Stählin 1924. AD 56-69, 544-5.

The site of Melitaia is located on a saddle shaped hill on the northern side of the Othrys mountains, with evidence for ancient remains being partially obscured by a later monastery.[283] Stählin describes the city as being divided into three sections, an acropolis, upper city, and a lower city.[284] The lower circuit wall is poorly preserved in sections, but a total length of 3.50 km is suggested by Stählin, who also notes that the walls are unusually thick examples of emplekton construction, 3.80 m wide. This led him to suggest that the thick base would have supported a taller than normal wall. The number of towers and gates was unfortunately unable to be determined.

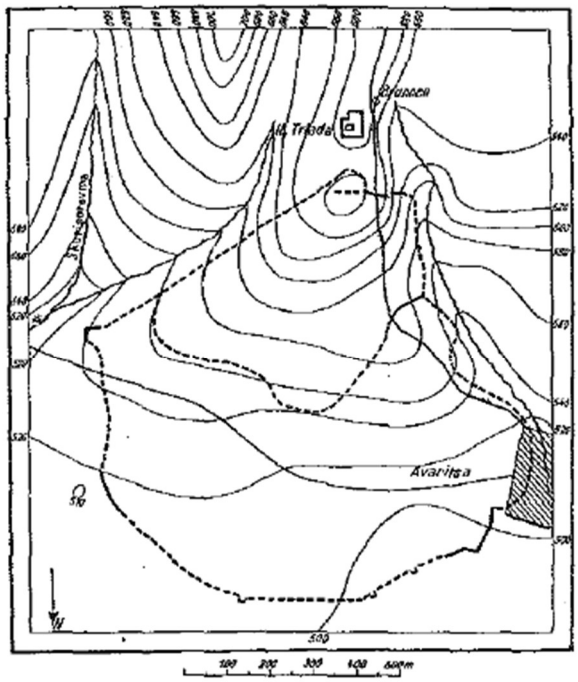


Fig. 17. Skizze von Meliteia

Figure 19 Melitaea, after Stählin 1924

[283] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 162.
[284] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 163.

Proerna

Region: Achaia Pthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Pre-Classical/Classical

Select Bibliography: *Acro*poleis *Proerna*

Details:

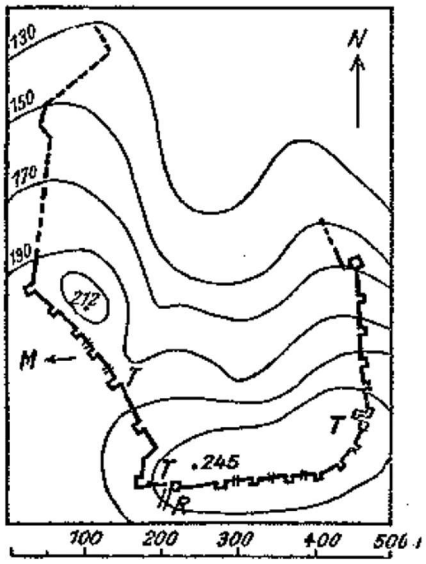
The site known as Gynaiko-kastro is associated with ancient Proerna. The site, located 400 m in elevation, shows evidence of a circuit wall and acropolis wall, as well as a sanctuary to Demeter just outside of the circuit walls.[285] Stählin gives a length of 400 m for the acropolis wall and describes it as polygonal in construction.[286] Dauz and La Costa Messeliére describe the circuit wall as constructed from trapezoidal masonry and being 2.30 m thick. They also describe three preserved bastions or gates. [287] Decourt et al note that while the wall has received numerous repairs, but the original construction could date to the 4th c. BCE.[288]

[285] Daux and La Coste Messeliére "De Malide en Thessalie," *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 48, (1924), 356-7. Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," in *The Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis*,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 716.

[286] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 1924, 158.

[287] Daux and La Coste Messeliére"De Malide en Thessalie," *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 48, (1924), 356-7.

[288] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," in *The Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* eds. Hansen and Neilson (Oxford University Press, 2004), 716.



Skizze 14. Proerna

Figure 20 Proerna, after Stählin 1924

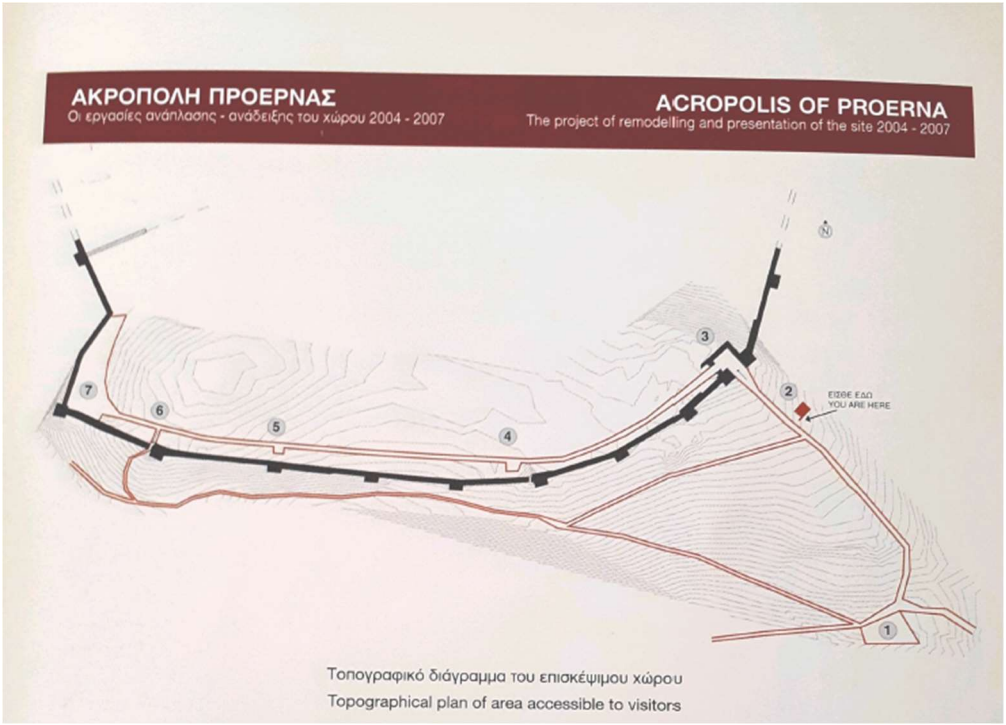


Figure 21 Proerna, mapped acropolis, After Photini - Papakonstinou 2007

Phthiotic Thebes

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications, Theater

Date: pre-classical/Classical.

Select Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos, Stählin 1924. Nikolau and Kravaritou 2012

Details:

The city of Pthiotic Thebes, located in the tetrad of Pthiotis, controlled a territory which bordered that of major Thessalian sites, Demetrias, Pherai and Pharsala.[289] The site was noted not only by early travels including Leake and Stählin , but was also the subject of published excavations by Arvanitopoulos at the turn of the 19th century.[290] These excavation revealed evidence of a long occupation starting in the Neolithic along with Mycenean, Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic and Byzantine phases. This led Stählin to suggest that the Neolithic and Bronze age were periods of intense occupation before a decline in habitation before a resurgence around the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Much of the visible material at the site dates to after the 4th century BC.[291] It is this period in which the city became an economically and strategically important site, thanks to its harbor access to the Pagasetic gulf, with control going back and forth between the Macedonians and Aetolians.[292]

[289] Stählin 1924, 171 suggests that there are 4 peaks, while more recent publication by Surtees 2012, 93-94 suggests there is three summits.
[290] Arvanitopoulos, "Ανασκαφαι εν Θεσσαια," *Praktika* no 1 (1907), 161-169.
[291] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 93.
[292] Surtees, *On the Surface of a Thessalian city*, 94.

The site itself is located on a plateau with three peaks, with the eastern most peak holding the acropolis.[293] While remains of earlier cyclopean masonry are located near the acropolis, the circuit wall dates to the Hellenistic period. The roughly square circuit wall extends down the slope to enclose the urban area. This wall is constructed as an *emplekton* wall, with two parallel walls enclosing a layer of rubble fill, which stood atop a mudbrick base. This wall measures 2.60m in diameter and runs for 2.4 km around the city, with over forty towers between 6 m and 7 m wide. The wall is constructed from (local?) sandstone as well as from breccia, cut into large "cuboid" blocks.[294] Inside the circuit wall, there are a number of terraces which are supported by retaining walls.

At the north-eastern end of the city, the acropolis occupies the highest point of the settlement. During excavations of the acropolis Arvanitopoulos reported evidence of several buildings including evidence of a sanctuary. Votive inscriptions from the acropolis were dated between the 4th century BC and the 1st Century AD.[295] One such dedication to Athena led Décourt et al. to suggest the presence of a cult of Athena Polias on the Acropolis[296]. Other finds on the acropolis ranged from Neolithic artifacts to Byzantine remains, attesting to the long occupation of the site.

Arvanitopoulos also noted the presence of a stoa, constructed on the slope of the city within the city walls. The structure is described as a double stoa, with a front area for commerce

[293] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 171.
[294] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 172
[295] Arvanitopoulos 1907, 16.
[296] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 717-18

and the rear presumably for use by proprietors. As well as the stoa, a stone theater is mentioned by Arvanitopoulos, located near the ancient agora. This has since been excavated in detail by the Greek Eporate of Antiquities .[297] The theater is located near the ancient agora, in the northern area of the city, where eleven rows of seats have been revealed, constructed of local volcanic stone.[298] Based on the evidence form coinage, the theater was constructed in the mid 4th century BC.[299] Little has been revealed of the urban layout and domestic architecture, although Arvanitopoulos mentions small trenches dug between the stoa and the theater which revealed domestic objects.

[297] Arch Delt 47 (1992), 222-229.
[298] Arch Delt 47 (1992), 222-3.
[299] Arch Delt 47 (1992), 225.

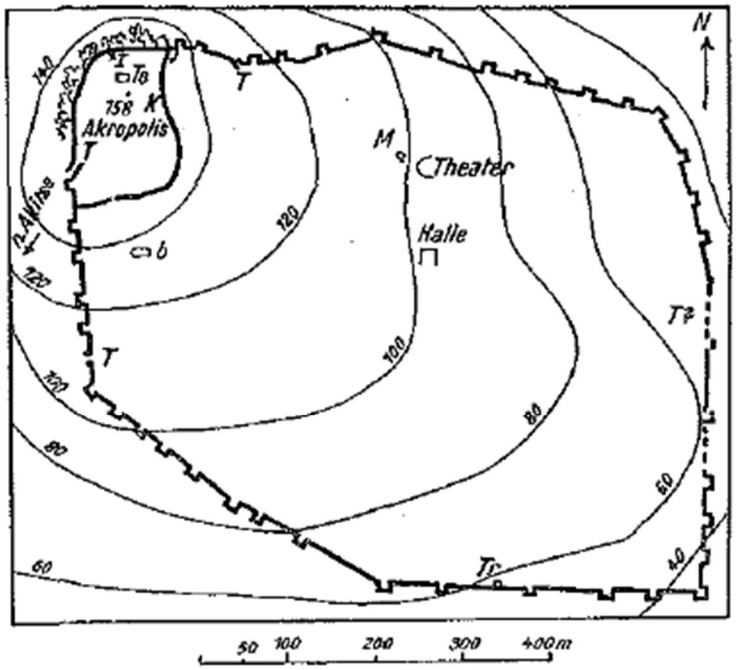


Fig. 21. Skizze von Theben

I = Inschriften an der Mauer
Te = Athenetempel
K = Kyklopische Mauer
M = Kyklopisches Mauereck

Figure 22 Phthiotic Thebes, after Stählin 1924

Phthiotic Eretria

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Hellenistic (c. 344 BCE)

Select Bibliography: Blum 1992.

