A NAME AND A PLACE: SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE PATTERNS, IDENTITY EXPRESSION, AND SOCIAL STRATEGIES IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN THESSALY

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Text

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Theories that presented decline and depopulation as defining characteristics of Greece at the transitions from the Hellenistic to the Roman period have been challenged by recent regional studies that investigated landscape, political, economic and social change. This thesis adds to this growing discourse by investigating the impact of, and responses to, increasing Roman hegemony in Thessaly from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE. This thesis focuses on quantitative and qualitative evidence for change in three inter-related aspects, (1) settlement and land use, (2) identity expression and (3) reciprocal benefactions. The results highlight the complex and regionally specific impact of Roman hegemony as well as the discrepant responses of local elite members of the population. Urbanization, a decrease in small settlement site numbers and a rise in the number of large rural estates, *villae rusticae*, and imperial estates, all indicating changes in land ownership patterns, are characteristic of the middle Hellenistic and early Roman periods in Thessaly. Epigraphic data demonstrate that honorary grants, particularly citizenship and land ownership rights, peaked in the 2nd century BCE followed by a gradual decline. This suggests that during the transitional period towards Roman rule, elite citizens increasingly engaged in the system of euergetism in order to accumulate property and obtain citizenship in *poleis* other than their own as part of their strategies for social advancement. With the advent of the Principate, elite members of society engaged more frequently with the Roman authority through honouring members of the imperial family and participating in the imperial cult. In addition, the increasing number of local elite members of society who obtained Roman citizenship and adopted Roman nomenclature, while maintaining their Greek personal name in place of the *cognomen* highlights how the local elites became Roman but stayed Thessalian.

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List of Abbreviations

AA = *Archäologischer Anzeiger.* Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Berlin).

AAA = *Archaiologika Analekta ex Athenon* (Athens).

ABSA = *Annual of the British School at Athens* (London). [BSA]

AD = *Archaiologikon Deltion* (Athens).

AE = *Archaiologike Ephemeris* (Athens).

AEThSE = *Archaiologiko Ergo Thessalias & Stereas Elladas*.Volos : Ergastērio Archaiologias Panepistēmiou Thessalias (2006, 2009, 2012).

Agora XVI = Woodhead, A.G. 1997. *Inscriptions. The Decrees*. *The Athenian Agora* 16. Princeton.

Ann.Ep. = *L'Année épigraphique* (Paris).

AR = *Archaeological Reports* (London).

Archaiognosia = *Archaoignosia* (Athens).

BCH = *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Paris).

BE = *Bulletin épigraphique* (Paris).

Berytus = *Berytus Archeological Studies* (Beirut).

Chiron = *Chiron*. Mitteilungen der Kommission für alte Geschichte und Epigraphik des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Munich)

CID = *Corpus des inscriptions de Delphes*. Paris 1977-2002. 4 vols. Vol. I, *Lois sacrées et règlements religieux*, ed. Georges Rougement. Paris 1977. — II, *Les Comptes du quatrième et du troisième siècle*, ed. Jean Bousquet. Paris 1989. — III, *Les Hymnes à Apollon*, ed. Annie Bélis. Paris 1992. — IV, *Documents Amphictioniques*, ed. François Lefévre, with contributions by Didier Laroche and Olivier Masson. Paris 2002.

CIG = *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum.* 4 vols. Berlin 1828-1877.

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum*. Vol. 3, Parts 1-2, ed. Theodor Mommsen, *Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae*. 2 vols. Berlin 1873. Vol. 3, Supplement, Parts [1],1-2 & 2, ed. Theodor Mommsen, Otto Hirschfeld, Alfred von Domaszewski, *Inscriptionum Orientis et Illyrici latinarum supplementum*. 4 vols. Berlin 1889-1902.

CPh = *Classical Philology* (Chicago)

CRAI = *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (Paris).

Delphica II = Pomtow. 1909. *Delphica II*.

EAM = Rizakes, A., G. Touratsoglou. 1985. *Epigraphes Anō Makedonias (Elimeia, Eordaia, Notia Lynkēstis, Orestis). Tomos A', Katalogos epigraphōn*. Athens 1985.

EEBS = Epetēris Hetaireias Vyzantinōn Spoudōn (Athens).

FD III = Colin, G. 1930. *Fouilles de Delphes,* III. Épigraphie. Paris: De Boccard.

FD III.4 = Pouilloux, Jean. 1976.. *Les inscriptions de la terrasse du temple at de la region nord du sanctuaire.* Fouilles de Delphes III. Èpigraphie. Vol. 4. Paris: De Boccard, 1976

F GR HIST = Jacoby, F. 1926-1957. *Die Fragmente der griechischen historiker.* Berlin: Weidmann.

GGA = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* (Göttingen).

GHW = Archives Thessaliennes de la Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée (Lyon).

Gonnoi = Helly, Bruno.1973. *Gonnoi. Vol. 2. Les Inscriptions*. Amsterdam.

GVI = Peek, Werner. *Griechische Vers-Inschriften I, Grab-Epigramme*. Berlin 1955.

I.Atrax = Tziafalias, A., R. Bouchon, L. Darmezin, J.C. Decourt, G. Lucas. Forthcoming. *Inscriptions d'Atrax en Pélasgiotide (Thessalie).* Athens: École Française d'Athenes.

IG II² = *Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora*, ed. Ulrich Koehler. Parts I-V. Berlin 1877-1895.

IG V 2 = *Inscriptiones Graecae, V,2. Inscriptiones Arcadiae*, ed. Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen. Berlin 1913.

IG IX 2 = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, IX,2. Inscriptiones Thessaliae, ed. Otto Kern (Berlin) 1908.

IThess = Dècourt, J.C. 1995. *Inscriptions de Thessalie I. Les citès de la vallèe de l'Ènipeus.* Etudes Epigraphiques 3. Athens.

IvO = Dittenberger, W. K. Purgold. 1896. *Die Inschriften von Olympia*, 5. Berlin

JDAI = *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (Berlin).

Klio = *Klio. Beiträge zur alten Geschichte* (Berlin).

McDevitt = McDevitt, A.S. 1970. *Inscriptions from Thessaly: An Analytical Handlist and Bibliography.* Hildesheim and New York.

MDAI(A) = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* (Berlin). [AM, Ath.Mitt.]

Moretti, ISE = Moretti, L. 1967-2001. *Iscrizioni storiche ellenistiche. Testo critico, traduzione e commento*. 3 vols. Vol. 1. Attica, Peloponneso, Beozia; 2. Grecia centrale e settentrionale; 3. Supplemento & indici, a cura di Filippo Canali de Rossi. Florence.

Nomos = *Nomos ag. Auction 4: Coins of Thessaly, the BCD Collection*. Zürich: Zunfthaus zur Saffran.

PAAH = *Praktika tēs en Athēnais Archaiologikēs Hetaireias* (Athens).

ΠΑΕ = Praktika tis en Athinais Archaiologikis Etaireias (Athens).

PECS = R. Stillwell et al., (Eds.). 1976. *Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites*. Princeton.

Peek (W.), Att.Mitt = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts. Athenische Abteilung* (Berlin). [AM, Ath.Mitt.]

Platon = *Platōn* (Athens).

Polemon = *Polemon. Epistemonikon archaiologikon periodikon* (Athens).

RE = von Pauly, A.F. et al. 1894-1980. *(Paulys) Realencyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft.* München, Alfred Druckenmüller.

REA = *Revue des études anciennes* (Bordeaux)

Rech. Ainianes = Bouchon, R. 2004. *Ethnos, koinon et territoire. Recherces sur le people des Ainianes. Étude de géographie historique et corpus épigraphique.* Mémoire présenté à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres en avril 2004.

REG = *Revue des études grecques* (Paris).

RevArch. = *Revue archéologique* (Paris). [RA]

SDGI = Baunack, J. et al. 1885-1899. *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften, II. Epirus, Akarnanien, Aetolien.* Göttingen: Hermann Collitz.

RevEp. = *Revue épigraphique.* (Paris)

RhM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* (Frankfurt am Main).

RPh = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* (Paris). [R.Phil]

SEG = *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Vols. 1-11, ed. Jacob E. Hondius, Leiden 1923-1954. Vols. 12-25, ed. Arthur G. Woodhead. Leiden 1955-1971. Vols. 26-41, eds. Henry W. Pleket and Ronald S. Stroud. Amsterdam 1979-1994. Vols. 42-44, eds. Henry W. Pleket, Ronald S. Stroud and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 1995-1997. Vols. 45-49, eds. Henry W. Pleket, Ronald S. Stroud, Angelos Chaniotis and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 1998-2002. Vols. 50- , eds. Angelos Chaniotis, Ronald S. Stroud and Johan H.M. Strubbe. Amsterdam 2003.

Syll.³ = Dittenberger, W. et al. (Ed.). 1915-1924. *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*. 3rd ed. 4 vols. Leipzig

Tekmeria = *Tekmeria: symbols stin istoria tou Ellinikou kai Romaikou kosmou* = Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen und römischen Welt. Thessaloniki.

Thessalika = *Thessalika. Archaiologikon periodikon dēmosieuma.* Epistēmonikon organon tēs Philarchaiou Hetaireias Volou (Volos).

ThessHim = *Thessaliko Himerologio*

Thess.Mn. = Arvanitopoulos, A.S. 1909. *Thessalika Mnemeia.* Perigraphe ton en toi Mouseioi Volou Grapton Stelon Demetriados-Pagason. Athens: Hestia,

TIB = Koder, J., F. Hild. 1976. *Tabula Imperii Byzantini 1*, *Hellas und Thessalien*, DenkWien 125. Vienna.

Topoi = *Topoi. Orient-Occident*. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen. (Paris)

Trikalina = *Etisio Philologiko Istoriko Laographiko Logotechniko Periodiko Syngramma*. (Trikala).

Triton = *Triton XV. The BCD Collection of the Coinage of Thessaly*. January 3, 2012. Sessions 1 and 2. Lancaster, PA: Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.

ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* (Bonn)

Part A: Introduction and Contextualization

Chapter 1: Introduction

The overall goal of this research is to determine the impact of - and responses to - cultural interaction and foreign domination during the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. It will do this by focusing on (i) settlement and land use patterns, (ii) civic identity expression and mobility, and (iii) the employment of social strategies for personal, familial and group distinction and advancement.

Due to its location and role in the power struggles in the Mediterranean from the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE, Thessaly has great potential for the fruitful investigation of the nature of multiple and manipulable identities and the use of social strategies during periods of intense cultural contact. Additionally, Thessaly is rich in both epigraphic and archaeological evidence for the Hellenistic and Roman periods, enabling the investigation of societal change through multiple lines of evidence. Several areas of the Greek mainland during Roman rule have been well studied, particularly the Peloponnese and Boiotia, but many areas such as Thessaly still lack detailed or systematic study for this period. My research therefore focuses on the nature and processes of Greek and Roman interaction in Thessaly from the middle Hellenistic period to the early Roman Imperial period (2nd century BCE to 2nd century CE) in order to elucidate the impact of complex cultural interaction processes, the effects of hegemony and imperialism on settlement patterns, on the expression of civic identities, and on the social strategies employed by individuals, groups and communities in the changing geopolitical context.

In the remainder of this chapter I will briefly discuss the reasons why this research was chosen and what it proposes to offer to the scholarship of Roman provincial and Greek archaeology and history. Chapter 2 provides overview of the geographical and historical contexts of Thessaly in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, and the history of research on the Roman period of Greece in general and Thessaly in particular. Chapter 3 introduces the data and methodology employed in this thesis. Chapter 4 analyses the settlement and land use patterns in Thessaly from the Pre-Classical to the Late Roman

period in order to determine changes taking place over the *longue durée* and highlight the role that periods of intensified cultural contact and foreign domination may have played in these changes. Chapter 5 moves on to the epigraphic record with an investigation of identity expression patterns from the Classical to the Late Roman period, with the aim of identifying the impact of the power struggles of the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE and the subsequent incorporation of Greece within the Roman empire on the modes of expressing different aspects of identity, focusing primarily on civic identity. Chapters 6 and 7 comprise the analysis of honours granted by *poleis* and federal leagues to groups and individuals as a means of investigating the use of social strategies by both local and non-locals. Chapter 8 engages in a discussion of the significance of the results from the analyses of Chapter 4 through 7, contextualizing Thessaly within the wider Greek world through comparison with other regions of the Greek mainland.

This project seeks to add to the growing corpus of regional studies of the Roman provinces with the goal of better understanding the impact of, and discrepant local responses to, increasing cultural interaction and foreign domination in different regions of the Mediterranean world.

1.1 Research Contextualization

The relationship between ancient Greece and Rome has been a topic of interest to archaeologists, historians and art historians alike for well over a century. For the majority of this time, focus was placed heavily upon the influence of Greek culture in the field of fine arts, primarily pottery, sculpture, architecture and literature. A teleological evolutionary perspective consisting of a rise, peak and decrease dominated the scholarly discourse, viewing the Classical period of Greece as the height of artistic achievement, declining through the Hellenistic period and ending with Roman imitation of Greek forms, perhaps epitomized by the work of the extremely influential German scholar J.J. Winckelmann (Potts 1980, 152-4; 2000, 8; Winckelmann 1764, 1765). On the other hand, when focus was placed on the Roman influence on Greek culture, it was generally viewed as dominant and oppressive, sparking a period of drastic decline and depopulation within Greek culture and landscape (Alcock 1993, 2; 1997, 112; Frey 2008, 70). Fortunately, in recent years scholarly interest in the nature of Greek and

Roman interaction and influence has broadened dramatically, and slowly an interest has been sparked in investigating the nature of the Roman period in Greece, a period generally previously overlooked and neglected. In the past decades several studies have emerged using different forms of evidence from those previously employed (including most importantly archaeological survey results) to answer questions not previously asked and challenging the long-held dominant paradigms of the effects of Roman rule in Greece. These studies are rooted in the recent scholarly interest in the nature of the relationship between the landscape, cultural interaction, imperialism, cultural change and local identities, as will be discussed in the literature review section (2.3). It is within this context of increasingly nuanced investigation of the nature of interaction between Greek and Roman cultures that my project is based.

Thessaly was chosen for this research for a variety of reasons. First of all, it is a definable geographical unit, consisting of two large plain areas bordered by mountainous zones on all sides with access to the coast only from within the Pagasetic gulf. Thus it is possible to demarcate Thessaly from the rest of mainland Greece. In addition, within the four main sub-regions of Thessaly and the eight surrounding areas (to be discussed further below), which were periodically incorporated into Thessalian territory, a plethora of settlements and other sites of varying sizes have been identified archaeologically, allowing for an investigation which incorporates a wide range of site types including settlements, sanctuaries, fortifications, resulting in a more holistic and well-rounded study. Although not all of these sites have been excavated, many have been surveyed and phases of occupation identified. The different Ephoreias of the Greek Archaeological Service, as well as several local and foreign university projects, have conducted surveys, intensive and extensive, in different areas, providing sufficient data to facilitate research into settlement patterns. Moreover, Thessaly has produced a large amount of epigraphic material of various kinds, ranging from public political decrees to small private dedications and grave *stelai*, which will be essential for the study of identity expression and social strategies. While there are numerous limitations of the Thessalian data, particularly in terms of the state of research across the region (as will be discussed in detail in section 2.3 and 4.1), these limitations are present in most, if not all, regions of the Greek world, and does not mean that no attempts should be made to investigate this region.

This thesis concentrates on data from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE,

although in some cases data from previous and subsequent periods are used in order to illuminate patterns over time. The chronological boundaries were selected in order to focus on the impact of Roman domination. I have chosen to include the 2nd century BCE in order to investigate the increase in Roman hegemony in the region, which can be said to have begun in earnest from 196/7 BCE with the victory of the Romans led by Flamininus against the Macedonians. The Late Roman period for the most part is not considered due to the scarcity of epigraphic and archaeological data, and because the focus of this thesis is on the effects of Roman rule on existing settlement patterns, identity expression and social strategies.

1.1.1 Research Questions

The aims of this project are oriented around the investigation of the impact that foreign domination and complex cultural contact had on the local Thessalian context in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The research questions focus on determining what impact external domination had on settlement and land use patterns, civic identity expression and the use of social strategies by local and foreign individuals and groups. The investigation of this topic will aid in understanding the responses of individuals, groups and communities to changing social, political and economic realities created by increasing Roman influence and intervention and the incorporation of Greece into the imperial provincial fabric.

In order to reach this primary goal I devised three smaller groups of research objectives and questions, which provide the structure my thesis.

(i) The first group of questions centres around the specificities of settlement patterns and land use patterns in Thessaly and essentially asks the question: In what spatial and organizational contexts did the interactions take place and how did this change during the Hellenistic and Early Roman periods? This question is addressed by investigating the settlement patterns and land use before, during and after the initial periods of Roman influence and involvement. This analysis is formed by two inter-related topics: (1) the evidence for continuity and change in the existing settlement patterns, focusing primarily on urban and rural occupation patterns, urbanization, destruction and foundation of sites and locations of major centres. (2) Land use systems, concentrating predominantly on land ownership patterns, agricultural and pastoral activities, natural resource exploitation, and evidence for land allocation and division. In

addition I explore whether or not identified changes in land use and settlement patterns occurred consistently throughout Thessaly or exhibited local variation. The causal factors contributing to change evidenced will be explored through the investigation of the remaining two research questions.

(ii) The second group of research questions concentrates on identity expression and asks how individuals, groups and communities expressed their identities, and in particular civic identity, over time and how local civic identity related to the types of social strategies employed for the negotiation of social, economic and political influence in society. (1) The first step in answering this question is an analysis of identity expression throughout the period under study. I investigate how individuals, groups and communities, both local and non-local, expressed their identity. (2) Next the issue of mobility is addressed through the proxy of the expression of civic identity in non-local contexts, as it relates to the permeability of civic boundaries and the movement of individuals and groups. I consider the role of the *patris*, or home *polis* (as the essential or exclusive level of civic identification), and determine what evidence there is for continuity or change in its conception and importance over time.

(iii) The last group of research questions focuses on six contexts in which social strategies were employed, in order to determine the level of continuity or change and reach an understanding of how increasing Roman influence and intervention affected the paths that individuals, groups and communities took in negotiating their place within society. These strategies are: receiving honours through participation in: euergetism and reciprocal benefactions; magistracies and priesthoods at the local and federal levels; athletic competitions and festivals; involvement in the Delphic Amphictyony; the use of foreign courts and acting as a foreign judge; and the honouring of Roman emperors and participation in the imperial cult. The question will be answered by looking at honorary decree data and in particular proxeny, citizenship and land right grants.

Throughout this work certain themes, currently topics of scholarly discussion in relation to the Roman provinces, will be developed. These themes are: 1) the impact of Roman dominance; 2) mobility and *polis* permeability; 3) cooperation, resistance, and integration into Roman culture; 4) identity and the value of local citizenship; 5) the continuation of the *polis*.

While all three groups of research questions focus on the Thessalian context in

the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the questions asked, analyses performed, and conclusions reached have implications not only for other regions of the Roman Empire, but also for other areas of the world and other time periods.

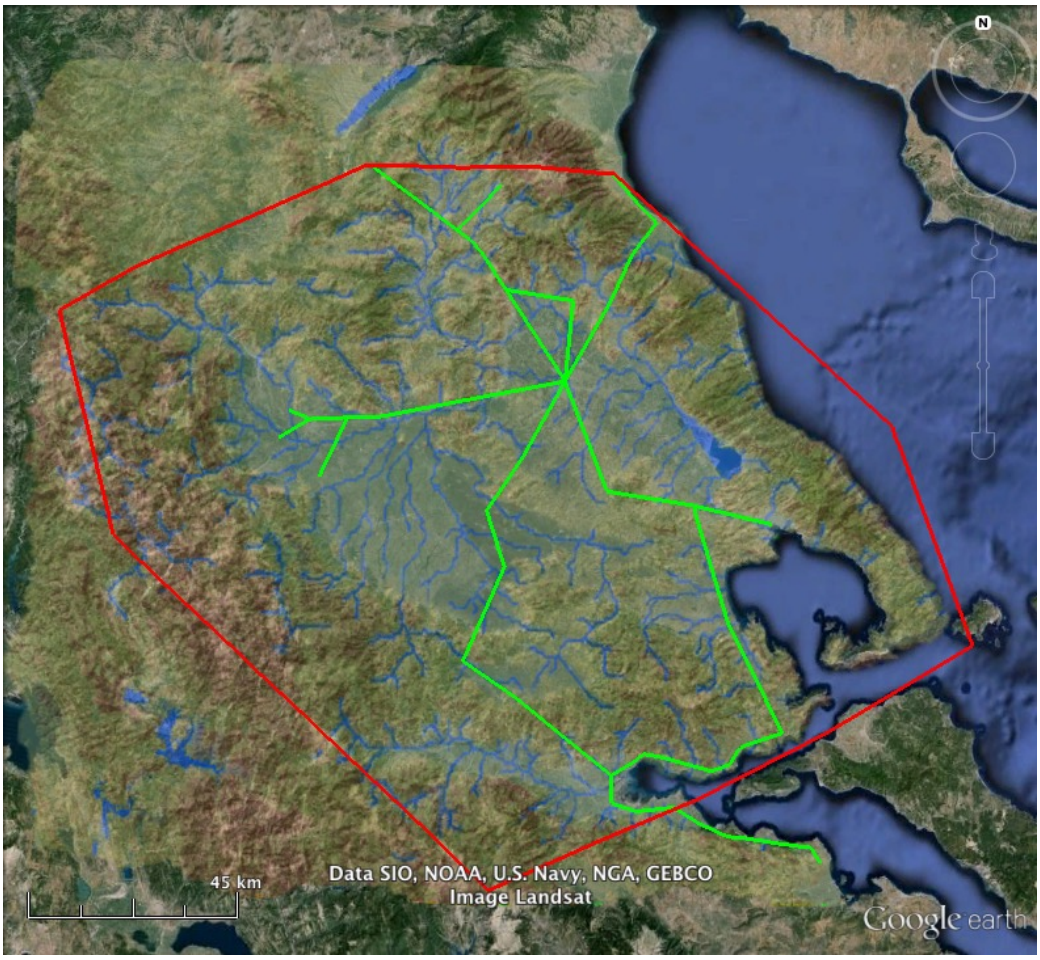
Chapter 2: Context: Geographic, Historic and Literature Review

2.1 Geographical Context

This study focuses on the region of northern Greece called Thessalia or Thessaly. The main sources of information on the geography of Thessaly are represented by ancient sources such as Pseudo-Skylax, 'Pseudo-Skymnos', and Strabo, as well as nineteenth and early twentieth-century scholars, particularly Kip (1910) and Stählin (1924). In addition, the British Admiralty Naval Intelligence Division (1944), referred to as 'Naval Intelligence' from here on, in its series of geographical studies, has a lengthy three-volume work on Greece detailing the modern geographical layout as well as providing some details of the ancient geography and landscape use. In addition several scholars, in their publications on various regions or periods of Thessaly, have included geological and geographical analyses (Alexakis et al. 2007; Alexakis et al. 2008; Decourt 1990; Helly, Bravard and Caputo 1994), and several specialized studies have been published on the geology, geography and historical landscapes of Thessaly (Georgiadis 1894; Sivignon 1965; 1975, 1976). Incorporating these various works, in the following section, I describe the geography of Thessaly in a level of detail suitable for this project. As this project is rooted in the landscape and change in Hellenistic and early Roman period Thessaly, there is a need for a more than perfunctory description of the landscape of Thessaly in order to illuminate the effect that the landscape may have had on settlement patterns and change through time.

There were at least two different conceptions of the territory of Thessaly in antiquity. The first refers only to the territory located within the inland Thessalian plains, which are bordered by various mountainous hinterlands (see Figure 2.1 below for topographic detail) (Decourt et al., 2004, 676; Graninger 2011, 9). This area is often referred to as tetradic Thessaly because the territory was divided into four sub-regions called *tetrades*: Pelasgiotis in the northeast, Phthiotis in the southeast, Thessaliotis in the southwest and Hestiaiotis in the northwest.

Figure 2.1 – Topography, Hydrology and Roadways of Thessaly in Roman Period



The second assessment of Thessalian territory includes the five surrounding mountainous regions, generally referred to as the *perioikoi* (those who live around), of Perrhaibia in the northeast, Magnesia in the east, Achaia Phthiotis in the southeast, Dolopia in the southwest, and Athamania in the west. Three other territories, Oitaia, Malis, and Ainis, referred to as the Spercheios valley regions, are also often included in this conception of Thessaly (Decourt et al. 2004, 676; Graninger 2011, 9). I include all 12 regions in this study and retain the traditional nomenclature associated with them (see Figure 2.2 below for locations).

I include the perioikic and Spercheios valley regions in this study for a variety of reasons, primarily because from the 8th century BCE onwards, their political, economic, and cultural history was intertwined with tetradic Thessaly and they were all, with the exception of Magnesia, eventually incorporated into the Thessalian League (Graninger 2011, 7-9). Although the exact nature of the relationship of these regions to tetradic Thessaly is often convoluted and unclear, passing alternately from autonomous status to dependency to alliance to subordination, what is clear is that these regions

were inevitably affected by events and changes in tetradic Thessaly. Furthermore, I include these regions in my study because, since they represent different geographical, political, economic, social and cultural situations, they have the potential to illuminate the diverse ways in which cultural contact influenced and affected change in different areas.

Because these different regions contain many different *poleis*, encapsulating different regional and pan-regional based identities, they have the ability to shed light on how identity expression was multiple and varied within Hellenistic and Roman Greece. Moreover, there is potential to determine whether identity expression varied according to other criteria as well, for example between mountain and plain communities, inland and coastal areas and so on. It is known that identity affiliation was complex and layered in the Greek world (see Goldhill 2001, 2010; Hall 1997, 2002; Heller and Pont 2012; Woolf 1994; Whitmarsh 2010), and by investigating multiple sub-regions it is possible to investigate further the complex and varied nature of identity creation, manipulation and expression in these periods of Greek history resulting in a more nuanced and detailed understanding of identities in the Greek past. In the remainder of this section I describe the geography and geology of tetradic Thessaly before moving on to discuss the perioikic and Spercheios valley regions.

Figure 2.2 – Subregions of Thessaly

The territory of tetradic Thessaly was located in the area of the inland Thessalian plains, which consisted of the two large plains covering an area of over 3,000 square kilometres and fed by the Peneios River and its tributaries (Naval Intelligence 1944, 82; Graninger 2011, 9). The western *Karditsa* plain, also known as the Upper plain, and the eastern Larissan, or Lower, plain, are separated by the *Titanos* range (Naval Intelligence 1944, 82). Access to the sea is limited and found only at the Pagasetic Gulf to the east (in the territories of Achaia Phthiotis, Pelasgiotis, and Magnesia), at the Tempe gorge on the northeast coast (in the territory of Perrhaibia) and the Malian gulf in the southeast (in the territory of Malis and Achaia Phthiotis) (Graninger 2011, 9; Naval Intelligence 1944, 82). The plain is bordered by the mountainous regions of the Othrys to the south, the Pindus to the west, Olympus to the north, and Ossa to the northeast, and Pelion to the east (see Figure 2.1 above) (Sivignon 1965, 102-3; 1976, 43). Possibly as far back as the 6th century BCE, the plains were divided into the four sub-regions called tetrads (Helly 1995, 159-181; Graninger, 2011: 10; Decourt et al., 2004, 676, 680). The borders between the regions are not entirely clear, and have been reconstructed only hypothetically by Bruno (1995) and Decourt et al. (2004) based on topographical and epigraphic evidence. For the most part, the boundaries seem to have followed geographical landmarks such as mountain ranges and tributaries of the Peneios and Enipeus rivers, although it is important to note that despite the fact we are certain of the existence of the tetradic divisions, the exact positions are unknown and are very likely to have changed over time, as suggested by Helly (1995, 159-181). The territory of **Thessaliotis** is represented by the southern part of the western Thessalian plain. Thessaliotis was bordered on the northeast by Pelasgiotis, on the east by Phthiotis, on the south by Dolopia, on the west by the Pindus mountain range and on the northwest by Hestiaioitis (Decourt et al., 2004, 682; Stählin 1924,130-5). **Phthiotis** was the smallest of all of the tetrads and was located in the lower and middle valley of the Enipeus River, the longest tributary of the Peneios (Decourt et al., 2004, 682; Naval Intelligence 1944, 69; Stählin 1924, 135-44). The tetrad of **Pelasgiotis** was located in the northeast of the territory of tetradic Thessaly and was bordered by Perrhaibia to the north, Magnesia to the east, Phthiotis to the south, Achaia Phthiotis to the southeast and Hestiaiotis to the west (Decourt et al., 2004, 682; Stählin 1924, 87-112). The final tetrad, **Hestiaioitis**, was located in the northwest portion of tetradic Thessaly and was bordered on the north by Perrhaibia, on the east by Pelasgiotis, on the south by Thessaliotis, and on the west by the Pindus mountains (Stählin 1924, 113-130).

Although the hypothetical boundaries of the tetradic regions of Thessaly have been established by several scholars over the years, most notably Bruno Helly (1995), these borders changed over time and their exact positions are not always clear. The territory controlled by each region consisted of the territory controlled by each *polis* within that region (Helly 1995, 92-6). The size of the territory controlled by a *polis* was not always uniform and therefore it is often difficult to reconstruct the placement of boundaries. Evidence for boundaries in Thessaly come predominantly from boundary stones and boundary disputes; the large quantity of which highlights the unclear nature of boundary delineation even for a contemporary audience (Helly 1984, 1995 Chapters 2, 3 and 5; 1999).

While tetradic Thessaly represents the lowland plain area of Thessaly, the perioikic regions, Perrhaibia, Magnesia, Achaia Phthiotis, Dolopia and Athamania, were located within the various mountainous territories bordering the plains (see Figure 2.2 above for location). **Perrhaibia** (Lucas 1992, 95-8; 1994, 207-10; Graninger 2011, 17; Stählin 1924, 5-38), with the massifs of Pieria, Olympus and *Kamvounia* forming a mountainous frontier, acted as a border zone between tetradic Thessaly and Macedonia to the north. In the west, Perrhaibia was bordered by Hestiaiotis, in the south by Pelasgiotis and Magnesia (Decourt et al. 2004, 690). The territory of **Magnesia** stretched from the Vale of Tempe in the north to Cape Sepias in the south to form a peninsula separated partly by water from the Thessalian heartland that consisted primarily of the Ossa and Pelion mountain ranges and extended into the Aegean sea and curving towards the west to form the “fish-hook” shape of the Pagasetic gulf (Graninger 2011, 18; Decourt et al., 2004, 688-9; Stählin 1924, 39-77). On the west, Magnesia bordered Pelasgiotis in the eastern Thessalian plain and on the north it bordered Macedonia and, like Perrhaibia, formed a mountainous frontier zone from the northern power (Graninger, 2011, 18). **Achaia Phthiotis** occupied the south-eastern area below tetradic Thessaly and was formed mostly of the Othrys mountains bordering the Thessalian plains and the tetrad of Phthiotis to the north and northwest (Graninger 2011, 19; Stählin 1924, 150-89). In the northwest Achaia Phthiotis was bordered by Thessaliotis. While its eastern border was formed by the Pagasetic gulf, its southern border by the Spercheios valley and the Malian gulf (Graninger 2011, 19; Decourt et al. 2004, 687). The landlocked perioikic region of **Dolopia** formed the south-western zone bordering tetradic Thessaly and occupied the southern part of the Pindus mountain range (Decourt et al. 2004, 683; Graninger 2011, 22-3; Stählin 1924, 145-50). Dolopia

is one of the least explored regions of Thessaly and therefore precise knowledge about the borders of this region is not available (Decourt et al. 2004, 683). What is known securely is that Dolopia was bordered on the east by Achaia Phthiotis in the Othrys mountains, to the south by the Spercheios valley, on the northwest by Athamania in the Pindus massifs and on the north by Thessaliotis (Decourt et al. 2004, 683; Graninger 2011, 22). **Athamania** was the region furthest to the west. It is not included as a perioikic region in many studies, most likely due to the lack of study and difficulty in determining borders, much the same as Dolopia. I am including Athamania in this study because it makes up the mountainous territory bordering the western edge of tetradic Thessaly and I have chosen to incorporate all mountainous hinterlands surrounding the lowland area of tetradic Thessaly, despite the lack of scholarly attention they may have received. Athamania was located within the central and northern range of the Pindus mountains forming the upper valley of the river Acheloos (Decourt et al., 2004, 691). Athamania bordered Epirus on the western side, Aitolia to the south, and Hestiaiotis, Thessaliotis, Dolopia and Ainis on the eastern side (Decourt et al., 2004, 691).

The final three regions to be covered are Ainis, Malis and Oitaia in the Spercheios river valley (Stählin 1924, 191-221). The Spercheios valley forms a roughly triangular shape of approximately 800 square miles, which was bordered on the north by the Othrys mountain range, on the east by the gulf of Malis, on the southwest by Aitolia, and on the northwest by the perioikic region of Dolopia (Naval Intelligence 1944, 66-9). **Ainis** occupied the middle and upper valley of the Spercheios river and its main tributary, the Inachos, as well as the northern section of the Oite mountain range (Decourt et al., 2004, 684; Graninger 2011, 20; Stählin 1924, 218-9), while the territory belonging to **Malis** was located in the lower valley (Graninger 2011, 20-1; Stählin 1924, 212-8). The region of **Oitaia** formed the southern bank of the Spercheios valley and seems to have occupied the eastern slopes of the Oite mountains as well as the upper valley of the Asopos river (Decourt et al., 2004, 685; Graninger, 2011, 22; Stählin 1924, 199-205).

The nature of the relationship between the regions of tetradic Thessaly, the perioikic zones and the Spercheios valley area was complex and interconnected during various periods throughout Thessalian history. In the next section I explicate further the complicated nature of the historical relationship between these regions and tetradic Thessaly, incorporating periods of hegemonic control by the Macedonians, Aitolians

and Romans and ending with the period after Thessaly`s incorporation into the Roman imperial fabric as a province.

2.2. Historical Context

Seldom mentioned in ancient sources outside contexts involving military itineraries and battle descriptions, Thessaly's history is full of lacunae, making it difficult to answer even some simple questions. As a result of this scarcity of documentation it is often not possible to reconstruct historical events or political and administrative organization with any degree of certainty. The most obvious example of this becomes evident when we try to determine Thessaly's position within the Roman provincial system. Thessaly seemingly belonged to the provinces of Macedonia and Achaia at different times, and the documentation is so fragmentary that it does not permit a concrete answer. Consequently scholarly opinion is still divided as to when it belonged to Macedonia and when to Achaia, with some even suggesting that Thessaly was never administered as part of the province of Achaia (Alcock 1993, 14-15; cf. Helly 1980, 198). The most convincing cases have been made for its incorporation into the newly organized province of Macedonia after the revolt of Andriskos in 148 or 146 BCE (Vanderspoel 2010, 259; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013: 5), and its transfer to the province of Achaia under Augustus in 27 BCE (Graninger 2011, 40; Helly 1980, 38-9; Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013, 5; Robert 1948, 29-30), before being transferred back to Macedonia once more under Nero, or Antoninus Pius (Bowersock 1965; Helly 1980: 38-9). The issue is complex and will not be discussed here. Despite the inability to determine with any degree of certainty to which province Thessaly belonged at a given time, what is clear is that, by the middle of the 2nd century BCE, Thessaly was out from under Macedonian control and under Roman influence, even if it was not officially part of the empire until 27 BCE.

By the time of Augustus, Thessaly was internally divided into two federal leagues: the Thessalian and the Magnesian, with the Ainian, Perrhaibian and Athamanian leagues now formally incorporated into the Thessalian league, although they had been subordinate to the tetrads for some time already (Armstrong and Walsh 1986, 41-2; Daux 1975, 350-5; Bouchon 2008b, 320; Graninger 2011, 5-23, 35-42). The area comprising Thessaly reached its largest extent at this time, spanning from the border with Macedonia to the beginning of central Greece with the perioikic regions of

Athamania, Dolopia, Achaia Phthiotis, Ainis, Malis, Oitis and Perrhaibia incorporated into the purview of the Thessalian league, headed by Augustus himself (Helly 1980, 39). Only the Magnesians succeeded in keeping a separate league past the 1st century BCE (Armstrong and Walsh 1986, 41-2) although it was not independent or free from the control of Rome. It is under considerable debate whether the Thessalian league existed in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE, with some scholars such as Graninger (2011) arguing for its dissolution under Macedonian control, while others such as Helly (DATE) and Parker (DATE), propose that the league continued from the 5th century BCE.

The period from the 3rd century BCE to the 2nd century CE was a tumultuous one, in which Thessaly, or parts thereof, passed from periods of Macedonian, Aitolian and finally Roman rule, interspersed with brief periods of (sometimes pseudo-) independence. The nature of Macedonian, and later, Roman, interest in Thessaly, in terms of the agricultural productivity of the area, harbour trade, the presence of natural resources such as marble, and the horses for which the region is well known, will be discussed throughout this thesis. For now it is important to note that the interaction between Thessalian, Roman, Aitolian and Macedonian cultures at this time makes this period in Hellenic history particularly interesting and fruitful in terms of its potential to illuminate the role of complex cultural contact in settlement and land patterns, identity expression and the use of social advancement strategies.

Several important recurring patterns emerge during an analysis of the political, military and economic history of Thessaly: periods of external domination alternating with periods of autonomy; Thessaly as a battlefield and the destruction and foundations of cities within the context of increasing Roman hegemony and the eventual inclusion of the region into the imperial provincial structure. I have chosen to focus on these topics in describing the historical context of Thessaly because there are important implications in these patterns of events for the investigation of the relationship between different forms of cultural interaction (such as simple interaction, intervention, hegemonic control, imperialistic control), cultural change and identity expression. I will illuminate these themes by providing examples of historical events and will give structure to these examples in the following table that provides an overview of important events in Thessalian history.

Table 2.1 – Chronological Overview of Thessalian History

(ALL: all territories under study; **TT:** Tetradic Thessaly; **PO:** Perioikic regions**; SPER:** Spercheios valley regions**; H:** Hestiaiotis; **T:** Thessaliotis**; P:** Pelasgiotis; **PH:** Phthiotis**; APH:** Achaia Phthiotis; **PER:** Perrhaibia**; MAG:** Magnesia; **DOL:** Dolopia**; ATH:** Athamania**; AIN:** Ainis**; MAL:** Malis; **OIT:** Oitaia)

Period	Events	Political Status of Territories (autonomous, Federal League control, unknown, or external control)
6th BCE	-Foundation of tetrads -Foundation of Thessalian League -Rise of powerful families (ex. Aleuadai of Larissa)	**TT**: League controlled **APH, PER, MAG**: Autonomous, with periods of Thessalian control **DOL, ATH**: unknown **SPER**: unknown
5th BCE	-Aleuadai take power in Larissa, control League with help of Macedonia	**PER**: Macedonian **TT**: Thessalian League control
4th BCE	-Rise of Tyrants of Pherai. Jason of Pherai takes control of Thessaly unites all territories -Alexander II of Macedonia garrisons some Thessalian cities -Philip II of Macedonia allies with Thessalian League against Pherai and Phokian allies. -352 BCE- Philip II made *archos* of Thessalian League -336 BCE -Alexander the Great made *archos* of Thessalian League -323 BCE - revolt of Perrhaibia -323-322 BCE - Lamian war	Early 4th **ALL:** under Pherai control Mid to Late 4th **ALL**: Macedonian control
3rd BCE	-Thessalian League still under Macedonian control -Foundation of new cities -279 BCE - Gallic Invasion -Rise of Aitolian League -220 – 217 BCE -Social War (Hellenic League vs. Aitolian League -229 BCE - Rome enters area and Illyrian Wars (229, 219 BCE -214-205 BCE - 1st -Rome and ally Aitolia versus Macedonia	1st half of 3rd C**: DOL, AIN, MAL, APH, T, PH, H:** Aitolian control Late 3rd: **ALL** except **APH**: Macedonian control
1st BCE	-88-63 BCE - Mithridatic Wars -49-45 BCE - Roman civil war -48 BCE Battle of Pharsalos -Freedom given by Caesar? -31 BCE - Battle of Actium -27 BCE - Greece becomes part of Roman province of Achaia -Augustus = *archos* of Thessalian League	**ALL**: Autonomous **ALL:** Roman control

Period	Events	Political Status of Territories (autonomous, Federal League control, unknown, or external control)
1st CE	-54 CE - Nero frees Greece (?) – free from tribute? -Vespasian reverses Nero's decree	**ALL**: Autonomous? Roman? **ALL**: Roman control
2nd CE	-138-161 CE - Thessaly part of province of Macedonia by Antoninus Pius	**ALL**: Roman

Foreign intervention in Thessalian affairs can be broadly divided into two categories: interventions at the request of, or with permission of, the Thessalians and non-consensual interventions. Throughout Thessalian history members of powerful leading families, *poleis*, and the Thessalian League as a whole, made appeals for assistance from foreign powers in dealing with local problems or conflicts. This foreign intervention took several different forms, ranging from military and political support to financial aid to garrisoning of settlements to occupation of territories to the foreign executive governance of the Thessalian League, as will be demonstrated through examples below. The borders of Thessalian territory did not remain stable over time, but instead were constantly changing as different territories and cities alternated between periods of foreign domination, inclusion within the Thessalian, Hellenic and Aitolian Leagues, dependence on other Thessalian territories, and autonomy (Helly 1995, 159-81). Examples of both consensual and non-consensual intervention by external powers are abundant and represent different levels ranging from mediation to territorial annexation.

An example of non-consensual territorial annexation can be seen in the early 3rd century BCE which witnessed a power struggle between Macedonia and the Aitolians, whose increasing influence and power as a result of its role in the repulsion of the Gallic invasion of 280/279 BCE led them to look to Thessaly as a location for territorial expansion (Graninger 2011, 25-7). Dolopia, Malis, Ainis, Achaia Phthiotis, Hestiaiotis, Thessaliotis and Phthiotis all eventually came under the control of Aitolia and its federal League (Fine 1932, 133; Graninger 2010, 320-1; 2011, 26-7; Scholten 2000, 145-155, 165-6). Macedonia took back control in the late 3rd century of all territory except Achaia Phthiotis, which remained Aitolian and represented the first permanent diminution of Macedonian territory since Philip II (Fine 1932, 126, 130-9; Graninger 2010, 32; Scholten 2000, 157, 166, 173, 179). These events also provide an example of the pattern of external powers fighting battles and wars within Thessalian territory.

Thessaly, because of its location within the Greek mainland, with access routes to southern Greece, Epirus, Aitolia, Macedonia and perhaps most importantly the Aegean sea, was a prime target for those external powers wishing to access these communication and transport routes. Furthermore, located as it was within two lowland plain areas, Thessaly was fertile and provided an attractive prospect for production of agricultural goods. These themes of external intervention, territorial acquisition and being a key battlefield between external powers continued with Rome's entrance into the area.

At the end of the 3rd century BCE Rome became involved in Thessalian affairs after multiple Greek embassies arrived in Rome requesting assistance against Philip V and his ally Antiochus III of Syria (Eckstein 2008, 90-1, 223, 225, 230-1; Shipley 2000, 374-55). Rome allied with Aitolia and under the command of consul T. Quinctius Flamininus attacked Macedonia through Thessaly (Eckstein 2008, 280-1). An agreement was made between Rome and its ally Aitolia that any cities taken would become Aitolian but any spoils taken during the war would go to Rome (Eckstein 2008, 88; Shipley 2000, 373; Polybius, 18.46.5; Cf. Plutarch *Flam.* 10.4; Livy 33.32.5; Appian, *Mac.* 9.2). This agreement reflects a common pattern in Thessalian history, where external powers negotiated annexations of Thessalian territory resulting in the movement of borders and the changing political control of Thessalian cities and regions.

A temporary hiatus in direct external domination occurred after the battle of Cynoscephalae in 197 BCE where Rome and its allies defeated the Macedonians. In addition to imposing a very restrictive treaty on Macedonia, Flamininus declared the freedom of the Greeks. In his speech at the Isthmian games of 196 BCE, Flamininus announced that tetradic Thessaly, Achaia Phthiotis, Perrhaibia, Dolopia and Magnesia were to be freed and allowed to govern themselves according to their own traditions, and that the independent Thessalian League, under the control of the Macedonian kings since Philip II, would be reinstated (Livy 33.32-5; Polyb. 18.45-7; Plut. *Flamininus,* 10.3-12; Armstrong and Walsh 1986, 38, note 22; Larsen 1967, 21-26; Bouchon 2005, 32-36). The highest magistracy would from then on be *strategos* rather than *archon* (see Kramolisch 1978 and Bouchon 2005, 47, note 221 for a list of the *strategoi* of the reinstated league). Phthiotic Thebes, Pharsalos and the Spercheios valley regions were given to Aitolian control and the *polis* of Gomphoi to the perioikic region of Athamania (Eckstein 2008, 288-9; Graninger 2011, 28; Gruen 1986, 447-9; Shipley 2000, 375. See

Polyb. 18.44-46; Livy 33.32.5). Despite the announcement that the Thessalian areas mentioned above would be free to govern themselves, Flamininus intervened in Thessalian affairs on several occasions, including the creation of a new census that restricted certain magistracies and judicial positions to the highest census classes (Livy 34 51, 4-6; see Bouchon 2005, 47-8; Graninger 2011, 29). It is not clear whether this restriction applied only at the federal level or if it pertained to the *polis* level as well (Bouchon 2005, 48). Flamininus also assigned a council of ten Senators to evaluate and decide on the rules governing the organization of the newly reformed Thessalian League. In addition, epigraphic evidence suggests that Flamininus was involved in border disputes and the reorganization of territorial boundaries in Thessaly (Graninger 2011, 31). In fact, Polybius lamented that instead of freedom, it was simply a change of master that occurred in Greece (Polyb. 18.45.6; Walsh 1996, 357).

Another type of Roman intervention came in the form of the levying of troops, as seen when both Pompey and Julius Caesar made use of Thessalian resources in their civil war in the mid-1st century BCE, and especially during the campaign in Thessaly which culminated in the Battle of Pharsalos in 48 (Larsen 1938, 431; Shipley 2000, 397). In addition, Q. Metellus Pius Scipio, on the side of Pompey, established a garrison in Larissa in 48 (Caes. *BC*. 3.82; Helly 1983, 356). At Pompey's death, interestingly, it seems that veterans were left behind who, in addition to 2000 Thessalian cavalry, would later form part of Brutus and Cassius' Republican army in the campaign against Octavian between 44 and 42 (Larsen 1938, 432). Thessaly also seems to have supported Octavian, at least in part, since there is reports the region supplied grain to Octavian's army (Appian *B.C.* 4.122; Larsen 1938, 433). At the battle of Actium in 31, it seems that Thessalian cavalry may have also served in Antony's army (Larsen 1938, 434-5). All of this suggests that the different factions in the Roman civil wars exploited Thessalian resources in more or less equal measure.

The above-mentioned examples focused more on the political and economic processes and effects of foreign intervention, which, for a large proportion of occasions, was through war between powerful and dominant states. A result of these interventions can be seen in the physical landscape of Thessaly, in the destruction of existing settlements and *poleis*, and in the foundation of new ones. During the final stages of the Macedonian Wars between Rome and Philip V, Philip destroyed several Thessalian settlements – Phakion, Peiresia, Euhydrion, Eretria and Palaiopharsalos – in an attempt

to slow the Romans' forward advance using a scorched earth policy (Eckstein 2008, 282, Walsh 1996, 349). Additionally, during the Roman civil wars, several cities were sacked and destroyed, including Gomphoi in Hestiaiotis, as a result of the Thessalian League's support for Pompey (see Caesar, *B.C.* 3.80; Plut. *Caes*. 41; Larsen 1938, 432). While some of these cities continued to be occupied following their destruction, others provide no evidence of continued occupation afterwards, resulting in a changed landscape.

In contrast to destruction, several new cities were founded in Thessaly, by local and foreign initiative. In the 4th century BCE, the ancient city located at modern Goritsa in Magnesia was founded, and would become an important and influential centre (Bakhuizen 1992; Graninger, 2010, 319). At the beginning of the 3rd century, the Macedonian king Demetrios Poliorketes founded his eponymous city, Demetrias, slightly north of, and possibly incorporating, the port city of Pagasai, populating it through a synoecism of Thessalian and Magnesian settlements; it would become a very powerful and influential centre (Graninger, 2010, 319; Marzolff 1980, 1996, 148-63; 1997, 57-70; See Plut. *Demetrius* 40.1-2). During the same period, two other cities in Phthiotis, Peuma and New Halos were founded as well, the latter again on the initiative of Demetrios Poliorketes and the former under unknown authority (Graninger, 2010, 319; Reinders 1988). The recurring theme of destructions and foundations is significant in that these events represent, above all, a physical restructuring of the landscape. Cities with long histories of occupation and importance within Thessaly were destroyed and abandoned, and some new foundations rose to partially fill this gap, as will be demonstrated in the subsequent chapters.

The events briefly discussed above provide just a few examples of the recurrence of these patterns throughout the history of Thessaly. These historical themes have important implications for the identities of local populations who inhabited a territory, which was at one time free, at another Macedonian, and then again free, Aitolian or Roman.

2.3 Literature Review

In order to complete the contextualization of this study, a review of the scholarly research focused on the Roman period of Greece in general and Thessaly in particular is

necessary in order to understand how the shifts in dominant intellectual paradigms have affected the research being conducted. In addition, the analysis of approaches taken in the past and the identification of the strengths and weaknesses of such approaches will further contextualize the methodological approach I pursue.

Before discussing the modern scholarship on Roman Greece and Thessaly, it is important to first examine the sources of information that the earliest scholarly investigations of the area used as the basis of their studies. A few main ancient authors representing a variety of genres including geography, history and politics, provide the basis for early modern investigations of Roman Greece: Polybius, Cicero, Livy and Strabo lived and wrote in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, and Plutarch and Pausanias were working in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE. Although writing centuries apart in some cases, all of these authors have a few central themes in common. First and foremost is the *topos* of a depopulated Greece in a state of moral, economic, political and social decline. Greece no longer represented the height of cultural, artistic and intellectual achievement but was claimed to have passed its glory days and to be decaying (Polybius 36.17).

Polybius, writing in Greek in the 2nd century BCE, represents the most influential voice for the proliferation of the view of a declining and depopulated Greece, best summed up by the following excerpt:

> In our time the whole of Greece has been subject to a low birth rate and a general decrease of the population, owing to which cities have become deserted and the land has ceased to yield fruit, although there have neither been continuous wars nor epidemics. (36.17.5-6)

Although Polybius was the earliest source to discuss decline and depopulation, this theme eventually developed into a *topos* when discussing Greece in the Roman period.