Details:

The settlement known as Eretria, or Phthiotic Eretria based on its location in Achaia Phthiotis, is a comparatively small urban site located near the modern town of Eretria, from which it takes its name. Archaeological survey has shown the surrounding area was occupied to some extent as early as the Neolithic period and continued human activity in the archaic and classical period before an apparent intensification in the Hellenistic period. Although the site's ancient name is unknown, based on the style of construction and the defenses, Blum argues that the site should be dated to sometime between the time Philip II was active in Thessaly, around 344 BCE, to the destruction of Eretria mentioned by Livy in 198 BCE.[300]

The site is located on the slope of a large limestone hill and consists of a short, roughly square circuit wall only about 1 km in length. The walls slope down the hill to the north from the acropolis, which is located at the southern end of the settlement. The wall encloses the urban area, which extends down the slope on a series of terraces. The interior of the city is accessed through eight gates, four located on the north wall near the base of the hill. The north wall is also where the remains of the few preserved towers are located, and where the city was the least naturally fortified by geography. Beyond the walls of the city were a necropolis and a small sanctuary.

The fortifications of Eretria are comparatively short in terms of overall wall length and enclosed area but designed in a manner to emphasize the site's natural defenses and make up for any shortcomings. This resulted in the construction of more towers along the northern wall of the city as well as various styles of gates, tangential or axial, placed to better defend the city from

[300] Blum, "Die Stadt Eretria in Thessalein," in *Topographie Antique et Geographie Historique en Pays Grec,* Blum, Darmezin, Decourt, Helly, Lucas, Eds. (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 1992), 160.

any given direction.[301] The eight gates of the outer wall at Eretria represent many defended entrances in comparison to even some considerably larger sites. The number of towers on the other hand appears comparatively small with only a handful of towers indicated on the plan supplemented with what Blum calls tower-like bastions.[302] Three towers are preserved along the north wall and measure 7 x 7 m, while the bastions extend several meters from the curtain walls to achieve a comparable thickness. The curtain walls themselves vary in thickness based on location and preservation, and are about 1.5 m thick on the northern side, while the western wall is 2.2 m. The wall is constructed of regular rectangular blocks which would have encased a rubble core.

While Blum does not suggest a reconstruction of the interior of the site with streets and avenues, they must have existed at one time and would have needed to be integrated with the slope of the hill. Blum hypothesizes that streets for traffic would have run east to west to avoid the slope of the hill, with residential streets running north to south. This would allow houses to be orientated to the cardinal directions. These suggestions all agree with conventional Greek building practices but are unconfirmed due to the lack of preserved buildings visible on the surface. The same is true of an agora, which likely existed but cannot be identified.[303]

Beyond the wall lies the remains of a small sanctuary. It was made up of two small structures of which only the foundations remain, 300 m from the east gate of the city. The northern structure measures 7.3 x 21.2 m (a ratio of 1:3) and is divided into a square room and a

[301] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate,* 125.
[302] Blum "Die Stadt Eretria in Thessalein," in *Topographie Antique et Géographie Historique En Pays Grec* (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1992), 195.
[303] Blum "Die Stadt Eretria in Thessalein," 208.

rectangular room by a dividing wall. The remains are constructed of irregular stones and are orientated east to west. To the south, 20 m away is another structure, of larger stones that seems to have had a lengthwise wall dividing it. Based on the remains of what may have been a peribolos wall to the east and west, Blum suggests a connection between the two structures.[304]

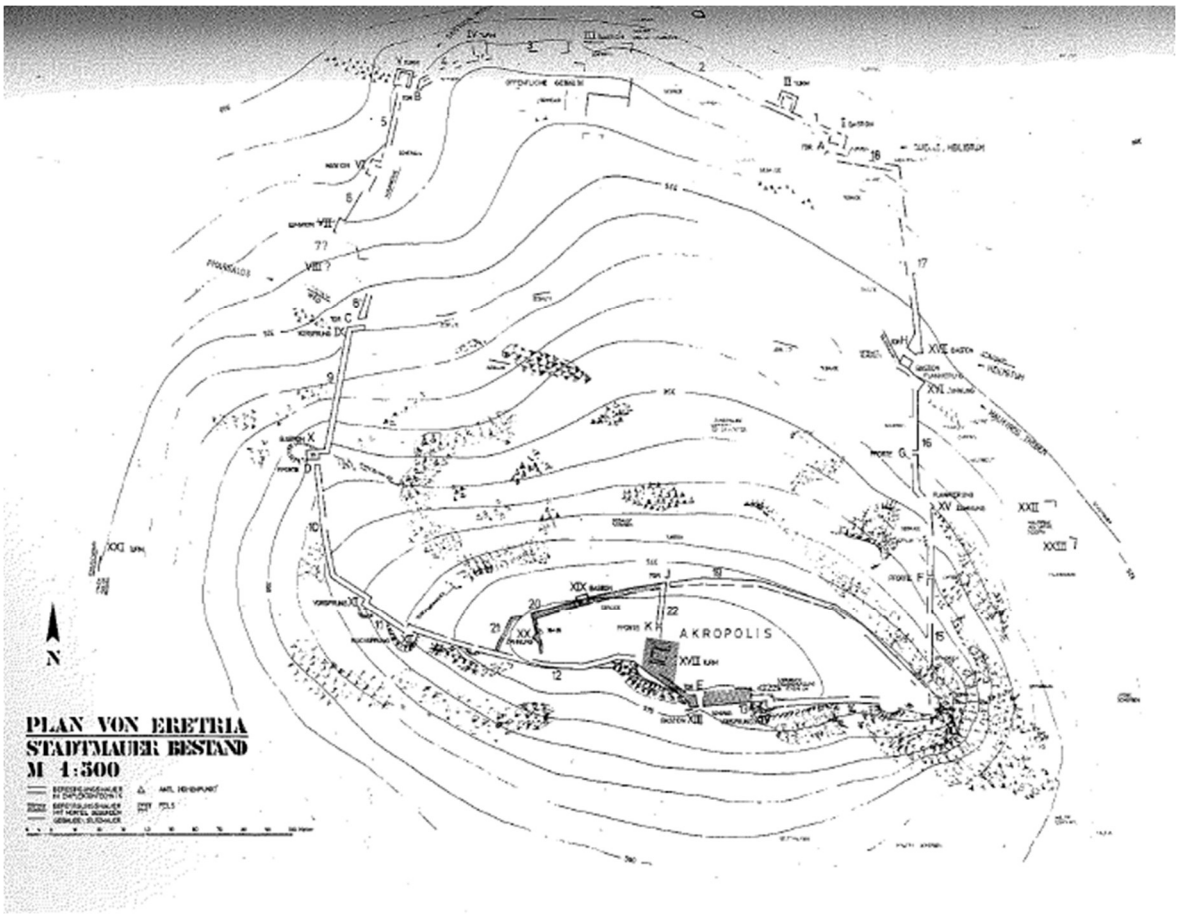


Figure 23 Phthiotic Eretria, after Blum 1992

[304] Blum "Die Stadt Eretria in Thessalein," 201.

Atrax

Region: Pelasgiotis

Infrastructure: Acropolis, Fortifications, Potential theater, Potential Agora

Date: Classical

Select Bibliography: Leake 1835a, 434. Leake 1835b 292-293. Stählin 1924 101-102. Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 55-57. Inventory. Kaczmarak 2015, Ronnland 2018.

Details:

At the site of Atrax, (identified as modern Alifaka by Stählin), there is evidence of a fortified acropolis, lower city and the remains of a theater.[305] The upper, older wall of the acropolis is dated to the early 5th c. by Decourt et al and is described as polygonal in construction. Stählin describes two parallel facings, with a total width of 3.40 m – 4.20m. The wall was renovated in the 4th century and the defensive system updated to include a large main quadrangular tower and 5 towers integrated into the wall (one of which served as a gate).[306] The lower city was protected by a 3 km long circuit wall, enclosing c.64 hectares. Potential locations for a theater and agora have been identified but remain unexcavated.

[305] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 1924, 101. BAR (Fossey and Morin). Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 692.
[306] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions,", 692.

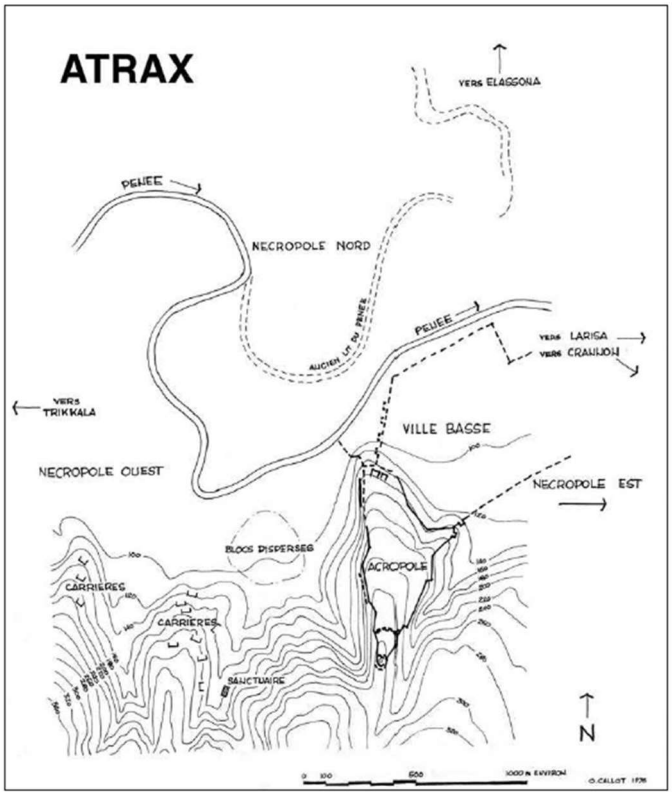


Figure 24 After Decourt 2013

Larisa

Region: Pelasgiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Archaic

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924, Stamatopoulou 2011.

Details:

Much of Larisa has been built over by the modern city. About 4000 m of circuit wall is preserved, but the length of the total course is unknown. This wall consists of a stone socle which would have supported a mudbrick superstructure. An inscription describes that the wall was constructed using unbaked mudbrick, explaining the lack of preservation. Tziaphalias has however argued that the course of the wall likely matched the later Ottoman city wall, but with a slightly constricted course. The Ottoman wall had a total length of 6450 m, and so the ancient walls must still have had an impressive course. [307] The acropolis was likely fortified based on references in the literary sources, but no evidence of these fortifications remains. The Acropolis does preserve mud brick buildings and a classical road.[308] A number of other monuments, including a theater, two gymnasia, roman Odeon, stadium and hippodrome are also attested.[309]

Pharsala

Region: Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Archiac

[307] Tziaphalias "*Δεκαπέντε Χρονιά ανασκαφων στην αρχαία Λάρισα,"* in *Dekapente Chronia* (Editions Kapon, 1994),, 16.
[308] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 696.
[309] Tziaphalias "*Δεκαπέντε Χρονιά ανασκαφων στην αρχαία Λάρισα,"* in *Dekapente Chronia* (Editions Kapon, 1994), 10-15.

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924., Lauffer 1989, Decourt et al. 2004., Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012.

Details:

Pharsala was a major site in antiquity, but modern building obscures much of the city plan. The remains of the acropolis and some evidence of the city wall is preserved, however. The Archaic site of Pharsala is associated with Palaiokastro, located 1km northeast of the modern site, which shows evidence of occupation from the bronze age up until the Archaic period, after which the Pharsala was refounded.[310] The best preservation is near the acropolis, where early 5th to 4th century walls are visible, measuring between 2.70m and 4.0 m wide. These fortifications included at least 5 identified gates, one of which is a postern gate, and 24 towers.[311]

A theater is also present on the slope below the acropolis but is unexcavated.

Several households have also been excavated, dating to the Hellenistic and Roman period.

[310] Lauffer, *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten, (*Augsberg: Bechtermünz Verlag 1989), 502.

[311] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 704.

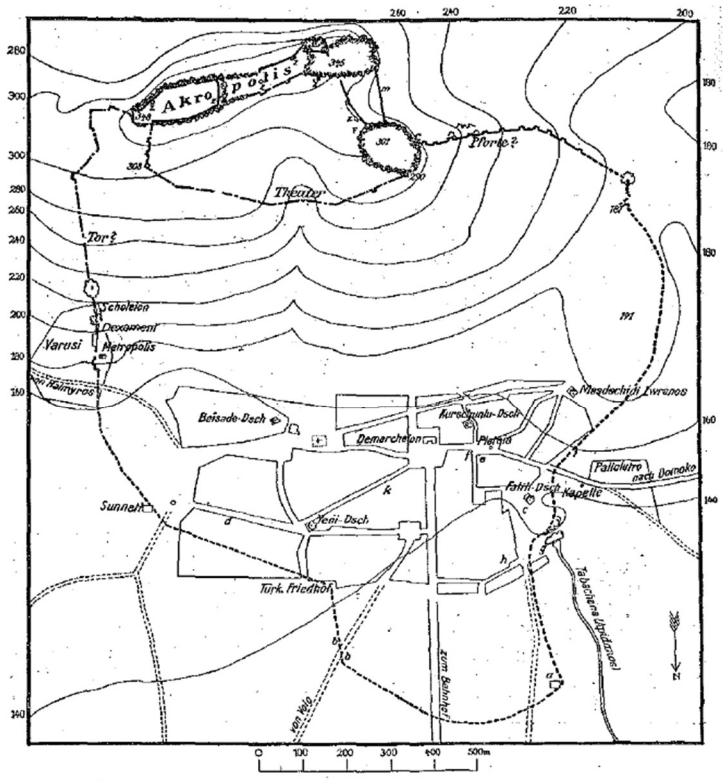


Fig. 9. Plan von Pharsalos

Pherai

Region: Pelasgiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications, Theater (?)

Date: Archaic

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924, Kakavagiannis 1977, Decourt et al.

Details:

Pherai was located in the Thessalian tetrad of Pelasgiotis. The site is attested by Homer but sees an age of increased prosperity after the foundation of nearby Pagasai, which served as a

port of export for Thessalian agricultural production starting in the 6th century.[312] The archaeological remains of Pherai, modern Velestino, are limited. It is clear from remains of a city wall that the city possessed extensive fortifications, dated to the 4th century BC.[313] Much of the archaeological work has focused on the nearby temples and necropolis. Stählin provides a plan of the city and outlines a probable course of the city walls, while noting that few remains are visible from earlier periods. He notes that the city was expanded in the 4th century to occupy the lower hill near the acropolis. Some of the fortification wall is preserved as a part of a modern church located in the "saddle" between the two hills. This wall measures 2.40 m win width and is constructed of blue-white limestone facings with a rubble fill.[314] An outer circuit wall, which made use of breccia blocks in construction, is also attested by rescue excavations.

Later investigations have clarified the picture of Pherai to some extent. Excavations by detailed by Kakavogiannis in 1977 corrected details of Stählin's plan on the acropolis. These excavations showed the path of the fortification wall that connected the two summits of the upper city, as well as revealing the six towers, spaced roughly 30 m apart, one of which protected a gate.[315] Excavations near the acropolis also confirmed the length of occupation at the site, revealing material from the early Bronze age to the Late Hellenistic. While this work dated the walls to the Hellenistic period, which is almost certain based on historical accounts and similar material from other sites, Camp has argued for a further refinement in the dating of the walls at Pherai to 375-360 BC. Both these dates would make sense for the impressive fortifications,

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[312] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 104.
[313] Camp 2000. Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 2004,
[314] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 104.
[315] Kakavagiannis, *Chronika* 1977, 187

which extended 5 km around the city and encompassed 82 ha in the upper city and possibly as much as 120 ha with the lower city.[316]

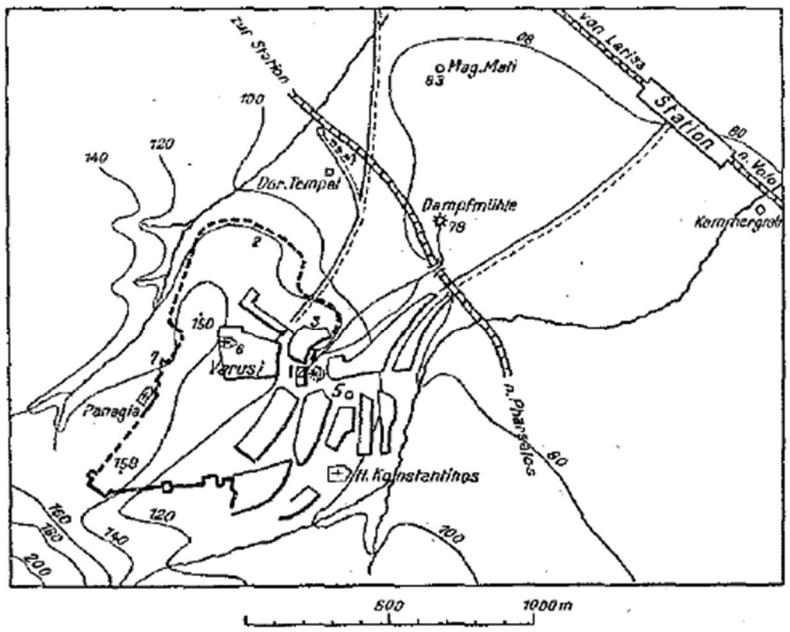

Fig. 5. Skizze von Pherai (Velestino)

Figure 25 Pherai, after Stählin 1924

<u>Skotoussa</u>

Region: Pelasgiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications, Theater (no arch. Remains)

Date: Classical

Select Bibliography:

[316] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 705.

Details: Missailiadoi-Despotidou 1993. Nikolaou and Kravaitou 2012., La Torre et al. 2017.

The city of Skotoussa is located in the tetrad of Pelasgiotis and its territory borders that of several other communities, including Pthiotic Eretria, Krannon, and Pherae.[317] The city is situated on a plateau in the foothills of the Chalcedonian mountains, with its territory physically defined by rivers and streams including the Onchistos river to the north.[318] Knowledge of the settlement goes back to early travelers in the region, including Stählin who noted the presence of fortification walls at the site, and Leake who noted the presence of the acropolis, which he referred to as the Kastro.[319] Skotoussa is referenced in several literary sources as a polis, but we know relatively little about its history.

The references that do exist in literary sources mostly mention it in passing as a landmark for tracking the movements of troops in the region.[320] This is unsurprising, especially given the site's proximity to Cynoscephalae. One of the few direct references to events in the city is the massacre of male citizens and enslavement of the women and children of the city, which occurred in the city's theater on the orders of Alexander of Pherai and was carried out by his mercenaries.[321] By the 2nd century AD the site was abandoned, according to Pausanias.[322] Based on a recent archaeological surface survey it is clear the site was occupied earlier than first thought, with classical, archaic, and geometric pottery attested along with Neolithic stone tools,

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[317] Reinders et al., *The City of New Halos and its Southeast Gate*, 76., La Torre et al., "Il Progetto *Skotoussa:* Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 2014-2015," 141.

[318] Nikolaou and Kravaitou, *Αρχαίες πόλεις Θεσσαλίας και περιοικών περιοχών*, (Larisa: Π.Ε.Δ. Θεσσαλιας, 2012), 115.

[319] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien* ,180.

[320] Nikolaou and Kravaitou, *Αρχαίες πόλεις Θεσσαλίας και περιοικών περιοχών*, 116.

[321] Plutarch, *life of Pelopidas*, 29.1-5.

[322] Nikolaou and Kravaitou, *Αρχαίες πόλεις Θεσσαλίας και περιοικών περιοχών*,119.

though Hellenistic finds are the most common.[323] This high percentage of Hellenistic material has led to the suggestion by the current project team that the Hellenistic period saw the greatest intensity of occupation.

Little archaeological investigation occurred at the site until recently. In 1983, a large inscription was discovered in the course of agricultural work. The large, broken stone remained unpublished until 1993 when Missailidou-Despotidou published a translation and interpretation of the inscription.[324] This inscription, written in the Thessalian dialect and dated to the Hellenistic period, contains information relating to the reorganization of the city's defenses and the officials tasked with measuring the city walls.

This detailed inscription lists those who were tasked with measuring the course of the walls and demarcating the space near the wall that must be left clear as part of public space and the distance that must be kept between private property and the fortifications. Rather than being the record of a proposed set of measures, Missailidou-Despotidou argues that the inscription represents a confirmation of the work already completed and provides a record and praise for those that accomplished it. Those named in the inscription are all members of the governing class, with two knowns as citizens of Skotoussa who also served as *strategoi* of the Thessalian League. These two individuals, Prylos and Nikokrateis, sons of Phoxinos, allow us to roughly date the stone, along with the shape of the letters in the text, to the early 2nd century BCE.[325]

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[323] La Torre et al., "Il Progetto *Skotoussa:* Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 2014-2015" in *Annuario Della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente V. XCIV, S. III, 16.* 2017 (SAIA, 2017), 148.
[324] V. Missailiadou-Despotidou, "A Hellenistic Inscription from Skotussa (Thessaly) and the Fortifications of the City," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 88, 1993.
[325] Ibid, 206. Prylos served as *stategos* in 190/89 BCE and Nikokrateis in 183/2 BCE.

The description of the walls provided by the inscription is of a well-fortified city, protected by an outer curtain wall that curved around the plain below the acropolis, enclosing the inhabited part of the city. This wall was irregular in shape, conforming to the hilly geography. The inscription mentions forty-four towers along the length of the wall, five main gates, as well as two postern gates.[326] When attempting to confirm the details of the inscription at the site through a survey, Missailidou-Despotidou noted that the remains on the north section of the wall were better preserved and landmarks in that area more closely matched the inscription while other areas must have changed considerably due to recent agricultural activity and natural changes to the landscape, making it hard to reconcile parts of the inscription both with remains on the ground and the earlier accounts of travelers.