Pausanias wrote in the genre of geographical description or 'travel' writing and his work *Description of Greece* detailed his travels through the Greek landscape, describing sanctuaries, monuments and cities as they stood in the 2nd century CE. His work has been used as evidence for the depopulation and state of decline of Greece in the Imperial period due to his description of abandoned sites throughout Greece, in the past. He himself, however, mentions (1.39.3; 3.11.1) that the decision-process of what to include in his work was selective; the *Description of Greece* was not all-inclusive. He does not include Thessaly in his work, despite having visited Larissa (Paus. 9.30.9; Graninger 2011, 53). It is possible that we are missing the portion on Thessaly or intended to complete a section and was unable (Graninger 2011, 53 note 30), and

therefore, apart from the *topos* of Greece in decline Pausanias' work therefore is of limited utility for Thessaly directly.

Polybius and Pausanias represent the two most used extant sources of information on Roman Greece. Nevertheless other authors also employed the *topos* of declining Greece. Unlike Pausanias, who used his own eyewitness accounts Cicero, Strabo, Livy, and Plutarch used secondary sources for their writing, thus presenting a bias due to the use of topoi, as well as due to their use of second-hand information. Decline and depopulation were seen not as the result of the foreign domination by the Romans, but rather as a process caused by the Greeks' own decadence and moral decay resulting from corruption through contact with the Hellenistic kingdoms, and a state of weakness which naturally and evolutionarily followed their period of achievement and glory (Alcock 1993, 2).

The use and proliferation of this theme of decline and decay may have been employed as a means of justification for Greece's subjugation (Alcock 1993, 2; 1997, 112; Frey 2008, 70). The influential role of Greek art, literature, architecture, religion in the development of Roman culture was recognized by the Romans, and this cultural superiority created a paradox: the Greeks did not require the civilizing benefits of Roman domination, they had cities and organized government and all of the symbols of civilization lacking in the western provinces, according to the Roman viewpoint. Justification was therefore required for the subjugation of the already civilized and culturally advanced Greece. This idea of Greece in twilight, a Greece after its 'glory days' of the Classical period, served to distinguish the Greeks from other 'barbarian' provincials in the eyes of the Romans (Alcock 1997, 112). It was essential for the Romans to view the Greeks as somehow different from other conquered peoples, and this was accomplished by admiring the Greeks not for their present state but for their glorious past (Alcock 1997, 112; Woolf 1994, 135). A Greece in a state of decline, on the other hand, served to justify its subjugation and domination; in the western provinces the Romans claimed to create order, but in Greece they claimed to *restore* order (Whittaker 1997, 143-4).

Another important theme evoked by these ancient authors is the deliberate archaising trend characteristic especially of the 2nd century CE (the Second Sophistic), reflecting nostalgia for the glorious past of Greece and lamentation at its current state (Alcock 1997, 112; 2002, 38-9; Frey 2008, 70; Stewart 2013,15-16; Woolf 1994, 118-

122). It was not only the Romans who deliberately archaized and romanticized the Greek past, but also the Greeks themselves, particularly among the political and intellectual elite members of society (Alcock 1993, 2).

This archaizing habit has often been interpreted as simply a reflection of Greek nostalgia for past glory and Roman admiration for the intellectual and cultural achievements of the previous generations (for example Bowersock 1965, 90-1). Alcock, on the other hand, interprets both the archaizing trend present in the literature, art and architecture of the time, as well as the preservation of cultural traditions, not as passive result of a 'culturally and intellectually superior' population under domination, but instead as a deliberate attempt at resistance to the adoption of Roman cultural practices (Alcock 1997, 109-112). Spawforth (2012) more recently offers an alternative interpretation of the use of the Hellenic culture by the Romans. Spawforth sees the Augustan cultural revolution as part of an overall strategy in response to the civil unrest of the Republican period (Sturgeon 2012, 132; see Spawforth 2012), in which Augustus advocated the advantages and superiority of traditional Greek *paideia* in a successful attempt to win over the elite members of Greek society. The themes present in the ancient sources discussed above were, therefore, at least in part the result of the contemporary worldviews and the individual goals of the authors. Because of their prevalence in ancient sources the early modern research of the Roman period of Greece was inevitably informed by these *topoi*, adopting and continuing to perpetuate the notion of a depopulated, declining and decaying Greek landscape in the Roman period.

In terms of modern scholarship on Roman Greece, the 19th century scholarship was characterized by a preponderance of travel descriptions and historical overviews entirely drawn from ancient literature. The Roman period in Greece was relatively ignored (as by Pausanias) in favour of earlier periods, particularly the Classical, considered to be the height of Greek achievement, and many accounts end abruptly at the loss of Greek independence, either at the hands of the Macedonians or the Romans (Alcock 1993, 3).

Further contributing to this lack of interest in studies of Roman Greece was the assumption that Roman conquest had little effect on Greek culture. The idea of the cultural superiority of the Greeks, accompanied by the lack of need in Greece for the civilizing aspect of Roman domination (unlike in the western 'barbarian' provinces), is already present in the ancient sources and contributed to the assumption that Greek

culture preserved itself in the face of foreign oppression and domination (Alcock 1993, 1-2). This resulted in the assumption that the investigation of social change in Greece during the Roman period was not necessary because there was no real change, and likely contributed to the general lack of attention to this period of Greece in 19th-century scholarship (Alcock 1993, 1-3; Frey 2008, 67-8, 71, 80-1).

19th-century sources, especially the travel writers such as, most famously and influentially, Colonel William Martin Leake, who described most landscapes of Greece, continue to inform and colour current archaeological and topographical studies even today (Frey 2008, 67-8, 71, 80-1). The authoritative role given to these travel writers was at least in part responsible for subsequent scholars' choices in excavation and survey locations, resulting in a concentration of scholarly work for the most part on sites and monuments identified by these travel writers, restricting the discovery and exploration of 'new' sites or monuments not mentioned in such texts (Frey 2008, 78, 67-8, 80).

The *topoi* created by the ancient sources and adopted by the 19th-century scholars continued throughout the first half of the 20th century where we see influential scholars such as Bowersock (1965, 90-1) referring to Greece in the Roman period as a "country learning how to be a museum", and Larsen (1938) and Rostovtzeff (1941) who both present the view of an economically declining and depopulated landscape during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Beginning around the middle of the 20th century, scholars began to increasingly investigate the Roman period in Greece and although the variety of topics were more diverse, there was still a large concentration on historical narrative and the exploration of political topics (see for example Owens 1976; Larsen 1968; Baronowski 1988; Rathbone, Gallant and Garnsey 1984; and Syme 1960). Focus was heavily placed on the political, economic, and provincial status of Greece within the Roman system. Other topics investigated at this time include epigraphy (for example J.H. Oliver 1982; and Payne 1984), art history (for example Pollitt 1965; 1978; Vermeule 1968), architecture (for example Waywell 1979), and cultural similarity and difference between Greece and Rome (for example Bubeník 1989). It is not until the last decade of the 20th and the beginning of the 21st century that we begin to see scholars taking diverse approaches and incorporating a broader spectrum of theoretical perspectives.

While scholars at the end of the 20th century and beginning of the 21st century

did not stop creating historical overviews, the significant point of divergence is the manner in which they approached their topics. Eckstein (2008) and Morstein-Marx (writing as Kallet-Marx, 1995) both produced important historical overviews of Greece in the Roman period; but each takes a different approach, focusing on key developmental themes which have been extremely influential in the current interpretations of the state of Greece throughout, and after, the process of incorporation into the Roman provincial system. Eckstein incorporates contemporary political theory to stress the role of conflict, competition and inter-state war in the formation of the hierarchical empire of Rome. In contrast, Morstein-Marx, instead of following the traditional chronological framework for a historical overview, focuses on the development of the Roman political structures and imperialistic ideology in Greece, concluding that Rome's incorporation of Greece into their empire was not a case of premeditated expansionism and conscious imperialistic policy, but was rather the result of external events and third-party activity that resulted in the necessity of a more direct control of territory. The incorporation of a critical outlook and theoretical frameworks clearly separates these works from those of their predecessors, which focused much more heavily upon outlining the chronology of battles, wars and political events.

In addition to the large-scale broad historical overviews, many small, specifically oriented research topics began to appear in the last several decades, and we see the beginning of studies of cultural interaction, identity and social change in Greece in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (examples include Hall 1997, 2002; Hales 2009; Goldhill 2001; Ostenfeld 2002; Rizakis 2013; Romeo 2002; Scheidegger Laemmle 2010, Shipley 2003; and Woolf 1994). Adopting theories and methodologies from other fields such as sociology, psychology and anthropology these scholars opened the door to the possibility of answering questions such as "what effects did cultural interaction have on social change and identity?", and the more important "how?" By employing contemporary theoretical frameworks, scholars were able to take their interpretation to a level beyond the mere descriptive, and investigate the processes behind these cultural and historical phenomena. Furthermore, the past decades saw major changes in the types of archaeological studies taking place, which went hand in hand with the change in archaeological fieldwork. Although still primarily focused on excavation, academic and government fieldwork has seen a dramatic increase in archaeological surveys. This arose due to a number of factors including but not limited to: (1) a change in excavation methodology: it is no longer possible to excavate extensive sites in a short time because

the standards of excavation and recording practices have risen; (2) the acknowledgement that survey material can potentially provide good and reliable evidence to answer questions about diachronic change in landscapes, including such phenomena as land use and settlement patterns (3) the smaller cost and size of team necessary for conducting surveys in contrast to excavation; (4) the realization that using survey results as a primary source of evidence alongside excavation, literary, epigraphic and art historical data results in more holistic and inclusive interpretations of the past.

A pioneering study in the investigation of Greece in the Roman was Alcock's 1993 *Graecia Capta: the Landscapes of Roman Greece*. The survey data from mainland Greece did not include Thessaly, as she considered it to not properly belong to the province of Achaia (Alcock 1993, 14; 2002, 44). She states that for the rest of Greece there was no conclusive evidence for decline and depopulation in this period and that the rhetoric of a declining and depopulated Greece was a literary device employed by ancient authors to serve a purpose and did not, in fact, reflect the reality of the landscape in Greece during the early Roman period. Alcock argues instead for a change in land use and settlement patterns: change in land tenure systems and different agricultural processes compared with previous periods, a contraction in rural settlement accompanied by increasing nucleation thus resulting in a less densely populated rural landscape but a more densely populated urban one (Alcock 1993, 215-8). Alcock's work remains a landmark study in analyses incorporating survey evidence. Certain limitations, drawbacks and critiques can and should be made, however, in order to establish how research can move forward and build on the platform she created.

Rejecting the traditional rhetoric of a declining and depopulated Greece, Alcock demonstrates significant change in Greece, suggesting that this was, at least in part, due to Greece's unification by Rome (Alcock 1993, 16, 129, 215-8). While this may very well be the case, she did not investigate or convincingly demonstrate how this unification differed from that created by Philip II of Macedonia and his successors. Alcock did not elucidate how the processes of interaction and incorporation into the imperial fabric of Rome differed from that of Macedonian domination, resulting in significant change in settlement patterns, land use, administrative, legislative, political, social and religious practices (Keen 1993). Furthermore, while Alcock hints at a possible Hellenistic period origin for the changes witnessed, she does not explore whether this was at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, the 1st or 2nd century CE or

anywhere in between (Bintliff 1996, 111-112).

Since Alcock, a fair number of scholars have engaged in the study of the Roman period of Greece, focusing on a variety of topics from the cultural interplay between Greek and Roman identity and interaction (for example Mattingly 2004, 1997a, 1997b, 2008, 2009, 2011; Bowersock 2005; Webster 2001; Goldhill 2001; Højte 2002; Hoff and Rotroff 1997; Spawforth 2012; Woolf 1994, 1997a, 1997b, 2006; Lamberton 1997; Salmeri 2011; Swain 1996; Whitmarsh 2010), the nature of Roman domination (for example Kallet-Marx 1995; Webster 1996; Salomies 2001; Champion 2007; Hoff and Rotroff 1997; Salomies 2001b; Shipley 2005), cult and religion in Greece under the Romans (for example Buraselis 2008a, 2008b; Camia 2011; Chaniotis 2003; Graninger 2011; Kajava 2011; Kantiréa 2001, 2007, 2008; Konstan and Said 2006; Salomies 2007; Weir 2004), continuity and change in gender issues (for example Nevett 2002; van Bremen 1996; Økland 1998), as well as a surplus of regional studies (for example Bintliff 2004, 2008; Grandjean 2008; Rizakis 2010; 2011; 2012; 2013; Stewart 2013; Zoumbaki 1993, 2001). Furthermore recent identity studies of areas of the Roman Empire represent a plethora of theoretical perspectives of identity formation, expression, maintenance and negotiation in the context of the ancient Mediterranean and the Roman empire. Jonathan Hall's 1997 and 2002 studies of Greek identity and ethnicity represent canonical works, essential for any study of identity involving the Greek world. Scholarly engagement relating to issues of identity differential responses of local individuals to Roman rule in the Roman period of the provinces has increased dramatically since the 1990s, with the works of scholars such as Mattingly (1997a, 1997b, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2011, 2014), Goldhill (2011, 2010); Revell (2009) Wallace-Hadrill, (2008) Woolf (1994, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2012), Bartman (2011), Bommas (2011), Fournier (2012), Frija (2012), Heller and Pont (2012), Konstan and Said (2006), de Ligt (1994); Lomas (1996), Ostenfeld (2002); Rizakis (2007, 2009, 2012), Salomies (2012, 2001a); Salway (1994); Scheidegger Laemmle (2010), Solin (1996); van Nijf (2009), Vlassopoulos (2008); Webster (2001), Whitmarsh (2010) and Zoumbaki (2008). The above mentioned studies represent a wide range of perspectives and interpretations but for the most part the uniting theme is a focus on the different forms of interaction between Greek and Roman culture highlighting the agency and variable response, while acknowledging the changing nature of Roman hegemonic and imperial policy in the Greek context.

Mack (2015) has very recently released the first detailed monograph on the institution of proxeny in the Greek *poleis*, its relationship with the social strategies employed for status negotiation having begun to receive more attention (see edited volume by Heller and Pont 2012, Chaniotis 2009, 2012, Rizakis 2007, 2009), and which will form a substantial portion of the analysis in the second part of this work. The plethora of Greek and Roman prosopography and onomastic studies of the different regions of Greece (Matthews 2007; Rizakis 1996, Salomies 1001a, 2012; Salway 1994; Solin 1996; Hornblower and Matthews 2000; Rizakis and Zoumbaki with Kantiréa 2001; Rizakis et al 2004) has facilitated study on the topics of identity expression, mobility, the activities of elite families and the interaction resulting from increasing Roman presence. Examples can be found in the recent discussions of how the finances of the post-classical *polis*, euergistic behaviour, and the performance of can be investigated with reference to the social strategies employed by local individuals and as part of their negotiation and maintenance of status, particularly in the Hellenistic period (Bringmann 2001; Buraselis 2008b; Ellis-Evans 2012; Martin 2013, Martzavou and Papazarkadas 2013; Müller 2011; Stone 2003; Strootman 2011; Chaniotis 2005, 2009, 2012, 2013; Harter-Uibopuu 2011; Zuiderhoek 2008, 2009, 2011). The role of the imperial cult in the integration of Greek elite members into the Roman system has most thoroughly discussed by Spawforth (2012), but has also been the topic of investigation for several other scholars in the last decade. (Camia 2001, 2011; Buraselis 2008a, Kajava 2011, Kantiréa 2001, 2007, 2008; Salomies 2007; and Bouchon 2005).

In terms of the history of Thessalian research, Thessalian epigraphic and numismatic evidence is quite rich and, therefore many scholars throughout the years have focused on epigraphic and numismatic topics in both the Hellenistic and the Roman periods (for example see bibliographic entries for Arvanitopoulos, in addition to Béquignon 1970; Burrer,1993; Comparetti 1921; Crowther 2006; Decourt 1990a, 1995; Francke 1955; Gallis 1973, 1987; Giannopoulos 1913, 1926, 1930, 1931; Habicht 1987a, 1987b, 2006; Helly 1987a; 1988 and many more). Funerary stele, particularly those of Demetrias, have been the topic of extensive study (Batziou-Egstathiou and Triantaphyllopoulou 2012; Cairon 2009; Helly 1992b; 2012-2001; Santin 2006; Sekunda 2001; Wolters 1979, 1994). A fair amount of study has also been conducted on religion and sanctuaries, including the recent additions of monographs dedicated specifically to different aspects of Thessalian religious practice (Clement 1939; Chrysostomou 1983, 1990, 1998; Garcia-Ramon 2007; Kravaritou 2011, 2013;

Moustaka 1983; Østby 1992, 1994; Phillips 2002; Graninger 2011; Mili 2015). Furthermore, many individual studies of sites and regions of Thessaly have been conducted, investigating aspects of settlement and occupational history (Alexakis et al., 2007; Batziou, Unknown date; Bequignon 1937a, 1937b; Blum 1992; Bouchon 2008b; Cantarelli 1995, 1999; Cantarelli et al. 2008; Darmezin 1992, 1994; Daux and de La Coste Messelière 1924; Decourt 1998b, 1990a; Decourt et al 2004; Decourt and Helly 2006; Graninger 2010; Haagsma 2010; Hatziangelakis 2008; Helly 1973a; 1979b; 2009; 1984; 1985; 1991a; 1992a; 1994; 1995; 2000b, 2008b; Indzesiloglou, 1994b; Karagiorgou 2001; Kontaxi 1996; Lucas 1991; 1995; 1997; Marzolff 1980; 1992; 1994a; 1994b; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012; Pantos 1994; Papakonstantinou 1994a, 1994b, 2002; Reinders 1998; 2003; Salvatore 1994; Stamoudi 2006; Stissi 2012).

What is missing from Thessalian studies is an investigation of Thessaly as a whole from the Hellenistic era through the Roman period focusing on the effect that the increasing cultural interaction may have had on the settlement and land use patterns. Furthermore, no study has been conducted on the nature of Thessalian local identity or the effects of Roman rule on its expression or on the use of social strategies by local and foreign individuals and groups. In the following section I will present my research contribution to these aspects in greater detail, providing the theories and methodologies, and data sources that frame my research.

Chapter 3: Theory, Data and Method

3.1. Theoretical Concepts and Terminology

This section sets out the key terms and theoretical concepts used in this thesis. Since this thesis investigates the impact of Roman occupation on identity expression and social strategies, the concepts of identity, agency, cultural interaction, hegemony and imperialism, elite and social mobility will be explored in this section.

Identity is constructed through interaction with other individuals and groups and the internalization of the similarities and differences perceived as a result of those interactions (Bommas 2011, 3-4; Revell 2009: 7; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1; Hall 1997, 25). These boundaries are not static, but dynamic, permeable and subject to influence and change (Hall 1997, 33; Voss 2008, 14). This is partly explained by the fact identity is relational: it does not exist in isolation but is defined, constructed, negotiated and re-negotiated in opposition to other groups (Hall 1997, 33; Voss 2008, 14). Through repeated interaction, action and practice this sense of belonging is reproduced, reified and internalized as part of a social reality (Bommas 2011, 4; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 6). Identity, therefore, cannot be viewed as a single static phenomenon, but is represented by a variety of different *identities*, such as ethnic, socio-economic, religious, political, associational and individual existing simultaneously and under constant negotiation (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 1-2). Under this theoretical perspective, categories of identity are not mutually exclusive; it is possible to subscribe to several identities, which may seem to be contradictory or conflicting (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 2, 9; Revell 2009: 10). Furthermore, different facets of identity can be manipulated (both consciously and subconsciously) to serve the needs of groups and individuals in different situations (Mattingly 2014, 21-2). Moreover, it is important to understand that the different aspects of an individual's identities are not completely discrete and autonomous categories. Different elements interact with others to create a plethora of variations. This can be seen in how age may affect the experience and internalization of gender identities. Furthermore, wider societal change can affect the conceptualization of identities. For example, foreign domination, such as Roman rule in Greece, can result in change in the perceived value

of certain identities and can affect which aspects of identity are accentuated in different contexts.

Because I am dealing with Greek and Roman interaction, and because the names 'Greek' and 'Roman' are generally assumed to denote ethnic identity, it is necessary to discuss the theoretical perspective I will be adopting to deal specifically with ethnicity. Although it is often assumed that 'Greek' and 'Roman' are unproblematic ethnic identifiers, this is, in part, a result of the history of research in the field and, in part, due to ideological and heuristic conceptions of modern national identities. Jonathan Hall (1997, 2002) has been seminal in the creation of a theoretical perspective on Greek ethnic identity. His publications were instrumental in discarding old theories of ethnic groups as natural, biological or racially based, rather viewing them as constructed, dynamic social identities consisting of several characteristics which are accepted and internalized by individuals in a group (Hall 1997, 25, 30). These characteristics need not all be present but may include: a collective name, a common story of descent, a shared history, a distinctive shared culture, an association with a specific territory and a sense of communal solidarity (Hall 1997, 25).

Turning to the Roman context, the same criteria as Hall developed for the Greek world cannot be directly projected onto a different cultural group called 'Roman'. It has been argued that 'Roman' was not an ethnicity in antiquity, but a cultural, legal and political status, since individuals from different backgrounds could become Roman (Bartman 2011, 222; James 2006, 374; Mattingly 2014, 17-18; Woolf 1994, 1998). If we apply Hall's characteristics for ethnic identity to the Roman case it is clear that it cannot technically be referred to as an ethnicity, at least in the early empire where the ability to obtain Roman citizenship did not rely on territorial, ancestral, or historical commonalities but was selectively accessible to individuals from various backgrounds and territories throughout the empire (Lomas 1996, 139). Although there has been a tendency in the past to take ethnic identities, such as 'Greek' or 'Roman', as mutually exclusive categories, recently scholars have proposed exactly the opposite (Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 419). In order to avoid the use of value-laden terminology, I do not use the terms Roman or Greek to refer to ethnic categories, preferring instead to frame the discourse around civic identity. Civic identity, in contrast to ethnicity, is a political and legal category referring to the possession of citizenship within a given state or states. It should be therefore remembered that when using the terms 'Greek' or 'Roman', I refer

to the civic identity. This framework is applicable to both the Greek and Roman contexts and does not assume mutually exclusive categories; being 'Greek' does not preclude one from also being 'Roman'.

First, developed in the context of sociological and anthropological theory, the concept of agency refers to the notion that individuals are not automatons but have a certain degree of free will in the decisions they make and the actions they perform (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 5; Revell 2009: 7-8). People have a certain amount of knowledge about their world and society, its institutions and social structures and are able to apply this knowledge to their benefit (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 5). In explaining the theory of structuration, Anthony Giddens differentiates between practical and discursive knowledge and specifies that even without an in-depth understanding of the discourses and ideologies that inform various practices, the practical knowledge of how society operates is enough to allow individuals to function in their daily lives (Giddens 1984, xxiii; Revell 2009, 11-12). Although individuals and groups had agency and were engaged, at different levels, in the negotiation of their identity, there are constraints that operate in the form of implicit rules of acceptable practice and behaviour governed by social institutions and customs (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005, 5).

When this is applied to identity theory, we understand that individuals and groups have a certain amount of freedom in their choice of identifications, although there are socially governed constraints, which may be placed, implicitly or explicitly, upon which groups one may belong to. Giddens rightly points out that despite the structuring role of social configurations on individual and group behaviours, social structure and individual choice should not be seen as a dichotomy, but as a duality where mutual influence results in one being, at the same time, a precondition and product of the other (Giddens 1984, 25). Rather than being mutually exclusive, the social structure forms a framework for the actions of individuals and groups which delineate appropriate daily activities, the carrying out of which reproduces and reifies the social structures, justifying and supporting the ideologies informing the range of appropriate and acceptable actions (Gardner 2004, 2-10, Giddens 1984, 25-6; Revell 2009, 10).

The benefit of incorporating such a theoretical perspective is that it allows us to move beyond the conception of monolithic, homogeneous and static social structures of any given society towards an understanding of the discursive process between the structuring ideologies and the actions of individuals and groups in the past. In keeping

with the idea of agency, it is essential to move away from employing monolithic impersonal cultural terms, such as “Greece” or “Rome” in discussions of cultural interaction. It is not the abstract notion of the state or culture that is involved in these interactions, but groups and individuals. It is the agency (within a context of negotiation with societal constraints) of these individuals and groups that interact with others, perform actions and have intentions. It was not ‘Rome’, but politicians, soldiers, merchants and so on that were involved in interaction with local populations in the provinces. When the terms “Rome” or “polis” are mentioned, it should be noted that I intend the individuals which formed the decision making bodies, and not as monolithic cultures.

Cultural interaction is also used in order to reach potential understandings of the influences responsible for change or consistency in identity expression practices. In the past, discussions of cultural change were framed around the concepts of “Romanization” and “Hellenization”. ‘Romanization’, as conceived by Haverfield at the beginning of the 20th century, represented a model of progressive change in indigenous communities where local native groups became increasingly ‘Roman’ and less ‘barbarian’ (Haverfield 1915, 10; Hingley 1996, 38-9; 2005, 14-16). Although ‘Romanization’ continued to be employed as a model for cultural change by scholars in the decades following Haverfield, much of its connotation of moral and social progress was lost (Hingley 1996, 39). Instead ‘Romanization’ came to be used as a term to explain the process of acculturation and the willing adoption of traits of Roman culture by highest social classes who then disseminated the new beliefs, attitudes, ideas, language and material to the rest of the population (Hingley 1996, 39-40; 2005, 15-16). Another characteristic of the theory of ‘Romanization’ was its tendency to focus “upon coherent and monolithic cultural units (or peoples)” (Hingley 2005, 31). That is to say, this theory was predisposed to see the Roman Empire, as well as other cultural groups or units, as a concrete, static and single reality readily identifiable and separable from other cultural units (Barrett 1997: 59-60; Hingley 1996, 39). The process of ‘Romanization’ was therefore also seen as a single generalized and standardized process (Mattingly 1997b, 9). This resulted in the tendency for the scholars of Roman provincial settings to create ‘historical’ narratives beginning with the pre-Roman population and working teleologically through the conquest of the territory to the waxing and waning of Roman Imperial power and presence in the area (Revell 2009, 4).

Over the past three decades, an increasing number of scholars, most notably, David Mattingly (1997, 2006, 2011), Richard Hingley (1996, 2005), Jane Webster (1996), and Greg Woolf, (1994, 1997) have engaged in critiques of the theory of 'Romanization' and worked to create new theories to more accurately reflect the complex reality of cultural contact, influence and acculturation. The theory of 'Romanization' emphasizes cultural influence as a unilateral process, rather multi-directional (Mattingly 1997b, 9). This theory also did not take into account the heterogeneity of experience but created an underlying assumption that the cultural contact between local groups and Romans was experienced uniformly (Mattingly 1997b, 9; Revell 2009, ix).The working theoretical perspective on cultural interaction I will employ, therefore, will not involve the use of 'Romanization', but will concentrate instead on exploring the complex nature and multi-directional influence that results from contact between different cultures.

I supplement this theory with David Mattingly's notion of 'discrepant experiences' (Mattingly 1997, 2006, 2010), which posits that different individuals and groups experience and react differently to cultural interaction and dominance. This contradicts previous habit of scholars of assuming a homogeneity of response among indigenous populations, generally representing the elite perspective and overlooking the diverse ways in which different socio-economic groups may react to the same situation. Mattingly's discrepant experience theory entails the exploration of different narratives in the past, looking beyond the simple dichotomy of ruler and ruled (or Romans and natives) and including all the possible varied reactions and impacts of cultural contact, influence, and colonialism (Mattingly 2010, 29). Instead of focusing on the comparison of pre- and post-Roman cultural transformation, as has been the traditional focus of cultural interaction studies in the Roman provinces (Revell 2009, ix), I concentrate on the heterogeneity of experience, focusing on the variation both within and between groups and communities throughout the late Hellenistic and Roman periods in Thessaly.

In discussing cultural change in ancient societies, the idea of intentionality is often at the crux of the debate. While some scholars such as Millett proposed elite-driven change, where the upper echelons of society adopt new behaviours and materials, which are emulated by the rest of the population, others such as Haverfield suggested that local adoption of 'Roman' practices or materials represented a conscious effort on the part of local inhabitants to become 'Roman' (Hingley 1996, 38-40). Still others, such as

Harris, insist that the process was imposed by the conquering powers and was part of a systematic and intentional creation of empire (Mattingly 2011, 15-16). As Revell suggests, the level of intentionality or conscious awareness of becoming Roman is neither relevant, nor helpful (Revell 2009, 10-12). Regardless of whether it was intentional or not, local individuals and populations adapted their way of life, to varying degrees, as a result of their awareness (on a practical knowledge level) that new behaviours and materials were required to conduct their daily lives within the new imperial context (Revell 2009, 11). What is important is that, despite the level of intentionality, the behaviours of individuals and groups, living within different communities in different parts of the Empire, in some way reified and reproduced the Roman system and power, regardless of whether or not they understood and accepted the ideologies that informed the practices and material (Revell 2009, 10-12). Through the reproduction of the Roman social structure, individuals and groups became constrained by new ways of being and understanding which, through the processes of hegemonic and imperialistic cultural contact, bound the peoples of the Roman empire together on both a local and a 'global' level (Revell 2009, 10-11). The carrying out of daily activities in the local context connects people through the participation in the same discourses, while at the global level, the social structure of the Roman empire placed constraints and limits on acceptable behaviour, in addition to creating an "empire-wide level of shared experience and imagined commonality" (Revell 2009, 11).

Related to 'intentionality of empire', and equally as important to discuss are the concepts of imperialism and hegemony. Imperialism can be narrowly defined as "…the process and attitudes by which an empire is established and maintained" (Mattingly 2010: 6), while an empire refers to unequal power relationships in which one state imposes control over others (Champion and Eckstein 2004: 3; Kallet-Marx 1995: 3; Mattingly 2010: 6). This 'control' takes many forms and may include a combination of military conquest, direct annexation, economic exploitation, enslavement, political or economic reorganisation or control and other forms of dominance against the consent of the dominated state (Champion and Eckstein 2004: 3; Mattingly 2010: 6). Additionally, in definitions of empire one can speak of core and periphery units, where the core area represents the dominant state which directly controls the subjugated peripheral zones (Scheidel 2006: 1-3). It is important to note that the process by which one state is forcibly subjugated and controlled by another is not homogenous or static, but varies through time and place (Kallet-Marx 1995: 3-5; Mattingly 2010: 6, 17). It is a dynamic

process which could be and was adapted to accommodate for changing circumstances. Hegemony, on the other hand, generally refers to a more indirect system of control in which one state may control external rather than internal policy of others, whether autonomous or nominally independent or client states (Champion and Eckstein 2004: 3; Scheidel 2006: 3-4).

Although many scholars will distinguish between hegemony and imperialism and others will conflate the two into one all encompassing definition of dominance and control, I propose a different approach to viewing political and economic dominance of one state over another. I interpret hegemony and imperialism as two ends of a sliding scale in the process of control in which imperialism represents the stronger form with direct territorial acquisition/annexation and direct control over internal and external political and economic policy, while hegemony corresponds to the weaker form where the influence of a dominant state results in less intentional and purposeful political, economic, social and/or cultural control. Between these two poles exists a plethora of other situations where a combination of direct and indirect control can be employed both against and with the consent of the peripheral or subordinate states. When discussing the Roman influence in Thessaly this definition is more appropriate since Roman policy in Thessaly, and Greece in general, underwent a process of development which was dynamic and non-linear (Kallet-Marx 1995: 4; Revell 2009: 23). Our heuristic chronological divisions of the Roman empire contributes to the perpetuation of teleological sequence of the development of the Roman empire (Revell 2009: 23-4). The creation of the Roman Empire was not a linear uniform sequence of events but rather was the result of a very complex series of factors including, but not limited to, internal and external tensions and conflicts, changing social organisation, ambitious individuals, ideological frameworks, military and tactical organisation and so on. It is essential to remember that the process of change from the Republic to the Empire took place over hundreds of years and conditions in one period cannot be extrapolated simplistically onto other periods (Revell 2009: 24. As with other provincial settings, the nature of Roman involvement in Thessalian affairs was characteristically different in the 2nd century BCE under the Republic than it was in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE under the Empire and therefore it is important to consider the specific context of hegemonic or imperialistic relations when studying any Roman provincial setting.

The final terms to define for this thesis are related to the strategies individuals and groups used to negotiate their position within society, namely elite, and social mobility,

When using the term ‘mobility’, I refer to the movement of people both physically and in terms of contact, exchange and trade networks, and symbolically, in terms of social mobility. Sorokin’s 1927 *Social Mobility* Social mobility furthermore can be divided into vertical and horizontal movement, vertical assuming the movement upwards in the social ladder, horizontal being used to describe the widening of scales of interaction to include larger networks and connections.

Related to the concept of social mobility and equally as necessary to define is a term, which is very often used without considering the implications, ‘elite’. In this work I use the term to differentiate the wealthy influential members of society who are prominent in the political and economic activities of the cities and regions in which they lived and operated. I do not use this to refer to a social class or to a specific status existing in the past, or as a value laden term that seeks to establish the superiority or inferiority of one group of citizens within a *polis* over another. Instead I use elite as a descriptive adjective referring to the wealthy and political dominant individuals and families. It is these individuals who were engaged in the political, philosophical, ethical and historical literary traditions of Greece, and who dominated the magistracies and were the most visible individuals in terms of epigraphic, literary and even often archaeological material. This term is used as an expedient to avoid cumbersome descriptions when referring to these individuals as a group.

3.2 Sources of Data and Methodological Approach

The data used for my research can be separated into three broad types: primary sources (including textual, epigraphic and numismatic data), secondary sources (including excavation and survey reports, museum catalogues and published works) and additional sources (which include personal visits to archaeological sites in Thessaly and discussions with local archaeological authorities of the Greek Ephoria as well as specialists in Thessalian archaeology). A brief discussion of each type of evidence follows.

3.1.1 Primary Sources

Textual Sources - As mentioned above in the literature review section there are several

ancient authors that engaged specifically with the topic of Greece in the Roman period. Both Greek and Roman authors writing in different genres are represented.

Table 3.1 – Literary Sources on Roman Greece

Author	Language (citizenship)	Time Frame	Genre
Polybius	Greek	203-122 BCE	History
Cicero	Roman	106-43 BCE	Philosophy, politics, law, oratory
Strabo	Greek	64/63 BCE – 24 CE	Geography
Livy	Roman	59 BCE – 17 CE	History
Pliny the Elder	Roman	23 -79 CE	Natural history
Dio Chrysostom	Greek	40-120 CE	History, philosophy
Plutarch	Greek (Roman citizen)	46-120 CE	History, biography
Tacitus	Roman	56-117 CE	History
Suetonius	Roman	69-122 CE	History, biography
Appian	Greek (Roman citizen)	95-165 CE	History
Pausanias	Greek (citizenship uncertain)	111-180 CE	Geography
Aelius Aristides	Greek (Roman Citizen)	117-181 CE	Oratory, philosophy
Apuleius	Roman/Numidian	124-170 CE	Prose
Cassius Dio	Greek (Roman Senator)	155-235 CE	History
Philostratus	Greek (Roman citizen)	170/172 – 247/250 CE	Biography, philosophy
Aelian	Greek (Roman Citizenship)	175-235 CE	History

These sources are easily accessible, but they do not form a large portion of the data used for my project. I have used them to illuminate, contrast, or support other types of data. The main reason for not relying heavily on the literary texts is their inherent biases. These authors were elite members of society and were writing for an audience of peers. Their works therefore represent the view of only a single stratum of society (also a numerical minority). Furthermore, as mentioned in the literature review section in Chapter 2, biases are introduced in the form of literary agendas, which are specific to each genre. These biases do not preclude the use of such sources but do necessitate caution and judicious use in their application.

Epigraphic Sources – Tombstones, honorary dedications, proxeny decrees, citizenship grants

Thessaly has produced over 8000 pieces of epigraphic evidence widely ranging in theme, medium, date, and context. These inscriptions will provide an extremely important section of my data as they provide invaluable information for a more diverse section of the population than literary evidence. Research on the Thessalian epigraphy

took a major step forward at the start of the 20th century with Kern's 1908 *Inscriptiones Thessaliae* (*IG* IX.2), which consolidated the known epigraphic evidence from Thessaly into a volume that is both accessible and intelligible, and still forms the major publication used for epigraphic studies of Thessaly. Since then, hundreds of inscriptions have been added, appearing in monographs (for example the Gonnoi series edited by Helly), journals, and the prolific studies of Thessalian epigraphy by the scholars associated with the HISOMA laboratory at the Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux in Lyon, France, most prominently Richard Bouchon, Bruno Helly, Jean-Claude Decourt, Laurence Darmezin, José Luis Garcia-Ramón, Gerard Lucas, and Anthanasios Tziafalias. In the near fifty years they have been working in the region they have added much valuable insight into such varied topics as: epigraphy, geography, demographics (for example Helly, 1983a), administrative and political events and processes and social institutions such as manumission and the position of the *penestai* (serfs) within society (for example Bousquet 1971; Ducat 1994; Helly 1975; Pouilloux 1955; Rensch 1908), territorial borders and locations of settlements and *poleis* (Example: Decourt 1990a, 1990b; Helly, 1970b, 1973, 1979, 1980, 1984, 1991). The work carried out by these scholars will be instrumental in the interpretation of my epigraphic data.

The general approach I have taken is quantitative and comparative. I have analysed the inscriptions dating from the pre-Classical to the Late Roman period in order to investigate identity expression and social strategy use patterns. Funerary data (1,150 inscriptions) will be utilized for the identity analysis, while honorary decrees, grants, statues and altars (360 inscriptions) will be used for the analysis on social strategies.

The final topic to discuss in terms of the methodology taken for the epigraphic data relates to the issue of representativeness. As is the case with nearly all archaeological and epigraphic data, the current available material is not necessarily reflective of the ancient reality, both in terms of quantity and distribution. Many inscriptions registered at Larissa at the end of Ottoman rule lack details on origins and therefore creating a false distribution weighted towards Larissa. It is quite possible that many of the inscriptions attributed to Larissa in fact should be provenanced to nearby cities such as Phalanna, Argoussa, Gyrton, Kondaia, Krannon and so on (Helly 1987a, 93; Wolters 1979, 90, note 30). The analysis of the geographic distribution, therefore,

will lack some representativeness of the ancient reality, the nature of ancient archaeological and epigraphic evidence signifies that this problem is not unique to Thessaly. By incorporating even problematic data I attempt to make to best use of the available data. It should be kept in mind, however, that the high numbers attested at Larissa, and Demetrias, as well as the low numbers attributed to other Thessalian cities, are likely not representative of the complete ancient epigraphic corpora of these cities. Many ancient documents were reused, some may have been destroyed in lime kilns, and many others undoubtedly remain undiscovered. The limitations of the data will be discussed in further detail in section 5.3.

Despite the inability to claim representativeness for the epigraphic evidence, it is nevertheless an important step in determining whether patterns are identifiable in the distribution of identity expression trends over time and space. If every lacuna or bias potentially present in an epigraphic dataset was used as a reason for not including said data, the ability to investigate the ancient world through the documents left behind would be completely negated. By identifying and keeping in mind the potential biases, epigraphic data can illuminate trends in distribution which can then be used to answer socially based questions such as the ones forming the core of this research.

Archaeological Sites –survey and excavation reports

The data collected for the analysis of settlement and land use patterns was drawn from archaeological sources. Here a distinction is drawn between archaeological results (published in the form of excavation and survey reports, site or museum catalogues) and interpretive publications. The former represent primarily archaeological data that are presented in a more or less undigested raw format, whereas the latter reflect synthesized and interpreted data thus representing a secondary source.

Excavation reports will inevitably form a large part of my data set. A number of Hellenistic and Roman period sites in Thessaly have been excavated, although the proportion of intensive excavation is low in comparison to other areas of Greece such as Attica. Additionally, the type of excavation conducted varies between rescue excavations conducted by the Greek Ephoria and Greek and foreign university excavation projects. The same situation exists for survey data in that survey projects undertaken represent both government and university-led projects.

While the contributions by foreign scholars is certainly invaluable for anyone

studying Thessaly, a large part of the archaeological excavations and surveys have been conducted by members of the Greek archaeological service. At the beginning of the 20th century, Apostolos Arvanitopoulos, as Ephor of Thessaly, and his successor Nikolaos Giannopoulos, although involved in few actual excavations, published prolifically on both epigraphy and archaeology, primarily in the archaeological journal Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς, forming an essential corpus for Thessalian studies. The Ephoreia of Volos served as the principle archaeological service in Thessaly, in addition to the Ephoreia of Lamia, until after 1974 with the creation of the Ephoreia of Larissa and Karditsa, and more recently Trikala. The work of the service continues to be essential; much of the work is published only in Greek in the archaeological journal Ἀρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον and a few monographs published by the ministry such as Ἀρχαίες πόλεις Θεσσαλίας και περιοίκων περιοχών (2012), Ἀπό το ἀνασκαφικό έργο των ἐφορειών ἀρχαιοτήτων 2000-2010 (2012), Διεθνές συνέδριο για την αρχαία Θεσσαλία στη μνήμη του Δημήτρη Ρ. Θεοχάρη: Πρακτικά (1992), Θεσσαλία: ιστορία και πολιτισμός (2009). In recent years more publications in other languages including French, English, German and Italian have been added. The publications of the three international conferences on Thessaly and central Greece, Αρχαιολογικό έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας: Πρακτικά επιστημονικής συνάντησης 1 (2006), 2 (2009) and 3 (2012), in addition to the annual *Archaeological Reports* published in London (in English), have resulted in a much needed increase in access to data and a dissemination of knowledge on this area of Greece not previously available to non-Greek speakers.

Two major concerns are raised by the archaeological data. First, the different regions of Thessaly have not been studied equally, resulting in areas with more available data than others. This is noticeable in particular in certain peripheral regions, which have far less available published data than Pelasgiotis, Phthiotis, Magnesia, Perrhaibia and Achaia Phthiotis. The differential nature of archaeological studies also needs to be taken into consideration, and a certain amount of flexibility with the data is necessary. Secondly, different qualities of publications have been produced, some of which provide exceptionally detailed information about the excavated or surveyed site, while others report not much more than a site's existence, location and dates. These issues are discussed in detail in section 4.1.

There are inherent biases built into the process of field survey in terms of material

collected. First, since material from survey is predominantly pottery, which is used for dating purposes, the collection of sherds deemed diagnostic of particular time periods is usually given precedence (Bowman and Wilson 2009, 6, note 24; Foxhall 2004, 250-1). Furthermore, the ceramic styles of some periods (especially Classical and Late Roman) are more noticeable than others and thus are more likely to be collected (Foxhall 2004, 251). Lastly, pottery found during survey generally represents discard or refuse (Foxhall 2004, 251). In other words, material that was no longer in use that was broken, thrown away, or left behind when a site was abandoned. This results in a biased data set which can skew results to favour one period over another due to discard patterns and ease of material visibility, recognition and collection (Foxhall 2004, 251). The same can be said, on the other hand, for excavated materials, since objects that were portable and usable were generally removed, except in the cases of catastrophic or sudden site destruction or abandonment. This is not to say that survey material should not be used, only that a certain degree of caution needs to be employed when interpreting land use or settlement patterns through time based on survey material. The best way to counter these in-built biases is to incorporate as many forms of data as possible, including literary sources, excavation data, iconography, epigraphy, and numismatics.

The remainder of this thesis consists of data analysis and discussions, beginning with an investigation of the settlement and land use patterns in Chapter 4, creating the physical context for the following chapters. The abandonment and continuation of sites, and the observable trends in the settlement patterns and land use are presented in order to better understand the nature of change over time. In Chapter 5, I focus on expression of identities and on how this changed over time, focusing particularly on civic identity as expressed in the funerary stele of Thessaly. Through the proxy of grants of honours, Chapters 6 and 7 explore how groups and individuals used their civic identities to employ a variety of mechanisms to negotiate their social, political and economic status within the context of the altered physical and socio-political landscapes. Chapter 8 finishes by contextualizing the Thessalian results within the framework of regions of the Roman province of Achaia in order to illuminate regional variation and universal characteristics of the impact of, and response to, increasing cultural contact and foreign domination.

Part B: Data Analysis, Discussion and Conclusions

Chapter 4: Settlement Patterns and Land Use in Thessaly

To understand the complex situation in Thessaly in the Roman period that arose partly as a result of the conflicts of the previous centuries, it is necessary to first start with the changes in the use of land and the organization of occupation. I have therefore created a physical contextual framework for the following chapters by investigating settlement and land use patterns. I begin by outlining the data sources and methodologies used for this analysis, followed by a brief overview of the general situation, and finish by identifying patterns of continuity and change in the periods under study, the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE. Maps and site catalogues for each period will accompany the description of settlement patterns in order to facilitate the visualization of the nature of occupation in Thessaly during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The mapping of settlement patterns is essential for the visualization of archaeological data, but also for the contextualization of political, social, cultural and economic phenomena in order to investigate the relationship between settlement pattern change, inter and intra-*polis* interaction, boundaries, and mobility. Furthermore, by mapping settlement patterns over time it is possible to answer the traditional claims made, from antiquity to the current day, of the Roman period as one of decline and depopulation. In addition, it is through the localization of habitation sites in space that a visualization of networks and interactions is possible. Spatial mapping of networks, associations, movement of people, goods and even ideas can aid in understanding how and why social, political and economic networks, associations and interactions may have changed over time. While socio-political and economic changes within a given culture in terms of its institutions and practices may not have a direct causal relationship with settlement patterns, it is possible to see both as factors both influencing and influenced by the wider geo-political setting. My approach combines the analysis of settlement patterns and socio-political and economic characteristics within a framework that highlights the dynamic nature of responses to hegemonic and imperialistic control.

Finally I present a synthesis of the abandonment and continuation of sites, and the observable trends in the settlement patterns and land use in the region as a whole, in order to create a coherent physical picture of Thessaly throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

This chapter is divided into several sections: first, a discussion of the data sources selected and the methodologies employed in order to contextualize the analysis of settlement and land use patterns; second, the specific methodologies used for the visual presentation of these data; third, general trends in settlement and land use patterns from prehistory to late antiquity; fourth, settlement and land use patterns in the Hellenistic and Roman periods; finally, a discussion of the implications of the results.

4.1 Mapping Data and Methodology

Information on the locations of physical ruins and the existence of ancient places has been drawn from epigraphic, literary, early geographical surveys and archaeological data. Maps defining the names and locations of ancient settlements in Thessaly are not lacking, although most of these are deficient in some way. The *Barrington Atlas* (Talbert 2000) theoretically represents the most up to date map covering central Greece including Thessaly, but it is not as up to date as it first appears. The sources used for the mapping of ancient settlements are based predominantly on the publications of early travellers such as Leake's *Travels in Northern Greece* (1835), and the early 20th century publications of the antiquarian scholars Stählin (1924) and Kip (1910), whose identifications of visible ruins with known ancient settlements formed the first maps of ancient Thessaly. More recent scholars have since engaged with these, primarily in attempts to either corroborate or contradict their attributions of names to archaeological sites (Bequignon 1937; Darmezin 1994; Decourt 1990; Decourt et Mottas 1997; di Salvatore 1994; Helly 1991, 1995, 1999, 2006, 2008b, 2009; Intzesiloglou 1994; Lucas 1991, 1994, 1997) Other major sources consulted for the production of the Thessaly section of the Barrington maps are the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini*, an anachronistic source for the study of Thessaly in all periods except the Late Antique, and the Pauly-Wissowa *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft,* which reports mainly epigraphic and literary evidence. A few sources, such as Lauffer's 1989 *Griechenland: Lexikon der historischen Stätten* and Philippson's 1950 *Die griechischen*

Landschaften on Thessaly and the Spercheios Valley, as well as publications by Helly (1992), Decourt (1990) and Bequignon (1937) are again based predominantly on epigraphic data, although a small amount of archaeological survey and excavation data are included. The only archaeologically based sources that the Barrington reports are Leekley and Efstratiou's *Archaeological excavations in central and Northern Greece* (1980), a single volume of the Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον and a single volume of *Archaeological Reports*. Aside from these two volumes of archaeological journals, the majority of archaeological data, particularly those in Greek publications, has been overlooked or subsumed into more general sources cited. A more serious problem with using the *Barrington* is its agglomeration of sites from the Archaic through the Late Antique period, which, as a result, gives no indication of changing occupation patterns throughout time. In fact, the Barrington gives a distorted impression of Thessalian settlement patterns, creating a palimpsest of sites that are seemingly contemporary but in reality could be hundreds of years apart.

The *Barrington* is not the only map that has been produced of ancient Thessaly. Other maps display ancient settlements both for specific sub-regions and for the whole of Thessaly. For the most part these concentrate on the Classical period, although some cover the early Hellenistic period as well (Decourt 1990; Helly 1991, 1995, 1999, 2006, 2009; Intzesiloglou 1994; Lucas 1991, 1994, 1997). Maps of late Hellenistic and early Roman periods are far less prevalent, appearing in only a selected number of publications (Bequignon 1928, Decourt et Mottas 1997, Decourt 1990, Helly 1994). The Roman period maps that do appear are either combined with the Byzantine period (for example planche XIII in Decourt 1990), thus representing Late Roman settlement patterns and not accurately reflecting the continuously changing nature of settlement patterns in this period. Other maps of the Roman period were designed to highlight specific features such as roads and milestones (for example Decourt and Mottas 1997), routes taken during the different Roman military campaigns (Bequignon 1928; Decourt 1990), or territorial divisions (Helly 1995, 2006). Some have used the Classical and Hellenistic maps as a base without taking into account the changes in settlement patterns, or present only the relevant territory under study (Darmezin 1992, 1994, Decourt 1990, di Salvatore 1994, Lucas 1997).

Another disadvantage of the existing maps of Thessaly concerns the types of sites that are selected for inclusion. Many only include sites that can be correlated with an

ancient name and therefore disregard a large number of archaeologically identified but anonymous sites. Furthermore, it is predominantly nucleated settlements that have been mapped, and small-scale rural habitations or farmsteads are left out. In the majority of the existing maps, it is primarily the *poleis* that are mapped, sometimes including a small number of secondary nucleated sites. *Poleis* and smaller nucleated settlements are only a part of the settlement and land use patterns in Greek antiquity. By leaving out the small sites, the resulting impression is one of a relatively emptier landscape than was in fact the reality.