As well as describing the physical structure of the curtain wall, the inscription also lays out areas near the wall which are to be left vacant. This requirement shows us several important aspects of the organization of the city. Firstly, the vacant area was likely important for the clear lines of military communication that would have been necessary if the city were attacked and for the less permanent military structures such as ditches.[327] Secondly, Missailidou-Despotidou interpreted some of the larger areas, such as that on the north by the river, as being public pasture for the grazing of animals.[328] This kind of public pasture was a traditional right given to *proxenoi* and *euergetai* in Thessaly, known as ἐπινοίμα, attested both epigraphically and literarily.

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[326] V. Missailiadou-Despotidou, "A Hellenistic Inscription from Skotussa (Thessaly) and the Fortifications of the City," *Annual of the British School at Athens* 88, 1993, 17.
[327] V. Missailiadou-Despotidou, "A Hellenistic Inscription from Skotussa," 13.
[328] V. Missailiadou-Despotidou, "A Hellenistic Inscription from Skotussa," 12.

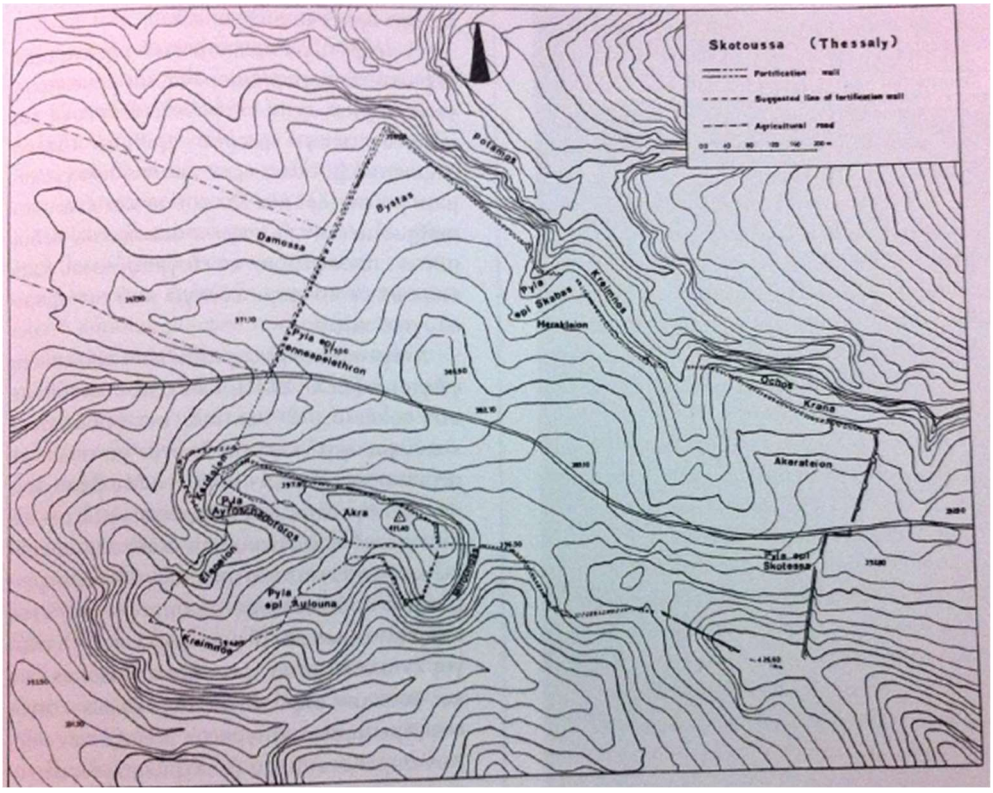
Recent excavations by a joint Greek and Italian team have greatly clarified the layout of the fortifications as well as begun to shed light on other buildings within the city and the chronology of the site based on surface survey finds. The course of the circuit wall in relation to the description given by the renovation inscription and the reconstruction of Missailidou-Despotidou has also been made clearer. The current work at the site has also clarified the existence of the inner acropolis walls and begun excavations of what could be a large public building.

It is now apparent that the circuit walls are close in plan to those proposed by Missailidou-Despotidou, though some of the proposed towers were unable to be identified.[329] The walls themselves are approximately 4 km in length and enclose 59 ha. They are constructed of a double curtain wall, between 1.8 and 2.6 m wide, made from sandstone and conglomerate blocks.[330] Of the towers described in the survey inscription, only 11 have been identified in the current survey, located in the eastern portion of the walls. The eastern section of the wall also features a gatehouse, which is currently being excavated.

The current project has also been able to locate the remains of the acropolis walls, previously a source of disagreement between earlier scholars who visited the site and dated their initial construction to the archaic period.[331] This wall, which served as the city's inner stronghold, is mostly preserved on the north side of the acropolis. The wall is constructed of polygonal masonry using large, irregular limestone blocks on the north side, while on the south,

[329] La Torre et al., "Il Progetto *Skotoussa:* Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 2014-2015," in *Annuario Della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e Delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente V. XCIV, S. III, 16.* 2017, 161.
[330] La Torre et al., "Il Progetto *Skotoussa:* Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 2014-2015," 159.
[331] La Torre et al., "Il Progetto *Skotoussa:* Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 2014-2015," 163.

east, and west a rebuilding phase reused some of the older polygonal limestone blocks together with square-cut sandstone blocks. The exact chronology of these phases will require stratigraphic excavation to clarify but the excavators note that based on the account from Diodorus, a wall must have existed in the middle of the 4th century BC, though which type of construction this wall used is still unclear.[332]



Vlochos

Region: Thessaliotis (?)

Infrastructure: Fortifications, Agora(?), public buildings(?), roads

[332] La Torre et al., "Il Progetto *Skotoussa:* Relazione preliminare sulle campagne 2014-2015," 164.

Date: classical

Select Bibliography: Rönnland 2018, Vaïopoulou et al. 2020.

Details:

The site of Vlochos, possibly located in the Tetrad of Thessaliotis, has been the focus of recent study by a joint Greek-Swedish project.[333] This project has shown that contrary to previous belief that the site represented a small hillfort, it is in fact a large, likely polis-size, settlement with multiple phases of occupation. Through the combination of survey and other non-invasive methods like ground penetrating radar and magnetometry, pre-classical, Classical/Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine phases were identified at the site.

The site itself is located on the Strongilovouni hill and surrounding area known as Patoma in the north-east of the Kartidsa plain.[334] 15 Hectares are enclosed in the walls on the hill itself, with another 23 on the flat Patoma area at the southern base of the hill. A 1.3 km fortification wall dated to the two distinct Classical/ Hellenistic phase encircles but is believed to have been part of a single planned building program.[335] The outer fortification wall includes 4 gates (three directed to the neighboring cities of Pharkadon, Kierion, and Peirasia), 8 postern gates, at least 21 identified towers, described as part of phase 2A, the first of two Classical/Hellenistic fortification phases. The second Classical/Hellenistic phase, 2B, includes the fortification of the Acropolis and a *diateichisma.*

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[333] Vaïapoulou et al. "The 2016-2018 Greek-Swedish Archaeological Project at Thessalian Vlochos." *Opusula: The annual of the Swedish institute at Athens and Rome.* 13." (2020), 64.
[334] Vaïapoulou et al. "The 2016-2018 Greek-Swedish Archaeological Project at Thessalian Vlochos", 7-8.
[335] Vaïapoulou et al. "The 2016-2018 Greek-Swedish Archaeological Project at Thessalian Vlochos", 28.

While excavations have not been carried out, the use of magnetometry and ground-penetrating radar have produced detailed plans of sections of the site, especially the flat area of the Patoma at the southern base of the hill. This has allowed for the identification of streets and avenues, a potential agora, and potential public buildings. The site appears to be a large urban settlement, with similarities to many other sites in the region.[336] It also appears that there was a Hellenistic abandonment of the site which could be associated with the second Macedonian war (200-197 BCE).[337] Following this abandonment, the site was reoccupied in the roman period through to late Antiquity and saw a Byzantine fortification phase.

[336] Vaïapoulou et al. "The 2016-2018 Greek-Swedish Archaeological Project at Thessalian Vlochos", 59.
[337] Rönnland, *A city on a hill Cannot be Hidden,* 204.

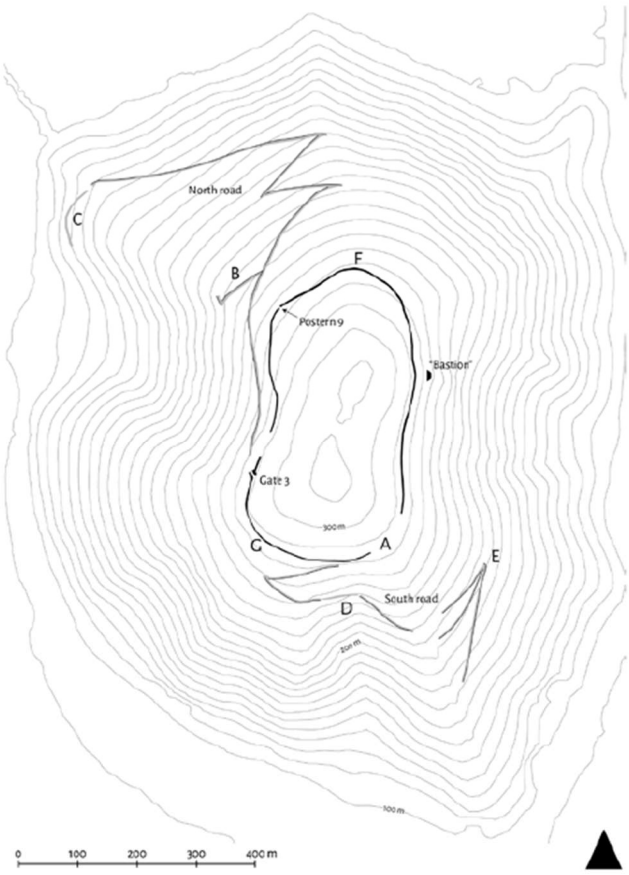

Fig. 23. Phase 1 fortifications and terraced roads. Plan by I. Klamer and R. Rönnlund.

Forts

The below sites are included based on the presence of fortification remains attesting to their role in the defensive networks developed especially during the Hellenistic period. The increased fortification of the region has been well documented by Wiberdink 1990 and Chykerda et al 2016. These sites are often associated with evidence for settlement, and so represent small, nucleated settlements existing between smaller rural settlements and poleis.

Vrinenas

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Hellenistic

Select Bibliography: Wieberdink 1990. Stissi et al. 2015

Details:

A walled site described as a fort, going back to Stahlin, with sections of circuit wall and an acropolis attested, it has been described as part of the defensive architecture of the region more broadly.[338] More recent survey work has noted buildings both within and outside of the fortification walls, suggesting that this site may have had a larger population than originally believed.[339]

[338] Wieberdink, G. 1990. "A Hellenistic Fortification System in the Othrys Mountains, Achaia Phthiotis." *Netherlands Institute at Athens. Newsletter* 56 (3).
[339] Stissi et al. "Halos: The Preliminary Report of the 2011-20013 Field Survey Campaigns," *Pharos 21(2)* 2015, 79.