What is lacking are maps created for the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods which incorporate all forms of data, literary, epigraphic, numismatic and archaeological, in order to create the best representation possible of the different types of sites that together formed the settlement and land use patterns. A much more representative series of maps can be created by incorporating the publications of the Copenhagen *Polis* Centre (Hansen and Nielsen 2004), the Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée (Bruno Helly 1991, 1995, 1999 2000, 2006, 2009; Jean-Claude Decourt 1990, 1999; Decourt et al. 2004; Laurence Darmezin 1992, 1999; Gérard Lucas 1992; and Floriana Cantarelli 1999, 2008) with the early 20th century works of Stählin, Kip, Bequignon and Arvanitopoulos, supplemented by the publications of the surveys and rescue excavations conducted by various members of the Greek archaeological service (currently the 13th, 14th, 15th and 34th Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities covering the respective areas of Volos, Lamia, Larisa and Karditsa) appearing in various archaeological journals, monographs, and conference proceedings. I will now briefly provide an overview of the challenges faced and the methodological approaches taken to resolve them.

4.1.1 Inclusiveness and Representativeness of Sample

The current state of archaeological investigations in Thessaly makes it difficult to make any assertions about the comprehensiveness of any maps that have been produced. Some areas are particularly difficult to access (such as the mountainous zones) and have received far less attention than agricultural or urbanized/developed areas. Due to the rescue nature of work conducted by the Thessalian archaeological authorities, urbanized areas are necessarily overrepresented in the publications.

Furthermore, attention has been most heavily placed on the larger, urbanized sites, resulting in a far from complete picture of the smaller nucleated and rural settlements, especially those in the mountainous regions. While many publications focus on the epigraphy, archaeology and history of large, well known sites such as Larissa, Demetrias, Hypata, Pharsalos, Atrax, Gonnoi and so on, smaller sites often receive no more than a brief mention of their existence in either *Archaeological Reports*, or the Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον. While I was successfully able to identify and map a large number of sites not mentioned in the *Barrington Atlas* or other maps of ancient Thessaly, it is not possible to know how representative this sample was to the ancient reality. Certainly we can expect that areas that have been more intensely surveyed or excavated will show a greater site density. This is, of course, not a problem unique to Thessaly. Nonetheless, I have identified and mapped 324 sites in Thessaly, a number certainly sufficient to claim representativeness if not inclusiveness.

4.1.2 Attribution of Ancient Place Names

Like many regions of the Greek world, the attribution of ancient place names to physical ruins in Thessaly are not secure. Most of the sites in the region have been identified on the basis of a combination of archaeological, epigraphic, numismatic and literary data and therefore it is likely that the many of the attributions are correct and that the archaeological ruins do indeed represent the ancient places attributed to them. While some scholars have focused on individual regions of Thessaly (Darmezin 1992; 1994 on the region of the *Chassia* and *Antichassia* mountains; Decourt 1990 on the Enipeus Valley; and Helly 1992 on Dolopia), no comprehensive study has been conducted on the archaeological remains of a region, such as Cantarelli et al. (2008) produced for Achaia Phthiotis. Furthermore, many of the identifications of archaeological sites with ancient settlement names have resulted from the recovery of epigraphic data. In the cases where no inscriptions aid in identification, spatial analysis techniques were employed, primarily nearest neighbour Thiessen polygons, in order to determine the likely location of a site based on the theoretical territories of other, known, sites (Auda, Darmezin, Decourt, Helly and Lucas 1990, Darmezin 1992, 1994, Decourt 1990, Decourt and Darmezin 1999, Di Salvatore 1994, Lucas 1997, Helly 1995, 1999, 2006). An example of this approach can be seen in the ancient cities

Pelinna, Pharkadon, Peirasia, Limnaion and Phakion. Scholars still cannot agree to which archaeological sites they should be assigned. The identification of the archaeological remains of *Zarko* as Phayttos and *Trikala* as Trikka are secured on the basis of epigraphic data found on site, however, the sites located between the two, namely Pelinna and Pharkadon, are less secure. Traditionally, Pelinna is assigned to the remains at *Petroporo* and Pharkadon to those at *Klokoto*. This is still debated by the scholars working in the area (Decourt and Darmezin 1999, 89-91); Helly and Bouchon prefer to attribute the ruins at *Vlochos* as Phakion rather than Limnaion as per Decourt, placing Limnaion at the site of *Klokoto*, where Decourt identifies ancient Pharkadon (Decourt 1990, Bouchon, personal correspondence June 19, 2014). Peirasia has been identified as the name of the city to which the ruins of various locations have been attributed over the years including *Vlochos* (Stählin 1924, 134), *Sykeon* (Decourt 1990, 162-74), and, most recently in light of the discovery of a roof tile stamped with the city's name, *Ermitsi* (Hatziangelakis 2008, 319).

In the databases for settlement patterns, archaeological sites known only by their modern toponyms are labelled in italics in order to allow easy identification of ancient versus modern place names.

4.1.3 Site Size, Categories, and Political Status

In the production of this series of maps, I have first divided the sites into categories of major nucleated settlements, small rural sites, bath complexes, fortifications, sanctuary/temple sites and unknown site types. Cemeteries are not included in this study, primarily because of considerations of time and space. In addition, there are several scholars, including Maria Stamatopoulou, who are currently working on analysis of cemeteries throughout Thessaly. While the information from burial places could be potentially illuminating and add information regarding the use of land, it is a topic for future research.

I have chosen not to discriminate between size and political status (i.e. status as a *polis*) of nucleated settlements, because of the inherent difficulty of determining relative site size in an area not thoroughly surveyed or excavated. While the Copenhagen *Polis* Centre's inventory does differentiate between *polis* and non-*polis* sites, these attributions are made primarily on the basis of literary and epigraphic references which

refer specifically to a given site as a *polis*, or by inference through the presence of city *ethnika* (Hansen 2004, 55- 66). Given the fragmentary and biased nature of literary and epigraphic sources, it is often not possible to determine that a given site did not have the status of *polis* only because it is not referred to as such. Furthermore, even when *polis* status is indicated, the evidence available is not usually sufficient to determine the status was held continuously. To avoid this difficulty, include all sites with evidence for nucleated settlement within the same category.

Similarly I have included all small rural sites (with no evidence for nucleation) into one category because of the difficulty of determining the exact nature of small rural sites. Because the majority of these rural sites have been located either by rescue excavations or surveys, or through ploughing of private fields, it is often not possible to determine whether these sites represented individual farmsteads or a small agglomeration of several structures including habitation and production buildings; therefore they will all be identified in my maps as rural sites without further differentiation. It should be noted that for the identification of a rural site, I have not included those instances where only a small quantity of isolated finds of pottery and other small finds have been located, but only sites where architectural features, such as walled structures, have been identified by the researchers. The presence of walls and built structures at the majority of Thessalian sites enables more secure identification of ancient sites than reliance on sherd scatter alone. I have used this methodology in an attempt to minimize a major drawback of survey data, which can result in the identification of sites based on the presence of pottery which in reality may have reflected artefact scatters from nearby sites or be the result of disposal patterns or other activities in the past which do not necessarily indicate the existence of an occupied site. I have employed a different symbol for these rural sites and the same method is followed for fortifications.

Fortified sites are very common in Thessaly and represent both fortified settlements and isolated fortifications. In the case of nucleated settlements that were provided with fortification walls and towers, these sites are included as part of the settlement type. On the other hand, isolated fortifications, present particularly in the mountainous regions surrounding the two Thessalian plains and identified by the researchers as forts by the presence of small scale walled structures, are given their own discrete category, as these sites are characteristically distinct from nucleated

settlements, functioning primarily as control points for mountain passes, defensive structures or rest-stops. Since it is not possible, based on the current state of research into these structures in Thessaly, to differentiate site function, I have included them all under the heading of fortifications based on the researchers' identifications. It should be noted, however, that some of these sites may not have functioned as defensive structures. Bath complexes, particularly in the Roman period, are sometimes identified, often with no other accompanying evidence of habitation and where this is the case I have used yet another symbol on the maps. The map legends detail the symbols used for different site types. Where the type or nature of a small scale settlement cannot be identified, I have used again a different symbol to indicate this.

4.1.4 Precise Location of Sites

Determining the precise location of archaeological sites was one of the most challenging difficulties encountered in the production of the maps. Very few publications provide exact coordinates (only Cantarelli 2008 included GPS coordinates for archaeological sites, aside from Decourt 1990 who used a system of coordinates based on a series of American maps which were never published and are no longer available).[Decourt personal correspondence, 2014-06-30]. Most publications use modern toponyms and geographical descriptions to identify the location of a site, accompanied by maps of varying levels of accuracy. The description of locations are sometimes quite accurate and easy to determine, while at other times are quite vague, making it difficult to ascertain the precise location (this occurs frequently with smaller sites where archaeological remains were located on a hill near a village, sometimes known by locals by a specific name not labelled on the accompanying maps). The major nucleated settlements, particularly those with a secure attribution of an ancient place name, are generally easily identifiable. The Pleiades project, a joint project of the Ancient World Mapping Centre, the Stoa Consortium, and the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, has produced an interactive atlas on their website, which provides coordinates for mapped sites as well as a digital map of the ancient Mediterranean, based on Michael McCormick, Guoping Huang, Kelly Gibson *et al*.'s *Digital Atlas of Roman and Medieval Civilizations,* Harvard University Centre for Geographic Analysis and Richard Talbert's *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World,* (2000).

Although, as discussed above, the Barrington Atlas is rather problematic, it is useful for obtaining precise coordinates for the major sites that have been included in the map. In addition, a recent website produced by the ΥΠΠΟΑ/ Αρχαιολογικό Ινστιτούτο Θεσσαλικών Σπουδών, a Special Regional Service of the Ministry of Culture (http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr/home.html), has produced maps of Thessaly using Google Earth as its background which provides the location as well as some photographic details of the major nucleated settlements. These two digital resources have been instrumental in determining coordinates and mapping the major sites throughout Thessaly. Recently, the Hellenic Ministry of Culture has produced a geo-referenced Catalogue of Archaeological Sites, however, I was unable to access at the time of writing.

Much more challenging was the mapping of smaller nucleated settlements, rural rites and isolated fortifications. These smaller sites are not included in most existing maps, only appearing on a few regionally specific maps (for example, Lucas' 1997 maps of the area surrounding Mount Olympus, Decourt's 1990 maps of the Enipeus Valley, and Helly's 1999 map of the region north of Larissa). Often no specific coordinates are given, but the location is provided instead through geographic descriptions and relative distances from other known sites. Other sites are identified in various publications of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, *Archaeological Reports*, *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, and the "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce" appearing in the *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.* Mention of a site can be as brief as noting its existence and dates of habitation within a few lines, without any accompanying maps or visual imagery. In addition, the last decade has seen major road works in Thessaly (predominantly in the east) as the old national road that connects Athens to Thessaloniki (Εθνική Οδός 1) has been enlarged and replaced by the new A1 motorway (Αυτοκινητόδρομος 1), resulting in the discovery of a number of small, often rural, sites. These sites are located by kilometric position in relation to the start of the motorway in Piraeus. Using Google Street View, I was able to establish a series of points at intervals of 1km in order to locate the position of the archaeological discoveries.

The use of the imagery provided by Google Earth was instrumental in my successful mapping of a large number of these smaller sites. By locating the relevant modern local toponyms and following the geographic descriptions, in most cases I was

able to locate visible archaeological remains with a high level of accuracy, and was subsequently able to obtain latitude and longitude coordinates for the location of the site, which were then recorded in my database. Unfortunately this was not always possible. In the cases where I could not locate visible archaeological remains in the area described, I have chosen to map the point at the location of the toponyms used in the publication of the description of the site location. In some cases this is the nearest village or a specific hill or series of hills or other geographic feature. In these cases, the coordinates in the database will not reflect the exact position of the archaeological remains but will be in close proximity, as the vast majority of these small sites are located well within a kilometre from a modern village. Although this will not be evident in the maps, the level of certainty of the site location has been recorded in the settlement database, including the description of the site location as presented by the publication.

4.1.5 Mapping Platform: Use of Google Earth and Coordinates

Although Google Earth is an extremely useful tool for the mapping of settlements, there are a few accuracy issues that need to be dealt with. First of all, Google Earth obviously represents modern geographical features and since these features, such as forests, marshlands, coastlines, inland bodies of water, and river courses, may have altered since the late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods, its use is limited as it does not necessarily reflect the geographical reality of the period under study. This particular difficulty is partly resolved by using the raster data provided by the Ancient World Mapping Centre at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, and coordinates obtained through the few publications that provide them, and the mapping techniques described above. A map can thus be produced in ArcGIS, which more faithfully represents the locations of the sites within their geographical contexts.

Becek and Ibrahim performed a study designed to test the accuracy of Google Earth coordinates after noticing some errors in the alignment of images patched together (2011, 2-3). Their study consisted of the comparison of the position of control points of 2045 runways to the coordinates provided by the Global Elevation Data Testing Facility (GEDTF) (Becek and Ibrahim 2011, 3-4). When these coordinates were loaded into Google Earth, very few control points lined up exactly, with error ranging from less than 10m and 1676m, with a median disparity of 113m (Becek and Ibrahim 2011, 5).

While this is a seemingly large margin of error, since the aim of this study is to provide a visual representation of settlement patterns over time, Google Earth provides a sufficiently accurate platform for these purposes. A median of 113m is well within an acceptable margin of error, not drastically altering the visualization of the distribution of sites within the landscape. It is nevertheless an important task for the future to obtain more accurate coordinates for the Thessalian sites.

4.1.6 Site Dating

A major hurdle for my analysis lies in the dating of sites by investigators who often date them to broad chronological periods such as “Classical”, “Hellenistic” or “Roman” without explicitly defining the precise chronological span of these periods (Stewart 2013, 3, 10, 36). For one investigator the 1st century BCE may be Late Hellenistic while for another it may already be considered Early Roman. In the sites used in this study, there is a fair amount of overlap between the late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. The primary reason for this is a lack of studies conducted on the pottery and other small finds. Another reason for this difficulty is the nature of the evidence used for dating, especially in relation to survey data. More often than not, dating is based on ceramic seriations developed on the basis of style, production technique, and composition which are applied to the ceramic finds which, since they are found on the surface are often worn, small and frequently non-diagnostic (Stewart 2013, 35). Although this problem is present in my dataset, it is quite limited since systematic surveys have only been conducted in a few areas, primarily Achaia Phthiotis, and while some other areas have been surveyed to some degree (whether by the Lyon équipe or the archaeological authorities of Thessaly), there is usually some other accompanying evidence for dating such as epigraphic and literary references or the presence or existence of coins minted from a given site.

The more serious problem for my analysis are the few cases where it is difficult to determine whether a site ceases to be occupied in the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman periods (2nd century to 1st century BCE). In fact, in some site histories, for example those provided by Cantarelli in her 2008 work on Achaia Phthiotis, some dates are given as Late Hellenistic/Early Roman due to the difficulty on the part of investigators of distinguishing this transitional period based on the available evidence. Despite this

issue of precise dating in the Hellenistic to Roman transitional period, because this study aims to provide an overview of settlement patterns over a period of 400 years and more (from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd/3rd century CE), this problem is overcome by the longue durée of the time period under study. Unfortunately the margin of error that will be present for the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE is unavoidable, but rather than ignoring a large proportion of data because it is somewhat problematic, it is far more productive and useful to include these data with the caveat that it is not as precise as one would ideally like. Until more comprehensive studies are conducted on the ceramic finds from the surveyed sites, particularly for the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, there is no easy way to resolve this issue. Explicitly highlighting this issue, and clearly identifying the cases where there is debate or uncertainty as to the precise date of site abandonment, allows the sites to be included in analysis, despite their problematic nature. Thankfully, the situation becomes much more clear when the Roman Imperial period is represented as a phase of occupation because the material culture is much more readily identifiable.

4.1.7 Site Continuity vs. Site Abandonment/Destruction

Related to the issue of assignment of chronological phases to site occupation is identifying the precise date of abandonment or destruction of a site. In order to determine approximate dates, I have used a combination of archaeological, epigraphic and numismatic material. Alone, none of these forms of data can provide a reliable habitation timeline. Archaeological data for the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods are notoriously difficult to distinguish as (a) definitions vary and (b) architectural and pottery forms overlap in terms of form and style and beyond the all too rare circumstances where a clear destruction event was present, site abandonment was often a gradual process difficult to identify archaeologically. Similarly, the cessation of epigraphy cannot alone be used to indicate site abandonment; the fact that a site is not producing inscriptions, whether public or private, does not necessarily indicate that it is no longer inhabited. Coins are generally good indicators of relative dates of habitation, providing a *terminus post quem* for activities associated archaeologically with the discovery of coins; but they do not provide enough indications about the possible length of habitation after their minting, since coins can and did circulate for a long time after

their production, and were extremely portable objects of value that would not be left behind willingly in most situations. In some cases literary references to site destructions are present and can be quite helpful in determining when a site ceased to be occupied. This is also true for the cases of *synoikismoi* such as at Demetrias and Metropolis. We must be careful about relying wholesale on literary data for such information, it is important to consider literary, archaeological and epigraphic data together to obtain the most accurate picture of the habitation history of a given site. Furthermore, the long time span studied places less weight on individual site histories, in order to illuminate the aggregate picture of settlement and land use patterns over time.

The methodological approach in Chapter 3 was designed to maximize the available data and minimize the margin of error that could result from the problematic nature of some types of data and publications. The methods used resulted in a series of maps, which provide a visual representation of the settlement patterns for the periods under study. The presented in the remainder of this chapter maps will not stand alone, but instead accompany descriptive and quantitative analysis on the settlement patterns of Thessaly. In addition to maps and textual discussion I will provide a series of tables detailing the sites occupied, organized by site type, in each sub-region of Thessaly and as a whole, in order to provide numerical descriptions. This will give a settlement pattern history, which is visual, textual and numerical and represents the available data as accurately as possible.

4.2 General Trends: Land Use

Often in literature discussing economic, dietary and land use systems in ancient Greece, a dichotomy is drawn between agriculture and pastoralism, creating the impression that ancient populations and individuals were engaged primarily with either, but not both (Forbes, 1995, 327). In reality, this binary opposition likely was not representative of the land use and economic strategies employed. While some individuals may have engaged primarily in either agricultural or animal husbandry activities, many would have exploited both resources. Those individuals and families who owned agriculturally viable land would almost certainly have utilized the available land for a variety of crops, this does not exclude the landowners from engaging in

animal husbandry as well.

4.2.1. Land Use: Agricultural

The subsistence and economic reliance on agriculture, oleoculture and viticulture in the ancient Greek economy is well known and beyond doubt, land, necessary for these activities, was one of the most critical economic resources (Foxhall 2002, 210). From the Neolithic period onwards, in Thessaly as in the rest of Greece, the main plant proteins cultivated in ancient Greece were cereals, pulses, fruit trees and nut trees (Megaloudi 2006, 33-66). Many of these plants were used for multiple purposes, such as flax, which was used to produce both oil and fibre (Megaloudi 2006, 56-62).

Very few archaeobotanical studies have been conducted from the Classical period onwards in Greece, and the Roman period is especially poorly studied in this respect. For this reason we must rely on other sources of information in order to reconstruct the patterns of agricultural activities in antiquity and to identify any changes over time..

Literary and epigraphic evidence pointing to agricultural activities in Thessaly are certainly not lacking and, although the dates of the sources often precede or succeed the period under study, combined with other forms of evidence they can help reconstruct the scope and role of these activities. One of the most well-known literary references to agricultural production in Thessaly comes from Xenophon, in the form of a speech attributed to Jason of Pherai that Garsney, Gallant and Rathbone (1984, 30) use as evidence to discuss the agricultural productivity of Thessaly as a grain producer. They report that Jason of Pherai compared Thessaly, an exporter of grain, with Athens, who needs to import it to feed its populace (*Hell.* 6.1.11 in Garsney, Gallant and Rathbone 1984, 30). Furthermore, literary and epigraphic evidence exists for Thessaly exporting grain at different times to Thebes (Xen, *Hell.*, 5. 4- 56), Cos (*RFIC* 62,1934, 169), Athens (Philostr. *VS* 2.27; Helly 2008a, 25-108) and Rome (Garsney, Gallant and Rathbone 1984, 36-7), certainly suggesting that there was enough of a surplus in grain production to allow such exportation, at least periodically. Clearly Thessaly had the potential to produce a large quantity of grain; but this did not mean it was not a victim of crop failures and famines, particularly during periods of extended warfare as was the case in the third and second centuries BCE. Epigraphic evidence from Magnesia, Larissa and Gonnoi attests to food shortages and famines (*IG* IX.2, 1104; *AE* 1910, col.

345 no. 3; *Gonnoi* 2, 41; Garsney, Gallant and Rathbone 1984, 35). Many of these wartime shortages are likely the result not only of the inability to work planted crops, but also due to the scorched earth policy used by many ancient armies, such as by the Macedonians at the start of the 2nd century BCE (Armstrong and Walsh 1986, 40). Additionally, the harvesting of crops by foreign armies to feed their soldiers, a common occurrence in all periods of Thessalian history, but particularly during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE undoubtedly impacted supply. In 171 BCE, Livy reports that the armies of both Perseus and the Romans harvested grain around their camps in order to feed their soldiers and prevent the opposing army from obtaining supplies; at Sykourion in the Tempe valley (Livy, 42.64), Pherai (Livy 42.56.9), Krannon (Livy 42.65.2-3), and Phalanna (Livy 42.65.2-3). Sulla (App., *Mithr*., 30), Caesar (Caes., *B.C*., III, 34), Pompey (Caes., *B.C.*, III, 5), and Mark Antony and Octavian (App., *B.C*., IV, 100, 108, 117), all engaged in this activity during the different campaigns that took place in Thessaly (Westlake 1935, 6, note. 1). Perhaps the abundance of crops, in addition to its strategic advantages, made Thessaly an attractive battlefield as supplies were readily available to feed hungry troops. Another case relating to shortages of grain is documented in relation to Larisa granting citizenship to over 200 individuals at the insistence of Philip V, for the purpose of resuming production of lands left fallow due to the lack of manpower (*IG* IX.2 517; *Anc. Macedonia I* 273-274; *SEG* 3:480; *SEG* 13:389; Salviat and Vatin 1974, 255). In this case warfare was a cause of the shortages, through lack of population and not the appropriation of supplies by occupying armies. The epigraphic and literary sources for Thessaly all suggest the centrality of cereal crops, and the effect of warfare on the stability of agricultural output.

Grain shortages were a result not only of warfare, but also of natural causes such as precipitation levels, temperature, infestation and various crop diseases such as fungal, viral and bacterial infections caused by a variety of factors mostly relating to climate (Garsney, Gallant and Rathbone 1984, 30-5). An inscription from the 320s BCE documents a food crisis: Larissa, Atrax and Meliboia all received grain from Cyrene (*SEG* 9: 2). Three undated identical inscriptions from villages near Larissa, two of which Garnsey, Gallant and Rathbone (1984, 35) use to suggest Thessaly had a tendency to suffer grain shortages, report the existence of the position of *σειτοταμίας* (*IG* IX.2 1029, 1093; *AE* 1933 Chr. 2, 6). The existence of this position of grain treasurer, instead of reflecting a tendency towards periods of shortage, may simply suggest that there existed a need for management and control of these resources, a

financial overseer to determine quantities of surplus, shortage and possible distribution. The inscriptions also do not specify if the position of σειτοταμίας was a local magistracy or a federal position of the Thessalian *koinon*. If the inscriptions were referring to a magistracy of the *koinon*, it would suggest that grain resources were a large enough preoccupation to merit the regional management of the supplies. The difficulty in determining whether it refers to a local or federal position is amplified by its find context. Larissa was the seat of the *koinon* in both its first and second manifestations, and therefore its location cannot help us in determining whether the position related to Larissa as a *polis* or as the seat of the federal league. Other literary references to the management of agricultural land also exist, although they are unfortunately scarce. We are told that the Larissaians created embankments to protect their estates from rising winter water levels, and engaged in draining of marshlands (Theophrast, *C.P*, V.14,2-3; Pliny, *N.H.*, XVII, 30; Westlake 1935, 7).

In terms of the numismatic evidence, the depiction of agricultural produce is relatively common (Rogers 1932, 12). Coin types of the Thessalian *koinon* in the 5th century BCE, and again after its reformation in the second century BCE bear the image of a grain ear (see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 below, see also Appendices 2.1 and 2.2 for sources and images of coins). Coins of Atrax, Skotoussa, Methulion, Pharkadon, and Larissa also exist bearing an image of an ear or seed of grain in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. In addition, in the 1st or 2nd century CE, several older coins from Gyrton, Gomphoi, Metropolis and Larissa were countermarked with an ear of grain from Gyrton (see Tables 4.1 and Figure 4.1 below, see also Appendix 2.1 and 2.2 for sources and images of coins). Moreover, in the 2nd century CE a revival of the Thessalian *koinon* coin type with a grain ear appeared (Stogias 2009, 448-351). In addition to the specific depictions of grain on its own, several deities, particularly Demeter and nymphs appear bearing grain in their hair or hands on coins of various cities (Proerna, Hypata, Larissa, Meliboia, Phakion, and Pherai – see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 below, see also Appendix 2.1 for sources and images of coins)

Depictions of wheat represent the most long standing images used on Thessalian coins, one which is found predominantly in *poleis* located in the lowland plain areas, or in *poleis* immediately bordering the plains, as can be seen from the map below (Figure 4.1). The fact that the first Thessalian *koinon* chose the wheatear as its symbol suggests that it was an important aspect of the self-representation of the area. Wheatears appear

again in the re-founded *koinon* after 197 BCE, either occurring alongside the image of Athena Itonia, or as a countermark during the Roman period.

Figure 4.1 – Distribution of Coin Types

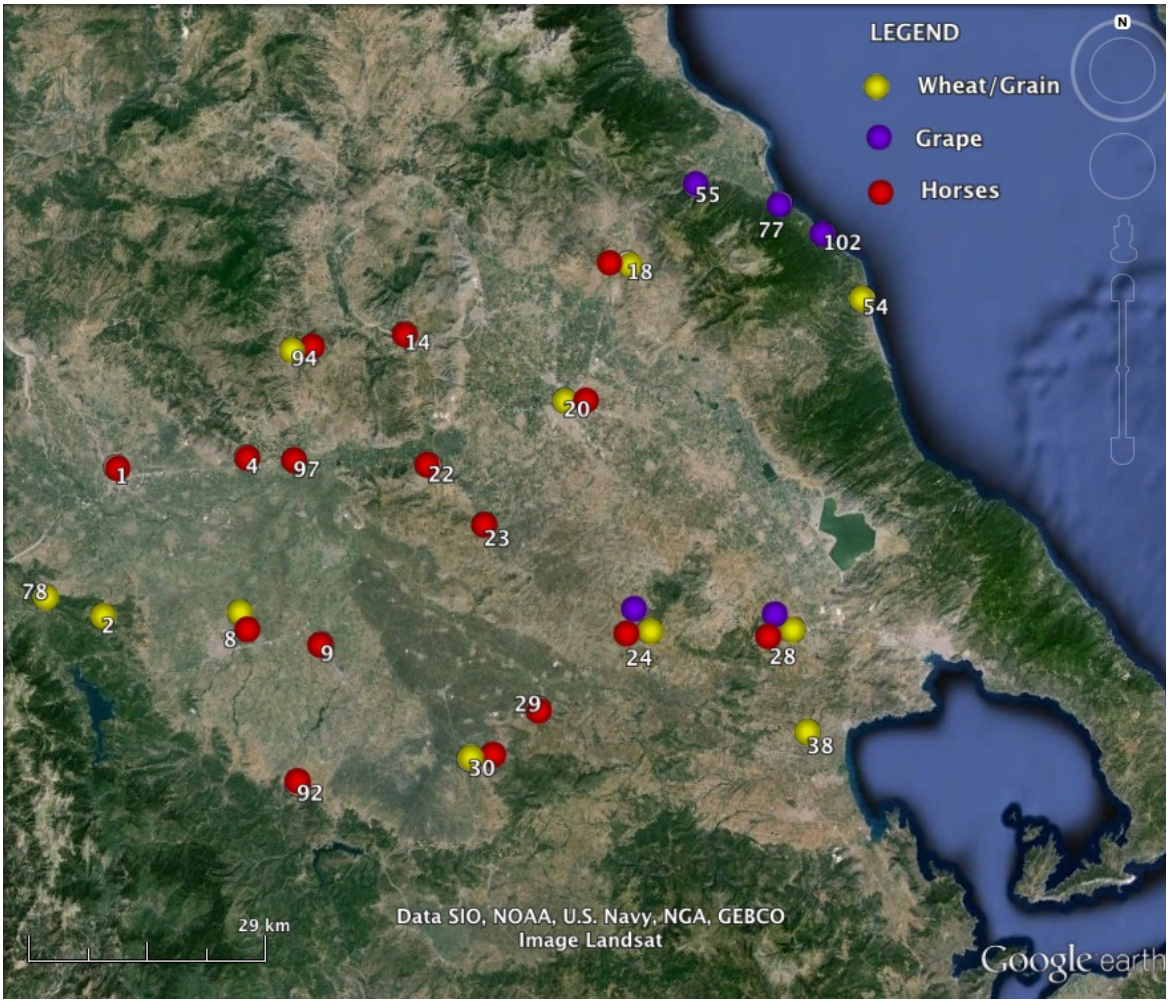


Table 4.1 – Distribution of Coin Types

Polis/ Koinon	**Horse**	**Wheat/Grain**	**Grape**	**Olive**	**Dates**	**Appendix 2.1 and 2.2 Figure nos.**
Thessalian *koinon*	y	y			5th/4th BCE, 2nd BCE to Imperial	2.2: 6-9
Magnesian *koinon*					2nd BCE	2.2: 3, 4
Ainian *koinon*		y			1st BCE	2.2: 1, 2
Oitaian *koinon*			y		3rd/2nd BCE	2.2: 5
Perrhaibian *koinon*	y				5th BCE	2.2: 10

Polis	Horse	Wheat/Grain	Grape	Olive	Dates	Appendix 2.1 and 2.2 Figure nos.
Atrax		y			4th BCE	2.1: 1,2
Demetrias					3rd BCE	2.1: 3
Eurea			y		4th BCE	N/A
Eurymenai			y		4th BCE	2.1: 4
Gomphoi		Y (countermark)			4th/3rd BCE, 1st/2nd CE countermark	2.1: 5, 40
Gonnoi					4th BCE	2.1: 6
Gyrton	y	y (+countermark)			4th BCE - 1st/2nd CE countermark	2.1: 7-9
Halos					3rd BCE	2.1: 10
Homolion			Y		4th BCE	2.1: 41
Iolkos					4th BCE	2.1: 11
Kierion	y				4th BCE	2.1: 12
Krannon	y				4th/3rd BCE	2.1: 13
Larissa	y	y (+countermark)			4th/3rd BCE - 1st/2nd CE countermark	2.1: 14-19
Meliboia		y	y		4th BCE	2.1: 20
Methulion	y	y			5th/4th BCE	2.1: 21, 22
Metropolis		Y (countermark)			1st/2nd CE	2.1: 39
Orthe	y			y	4th/3rd BCE	2.1: 23
Pelinna	y				4th BCE	2.1: 24
Phakion	y	y			3rd BCE	2.1: 25
Phalanna	y				4th BCE	2.1: 26
Pharkadon	y				5th BCE	2.1: 27
Pharsalos	y				5th BCE	2.1: 28, 29
Pherai	y	y	y		5th BCE	2.1: 30-32
Phthiotic Thebes	y	y			3rd BCE	2.1: 33
Proerna		y			3rd BCE	2.1: 34
Rhizous			y		4th BCE	2.1: 35
Skotoussa	y	y	y		5th/4th BCE	2.1: 36, 37
Trikka	y				5th BCE	2.1: 38

Wheat is not the only agricultural product depicted on Thessalian coinage. In the 4th century BCE, several cities minted coins bearing images of grape clusters or vines with grape clusters: Kierion, Meliboia, Eurea (an unallocated Thessalian city, probably in Magnesia),[1] Rhizous, Homolion, Skotoussa, Pherai, and Eurymenai (see table 4.1 and Figure 4.1; see also Appendix 2.1 for sources and Figures of coin types). Images of

[1] See Helly 2004b for discussion of possible locations.

grape vines appear in a cluster along the northern coast of Magnesia, a pattern that led Westlake (1935, 4) to state that grape cultivation took place primarily on the slopes of Mounts Pelion and Ossa. To this we can add Skotoussa on the slopes of Cynoscephalae, and Pherai at the northernmost edge of the Othrys mountains Titanos range that separates the two plains. It should be noted here that although the appearance of grape clusters on coins potentially reflects its prevalence in the local economies of these *poleis*, it is possible that its intention was to represent something else, perhaps an association with the god Dionysos (Helly 2004b, 113). It does seems less likely, however, that the decision to represent the *poleis* by grape clusters alone (without any other indication of a reference to the god) was intended to represent anything other than viticulture activity. The predominance of grape cluster images in Magnesia suggests that this horticultural activity, at least in the earlier periods (the 5th and 4th centuries BCE), was an important aspect of the local economy, important enough to appear as a primary symbol for the *poleis* in the area. Vineyards are also attested in the epigraphic record, evidenced in the letter of Aemilius Paulus to the *tagoi* of Gonnoi (Bouchon 2015, 486-494; Helly 2014) demonstrating that their presence was likely more widespread than our evidence documents.

Archaeological evidence of agricultural activity is not straightforward to identify and, as already mentioned, the lack of systematic intensive surveys in most parts of Thessaly results in difficulty in identifying direct remains of such practices. Some evidence for the processing and storing of agricultural products can be found in the remains of large storage containers such as *pithoi*, such as the 14 or more specimens excavated at *Kastro Kallithea*, possibly ancient Peuma (Haagsma 2013), and the *pithoi* and *pithoi* pits at New Halos (Beestman-Kruyshaar 2003, 85, 92). In addition, grindstones and rubbing stones provide evidence for the processing of agricultural products at *Kastro Kallithea* (Haagsma and Karapanou 2010). Archaeological evidence for the storage and processing of agricultural produce represents only indirect evidence for agricultural production, attesting only to the activities after harvest. The presence of olive presses can be interpreted along these lines, indicating processing of cultivated olives, but without giving any information about whether the olives were cultivated and harvested locally or were imported from other areas. Olive presses have been found in archaeological contexts in several Thessalian *poleis* such as New Halos (Haagsma, 2010, 24), along with carbonized olive pips, although these date to a period after the abandonment of the city and likely represent activities associated with the subsequent

reoccupation of the south-east city gate as a farmstead (Haagsma 2010, 175).

Imported wine amphorae from other areas of the Greek world, for example those from Thasos, Chios and Rhodes uncovered in the excavated houses of New Halos (Haagsma 2010, 187), demonstrate that despite the fact that viticulture is attested in Thessaly, imported varieties were nevertheless part of consumption patterns, revealing that the reliance on local produce was not exclusive.

More direct evidence of the activities associated with the planting, growing and harvesting of agricultural produce exists, but unfortunately are not frequently attested due to the small number of excavations conducted, and, more seriously, the lack of publications reporting the artefacts found at sites which have been excavated. Because of the rescue nature of a large proportion of archaeological work, all too often only the existence of a site is mentioned in the archaeological journals and reports, and very seldom are finds reported, making it extremely difficult to know what artefacts were excavated. Despite this, there is evidence of agricultural implements such as sickles, scythes, shears, spades and hoes at a few sites; New Halos (Hijmans 2003, 124-6; Haagsma 2010, 257), *Kastro Kallithea* (probably ancient Peuma) (Haagsma and Karapanou 2010), and Orgoninos (a new site identified in the region of Matarangas in the prefecture of Karditsa (Hatziaggelakis 2013). These tools would have been used for the preparation of soil for planting, pruning and harvesting of agricultural produce, whether wheat/spelt, olive and/or grape vines.

Archaeobotanical analysis of remains from excavated sites has the potential to illuminate the role of agricultural and foraged products in the economy, diet and food ways of ancient populations. Unfortunately, the majority of studies incorporating archaeobotanical analyses focus predominantly on the prehistoric period. Only very few sites in the historical period of Greece have had archaeobotanical data collected, and the frequency of such analyses decreases as time advances, resulting in a complete reliance on less direct forms of evidence for the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

4.2.2. Land Use: Pastoralism, Transhumance and Animal Husbandry

It is generally agreed (Chandezon 2008; Chang and Koster 1986, 102; Forbes 1995, Nixon and Price 2001; Haagsma 2010; Prummel 2003; Bowman and Wilson 2009) that the ancient Greek economy relied on pastoralism in addition to agricultural

activities. Since these activities leave few physical traces, it is difficult if not impossible to reconstruct its role in land use (Forbes 1995, 325). This difficulty of identifying data related to these activities has resulted in discussions of the economy that virtually ignore animal husbandry and pastoralism (Forbes 1995, 325). In order to combat the archaeological silence on these activities, extrapolation from other, better documented periods and from ethnographical studies conducted in the modern era have been employed in order to attempt the reconstruction of the nature and role of pastoral activities in the economy and land use patterns (Nixon and Price 2001, 395-6). Nixon and Price succinctly describe the dangers present in applying modern ethnographic data onto the past: “It forms a vicious circle of interpretation, which prevents any discovery that the past was different from the present." (2001, 396). Their suggestions for a way forward for the investigation of past pastoral activities relies on conducting intensive archaeological surveys, the data from which can be interpreted within a framework that includes archaeological, documentary, literary and ethnographic data taking into consideration the specificity of the local context (Nixon and Price 2001, 396-7). Unfortunately, conducting intensive surveys on a zone as large and differentiated as Thessaly is not within the scope of the current financial climate of Greece, and the reliance on foreign scholars, academies and universities to conduct and finance such investigations unfortunately means that we will have to wait some time for such a venture. Despite this fact, through the combination of various sources such as archaeological, literary, numismatic, epigraphic and ethnographic, it is possible to say something about possible animal husbandry, pastoral and transhumance patterns in Thessaly.

Animal husbandry of all kinds, but especially pastoral and transhumant practices, is, much like many agricultural activities, difficult to identify archaeologically. The presence of sheep/goat and cattle bones from excavated and surveyed contexts, however, allows one to assume the existence of these activities. Animal remains from the excavations at New Halos were identified and quantified. The vast majority of animal remains represented domesticated animals, predominantly sheep/goat with some cattle, and marine resources such as molluscs (Prummel 2003,178-183). Study of the animal remains at the temple of Apollo at *Soros* in the perioikic region of Magnesia, demonstrated that animals involved in sacrifices and feasts were predominantly domesticated animals, sheep/goat bones represented 80% of the total, pigs 11% and cattle 9% (Mazarakis Ainian 2012, 291).

Although domestic animal remains are found in nearly all excavated contexts, public and private, suggesting a prevalence of the exploitation of these resource types, the nature of the evidence type does not allow detailed reconstruction of the extent of the role of these animals in the economic and dietary aspects of daily life. It is not possible to say, for example, whether the animal represented past meals or were rather exploited for materials to be used in the production of bone tools, leathers and furs, or for secondary alimentary products such as milk and cheese. Reconstructing these dietary habits requires the use of more scientific analyses such as stable isotope analysis. In terms of the dietary reliance on domestic herds, some work has been done in stable isotope analysis of skeletal remains in Greece, however, this work has focused predominantly on the Neolithic period and Bronze Age,[2] and is therefore of little assistance in reconstructing the role of both primary and secondary products resulting from animal husbandry practices in the later periods of Greek history.

Currently, many of the foothills of the mountainous regions of Thessaly, while sparse in habitation and agricultural activities due to the nature of the landscape and soil types, are used prolifically as grazing lands for ungulates. Since a large part of this type of territory is government owned and controlled, grazing rights in a given area are granted to individual shepherds (personal communication from area around *Narthaki* and *Kallithea* in the modern territorial district of Larissa). A similar situation may have occurred in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, where a *polis*, or its representatives, allocated portions of their territory for the use of grazing of local flocks to citizens of other *poleis*, or resident foreigners. Ethnographic studies conducted over the last century, particularly on the Vlachs, Sarakatsani, and those involved in sedentary animal husbandry[3], can provide at least some structure for the potential reconstruction of the role of various types of animal husbandry. Pastoralism as practised by the Vlachs and Sarakatsani generally took the form of transhumance, migratory livestock herding over a variable distance of territory, where lowlands were exploited in the winter and highlands during the summer for herd grazing (Forbes 1995, 326). Owning very little to no land themselves, these groups generally engaged in negotiation for the use of

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[2] For example see Papathanasiou 2003; Petroutsa and Sotiros 2010; Ingvarsson-Sundström, Richards and Voutsaki 2009.

[3]See Halstead 1987, 77-87; 1990, n. 10; Reinders and Prummel 1998, 81-95. In addition see: Weigand 1895; Winnifrith 1987; Campbell 1964; Kavadias 1965; Wace and Thompson 1971; Sivignon 1968, 5-43; Halstead 1990, 61-80

territory for grazing with landowners when necessary (Forbes 1995, 326). This model has been traditionally applied to Greek antiquity, where pastoralists with large mobile herds are contrasted with sedentary, primarily agriculturally based, farmers. This interpretation obfuscates the reality that many sedentary populations would have maintained a variable number of domestic animals as part of their economic and dietary strategies (Forbes 1995, 327). It is most likely that, much like in some modern regions of Greece, "… transhumant and 'sedentary' flocks are integrated with agricultural operations to a considerable extent." (Forbes 1995, 327). The pervasiveness of the phenomenon of pastoral activities and transhumance is, unfortunately, not well documented, and therefore it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty the impact of these activities on the land use patterns of this period. One needs only to think of the canonical images of the Greek shepherd, appearing in imagery and statues from the sixth century BCE onwards, to understand that pastoral activities, and animal husbandry in general, were important parts of the land use patterns.

Thessaly was particularly well known for horse rearing: Alexander the Great obtained his horse Bucephalas from Achaia Phthiotis (Plut, *Alex*., 6). Horses are the most common images on Thessalian coinage surpassing even wheat (Westlake 1935, 4, note. 3; Pendelton 2004, 23-32; see Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 as well as Appendix 2.1 and 2.2 for sources and images of coins). Gyrton, Kierion, Krannon, Larissa, Methulion, Orthe, Pelinna, Phakion, Pharkadon, Pharsalos, Pherai, Phthiotic Thebes, Skotoussa, Trikka, as well as the Ainian, Thessalian, and Perrhaibian leagues, all used the head of a horse, a bridled horse, a horseman, or a horse's hoof in their coinage, as can be seen in Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 above, demonstrating the pervasiveness of this image within Thessaly. Images of horses see the widest physical distribution, with cities in both the plains. A late reference (2rd-3rd century CE) to the social value of horses comes from Aelian, who describes the presentation of a horse to the groom at Thessalian wedding ceremonies (*De Nat. Anim*. 12.34; Westlake 1935, 4, note 3). In addition, there is some evidence that equuid meat was consumed as a source of animal protein.

Since Thessaly was a known location for horse rearing, it follows that horse, ass and other equuid consumption may have been higher in Thessaly than in other areas of Greece. At New Halos, equuid bones (from *Equus asinus* and *Equus caballus*) recovered were reported as representing animals slaughtered at various ages: one-fifth

were slaughtered before 12-15 months of age, while the remaining four-fifths were slaughtered when they were older than one to two years of age (Prummel 2003, 189). While 23% of the total sample of equuid bones represented astragali and another 23% represent maxilla, the remaining 64% represented long bones, which are usually indicative of consumption (Prummel 2003, 189). The domestic remains found in the houses of New Halos suggest that equuid meat represented 20% of the meat consumed (Prummel 2003, 189). This is not an insignificant proportion and suggests that at least in some cases horses likely formed part of Thessalian dietary strategies, in addition to serving as cavalry mounts, for transport and agricultural or labour purposes.

Very little epigraphic evidence exists concerning animal husbandry in Thessaly, but the few references that exist demonstrate that not only was pastoralism existent, but it was important enough that disputes could result over the rights to land used for pasture. In an inscription from Larissa (*IG* IX 2 522; *SEG* 13:391; GHW03078), dated to the end of the third or the beginning of the 2nd century BCE, outlines a conflict between citizens of Larissa over the grazing rights of pastureland located near the theatre. Chyretiai (*SEG* 45: 588; *AE* 1917, p.15-18, n. 308) in Perrhaibia documents an arbitration between Chyretiai and another city. Although the inscription is fragmentary and difficult to reconstruct, it seems to concern boundaries and perhaps grazing rights in the interstitial zone between the territories of the two cities (interpretation from Lyon Inscription database). In addition, the granting of grazing rights sometimes accompanied proxeny and citizenship decrees within the system of euergetism, a topic to which I will return to in great detail in Chapters 7 and 8. The epigraphic evidence for animal husbandry practices, although scarce, documents the existence of this practice, and the necessity for suitable territory for grazing.

The land use patterns demonstrate that agricultural production was a predominant concern in Thessaly evidenced by coin iconography as well as literary, epigraphic and archaeological data. In addition, however, pastoral practices of herd ungulates was an important aspect of the local economies. Despite the difficulty in archaeologically identifying signs of pastoralism, the evidence present from epigraphic and archaeological sources, as well as from ethno-archaeological research demonstrate that the use of sheep and goat as herd animals, as well as rearing was present in the landscape of Thessaly, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean. The overall image that results from this synopsis is the importance and centrality of the productive landscape, a theme

to which I will return frequently.

4.3 Settlement and Land Use Patterns

The distribution of sites within the landscape is an essential part of this thesis, as it relates it important in relation to the land use patterns described above, and also to the subsequent analysis of civic identity expression, and social strategies employed by cities and individuals. The remainder of this chapter will present the results of the settlement distribution analysis I have conducted, divided by period, in order to understand the evolution of settlement patterns over the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

The total number of sites included in this study of Thessaly is 324, of which 115 have been identified with their ancient names, while the other 209 sites have been identified archaeologically, their ancient place name remaining unknown. In the following tables and maps, sites identified by their modern place name will be presented in italic font in order to increase clarity and ease of identification.

Table 4.2 -Total Sites by Type

Site Type	Number	% of Total Sites
Settlement	206	63.6%
Fortification	71	21.9%
Farm	13	4.0%
Cemetery	7	2.2%
Temple	9	2.8%
Bath	2	0.6%
Unknown	16	4.9%
Total	324	100%

As can be seen above in Table 4.2, the majority (63.6%) of sites represent settlements, while 21.9% represent fortifications. The lack of data has not allowed site type identification for 16 sites. It is very likely, based on the presence of pottery and architectural elements, that these sites represent either settlements or fortifications; but

since the data is inadequate, I have included them as unknown site types, primarily for the function of creating as complete a picture as possible of the occupation and use of the landscape. Had I excluded these 16 sites, the result would be a landscape that seems artificially empty, when the reality is that these areas show signs of human intervention and use of the landscape.

Table 4.3 - Sites by Time Period

Time Period	Number of New Foundations per Period	Total Sites Occupied by Period
Pre-Classical	109	109
Classical	140	232
Hellenistic	64	282
Roman	11	146
Total	**324**	**110**

A large proportion of settlement sites in Thessaly saw their first documented phase of occupation during the Pre-Classical and Classical periods, representing the most prolific building and settlement foundation period in Thessalian history. As can be seen in Table 4.3, of the 324 sites included in this study, 109 saw their first documented period of occupation before the Classical period, primarily in the Archaic, but a small number of sites showed signs of habitation dating as far back as the Neolithic period. A further 140 sites were first attested in the Classical period, and another 64 during the Hellenistic period. The Roman period sees the least amount of sites with the first documented period of occupation, having with only 11. At first glance, this picture would seem to support the traditional view of the Roman period representing a phase of decline, however, when we look more closely at each period, it becomes clear that changes were occurring in the settlement and land use patterns which do not necessarily reflect decline or depopulation, but a shift in the type of settlement and land use patterns.

The maps appearing in this chapter all use the following legend:

Table 4.3.1 – Legend for Maps

Site Type	Symbol Used
Major Habitation Settlement	
Small Habitation Settlement	
Fortification	
Rural Site	
Temple	
Bath	

4.3.1 Thessaly in the Pre-Classical Period

The location of sites throughout the occupation history of Thessaly undergoes a series of changes over time, representing an increasing exploitation of arable land for agricultural practices. During the Pre-Classical period, sites were predominantly located on the borders the alluvial basins of the two Thessalian plains (Alexakis et al. 2008, 2; Decourt 1990, 65-6; Sivignon 1973, 161-3). The majority of sites were located near the most fertile soils of the plains, as can be seen in Figure 4.1 below, which visualizes the location of occupied sites in relation to the general topography of Thessaly (Alexakis et al. 2008, 2; Decourt 1990, 48-9, 57, 65-6). It is noticeable that very few sites are located in the mountainous areas. This perhaps reflects the nature of agricultural activity and technology at this time, which saw a reliance on the most fertile alluvial soils of the plains and limited exploitation of other soil types, still agriculturally viable but requiring more intensive intervention.