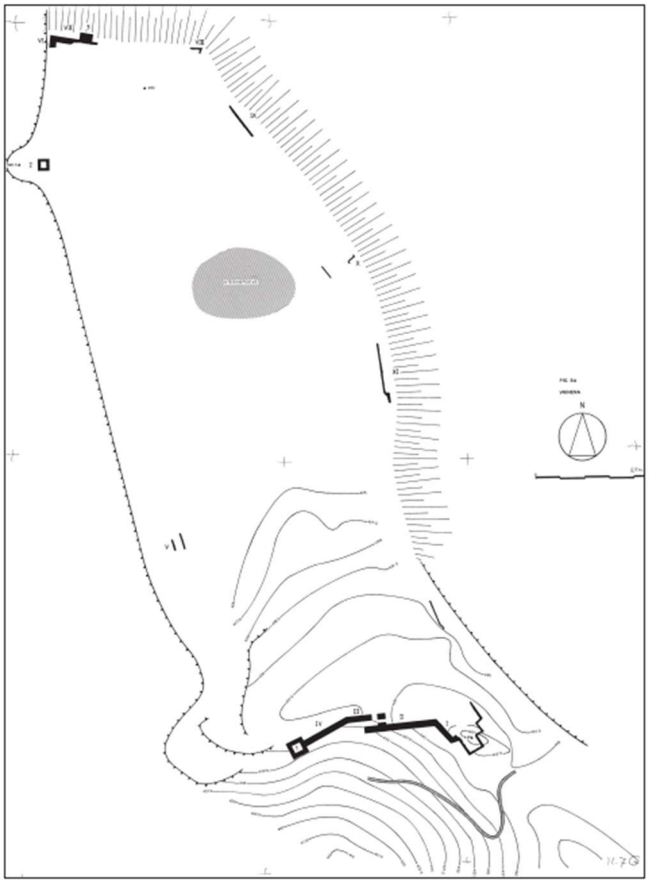

Figure 6. Plan of the Kastro Vrinenas (G. Wieberdink)

Figure 27 Kastro Vrinenas, after Stissi et al 2015

Xyniae

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: unknown

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924. Daux and La Coste Messeliére 1924. Cantarelli 2009. Rönnland 2018.

Details: No published excavations, but 1000 m of preserved circuit walls remains including four towers, as well as a fortified acropolis.[340]

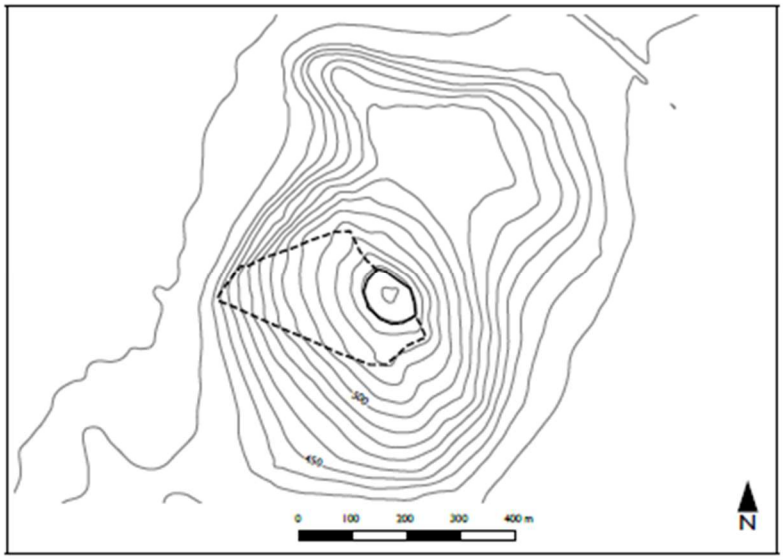

Figure 28 Xyniae, after Rönnland 2016

Additional sites

The sites below are included for completeness, and to provide context for the level of settlement in Thessaly during the Classical and Hellenistic period. In most cases, these sites lack detailed published material, well established architectural plans, or the infrastructure which would make it relevant to the analysis of the study. Presented here are relevant details in line with the focused sites above.[341]

[340] Rönnland 2018, *A city on a hill Cannot be Hidden,* 234.

[341] In addition, a number of sites are attested or published in a minor capacity, often lacking plans, attested infrastructure or secure dates. These sites include: Azoros, Chyretiai, Doliche, Gomphoi, Gyrton, Malloia, Mondaia, Mylai, Oloosson, Argoussa, and Pharkadon.

Antron

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924.

Details:

Stählin briefly describes the poorly preserved remains of Antron, which is located near the coast of Achaia. The site is elevated on a limestone plateau above the water and surrounded by a polygonal and ashlar wall (with the polygonal predating the ashlar sections), which Stählin reports as being 2.30 m wide. A single gate is described in the southwest, which Stählin suggests could have, in antiquity, led to the coast. An acropolis wall is noted and while it is badly preserved, regardless Stählin measured a length of 7-800 m.[342]

Ekkara

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortification

Date: Classical ?

[342] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 182.

Select Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos 1912, 348-50. Stählin 1924 154-55. Cantarelli et al. 2009, 55-57. Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 269-73. Inventory. Ronnland 2018, 192-3.

Details:

At the site which he calls Ekkara, Stählin notes a polygonal wall of grey stone 3.30 m thick, constructed of two facings filled with small stones. A gate was noted in the south. This wall seems to have been the Acropolis wall, while a second ring wall is described lower down on the Acropolis walls.[343] Stählin also notes nearby tombs covered by tiles. This is however contradicted more recently by Helly and previously by Béquignon, an attribution which is supported by Decourt et all.[344] They all argue that Ekkara should rather be associated with the site of Kaitsa. This site is also described by Stählin, which he had identified as ancient Kypaira.[345] He describes an emplekton wall, 2.50 m thick, with a length of 775 m, which he dated to the 4th century.[346] He also noted a "quadrangular" building, possibly a tower and a second inner wall surrounding the site's acropolis.

Chalai

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Acropolis, fortifications

[343] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 155.

[344] Helly "Incursions chez Les Dolopes", In *Topographie antique et geographie historique en pays Grec* (Paris: Editions du centre de la Recherche Scientifique 1992), 82- 6. Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 2004, 714.

[345] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 159.

[346] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 160.

Date: unclear, likely Classical/Hellenistic

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1906, 27-29. Wieberdink 1990, 71. Helly 2001, 241-249. Kondonatsios 2009, 143-51. Ronnland 2018, 190-1.

Details: Heavily overgrown site with the remains of a circuit wall of various phases and an acropolis. Foundations of potential Classical/Hellenistic houses and larger structures are also attested.[347]

Kypaira

Region: Achaia (Potentially Thessaliotis. See Decourt et al. 2004, 714)

Infrastructure: fortifications

Date: Classical?

Details:

Like Ekkara, the location of Kypaira has been revised. Helly associates the Kypaira with ancient Kydonia, which had previously been identified with Ekkara, according to Stählin and Béquignon.[348] Bequignon described the site as triple-walled, though the lower courses were poorly preserved and obscured by vegetation and only the acropolis wall and lower circuit wall appear on the plan.[349] The acropolis wall is constructed of courses of rectangular blocks, with two facings, and is 2.5m thick. Three towers are preserved to some degree, with the best

[347] Rönnland, *A city on a hill Cannot be Hidden,* 190.
[348] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien* , 159-60. Bequignon, *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle,* 1937, 326. Helly, "Incursions chez les Dolopes", 79-80.
[349] Bequignon, *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle*, 326.

preserved measuring 4.50 m x 3.00 m.[350] The fortifications measure 120 m x 40 m on the longest sides. Though Béquignon does not give a total length of the circuit its likely extended c. 300 m in length at the acropolis, while the lower circuit is too badly preserved to make an estimate of its length.

Larisa Kremaste

Region: Achaia Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical?

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924

Details:

This site shows evidence of Hellenistic occupation but little evidence of the suspected earlier periods. It is located near the coast, only 3.5 km away, and it is suggested by Strabo and Diodorus that the city had a harbor in antiquity.[351] The site was later refortified by a Byzantine fort which obscures some of the earlier remains. Stählin records a fortified acropolis, with an ashlar fortification wall with a preserved gate, along with stray Doric architectural elements. He also notes retaining walls and terraces located in the upper city.[352] The lower city is protected by

[350] Bequignon, La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle, 327.
[351] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions", 715.
[352] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 183-4.

an emplekton wall, 2.50 m thick, with a length of 2700 m with three gates and "numerous" towers.[353]

Thumakoi

Region: Magnesia

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical?

Details:

Thumakoi, located north of modern Domukos, is dominated by the remains of a medieval kastro, but a circuit wall of 8-900 m is preserved, which enclosed an upper city and was constructed of isodomic masonry.[354] A pair of towers are also reported.

Angeia

Region: Dolopia

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical?

[353] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 184.

[354] Daux and La Coste Messeliére, "De Malide en Thessalie," *Bulletin de correspondence hellénique* 48, (1924), 355. Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 717.

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924.

Details:

Stählin identified the site of Angeia with the modern village of Rentina.[355] At the site, which is located on the platform of one of the spurs of a hill, he noted the remains of a poorly preserved polygonal wall, which was constructed of flysch stone blocks, which he described as an emplekton wall.[356] The wall is 2.70 m thick and runs only 216 meters. Parts of the wall were seemingly destroyed by later construction. Bast on style Stählin dated the remains of the fortifications to the 3rd century BC.[357] It is worth noting that Helly has reappraised the evidence and argues that Ktimene should be identified with Rentina.[358]

Ktimene

Region: Dolopia

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: pre-classical?

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924.

Details:

[355] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 149.
[356] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 148.
[357] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 148.
[358] Helly, "Incursions chez les Dolopes", 81.

Ancient Ktimene is identified by Stählin as the site of Anodranista, though the identification of the site has proved difficult, with several scholars disagreeing if the locations of Angeia and Ktimene should be reversed.[359] He believed the site was the region's older capital, which was eventually relegated to a secondary position by the foundation of Angeia, and the two cities experienced territorial disputes. The site itself is located in Dolopia, near Lake Xynias. Fortifications at the site are limited to a poorly preserved 3rd-century wall around the acropolis and a second nearby fortified area, with a 3.20 m wide flysch stone wall that runs 200m.[360]

Gonnos

Region: Perrhaibia

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: archaic

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924., Helley 1992.

Details:

The site of Gonnos, which consisted of three hills, one of which functioned as the walled acropolis, sits at a strategically important point, controlling the route north to Macedonia.[361] The acropolis walls date to the archaic period, though occupation dating to the Neolithic is attested. The Hellenistic fortification walls were later extended to encircle all three hills, an area of c.6

[359] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 149.
[360] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 149. Decourt "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 708.
[361] PECS 359.

ha.[362] There is evidence of a temple of Athena Polias on the acropolis. Based on the presence of a large building, Arvanitopoulos suggested that the agora was located on the south slope of the acropolis.[363]

Hypata

Region: Ainis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Unclear

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1922

Details:

The site of Hypata is located in the region of Ainis, along the Sperchios valley and on the slope of mount Oitaia, offering it a naturally defensible location.[364] The site was identified by early travelers and is described by Stählin, who noted the remains of a fortification wall, a southern city gate, and a tower dating to the medieval period.[365] Béquignon's publication of the site includes a plan of the site and noted Hellenistic remains on the acropolis, which had been

[362] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 723.
[363] PECS 360.
[364] Béquignon , *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle*, 308.
[365] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 222.

covered by subsequent Roman and Frankish remains. These later phases also saw the reuse of ancient building blocks in later walls and the renovation of older walls.[366]

Describing the interior space of the site, Béquignon notes that inside of the circuit wall is overgrown with vegetation and littered with out of context blocks. He suggests that a still standing 1-meter-tall wall located to the south-east represents part of a building, but is unable to say more, having not carried out excavations.[367] Béquignon also confirms the presence of the wall and gate noted by Stählin in the south, and adds that remains can also be seen to the west of the site. He blames later building and the reuse of marble for lime production for the absence of evidence of remains, including religious and political structures.[368]

Varibori

Region: Magnesia

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical?

Details:

The site of Varibori is unfortunately not well explored and there is disagreement about its ancient name and settlement status. Stählin suggests that it could be identified with ancient Spericheiai, while later scholars suggest Makrokome as a more likely candidate.[369] The site is

[366] Béquignon , *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle*, 309.
[367] Béquignon , *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle*, 310.
[368] Béquignon, *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle*, 311.
[369] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien,* 224. Béquignon 1937 316-22. Lauffer, *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten,* 1989, 401-402. Decourt "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 684

located on a hill in the Sperichos valley and seems to be a part of the defensive plans of the region along with other sites. This has led to the suggestion that the site is not a polis, but rather a fortress.[370] The site was sacked by the Aetolians in 193 BC.[371]

Little archaeological exploration has occurred at the site but there are remains of a fortification wall measuring 1550 m in length, along the long plateau of the hill. The wall foundations are constructed from a mix of styles, pseudo-isodomic on the north side and trapezoidal in the west.[372] The wall is constructed of parallel facings of stone blocks, with various thicknesses between 1.0m and 2.90 m.[373] A number of towers are spaced out along the wall at various intervals between 20 m and 29 m.

Meliboia

Region: Magnesia

Infrastructure: Unknown

Date: Classical/Hellenistic?

Select Bibliography: Tziafalias 1994. Decourt et al. 2004

Details:

[370] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 2004, 684. Barrington Atlas of the ancient world.
[371] Lauffer, *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten*, 401-402.
[372] Béquignon, *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle*, 316.
[373] Béquignon, *La Vallée du Spercheios des origines au IVe siècle*, 317.

Tziaphalias has associated the site of Meliboia with an uninvestigated site near Velika, while Decourt et al list considers it unlocated, while mentioning Tziaphalias' potential location. Previously it had been suggested Meliboia could be associated with the Kastro at Skiatha. Tziaphalias disagrees due to the chronology of the site and instead suggests that while the uninvestigated inland site, which features Hellenistic and Classical pot sherds on the surface, may be Meliboia while Sketes could have served as its port. [374]

Echinos

Region: Malis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Hellenistic?

Select Bibliography: *Arch Delt* 43 (1988), 216.

Details:

Excavations carried out by the Greek Ephorate have revealed some Hellenistic material at Echinos. Notably a small stretch of 4th century BC wall.[375] The stretch of runs for 5.30 m and so little can be said about overall length or enclosed area.[376] The wall section preservers 2-4 courses of stone with a width ranging between 0.55-0.77 m. that suffered heavy damage from an earthquake, possibly the one that struck the region in 426 BCE.[377]

[374] Tziaphalias "Αναζητοντας τηω αρχαια Μελιβοία*"* in *Dekapente Chronia.* 1994, 151-2.
[375] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 710. *Arch delt* 43 (1988), 216.
[376] *Arch delt* 43 (1988), 216.
[377] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 710.

Metropolis

Region: Hestiaiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: late Classical (Before 358 BCE)

Select Bibliography: Decourt et al. 2004.

Details:

Decourt et al. mention a 5 km fortification wall which encircles a hill and part of the surrounding plain, built of isodomic masonry and reenforced with a moat dating to the 4th c, but this data seems to be unpublished elsewhere. [378] The site is especially interesting because though we have few details archaeologically, we have an account of the synoecism that founded the city from Strabo. From this account, we know that the neighboring cities of Ithome, Gomphoi, Pelinna, Methylion, Kieron, and Onthyrion.[379]

Pagasai

Region: Magnesia

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Archaic

Select Bibliography: Arvanitopoulos, *Prak*. 1909, 165-70. Stählin 1934, *Pagasai und Demetrias.*

[378] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 698.
[379] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 698.

Details:

The location of Pagasai has been identified as modern Soros, contrary to the suggestion of Arvanitopoulos who identified the site with ancient Amphanai.[380] Pagasai was a major harbor during its existence. The site was defended by a triple wall and acropolis wall dating to between the end of the 6th and start of the 5th century.[381] The site lost its importance with the foundation of Demetrias, which took the position of the major harbor in the region, resulting in little Hellenistic material at the site.[382]

Herakleia

Region: Malis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical?

Select Bibliography:

Details:

Herakleia was founded as a colony with the help of the Lacedemonians, and its history is detailed in several ancient authors. Stählin describes both an ashlar Hellenistic wall and a later Byzantine wall.[383]

[380] Arvanitopoulos, *Prak*. 1909, 165-70.
[381] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 699.
[382] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 698.
[383] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 207.

Lamia

Region: Malis (Possibly Achaia Phthiotis?)

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical

Select Bibliography: Stählin 1924. Lauffer 1989., Decourt 2004.

Details:

The city of Lamia was in the region of Malis, although it becomes part of Achaia Phthiotis during the reorganization of Augustus. [384] The site is located at the base of the Othrys Mountains and occupied the strategically important intersection between Thessaly and central Greece.[385] Much of the site is covered by the modern city, but Stählin produced a reconstruction of the route taken by the acropolis and circuit walls. He dated the walls to the 4th century BC and described them as polygonal in construction. [386] The defenses consisted of an inner and outer wall, with the inner running 3km and the outer running 4 km, enclosing about 80 ha.[387] These walls took advantage of the natural slopes of the north and south sides of the acropolis to strengthen the cities defenses, leading to the site's ability to resist siege in the Lamian war. The acropolis walls themselves predate the rest of the fortifications, instead dating back to the 6th

[384] Lauffer, *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten,* 365-6. Decourt "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 704.
[385] Lauffer, *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten,* 365.
[386] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 213.
[387] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 217.

century.[388] Stählin notes the presence of several towers and gates, one of which is not integrated into the wall, near the acropolis, but preservation was apparently poor.

Krannon

Region: Pelasgiotis

Infrastructure:

Date: Classical/Hellenistic

Select Bibliography: *Krannon,* Ministry of Culture Guidebook.

Details:

Theocharis noted evidence of fortifications apart from the Acropolis during a survey, but the full extent of the walls is unknown.[389] No details regarding the fortifications or urban site, other than the presence of a temple of Athena on the Acropolis.[390]

Kierion

Region: Thessaliotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Archaic/Classical?

Select Bibliography: Helly 1995, Decourt et al. 2004.

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[388] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 712. Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 213

[389] Batziou-Efstathiou and Karagounis. *Krannon Guidebook. (*Athens*:* Ministry of Culture and Sport 2013)

[390] Arvanitopoulos 1922-24, 36. Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions,"695.

Details:

While there are no details known about the lower city, there is a fortified acropolis, but the date is imprecise, with Decourt et al. arguing classical or archaic period is the most likely.[391] Stählin was unable to provide a detailed plan, but suggested the acropolis or upper city was protected by a double or triple wall.[392]

Pelinna

Region: Phthiotis

Infrastructure: Fortifications

Date: Classical?

Select Bibliography: Tziaphalias 1992.

Details:

The site features large Hellenistic fortification walls, as well as later Byzantine fortifications. Undated remains of a stoa, temples, and potentially a theater are suggested by Stählin. However, only fortifications were visible when the author visited in 2021. Excavations are ongoing of a Byzantine church possibly built on Hellenistic foundations.

[391] Decourt et al. "Thessalia and Adjacent Regions," 694.
[392] Stählin, *Das Hellenische Thessalien*, 131.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

This project set out to understand the mechanisms through which urban change occurred in Thessaly during the transition between the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The initial hypothesis was that radical changes had been made both to the urban and demographic landscape of Thessaly as Hellenistic monarchs sought to fortify and consolidate their control of the region, using synoecism, decrees and forced movements of people to accomplish this. While these are all aspects of the period, and are especially noticeable in certain regions, like Achaia Phthiotis and the area surrounding the Pagasetic gulf. However, based on the epigraphic evidence from Thessaly, it seems that the Successors more frequently were involved in negotiations with Thessalian poleis, rather than engaging in a unified policy of settlement. Instead, gifts and suggestions could be made, walls constructed, gymnasia refurbished, and citizenship granted in mutually beneficial arrangements described in the manner of civic benefaction, which also allowed the monarchs to present themselves as culturally Greek.

At the same time, the elite of the polis were free to receive these gifts and even appear alongside monarchs. This system allowed for the engagement of the polis civic council with Macedonian monarchs like that practiced by the polis elite for centuries. Likewise in the archaeological record, we only see a handful of major new city foundations in Thessaly, compared to numerous existing classical sites which continued to exist during the Hellenistic period. Both these categories, old and new settlements, used the established vocabulary of Greek architecture, funded in the same ways, through civic benefaction.

Space, Infrastructure, and Power

This study started with 5 broad questions. To reiterate them here:

1. Does urbanism in Thessaly differ from the rest of the Greek world, and if so, why?
2. What were the historical, social, and economic factors that influenced urbanism?
3. Between the Classical and Hellenistic periods, through which mechanisms did urbanism change?
4. Why are some settlements so enduring, while others last only a short time?
5. How do the individual Macedonian monarchs change the trajectory of individual poleis and of urbanism more broadly, either through benefaction or unilateral decision making?

The body of evidence used to answer these questions consists of a survey of the physical remains of as many sites as could be brought together from the geographic region of Thessaly. This proved a challenge since when dealing with a region made up of numerous sub-regions and *perioikoi*, there is the risk of eliding regional specifics in an attempt to increase the body of evidence. Practically, the material from Thessaly was also challenging to deal with because there is a relatively small amount of it compared to other regions of the Greek world. While work has been increasing in Thessaly for decades, our total knowledge is still not complete, especially when it comes to large scale city planning. Similarly, the body of inscriptions referencing benefaction is relatively small, though, when taking regions like Attica and Delos out of the equation, Thessaly looks more in line with other regions of Greece in this respect.

In terms of architectural remains, fortifications are ubiquitous. For reasons discussed in Chapter 3, fortifications are highly visible in the archaeological record, resulting in them being

ubiquitous in this study. Circuit walls are the single most present example of infrastructure collected in this study, followed closely by acropolis walls and *diateichismata.* However, this should not overshadow the examples of other architectural infrastructure. Theaters, gymnasia, and civic spaces are all attested when the epigraphic evidence is included, at rates not far below other regions of the Greek world, excluding Attica.