Key to Tables in this Chapter:

Dates: **N**= Neolithic; **B** = Bronze; **M** = Mycenaean; **A** = Archaic; **C** = Classical; **H** = Hellenistic; **R** = Roman; **L** = Late Antiquity

Site Type: **S** = Settlement; **F** = Fortification; **T** = Temple or Sanctuary; **R** = Rural site; **B** = Baths **?** = Unknown Site Type

Table 4.4 – Sites Occupied in Pre-Classical Period

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
1	Trikka	A,C,H,R,L	S	**56**	Alope	A,C,H,R,L	S
2	Ithome/Tamiai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**57**	Sepias	A,C,H	S
3	Metropolis	A,C,H,R,L	S	**58**	Pras	A, C, H, L	S
4	Pelinna	A,C,H,R,L	S	**59**	Metho(a)ne	A,C,H	S
5	Limnaion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**60**	Homilai	A,C,H,R,L	S
6	Peirasia /Asterion	A,C,H,R	S	**61**	Antikyra	A,C,H,R	S
7	Phyllos	A,C,H,R	S	**62**	Boibe	B,A,H,R	S
8	Methulion	A,C,H,R	S	**63**	Amyros	A,C	S
9	Kierion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**64**	Pyrasos	A,C,H,R,L	S
10	Phillia/Itonion	A,C,H,R	S	**111**	*Sykeon*	N, C, H, R	S
11	Ktimene	A,C,H,R	S	**121**	*Chomatokastro Kottes*	N, A, C, H, R, L	F
12	Kypaira	A,C,H	S	**126**	*Anavra*	A, C, H, R	T
13	Olooson	A,C,H,R,L	S	**127**	*Theotokou*	A, C, H, L	S
14	Phalanna	A,C,H,R,L	S	**129**	*Kastraki Almyros*	M, A, C, H	F
15	Leimone /Alone	A,C,H	S	**130**	*Moschato*	A,C,H	S
16	Gonnoi	A,C,H,R,L	S	**131**	*Spartia*	A,C,E,R,L	T
17	Mopsion	A,C,H,R	S	**133**	*Persoufli Magoula*	N,B,M,A,C,H	S
18	Gyrton	A,C,H,R,L	S	**139**	*Aerino*	A,C,H,R	S
19	Argoussa/ Argoura	A,C,H,R	S	**143**	*Kastraki I*	B,M,A,C	?
20	Larissa	A,C,H,R,L	S	**145**	*Eleftherochorio*	N,C,H,R	S
21	Phayttos	A,C,H	S	**146**	*Palaiokastro*	N,B,M,A,C,H	S
22	Atrax	A,C,H,R,L	S	**148**	*Kompotades*	M, G, C, H	S
24	Skotoussa	A,C,H,R	S	**157**	*Platanos*	M, H, R	S
25	Armenion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**160**	*Gazouni*	C, H,	S

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
26	Kerkinion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**161**	*Kommeno Tzami Magoula*	N, B, C, H, R	?
27	Sykourion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**162**	*Koutroulo Magoula*	N, B, C, H, R	?
28	Pherai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**163**	*Petrilia Magoula*	N, B, A, C, H-R, L	S
29	Pharsalos	A,C,H,R,L	S	**187**	*Palaiochorion Magoula*	N, B, C, R, L	S
30	Proerna	A,C,H	S	**189**	*Tapsi Magoula*	N, M, A, C, H, R, L	S
31	Xylades/ Palaiopharsalos	A,C,H,R	S	**190**	*Tzouka*	ME, TE, C, H	T
32	Eretria	A,C,H,R	S	**194**	*Agios Georgios*	A, C, H, L	?
33	Peuma	A,C,H,R	S	**195**	*Magoula*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S
34	Chalai	A,C,H	S	**199**	*Paliambela Magoula*	A, C, H, L	?
35	Xyniai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**201**	*Polydendron - Ammoudera*	A, C, H	S
36	Thaumakoi	A?,C,H,R,L	S	**205**	*Krikorrachi*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S
37	Perieia	A,C,H,R,L	S	**206**	*Dasos*	N, C, H-R, L	S
38	Phthiotic Thebes	A,C,H,R,L	S	**220**	*Kalamachi*	A, C, H	S
39	Phylake	A,C,H,R,L	S	**221**	*Ellenika*	A? C, H	S
40	Halos	A,C,H,R,L	S	**222**	*Mavri*	N? B, A, C, H-R, L	F
41	Iton (?)	A,C,H,R,L	S	**223**	*Agia Marina*	M, C-H	T
42	Melitaia	A,C,H,R,L	S	**224**	*Ta iera - Agios Georgios*	A, C, H, L	T
43	Herakleia Trachinia	A,C,H,R,L	S	**225**	*Ampelia*	A, C, H, R, L	S
44	Pteleon	A,C,H,R,L	S	**230**	*Vrysia*	M,C,H	S
45	Antron	A?.C,H,R	S	**236**	*Kondylos*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S
46	Olizon	A,C,H,R,L	S	**237**	*Lapathous-Charax*	N, C? H, R	F
47	Spalauthra	A,H	S	**238**	*Hellenika*	A? C, H	S
48	Korope	A,C,H,R	S	**240**	*Tripolis Larisaia 1 -*	N, C,H	C
49	Iolkos (?)	A,C,H,L	S	**243**	*Tripolis Larisaia 2 - Glauki*	N, C,H	S
50	Pagasai	A,C,H,R,L?	S	**244**	*Tripolis Larisaia 3 - Tyrnavou*	N, A, C, H, R	S
51	Amphanai	A,C,H	S	**245**	*Ambelona 6*	N, M, B,C, R, L	S
52	Glaphyrai	A,C,H,L	S	**303**	*Kallithero*	A, C, H	?
53	Kasthaneia	A,C,H	S	**306**	*Magoula Phikis Barumpopis*	A, C, H	F
54	Meliboia	A,C,H,R	S	**307**	*Kato Kastro Palaiokarya*	A, H, R, L	F
55	Homolion	A,C,H,L	S				

Table 4.5 - Pre-Classical Site Types

Site Type	Number	%IDS
Settlement	89	81.6%
Fortification	6	5.5%
Farm	0	0.0%
Cemetery	3	2.8%
Temple	5	4.6%
Bath	0	0.0%
Unknown	6	5.5%
Total	109	100%

Thessaly was well populated in the Neolithic and Mycenaean periods and, after a brief period before the Archaic period, more or less continual growth and increasingly frequent foundation of settlements characterized Thessaly. In Tables 4.4 and 4.5 above and Figure 4.2 below, a few patterns are observable. Of the 109 sites founded before the Classical period, six represent fortifications, five represent temple or sanctuary structures, three represent cemeteries and six are unidentified in terms of site function. This leaves the remaining 89 sites that reflect a primary function of habitation sites of different sizes. The majority (64) of these settlements represent *poleis*, consisting of an urban centre and the territory, which it controlled, containing varying numbers of smaller sites.

As mentioned above, sites were located primarily along the alluvial basins of the Thessalian plains, reflecting the nature of agricultural technology and population sizes which were small enough to not have to rely on exploiting less fertile soils (Alexakis et al. 2008, 2; Decourt 1990, 65-6), as can be seen in Figure 4.2 below. Several important temple sanctuaries have their first documented period of activity prior to the Classical period, including most importantly, the site of the federal sanctuary of Athena Itonia at Philia in Thessaliotis. Very few sites (six) founded at this time had a primary function of a fortification or watchtower, while a large proportion of the large settlements founded were fortified.

It is possible that there was less need for the presence of small, single function sites designed to watch and control traffic in the various passes and communication from one area to another. Rather, the trend during this period was characterized by multi-function settlement types, fortified in case of need, but without the peppering of

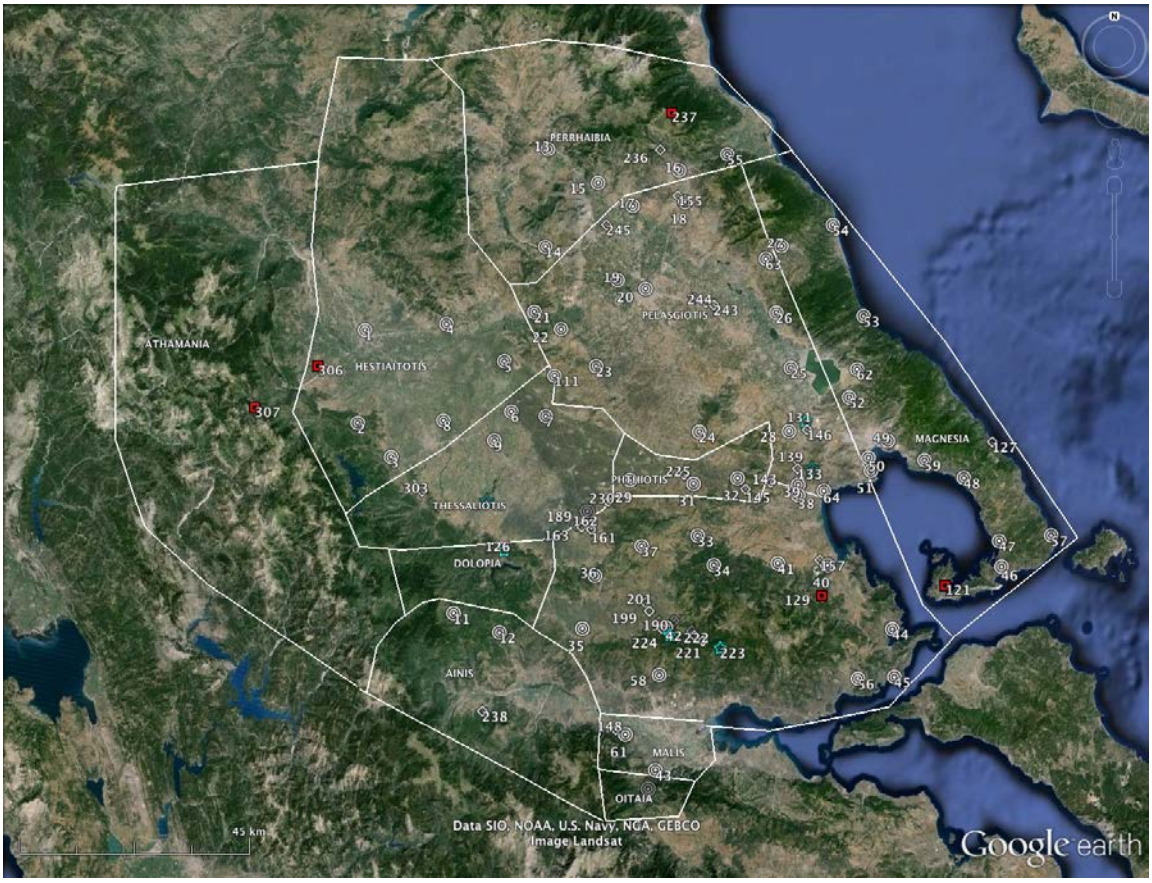
the surrounding territory with small fortification and watchtower sites seen in the following periods.

No small rural habitation sites have been dated to this period. Due to the incomplete nature of archaeological and intensive survey activities in Thessaly, it is not possible to say that the data set presented here is completely representative. The lack of small rural sites may be, at least in part, due to the nature of archaeological and survey activities in the area, which predominantly focus on areas with an urban or built up character today, road and infrastructure development, and on the reporting of sites on private property by their proprietors, leaving a significant portion of the rural territory under-investigated. On the other hand, it is unlikely that investigations have just simply missed an entire category of site types in the environment, especially since such sites have been identified for latter periods, as will be shown below. Although it is an argument made partially out of silence, and the absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence, it is possible to tentatively suggest the lack of small rural sites prior to the Classical period was the result of habitation and land use patterns employed at this time, especially if we compare Thessaly with other, better studied, areas of Greece.

Nucleated settlements with a reliance on commuting farmers who travel daily to their plots located outside the territory of the settlement (a phenomenon which continues to this day in many rural villages and communities in Thessaly – anecdotal evidence from personal travels and work in the area of *Narthaki* in the Othrys– most engage in farming or shepherding but live in the village) likely represented the principal form of agricultural activity and settlement (Bintliff 2006, 27). If this was the case during the pre-Classical period, we would not expect to see small rural sites representing farmsteads or habitation sites, as is the case based on the current archaeological and survey data.

Figure 4.2 – Pre-Classical Sites with Topography

Figure 4.3 – Distribution of Pre-Classical Sites by Sub-Region

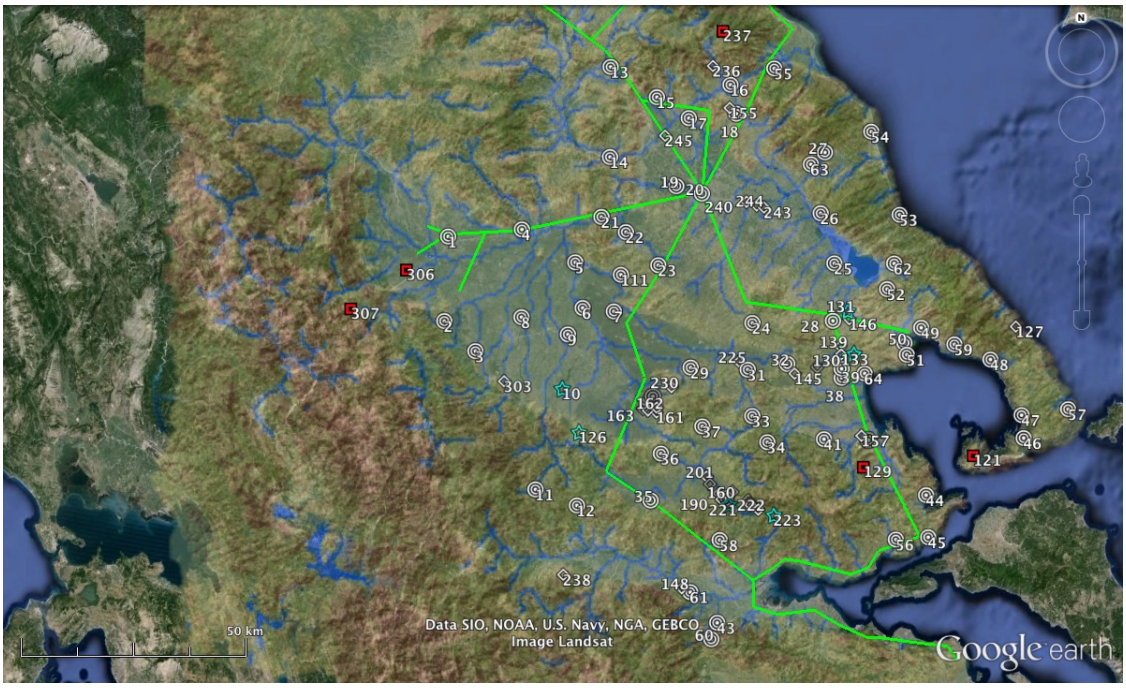


In terms of the distribution of occupied sites throughout the different subregions, it is clear, seen in Figure 4.3 above and table 4.6 below, that the sites with identified Pre-Classical occupation are predominantly located in the central-eastern portion of Thessaly, particularly in Pelasgiotis (32) and Achaia Phthiotis (32), as well as Magnesia (15), to a lesser extent. In contrast, in the western regions of Thessaliotis (eight), Hestiaiotis (eight), Dolopia, (one) and Athamania (one), as well as in the southern regions of Malis (three), Ainis (three), and Oitaia (one), very few sites are occupied, either *poleis* or secondary sites such as forts, small habitation sites, temples or otherwise. Perrhaibia in the northeast conforms more to the pattern noticed in the western portion of Thessaly, with very few occupied sites (eight) during this period.

Table 4.6 – Occupied sites in Pre-Classical period by Subregion

Sub-Region	Site Type	Preclassical
Pelasgiotis	***Poleis***	15
	Secondary	17
	Total	**32**
Sub-Region	**Site Type**	**Preclassical**
Phthiotis	***Poleis***	3
	Secondary	2
	Total	**5**
Hestiaiotis	***Poleis***	6
	Secondary	2
	Total	**8**
Thessaliotis	***Poleis***	5
	Secondary	3
	Total	**8**
Achaia Phthiotis	***Poleis***	13
	Secondary	19
	Total	**32**
Magnesia	***Poleis***	13
	Secondary	2
	Total	**15**
Perrhaibia	***Poleis***	5
	Secondary	3
	Total	**8**
Malis	***Poleis***	2
	Secondary	1
	Total	**3**
Ainis	***Poleis***	2
	Secondary	1
	Total	**3**
Oitaia	***Poleis***	1
	Secondary	0
	Total	**1**
Dolopia	***Poleis***	0
	Secondary	1
	Total	**1**
Athamania	***Poleis***	0
	Secondary	1
	Total	**1**

Figure 4.4 – Pre-Classical Sites with Roads and Hydrology



When the Pre-Classical sites are mapped according to the locations of routes of communication such as roads and rivers, occupied sites are predominantly located in near vicinity, if not directly along, either the road network, or the Peneios and Enipeus rivers or their respective tributaries, as can be seen in Figure 4.4 above.

Overall, it can be said that sites occupied in the Pre-Classical period are predominantly located away from the mountains in the alluvial basins of the rivers, the Enipeus and the Peneios, and their tributaries, which, along with the network of roads, provided lines of communication with other sites in Thessaly and beyond.

4.3.2. Thessaly in the Classical Period

Table 4.7 – Sites Occupied in Classical Period

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
1	Trikka	A,C,H,R,L	S	**38**	Phthiotic Thebes	A,C,H,R,L	S
2	Ithome/Tamiai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**39**	Phylake	A,C,H,R,L	S
3	Metropolis	A,C,H,R,L	S	**40**	Halos	A,C,H,R,L	S
4	Pelinna	A,C,H,R,L	S	**41**	Iton (?)	A,C,H,R,L	S
5	Limnaion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**42**	Melitaia	A,C,H,R,L	S
6	Peirasia /Asterion	A,C,H,R	S	**43**	Herakleia Trachinia	A,C,H,R,L	S

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
7	Phyllos	A,C,H,R	S	**44**	Pteleon	A,C,H,R,L	S
8	Methulion	A,C,H,R	S	**45**	Antron	A?.C,H,R	S
9	Kierion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**46**	Olizon	A,C,H,R,L	S
10	Phillia/Itonion	A,C,H,R	S	**48**	Korope	A,C,H,R	S
11	Ktimene	A,C,H,R	S	**49**	Iolkos (?)	A,C,H,L	S
12	Kypaira	A,C,H	S	**50**	Pagasai	A,C,H,R,L	S
13	Olooson	A,C,H,R,L	S	**51**	Amphanai	A,C,H	S
14	Phalanna	A,C,H,R,L	S	**52**	Glaphyrai	A,C,H,L	S
15	Leimone /Alone	A,C,H	S	**53**	Kasthaneia	A,C,H	S
16	Gonnoi	A,C,H,R,L	S	**54**	Meliboia	A,C,H,R	S
17	Mopsion	A,C,H,R	S	**55**	Homolion	A,C,H,L	S
18	Gyrton	A,C,H,R,L	S	**56**	Alope	A,C,H,R,L	S
19	Argoussa/ Argoura	A,C,H,R	S	**57**	Sepias	A,C,H	S
20	Larissa	A,C,H,R,L	S	**58**	Pras	A, C, H, L	S
21	Phayttos	A,C,H	S	**59**	Metho(a)ne	A,C,H	S
22	Atrax	A,C,H,R,L	S	**60**	Homilai	A,C,H,R,L	S
23	Krannon	A,C,H,R	S	**61**	Antikyra	A,C,H,R	S
24	Skotoussa	A,C,H,R	S	**63**	Amyros	A,C	S
25	Armenion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**64**	Pyrasos	A,C,H,R,L	S
26	Kerkinion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**65**	Achinos/Echinos	C,H,R,L	S
27	Sykourion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**66**	Aiginion	C,H,R	S
28	Pheres	A,C,H,R,L	S	**67**	Angeiai	C,H,R	S
29	Pharsalos	A,C,H,R,L	S	**68**	Ano Ktimene	C, H	S
30	Proerna	A,C,H	S	**69**	Anthela	C,H,R	S
31	Xylades/ Palaiopharsalos	A,C,H,R	S	**70**	Argithea	C,H,R	S
32	Eretria	A,C,H,R	S	**71**	Askyris	C?,H,R	S
33	Peuma	A,C,H,R	S	**72**	Chalkai	C,H,R	S
34	Chalai	A,C,H	S	**73**	Chyretiai	C?,H,R,L	S
35	Xyniai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**74**	Doliche	C,H,R,L	S
36	Thaumakoi	A?,C,H,R, L	S	**75**	Erythrai	C, H	S
81	Hypata	C,H,R,L	S	**85**	Larissa Kremaste	C,H,R,L	S
82	Iphnoi	C, H	S	**86**	Leibethra	C, H	S
83	Kallithera	C, H	S	**87**	Makra Kome	C?,H	S
84	Lamia	C,H,R,L	S	**88**	Malloia	C,H,R	S
89	Mondaia	C, H	S	**134**	*Chalkiorachi*	C, H	S
90	Mylai	C,H,R	S	**135**	*Chani*	C	S?
91	Narthakion	C,H,R	S	**136**	*Chani tes Kokkonas, Tempe Valley*	C, H, R, L	T
92	Ortha	C,H,R	S	**137**	*Chani Zamani Malakasiou*	C, H	S
93	Oxyneia	C? H	S	**138**	*Charasani*	C, H, L	F
94	Phakion	C,H,R	S	**139**	*Aerino*	A,C,H,R	S
95	Phalara/ Stylis/ Ainianion	C,H,R,L	S	**140**	*Dasolophos 1*	C, H, L	S

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
96	Phaloreia	C,H,R	S	**141**	*Dasolophos 2*	C, H	S
97	Pharkadon	C,H,R	S	**142**	*Dendraki*	C,H	S
98	Phila	C,H,R	S	**143**	*Kastraki I*	B,M,A,C	?
99	Phyliadon	C?,H	S	**144**	*Doxaras*	C,H	F
100	Pialeia	C,H,R	S	**145**	*Eleftherochorio*	N,C,H,R	S
101	Pythion	C,H,R,L	S	**146**	*Palaiokastro*	N,B,M,A, C,H	S
102	Rhizous	C,H,R	S	***147***	*Eureai*	C, H, R	S
103	Side	C,H,R	S	**148**	*Kompotades*	M, G, C, H	C
104	Sosthenis	C,H,L	S	**149**	*Fontana Turca*	C, H	S
105	Spercheiai	C, H	S	**150**	*Gazouni*	C, H,	S?
106	Thetideion	C,H,R	S	**151**	*Geladria*	C, H-R	S
107	Thetonion	C,H,R	S	**152**	*Girgaki (Bouzion)*	C,H,L	T
110	Azoros	C, H,R,L	S	**153**	*Girtoni*	C,H,R	S
111	*Sykeon*	N, C, H, R	S	**154**	*Gkireni*	C, H, L	S
117	*Agios Georgios (Tekke)*	C, H, L	S	**156**	*Gonnocondylos*	C, H, R	F
118	*Agios Nikolaos*	C, H, L	S	**158**	*Gridsova*	C, H	S
119	*Agnantia*	C, H	?	**159**	*Haghia Triada Kalogeri*	C, H	S
120	*Ai-Lias Petrochorio Bitsenas*	C, H	F	**160**	*Gazouni*	C, H,	S?
121	*Chomatokastro Kottes*	N, A, C, H, R, L	F	**161**	*Kommeno Tzami Magoula*	N,M,C,H, R	?
122	*Akarrai*	C, H	S	**162**	*Koutroulo Magoula*	N, B, C, H, R	?
123	*Alchani*	C, H	S?	**163**	*Petrilia Magoula*	N,M,A,C, H-R, L	S?
124	*Alpha/Paliokaluva/ Paliochori*	C, H	?	**164**	*Kaloyero*	C, H, L	F
125	*Ampelochoriou/ Borothikou*	C, H	F	**165**	*Karatsadali*	C,H	F
126	*Anavra*	A, C, H, R	T	**166**	*Karatsadali 2*	C,H	F
127	*Theotokou (Xourihti)*	A, C, H, L	S	**167**	*Kastraki (Profitits Ilias)*	C, H	F
168	*Kastraki III*	C, H	F	**201**	*Polydendron - Ammoudera*	A, C, H	S
169	*Kastri Prodromou*	C, H, R, L	F	**202**	*Narthakion I*	C, H	S
170	*Kastro Dasochoriou*	C,H,R	S?	**203**	*Narthakion Kastron*	C, H	F
171	*Kastro Deli-Achmèt*	C, H	F	**204**	*Nea Smolia*	C? H	S
172	*Kastro di Rigeion*	C, H	F	**205**	*Krikorrachi*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S
168	*Kastraki III*	C, H	F	**206**	*Dasos*	N, C, H-R, L	S
169	*Kastri Prodromou*	C, H, R, L	F	**207**	*Palaiokastro Kalogeron*	C, H?	F
173	*Kastro Kokkina*	C,H	S	**208**	*Palaiokastro Petrotou/Liaskobo*	C, H	F
174	*Kastro Kokkonas*	C,H	F	**209**	*Palaiokastro Philuras*	C, H, R	F

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
175	*Kastro Ovrianas*	C, H, L	F	**210**	*Palaiokastro Skotoussa (?)*	C, H, L	S
176	*Kato Vasiliki*	C, H, L	S	**215**	*Petra /Koutsoufliani*	C,H	F
177	*Katophli Elatis Turnas*	C, H	F	**216**	*Petrino*	C, H, L	S
178	*Kelaithra*	C, H, R	S	**217**	*Petrino (Pyrgos 1)*	C,H	F
179	*Kokkina*	C,H,R?	S	**218**	*Petrino (Pyrgos 2)*	C,H	F
180	*Koromilea*	C/H, L	S?	**219**	*Peuma Magoula*	C, H	S
181	*Kosistres*	C, H	S	**220**	*Kalamachi*	A, C, H	S?
182	*Koukourelos Potamias Stournaraiikon*	C, H	F	**221**	*Ellenika*	A? C, H	S
183	*Koumitsia*	C,H	S	**222**	*Mavri*	N? B, A, C, H-R, L	F
184	*Kouslou*	C, H	S	**223**	*Haghia Marina*	M, C-H	T
185	*Krini*	C, H, L	S	**224**	*Ta iera - Agios Georgios*	A, C, H, L	T
186	*Lakka*	C, H	F	**225**	*Ampelia (Magoula Palaiokastro)*	B, A, C, H, R, L	S?
187	*Palaiochorion Magoula*	N, B, C, R, L	S	**226**	*Phylleion 4*	C,H	S
188	*Lampros*	C, H	F	**227**	*Phylleion 5*	C, H, L	F
189	*Tapsi Magoula*	N, M, A, C, H, R, L	S	**228**	*Phylleion 6*	C, H, L	F
190	*Tzouka*	M, C, H	T	**229**	*Phylleion 7*	C, H, L	F
191	*Libadi*	C, H, L	S?	**230**	*Vrysia*	M,C,H	S
192	*Magoula Kastri*	C,H,R	F	**231**	*Polineri 1*	C, H, L	S
193	*Magoula Paliambela*	C,H, L	S	**232**	*Profitis Ilias Dilofo*	C, H	S
194	*Agios Georgios*	A, C, H, L	?	**233**	*Psychiko 1*	C, H, L	F
195	*Magoula*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S	**234**	*Psychiko 2*	C, H, L	F
235	*Pyrgos-Mataranga*	C, H, L	S	**247**	*Tsani*	C,H	S
236	*Kondylos*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S/ F	**248**	*Tsouka -Panagia Korudallou*	C, H	F
237	*Lapathous-Charax? Kallipefke*	N, C? H, R	F/S?	**249**	*Zatali*	C, H, H-R?	S?
238	*Hellenika*	A? C, H	S	**306**	*Magoula Phikis Barumpopis*	A, C, H	F
239	*Sikies*	C?	S	**307**	*Kato Kastro Palaiokarya*	A, H, R, L	F
240	*Tripolis Larisaia 1 - Platykampos*	N, C,H	S	**308**	*Χ.Θ. 277.500*	Cl, H. R	R
241	*Soublero Itamou*	C, H	F	**309**	*Achladea*	C, H	?
242	*Spartiacque*	C, H	F	**310**	*Ag. Paraskevi (Chloi)*	C, H	S
243	*Tripolis Larisaia 2 - Glauki*	N, C,H	S	**311**	*Agia Triada*	C, H, L	T?
244	*Tripolis Larisaia 3 - Tyrnavou? /Mélia*	N, A, C, H, R	S	**312**	*Agioi Apostoli Analipsis Trogonias*	C, H	S
245	*Ambelona 6*	N, M, B,C, R, L	S	**313**	*Agios Georgios - Sophades*	C,H	S
246	*Tsangli (Pyrgos)*	C, H, L	F				

Table 4.8 - Classical Site Types

Site Type	Total Occupied Sites	New Sites	Sites Continued from Pre-Classical	Site Loss by End of Period
Settlement	180	93	88	-27
Fortification	47	41	6	-20
Farm	1	1	0	-6
Cemetery	1	0	1	-5
Temple	8	3	5	-1
Bath	0	0	0	0
Unknown	8	3	5	-6
Total	**244**	**140**	**105**	**-55**

The Classical period represents the most prolific building phase, with 140 sites whose first phase of occupation is documented to this period, detailed in Table 4.7 above. Again, the majority of sites founded in this period represent settlements, seen in Table 4.8, 43 of which have known ancient names. In the Classical period major settlement sites were more evenly distributed throughout the landscape of Thessaly than in the Pre-Classical period. Settlements continued to be established in the alluvial basins as can be seen in Figure 4.5 above (for examples sites 105, 87, 81, 75, 104, 69, 84, 97). An increasing number of sites in this period were established in areas of less fertile soils including the high plateaus between the Chassia and Olympos ranges, in Hestiaiotis and Perrhaibia (sites 71, 101, 74, 89, 88), as well as the marshlands near Limnaion (site 5) at the confluence of the Enipeus and the Peneios rivers, (sites 111, 197, 218 – Decourt 1990, 67, identifies Sykeon, site 111).

The increase in these sites likely represents an increased exploitation of all agriculturally viable territory, perhaps also reflecting grazing of herd animals (Decourt 1990, 67). The foundation of sites on more marginal soil types, in the foothills, mountainous and marshy regions throughout the Classical and the Hellenistic period, created a settlement pattern that was distributed much more evenly across Thessaly than in previous periods (Decourt 1990, 65-8; Sivignon 1973, 162).

Figure 4.5 – Classical Sites with Roads, Hydrology and Subregions

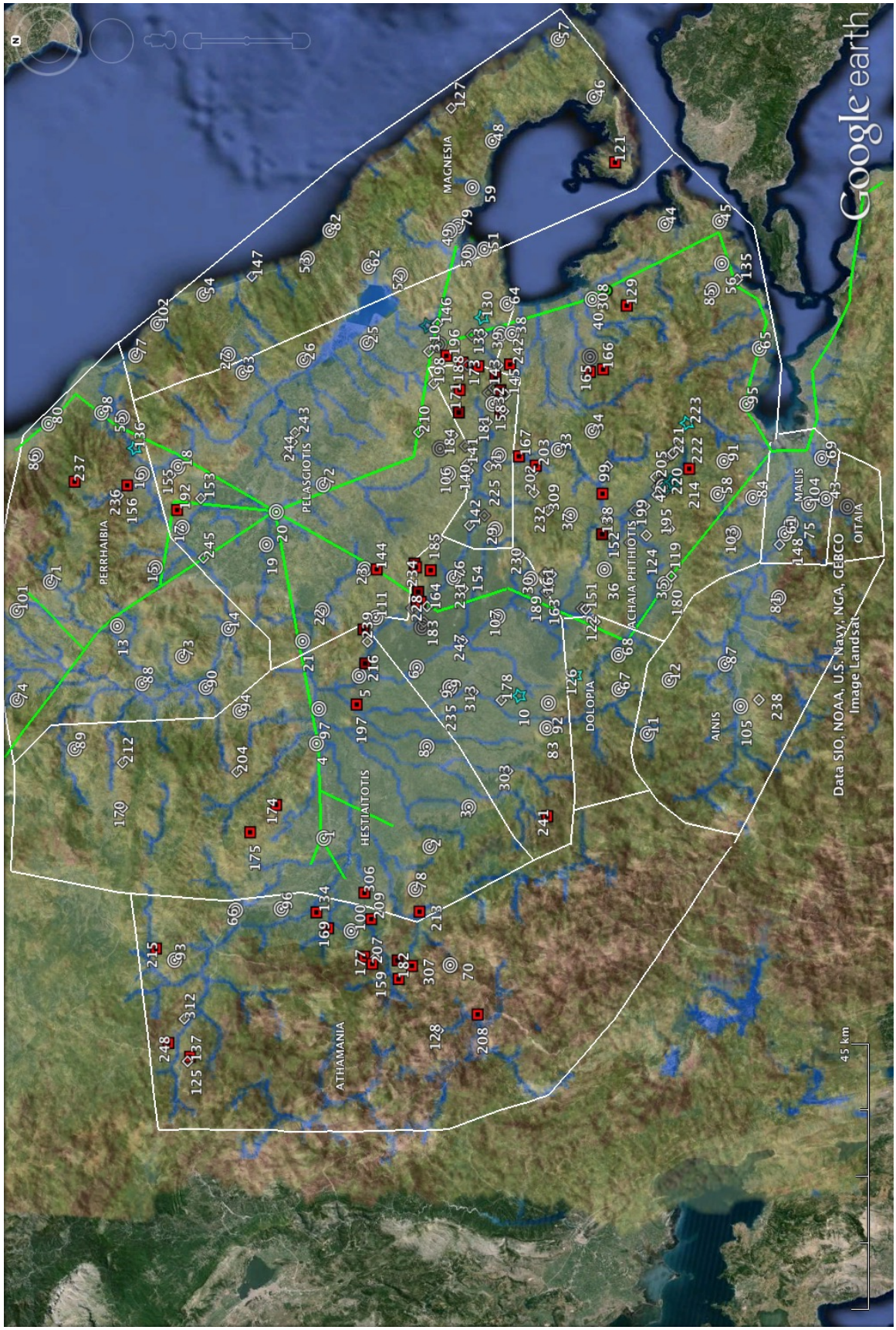
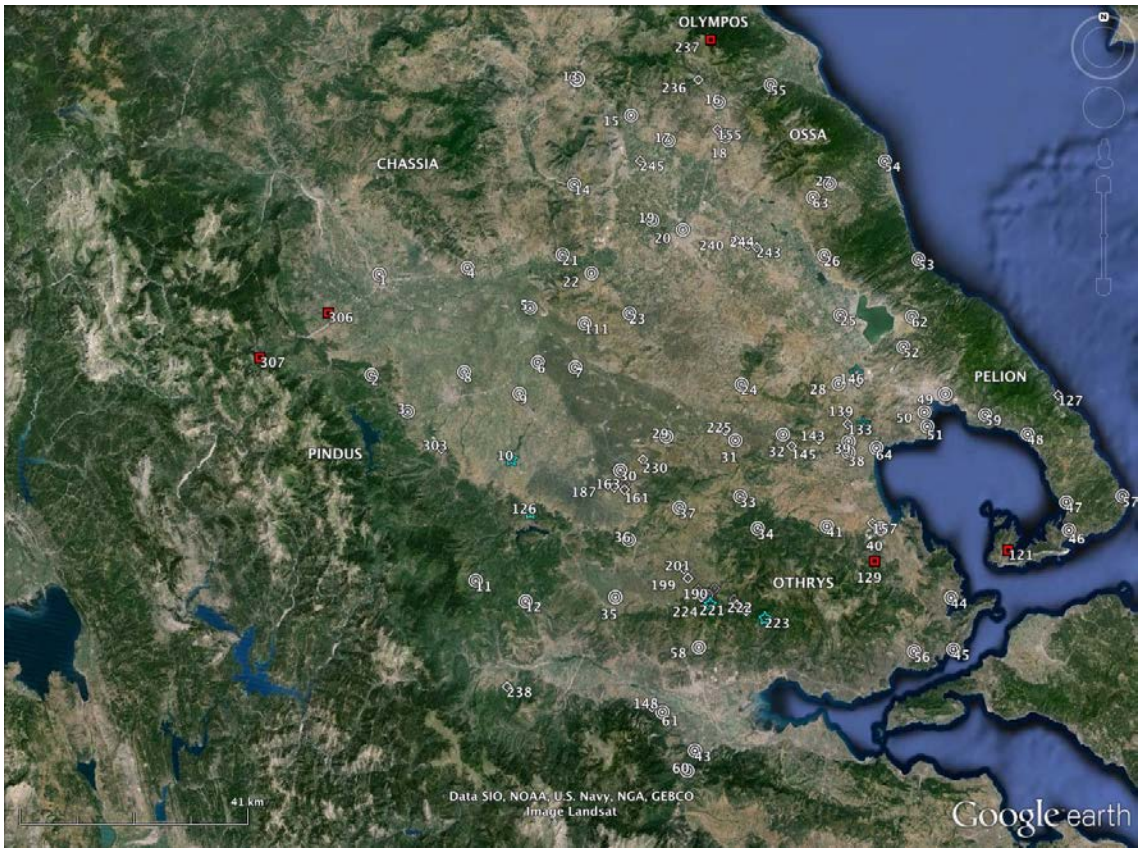


Figure 4.6 – Classical Sites with Mountain Ranges



As can be seen in Figure 4.6 above, sites established in the mountainous regions increased remarkably in this period around the Olympus, Ossa ranges, Othrys, Pindus, and Chassia ranges, some of which represented small-scale fortifications or watch-towers. While these have been interpreted as forts by the investigators (see Appendix 3 for sources for each site). Another possible function for these isolated fortifications and watch towers is related to pastoral activities in the mountainous regions, ensuring safe passage and providing stopping or rest points such as inns, or as simple structures for shelter for shepherds as they moved their animals from one area to another (personal correspondence with Dr. Margriet Haagsma). The lack of small rural sites during this period likely reflects the preference for habitation in nucleated settlements.

The overall settlement and land use patterns in the Classical period suggests a division of site types according to function. Many sites founded in the Classical period were major settlements, most often located along the alluvial basins of the plains, or along important road networks. The established of settlements near the Peneios and Enipeus rivers or their tributaries was convenient not only for irrigation of agricultural

crops, but also for access to communication networks. Despite the increasing exploitation of more marginal soil types, a preference for habitation in nucleated settlements in close proximity to resources such as arable land and alluvial soils, raw materials, and routes of communications (roads, mountain passes, and rivers), is evidenced during this period. Very few sites lay far away from either water or roadways and therefore these communication routes were likely at least partially responsible for the distribution of sites in the landscape, as can be seen in Figure 4.5 above. Fortifications established in the mountain passes most likely represented a need to control and monitor communication routes between regions, agricultural territory, and perhaps land for grazing herd animals. Control territory for agricultural and pastoral activities were likely a driving force behind the locations of major settlements, with the peppering of fortifications on the borders of these territories fulfilling a more intense need for monitoring, control, and defence than before.

When sites are divided by subregion and are compared to the Pre-Classical distributions, shown in Table 4.9 below and Figure 4.5 above, it becomes immediately clear that each subregion saw an increase of sites, both *poleis* and secondary sites, with the exception of Oitaia. The lack of systematic studies of the Spercheios valley region of Oitaia is likely responsible for the trend witnessed here. In contrast, every other region sees new sites established in the Classical period. Pelasgiotis, Thessaliotis, Hestiaiotis and Athamania all contained 20 or more sites, while Achaia Phthiotis certainly represents the most dense occupation, partially due to the extensive surveys conducted in the region, with 54 sites.

Table 4.9 – Classical Sites by Subregion

Sub-Region	**Site Type**	**Preclassical**	**Classical**
Pelasgiotis	***Poleis***	15	17
	Secondary	17	21
	Total	**32**	**38**
Sub-Region	**Site Type**	**Preclassical**	**Classical**
Phthiotis	***Poleis***	3	3
	Secondary	2	15
	Total	**5**	**18**
Hestiaiotis	***Poleis***	6	10
	Secondary	2	12
	Total	**8**	**22**
Thessaliotis	***Poleis***	5	9

Sub-Region	Site Type	Preclassical	Classical
	Secondary	3	17
	Total	**8**	**26**
Achaia Phthiotis	***Poleis***	13	18
	Secondary	19	36
	Total	**32**	**54**
Magnesia	***Poleis***	13	16
	Secondary	2	2
	Total	**15**	**18**
Perrhaibia	***Poleis***	6	14
	Secondary	3	4
	Total	**8**	**18**
Malis	***Poleis***	2	5
	Secondary	1	1
	Total	**3**	**6**
Ainis	***Poleis***	2	5
	Secondary	1	1
	Total	**3**	**6**
Oitaia	***Poleis***	1	1
	Secondary	0	0
	Total	**1**	**1**
Dolopia	***Poleis***	0	2
	Secondary	1	2
	Total	**1**	**4**
Athamania	***Poleis***	0	5
	Secondary	1	16
	Total	**1**	**21**

In terms of site abandonment and continuation, only 4 sites are last occupied in the Classical period (sites 63, 135, 143, and 239), three of which represent settlements, while the other is unable to be identified. When we compare the above maps for the Pre-Classical and Classical periods (Figures 4.2 and 4.5 respectively), it is clear that a very large degree of site continuation is present between the pre-Classical and the Classical periods, a pattern that, as will soon be demonstrated, will change in the following periods.

4.3.3. Thessaly in the Hellenistic Period

For the most part, trends established in the Classical period continued into the Hellenistic. To a lesser extent building activity continued, but only a few major sites

were established. As can be seen in Table 4.10 and 4.11 below, of the 64 sites established in the Hellenistic period, 24 represent settlements, (seven of which have known ancient names and represent *poleis*). 22 fortification sites were established, continuing the pattern initiated in the Classical. This is not surprising given that it is during the 4th to 2nd centuries BCE that Thessaly experienced a series of wars and conflicts between the Macedonians, Aitolians, and Romans. The instability resulting from several centuries of large scale conflict would certainly have encouraged the establishment of large fortified habitation sites for protection and defence of the populace, as well as more isolated fortifications to control the areas between major sites and important passes throughout Thessaly. The map below (Figure 4.6) shows the locations of all occupied sites in the Hellenistic period.

Table 4.10 - Site Types Founded in Hellenistic Period

Site Type	Number	%IDS
Settlement	23	37%
Fortification	22	35%
Farm	7	11%
Cemetery	4	6%
Temple	1	2%
Bath	0	0%
Unknown	6	10%
Total	**63**	**100%**

Table 4.11- Sites Occupied in the Hellenistic Period

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
1	Trikka	A,C,H,R,L	S	**20**	Larissa	A,C,H,R,L	S
2	Ithome/Tamiai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**21**	Phayttos	A,C,H	S
3	Metropolis	A,C,H,R,L	S	**22**	Atrax	A,C,H,R,L	S
4	Pelinna	A,C,H,R,L	S	**23**	Krannon	A,C,H,R	S
5	Limnaion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**24**	Skotoussa	A,C,H,R	S
6	Peirasia /Asterion ?	A,C,H,R	S	**25**	Armenion	A,C,H,R,L	S
7	Phyllos	A,C,H,R	S	**26**	Kerkinion	A,C,H,R,L	S
8	Methulion	A,C,H,R	S	**27**	Sykourion	A,C,H,R,L	S
9	Kierion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**28**	Pherai	A,C,H,R,L	S
10	Phillia/Itonion	A,C,H,R	S	**29**	Pharsalos	A,C,H,R,L	S
11	Ktimene	A,C,H,R	S	**30**	Proerna	A,C,H	S

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
12	Kypaira	A,C,H	S	**31**	Xylades/ Palaiopharsalos	A,C,H,R	S
13	Olooson	A,C,H,R,L	S	**32**	Eretria	A,C,H,R	S
14	Phalanna	A,C,H,R,L	S	**33**	Peuma	A,C,H,R	S
15	Leimone /Alone	A,C,H	S	**34**	Chalai	A,C,H	S
16	Gonnoi	A,C,H,R,L	S	**35**	Xyniai	A,C,H,R,L	S
17	Mopsion	A,C,H,R	S	**36**	Thaumakoi	A?,C,H,R,L	S
18	Gyrton	A,C,H,R,L	S	**37**	Perieia	A,C,H,R,L	S
19	Argoussa/ Argoura	A,C,H,R	S	**38**	Phthiotic Thebes	A,C,H,R,L	S
39	Phylake	A,C,H,R,L	S	**78**	Gomphoi	CHRL	S
40	Halos	A,C,H,R,L	S	**79**	Goritsa/Orminion?	C?,H	S
41	Iton (?)	A,C,H,R,L	S	**80**	Herakleion	C,H,R	S
42	Melitaia	A,C,H,R,L	S	**81**	Hypata	C,H,R,L	S
43	Herakleia Trachinia	A,C,H,R,L	S	**82**	Iphnoi	C, H	S
44	Pteleon	A,C,H,R,L	S	**83**	Kallithera	C, H	S
45	Antron	A?.C,H,R	S	**84**	Lamia	C,H,R,L	S
46	Olizon	A,C,H,R,L	S	**85**	Larissa Kremaste	C,H,R,L	S
47	Spalauthra	A,H	S	**86**	Leibethra	C, H	S
48	Korope	A,C,H,R	S	**87**	Makra Kome	C?,H	S
49	Iolkos (?)	A,C,H,L	S	**88**	Malloia	C,H,R	S
50	Pagasai	A,C,H,R,L ?	S	**89**	Mondaia	C, H	S
51	Amphanai	A,C,H	S	**90**	Mylai	C,H,R	S
52	Glaphyrai	A,C,H,L	S	**91**	Narthakion	C,H,R	S
53	Kasthaneia	A,C,H	S	**92**	Ortha	C,H,R	S
54	Meliboia	A,C,H,R	S	**93**	Oxyneia	C? H	S
55	Homolion	A,C,H,L	S	**94**	Phakion	C,H,R	S
56	Alope	A,C,H,R,L	S	**95**	Phalara/ Stylis/ Ainianion	C,H,R,L	S
57	Sepias	A,C,H	S	**96**	Phaloreia	C,H,R	S
58	Pras	A, C, H, L	S	**97**	Pharkadon	C,H,R	S
59	Metho(a)ne	A,C,H	S	**98**	Phila	C,H,R	S
60	Homilai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**99**	Phyliadon	C?,H	S
61	Antikyra	A,C,H,R	S	**100**	Pialeia	C,H,R	S
62	Boibe	B,A,H,R	S	**101**	Pythion	C,H,R,L	S
64	Pyrasos	A,C,H,R,L	S	**102**	Rhizous	C,H,R	S
54	Meliboia	A,C,H,R	S	**103**	Side	C,H,R	S
55	Homolion	A,C,H,L	S	**104**	Sosthenis	C,H,L	S
56	Alope	A,C,H,R,L	S	**105**	Spercheiai	C, H	S
57	Sepias	A,C,H	S	**106**	Thetideion	C,H,R	S
58	Pras	A, C, H, L	S	**107**	Thetonion	C,H,R	S
59	Metho(a)ne	A,C,H	S	**108**	Demetrias	H,R,L	S
60	Homilai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**109**	Ekarra	H,R	S
61	Antikyra	A,C,H,R	S	**110**	Azoros	C, H,R,L	S
62	Boibe	B,A,H,R	S	**111**	*Sykeon*	N, C, H, R	S
64	Pyrasos	A,C,H,R,L	S	**112**	Ereikinion	H,R	S

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
65	Achinos/Echinos	C,H,R,L	S	**113**	Kondaia	H	S
66	Aiginion	C,H,R	S	**114**	Elateia	H,R	S
67	Angeiai	C,H,R	S	**115**	Eudieron	H	S
68	Ano Ktimene	C, H	S	**116**	*Epeiria Neou Monasteriou*	H, R, L	S?
69	Anthela	C,H,R	S	**117**	*Agios Georgios*	C, H, L	S
70	Argithea	C,H,R	S	**118**	*Agios Nikolaos*	C, H, L	S
71	Askyris	C?,H,R	S	**119**	*Agnantia*	C, H	?
72	Chalkai	C,H,R	S	**120**	*Ai-Lias Petrochorio Bitsenas*	C, H	F
121	*Chomatokastro Kottes*	N,A,C,H,R ,L	F	**121**	*Chomatokastro Kottes*	N,A,C,H,R,L	F
122	*Akarrai*	C,H	S	**160**	*Gazouni*	C, H,	S?
123	*Alchani*	C,H	S?	**161**	*Kommeno Tzami Magoula*	N,M,C,H,R	?
124	*Alpha/Paliokaluva/ Paliochori*	C,H	?	**162**	*Koutroulo Magoula*	N,M,C,H,R	?
125	*Ampelochoriou/ Borothikou*	C,H	F	**163**	*Petrilia Magoula*	N, M, A, C, H-R, L	S?
126	*Anavra*	A,C,H,R	T	**164**	*Kaloyero*	C, H, L	F
127	*Theotokou (Xourihti)*	A,C,H,L	S	**165**	*Karatsadali*	C,H	F
128	*Ano Phteri*	C?,H,R?	S?	**166**	*Karatsadali 2*	C,H	F
129	*Kastraki Almyros*	M,A,C,H	F	**167**	*Kastraki (Profitits Ilias)*	C, H	F
130	*Moschato*	A,C,H	S	**168**	*Kastraki III*	C, H	F
131	*Spartia (Latomeion)*	A,C,E,R,L	T	**169**	*Kastri Prodromou*	C, H, R, L	F
132	*Bouzion*	C, H	F	**170**	*Kastro Dasochoriou*	C,H,R	S?
133	*Persoufli Magoula*	N,M,A,C, H	S	**171**	*Kastro Deli-Achmèt*	C, H	F
134	*Chalkiorachi*	C, H	S	**172**	*Kastro di Rigeion*	C, H	F
136	*Chani tes Kokkonas, Tempe Valley*	C, H, R, L	T	**173**	*Kastro Kokkina*	C,H	S
137	*Chani Zamani Malakasiou*	C, H	S	**174**	*Kastro Kokkonas*	C,H	F
138	*Charasani*	C, H, L	F	**175**	*Kastro Ovrianas*	C, H, L	F
139	*Aerino*	A,C,H,R	S	**176**	*Kato Vasiliki*	C, H, L	S
140	*Dasolophos 1*	C, H, L	S	**177**	*Katophli Elatis Turnas*	C, H	F
141	*Dasolophos 2*	C, H	S	**178**	*Kelaithra*	C, H, R	S
142	*Dendraki*	C,H	S	**179**	*Kokkina*	C,H,R?	S
74	Doliche	C,H,R,L	S	**180**	*Koromilea*	C/H, B	S?
144	*Doxaras*	C,H	F	**181**	*Kosistres*	C, H	S
145	*Eleftherochorio*	N,C,H,R	S	**182**	*Koukourelos Potamias Stournaraiikon*	C, H	F
146	*Palaiokastro*	N,M,A,C, H	S	**183**	*Koumitsia*	C,H	S
147	*Eureai*	C, H, R	S	**184**	*Kouslou*	C, H	S
148	*Kompotades*	M, G, C, H	C	**169**	*Kastri Prodromou*	C, H, R, L	F

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
149	*Fontana Turca*	C, H	S	**185**	*Krini*	C, H, L	S
150	*Gazouni*	C, H,	S?	**186**	*Lakka*	C, H	F
151	*Geladria*	C, H-R	S	**188**	*Lampros*	C, H	F
152	*Girgaki (Bouzion)*	C,H,L	T	**189**	*Tapsi Magoula*	N,M,A,C,H, R,L	S
153	*Girtoni*	C,H,R	S	**190**	*Tzouka*	A, C, H	T
154	*Gkireni*	C, H, L	S	**191**	*Libadi*	C, H, L	S?
155	*Makrychori*	N, B, H	?	**193**	*Magoula Paliambela*	C,H, L	S
156	*Gonnocondylos*	C, H, R	F	**194**	*Agios Georgios*	A, C, H, L	?
157	*Platanos (Voulokalyva)*	M, H, R	C	**195**	*Magoula*	N,A,C,H,R,L	S
196	*Malouka*	C, H	F	**229**	*Phylleion 7*	C, H, L	F
197	*Metamorphosis Sotiros*	C, H, L	F	**230**	*Vrysia*	M,C,H	S
198	*Mikron Perivolakion*	C, H	S	**231**	*Polineri 1*	C, H, L	S
199	*Paliambela Magoula*	A, C, H, L	?	**232**	*Profitis Ilias Dilofo*	C, H	S
201	*Polydendron - Ammoudera*	A, C, H	S	**233**	*Psychiko 1*	C, H, L	F
202	*Narthakion I*	C, H	S	**234**	*Psychiko 2*	C, H, L	F
203	*Narthakion Kastron*	C, H	F	**235**	*Pyrgos-Mataranga*	C, H, L	S
204	*Nea Smolia*	C? H	S	**236**	*Kondylos*	N,A,C,H,R,L	S/ F
205	*Krikorrachi*	N,A,C,H,R ,L	S	**237**	*Lapathous-Charax? Kallipefke*	N, C? H, R	F/S?
206	*Dasos*	N,C,H-R, L	S	**238**	*Hellenika*	A? C, H	S
207	*Palaiokastro Kalogeron*	C, H?	F	**240**	*Tripolis Larisaia 1 - Platykampos*	N, C,H	S
208	*Palaiokastro Petrotou/Liaskobo*	C, H	F	**241**	*Soublero Itamou*	C, H	F
209	*Palaiokastro Philuras / Lesianon*	C, H, R	F	**242**	*Spartiacque*	C, H	F
210	*Palaiokastro Skotoussa (?)*	C, H, L	S	**243**	*Tripolis Larisaia 2 - Glauki*	N, C,H	S
211	*Palioclissi*	C, H	S	**244**	*Tripolis Larisaia 3 - Tyrnavou? /Mélia*	N,A,C,H,R	S
212	*Paliogourtsia*	C,H,R	S	**246**	*Tsangli (Pyrgos)*	C, H, L	F
213	*Paliokastro Portis*	C, H	F	**247**	*Tsani*	C,H	S
214	*Paliokastron*	C, H, R?	F	**248**	*Tsouka -Panagia Korudallou*	C, H	F
215	*Petra /Koutsoufliani*	C,H	F	**249**	*Zatali*	C, H, H-R?	S?
216	*Petrino*	C, H, L	S	**250**	*Makrolibadon*	H-R, L	?
217	*Petrino (Pyrgos 1)*	C,H	F	**251**	*Mantasia*	H, L	?
218	*Petrino (Pyrgos 2)*	C,H	F	**252**	*Property of Nikis Baltadourou-Panagopoulou*	H, R	C
219	*Peuma Magoula*	C, H	S	**253**	*Platistomo*	H	C
220	*Kalamachi*	A, C, H	S?	**254**	*Archani*	H,R,L	C

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
221	*Ellenika*	A? C, H	S	**255**	*Malakasiou*	H	C
222	*Mavri*	N? B, A, C, H-R, L	F	**256**	*Χ.Θ. 270.300 (Pontika) Sourpi*	H, R	R
223	*Haghia Marina*	M, C-H	T	**257**	*Χ.Θ. 276.000 Sourpi*	H, R	R
224	*Ta iera - Agios Georgios*	A, C, H, L	T	**258**	*Amigdali 2 Lake Karla*	H	R
225	*Ampelia (Magoula Palaiokastro)*	B, A, C, H, R, L	S?	**259**	*Χ.Θ 297.200*	H	R
226	*Phylleion 4*	C,H	S	**260**	*Χ.Θ 296.800*	H,R,L	R
227	*Phylleion 5*	C, H, L	F	**261**	*Magoula Tserli (Kalamaki) Lake Karla*	H, R	R
228	*Phylleion 6*	C, H, L	F	**262**	*Saltari Magoula*	H-R, L	R?
229	*Phylleion 7*	C, H, L	F	**263**	*Strongylokastron*	H, L	F
230	*Vrysia*	M,C,H	S	**264**	*Keramachorion*	H, L	F
265	*Kallithea (between Argalasti and Xinovrisi)*	H, L	F	**292**	*Makrakomi*	H	S?
266	*Vrynaina*	H, R, L	F	**293**	*Agrissa (Mati) Magoula*	H-R	S?
267	*Marmara*	H	F	**294**	*Sabba Magoula*	H, L	S?
268	*Hellenokastro*	H	F	**295**	*Agios Georgios*	H, L	S?
269	*Neochoraki*	H	F	**296**	*Mytaries*	H, H/R, L	S?
270	*Agios Nikolaos*	H	F	**297**	*Paliochorion*	H, L	S?
271	*Myli Watchtowers*	H	F	**298**	*Loggitsion*	H, R, L	S?
272	*Tsournati-Vrisi*	H	F	**299**	*Karues Magoula (Karuai)*	H	S?
273	*Gynaikokastron*	H	F	**300**	*Asclepeion (Moni Antinitsis)*	H, L	T
274	*Bouna Antinitsa*	H, L	F	**301**	*Neochoraki alternate*	H,R,L	F
275	*Kastro Kainotouti - Karuas Trizolou*	H, L	F	**302**	*Petromagoula*	H?	?
276	*Perivoli*	H	F?	**303**	*Kallithero*	A,C,H,R,L	?
277	*Petromagoula*	H	F?	**304**	*Ramnia*	H	?
278	*Pournarion*	B, H	F?	**305**	*Malakasiou Monastery*	H	?
279	*Kastraki Agios Antonios*	H	F?	**306**	*Magoula Phikis Barumpopis*	A, C, H	F
280	*Aulakion*	H, L	F?	**309**	*Achladea*	C, H	?
281	*Ditnata*	H, R	F?	**310**	*Ag. Paraskevi (Chloi)*	C, H	S
282	*Palaiokastro Kaloneriou Niklitsi*	H, R, L	F?	**311**	*Agia Triada*	C, H, L	T?
283	*(P)ano Kastro Palaiokarya*	H	F?	**312**	*Agioi Apostoli Analipsis Trogonias*	C, H	S
284	*Rhizoma*	H,R,L	S	**313**	*Agios Georgios - Sophades*	C,H	S
285	*Kastraki II*	H, R	S	**300**	*Asclepeion (Moni Antinitsis)*	H, L	T

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
286	*Mesochora*	H	S	**301**	*Neochoraki alternate*	H,R,L	F
287	*Prof. Ilias Megalis Kerasias*	H	S	**302**	*Petromagoula*	H?	?
288	*Tsiougkari Bronterou*	H	S	**303**	*Kallithero*	A, C, H , R, L	?
289	*Karandai*	H	S	**304**	*Ramnia*	H	?
290	*Mexiates*	H	S?	**305**	*Malakasiou Monastery*	H	?
291	*Syka*	H	S?	**306**	*Magoula Phikis Barumpopis*	A, C, H	F

The rivers and road network of Thessaly continued to play important roles in the distribution of sites. As can be seen in Figure 4.8 below, sites are especially concentrated along the roads, rivers and their tributaries, particularly in areas of important mountain passes between regions of Thessaly (for example the Titanos pass between the two plains and the Othrys passes from Achaia Phthiotis into the Spercheios valley), to regions beyond and the Aegean. These communication networks enabled a greater connectivity and facilitated economic, military and general traffic. These routes had to be monitored and controlled, particularly in the Hellenistic period as evidenced by the continued occupation of Classical fortifications, as well as the foundation of new sites throughout the mountain passes in the region.