Thessalian cities were well versed in the architecture of the polis, both in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Both Hellenistic monarchs and individual cities agreed on what was necessary to make a community a polis in terms of architecture, and either through benefaction or other means ensured that this infrastructure was built. This study has used benefaction to show one of the most traceable mechanisms for urban development during these periods and shows that both monarchs and citizens participated in the institutions of euergetism.

Q1: Does urbanism in Thessaly differ from the rest of the Greek world, and if so, why?

At least on the level of the polis, this is not the case. Thessaly is broadly engaged in the larger conversations of architectural development occurring in the Greek world at this time. The component pieces of the polis are all present in Thessaly during the Hellenistic period, and likely also in the classical period. While we cannot know for certain what every city looked like given our knowledge of the archaeological record, there were numerous polis settlements in all parts of Thessaly, and the number added by the Successors was relatively small, with Demetrias being the standout example that persisted into the Roman and late antique periods. While not as heavily urbanized as Attica or Asia Minor in this period, Thessaly was also not an isolated region. This is not to minimize cultural differences from other regions of Greece, all regions had variations in

their cities and towns, but those who visited Thessaly likely would have felt they were in familiar territory, architecturally.

Q 2 and 3: Influential Factors and Mechanisms of Change

The answers to questions two and three are intricately connected. The mechanisms by which space is produced and related to the production of power structures within society were described by Lefebvre in capitalist contexts, but the insight that its social relationships, which differentiate forms of space, applies also to the ancient world. Classicists and ancient historians take for granted that art and architecture contain messages and meaning and contribute to the creation of space. The Greek world was full of varying levels of association, from the *phyle*, polis, and *ethne,* groups whose membership helped define identity. This study has focused on the polis as a unit of division when discussing the creation of the physical structures of the polis*,* but in many ways, this is an imprecise unit. The polis was the urban center, but its inhabitants, both citizens, and noncitizens, were mobile and probably often diffuse, spread across the *chora.* The polis is also not only a physical site but more importantly to its definition, a community of political association. Citizenship mattered, as did freedom, as did enfranchisement. While enfranchisement can't be said to equate directly to wealth, those with political voice did make up the wealthy class of the polis.

This enfranchisement led to an outsized place in the archaeological record, with large infrastructure projects and especially epigraphic evidence representing the agency of wealthy, politically connected members of the polis community. This reading of the euergetism system places agency with the elite while minimising the agency of numerous other members of the

community. Understanding non-elite agency in the archaeological record is outside of the scope of the present work but is the next step in fully understanding the dynamics of Classical and Hellenistic urbanism not just in Thessaly, but in antiquity in general. Some scholars, such as John Frey, with his work on spolia, have already started looking at the agency of workers within Greece.[393] In Thessaly, we may be able to see stylistic decisions being made by architects and stonemasons. It has been suggested that the site of Proerna may be the work of a group of Hellenistic craftsmen, and certainly, numerous other sites make similar use of local limestone, cut in similar rectilinear blocks, to construct *emplekton* fortifications. Yet while we may see some agency on the part of the builders in the specifics of construction, this agency is subsumed into the collective work funded by the wealthy elite who could marshal the political will and resources.

This brings us to another factor that influenced urbanism in Thessaly during the Hellenistic period, the *Diadochi.* This study was begun under the assumption that the foundation of new cities was a major change in the Hellenistic period, directly relating to the new status quo of the Greek world at this time. Looking at the inscriptions and archaeological remains side by side, it is hard to deny the Successors had a large impact on the region. By the time of Philip V, a Macedonian king was appearing side by side with the polis benefactors in the gymnasium inscription (inscription number) from Larisa. Of the inscriptions related to benefaction however, only that of Philip V from Larisa and potentially that of Amandryos from Melitaea can be considered "royal benefaction" for the purpose of building infrastructure. The other 4

[393] John Frey. *Spolia in Fortifications and the Common Builder in Late Antiquity* (Leiden: Brill 2016).

inscriptions which include the names of benefactors represent elites of the polis community taking part in benefactions, rather than an external monarch. The *epidosis* inscriptions from New Halos and Demetrias (inscription numbers) offer an additional layer that is difficult to interpret here. They occur in the foundations of the *Diodochi* but do not provide details of who is providing wealth. What they do make clear is that the language of benefaction was in use in these cities.

This language of benefaction is one of the core points of this study, which answers the second question posed above. Euergetism ties together the economic, social, and political realities of the Classical/Hellenistic transition. Both the polis elite and the *Diodochi* took part in this culture of competitive benefaction. For the polis elite, this was an extension of the civic participation that had been practiced across the Greek world for centuries, and for the *Diodochi* it was a way to legitimize their rule and gain a foothold in these cities. This was a complex relationship and one that was politically charged, to the point where a city may choose to refuse benefaction in some cases.[394] What percentage of the funding for building projects came from benefaction is impossible to know given the nature of our records, and it certainly might not have been the largest portion compared to normal revenue streams.[395] However, these were politically charged donations, and they can be seen as attempts to put forth an ideal vision of the city, as envisioned by the benefactor. By offering that infrastructure deemed necessary for a city, such as fortifications, or institutions important to Hellenic culture, like gymnasia, physical space was produced by the interplay of political speech and wealth.

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[394] Richard Billows, *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism* (New York: Brill 1995).

[395] Though examples like the eisphora and liturgies from Athens show they could be considerable.

Therefore, while not the only factor in the shaping of Thessalian urban change in these periods, we can describe one of the major reasons for change was the new relationships being negotiated between polis elites and Hellenistic kings. The epigraphic evidence shows that in some cases, these groups appeared together, but just as often one or the other would be the ones making a benefaction. Given the small body of inscriptions from the region, we must also admit that for the majority of the building, we do not know where the funding came from, but it is most likely from a mix of sources, based on what we know about the economies of poleis in the period. In cases where they were involved, the kings likely paid larger total amounts due to their access to wealth from a broader range of income sources.

Q 4: What affects the longevity of poleis*?*

The changing nature of the polis in the Hellenistic period in some cases directly relates to why some settlements are abandoned. While some scholars have argued for the "death" of the polis in the Hellenistic period, this is increasingly rejected. As the epigraphic evidence shows, the polis was still in operation, carrying out meetings and making decisions both with and without the Hellenistic kings. In some cases, like that of Larisa, decisions were made against the will of the Successors, such as when the people of Larisa stripped the citizenship from those granted it by Philip V. The life of the polis continued, but it existed in constant negotiation with the kings.

In this relationship, the kings desired both control (of territory, poleis*,* resources), but also legitimacy and integration with the world of the polis. While autonomy and self-determination have often been seen as requirements of the polis*,* it is hard not to see cities like Demetrias as

poleis, with their distinctly polis institutions. Likewise, looking back to the archaic period, cities that were held under tyrannies did not cease to be poleis, and often would have maintained some form of oligarchic council. Similarly, when the Hellenistic period ends, these cities continue to exist under Roman rule as poleis. As such, control over the polis does not end its existence, and in this relationship, the terms of this existence, as well as benefits, are what was at stake for the polis.

Addressing the longevity of settlements is more difficult. It is difficult to make a universal statement about why settlements were abandoned, and this study has not discovered a universal reason. While some studies have recently decided to focus on various factors, especially cross culturally for the sustainability of cities, this often omits important historical context, and at worst leads to arguments that overly value environmental determinism and minimize diversity. This does not mean we should not continue looking at large scale comparative studies, but these should not be the only form of analysis. We should also not expect to uncover a universal law of sustainability for cities.

In the case of Thessaly, we can see some cities abandoned during the Hellenistic period, but many continue to exist into the Roman, late Antique period, and beyond. It is hard to discern a clear reason for abandonment that pertains to all cases, but we can see some commonalities. The conflict of the Hellenistic period seems to have caused some cases of abandonment, but more commonly in the case of newly founded and synoecized cities, it seems to be the case that settlements were abandoned as part of policy, such as those sites depopulated and moved to Demetrias. But at the same time, these seem to have been relatively isolated incidents. The movement of a settlement is a major undertaking and these events seem to have been

concentrated in the strategically important area around the Pagasetic Gulf, and involved cities like Demetrias, New Halos, Kastro Kallithea, and possibly the abandonment of Goritsa Hill.

So, to summarize the answers to my original questions: patterns of urbanism in Thessaly before the Classical period are unclear, but by the Classical and Hellenistic periods, the region is not especially different compared to the rest of the Greek mainland, it is certainly not an unurbanized region. The region is recognizably Greek in terms of its settlements, though of course, all regions of the Greek world have their unique features. But the core dynamics of the polis, asty, kome, and chora are apparent.

The mechanisms of this urbanism appear to be organized at the polis level, with prominent citizens undertaking projects in the Classical period as they did in other parts of the Greek world. Engaged in competitive euergetism, elites were willing to finance projects that were deemed important, culturally, militarily, and economically. This concept has been well discussed in many parts of the Greek world, though it can be variously interpreted as oligarchic control of polis life, or as Ober has argued in the context of democratic Athens, a way for the *demos* to neutralize and make use of elite wealth.[396] With the transition to the Hellenistic period, there is a major change in this dynamic, with the Successors of Alexander, the Hellenistic kings, inserting themselves into this process as the largest benefactors in the ecosystem. While it is likely they spent money on projects in other ways, they also chose in some cases to make obvious use of the prestige of benefaction to legitimize their rule. While we only have a handful

[396] Josiah Ober, *Mass and Elite in Democratic Athens* (Princton University Press, 1991)

of inscriptions speaking to this in Thessaly, they likely show part of a broader trend as seen in the rest of the Greek world.

While we cannot make universal claims regarding why cities are long lived or are abandoned, we can note the historical process at play in specific cases. In Thessaly, between the Classical and Hellenistic periods, most of the region would have felt the strain of conflicts between different Hellenistic kings, Greek poleis, the new leagues, and Romans. This undeniably took a toll on cities, though most seemingly survived. Where we see actual abandonment as part of a larger trend is in the areas around the Pagacetic Gulf, where major changes were carried out by kings, and conflict arose over the paths towards the South of mainland Greece, as we say with the conflicts involving the Aitolians.

Q 5: How did Hellenistic monarchs influence Urbanism and the Polis?

Despite the intervention of kings and other outside powers, the polis remained intact. While we often do not know the specifics of individual cities' constitutions, and many joined the larger ethnic Thessalian *Koinon,* the polis remained an important unit for organization and identity. While the idea of the polis certainly changed in the Hellenistic period, as the world became more connected and cosmopolitan, citizens still valued their place in the civic community of the city. We can see this in the epigraphic evidence, where the city remains an important site of culture, and the memorialization of group decision making, and benefaction is seen as prestigious.