New settlements, as well as forts and farms, were established during the Hellenistic period. 24 new habitation sites are established, seven of which represent *poleis*, Demetrias among them. An important trend in the Hellenistic period relates to rural sites; the largest number of identified small rural sites (six) comes from this period. It is possible that the increasing occupation of the rural landscape could also be partly responsible for the increased need for isolated fortifications. If more small rural sites are occupying the landscape, it is possible that more fortifications would be necessary in order to protect and control this territory. It is most likely that a combination of factors were responsible for the increased frequency of isolated fortifications, political and military instability being perhaps the strongest. The remaining sites founded in this period are a single temple, isolated cemeteries not associated with architectural remains but likely indicating a nearby settlement (four), and those whose function are not able to be determined (six).

Figure 4.7 –Hellenistic Sites with Rivers and Roads

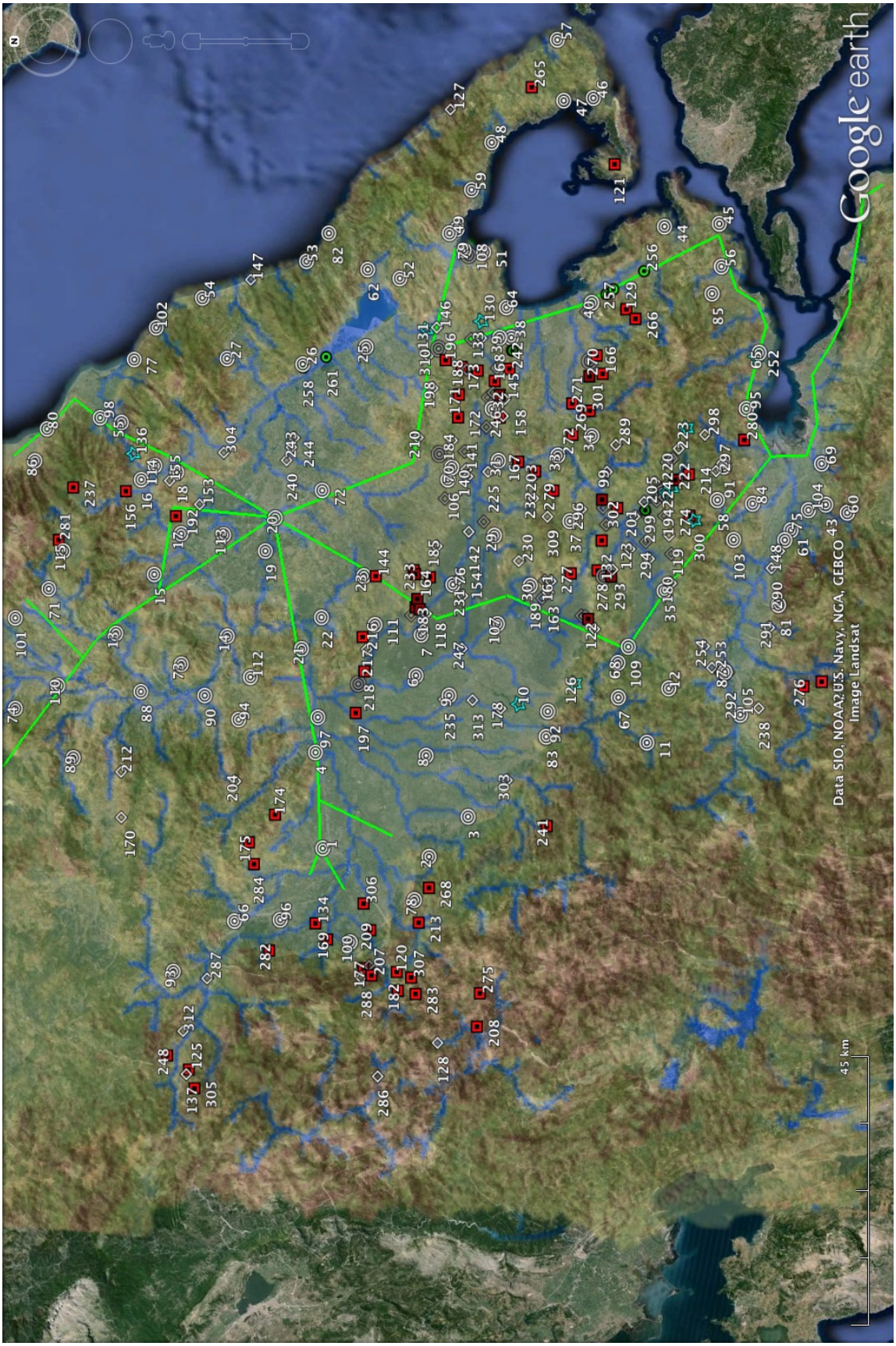
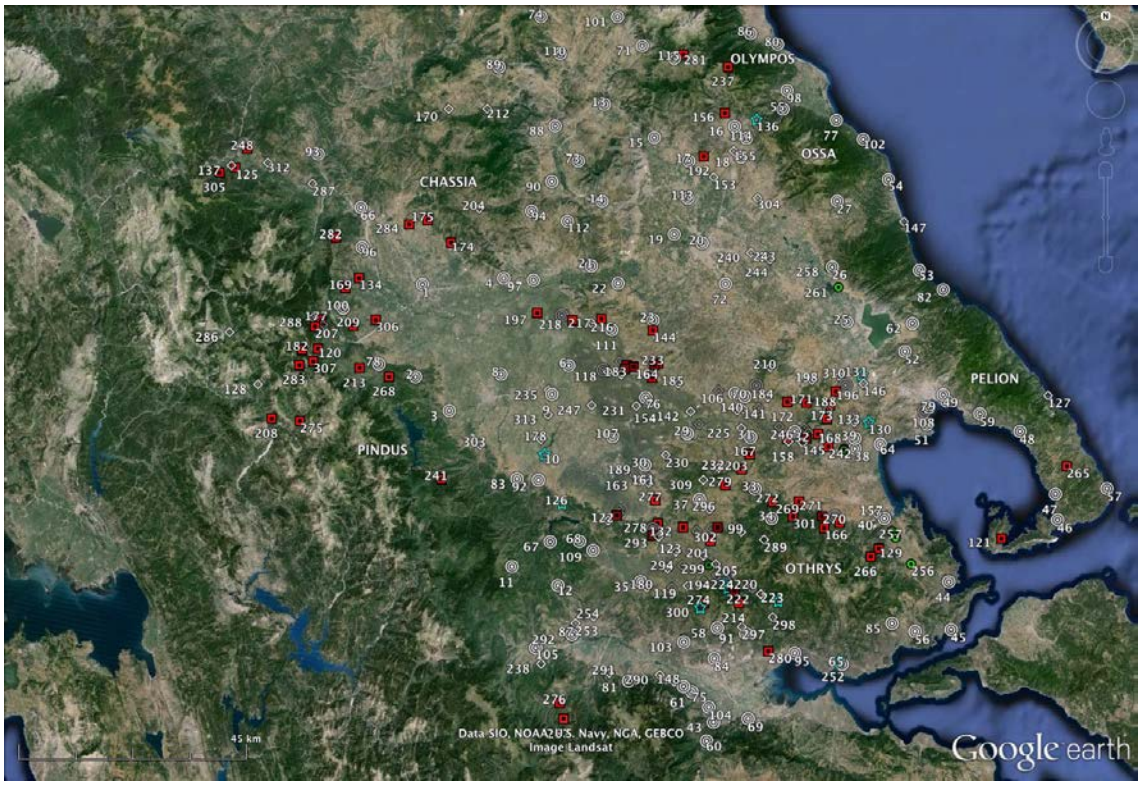


Figure 4.8 – Hellenistic Sites with Mountain Ranges



Upon analysis it becomes evident that not only is there a large degree of continuity in fortifications from the Classical to the Hellenistic period, but occupation of these areas becomes even more intensified in the mountain passes throughout Thessaly. In addition to the fortifications established in the Classical period, the vast majority of which continue into the Hellenistic, additional sites are founded in all of the mountainous regions, particularly the Othrys.

These sites were predominantly placed near important mountain passes. Decourt, working on the Enipeus valley, suggests strategic concerns (points of physical defence) were not as influential in the locations of newly founded fortifications as tactical needs (capturing points of wide viewsheds and installing camps) (Decourt 1990, 129-130). That is, their placement had more to do with tactics for monitoring and control of specific areas than strategies for systematic defensive structures. Decourt also argues that these fortifications may have formed a “défense nationale”, occupied and manned by city youths at the end of the *ephebeia* (Decourt 1990, 129, note 8); this remains speculative since very little evidence exists to demonstrate a regional level organization of the defence and surveillance of the Thessalian landscape. The high number of new fortifications in the Othrys mountains is likely due, in part, to the fact that Achaia

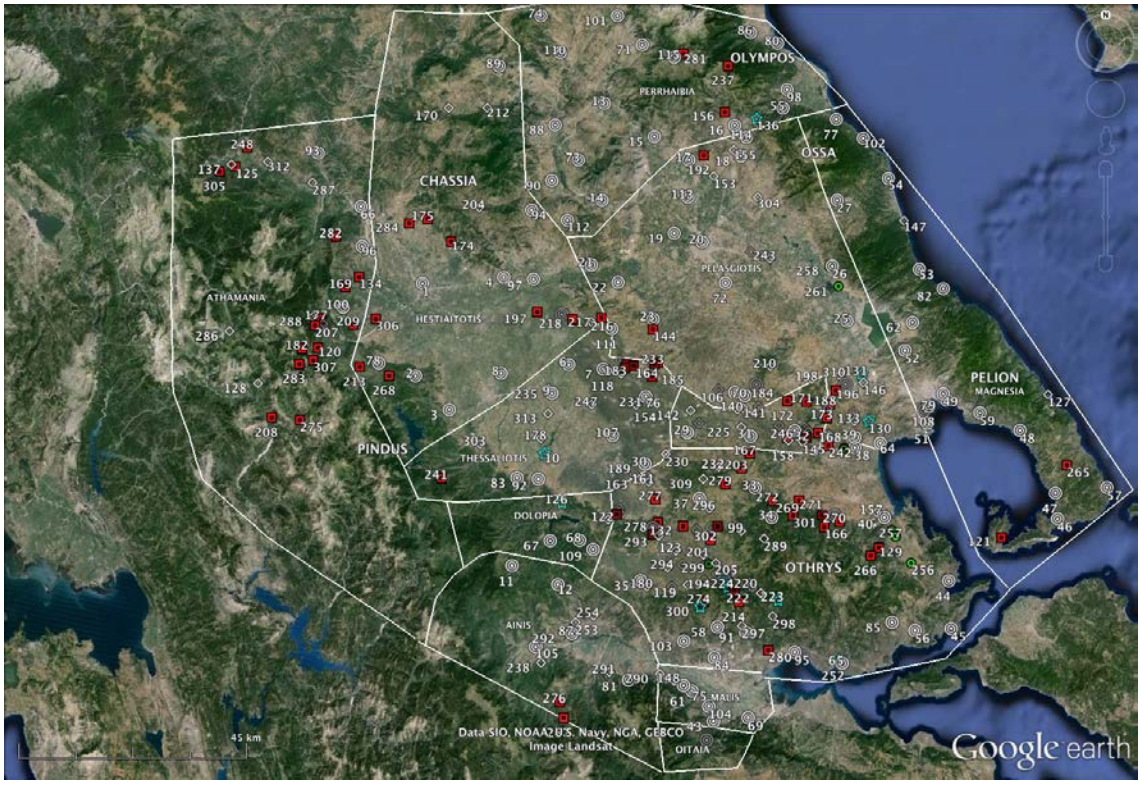
Phthiotis represents the most intensively surveyed region of Thessaly. Since large numbers of fortifications have been identified for other areas in the Classical period, it is possible the high number of fortifications identified in the Othrys was a result of the conflicts in the 3rd and 2nd centuries, particularly between the Aitolian, Macedonians and Romans for control of Achaia Phthiotis (Cantarelli 1999, 129). The heightened military activity in the area would have necessitated not only defence points and army camps, but also protection and monitoring of communication routes.

Table 4.12 – Hellenistic Sites by Subregion

Sub-Region	Site Type	Preclassical	Classical	Hellenistic
Pelasgiotis	***Poleis***	**15**	17	18
	Secondary	**17**	21	24
	Total	**32**	**38**	**42**
Phthiotis	***Poleis***	**3**	3	3
	Secondary	**2**	15	14
	Total	**5**	**18**	**17**
Hestiaiotis	***Poleis***	6	10	11
	Secondary	2	12	14
	Total	**8**	**22**	**25**
Thessaliotis	***Poleis***	5	9	9
	Secondary	3	17	20
	Total	**8**	**26**	**29**
Achaia Phthiotis	***Poleis***	13	18	20
	Secondary	19	36	54
	Total	**32**	**54**	**74**
Magnesia	***Poleis***	13	16	18
	Secondary	2	2	4
	Total	**15**	**18**	**22**
Perrhaibia	***Poleis***	5	14	16
	Secondary	3	4	5
	Total	**8**	**18**	**21**
Malis	***Poleis***	2	5	5
	Secondary	1	1	2

Sub-Region	Site Type	Preclassical	Classical	Hellenistic
	Total	**3**	**6**	**7**
Ainis	***Poleis***	2	5	5
	Secondary	1	1	6
	Total	**3**	**6**	**11**
Oitaia	***Poleis***	1	1	1
	Secondary	0	0	0
	Total	**1**	**1**	**1**
Dolopia	***Poleis***	0	2	3
	Secondary	1	2	2
	Total	**1**	**4**	**5**
Athamania	***Poleis***	0	5	5
	Secondary	1	16	23
	Total	**1**	**21**	**28**

Figure 4.9– Hellenistic Sites By Subregion



In terms of site density within the various subregions, we see Achaia Phthiotis, Thessaliotis, Hestiaotis and Pelasgiotis continuing to represent the highest density of

new sites, although Athamania and Perrhaibia see the establishment of many new sites as well, as can be seen in Table 4.12 and Figure 4.9 above. Again, as in the Classical period, a general increase in site numbers is present across all regions except for Oitaia, for reasons mentioned previously, and Phthiotis, which sees a drop of one site. In Figure 4.9 the highest areas of occupation density are in the south and east, representing Achaia Phthiotis, Phthiotis, and Southern Pelasgiotis. As mentioned above, it is possible that the increased density seen in these areas is partly due to the differential survey and archaeological investigations.

Table 4.13 - Site Continuation in Hellenistic Period

Site Type	Total Occupation in Hellenistic	New Sites	Continued from Classical	Site Loss by End of Period
Settlement	207(114 major)	23 (7 major)	183	93 (29)
Fortification	67	22	45	53
Farm	7	7	0	-4
Cemetery	6	4	2	3
Temple	9	1	8	6
Baths	0	0	0	-3
Unknown	14	6	8	10
Total	**303**	**64**	**239**	**151**

When we look at site continuation patterns the Hellenistic period seems to document, according to sites occupied, a very large degree of continuity with the Classical period, as can be seen in Table 4.13 above. Although fortifications and settlements, small and large are established during this period, the majority (79%) of the sites documenting a Hellenistic phase were occupied in the Classical period. When we look at the number of sites whose last documented phase of occupation was the Hellenistic, a different pattern emerges.

By the end of the Hellenistic period half of the sites occupied were no longer in use. The sites that are abandoned by the end of this period are predominantly minor secondary sites and therefore it is not necessarily a straightforward case of decline and depopulation in the landscape. Instead this pattern could be taken as evidence of increased urbanization at some sites at the expense (decline and abandonment) of others, a phenomenon attested in other parts of Greece at this time (Shipley 2005, Stewart 2013; Bintliff 2008; Alcock 1993, 16, 129, 215-8).

4.3.4. Thessaly in the Roman Period

In contrast to the earlier periods which saw more prolific site foundations, the Roman period sees only 11 sites established, seen in Table 4.14. No new *poleis* or major settlements are founded, although as we will see later this does not mean that settlement patterns were static. As can be seen in Figure 4.10 below, site occupation in the Roman period is far less dense than in previous periods. Five of these new sites represent rural estates interpreted as farmhouses, continuing the trend initiated in the Hellenistic period. The evidence for the establishment of rural estates and *villae rusticae* in the Roman period is not isolated to Thessaly, but is part of a wider pattern identified throughout the province of Achaia, as well as other provinces such as Britannia (Zarmakoupi 2013, 752-761; Mattingly 2009, 123).

Table 4.14 - Sites Occupied in the Roman Period

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
1	Trikka	A,C,H,R,L	S	**42**	Melitaia	A,C,H,R,L	S
2	Ithome/Tamiai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**43**	Herakleia Trachinia	A,C,H,R,L	S
3	Metropolis	A,C,H,R,L	S	**44**	Pteleon	A,C,H,R,L	S
4	Pelinna	A,C,H,R,L	S	**45**	Antron	A?.C,H,R	S
5	Limnaion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**46**	Olizon	A,C,H,R,L	S
6	Peirasia /Asterion ?	A,C,H,R	S	**48**	Korope	A,C,H,R	S
7	Phyllos	A,C,H,R	S	**50**	Pagasai	A,C,H,R,L?	S
8	Methulion	A,C,H,R	S	**54**	Meliboia	A,C,H,R	S
9	Kierion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**56**	Alope	A,C,H,R,L	S
10	Phillia/Itonion	A,C,H,R	S	**60**	Homilai	A,C,H,R,L	S
11	Ktimene	A,C,H,R	S	**61**	Antikyra	A,C,H,R	S
13	Olooson	A,C,H,R,L	S	**62**	Boibe	B,A,H,R	S
14	Phalanna	A,C,H,R,L	S	**64**	Pyrasos	A,C,H,R,L	S
16	Gonnoi	A,C,H,R,L	S	**65**	Achinos/Echinos	C,H,R,L	S
17	Mopsion	A,C,H,R	S	**66**	Aiginion	C,H,R	S
18	Gyrton	A,C,H,R,L	S	**42**	Melitaia	A,C,H,R,L	S
19	Argoussa/ Argoura	A,C,H,R	S	**43**	Herakleia Trachinia	A,C,H,R,L	S
20	Larissa	A,C,H,R,L	S	**44**	Pteleon	A,C,H,R,L	S
22	Atrax	A,C,H,R,L	S	**67**	Angeiai	C,H,R	S
23	Krannon	A,C,H,R	S	**69**	Anthela	C,H,R	S
24	Skotoussa	A,C,H,R	S	**70**	Argithea	C,H,R	S
25	Armenion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**71**	Askyris	C?,H,R	S
26	Kerkinion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**72**	Chalkai	C,H,R	S

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
27	Sykourion	A,C,H,R,L	S	**73**	Chyretiai	C?,H,R,L	S
28	Pheres	A,C,H,R,L	S	**74**	Doliche	C,H,R,L	S
29	Pharsalos	A,C,H,R,L	S	**77**	Eurymenai	C, H, R, L	S
31	Xylades/ Palaiopharsalos	A,C,H,R	S	**78**	Gomphoi	CHRL	S
32	Eretria	A,C,H,R	S	**80**	Herakleion	C,H,R	S
33	Peuma	A,C,H,R	S	**81**	Hypata	C,H,R,L	S
35	Xyniai	A,C,H,R,L	S	**84**	Lamia	C,H,R,L	S
36	Thaumakoi	A?,C,H,R,L	S	**90**	Mylai	C,H,R	S
37	Perieia	A,C,H,R,L	S	**91**	Narthakion	C,H,R	S
38	Phthiotic Thebes	A,C,H,R,L	S	**92**	Ortha	C,H,R	S
39	Phylake	A,C,H,R,L	S	**94**	Phakion	C,H,R	S
40	Halos	A,C,H,R,L	S	**95**	Phalara/ Stylis	C,H,R,L	S
41	Iton (?)	A,C,H,R,L	S	**96**	Phaloreia	C,H,R	S
97	Pharkadon	C,H,R	S	**162**	*Koutroulo Magoula*	N, B, C, H, R	?
98	Phila	C,H,R	S	**163**	*Petrilia Magoula*	N, B, A, C, H-R, L	?
100	Pialeia	C,H,R	S	**169**	*Kastri Prodromou*	C, H, R, L	F
101	Pythion	C,H,R,L	S	**170**	*Kastro Dasochoriou*	C,H,R	S?
102	Rhizous	C,H,R	S	**178**	*Kelaithra*	C, H, R	S
103	Side	C,H,R	S	**179**	*Kokkina*	C,H,R?	S
106	Thetideion	C,H,R	S	**187**	*Palaiochorion Magoula*	N, B, C, R, L	S
107	Thetonion	C,H,R	S	**169**	*Kastri Prodromou*	C, H, R, L	F
108	Demetrias	H,R,L	S	**170**	*Kastro Dasochoriou*	C,H,R	S?
109	Ekarra	H,R	S	**178**	*Kelaithra*	C, H, R	S
110	Azoros	H,R,L	S	**179**	*Kokkina*	C,H,R?	S
111	*Sykeon*	N, C, H, R	S	**189**	*Tapsi Magoula*	N, M, A, C, H, R, L	S
112	Ereikinion	H,R	S	**192**	*Magoula Kastri*	C,H,R	F
114	Elateia	H,R	S	**195**	*Magoula*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S
116	*Epeiria Neou Monasteriou*	H, R, L	S	**200**	*Sykeon Baths*	R	B
121	*Chomatokastro Kottes*	N, A, C, H, R, L	F	**205**	*Krikorrachi*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S
126	*Anavra*	A, C, H, R	T	**206**	*Dasos*	N, C, H-R, L	S
128	*Ano Phteri*	C?,H,R?	S	**209**	*Palaiokastro Philuras / Lesianon*	C, H, R	F
131	*Spartia (Latomeion)*	A,C,H,R,L	T	**212**	*Paliogourtsia*	C,H,R	S
136	*Chani tes Kokkonas, Tempe Valley*	C, H, R, L	T	**214**	*Paliokastron*	C, H, R?	F
139	*Aerino*	A,C,H,R	S	**222**	*Mavri*	N? B, A, C, H-R, L	F
145	*Eleftherochorio*	N,C,H,R	S	**225**	*Ampelia (Magoula Palaiokastro)*	B, A, C, H, R, L	S?

No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type	No.	Site Name	Dates	Site Type
76	Euhydrion	C,H,R,L	S	**236**	*Kondylos*	N, A, C, H, R, L	S
147	*Eureai*	C, H, R	S	**237**	*Lapathous-Charax? Kallipefke*	N, C? H, R	F?
151	*Geladria*	C, H-R	S	**244**	*Tripolis Larisaia 3 - Tyrnavou? /Mélia*	N, A, C, H, R	S
153	*Girtoni*	C,H,R	S	**245**	*Ambelona 6*	N, M, B,C, R, L	S
156	*Gonnocondylos*	C, H, R	F	**249**	*Zatali*	C, H, H-R?	S?
157	*Platanos (Voulokalyva)*	M, H, R	C	**250**	*Makrolibadon*	H-R, L	?
256	*Χ.Θ. 270.300 (Pontika) Sourpi*	H, R		**252**	*Property of Nikis Baltadourou-Panagopoulou*	H, R	C
257	*Χ.Θ. 276.000 Sourpi*	H, R		**314**	*Chomatokastro (Mylos)*	R	F
260	*Χ.Θ 296.800*	H,R,L		**315**	*Platanos*	R, L	B
97	Pharkadon	C,H,R		**316**	*Χ.Θ. 276.400*	R	R
261	*Magoula Tserli (Kalamaki) Lake Karla*	H, R	R in H, C in R	**307**	*Kato Kastro Palaiokarya*	A, H, R, L	F
262	*Saltari Magoula*	H-R, L	R?	**308**	*Χ.Θ. 277.500*	Cl, H. R	R
266	*Vrynaina*	H, R, L	F	**314**	*Chomatokastro (Mylos)*	R	F
281	*Ditnata*	H, R	F?	**315**	*Platanos*	R, L	B
282	*Palaiokastro Kaloneriou Niklitsi*	H, R, L	F?	**316**	*Χ.Θ. 276.400*	R	R
284	*Rhizoma*	H,R,L	S	**317**	*Χ.0.296.575*	R	R
285	*Kastraki II*	H, R	S	**318**	*R near Echinos*	R, L	R
293	*Agrissa (Mati) Magoula*	H-R	S?	**319**	*Χ.Θ. 296.150*	R	R
296	*Mytaries*	H, H/R, L	S?	**320**	*Χ.Θ. 296.680*	R	R
298	*Loggitsion*	H, R, L	S?	**321**	*Palaiokklisia*	R, L	S
303	*Kallithero*	A, C, H, R, L	?	**322**	*Loutra Hypatis*	R,L	B
307	*Kato Kastro Palaiokarya*	A, H, R, L	F	**323**	*Kastro Livadiou*	R, L	F
308	*Χ.Θ. 277.500*	Cl, H. R	R	**324**	*Kalochori 5*	R	?

At the end of the Hellenistic period we already saw a dramatic contraction of occupied sites and, when we look at Table 4.15 below, this pattern seemingly continues. From the Hellenistic to the Roman period, 303 occupied sites decreases to 152, less than half of the occupied sites in the Hellenistic period continue into the Roman. By the end of the Roman period only 117 sites are occupied. Site contraction is evidenced in some parts of the Greek mainland and in other provinces (Bintliff 2008, 23-5; Alcock 1993, 215-8; Rizakis 2010, 8; Mattingly 2009, 123) demonstrating that this was not a local pattern.

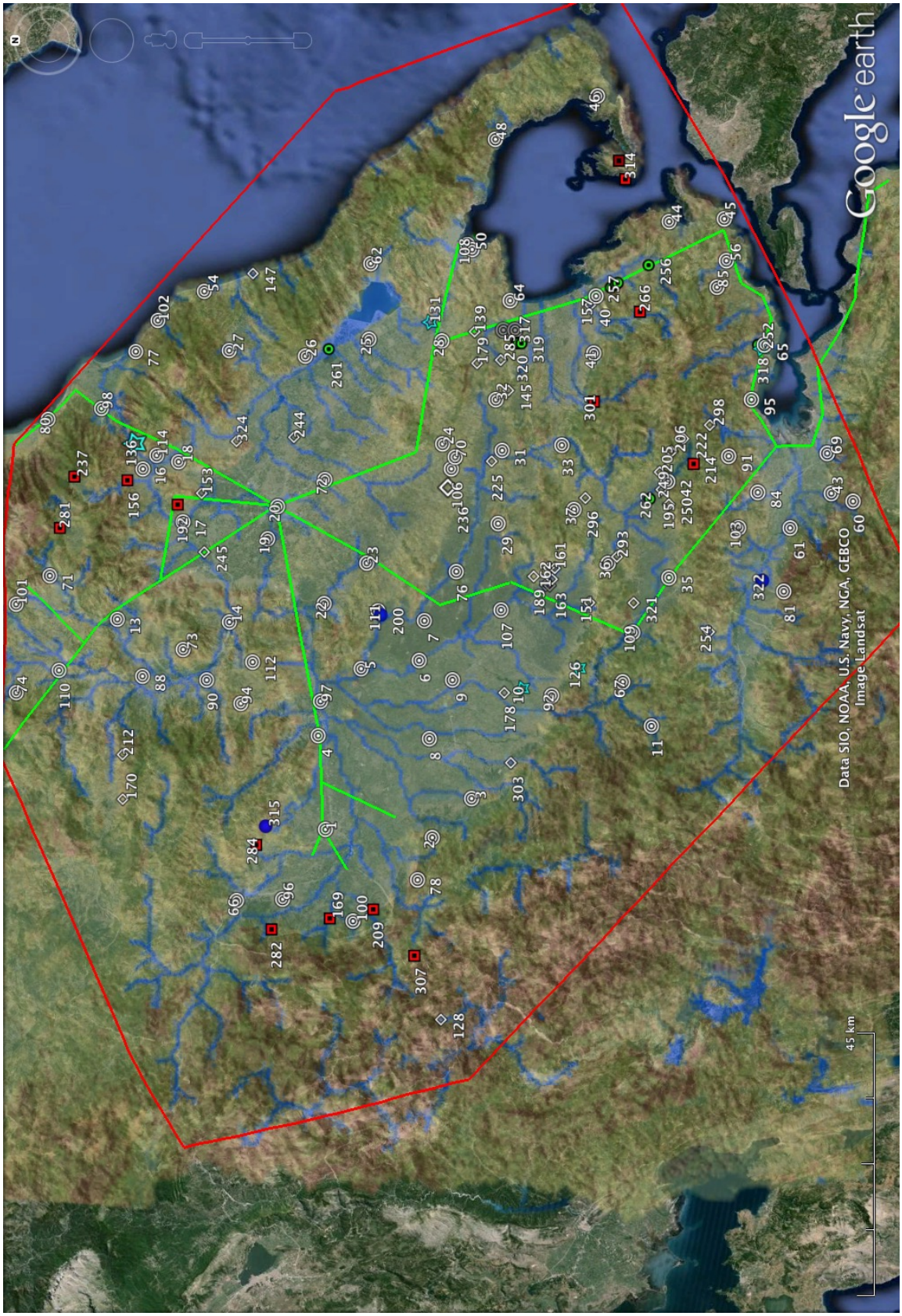
The sites that continued to be occupied at this time were primarily located along

road or waterways; far fewer sites are located in difficult to reach locations. Although it is clear that far fewer sites were in use during the Roman period, the largest and most important centres continue to be occupied throughout the Roman period. Among them Larissa, as the administrative centre of the Thessalian League and due to its location at the centre of the major roadways of Thessaly, maintains its prominent position (see Figure 4.10 below) before making room for Hypata, which increases in importance and influence in the late 1st and 2nd centuries CE, as suggested by Apuleius and the limited archaeological work that has been conducted on the site (Rozaki 1983, 132-142).

The centre of power and influence shifted further south, perhaps assisting in reinforcing connections with neighbouring regions as well as with Delphi. Metropolis and Demetrias appear to increase in importance as well as size. New building and reconstruction activities of various types including public and private structures such as baths, aqueducts, theatres and villas have been identified at most of the major cities, Trikka; Larissa, Demetrias, Metropolis, Melitaia, Lamia, and Hypata dating to within the Roman period (see entries in settlement database for sources and site bibliography). This is a similar situation seen in the Peloponnese (Bintliff 2008, 30), as well as Crete (Kelly 2013, 133-5) where both public and private building activity was present in many cities of the Roman period with some regionally variability. Increased urbanization is also documented throughout the Greek world (Alcock 1993, 215-8; Rizakis 2010, 8; Stewart 2013, 99), demonstrating that the trend of regionally variable urbanization was not an isolated phenomenon.

In addition, epigraphic, literary and archaeological sources provide evidence of cities engaged in reconstruction activities after the Macedonian wars and into the Roman period. At Skotoussa, an inscription dating most likely to the period between 194 and 185 BCE records the proposal and subsequent report of the reorganization of the city's defences including the building of a new wall between the city and the acropolis wall (*SEG* 43, 311; Missailidou-Despotidou 1993: 202-3, 217). While it is not clear whether the repairs and reorganization were necessary as a result of the battle of Cynoscephalae, or were proposed in order to bolster the city's defences for potential future conflicts, it is clear that in the first quarter of the 2nd century BCE, there was still a perceived need for the strengthening of defensive systems. Another, quite badly damaged and unpublished inscription provides further evidence for repairs of defensive walls at Kierion (Bouchon, personal correspondence 2015-09-03).

Figure 4.10 – Roman Occupation with Roads and Hydrology



As can be seen in Figure 4.11 below, very few sites are located in the mountainous regions, compared to the previous periods. The most densely occupied mountain areas were Achaia Phthiotis and the Titanos range, although a drastic contraction of fortifications is a characteristic of occupation at this time. It is interesting that from the 1st century BCE onwards, far fewer fortifications are in use throughout Thessaly, suggesting less of a need to control, monitor and defend the mountain passes allowing access to different regions of Thessaly and beyond. It is entirely possible that this is a direct result of the *pax Romana*, particularly after the creation of the province of Achaia in 27 BCE, brought about by Roman domination. With Rome having defeated the major competing powers in the area, particularly Aitolia and Macedonia, there was less need to constantly monitor traffic between regions of Thessaly and beyond.

Figure 4.11 – Roman Sites with Mountain Ranges

Table 4.15 – Site Continuity and Abandonment in the Roman Period

Site Type	Occupied during Period	New Sites	Continued from Hellenistic	Site Loss by End of period
Settlement	114 (88 major)	1	113	36
Fortification	14	2	12	-1
Farm	11	5	6	8
Cemetery	3	0	3	2
Temple	3	0	3	-1
Baths	3	2	1	1
Unknown	4	1	3	-6
Total	**152**	**11**	**141**	**35**

Despite the fact that a large quantity of major settlements are no longer occupied by the end of the Roman period, the largest and most influential centres continue to be occupied, as can be seen in Figure 4.10 above, for example Larissa, Lamia, Trikka, Tripolis (made up of Pythion, Doliche and Azoros), Hypata, Demetrias, Phthiotic Thebes, Eretria, Metropolis, Skotoussa, Krannon and Atrax just to name a few.

Figure 4.12 – Roman Sites with Subregions

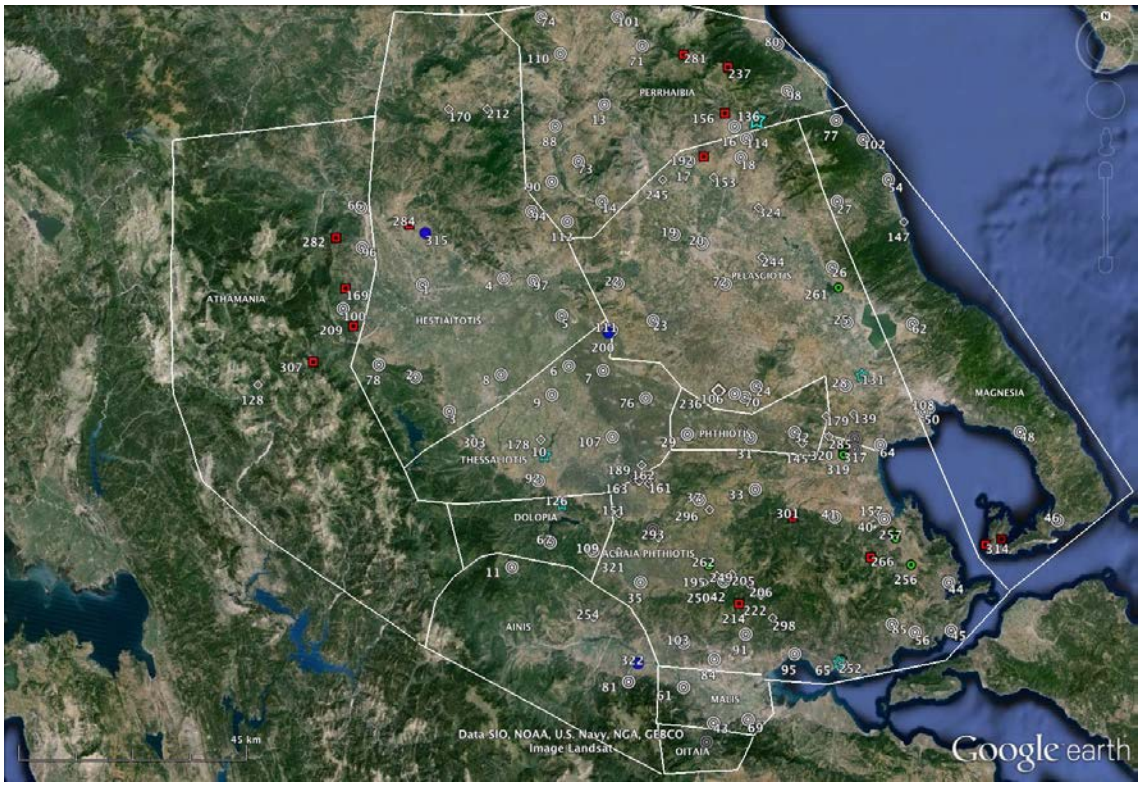


Table 4.16 – Roman Sites by Subregion

Sub-Region	Site Type	Preclassical	Classical	Hellenistic	Roman
Pelasgiotis	***Poleis***	15	17	18	16
	Secondary	17	21	24	10
	Total	**32**	**38**	**42**	**26**
Phthiotis	***Poleis***	3	3	3	3
	Secondary	2	15	14	2
	Total	**5**	**18**	**17**	**5**
Hestiaiotis	***Poleis***	6	10	11	10
	Secondary	2	12	14	4
	Total	**8**	**22**	**25**	**14**
Thessaliotis	***Poleis***	5	9	9	6
Sub-Region	**Site Type**	**Preclassical**	**Classical**	**Hellenistic**	**Roman**
	Secondary	3	17	20	4
	Total	**8**	**26**	**29**	**10**
Achaia Phthiotis	***Poleis***	13	18	20	16
	Secondary	19	36	54	26
	Total	**32**	**54**	**74**	**42**
Magnesia	***Poleis***	13	16	18	8
	Secondary	2	2	4	3
	Total	**15**	**18**	**22**	**11**
Perrhaibia	***Poleis***	5	14	16	12
	Secondary	3	4	5	6
	Total	**8**	**18**	**21**	**18**
Malis	***Poleis***	2	5	5	3
	Secondary	1	1	2	1
	Total	**3**	**6**	**7**	**4**
Ainis	***Poleis***	2	5	5	2
	Secondary	1	1	6	2
	Total	**3**	**6**	**11**	**4**
Oitaia	***Poleis***	1	1	1	1
	Secondary	0	0	0	0
	Total	**1**	**1**	**1**	**1**
Dolopia	***Poleis***	0	2	3	2
	Secondary	1	2	2	1
	Total	**1**	**4**	**5**	**3**
Athamania	***Poleis***	0	5	5	4
	Secondary	1	16	23	4
	Total	**1**	**21**	**28**	**8**

In contrast to the earlier periods, which saw growth of occupied site numbers in each subregion, site numbers decrease in all subregions dramatically. Athamania, Ainis, Magnesia, Achaia Phthiotis, Thessaliotis, and Phthiotis all saw their occupied site numbers drop by half in the Roman period. The most densely occupied regions were still Achaia Phthiotis and Pelasgiotis, followed by Perrhaibia. This regionally variable pattern of site continuity from the Hellenistic to Roman period is documented for other areas of Greece, such as the Peloponnese (Stewart 2013, 77-88), and in other Roman provinces, such as Britain (Mattingly 2009, 123).

These numbers reflect sites, which had their final occupation phases in the Hellenistic period. It could be easy to interpret the above numbers as signifying decline in the Roman period, but since these sites were already abandoned by the start of the 1st century BCE (the start of the Roman period for this study), the factors responsible for their abandonment lay in the context of the late Hellenistic period. While the data is not precise enough to suggest exact dates for the abandonment or destruction of the sites last occupied in the Hellenistic period, it is not improbable that a number of these events may have been the result of the conflicts from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. It was predominantly the smaller major settlements that were abandoned or had extremely contracted habitation in this period, while the larger major settlements continued to flourish and in some cases expanded. A potential explanation for why the larger and more densely populated sites continued to be occupied while the smaller sites were abandoned could be simply due to the ease of defence of larger sites and the vulnerability of smaller, especially unfortified, sites during periods of conflict and war. Properties looted and destroyed, and the general danger present during times of increased military conflict, could also certainly contributed to a smaller number of occupied sites.

4.3.5. Thessaly in the Late Roman Period

In the transition from the Roman to Late Roman periods, an additional 67 sites are no longer occupied, leaving a total site occupation of 117, as is visualized in Figure 4.13 below. A preference for site occupation in the hilly and mountainous regions is

evidenced (Decourt 1990, 65-6), perhaps reflecting a renewed need for security and defensibility. Access to agriculturally productive soils still seems to be a predominant preoccupation, with several sites being located within the lowland plain areas. The Othrys mountain passes leading into the Spercheios valley regions, as well as the Titanos range separating the two plains saw the densest occupation during the Late Roman period. Phthiotic Thebes rose, during this period, as one of the most important cities in the area, particularly in relation to the early Christian activity in Thessaly (Karagiorgou 2001, 52-63)

Figure 4.13 – Late Roman Sites with Mountain Ranges

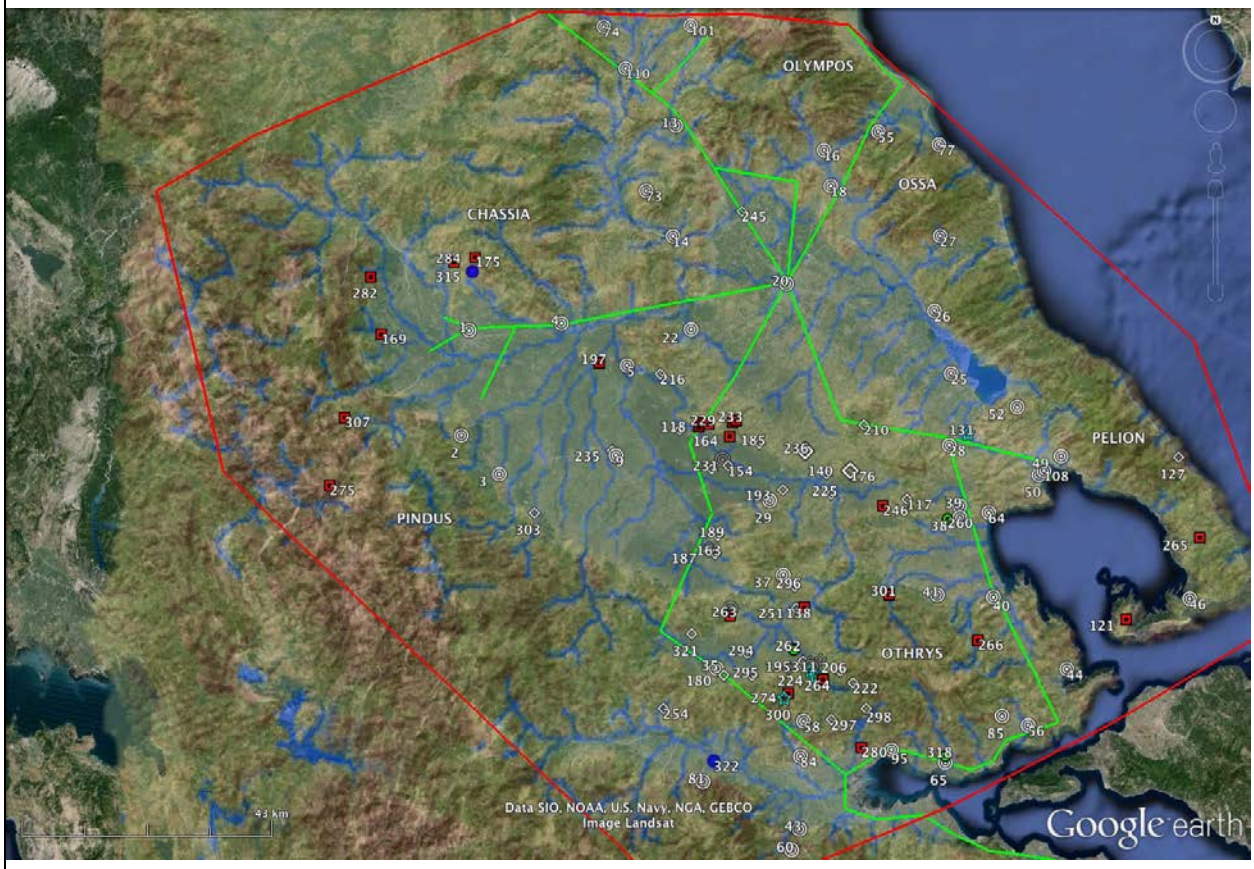
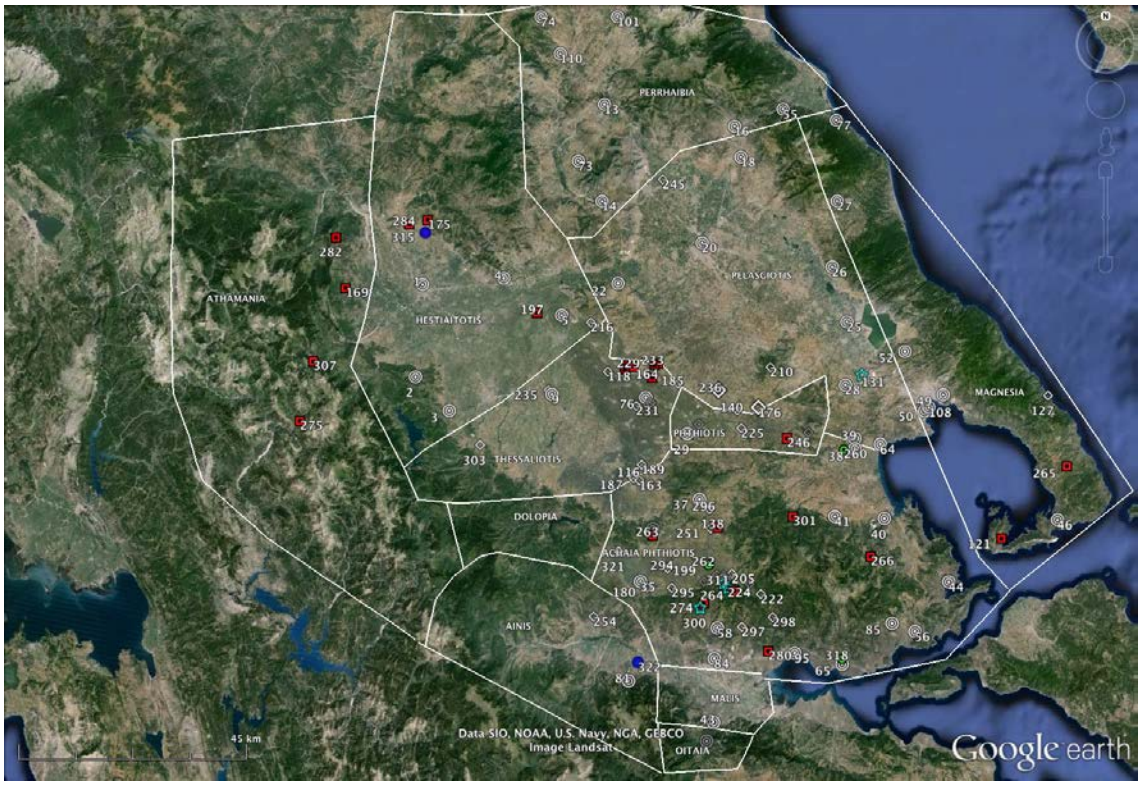


Figure 4.14 – Late Roman Sites with Subregions



In terms of subregion occupation, as can be seen in Figure 4.14 above, Achaia Phthiotis remains the most densely occupied region, with Perrhaibia, Hestiaiotis and Thessaliotis following. The remaining subregions had very few occupied sites at this time, demonstrating that the pattern begun in the late Hellenistic and following into the Roman period, continued into the Late Roman: fewer but larger sites are occupied at the expense of smaller habitation sites; increased urbanism at the expense of dispersed settlement.