Yet it is hard to ignore the large-scale interventions of the Hellenistic monarchs in Thessaly. While the total number of cities founded, with only six archaeologically studied, is

considerably smaller than the dozens of attested poleis in the region it nevertheless had a large impact on the urban character of the region. The reorganization of settlements on the Pagasetic Gulf, especially with the foundation of Demetrias, created a cosmopolitan harbor city and intended dynastic capital in the region. At the same time, other contemporary foundations like Goritsa and Kastro Kallithea have shorter occupation phases. We cannot say then those foundations had consistent trajectories in development simply by virtue of being ex novo foundations. Some thrived while others were abandoned, in many cases as a result of broader historical trends.

However, it may be instead that investment in infrastructure was a contributing factor to the continuity of settlements. Much work has been done to understand what defines a polis for contemporary peoples.[397] While the debate continues, the suggestion that one of the key ways the polis was understood was as an urban center, with the accompanying physical spaces (meeting spaces, theaters, gymnasia, etc.), seems to be correct.[398] The polis was accompanied by a suite of architecturally defined social spaces, which were a part of Greek cultural life. This architectural vocabulary of Greekness helped to define the polis. Defining this vocabulary was an ongoing process. The process had already begun in the Classical period, and continued through the Hellenistic period, as an interconnected Mediterranean world resulted in a consistent set of architectural spaces associated with the polis, which could be modified to fit local tastes but remained surprisingly consistent.

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[397] Hansen and Nielson, *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis (Oxford University Press, 2004).

[398] Hansen, "The *Polis* as Urban center" in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical* Poleis, and Hansen "City walls as evidence for polis Identity" in *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis,* 138-142.

This vocabulary of polis-approved architecture was used by benefactors, monarchs included, to present themselves as good citizens of the polis. Contribution to and support of polis institutions let the benefactor define their image as members of the polis community, even if they were not a citizen. In cases where we have architecture preserved, but no surviving benefaction inscriptions, we must still recognize that this architecture was funded and constructed not just for its practical purpose, but also to define the polis and the builder. As a result, we see both long-lived classical poleis like Larisa receiving benefaction from, and a new foundation like Demetrias almost certainly being funded by, Hellenistic monarchs. On the other hand, those newly founded settlements most notably Goritsa, which receive mostly fortifications encircling a grid planned city, seemingly without much in the way of civic architecture, seem to be abandoned in favor of larger, more well-appointed settlements. Investment, either through benefaction or unilateral decision by a monarch, must have contributed to the livability and continuity of settlements, while also letting them present an image of themselves as members of the civic community.

Other Considerations

1. Comparing the epigraphic and archaeological records

This study has aimed to combine epigraphic evidence with archaeological remains in Thessaly, with the hope that they would "sync up". This was not the case, and most often we lack the architectural remains, and often even context, for our inscriptions, while well preserved archaeological remains are frustratingly devoid of inscriptions. This is the nature of the archaeological record, and both forms of evidence should be seen as supplementary to each

other. In the case of benefaction inscriptions from Thessaly, we have a surprisingly small number at first glance. However, when looking at published inscriptions on benefactions (the most comprehensive being Migeotte's study), it becomes apparent that this number is not far from typical from most regions. Regions that have been heavily studied, like Attica and Delos, skew our idea of how many of these inscriptions we might expect, with far higher numbers. What we have preserved gives us an idea of what the culture of benefaction was like, and it appears to have operated the same way in Thessaly as in other parts of the Greek world. Thessalian elites were integrated into the broader culture of benefaction and euergetism.

On the other hand, Thessaly has an impressive number of well-preserved sites from the Classical and Hellenistic periods, as discussed in Chapter 4. We know from the inscription of the gymnasium at Larisa that benefaction was used to restore the structure in the late Hellenistic period, and from Skoutoussa we know that elite citizens took on tasks related to the city fortifications, likely involving spending money as well as time on the project. In the case of Krannon, we know that citizens were called to provide money for the payment of the city's debts. This shows the breadth of projects that could be paid for with benefactions. Yet there is a great deal of urban infrastructure whose funding we lack details for.

This list includes the many fortifications and theaters found around Thessaly. It also likely includes harbor facilities at sites like Demetrias, and very possibly domestic households as well. In the case of fortifications, benefactions likely played some role in most cases. As we see from Melitaia, individuals could fund sections of the fortifications, such as a tower or gatehouse. Inscriptions from Demetrias reading only *epidosis* might also show a similar partial funding method, a kind of "adopt a curtain wall" program for the city's elite. Of course, given the huge

cost of these structures, it is possible that in the case of expensive fortifications, especially at sites like Demetrias, that kings could have intervened to provide large contributions, when fortification served their strategic interests.

We already know from the Larisa gymnasium inscription that these structures could be funded through benefaction and other cultural spaces were likely funded similarly. Thessaly currently has four excavated theaters, and it is very likely they were funded through euergetism. Elaborations to civic spaces like stoae, porticos, and similar buildings also probably received funds in this way. This raises an important point about the process of benefaction: it was omnipresent in the polis. By definition, the use of money to influence the urban layout of the city and its infrastructure means that the wealthy members of the community had an outsized role in the creation of space within the polis. It's possible that this even applied to the domestic sphere, as we see in the letter of Antigonus to Teos, in which benefits are offered to those who have completed the construction of their houses promptly. While their meaning is debated, inscribed stones bearing the word *epidosis* from New Halos could be related to the benefaction on the household level, possibly memorializing the gift given to the home.[399]

2. Space in the Polis

Much of the discussion of urbanism in this study has focused on the location and presence of different kinds of infrastructure present in settlements across Thessaly. However, along with the regional changes, how space changes within settlements is an important question.

[399] Haagsma, *Domestic Economy and Social Organization in New Halos.* 225-9, 2010. Harder, A., O. van Nijf, E. Nikolaou, "Inscriptions from Halos," 2017, 55-60.

It is also unfortunately a difficult question to answer since we lack a large body of evidence for detailed city plans. Kastro Kallithea, New Halos, Demetrias, and recently Vlochos, have all produced plans that include the majority of the cityscape along with reconstruction of the urban grid where possible. However, the nature of archaeological work is such that few cities are excavated in their entirety, meaning there is rarely complete certainty regarding these plans. Nevertheless, it is important to consider the spatial relationships within settlements.

One of the first spatial relationships that we can see in the majority of poleis in Thessaly is the omnipresence of fortifications. As discussed in Chapter 3, these fall into three categories, acropolis walls, circuit walls, and *diateichismata.* The creation of the second two categories falls generally within the Hellenistic period, with the increased militarization of the period, in line with advances in siege technology. Acropolis walls on the other hand tend to be older, sometimes renovated, dating to the Archaic or Classical period. The use of the Acropolis as a military installation during the Hellenistic period has been addressed well elsewhere, notably by Rünnland. Following his formulation, the Acropolis transitions in the Hellenistic period from a sanctuary (though how often they were used this way even in the Classical period is still debated) and instead served as a garrison for occupying forces in many cases. It is not hard to imagine numerous Thessalian cities hosting occupying garrisons, either from the Macedonian kings, the Thessalian *koinon,* or mercenaries. As a result, the acropolis becomes a site of oppression rather than one of refuge. The fact that Demetrias was called one of the "fetters of Greece" speaks to this military presence and the importance these sites had to the overall strategy of the Successors.

Yet the Acropolis was only one part of the defenses of the city, and the *diateichismata* and circuit walls would both have affected space in their own ways. Both these structures served

to limit movement and to make the city less "permeable" to movement. Exactly how much these fortifications restricted movement between the inside and outside of the city is not known for certain. We can often identify many of the gatehouses in Thessalian settlements, letting us know where access was possible, and there were often numerous entrances and exits. However, it is unknown how easy access would have been. Gates would have been constantly guarded, and at certain times of day and night, or in times of crisis, could be barred. While we conceptualize fortifications as defensive architecture, they also limit and control movement, creating new spatial relationships. Circuit walls separate the world of the city from the world of the country in a new way, especially in cases where a city may house a garrison, possibly not on friendly terms with the populace. Especially in cases that involved synoecism and the movement of people into new higher concentrations, a new level of control is created by the barrier of the city walls. This gave those in authority new control over movement and access. Control over movement would also have allowed the collection of taxes in a more focused way, something the Successors especially were especially interested in. The example of Demetrias, which becomes the economically dominant city of the region through commerce and taxing goods coming in via land and sea, is demonstrative of this.

Likewise, *diateichismata* could divide the city internally. *Diateichismata* are relatively common in Thessalian cities and would have provided a second line of defense if the outer circuit walls were breached. They would also have divided cities into distinct zones, and as Sokolicek has noted, in some cases could be used to separate populations within cities. In the Thessalian context, we do not have evidence for their exact use, but we do know they would

have regulated movement. Similar to circuit walls, *diateichismata* had gates and were likely guarded, further dividing space and restricting movement within the city.

While walls are a clear physical barrier, they are not the only ways space was regulated within the city. Settlements of the Hellenistic period, especially new foundations, exhibit new regular urban grids in their planning. The development of Hippodamian city planning has been well studied in other regions, especially Magna Grecia, and it seems that as in other parts of the Greek world, new foundations in the Greek mainland began to adopt these ideas. At sites like Kastro Kallithea and New Halos, there is a clear emphasis on regular, planned urban spaces. New settlements within Thessaly from the period were clearly a part of the conversation on urban planning that was occurring around the Mediterranean during this period.

As well as adopting regular grid-planned cities, Thessalian poleis were also well versed in the vocabulary of Greek urban architecture, and the use of these structures situated Thessaly well within a Mediterranean-wide culture of Hellenic city life. Structures like the stoae, gymnasia, and theaters speak to the creation of robust cities, both in terms of infrastructure and civic life. The space created was clearly "Greek" in nature, regardless of whether it was funded by kings or city elites. This situates Thessaly as clearly a part of the increasingly cosmopolitan Hellenistic world. This makes sense, given that it is the kings and elites, those most likely to have connections abroad, participating in these panhellenic cultural negotiations, which they project into their settlements through their benefaction activities.

Conclusion

Action, such as carrying out construction, participating in assemblies, or offering benefactions, served to create both the social and physical space of the polis. Euergetism was part of the social framework that built the physical and ideological community of the polis and broader Greek identity. This did not change in the Hellenistic period, even as the transition to the Hellenistic period saw considerable change in the urban landscape of Thessaly. Much previous scholarship has noted the increased militarisation of the region, with large fortifications and newly founded settlements designed to take control of the region for the Hellenistic Monarchs. Monarchs certainly had a large, though not total, hand in the changing urban landscape of Thessaly. Yet this occurred within a framework of negotiation. We can see this in the nature of benefaction, a well-documented phenomenon from across the Greek world that is also attested in Thessaly. Both monarchs and civic communities offered money for the construction of building projects, and in return received prestige, honors, and inclusion in a community of Greekness.

Yet much of the archaeological remains of architecture in Thessaly cannot be tied to known instances of benefaction. We must imagine that while some of it resulted from benefaction, other examples, especially those in cities founded by monarchs, could have resulted in unilateral decisions. Yet even in these cases, the architecture chosen conforms to a vocabulary of Greek architecture that is well attested across the increasingly connected Hellenistic world. Both polis civic communities and Hellenistic monarchs chose to create the urban image of the polis. One of the greatest impacts on urbanism in this period is the spread of this vocabulary of the polis, a phenomenon occurring across the Greek world, but interpreted at a regional level.

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