4.4. Concluding Remarks

It seems that the settlement pattern in Thessaly through the Hellenistic and Roman periods was one of overall contraction. Far more sites were abandoned than founded, resulting in a landscape which was drastically different from previous periods. The causal factors for this change probably included the more or less constant warfare in the region from the 3rd to the end of the 1st century BCE. It is undeniable, however, that increased urban development was also present in at least the largest settlements,

creating a dichotomy between the fates of smaller and larger centres. In addition, the fact that more small-scale rural sites were identified in the Hellenistic and Roman than in any other period also suggests that there was likely a re-conception of occupation patterns coinciding with a change in land use. Commuting farmers who lived in small nucleated settlements near their lands seem to have become less and less typical, since fewer and fewer minor settlements continued to be occupied. Preference for residence in the large cities and in the countryside seems to prevail, with the caveat that without intensive regional and urban surveys it is not possible to determine the extent to which the rural landscape was occupied. Perhaps, as seen in other parts of the Greek mainland at this time (Bowman and Wilson 2009, 5; Garnsey, Gallant and Rathbone 1984, 40-1; Runnels and van Endel 1987, 320), larger farm estates become more attractive, with both local, foreign and even imperial engagement in these activities. This could explain why some sites that show early Roman period occupation are abandoned later, for example Pherai and Armenion.

Thanks to an extremely rare epigraphic source, we are told that the territory of Pherai was incorporated into the *patrimonium Augustae* in the 1st century CE, (*AE* 1910, 356 no. 6; Helly 2006, 202). This inscription is the focus of an forthcoming publication by Bouchon and therefore I will only briefly discuss it, in terms of its relevance to the discussion. The inscription in question represents a dedication made by an imperial freedman to multiple members of the imperial family, in which the territory, and products of Pherai was imperial property. It is not known what use was made of the territory, although it is possible that it was used primarily for agricultural purposes since its territory included a substantial amount of arable farmland. Evidence for imperial estates in other regions of Greece exists, although nowhere is the entire territory of a city documented as imperial property (Bowman and Wilson 2009, 5; Rizakis 2013, 24, note 17). Burial activity was documented in Pherai after the 1st century CE (*PAAH* 1910, p.233; *SEG* 34 (1984), 568; *AE* 1932, p.27-29, n°13; Béquignon 1937, 89, n°57), and therefore some activity continued after being classified as imperial property. In these cases it seems very unlikely that causal factors included instability and vulnerability, since by this time Roman control has been firmly established in the area and the so-called *pax Romana* was flourishing. This suggests we need to look for other explanations of the reduction in habitation of sites from the 1st century BCE onwards.

The overall the activities related to settlement and land use patterns in Thessaly

can be summarized as follows:

Table 4.17 – Overview of Settlement and Land use Patterns in Thessaly

-**Archaic and Classical** = period of building settlements – the actual founding and creation of new sites for living purposes
-**Hellenistic** = substantial habitation settlements established, also concentrating on fortifications for controlling, monitoring, and/or defending territory, some small rural sites likely representing farmsteads are documented for the first time. Substantial site loss by end of period as urban expansion and preference for nuclear habitation is evidenced
-**Roman** = exploiting of landscape, continuation of decreasing number of occupied of minor and some major settlement sites with larger settlements expanding demonstrating increased urbanization. More farms are established, and Roman bathhouses are documented for the first time.
-**Late Roman =** continuation of decreasing number of occupied sites. Some reoccupation of mountain fortification sites.

At first glance it seems that the traditional rhetoric representing the Roman era as a period of decline is supported if we look only at the number of sites occupied and abandoned overall. Once a picture is reached of the total system of land use and occupation, however, it points to change rather than strict decline. A large proportion of the sites that were abandoned in this period were forts and this could suggest a change towards increased stability. Additionally, roughly half of the new sites established during the Roman period were related to agricultural activities. The other building activities were expansions of already occupied centres like Larissa, Demetrias, Metropolis and Hypata. These large urban centres increased in size, with building activity in both public and private spheres. Increased urbanization is documented in other regions of Greece, notably, Boiotia, Attica, Euboia and the Peloponnese (Alcock 1993, 215-8; Rizakis 2010, 8; Stewart 2013, 99). Furthermore, a decrease in overall site numbers, a decrease in small rural sites and an increase in farmsteads and large rural estates is documented throughout Greece (Alcock 1993, 215-8; Rizakis 2010, 8).

Together this evidence suggests not decline but rather a focus shifted away from a large quantity of smaller nucleated centres to fewer but larger urban centres and larger rural estates. A fair degree of site continuity is witnessed in Thessaly from the

Hellenistic to the Roman period. While sites were abandoned, no new large-scale habitation sites are founded, instead, existing Hellenistic, Classical, and Pre-Classical sites were maintained and occupied. This is not the case in all areas of Greece, as demonstrated by Stewart's (2013, 77-88) analysis of the Peloponnesian countryside in the Roman period, which documents differential site continuation for different regions. Differential site continuity, the increase in large rural sites and the presence of imperial estates throughout the regions of Greece as well as other Roman provinces is suggestive of land use and ownership changes (Bowman and Wilson 2009, 5; Forsell 2002, 64; Mattingly 2009, 123; Rizakis 2013, 24, note 17; Stewart 2013, 87-8). Evidence for redistribution and cadastration of territory surrounded Roman *coloniae* in Greece as well as other *poleis*, for example Melitaia in Thessaly, also supports changes in land use and ownership patterns (Cantarelli et al. 2008, no. 40; Salviat and Vatin 1974; Rizakis 2013, 28-9, note 38).

While these changes are particularly noticeable for the Roman period, the documented trends began in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, when the demographic and economic pressures resulting from frequent warfare in the area. The increased urbanization possibly represents local responses to these pressures. Individuals living in the rural countryside may have chosen to relocate to urban centres, which are more easily defendable in times of war. As Roman domination increased, resulting in the eventual incorporation of Thessaly into the province of Achaia these changes continue, likely influenced by Roman intervention in the form of land redistribution,

The changes documented in Thessaly demonstrate the impact of Roman domination on the local settlement and land use patterns. Many of these changes, however, were possibly responses of the local populace to the changing geopolitical situation. After centuries of frequent war, individuals and groups may have considered it safer and more advantageous to live in urban centres. The increase in large rural estates and *villae rusticae* during the Roman period suggest increased restriction of agriculturally productive land in the hands of a smaller elite group of individuals. This pattern perhaps demonstrates how wealthy elite members of society took advantage of the desertion of the rural countryside to acquire property, whose agricultural productivity allowed them to enhance their positions and influence through the accumulation of wealth. The increased restriction of land in the hands of fewer individuals is documented for the Peloponnese as well (Stewart 2013, 87-8). Taking

advantage of the situation of the previous centuries which left territory lying fallow, elite members of society may have invested their time and resources in the accumulation of property in multiple *poleis* territories, a topic which will be returned to frequently throughout this thesis. Whether a result of frequent wars, an impact of increasing Roman domination, or a response to the changing geopolitical situation of the Mediterranean, individuals were living more in urban contexts or large rural estates rather than in small dispersed rural settlements; in the countryside, focus was placed on the exploitation of agriculturally viable land and not on populating it.

Chapter 5: Identity Expression Patterns In Thessaly

The act of naming is a fundamental part of identity formation and expression. Because of this, naming practices can provide valuable information on identity formation, expression, maintenance and negotiation in ancient cultures. Furthermore, the way in which an individual is named by others can provide insight into how society may have viewed them, or wanted them to be remembered. Before discussing the results of my analysis of identity expression in Thessaly it is important to first discuss the Greek and Roman naming practices.

5.1. Naming Practices

5.1.1. Greek Naming Practices

In the Greek context, the most common means of identification came in a three part form: 1) personal name; 2) patronymic (father's name) or, much more rarely, a metronymic (mother's name); 3) civic identity marker, an *ethnikon* (*polis*-ethnic), and 4), in cities such as Athens, Rhodes and Eretria, a *demotikon* (Hansen 2004, 13, 58-61). The use of the *ethnikon* was restricted to use outside one's home *polis*, as there was no need for this type of identifier while at home, except in lists of names of individuals from different *poleis* (Hansen 2006, 59-60).

Naming conventions for women took a similar form, but differred in that their identity expression went through a change after marriage. Before marriage, if women are mentioned in inscriptions their personal names were almost always accompanied by their patronyms, often with the explicit use of the word daughter (θυγάτηρ). After marriage a woman was identified predominantly by her gamonym (her husband's name) sometimes accompanied by the word for wife (γυνή). In a limited number of cases, females were identified by both their patronym and gamonym. Only in very rare cases was an ethnic was given specifically to a female; more commonly it was implied through the *polis*-ethnic of her father or husband. This convention reflects the legal and civic status of women within society at this time; their status was directly dependent on that of their father, their husband, or both.

The fact that inscriptions mentioning non-local individuals typically express their civic identity means that we are able to analyse patterns of mobility and activities of individuals and groups in the *poleis* of Thessaly. Furthermore, because magistracies, land ownership and marriage rights were usually restricted to citizens and were granted by decree it is possible, through the study of certain inscription types such as honorary inscriptions and decrees, to analyse multiple citizenship acquisition and layered civic identity. Moreover, in conjunction with the analysis of mobility patterns, this line of inquiry can then be used to investigate the social strategies employed by different groups and individuals during the period under study, as will be shown in Chapters 6 and 7.

Although the *polis* level is the most consistently and prolifically expressed form of civic identity in the Greek world, it is not the only one. Regional level identity was expressed in the Greek world in a variety of locations and circumstances. The *federal league*s (κοινά) in existence at this time, as discussed above, were supra-regional entities composed of member *poleis*. This would suggest that above the local level of the *polis*, a civic identity existed at the regional level, creating a bipartite civic identity: local and federal (Rizakis 2012, 24-5).

This can be seen in the cases, pointed out by Rizakis, (2012, 25), where inscriptions mention an Ἀχαιὸς Ὀλένιος, and an Ἀχαιὸς ἐκ Πατρῶν (*?*). With the formation of federal *koina* in many parts of the Greek world during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, a federal identity was automatically created for the *polis* as a whole as well (Rizakis 2012, 24-5); the *polis* itself took on another layer of identity by virtue of its membership in a federal league. Support for this can be seen in the triobols minted by members of the Achaean league bearing the plural possessive form of both the *polis* and league, for example Messenia, ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΣΣΗΝΙΩΝ (Rizakis 2012, 25). In this example Messenia, as a member of the *koinon*, is identified not only by their *polis* ethnic, but also by a federal identity, one that, by virtue of the grammatical form (the possessive plural genitive) refers explicitly to the identity of its citizens as both Μεσσήνιοι and Ἀχαιοί. Rizakis provides other examples of this double identity expression dating as far back as 399 BCE when Xenophon mentions the *politeia* given to Calydonia by the Achaeans and a decree erected around the same time gives proxeny to an Aristeas who was identified as an Achaean and a citizen of Aigion – Ἀριστέ[αν τὸν Ἀ]χα[ι]ὸν τὸν Αἰγιᾶ (*IG* II.2.13; *SEG* 40:54; Rizakis 2012, 25). Although not rare,

attestations of both the regional and local civic identities are far from common occurrences. In most, if not all, of the inscriptions under study providing two civic identifiers, one local and one regional, it was is reference a foreign individual and therefore the regional identity was provided, indicating both identities. As shall be demonstrated later in this chapter, in the large majority of inscriptions only the local civic identity was expressed, and only in cases involving in activities outside one's home *polis*. Within a single region there would be no need to continuously provide both the local and regional ethnics since it was a given that a citizen of a member city was a citizen of the region, state, or federal league as well.

5.1.2. Roman Naming Practices

By the time of the late Republic and the early Principate, Roman names generally consisted of three elements, a *praenomen*, a *nomen* (or *nomen gentilicium*), and a *cognomen*, together referred to as the *tria nomina* (Salway 1994, 124; Solin 1996, 5-6). Originally the cultures of the Italian peninsula used a two name system - unique among cultures speaking a Indo-European based language which usually had a single name system - consisting of a hereditary family name, the *nomen gentilicium*, and an individual name, the *praenomen* (Salway 1994, 125).

The *praenomen*, the personal name given to each child, was likely used within the family and among close friends and colleagues as their individuating name (Salway 1994, 126). Outside familiar contexts the *praenomen* was the less significant of the two names, evident in their frequent abbreviation, and, unlike the Greeks' personal names, only a small selection of *praenomina* existed to choose from, the most common of which were Gaius, Gnaeus, Lucius, Marcus, Publius, Quintus, Sextus, Tiberius, and another half dozen or so others (Keppie 2002, 19; Salway 1994, 125-6).

The Roman *nomen*, or *nomen gentilicium* perhaps resulted from a preceding convention at the end of the 8th century BCE of supplying a patronym by adding the suffix *–ius* to the father's name to form an adjective (Salway 1994, 125; Solin 1996, 5-6). Over time this became a permanent name and represented belonging to a large *gens*, forming the *nomen gentilicium*, essentially a hereditary family name (Solin 1996, 5-6). Accordingly the *nomen* became the most significant name throughout the Republic. The hereditary nature of the *nomen*, and often the *praenomen*, resulted in a succession of

individuals within a family with identical names, seen for example in Cicero, was only one of at least four different individuals within his family bearing the name Marcus Tullius, differentiated only through the use of *cognomina* (Salway 1994, 127).

The use of *cognomina*, on the other hand, is not commonly attested until into the 1st century BCE, and does not become prevalent until the mid 1st century CE (Rizakis 1996, 18; Salomies 2001, 83-4; Salway 1994, 127; Solin 1996, 5-6). Under the Roman Republic it was principally among the higher classes that *cognomina* were used, perhaps as a means of asserting a noble family and, since they were usually hereditary, it became a type of additional family name (Salomies 2001, 83-4; Solin 1996, 7). From the first century BCE onwards, the use of *cognomina* become more frequently used among a wider sector of the population, the major difference being that the newly adopted *cognomina* were more personal than familial, with each male child being given their own unique *cognomen* (Salomies 2012, 1-2, Salomies 2001, 83-4). Since each individual at this time had a unique *cognomen*, this became, eventually, the principal individuating name in the Roman naming system, replacing the *nomen* (Salomies 2012, 1-2). The new personal *cognomina* allowed for the incorporation of other lines of descent into the family names, for example, the maternal lineage (Salway 1994, 129). This could be particularly useful in cases where the maternal side of the family had considerable influence.

With regards to Roman women, a significant difference existed from their Greek counterparts. First of all, the use of a *praenomen* for a women was rare under the Republic, at least outside the familial context. They were identified by their *nomen*, which, even after marriage, was the *nomen* inherited from their father (Kajava 1994, 19-21; van Nijf 2009, 12; Salway 1994, 126; Wilson 1998, 15-17). Under the Republic, women rarely, if ever, changed their name at marriage as was the case with their Greek equivalents, but under the Empire the use of a double *nomen gentilicium* representing a woman's paternal and marital affiliations was not uncommon (Kajava 1994, 24-5; Rizakis 1996, 18, note. 22; Wilson 1998, 15-17). If the husband's *nomen* was included, it was either in an adjectival form, for example in the names Publilia Turpilia and Didia Macolnia, or in the genitive as, for example, was the case for Caecilia Metelli Crassi, the wife of M. Licinius Crassus (Kajava 1994, 21-5; Rizakis 1996, 18, note. 22; Wilson 1998, 17). The convention of retaining the *nomen* associated with her parentage could have had practical repercussions for network creation and maintenance. Ties between

the bride's family were maintained in a more explicit manner in the Roman context than in the Greek, where the bride's biological familial ties were not explicitly retained. In fact, the *nomen* inherited from a Roman woman's father represented a permanent and indestructible association with her *gens*, which, as Wilson points out, "for the family into which she married…remained a permanent reminder and advertisement of their alliance." (Wilson 1998, 16). This testifies to one of the major roles of women in Roman society as a means of network and alliance creation for male relations (Hallett 1984, 77). Additionally, in the cases where no male heirs existed, the father's *nomen* could be used to perpetuate the line of descent, most famously exemplified in the Julio-Claudian family under the late Republic and early Principate (Wilson 1998, 16). Although under the Republic women were rarely if ever given *cognomina*, by the early Principate this begins to change and we see women inheriting them more frequently (Wilson 1998, 17).

The last note to be made about Roman identity expression relates to the topic of civic identity, which was not usually explicitly expressed in the Roman context. This is due to the fact that Roman citizenship was encoded within the naming system itself. The possession of a *nomen gentilicium* signified citizenship (Rizakis 1996, 26-7).

5.1.3. Roman Names in the Greek Context

Roman names in the epigraphic record of Greece were somewhat complicated by their location in a society that did not quite understand the rules and composition of the system of nomenclature, particularly during the early years of Greek and Roman interaction (Solin 1996, 8; Rizakis 1996, 11-2, 15-6). *Praenomina* were sometimes confused with *nomina* or *cognomina* (Salway 1994, 126; Solin 1996, 8). Rizakis explains that the reason for the confusion lay in the differences between Greek and Roman naming systems, based around the cultural and societal focus that the Greek system placed on the individual in contrast to the Roman focus on the *gens* or family (Rizakis 1996, 15-6; 2009b, 566). The Greek system had no equivalent for the *nomen gentilicium* (Rizakis 1996, 16). It could be said that the tradition of naming the eldest son for the grandfather functioned in a similar way of perpetuating lines of descent. Since names were most often not confined to a single city or region, however, there was a necessity to add the city-ethnic in non-local circumstances to avoid confusion; this was less necessary in the Roman context, relationships and descent lines were more

explicitly expressed. Because of this discrepancy in the naming systems, Roman names in the Greek context were often expressed in accordance with Greek naming conventions. Sometimes the *praenomen* was used followed by a patronym formed by the genitive of the father's *praenomen* following the Greek tradition, as found on the Delian ephebe lists (Rizakis 1996, 16-7, note. 15). In contrast, when the *nomen gentilicium* is included it is not always in the correct place, for example in the inscription that reads Μαᾶρκος Λευκίου Περπέννα Ρωμαῖος instead of Μαᾶρκος Περπέννα Λευκίου υἱὸς, Ρωμαῖος (*IThess*. n.15; Decourt 1995, 15-20; Rizakis 1996, 17, note. 16).

With Greece incorporated into the Roman provincial framework, other layers of identity, as well as other means of identity expression, materialize in the archaeological and historical record. In the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, even before the beginning of the Principate, Roman names were already appearing in inscriptions of various kinds throughout Greece. These names represent, for the most part, Roman citizens from Italy, in addition to slaves and freedmen bearing a Roman *praenomen*. As time went on, and Greece became incorporated into the Roman Imperial fabric, more Greek citizens acquired Roman citizenship. This meant a new layer of identity for Thessalians possessing it, one that came with a newly acquired civic status and accompanying rights and privileges. For the most part, Greek men adopted the Roman *praenomen* and *nomen* of their patron, often maintaining their Greek name as a sort of *cognomen* (Rizakis 2009b, 568-9; Salway 1994, 128). Under the Republic, the patron was usually the governor or Roman citizen representing or supporting their case for citizenship, while under the Empire, from Claudius onwards, it was the Emperor himself who granted the citizenship and therefore his *cognomen* was adopted by the *cives novi* (Rizakis 1996, 28). This Greek *cognomen*, as I shall refer to it from now on, usually acted as the primary identifier (Salway 1994, 128). The retention of the Greek personal name has been interpreted by several scholars working in the field of ancient onomastics as a sign of the duality of cultural identity (Solin 1996, Rizakis 1996, 2009b). Through the adoption of Roman nomenclature an individual highlighted their association and participation in Roman cultural practice, while the retention of the Greek personal name reflected the maintenance and pride of their Greek identity, tied to their home polis (Rizakis 2009b, 568-9). Further support for this theory is provided by the use of the Greek patronym in the genitive rather than the Roman filiation, as seen in the above Thessalian example of Μαᾶρκος Λευκίου Περπέννα Ρωμαῖος (instead of Μαᾶρκος

Περπέννα Λευκίου υἱὸς, Ρωμαῖος) (*IThess*. n.15). Rizakis (1996, 20; 2009b, 572) explains that the mixed formula adopted by Greeks reflected both the Greek local custom and Roman practice, reflecting the identification of these individuals as belonging to both the Greek and Roman cultural traditions.

An *ethnikon*, or *demotikon* in Athens, Eretria and Rhodes, followed the *nomen* and *cognomen* (Rizakis 1996, 18). It should be noted here that often both slave and free dependants of a Roman patron could take on, or be given, a single Roman name (a *nomen, praenomen* or even a *cognomen*). Frequently attested names that fit into this category are Tiberius, Claudius, Gaius, Marcus, Titus, Maximus, and so on (Rizakis 1996, 21; Salway 1994, 131). On the other hand, sometimes slaves kept their original personal name and took the *nomen* of their master, as attested at Athens (Rizakis 1996, 19-20). Roman nomenclature was usually only complete (meaning no foreign elements or misuses of elements) in Latin inscriptions referring to Romans or Italians (Rizakis 1996, 17-8).

Roman names appear with more frequency in Greece throughout the Roman Principate, reflecting more social categories than ever before: from Roman or Italian residents and citizens of Greek *poleis* to Greek enfranchisees, freedmen and slaves. As time went on, instead of primarily appearing in documents authored or commissioned by local inhabitants or officials, Romans and Italians began to author or commission inscriptions themselves (van Nijf 2009, 12). Furthermore, it can be noted in the epigraphic record that the descriptive identifier Ῥωμαῖος was used less frequently, eventually falling out of use completely (van Nijf 2009, 12-14).

5.2. Methodological Approach to Identity Expression

Before presenting the results of my analysis of identity expression patterns, it is first essential to discuss a few particularities concerning the methodological approaches I have taken to the epigraphic sources. The first consideration surrounds the representativeness of the epigraphic record of different sectors of society. Commissioning and erecting inscriptions in ancient Greece involved a significant amount of resources, resulting in the near-ubiquitous phenomenon of the civic, social and economic elite members of society, who possessed the capital and resources

necessary for the production and erection of inscriptions, dominating the epigraphic record. This means that the numerically superior percentage of the population is underrepresented in inscriptions compared with the numeric minority of the elite members. Due to this inherent drawback in epigraphic studies, it is important not to overlook this issue, but to use creative solutions to overcome it. Thankfully, marginal groups are better represented in some types of documents than others. I have chosen epitaphs for this particular analysis for this exact reason. Because marginal groups such as slaves, freedmen, foreigners, women and other groups such as athletes, performers and artists (who represent a relatively wide spectrum of society) also had grave markers erected, they are far more visible in this category than in others such as honorary decrees or official state documents, although these groups remain nevertheless underrepresented in the epigraphic record. My investigation of identity expression practices in Thessaly includes the explicit analysis of identity expression not only of the socio-political elite members, but also of less visible groups such as women, freedmen, slaves, and foreign residents. By focusing on epitaphs to analyse the ways in which individuals and groups from different sections of the population were identified, a much more nuanced understanding of the varied and dynamic practices of identity expression results. This directly enables the analysis of how identities, particularly civic identities, were negotiated and social strategies used by these different groups.

Epitaphs represent the largest documented category of Thessalian inscriptions (almost 3,500 out of an approximate total of 8,500 inscriptions represent epitaphs). Not all inscriptions are preserved or legible to the same degree, and after reducing this number by including only complete or mostly complete inscriptions with no obvious missing text - as advocated by Rizakis for onomastic studies (1996, 15-6) - approximately 2,100 epitaphs remain. By using this method, I seek to minimize cases where the patronym or ethnic is not visible or reconstructable but was originally included in the inscription. This should minimize any error due to differential preservation of the source material. I have included epitaphs dating to the Classical period as well as the Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman periods in order to determine practices and patterns of identity expression in the periods preceding those under study and to determine what changes took place throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. By analysing identity expression on epitaphs in Thessalian history, broad patterns of change over time can be identified which will allow for the subsequent analysis of how the expression of identity was engaged in the social strategies employed

by different groups and individuals. Finally, I removed all inscriptions that are not able to be precisely dated, since these, although valuable for information on naming, might create a bias if included into an analysis of naming patterns over time.

It should be noted that for several regions, but particularly the Peloponnese, a rich corpus of prosopographic and onomastic works is available. The three volume set of Roman Peloponnese published by the National Hellenic Research Foundation Institute for Greek and Roman Antiquity (Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001; Rizakis, Zoumbaki and Lepenioti 2004; Rizakis and Lepenioti 2010), and in particular the third volume, represents the potential of onomastic data for illuminating social, economic and political aspects of society. It is within this context of growing regional studies of onomastic data that this current chapter is based, in the hopes of adding a similar contribution for Thessaly.

The methodological approaches taken in this chapter have been informed by onomastic and proposopographic studies conducted over the past several decades. In terms of the study of Greek names, the volumes of the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* provide the essential base for the use of names to study sociological aspects of the distribution of names in the Greek world. From the mid-1990s a growing number of studies have emerged reflecting an increasing appreciation for the value of Greek personal names as evidence, epitomized in the 2001 edited volume by Hornblower and Matthews, who in their introduction stress the value of studying names in investigating mobility (Matthews and Hornblower 2001, 10). While a large proportion of studies focus on linguistic phenomena such as the distribution of theophoric names in the Hellenistic period, the contribution by Habicht (2001) on foreign names in Athens demonstrates how mobility patterns can be investigated through the presence of non-local names (Lambert 2001). Although Habicht focuses on relationships of *xenia*, Pericles' citizenship law and naturalization through non-local marriage to a local, and expressly does not engage with grants of citizenship, stating that it is not possible to determine how many were implemented (Habicht 2001, 119-121), this study represents important methodological inspiration for the current chapter. Other influential studies on non-local individuals are G.J. Oliver (2010), who also concentrates on the presence of non-local individuals in Athens, and Tataki (1998), whose substantial volume on the presence of Macedonian names abroad demonstrates the rich evidence available throughout the Greek world for investigating mobility.

Other essential methodologies have been inspired by the volume, edited by Rizakis, on Roman onomastics in the Greek east (1996), as well as the detailed studies of the Roman Peloponnese (Rizakis and Zoumbaki; Rizakis, Zoumbaki and Lepenioti 2004; Rizakis and Lepenioti 2010), and the Roman period of Macedonia (Tataki 2006). These works, focusing on the investigation of increasing interaction and involvement of individuals with Roman names in the Greek context, have demonstrated that despite the difficulties present in determining origins, social and civic status of the individuals bearing Roman names (Solin 1996, 8-9), the spread of Roman names and the use of mixed elements from both Greek and Roman naming traditions can be used as a means of investigating the responses of both local and non-local individuals to the increasing domination of Greece by the Roman authorities, and the subsequent impact on socio-cultural practices, particularly highlighted by Rizakis (1996, 11-30; 2009, 565-580; 2010, 1-18; 2011, 253-304). While these types of studies have been conducted for a few individual cities of Thessaly (for example Sekunda 1997 for Hypata; Decourt and Tziafalias 2007 and Stamatopoulou 2007 for Pharsalos), the only comprehensive study of names in Thessaly was conducted in 2009 by Hunold, and although it represents an important first step in the study of Thessalian names, little attention is given to the socio-political aspects of the patterns identified, quite forgivably since this volume concentrates on general aspects of names in Thessaly.

This chapter therefore investigates patterns in identity expression over time in Thessaly, focusing particularly on evidence for mobility through the presence of non-local individuals. This chapter, by focusing on non-local individuals through civic identity as expressed by the city or regional *ethnikon*, patterns of mobility and interaction are investigated. The presence of Roman names, not as a specific indicator of Roman or Italian origin, but, as Rizakis suggests (Rizakis 1996, 2010) as evidence for the use of Roman names in the Greek context, and as a reflection of wider social-political, economic and cultural change, is investigated to determine the impact of increasing Roman domination through the spread and frequency of their use is determined.

A final total of 1,150 epitaphs formed the database for the analysis of identity expression patterns. In addition to completely undatable inscriptions, some inscriptions cannot be dated more precisely than to a general period. Of the 1,150 inscriptions forming my database 177 are dated to broad periods: Hellenistic (37), the Roman

Imperial (118), and Christian (22). Since these cannot be further subdivided into centuries, these are restricted in terms of their appropriate, albeit limited, analytical value. Rather than discard them altogether they can be useful for determining patterns over time, when grouped with other epitaphs into datasets representing periods instead of centuries.

I have accordingly formed two separate datasets. The first set is organized by century and is formed by the 973 inscriptions that could be dated to a precise century. The second dataset includes all 1,150 funerary inscriptions and is divided into 4 broad periods: 1) all those dating to the Classical period, including those dated to the 5th and 4th centuries as well as those dated generally to the period; 2) Hellenistic inscriptions, formed by all inscriptions dating to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE as well as those dated generally to the period; 3) Roman period inscriptions, formed of the 118 dated generally to the Roman period combined with those dated from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE; and finally 4) all Late Roman inscriptions dated to the 3rd or 4th centuries CE, as well as those dated to the Christian period. This dataset is then analysed to identify dominant patterns in identity expression practices over 800 years and determine which patterns are in fact reflective of the ancient reality and which, on the other hand, are mere reflections of the biases in the epigraphic datasets.

I have chosen to include the 2nd century BCE as part of the Hellenistic period and the 1st century BCE as Roman for several reasons. First, although Greece did not become an official Roman province until quite late in the first century BCE, Roman hegemonic control in Greece, and Thessaly in particular, predated their incorporation into the Roman provincial system. Furthermore, since the dating system of BCE (BC) and CE (AD) we employ does not reflect the ancient dating systems, a certain degree of arbitrariness is already present in the division of centuries and periods and therefore the temporal divisions we use is reflective more of a heuristic tool for analysis than an accurate reflection of ancient realities. Additionally, the division of time into periods such as Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman is once again a scholarly heuristic device. My choice in including the 2nd century BCE as part of the Hellenistic period rather than the Roman period, despite the fact that Roman involvement was significant at this time, may result in the identification of certain phenomena or patterns being attributed to the Hellenistic period generally, even though the changes may be occurring at the transitional phases between periods. The fact that I have created a second dataset,

consisting only of inscriptions datable to a specific century, should help resolve any ambiguity and lack of precision resulting from the analysis of the data by period. Consequently, this dataset will be the most important for isolating potential catalysts and influences for the changes identified through the ability to isolate phenomena to a more precise date.

5.3. Identity Expression Patterns in Thessaly

The analysis of both data sets yielded several significant patterns, detectable over time and in geographical distribution. For the first data set, visible in Table 5.1 below the largest percentage (42%) of the funerary inscriptions date to the 3rd century BCE. When analysed by period in the 2nd dataset it becomes clear the majority of epitaphs date to the Hellenistic Period, seen in Table 5.2 below. The smallest proportion of the epitaphs date to the 5th century BCE and the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, each accounting for less than 2% of the total epitaphs. This creates difficulties for determining patterns of identity expression over a long chronological span: certain centuries, especially the 4th century CE which has only a total of five epitaphs, are not statistically viable sample sizes. The analysis of the second dataset, which groups all the inscriptions from the first dataset, in combination with the other 177 inscriptions that are dated to a general period, into broad periods, also assists in reducing the impact of the second of these difficulties. After grouping the inscriptions into broad periods, the smallest sample size is the 48 inscriptions of the Late Roman period, which is a statistically significant number according to Fletcher and Lock (2005, 67) for a sample size for quantification of archaeological data. While this still leaves the first difficulty, the representativeness of the sample, it is an attempt to make use of the limited inscriptions from the Late Roman period. Since I have chosen to include these, regardless of the small sample size, I am conscious of their potential for creating bias in the analyses, which concentrate on numerical attestations and percentages. On the other hand, since the focus of this study are changes occurring in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, the lack of data for the Late Roman period does not present a great obstacle. I have included the data from the Late Roman period in an attempt to demonstrate that according to the data we do have, trends established earlier continue into the Late Roman, as will be shown in the next several chapters.

Table 5.1 - Dataset 1: Number of Attested Funeral Stelai Inscriptions by Century

Century	Number of Epitaphs	% of Total Epitaphs
5th BCE	19	2%
4th BCE	166	17%
3rd BCE	405	42%
2nd BCE	218	22%
1st BCE	49	5%
1st CE	47	5%
2nd CE	43	4%
3rd CE	21	2%
4th CE	5	<1%
Total	**973**	**100%**

Table 5.2 - Dataset 2: Number of Attested Funeral Stelai Inscriptions by period.

Period	Number of Epitaphs	% of Total Epitaphs
Classical	185	16%
Hellenistic	660	57%
Roman	257	22%
Late Roman	48	5%
Total	**1,150**	**100%**

When the epitaphs are analysed in terms of their geographical distribution, visible in Table 5.3 below, we can see that a large proportion of inscriptions are attributed to only a few *poleis*. The largest percentage (27%) of inscriptions comes from Demetrias, followed closely by Atrax (24%). Larissa sees the third largest proportion of epitaphs, with 17% of the total. Phthiotic Thebes, Pharsalos, Pherai, Gonnoi and Azoros each have 2-5% of the total, while Doliche, Gyrton and Krannon have 1%. Fewer than 1% of the total are located in each of the remaining cities and 1% could not be identified as coming from a specific *polis* but are known to have originated from Thessaly.

Table 5.3 - Geographical Distribution of Epitaphs

Polis	Attestations	% of Total Epitaphs
Atrax	271	24%
Azoros	25	2%
Ainian city?	2	<1%
Antron	1	<1%
Argoussa	4	<1%
Chyretiai	5	<1%

Polis	Attestations	% of Total Epitaphs
Demetrias	306	27%
Doliche	13	1%
Dotion	4	<1%
Echinos	2	<1%
Ekkara	2	<1%
Eretria	8	<1%
Euhydrion	9	<1%
Eurymenai	2	<1%
Gomphoi	2	<1%
Gonnoi	53	5%
Gyrton	16	1%
Halos	4	<1%
Hypata	1	<1%
Kerkinion	2	<1%
Kierion	4	<1%
Krannon	16	1%
Lamia	4	<1%
Larissa	200	17%
Limnaion	5	<1%
Makrakome	3	<1%
Malloia	4	<1%
Meliboia	1	<1%
Melitaia	2	<1%
Metho(a)ne	4	<1%
Mopsion	1	<1%
Olooson	6	<1%
Pagasai	11	1%
Pelinna	2	<1%
Phalanna	9	<1%
Pharkadon	1	<1%
Pharsalos	18	2%
Pherai	25	2%
Phthiotic Thebes	61	5%
Phyllos	2	<1%
Pythion	7	<1%
Skotoussa	6	<1%
Spalauthra	2	<1%
Sykourion	1	<1%
Thetonion	1	<1%
Trikka	5	<1%
Unknown	17	1%
Total	**1,150**	**100%**

As can be seen in Table 5.3 above, the inscriptions under study are not equally distributed across the subregions of Thessaly, but are concentrated in the eastern half of the region, particularly in Magnesia and Pelasgiotis, and to a lesser degree, Perrhaibia. It should therefore be expected that, in terms of the analysis to follow in this chapter, the data would be biased towards sites in these areas. In contrast, Athamania, Dolopia, and Oitaia have no funerary stele that were complete enough for analysis and therefore these regions will not appear in the subsequent analysis. It should be noted here that not all Thessalian settlements have been subject to equal study, but some sites, such as Atrax, Gonnoi, Larissa, Demetrias, Phthiotic Thebes, Melitaia, Pharsalos and Krannon have been the recipients of far more intensive survey and excavation and therefore the geographical distribution of the epitaphs under study is biased, at least to some degree. At the same time, the numbers of epitaphs for the larger and more active *poleis*, Larissa and Demetrias above all, are expected to be higher than at smaller secondary settlements.

It should be noted here that a lack of funerary inscriptions does not necessarily indicate a lack of activity, as shall be seen in the following chapter on social strategies. Hypata, for example, has no epitaphs dating to the Roman period, but other types of inscriptions are documented. Since no cemeteries have yet been uncovered for Hypata, a large portion of its epigraphic record is missing. Furthermore, the abandonment of settlements and the trend towards increased urbanization in the late Hellenistic and early Roman period, demonstrated in the previous chapter, also helps to explain why some sites active in the Hellenistic period, see no Roman period activity. This is the case, for example, with New Halos, whose Roman period occupation was limited to scattered farmsteads, its urban settlement having been abandoned in the Hellenistic period and its population resettled in another, unknown, location, perhaps the fortified site at *Vrynaina* (Bouchon, personal correspondence 2015-09-03). Atrax, on the other hand, whose occupation is known to have continued to some degree into the Late Roman period, is lacking epitaphs after the 1st century CE. Similarly to Hypata, Atrax does see epigraphic activity in the Roman and Late Roman periods, but it is represented by other types of inscriptions rather than epitaphs.

Another important issue to discuss can be demonstrated by using Demetrias as an example. Demetrias flourished throughout the Roman and Late Roman periods, with building activity and increasing size of urban areas continuing, as demonstrated in the

previous chapter. The epitaphs predominantly date to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, due in part to the nature of the site excavations as well as a particular feature of the construction of the walls and towers of the city of Demetrias. A very large sample of tombstones from these centuries was found by Arvanitopoulos during his excavations of the walls in the early decades of the 20th century. The reuse of the tombstones as construction material has guaranteed their survival and recovery. This is not the case in other Thessalian *poleis* where tombstones were often reused for other purposes and therefore not recovered in their original form. Additionally, for many *poleis* the original locations of their cemeteries are not known and they therefore have not been the subject of systematic excavation. This could help to explain the lack of epitaphs from some areas or during certain periods. While the sample of 1,150 inscribed tombstones cannot be said to be necessarily representative of the ancient reality, Thessaly was particularly rich in epigraphy and ignoring this category of evidence simply because it problematic would be to overlook the diverse and informative evidence for identity expression over time and space that can be achieved through systematic investigation. For the remainder of this chapter I will present the analyses of the epitaphs, making note, where appropriate, of potential biases and the steps taken to overcome them.

The remainder of this chapter will consist of analysis of these data for what trends are identifiable in identity expression over time and space. In each of the following sections, the type of identity investigated will be analysed in terms of frequency of attestations, looking not only at the proportion of the overall dataset represented, but also at the proportion of the total epitaphs per century and period, as well as by location. In other words, each facet of identity studied provides numerical attestations, percentage of total epitaphs, percentage of epitaphs with a given facet of identity expressed, percentage of total epitaphs per century and per period, and percentage of epitaphs per location. In this way I hope to minimize error that could result from the biases present in the dataset related to the topics discussed above, namely inconsistent excavation and differential preservation and recovery. The following table presents of the distribution of the frequency of attestation of the different elements of identity that will form the analysis of the remainder of this chapter.

Table 5.4 - Attestations in total dataset per category

Category	Attestations	% of Total Epitaphs
Ethnic	168	15%
freedmen	18	2%
Slaves	9	1%
Greek Names	1,090	95%
Roman Names	89	8%
Jewish	8	1%
Profession	13	1%
Christian	22	2%
Patron	27	2%
No patronym	360	31%
Patronym	710	61%
Metronym	23	2%
Gamonym	89	6%
Multiple	44	4%

5.2.1. Greek Names

No fewer than 1,090 of the 1,150 grave stelai belong to individuals with Greek names, 95% of the total. In addition, there are 47 stelai that present polynymous names formed of both Greek and Roman elements, and another 17 that mention either spouses, parents or children with names of different origins (Greek or Roman), leaving only 17 stelai that refer to individuals with only Roman name elements. Males are more frequently attested than females, but since we are looking at funeral stelai, women are far more visible than in other epigraphic categories, such as in public documents.

Naming patterns in Thessaly for the most part follow the traditional practice of naming the firstborn son for the paternal grandfather, the second born son for the maternal grandfather, with any subsequent male children receiving the name of a close family member, often an uncle or less frequently the father himself (Bouchon, 2005, 235; Hunold 2009, 63). This usually resulted in the alternation of two personal names within a family, which, in combination with the patronym is often enough for modern scholars to identify to which family an individual belonged, and would certainly have been more than sufficient for identification in a contemporary setting, at least in a local context.

5.3.2. Secondary Identifiers: Patronyms, Metronyms, and Gamonyms

In a total of 360 cases, only a personal name appears in the inscription and no secondary identifiers such as the patronym (father's name), metronym (mother's name), gamonym (spouse's name) were expressed. Because only a single name was included in these cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the social or civic status of these individuals. While it is possible that some may have had slave or freedman status, it is extremely unlikely that they all did. Looking at chronological distribution of the expression of a single name element provides a more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon.

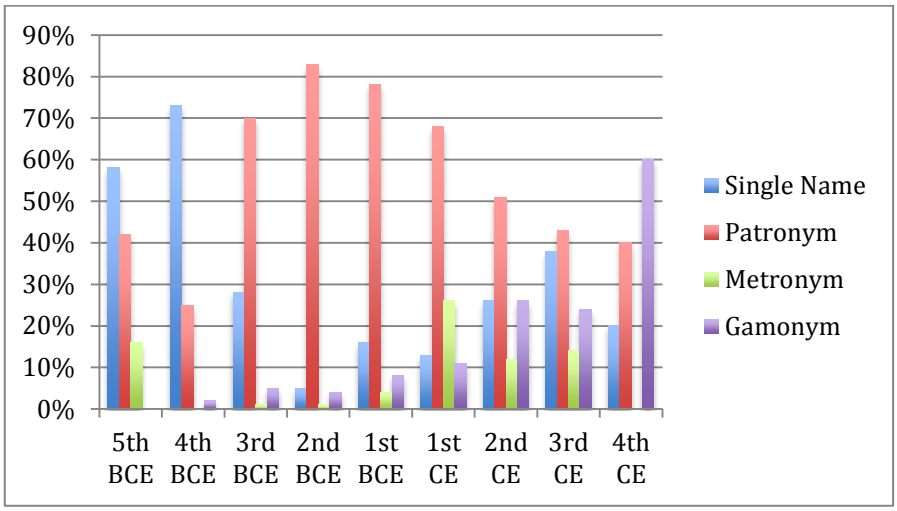
As can be seen in Table 5.5 and Graph 5.1 below, which represents the percentage of total inscriptions containing either single names or secondary identifiers, single names were most common during the 5th and 4th centuries BCE, after which point they decreased in prevalence before seeing a slight rise in the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE. Because the inscriptions under study that date to the 3rd and 4th centuries CE document a total of 21 and 5 inscriptions respectively, the percentages for the Late Roman period are possibly artificially high since a small number of attestations would result in a rather high percentage of the total, particularly in the 1st century CE.

The use of additional identifiers became much more frequent from the 3rd century BCE onwards. The patronym is by far the most commonly attributed secondary identifier in my datasets, with a total of 710 attestations.

Table 5.5 - Use of Secondary Identifiers by % of Inscriptions per Century

Century	Single Name	Patronym	Metronym	Gamonym
5th BCE	58%	42%	16%	0%
4th BCE	73%	25%	0%	2%
3rd BCE	28%	70%	1%	5%
2nd BCE	5%	83%	1%	4%
1st BCE	16%	78%	4%	8%
1st CE	13%	68%	26%	11%
2nd CE	26%	51%	12%	26%
3rd CE	38%	43%	14%	24%
4th CE	20%	40%	0%	60%

Graph 5.1 – Use of Secondary Identifiers by % of Inscriptions per Century

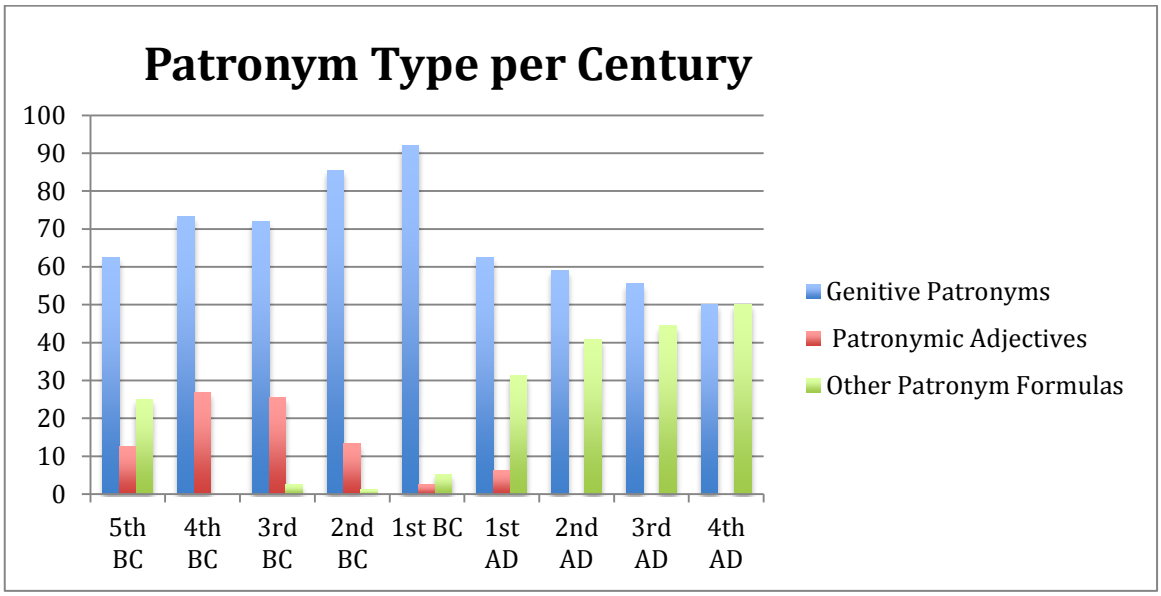


A unique feature of identity expression in Thessaly relates to the grammar of the patronym. The common form for expression the patronym in the Greek world was through the use of genitive singular of the father's personal name. In Thessaly, on the other hand, the patronym could also be expressed through an adjectival form, which agrees in case, number and gender with the personal name, beginning in the late 5th or early 4th century BCE. (Helly 1970a, 176-7; Morpurgo-Davies 1968, 89, note 2; Tziafalias et al 2006, 438-9). This is a unique feature that occurs predominantly in Thessaly (Morpurgo-Davies 1968, 86-7).

Table 5.6 – Type of Patronym Used Over Time

Period	Genitive	% of Total	Adjective	% of Total	Other	% of Total
5th BCE	5	63%	1	13%	2	25%
4th BCE	30	73%	11	26%	0	0%
3rd BCE	201	72%	71	25%	7	3%
2nd BCE	154	86%	24	13%	2	1%
1st BCE	35	92%	1	3%	2	5%
1st CE	20	63%	2	6%	10	31%
2nd CE	13	60%	0	0%	9	41%
3rd CE	5	56%	0	0%	4	44%
4th CE	1	50%	0	0%	1	50%

Graph 5.2 - Patronym Type per Century



When we look at the distribution of patronym types over time, Table 5.6 and Graph 5.2 above, we can see that although the genitive was the most common form of the patronym from the 5th century BCE to the 3rd century CE, the patronymic adjective was most common in the 4th and 3rd centuries which, after which points it decreases in frequency. (Helly 1970, 181-2; Hunold 2009, 87-8; Morpurgo-Davies 1968). The small percentages for the 1st centuries BCE and CE represent the gradual change from one form to the other, with some cities maintaining the adjectival form for longer than others. For example, in Demetrias the genitive patronym appeared quite early compared with Larissa, where the adjectival form continued to some extent until the 1st century CE (Helly 1970, 181-2; Hunold 2009, 87-8; Morpurgo-Davies 1968). Accompanying the decrease of the adjectival form was the simultaneous rise of other formulas, predominantly following the pattern of the nominative for the dedicator and the accusative or dative for the deceased. This formula appeared for the first time in Thessaly in the 5th century BCE and in very limited numbers in the 3rd century BCE, but it was not until the 1st century BCE that the use of this formula became common. This formula continued to increase until the 4th century CE, when it appears to have been as common as the genitive, although as mentioned the numbers for the 3rd and 4th centuries BCE could be misleading.

The picture that emerges through the analysis of the use and types of patronyms over time is one of variability and innovation, rather than of static adherence to tradition and convention. It seems very likely that the increase in variability in the Roman and

Late Roman periods was due, at least in part, to the increased mobility and cultural contact beginning in the 3rd century BCE. As a result of the expansion of the Macedonian empire, contact was increased throughout the Mediterranean; people became more mobile, moving from their home *patris* to different *poleis* and bringing with them their traditions and customs. Later in this chapter, in the section on the use of ethnics and civic identity expression in Thessaly, I shall demonstrate that this pattern indeed began in the Hellenistic period and continued during the Late Republic before changing under the Principate. Another possible explanation for the increased variability in funerary formulas can be found by examining the purpose of this genre of epigraphy. Funerary dedications were not only made for labelling the grave and identifying the deceased, but were a part of a commemorative action, which involved both the deceased and their living families.

Table 5.7 - Metronym Type

Type of Metronym	Attestations	% of total Metronyms
Genitive	6	14%
Adjective	0	0%
Other Formula	35	81%
Unnamed	2	5%

Although the patronym was by far the most common secondary identifier used in the Greek world to differentiate individuals with the same personal name, it was not the only means. In a very small minority of epitaphs the mother's name was expressed, either alone or accompanied by the father's name. I have identified 43 epitaphs referencing the mother, approximately 4% of the 1,150. Not surprisingly, reference to matrilineal descent was far less frequent than the expression of the patronym, but as can be seen in Table 5.6 and Graph 5.2 above, the first three centuries CE see the most attestations. Unlike patronyms, the adjectival form of the metronym is not attested in Thessaly. As is evident in Table 5.6 and Graph 5.2 above, the large majority of metronyms appear most frequently in dedicatory formulas, most often represented by the nominative for the dedicator and the accusative or dative for the deceased.

A total of 89 cases, 8% of the 1,150 epitaphs under study, expressed a gamonym as a secondary identifier. This secondary identifier was used primarily in reference to married women (79% of the total of gamonyms), while in a minority of cases (21%) it

was used in reference to a male, meaning that the name of the wife was given as the gamonym, which usually expressed in other formulae. A very clear pattern of increasing frequency of gamonyms over time when we look at the chronological distribution of this secondary identifier. Since gamonyms for men appear predominantly in formulas where the dedicator of the grave monument is named as the wife of the deceased formulae. In contrast to the traditional genitive or adjectival forms, the use of non-traditional formulae allowed women the opportunity to include their names on stone monuments, which they had commissioned for their spouses.

Furthermore, the impact of increasing Roman interaction can be seen through the overall increase of other formulae from the 1st century BCE onwards, interpreted by Helly as a result of the increasing contact between cultures with distinct burial traditions (Helly 1980, 46). Not only did the formula used changed. The style of funeral stele decoration change at the same time, when the Hellenistic styles are joined by the adoption of new styles reminiscent of Republican portraiture (Helly 1980, 46). The increase in other formula outside the Greek and specifically Thessalian traditions demonstrates the impact of the increasing influence of increased cultural contact and periods of political instability.

5.2.3. Expression of Civic Identity Markers

Since civic identity lies at the heart of this thesis, I also perform a thorough analysis of the patterns of its expression in Thessaly. While identifying Greek civic identity markers, such as city ethnics or demotics, is relatively straightforward, it becomes more complicated once Roman civic identity is taken into account. Having a Roman *nomen gentilicium*, except if accompanied by *libertus(a)* or *servus(a)*, indicated Roman citizenship. The same cannot be said for the use of a Roman *praenomen* since, as mentioned above, common Roman *praenomina* such as Gaius and Marcus were commonly used as names of slaves. These would potentially be accompanied in an epitaph by an indication of servile status, although not necessarily so. Slave and freedman identity expression will be explored later in this chapter, but what is important for this section is to note that it is the possession of a Roman *nomen gentilicium* that indicated the possession of Roman citizenship.

As mentioned at the start of this chapter, local civic identity was rarely expressed in Greece in inscriptions bearing Roman names, whereas this was the primary level of civic identification for the Greeks (Hansen 2004, 13, 58-60). While Roman names in the Greek context were sometimes accompanied by the ethnic Ῥωμαῖος in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, and to a lesser extent in the 1st century BCE, this represents an adaptation of Roman names to suit the Greek formula, as mentioned above. In addition, this use was usually restricted to public monuments and decrees; it did not occur among the epitaphs under study. Because I am interested in determining the use and appearance of Roman names in Thessaly, not how many Roman citizens were in Thessaly, the difficulty of determining the origin of an individual with a Roman name element does not affect this analysis.

The Greek and Roman conception and expression of civic identity were quite different, and therefore it is potentially problematic to conduct an analysis of the expression of ethnic identity. If the analysis includes only epitaphs with an expressed ethnic, eight out of the total of 89 Roman names identified would be included (GHW01517, GHW06627, GHW01561, GHW06897, GHW05509, GHW01737, GHW06713, GHW03581). On the other hand if I include all those with a Roman name element, operating under the assumption that the possession of a Roman name equates to Roman citizenship, I risk misidentifying individuals as Roman citizens who may in fact be slaves, freedmen, or Greeks bearing Roman nomenclature. A solution can be found by conducting an analysis of both scenarios. In the remainder of this section, I analyse those epitaphs with explicit inclusion of an ethnic, followed by an analysis including all 89 identified Roman names, viewing a Roman name element as a marker of civic identity that replaces the ethnic. The ancient reality would in all likelihood be represented by some middle point between the results of the analysis of these two datasets.

I identified 168 epitaphs that explicitly express a city ethnic, the principal Greek civic identity marker, and no attestations of a demotic of Athens, Rhodes or Eretria. All but one of these epitaphs were found in Thessalian territory and represent ethnics from various parts of the Mediterranean.

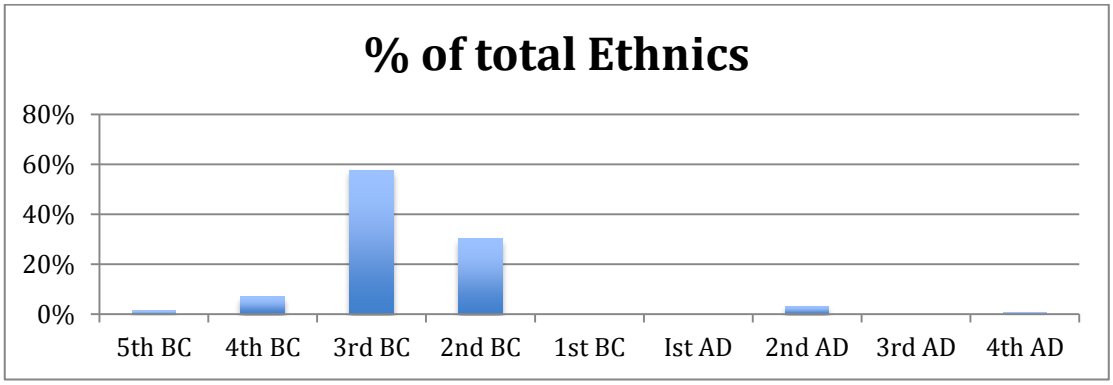
In terms of chronological distribution, 158 epitaphs with ethnics were datable to a given century. In the following table and graph, it becomes clear that the 3rd and 2nd

centuries BCE witnessed the largest proportion of ethnics expressed on epitaphs, together representing a combined total of 88% of the attested ethnics.

Table 5.8 - Chronological Distribution of Ethnics by Century

Date	Attestations	% of Total Ethnics
5th BCE	2	1%
4th BCE	11	7%
3rd BCE	91	58%
2nd BCE	48	30%
1st BCE	0	0%
Ist CE	0	0%
2nd CE	5	3%
3rd CE	0	0%
4th CE	1	1%
Total	**158**	**100%**

Graph 5.3 - Chronological Distribution of Ethnics by Century

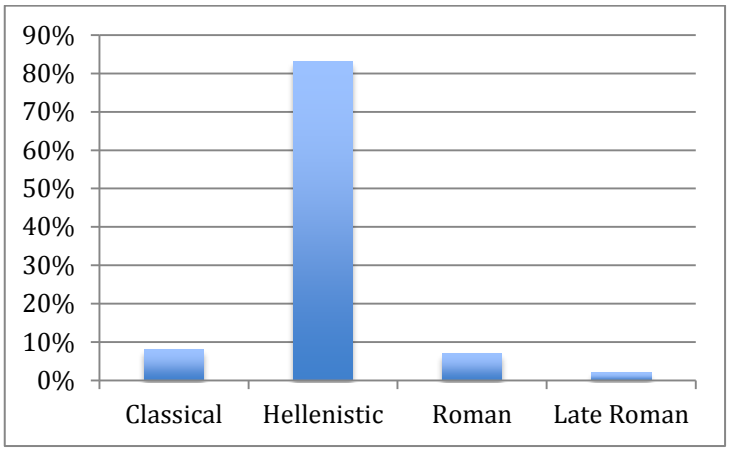


This distribution does not change when we add in the ten inscriptions datable only to a general period. As is evidenced by the table and graph below, ethnics dominate in the Hellenistic period, with a small percentage documented in the preceding and following periods. The analysis of the epitaphs therefore suggest a larger degree of movement in the Hellenistic period than in any other attested period, since the largest proportions of attested ethnics date to this period.

Table 5.9 - Chronological distribution of Ethnics by Period

Period	Attestations	% of total Ethnics
Classical	13	8%
Hellenistic	140	83%
Roman	12	7%
Late Roman	3	2%
Total	168	100%

Graph 5.4 - Chronological Distribution of Ethnics by Period



These results mean only that the majority of the 168 ethnic-bearing epitaphs date to the Hellenistic period. Since this could be due to the fact that 83% of these 168 epitaphs date to that period, it is far more informative to determine what percentage of the epitaphs from each century or period expressed a city-ethnic. While at first it seems most of the ethnics occurred in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE epitaphs, by calculating the percentage of epitaphs in each century containing ethnics a higher percentage seems to have been present in the 5th century BCE, as well as in the 2nd and 4th centuries CE, as can be seen from the following table and graph. While in part this is due to the small sample size of the 5th century BCE and 4th century CE epitaphs, 43 epitaphs were identified for the 2nd century CE, substantially more than the 19 of the 5th century BCE and the five of the 4th century CE. This could suggest that the increased percentage of ethnics expressed in the 2nd century CE, after a significant absence in the 1st centuries BCE and CE, is reflective of a trend in the 2nd century CE that saw a second wave of increased movement of individuals away from their *patris*.

Once more there is a potential bias in the data due to the very small sample sizes for the 5th century BCE and the 3rd and 4th centuries CE, which once again can be at least partially resolved through the analysis of the period-based dataset. When I calculate the percentage of epitaphs per period containing ethnics, it is clear that the Hellenistic period witnessed the highest percentage of non-local individuals being buried, as seen in the table and graph below.

A number of factors could have been responsible for the increase in non-local individuals being buried in Thessaly, not least being the endemic wars of the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. The use of mercenaries could account for a number of these burials;

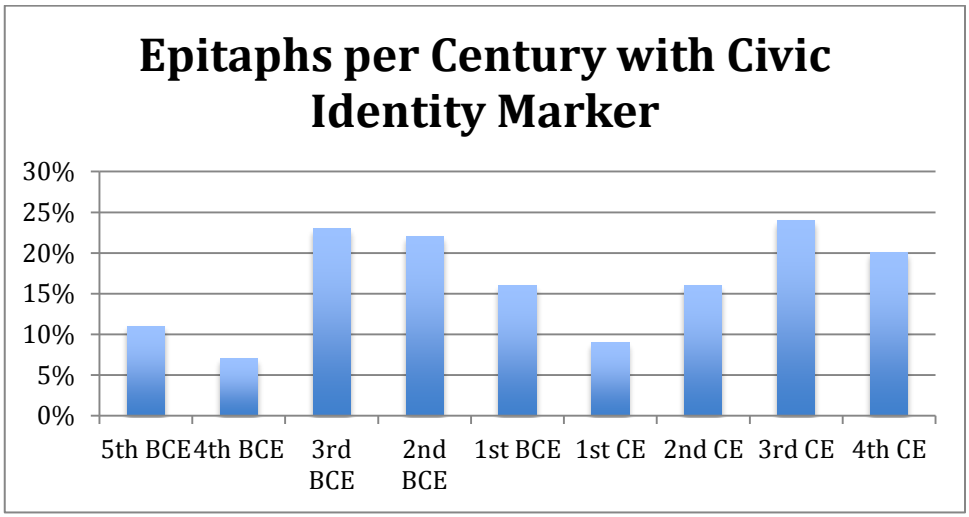
but, as I shall demonstrate in the following chapters, other contributing factors are to be found in the increased permeability of *polis* boundaries and increased mobility within the Mediterranean as a whole, and more specifically in Greece. It is also possible that instead of a change in the number of foreigners buried in Thessalian cities, the data reflect a change in the relative importance of local civic identity. Potentially, the absence of *polis* or regional ethnics in the 1st centuries BCE and CE could signify a change in the value and importance of identifying one's *patris* in a non-local setting.

In the remainder of this section I present the results of the analysis of ethnic expression, including the Roman names as indicators of non-local origin. While this is problematic, as discussed above, it is nevertheless useful. By including Roman names as indicators of individuals with non-Thessalian *patris*, a more representative picture emerges of mobility patterns. A total of 257 epitaphs are included in this analysis; 168 of the originally identified explicitly expressed ethnics combined with 89 epitaphs with Roman nomenclature. The table and graph below present the percentage of epitaphs of each century that contain a civic identity marker, whether an explicit ethnic, or an ethnic assumed by virtue of the possession of Roman nomenclature. These tables and graphs are then compared with the previously presented analyses of ethnic expression in order to compare the results of both datasets more easily.

Table 5.10 - Ethnic Expression by Century

Date	Attestations	% of epitaphs per century
5th BCE	2	11%
4th BCE	11	7%
3rd BCE	92	23%
2nd BCE	49	22%
1st BCE	8	16%
1st CE	4	9%
2nd CE	7	16%
3rd CE	5	24%
4th CE	1	20%

Graph 5.5 - Ethnic Expression by Century



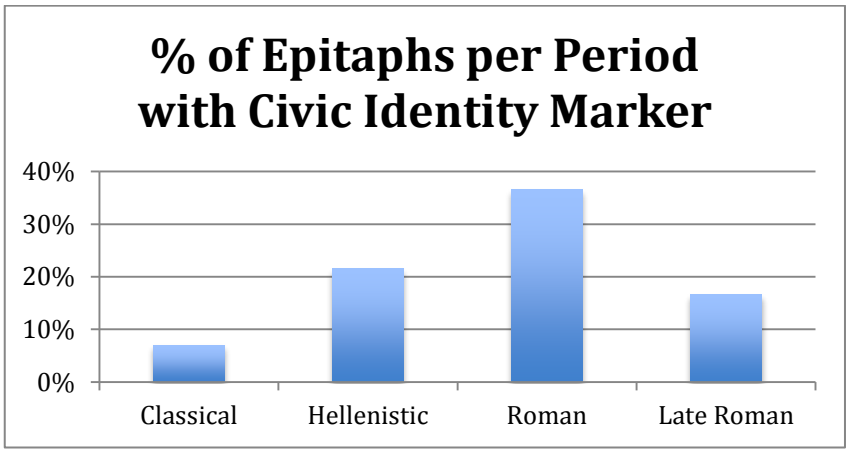
When we compare the results of the graphs produced from both analyses, it is noticeable that the 1st centuries BCE and CE, as well as the 3rd century CE, did in fact witness non-local individuals being buried in Thessaly (16%, 9% and 24% respectively). Furthermore, the 2nd century CE saw more non-local individuals (16%) buried than is indicated by the analysis of explicit ethnic expression alone (12%).

It is clear that leaving out Roman names would result in misinterpretation of mobility patterns and non-local burials. Nevertheless, the general trend of increased attestation of civic identity markers in the Hellenistic period and in the 2nd and 4th centuries CE seems to hold true, based on the above chart and graph. When we group together the data into broad periods, on the other hand, a different picture emerges.

Table 5.11 - Epitaphs per Period with Civic Identity Markers

Period	Attestations	% of epitaphs per period
Classical	13	7%
Hellenistic	142	22%
Roman	94	37%
Late Roman	8	17%
Total	**257**	

Graph 5.6 - Percentage of Epitaphs per Period with Civic Identity Markers



The above table and graph make it immediately clear that the previously advanced picture of the Hellenistic period witnessing the highest percentage of non-local individuals being buried in Thessaly is not maintained. The Roman period instead saw 37% of the epitaphs expressing a civic identity marker, whether explicit or implicit, compared with the 22% in the Hellenistic period. In addition, when we compare the graph produced from the analysis of the epitaphs with only explicit ethnic expression with the graph including the Roman element (see below), the Roman period clearly shows more non-local individuals than any other period.

The evidence from the two analyses performed on the expression of civic identity in the epitaphs of Thessaly suggest that there were perhaps two phases of increased mobility. First, in the Hellenistic period we see an increase in individuals from within Thessaly and the wider Mediterranean Greek world moving around and being buried in *poleis* that were not their *patris*. Secondly, in the Roman period, perhaps not surprisingly, increased mobility is far more restricted to those with Roman name elements reflecting an implied civic identity marker.

A complicating factor, which may obscure some traces of non-local individuals living in a polis, must be addressed. There is a distinct possibility that obtaining citizenship rights in a *polis* other than one's own *patris* resulted in a decrease in the expression of the original civic identity of non-local individuals. For example, if a citizen of Krannon obtained citizenship in Larissa, would that individual's epitaph in Larissa have expressed their original civic identity as a citizen of Krannon? Or would their civic identity as a Larissaian override the necessity to indicate that they were not originally a citizen of Larissa? There are no cases identified with multiple civic identity

markers, except in the case of the eight epitaphs of individuals with Roman names and an explicit ethnic (*IG* IX 2, 0974 an Elean, *AE* 1929, p.156, n°16 a Theban, *IG* IX 2, 0925 a Bithynian, *AE* 1945-47, p.108-109 a Cretan, *SEG* 45: 594 a Nikopolitan, *IG* IX 2, 0969 a Smyrnaian, *AE* 1916, p.61-62 a Theban, and *SEG* 32:605, a Mysian from Cyzicus). Not once in the 1,150 epitaphs under study is an individual identified as having citizenship in more than one *polis*. In the seven cases where Roman names are associated with an explicit ethnic, none are referred to as specifically having Roman citizenship. The fact that no epitaphs were identified containing multiple civic identities has implications for the interpretation of mobility and multiple citizenship in the Greek and Roman worlds, a point to which I will return frequently in the following chapters.

While the local level of civic identity was by far the most often attested on the epitaphs of Thessaly, I have identified a small number of cases where a regional identity is expressed. In some cases this regional identity is accompanied by the local civic identity, while in others the regional identity stands alone. I identified a total of 33 epitaphs with regional identity expression, 10 of which are accompanied by the local *polis* ethnic, as can be seen in the table below.

Table 5.12 – Distribution of Regional and local Civic Identity

Region	Only Regional	Regional and Local	Total
Adamantia	1	0	1
Ainis	1	0	1
Boiotia	2	0	2
Crete	2	6	8
Lokris	0	1	1
Acarnania	2	0	2
Arcadia	2	0	2
Macedon	3	2	5
Bithynia	5	1	6
Thrace	1	0	1
Illyria	2	0	2
Epirus	2	0	2
Total	**23**	**10**	**33**

A total of 31 of the 33 epitaphs containing regional civic identity markers can be dated to within a given century and, as can be seen in the table below, the large majority (68%) date to the 3rd century BCE. The entire dataset of regional civic identifiers only

amounts to 13% of the total epitaphs with civic identity markers, and only 3% of the entire dataset of 1,150 epitaphs.

Table 5.13- Regional Civic Identity Markers by Century

Century	Number	% of Total Regional Civic Identity Markers	% of total Civic Identity Markers	% of Epitaphs per Century
5th BC	0	0%	0%	0%
4th BC	4	13%	2%	2%
3rd BC	21	68%	8%	5%
2nd BC	5	16%	2%	2%
1st BC	0	0%	0%	0%
1st AD	0	0%	0%	0%
2nd AD	1	3%	1%	2%
3rd AD	0	0%	0%	0%
4th AD	0	0%	0%	0%
Total	**31**	**100%**	**13%**	**3%**

Table 5.14 - Regional Civic Identity Markers by Period

Period	Number	% of Total Regional Civic Identity Markers	% of total Civic Identity Markers	% of epitaphs per Period
Classical	4	12%	2%	2%
Hellenistic	26	79%	12%	4%
Roman	3	9%	1%	1%
Late Roman	0	0%	0%	0%

Generally speaking, regional identity was expressed in cases where the individual was not local, as mentioned at the start of this chapter. Of the 168 identified epitaphs with ethnics, 145 contained only the local *polis* ethnic, while the remaining 23 expressed the region only. On the other hand, if more than one *polis* existed with the same name, perhaps the inclusion of the regional identity marker was intended to clarify the *polis* in question. This explanation does not seem to apply here, however, since none of the *poleis* mentioned were ambiguous, but all were unique names not found elsewhere in the Greek world. Where only the regional identity was included, it was perhaps due to the inability of those burying the individual to identify the exact *polis* from which the deceased originated. Alternatively, some regions show evidence of a conception of a regional *ethnos* identity, for example the Arcadians and the Achaeans (Vlassopoulos 2008, 1). Two epitaphs identify the deceased individual as Arcadian

(*Thess. Mnem.* 176, *IG* IX 2, 0773), and another two identify Boiotians (*SEG* 32: 598, *IG* IX 2, 1175), without the inclusion of a *polis* identity. Some regions, which conceptualized the region as an *ethnos*, were at different times organized into a federal league, for example the Arcadian league in the 4th century and at least part of the 3rd century BCE. Both of the epitaphs identifying Arcadians date to the 4th century BCE, and therefore it is possible that these epitaphs were intended to identify the deceased individuals as originating from a member *polis* of the league, rather than expressing a general *ethnos* identity. This could also explain why in some cases a city is included and in others it is omitted. In the five epitaphs expressing a Macedonian regional identity, three expressed only the region while two expressed the *polis* as well. A similar situation exists for the epitaphs of eight individuals originating from Crete, two of which contained only the region while the remaining six provided the *polis* identity as well.

It is difficult to determine with any certainty the reason for the use of regional identifiers in epitaphs, particularly those that do not include a *polis* identity. Vlassopoulos suggests that in many of the documented cases where an *ethnos* or regional identity was included, these represented cases of externally imposed identity; that is it was others who identified the individuals as belonging to a specific *ethnos* or region, instead of being self-ascribed (Vlassopoulos 2009, 2). In the cases of grave epitaphs, it is predominantly the family of the deceased that was responsible for the burial and commission of inscriptions, and although it is perhaps possible that a family member could choose to identify the deceased using a form of identity that was not subscribed to by the deceased individual, it seems unlikely. Regardless of the reasons for including regional or *ethnos* identity markers, these cases represent a small minority of the civic identity markers used.

An interesting, although perhaps not surprising, pattern is visible when the epitaphs with the expression of all civic identity markers are analysed in terms of their locations. In the following table the attestations of epitaphs with civic identity markers are listed for the *poleis* of Thessaly. It is immediately clear that two *poleis* had much greater percentages of non-local individuals, namely Demetrias (54%) and Larissa (27%). Combined these two *poleis* account for over 80% of all attested burials containing a civic identity marker. Although certainly partially a result of the overall distribution of funerary inscriptions in Thessaly, regardless the pattern visible suggests a

concentration of non-local individuals in these cities, not surprisingly due to their importance.

Table 5.15 - Epitaphs with Civic Identity Marker by Find Location

Polis	Attestations	% of Epitaphs with Civic Identity Markers
Argoussa	1	less than 1%
Atrax	6	2%
Chyretiai	1	< 1%
Demetrias	133	52%
Doliche	2	1%
Dotion	2	1%
Eretria	1	< 1%
Euhydrion	2	1%
Gonnoi	1	< 1%
Gyrton	3	1%
Hypata	1	< 1%
Larissa	69	27%
Metho(a)ne	1	< 1%
Mopsion	1	< 1%
Olooson	1	< 1%
Pagasai	5	2%
Phalanna	1	< 1%
Pharsalos	6	2%
Pherai	5	2%
Phthiotic Thebes	4	2%
Skotoussa	2	1%
Spalauthra	1	< 1%
Trikka	1	< 1%
Unknown Thessalian	6	2%
Total	**257**	**100%**

Although ethnics from all over the Mediterranean world are documented in the Thessalian evidence, the largest proportion represent *poleis* on the Greek Mainland (16%), Asia Minor (15%), the Greek islands (14%), Macedonia (13%) other Thessalian cities (11%), and Phoenician cities (11%), as can be seen by the table and graph below.

Table 5.16 - Ethnics Attested by Geographic Area

Ethnic Attested	Number of Attestations	% of Total Ethnics
Greek Mainland	27	16%
Greek Islands	24	14%
Macedonia	22	13%
Illyria	5	3%
Epirus	7	4%
Aitolia	2	1%
Thrace	4	2%
Asia Minor	26	15%
Italian Islands (Sardinia and Sicily)	2	1%
Phoenicia	18	11%
Egypt	8	5%
N. Africa	1	1%
Thessalian Cities	19	11%
Region of Thessaly	1	1%
Subregions of Thessaly	2	1%
Total	**168**	**100%**

Graph 5.7 - Percentage of Ethnics by Geographic Area

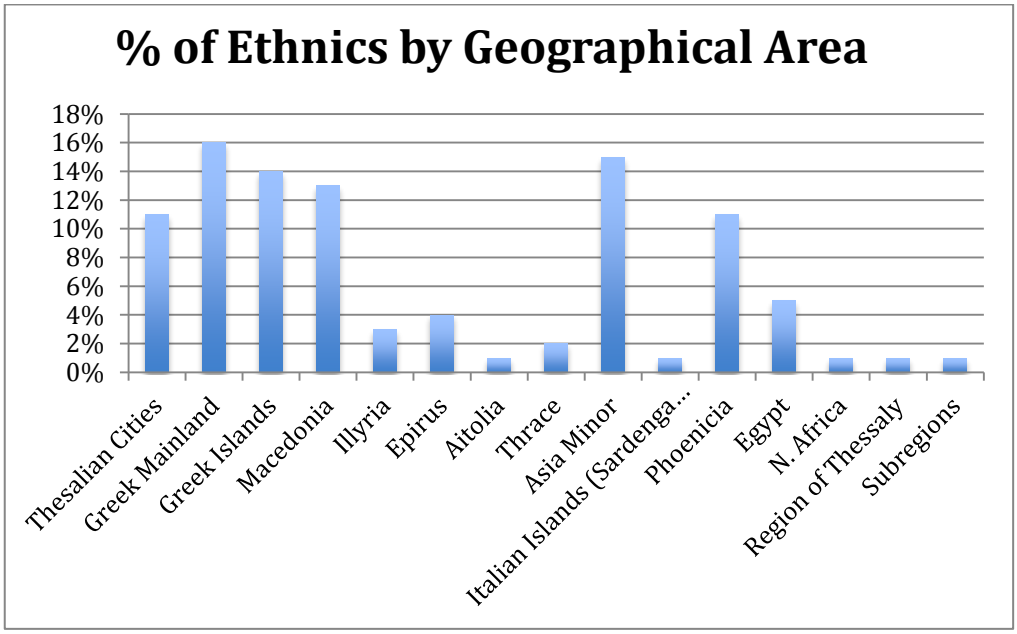
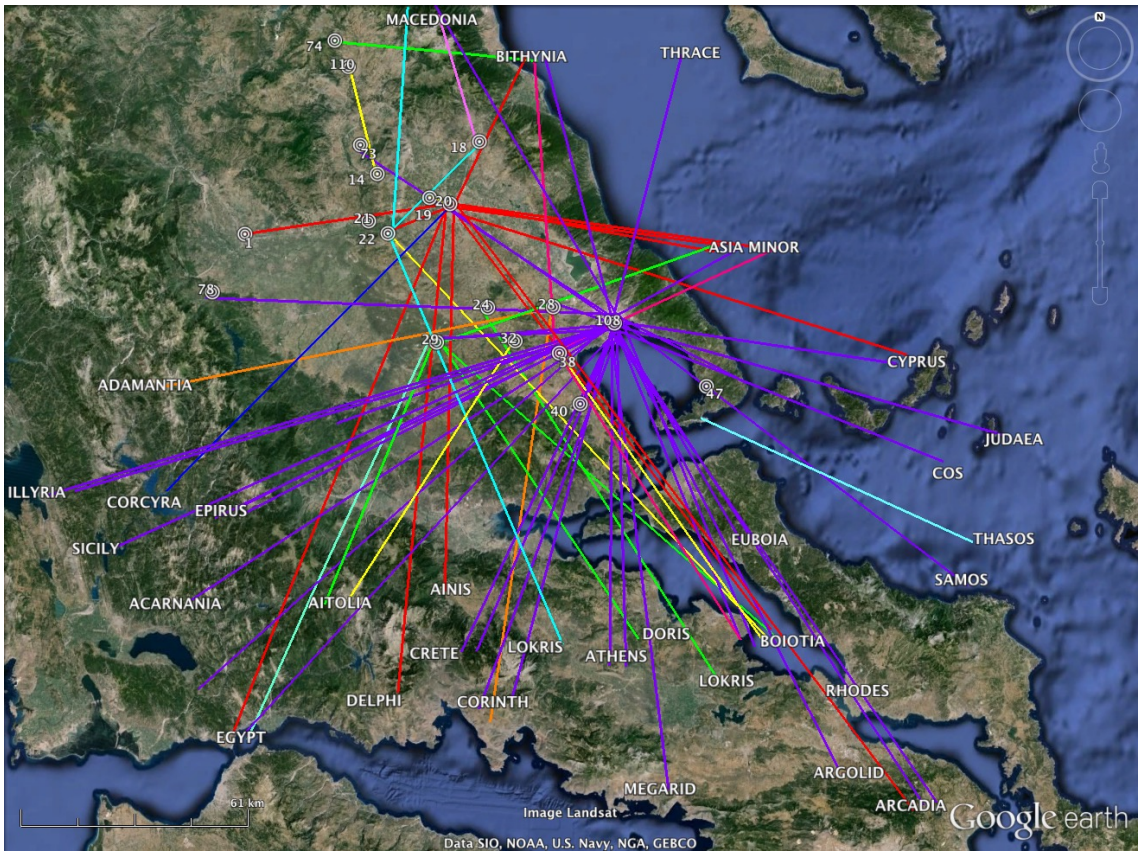


Figure 5.1 – Distribution of Ethnics All Periods



In Figure 5.1 above it is possible to distinguish several nodes of activity, where ethnics appeared on funerary inscriptions. Demetrias (site 108) had the most ethnics expressed overall, with Larissa (site 20) following. At first it seems that perhaps the nature of the formation of the *polis* of Demetrias, through a synoikism with surrounding *poleis* and communities, could be responsible for the greater frequency of non-local individuals. Once the *patris* of the buried individuals is analysed, only 10 of 138 epitaphs from Demetrias contain civic identity markers from other Thessalian *poleis*. The remaining originate from outside Thessaly, therefore discounting the possibility that this trend is due to Demetrias' creation through synoikism. As the major port city of Thessaly, it is not surprising to find a greater number of non-local individuals as compared with other Thessalian *poleis*. Demetrias also displays the largest diversity in terms of the geographical areas represented, as is clearly visible in Figure 5.1 above. Individuals from Phoenician cities are the most represented in Demetrias with 18 attestations. It is difficult to say with certainty what relationship there was between these Phoenician cities and the Thessalian port, but most likely related to trade and commercial activities. Macedonians (16) are the second most frequently represented,

not surprisingly seeing as how the city was founded by the Macedonian Demetrios Poliorketes. Asia Minor (8), Epirus (7), Judaea (6), Egypt (6), Acarnania (5), Illyria (4), and Thrace (4) are also frequently attested. Few individuals from the rest of mainland Greece (12) are represented in Demetrias compared with geographical areas further afield; even fewer came from cities in Thessaly itself (7). Its location on the Pagasetic gulf made Demetrias an attractive place to people from all areas of the Mediterranean. The quantity and diversity of the ethnics expressed on tombstones in Demetrias is likely related to its role as the principal port of Thessaly and its commercial activities. Alternatively, as suggested by Bouchon (personal correspondence 2015-09-03), the first generation of mercenaries who fought for the Antigonid monarchy maintained their *patris* ethnics, which were abandoned by successive generations implying they had become citizens. In fact, the alternative interpretation of the decrease in ethnics after the Hellenistic period could be explained as the result of children of foreign residents being naturalized and therefore no longer associating with the original *poleis* of their parents.

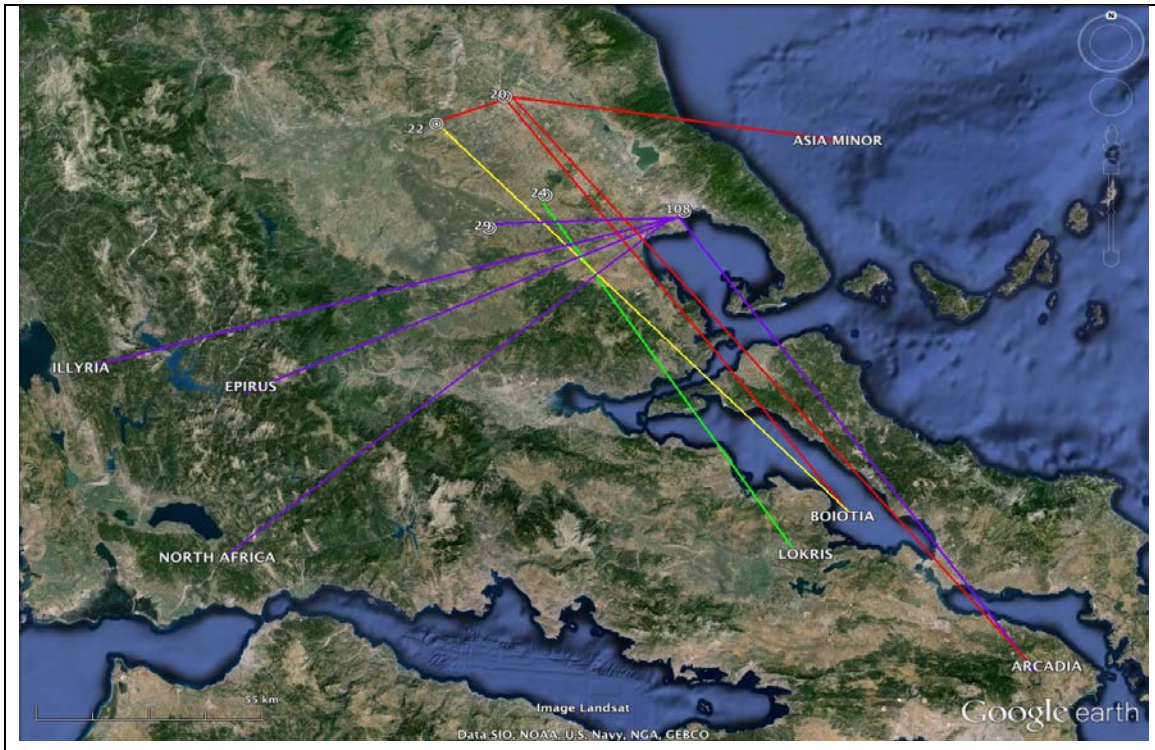
In contrast, the ethnics attested in Larissa (site 20) are more restricted, with Asia Minor the most represented with four attestations, and the remaining seven distributed equally between Egypt, Illyria, Bithynia, Delphi, Arcadia, Boiotia, and Cyprus. It should not be surprising that 27% of the epitaphs with civic identity markers come from Larissa, since it was the administrative and political centre of Thessaly, and the federal league. Only two ethnics from Thessalian cities were present in Larissa, Atrax (22) and Argoussa (19), which is somewhat unanticipated given the city's centrality in the political and social life of the region.

It appears that, based on the distribution of ethnics in Thessaly, Demetrias and Larissa had the most amount of non-local individuals buried whose civic identity was explicitly expressed. As two of the most important cities in the region, it is not surprising that the majority of ethnics appeared in Demetrias and Larissa. It is also expected due to the fact, discussed above, that these two cities represented the largest proportions of epitaphs in the overall dataset. In fact, both of these cities were the seats of their respective *koina*: Larissa for the Thessalian League and Demetrias for the Magnesian League, the only league to have survived autonomously after incorporation into the Thessalian *koinon*. As these cities were important locales of political and administrative activity, it is hardly a shock that more individuals of non-local origin

were buried there. When we look at the physical distribution of the remaining epitaphs with civic identity markers, we see that fewer than 20% appeared in other Thessalian *poleis*; no other Thessalian *polis* contained more than 2% of the total. In terms of movement within Thessaly, the data shows that individuals from less influential *poleis* moved towards important centres such as Larissa , Demetrias and to a lesser extent, Pharsalos (site 29) and Pherai (site 28). One individual from Larissa was buried in Pherai, representing the only case of a movement away from a large influential eastern Thessalian city. Overall the pattern suggests a movement from west towards the east, to Magnesia, Pelasgiotis, and Phthiotis.

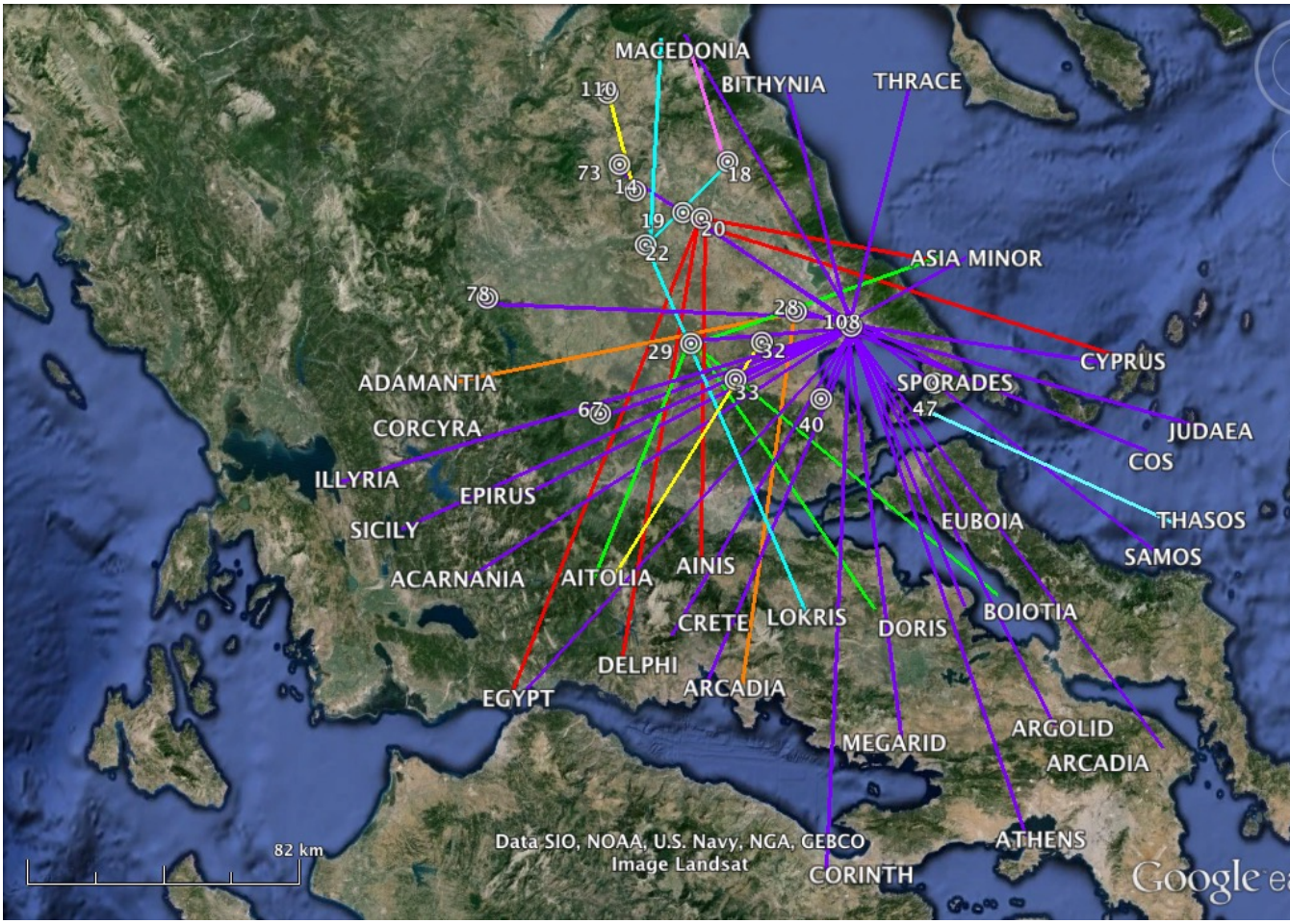
When the distribution of ethnics on tombstones are analysed in terms of chronology, a few further patterns are discernable. As can be seen in Figure 5.2 below, very few ethnics are found in Thessalian cities overall. Larissa and Pagasai (site 50), an important port city of the Classical period saw the most non-local burials. No Macedonians were present at this time, nor Aitolia, although an individual from Epirus, Illyria, Asia Minor and North Africa are represented. Movement from other regions of mainland Greece was likely poorly represented with only one individual from Boiotia, one from Opuntian Lokris and two from Arcadia were present.

Figure 5.2 – Classical Distribution of Ethnics



When we turn to look at the Hellenistic period, an explosion of attestations of ethnics is evident, as can be seen in Figure 5.3 below. It is clear by comparing this picture to the Classical distribution that the Hellenistic period was characterized by significant movement, particularly from areas beyond Thessaly. Areas all over the Mediterranean are represented, particularly Macedonia (17), Phoenicia (18), Asia Minor (9), and, to a lesser extent, Bithynia (5), Thrace (4), Judaea (6), Epirus (5), Egypt (6), and Illyria (3).

Figure 5.3 – Hellenistic Distribution of Ethnics



In terms of other regions of Greece, Crete (5), Boiotia (5), Acarnania (5), Attica (2), Arcadia (2) Argolis (2), Cos (2), and Cyprus (3) were attested more than once,

while Attica, Lokris, Megaris as well as Zakynthos, Samos, Lesbos, Thasos, Corinth, and Euboia were attested once each. The majority of movement was towards Demetrias at this time, including most of the individuals from regions beyond the Greek mainland and islands. One individual from Macedonia was found in Gyrton (site 18) and one in Atrax (site 22), one person from Asia Minor was found in Larissa (site 20) as well as the six Egyptians. An Aitolian was buried in Eretria (site 32) and one in Pharsalos (site 29). In terms of other areas of Greece, an individual from Thasos was buried in Spalauthra (site 47), a Cypriot, an individual from Doris and a citizen of Delphi were found in Larissa, while an individual from Lokris was found in Atrax and a Boiotian in Pharsalos. Individuals from Larissa, Pharsalos, Pherai, Halos, Peuma, Angeia, Gomphoi, and Chyretiai were found on tombstones from Demetrias, while movement within Thessaly towards other cities were minimal: an individual from Argoussa and an Ainian (with no city ethnic) was found in Larissa; a citizen of Azoros was buried in Phalanna, an Adamantian (no city ethnic given) was found in Pherai, and an individual from Gyrton was buried in Atrax. Since Demetrias was founded in the 3rd century BCE, it is not surprising to find that this city contained the largest quantity of ethnics at this time, and from the most diverse locations.

In the Roman period, this picture changes completely, as is clear in Figure 5.4 below. No movement occurs within Thessaly itself and limited movement occurs from other areas of the Greek mainland and islands. One individual from Crete, one from Athens and one from Boiotian Thebes were buried in Demetrias. One individual from Bithynia was found in Larissa, one in Phthiotic Thebes, and one in Doliche. The only other ethnics expressed were an individual from Epirus buried in Demetrias and one from Egypt buried in Pharsalos. Movement seems to have restricted greatly in the Roman period, individuals are not moving around as they did in the Hellenistic. Instead, the picture that emerges from the expression of ethnics on Roman period tombstones is one closer to the Classical period, where a limited amount of ethnics are expressed on tombstones.

Figure 5.4 – Roman Distribution of Ethnics

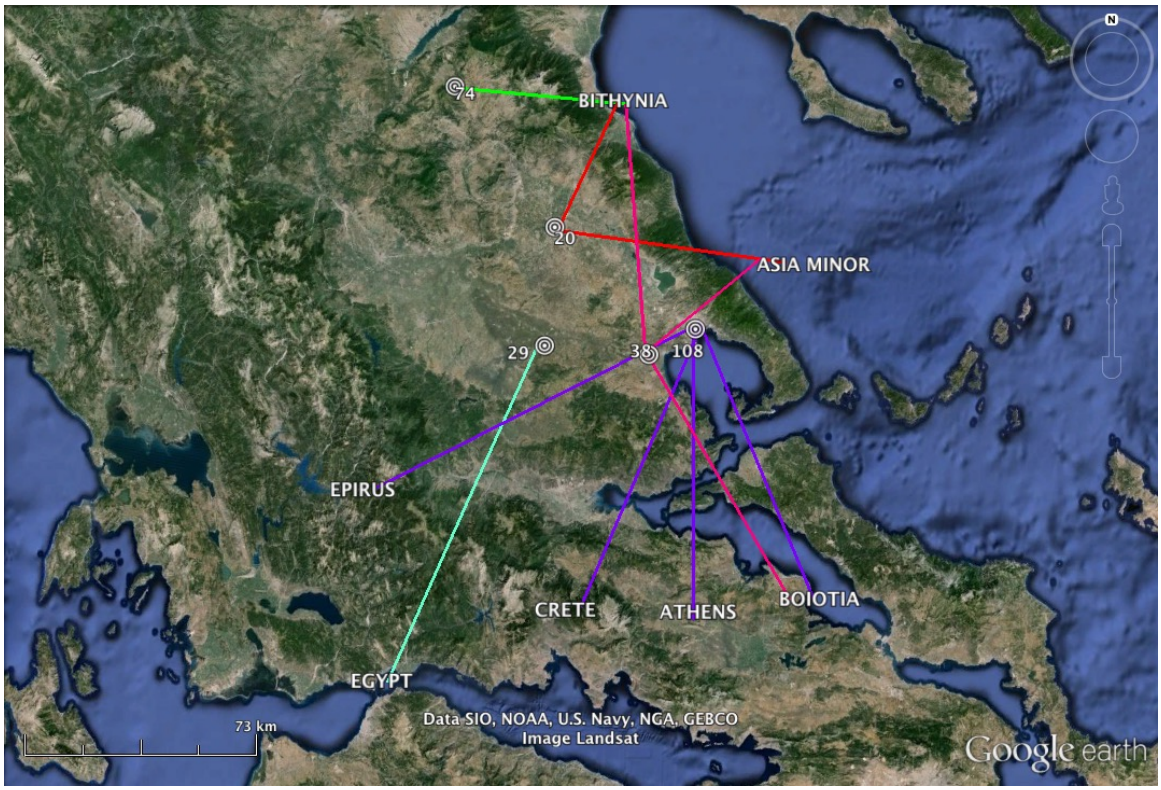


Figure 5.5 – Late Roman Distribution of Ethnics

The Late Roman period sees a continuation of this decline, with only four ethnics expressed, as can be seen in Figure 5.5 above. Two individuals from Boiotian Thebes were buried in Phthiotic Thebes, a single individual from Illyria was buried in Larissa and a citizen of Metropolis was also buried in Larissa. While some movement does occur during the Late Roman, it is insignificant compared to the levels in the Hellenistic period.

5.3.4. Roman Names

It is important to look in more detail at the Roman names appearing on tombstones, in an attempt to identify patterns in naming and identity expression with the aim of better understanding both the mobility patterns and the dissemination of Roman names within the local context.

A total of 89 epitaphs containing Roman name elements were identified, as mentioned in the previous section. Only 12 have the characteristic *tria nomina*; but, as I mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, the use of the *tria nomina* was not consistent throughout Roman history and its absence does not necessarily equate to an absence of Roman citizenship. In terms of Roman naming practices, 52 individuals had a *praenomen*, 32 of them as their only Roman name element. A total of 28 had a father with a Roman name, expressed either as a patronym or filiation, while 21 had Greek-named fathers named in the patronym genitive form. Eight are identified specifically as freedmen, while one is identified of slave status. As mentioned above, eight of the Roman names are accompanied by their *polis* identity, but none of these represent Roman cities from the Italian peninsula, but from the Greek mainland and Asia Minor (Thebes (2), Crete [multiple sites], Nikopolis, Smyrna, Bithynia, Elis, and Cyzicus).

Roman names in Thessaly, when analysed by century, reach their highest frequency in the 1st century BCE, as can be seen in the table below. A large number of names (68) cannot be dated to within a specific century but instead are dated generally to the Roman period. When we look at the distribution of names by period, it is therefore not surprising that 93% of them occurred in the Roman period. 32% of all epitaphs dating to the Roman period were dedicated to individuals with Roman names. This is a relatively high percentage and provides evidence for an increasing Roman component of the society of Thessaly.

Table 5.17 - Distribution of Roman Names by Century

Date	Number	% of total Roman names	% of total epitaphs per century
5th BCE	0	0%	0%
4th BCE	0	0%	0%
3rd BCE	1	1%	1%
2nd BCE	1	1%	1%
1st BCE	8	9%	16%
1st CE	4	4%	9%
2nd CE	3	3%	7%
3rd CE	4	4%	19%
4th CE	0	0%	0%

Table 5.18 -Distribution of Roman Names by Period

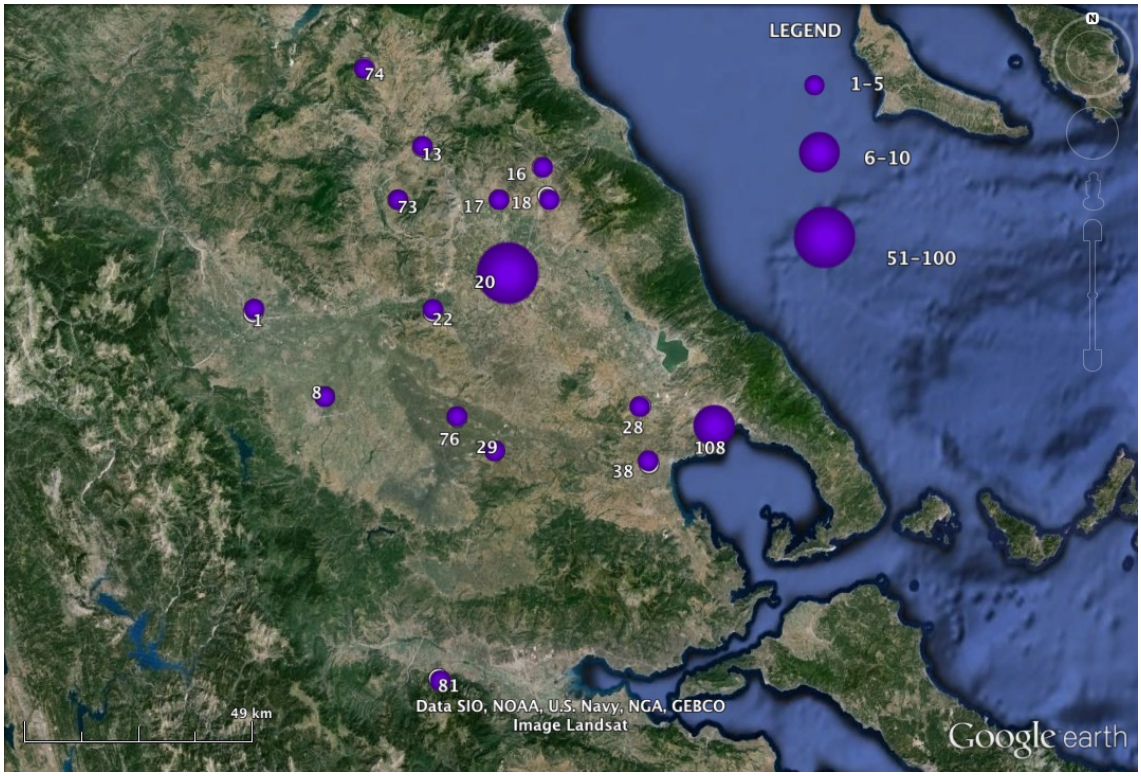
Date	Number	% of total Roman names	% of total epitaphs per period
Classical	0	0	0%
Hellenistic	2	2%	1%
Roman	83	93%	32%
Late Roman	4	5%	8%
Total	**89**	**100%**	

As mentioned above, few of the 89 individuals with Roman names can be securely identified as Romans from Italy, reflecting the general difficulty in determining the origins of individuals using Roman nomenclature in the Greek context (Solin 1996, 8-9). These individuals, as discussed at the start of this chapter, represent children of mixed marriages with Roman citizens, freedmen, and elite members of Peloponnesian society who obtained citizenship, adopted Roman *praenomina* and/or *nomina* but retained their Greek personal name as a cognomen, representing their ascription to both Greek and Roman identity and cultural traditions (Rizakis 2009b, 568-9; Tataki 1998, 106). 16 epitaphs contained a name with a Roman element (either *praenomen*, *nomen* or both) in combination with a Greek personal name used in place of a Roman *cognomen* (*IG* IX 2, 971, *I.Thess* 41, *IG* IX 2, 827, *IG* IX 2, 1372, *IG* IX 2, 1165, *AE* 1930, p.181, n°7, *IG* IX 2, 974, *IG* IX 2, 831, *IG* IX 2, 969, *IG* IX 2, 791, *IG* IX 2, 55, *IG* IX 2, 835, *IG* IX 2, 907, *IG* IX 2, 933, *IG* IX 2, 841, *IG* IX 2, 1164).

Table 5.19 - Physical Distribution of Roman Names in Thessaly

Polis	Number	% of Total Roman Names
Larissa	55	62%
Demetrias	10	11%
Gyrton	2	2%
Euhydrion	2	2%
Mopsion	1	1%
Methone	1	1%
Chyretiai	1	1%
Hypata	1	1%
Pharsalos	1	1%
Trikka	1	1%
Skotoussa	1	1%
Phthiotic Thebes	1	1%
Gonnoi	1	1%
Dotion	2	2%
Atrax	2	2%
Pherai	2	2%
Doliche	1	1%
Olooson	1	1%
unknown	3	3%

Figure 5.6 – Distribution of Roman Names in Epitaphs



When the physical distribution of Roman names is analysed, the drop in ethnic expression in the Roman period compared to the Hellenistic is partially remedied. While 142 individuals with explicit non-local ethnics were buried in Thessalian cities in the Hellenistic Period, only 12 are identified for the Roman period. If we add in the Roman names, as seen in Figure 5.6 above, the total for the Roman period becomes 101. While not completely filling the gap of ethnics expressed, the presence of Roman names in funerary inscriptions and the low quantity of ethnics at this time suggest a shift in the focus of movement in Thessaly. More individuals with Roman names appeared in the burial record, compared with the Hellenistic period when movement was abundant and varying in origins.

Larissa and Demetrias once again represent the *poleis* with the largest proportions, as can be seen in Table 5.21 and Figure 5.6 above. A total of 62% of attested Roman names in Thessaly were found in Larissa, compared to only 11% in Demetrias. As these two *poleis* represent the most important and influential cities of Thessaly in the Roman period, it is not surprising to see a larger proportion of Roman names in their funerary records. What is perhaps more surprising is the lack of them in Hypata and Metropolis. Most likely this is due to the differential nature of research on the *poleis*; Demetrias and Larissa represent the two most thoroughly studied Thessalian *poleis*, Metropolis and Hypata decidedly less so. Alternatively, there is scope to assume that perhaps the higher frequency of both ethnics and Roman names in Larissa and Demetrias was related to their roles as administrative and political centres of their respective *koina*, as well as due to their geographical positions. Both cities are in the eastern portions of Thessaly; Larissa being located at the centre of various transport and communication routes, including several major roads and the Peneios river; and Demetrias lying on the northern coast of the Pagasetic gulf. Their locations at nodes of high connectivity would have had practical repercussions both in terms of ease of communication and trade. It is perhaps then, less a result of differential study than a higher frequency of non-local individuals were found in these two cities than a consequence of their political, economic and connective roles in the landscape, both in Thessaly and the wider Mediterranean world.

5.4. Concluding Remarks

The overall patterns of identity expression can be summarized as follows:

Table 5.20 - Overview of Identity Expression by Period

- Classical = expression of single names most common, with some use of the adjectival and genitive forms of the patronym. Very rare occurrences of gamonyms and metronyms. Some expression of ethnics but limited.
-Hellenistic = Expression of patronym reaches height. Very rare expression of metronym. Increasing use of gamonym. Most frequent expression of ethnics from largest variety of places.
-Roman = Patronyms are commonly attested, highest attestation of metronyms and gamonyms, mostly in nominative of the dedicator formula. Drastic drop in explicit expression of ethnics, substantial presence of Roman names in epitaphs.
-Late Roman = some use of patronyms but greatly reduced, some use of metronyms, gamonyms are common. Very few ethnics expressed, some Roman names

The changes demonstrated in identity expression on tombstones certainly support the theory of dynamic and variable identities as discussed in relation to identity, agency and cultural interaction in Chapters 3.1 and the beginning of this chapter, 5.1. Several factors may have contributed to the changes demonstrated in the identity expression patterns of Thessaly. As mentioned in Chapter 3, identity can be manipulated and certain facets can be highlighted or downplayed to serve the needs of groups and individuals in a given context. Through the change witnessed in the Roman period in using alternative formulae to the traditional adjectival and genitive forms of the patronym, metronym, and gamonym, relationships outside the father's line of descent could be emphasized. This allowed connections and network links to be emphasized in circumstances where it could be beneficial to highlight a particular familial connection, such as in political and commercial networks. The use of other formulae for the expression of these relationships also may have allowed women to become more visible in the epigraphic record. Where in the Classical period it was far more common to identify the deceased with an adjectival or genitive patronym, as time went on more variability is witnessed in the formulae used. By the Roman period, the use of alternative formulae such as the nominative for the dedicator and accusative or

dative for the deceased allowed women to include their names on funerary stele, a very rare feature in earlier periods. This could be directly related to wider societal changes in gender roles in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as discussed above, and as highlighted most famously by Pomeroy in the 1970s (1975, 120-137), and by many other scholars since (for example van Bremen 1996, Nevett 2002). Another example of how wider societal changes can influence the expression of identity can be seen in how the value of highlighting one's Roman citizenship was likely more valuable and influential in the late Republic and early Empire than after the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE, when the value of emphasizing citizenship may have diminished as all inhabitants of the provinces were now citizens.

The Hellenistic period saw the largest amount of movement in Thessaly. People from all over the Mediterranean had (presumably) settled in and were buried, explicitly expressing their civic identity, highlighting their non-local status. This suggests that physical mobility had increased in this period. While due in part to the conflicts in the area, movement of mercenaries and civic troops, as well as accompanying merchants and craftsmen, the Hellenistic period in general is characterized by the opening up of the Mediterranean. Travel had become more frequent, trade connects more long distance and networks wider-reaching. The pattern in Thessaly certainly seems to support a sort of "globalization" of the Mediterranean, where people moved between states and cities more frequently than ever before.

Taking only the explicit expression of ethnics into consideration, the Roman period would appear to have witnessed the reverse trend. Closer to patterns in the Classical period, very few ethnics are expressed in the funerary inscriptions of Thessaly. When we add the individuals with Roman names, keeping in mind that having a Roman name element did not necessarily equate to Roman citizenship, a different picture emerges. While still not reaching Hellenistic levels, the Roman period sees 89 (8% of the total epitaphs), 93% of which dated to the Roman period individuals with Roman names expressed on tombstones, making up a large part of the gap left from the Hellenistic period. The increased incidences of Roman names in Thessaly not only reflects the presence of Roman citizens from Italy, particularly in the 2nd century BCE; as time increased more of the socio-political and economic elite members of the *poleis* acquired Roman citizenship, evidenced by the 16 individuals with Roman *praenomina* and/or *nomina* and Greek *cognomina*. Although some of these individuals may have

represented freedmen, the use of hybrid naming practices demonstrates that the elite members of society were explicitly expressing the duality of their civic identities and their participation in both cultural traditions.

The analysis of identity expression in Thessaly has highlighted several important themes introduced in Chapter 1.1.1, notably issues of mobility and impact and responses to increasing Roman domination. In terms of mobility, the patterns identified suggest that perhaps two phases of increased mobility are identifiable. First, during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, an explosion in the attestation of non-local individuals from Thessaly, other regions of Greece and beyond is documented. As already mentioned, the increase in mobility may have been partly a response to the frequent wars, use of mercenary troops, and the overall 'globalization' of the Mediterranean resulting from the conquests of Alexander the Great and his father, and the subsequent rise of the Hellenistic kingdoms. This increased cultural contact characteristic of the Hellenistic period likely also resulted in the increased permeability of *polis* boundaries as both *poleis* and individuals reacted to increased trade contacts, attempting to profit from the increased ease of moving around the Mediterranean. By the start of the Roman period, the attestations of non-local individuals from Thessaly, Greece and the Mediterranean dramatically decreased, partially alleviated by an increase in the documentation of individuals bearing Roman names. 32% of all epitaphs dating to the Roman period bore Roman name elements, certainly demonstrating the increased presence of Romans.

The appearance of Roman names in the funerary record of Thessaly likely is a result of several factors. The first Roman names appeared in the 2nd century BCE and it is likely that these individuals represented Roman citizens from Italy who either emigrated to Thessaly or died during the conflicts of the 2nd century BCE. As the Roman period progressed, the use of mixed nomenclature appears suggesting an increase in the adoption of Roman name elements by enfranchised Thessalians, in addition to the presence of slaves and freedmen bearing Roman names. Rizakis has identified a similar phenomenon for the Peloponnese and suggests that the adoption of Roman name elements combined with the retention of the Greek personal name in the place of a *cognomen* demonstrates a dual identity of local elite members of society (Rizakis 2008, 568). This trend can be interpreted as a response to increasing Roman domination. By associating themselves with Roman cultural tradition and practices through the acquisition of Roman citizenship and the adoption of Roman name

elements, local elite members of society emphasized their relationship with the Roman authority, cooperating in order to maintain their privileged positions. The retention of the Greek personal name reflected the continued adherence to Greek cultural tradition and identity, emphasizing their membership in the *polis* system and legitimizing their dominant positions within them. Through the negotiation of their civic identity, individuals responded to the changing geopolitical context by aligning themselves both with the traditional elements associated with Greek polis identity at the same time as ascribing to Roman identity and cultural practice, in order to maintain and/or bolster their socio-political and economic status.

In the following chapter, data on honorary grants will be analysed in order to investigate what impact the increasing Roman domination had on the uses of social strategies for the negotiation of identity and status and how changes demonstrated may reflect local responses to the changing geopolitical context of the Mediterranean.

Chapter 6: Social Strategies: Multiple Citizenship and Mobility in Thessaly

Dynamism and variability characterized the nature of civic identity expression from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE. Tammy Stone stresses that individuals, and groups, are consciously engaged in the negotiation of their civic identity: they emphasize or downplay their civic identity (as well as other identities) to varying levels depending on the socio-historical context in order to obtain social, economic or political benefits (Stone 2003, 35). In contrast, there is evidence throughout history of groups and individuals clinging to their ethnic identity even if it means suffering disadvantages, such as hostility, violence or reduction of political or economic rights (Martin 2013, 97). While the latter scenario is exceptionally problematic to quantify in Thessaly during the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods, plenty of evidence exists for the conscious negotiation of civic identity in order to improve one's social standing. This negotiation took place, for a large part, within the system of euergetism. To understand how euergetism worked as an fundamental part of the operations of post-Classical *poleis* it is essential to briefly discuss the political and financial aspects of the *polis* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, in terms of both its internal politics and economics, and its dealings with different foreign dominating powers.

6.1. Euergetism and the Post-Classical *Polis*

Among scholars studying the political life of the post-Classical *polis* there is a division between those who see the decline of democracy and the rule of the Hellenistic monarchs and subsequently the Roman empire as the end of real political activity and influence of the *polis* and those who advocate a degree of continuation of earlier political forms (see Gauthier 1985, 1987; Jones 1940; Ste. Croix 1981 for the former view and Salmeri 2011; Strootman 2011; Swain 1996; Zuiderhoek 2011 for the latter. See van Nijf and Alston 2011 for an overview of the debate of the death of the *polis* after Chaeronea). The traditional opinion on the state of the *polis* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods was one of a subjugated, ineffectual shadow of its former self. Focus

was placed on autonomy as the defining feature of *polis* government and therefore foreign domination represented the death of the *polis*, often fixed to the Battle of Chaeronea (Gauthier 1987; see G.J. Oliver 2014, Strootman 2011). In recent decades the latter view has increased in popularity, with the majority of studies focusing on the evidence for continuity (Ma 2000, 2003: Chaniotis 2011; Martzavou and Papazarkadas 2013, 1-2; Salmeri 2011, 197-99; Strootman 2011; Zuiderhoek 2009, 2011; van Nijf 2012). Rather than stressing autonomy as the defining characteristic of the *polis*, several scholars now see a system of networks of interdependent polities interacting on a more or less peer basis during the Hellenistic and Roman periods as they did in the Archaic and Classical periods (Hansen 1995, Ma, 2003, 13-15; see also Renfrew and Cherry 1986). G.J. Oliver and Chaniotis take a middle ground approach in their assessments of the post-classical *polis*, advocating continuity of political forms but characterized by adaptation and increased commerce, particularly long-distance trade by sea (Chaniotis 2011, 123-8; G.J. Oliver 2014, 3-4). Despite the economic disruption brought about by the conflicts between other powers, the Hellenistic *poleis* adapted their institutions in order to integrate themselves into the new political and economic context (Oliver 2014, 4). Both stress the positive and negative economic effects of warfare; for some cities military operations were disadvantageous and could result in the loss of agricultural produce and livestock, not to mention manpower, while for others it provided an economic stimulus in the form of the logistical requirements of the armies (Chaniotis 2011, 123-8; G.J. Oliver 2014, 4).

G.J. Oliver suggests that the influx of coinage from Macedonian kings, as well as the Romans later, at certain periods, was directly related to military activity in the form of soldiers' pay and other operational expenditures (G.J. Oliver 2014, 4).

Zuiderhoek, examining the political hierarchy of the *polis* in the Roman period, advocates an increased hierarchization, and an increase dominance of the prominent wealthy members of society, demonstrated through the increased reliance of *poleis* on the benefactions of wealthy *euergetai* and the increased frequency of privileged seating in the theatres evidenced through the names of members of prominent families, magistrates and priesthoods (Zuiderhoek 2008, 424-9). Thessalian support for this theory can be found in the inscriptions on the front rows of the main theatre of Larissa of prominent individuals and in the restriction of magistracies of the Thessaly league to the highest census class by Flamininus at the start of the 2nd century BCE (Livy 34.51,

4-6; see Bouchon 2005, 47-8; Graninger 2011, 29). Although it is possible that in Thessaly a system of census-based oligarchy was already in place, the intervention of the Roman authorities demonstrates, at the very least, continued support for this system.

Some scholars suggest that these trends are indicative of a change from a mostly democratic to a mostly oligarchic form of *polis* government under the Roman empire (Veyne 1976; Ste. Croix 1981). Following Zuiderhoek (2008, 418), I suggest that it is more likely that the characteristics of democracy, participation of all or most citizen members, tempered by economic and political dominance of magistracies by the wealthy members of society whose families traditionally held influential positions, was the most likely scenario at this time. In other words, a system with both democratic and oligarchic characteristics. It must be kept in mind however, that the *poleis* were not homogeneous in terms of their political structures and constitutions and variation is according to place and time is a typical feature of Greek *poleis* in all time periods.

This is not to say that nothing changed. It is generally agreed that the assembly (*ekklesia*, *demos*) had reduced influence and restricted ability to take political initiative as compared with the council (*boule*), but its complete subjugation and reduced role as a ratifier of council proposals is simply not supported, especially in light of the fact that individuals could make proposals during the assembly and it was not considered certain that the assembly would always approve decisions taken by the council (Salmeri 2011, 202-3). While a degree of continuity is witnessed in the political forms, this is not to say that governments remained static and retained the same characteristics as their Classical predecessors.

The last issue to discuss in relation to the post-classical *polis* is the development and role of the federal leagues. This topic is essential to cover since a significant proportion of the epigraphic data forming my social strategies analysis (Chapters 6 and 7) involved the *koina* in Thessaly as well as the individual *poleis* and therefore their inclusion will be vital for understanding the local and regional political and economic dynamics of Thessaly.

At various times and locations, supra-local structures were formed called *koina*, (singular *koinon*). Often referred to as federal leagues in the modern scholarship, these structures were formed of member states, usually geographically close to one another (Rizakis 2012, 23). Many *koina* existed throughout the Greek world, and within the territory under study here, multiple leagues existed at different times; the Thessalian,

Magnesian, Perrhaibian, Oitaian, Ainian, and Athamanian leagues. By the time Greece was incorporated into the Roman empire, all but the Magnesian league had been absorbed into the Thessalian (Armstrong and Walsh 1986, 41-2; Daux 1975, 350-5; Bouchon 2008b, 320; Graninger 2011, 5-23, 35-42). McInerney suggests that this form of political organization was a representative form of government that, while sometimes being dominated by a single state, often sought to provide a context in which negotiation could take place concerning decisions affecting all member states, particularly financial concerns (McInerney 2013, 466 -7).

There is still a fair amount of debate on the emergence of federal leagues in Greece, scholarly opinion being divided between those who claim that they represented associations evolved from 'tribal' or *ethnos* groups, and those who see more functional explanations such as the need for defence and economic considerations as the prime motivator for their formation (see Mackil 2013, 1-10 for further discussion). The economic focus can be seen for example in the federal minting of coins, especially the Thessalian league, and the imposition and collection of taxes and tariffs (Mackil 2013, 290-6). Thessalian league revenues from harbour taxes are documented as far back as the 4th century BCE (Demosthenes 1.22; Mackil 2013, 291). In addition to harbour and trade taxes and tariffs, there are some indications that additional taxes were paid to some leagues from their member cities loosely based on the size of the community, such as in the Boiotian league (Mackil 2013, 296; see *Hell.Oxy.16*.3-4 for relevant passage). Although not documented in the epigraphic record, it is likely that the Roman involvement in the reformation of the Thessalian league was motivated by similar economically beneficial opportunities. Zelnick-Abramovitz argued that the Thessalian league collected a tax on the manumission of slaves (2013), which due to the large amount of documented manumissions from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE in cities across Thessaly, likely provided a significant income for the league, paid by the manumitted slaves themselves (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013, 109-120). As mentioned above, no evidence exists to prove that this tax was taken at a federal level, and the fee likely went towards the costs of registration and inscription of the manumission event (Bouchon, personal correspondence 2015-09-03; Vlassopoulos 2014). Furthermore, Bouchon has suggested that the funds were used not by the federal leagues but by the individual cities themselves (Bouchon 2009, 402-3; see also Vlassopoulos 2014). Although there is little evidence to determine the matter with certainty, it serves as an example of the possible functions of federal leagues.

Mackil (2013, 305) suggests that the pooling of resources of member states also functioned to manage shortages and surpluses across the region in order to diminish the impact of periodic shortages, particularly in terms of essential products such as grain. Thessalian support for this theory comes in the form of literary and epigraphic data detailing organization of grain for export to Athens, Kos and Rome at different times, organized by the *koinon* (Segrè 1934, 169; Garsney, Gallant and Rathbone 1984, 35-8; see Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* 526-7; Xen., *Hell.* 6.I.II; see Helly 2010, 25-108). Evidence for a federal tax on exported grain is demonstrated by three decrees (*IG* IX 2, 506), analysed in detail by Helly (2010 25-108, especially 87-91), demonstrating an important function in collection of federal revenues.

At least part of the expenditure of the taxes collected likely went to providing defence (Mackil 2013, 2, 304-6), and funding military operations. In terms of representing *ethnos* based associations, since the *koina* were formed by states within close geographical proximity to one another, a sense of common belonging likely contributed to the willingness of the member states to participate in the union, however the strict association with the leagues as representing tribal associations or *ethne* is not supported (Mackil 2013, 7-8). Part of the support for a sense of common belonging, if not an ethnic identity, can be found in the role of the leagues in maintaining federal sanctuaries, such as the sanctuary of Athena Itonia in Thessaly (Baiopoulou 2012; Graninger 2011, 68). My contention is that it is not possible or fruitful to attempt to identify a single reason for the organization of *poleis* into federal *koina*. It is enough to know, for the purposes of this study, that *koina* represented a supra-local political and economic association formed by member cities, which benefited in some way from participation. Rizakis points out that while on the one hand membership in a *koinon* restricted the political rights and autonomy of the member cities, it also functioned to widen both the political and geographic scope, allowing smaller units to have more influence and authority in regional and supra-regional matters (Rizakis 2012, 24-29).

Overall then it can be said that continuity of the political and institutional forms of the Greek *poleis*, accompanied by change resulting from adaptation to changing political and economic contexts are themes that run through the majority of current scholarship on the characteristics of the post-Classical *poleis*, and it is in this camp that my research is placed. While it certainly cannot be said that the Greek *poleis* remained unchanged from the Classical to the Roman period, for the most part there seems to

have been a high degree of continuity in the ability of individual *poleis* to govern their own affairs, at least at the local level, and adapt as they saw fit to changing circumstances (van Nijf 2012, 177). This does not mean that there was never interference from either the Macedonian or Roman authorities, in fact numerous occasions can be documented in all parts of Greece, Thessaly included. Instead the central authorities would intervene only when necessary, preferring to let most affairs be settled locally.

The new political context of the Greek Mediterranean under the Macedonians and subsequently the Romans, was characterized primarily by foreign rulers who, supporting local factions or elite families, attempted to influence the composition of the ruling class and created a system of hegemonic control where the central authority rarely intervened directly in local governance (Strootman 2011, 144-5). The central authorities, whether Hellenistic kings or Romans, sought the cooperation of the wealthy elite members of a *polis*, whether oligarchic or democratic in constitution, though whose support reified the legitimacy of their rule. While the occasional formal interventions occurred, such as the restriction of magistracies to the highest property class by Flamininus, for the most part the local magistrates were left to govern their own affairs (Strootman 2011, 144-5). Additionally, the kings and Romans received surplus from the cities, which formed a large part of the revenues for the central powers, assisting in financing the operation of their empires (Strootman 2011, 144-6). Cities too benefited from aligning themselves voluntarily with Hellenistic kings and Roman authorities, demonstrated in the appeals to the Romans by several *poleis* for assistance with the Macedonian domination discussed in Chapter 2.

Greek cities were therefore not deprived of agency from the Hellenistic period onward, but were quite inventive and creative in developing a discourse through the use of their traditional institutions with the Hellenistic monarchs as well as the Romans, attempting to negotiate their status and increase their political clout while limiting the involvement and interference of the royal or imperial authorities (Martzavou and Papazarkadas 2013, 1-2; Salmeri 2011, 210-12). Salmeri, analysing the literary record of the Roman period of Greece, sees a common thread in sources such as Dio, Plutarch and Aelius Aristides, who, although they do not explicitly discuss the role of Rome as a limiting factor in the political activity of the Greek cities, present the Imperial authority as a looming presence whose intervention and intrusion should be limited or avoided

whenever possible (Salmeri 2011, 210-1). On internal matters the *polis* still maintained its primacy in decision-making.

Another important characteristic of the post-Classical *polis* relates to financing. The revenue of the Classical *poleis* came in both direct and indirect forms. Direct income came primarily from taxes, customs and port duties, fees from renting public lands and mines, fines for various infractions, and spoils of war (Chaniotis 2009, 19; Harter-Uibopuu 2011, 120; Migeotte 1995, 16, 22-4). Public expenses primarily surrounded matters of defence, public building and infrastructure projects such as roads, the organization of religious festivals, oil supplies for *gymnasia* and exceptional expenditures in times of war, crop failure, famine, or disease (Chaniotis 2009, 17-8). Liturgies, the assignment of a public expenditure to a rich private citizen, loans, whether from private individuals or foreign states, and extraordinary taxes (*eisphoreia*), supplemented the income of a *polis* in order to cover expenditures in times of need (Chaniotis 2012, 90-1; Harter-Uibopuu 2011, 120). Another method of raising funds was through *epidosis*, public subscription (Chaniotis 2012; Harter-Uibopuu 2011; Ellis-Evans 2012; Zuiderhoek 2011). Although there exist a few references to public subscriptions in the Classical period, the great majority of *epidoseis* date to the Hellenistic period. Leopold Migeotte (1992) analysed 87 cases in Greece and found that most (45 cases) were related to defence or repairs to public buildings, although the occasional subscription was related to funding religious festivals (four), or the supply of grain for the city (six) or olive oil for gymnasia (two) (see also Chaniotis 2012, 90-1; Ellis-Evans 2012).

Although these systems were quite stable and remained in place throughout the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods, undergoing very little change, in the Hellenistic and Classical periods public liturgies and *eisphoreia* were no longer sufficient to supplement the revenues of the *poleis* (Chaniotis 2013, 90-1, Harter-Uibopuu 2011, 120; Migeotte 1995, 23). Chaniotis (2013, 90-1) explains that due to the high costs relating to defence and war, the *poleis* began to turn more to private voluntary donations, *doreai* or *euergesiai* (Chaniotis 2012, 90-1). The system of euergetism, well known as a characteristic of the Hellenistic *poleis*, was based on the principle of reciprocity; the *poleis* exchanged financial assistance for public honours and privileges (see Chaniotis 2005, 2009, 2012; Gauthier 1985, 1987; Herman 2002; Migeotte 1995; Müller 2011; Zuiderhoek 2011). While several scholars have

intensively studied euergetism (for example Gauthier 1985; Chaniotis 2009, 2012, 2013; Veyne 1976; Zuiderhoek 2009, 2011), for a large part focus has been placed on the sociological and institutional aspects (Chaniotis 2012, 91). Despite a recent article by Müller, the importance of the performative and public nature of the reciprocal exchange has been generally marginalized (Müller 2011, 346-7).

The use of benefactions as a form of social capital by local elite members of society has been acknowledged by a number of scholars (Chaniotis 2012; Ellis-Evans 2012; Müller 2011; Zuiderhoek 2011). The system of euergetism increased dramatically in terms of both its pervasiveness and its visibility during the Hellenistic period, in the 3rd century BCE to be precise (Harter-Uibopuu 2011, 120; Migeotte 1995, 24-5). This phenomenon began under the Hellenistic monarchs, who made donations or established foundations in *poleis* for various purposes such as building projects, the financing of *gymnasia* (Bringmann 2001, 204-12). This phenomenon can be seen in the 2nd century BCE inscription from Larissa detailing donations for the reconstruction of the gymnasium listing Philip V, king of Macedon first among the donors (Migeotte 1992, no. 33; *SEG* 13:390, 393). While occasionally these donations came in the form of currency, they were often in the form of products such as grain, which would in turn be sold for profit to fund the project in question (Bringmann 2001, 206-8). Alternatively, the profits were sometimes lent with interest or invested in land, which would then be rented out (Bringmann 2001, 206). An example of this can be seen in the donation made by Eumenes II who donated 28,000 *medimnoi* of wheat to Rhodes, which, we are told by Polybios (31.31.1-3), was to be sold and the profits lent out so that the interest could be used to pay for the education of the children of Rhodes (Bringmann 2001, 208). While sometimes it was the communities themselves that made the request for a donation, whether for a specific purpose or more generally to supplement income needed for the financing of building projects or foundations, often it was the kings themselves who, hoping to gain the support of a *polis* and its citizenry through the euergistic gesture, made a donation to a *polis* (Bringmann 2001, 208, 213). With the goal of obtaining support and prestige in the politically competitive arena that characterized the Hellenistic period under the Successors, the Hellenistic monarchs mimicked the behaviours of Philip II and Alexander the Great, who were able to obtain support from various Greek *poleis* through their patronage and benefactions (Strootman 2011, 145-6).

Wealthy private citizens also engaged in the same activities, volunteering generous donations to their *polis* in order to finance a variety of projects, or ease difficult financial situations. In return for these donations, the *poleis* offered honours and benefits to the donators, resulting in the elevation of their social position and increase of their public influence (Chaniotis 2012, 98-9). Furthermore, many of the honours bestowed upon benefactors were hereditary, providing additional incentive for those wishing to elevate the status and influence of their family (Chaniotis 2012, 98, 106). As more of the elite stratum of Greek society entered into competition to receive honours and privileges in exchange for their benefactions, the system of euergetism became entrenched into the economies of the *poleis*, forming a relatively regular income (Migeotte 1995, 25). The competitive nature of euergetism can be seen in the fact that many honorary inscriptions, rather than listing donations by amounts, arrange the names of donors to praise the most those who donated first, or among the first (Chaniotis 2012, 93-4).

When a wealthy citizen donated to foundations, funded building projects, festivals or games, or rendered a service to the *polis*, the *polis* receiving the benefaction reciprocated by conferring upon the donor various honours and benefits. When reciprocating the actions of a citizen benefactor, the usual honours bestowed by the *polis* were the awarding of crowns of various qualities; the proclamation of the crown in public assembly, the inscription and erection of the honorific decree in a public place; the dedication of an honorary statue; front row seats in the theatre; burial within the city limits; public maintenance of the citizen and his family; receiving title of *soter* or *euergetes* with its accompanying elevated position (Chaniotis 2009, 23-4; 2012, 98). The competitive nature of euergetism, where wealthy citizens competed against one another to bestow benefactions, which would be publicly supported by the *demos*, contributed to the dominance of the elite members of society during the Hellenistic and Roman period when we begin to see larger differentiations between the citizens of a *polis*, based either on property qualifications or level of wealth; hierarchization and social stratification became characteristic of the Hellenistic and Roman periods (Zuiderhoek 2008, 426, 429-31, 444-5). The continued superior position of the elite members was legitimized and supported through participation in the system of benefactions in exchange for public honours. In exchange for a variety of services and activities, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, their status and influence increased through obtaining honours. In combination with the support given by the kings and the Roman

authority to the wealthy elite of the *poleis*, the institutionalization of the system of reciprocal benefaction "contributed to the aristocratization of Hellenistic society and politics" (Chaniotis 2012, 106).

It was not only the elite citizens of a *polis* that could benefit from participation in the system of benefaction. Foreigners wishing to elevate their status within a *polis* that was not their *patris* could, through participation in this system, receive benefits and privileges in the foreign *polis* including proxeny, citizenship, land owning and intermarriage rights (Chaniotis 2012, 99-101). Chaniotis provides the example of Oropos, which in a bid to obtain funds for the construction of a city wall offered to any foreigner who gave a loan of at least one talent honours and the status of *proxenos* and *euergetes* with all of the rights and privileges of a citizen (*I.Oropos* 303; Chaniotis 2012, 100-1). Although there was variability in which honours were accorded to foreigners, they could include the same honours awarded to local citizens, such as the awarding of a crown, public praise, or the erection of a stelai or statue in a public place, as well as the additional privileges awarded only to foreigners: *proxenia* (guest friendship), *politeia* (citizenship), *oikias kai ges enktesis* (the right to purchase or own a house and/or property), *epinomia* (the right of pasture), *asphaleia* (assurance of personal security/safety), *asylia* (inviolability), *ateleia* (exemption/immunity from public burdens) *or isoteleia* (equality of taxes and tributes), *proedria* (privilege of front seats at public games, in theatres and in public assemblies), *promanteia* (right of priority in consulting oracle), and *prodikia* (priority of trial). A brief explanation of some of these benefits is essential in order to understand the relative importance of each, as well as the value of these honours both for the recipients and for the *polis* awarding them.

Proxenia was a commonly awarded honour and essentially was a ritualized friendship, where a *polis* granted a non-citizen an honorary status who acted as a delegate and intermediary for visiting citizens of the honouring *polis*, representing the interests of the foreign state to which the visitor belonged (Herman 2002, 130-5; Mack 2015, 1-2, 32-3). The term *proxenos* was also used more generally to refer to a patron (not in the Roman sense of the word) or protector, in that a *proxenos* offered hospitality, support, protection and assistance in dealing with the local authorities to visiting foreigners from the city that granted him proxeny, which developed from the system of private citizens offering assistance to foreign visitors and dignitaries (Herman 2002,

130-2). The citizen would be granted the title by a proxeny decree. Although primary a *polis* institution, in some cases federal leagues, kings, and even associations are documented as participating in this institution (Herman 2002, 130; Mack 2015, 9). Study of the institution of *proxenia* began in the 19th century, but took a major step forward with Gauthier in 1985 who asserted the continuing value of the practice into the Hellenistic period, contrary to previous thought on the subject (Mack 2015, 7). Most recently Mack (2015, 8) has stressed the importance of the services provided by *proxenoi* in facilitating inter-*polis* interaction and networking. The value of *proxenia*, and the system of reciprocal benefactions more generally, as social capital was pointed out by Herman in 2002. Herman asserts that the elite members of society differentiated themselves from the rest of the *demos* through involvement in political and economic spheres beyond the borders of their own *polis* through participation in the institution of proxeny (Herman 2002,130-2, 162).

Politeia on the other hand, meant citizenship rights. An individual granted *politeia* is granted the status of citizen of the *polis*, accompanied by all the conditions and rights associated with citizenship (Mack 2015, 105, 124, 203). While often these benefits are explicitly listed, sometimes they are lumped under a heading specifying the person as having all the same rights or honours as the other *proxenoi* or other citizens: καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις (*FD* III 4, 402 I), or καὶ τὰ λ̣οιπὰ τίμια πάντα καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς Γοννεῦσιν (*Gonnoi* 21). When the benefits are specifically mentioned, they consisted of a combination of some the above-mentioned benefits. According to Rizakis (2012, 31), having *politeia* enabled an individual to speak in assembly, regardless of whether they had property in the city.

While proxeny was generally decreed for an individual who offered assistance to a foreign visitor or dignitary, obtaining *politeia* and other benefits, as listed above, could be achieved through a variety of other methods, which will form the basis of the remainder of this chapter. The use of the system of reciprocal benefactions for obtaining citizenship and land owning rights in other *poleis* through donation (money or goods), financing games and festivals, holding certain magistracies or priesthoods, serving as a foreign judge or secretary, honouring the imperial family and participation in the imperial cult form the subsequent analyses.

In the remainder of this chapter I analyse first the chronological and geographical distribution of the honorific decree data. It should be noted here that participation in the

system of euergetism was not the only social strategy practiced at this time. Individuals also utilized adoption and manumission as a social strategy for creating networks and beneficial alliances. These topics have recently been the focus of detailed study in relation to the Thessalian evidence (Bouchon 2005 and Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013), and therefore I have provided only a brief overview of how these institutions were used in the context of the strategies employed by individuals and families in the negotiation of their economic and socio-political positions in the appendix of this thesis.

6.2. Grants of Honours in Thessaly

Before discussing the various means by which individuals could receive honours and benefits such as those discussed for proxeny and citizenship decrees above, it is important to analyse the overall distribution, both geographical and chronological, of the honorary inscriptions of Thessaly, in order to determine the patterns of political and economic activity of individuals in their home *poleis* and abroad.

I identified a total of 418 honorary dedications and decrees. I then divided these decrees into proxeny and citizenship decrees and other honorary decrees. Although a total of 213 probably represent proxeny and citizenship decrees, only 195 contained enough information to support analysis. I identified 165 other honorary decrees. This makes a total of 360 honorary decrees for individuals. The remainder of this chapter presents an overview of the analysis of the total database of honorary inscriptions before moving on to analyse separately the results of the proxeny and citizenship decrees, followed by the other honorary decrees, in order to determine if any patterns in chronological or spatial distribution are evident.

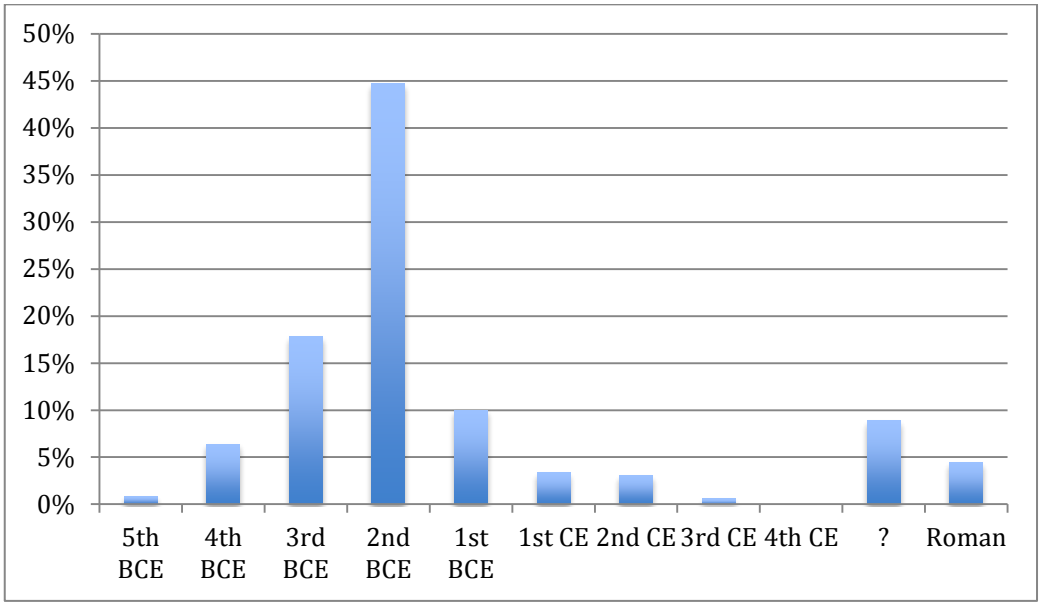
After analysing the total dataset of 360 honorary decrees by century, it is clear that the 2nd century BCE had the most, followed by the 3rd century BCE, as can be seen in the following table and graph. A sharp drop is noticeable already in the 1st century BCE, which has less than one-third of the honorary inscriptions attested in the 2nd century. Honorary decrees drop in frequency again in the 1st century CE, representing only 3% of the total, which is also the case for the 2nd century CE. For the last two centuries under study, the 3rd and 4th CE, only two honorary decrees are documented. This is a similar situation to that documented in other parts of the Greek world, which as scholars have demonstrated saw the highest frequency of honorary decrees in the 2nd century BCE and a continuation, but to a much lesser degree, into the

1st century BCE before they become less and less common throughout the Roman Imperial period (Gauthier 1985, 1; Mack 2015, 234). It is important to note that a total of 32 inscriptions, 9% of the total, cannot be dated and I have accordingly identified and separated these, as can be seen in the table and graph below.

Table 6.1 - Distribution of Honorary Decrees by Century

Century	Attestations	% of Total Honours
5th BCE	3	1%
4th BCE	23	6%
3rd BCE	64	18%
2nd BCE	161	45%
1st BCE	36	10%
1st CE	12	3%
2nd CE	11	3%
3rd CE	2	1%
4th CE	0	0%
Unknown	32	9%
Roman	16	4%
Total	**360**	**100%**

Graph 6.1 - Distribution of Honorary Decrees by Century

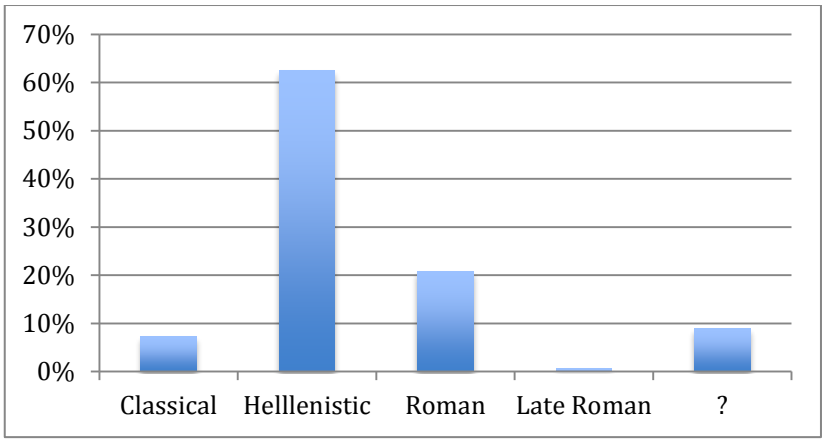


These data are slightly skewed in light of the fact that 16 inscriptions cannot be dated any more precisely than to the Roman period. It is not possible to say to which century these honours belong, although it is certain that an additional 4% of the total should be attributed to the Roman period. It is necessary, therefore to analyse this dataset by period in order to remedy the existing bias formed by the inability to date these inscriptions more precisely. When we look at the data organized by period, as presented in the table and graph below, it is evident that honorary decrees were most closely associated with the Hellenistic period, which see 63% of the total. Nevertheless, the Roman period sees 21% of the decrees conferred in this period, a larger percentage than in the Classical or Late Roman period. Although there is a definite drop off from Hellenistic to Roman, there is some continuation, although this disappears almost completely in the Late Roman.

Table 6.2 - Distribution of Honorary Decrees by Period

By Period	Attestations	% of Total Honours
Classical	26	7%
Hellenistic	225	63%
Roman	75	21%
Late Roman	2	1%
Unknown	32	9%
Total	**360**	**100%**

Graph 6.2 - Distribution of Honorary Decrees by Period



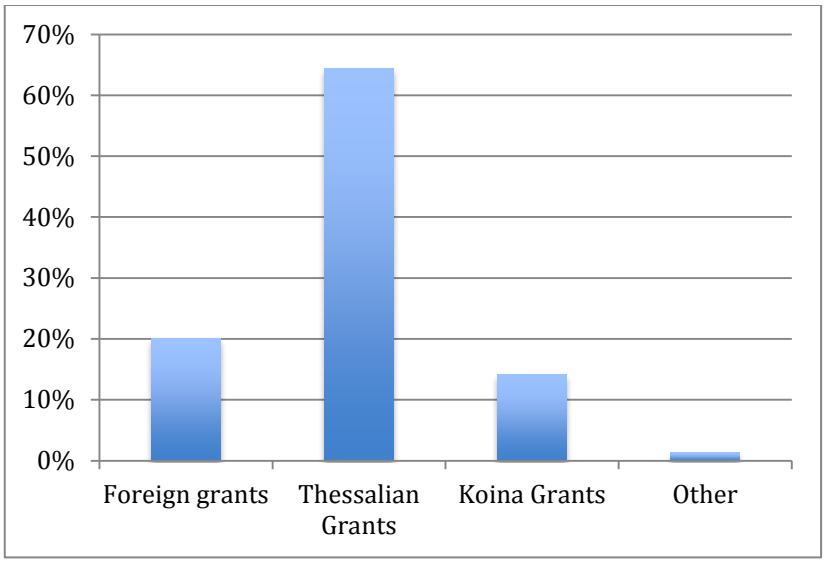
6.3. Honours by Granting Bodies

As can be seen in the table and graph below, the majority (64%) of the 360 honorary decrees under study represent Thessalian *poleis* honouring both local and foreign individuals in different capacities. An additional 15% represent decrees of the different federal leagues. Together this results in 79% of the inscriptions under study having been issued by a Thessalian political entity, whether local or federal. A further 20% represent foreign *poleis* honouring Thessalian citizens, while 1% represent honorary inscriptions or monuments dedicated by a group or individual not explicitly linked to a larger political unit.

Table 6.3 - Honorary Decrees by Granting Body

Granting Body	Attestations	% of Total Honours
Foreign Grants	72	20%
Thessalian Grants	232	64%
***Koina* Grants**	51	15%
Other	5	1%
Total	**360**	**100%**

Graph 6.3 - Honorary Decrees by Granting Body



In order to determine whether different granting bodies were active in offering honours at different times, or whether the chronological span is more equally distributed, I analysed the honorary decrees first by century, then by period. The pattern

identified for the overall dataset also holds true here, but a few particularities are noticeable. First of all, the first granting body to offer honours, in the 5th century BCE, was the Thessalian cities. In the 4th century we see the first foreign *poleis* honouring Thessalians and the first honours granted by *koina*. This does not necessarily signify that Thessalian cities began offering honorary decrees before other *poleis* in the Greek world, but may well reflect the fact that before this time, honorary decrees were set up for local citizens and not for foreigners. Also interesting to note is the fact that in contrast to the other granting bodies, foreign *poleis* offered more honorary decrees in the 3rd century than in the 2nd century BCE, the opposite pattern to that identified above for the total dataset. This is demonstrated in the graph below, which shows the line for foreign grants peaking earlier than the other granting bodies. In contrast, the other granting bodies all show sharp peaks in the 2nd century BCE, followed by decline across all granting bodies.

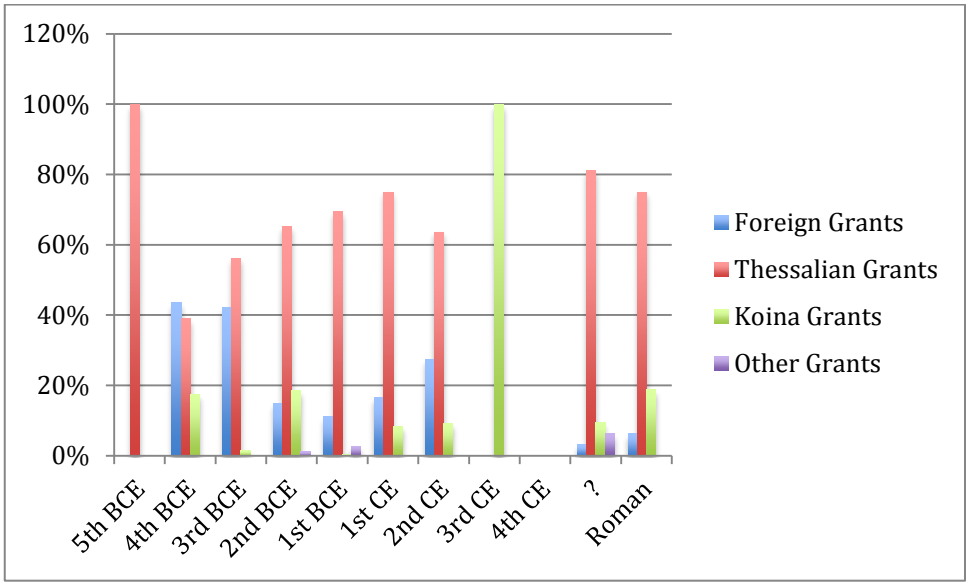
By looking at the percentage of the total honours is represented by different granting bodies, visualized in the graph below, a pattern becomes evident. Foreign honouring *poleis* outnumber Thessalians in the 4th century BCE, but this pattern is reversed in the 3rd century BCE. From the 2nd century BCE onwards the majority of honours were granted by Thessalian cities. Foreign honours dropped significantly in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE but recovered slightly in the 2nd century CE before disappearing completely in the 3rd century CE. The majority of honours granted in the 2nd century CE were from Thessalian *poleis*; in the Late Roman period it is only the *koina* that are still somewhat active, with two single decrees attested.

Table 6.4 - Attestations of Honorary Decrees by Granting Body and Century

Date	Foreign	% of Total per Century	Thessalian Cities	% of Total per Century	*Koina*	% of Total per Century	Other	% of Total per Century	Total
5th BCE	0	0%	3	100%	0	0%	0	0%	**3**
4th BCE	10	43%	9	39%	4	17%	0	0%	**23**
3rd BCE	27	42%	36	56%	1	2%	0	0%	**64**
2nd BCE	24	15%	105	65%	30	19%	2	1%	**161**
1st BCE	4	11%	25	69%	6	0%	1	0%	**36**
1st CE	2	17%	9	75%	1	8%	0	0%	**12**
2nd CE	3	27%	7	64%	1	9%	0	0%	**11**

Date	Foreign	% of Total per Century	Thessalian Cities	% of Total per Century	*Koina*	% of Total per Century	Other	% of Total per Century	Total
3rd CE	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%	0	0%	**2**
4th CE	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	**0**
Unknown	1	3%	26	81%	3	9%	2	1%	**32**
Roman	1	6%	12	75%	3	19%	0	0%	**16**
Total	**72**		**232**		**51**		**5**		**360**

Graph 6.4 - Percentage of Total Honorary Decrees per Century by Granting Body



When the data are organized by period the same picture emerges: the Hellenistic period dominates, followed by the Roman period which, although declining in frequency, shows some signs of continuation until the Late Roman period, when the practice nearly ceases (see table and graph below). As can be seen in the graph below, by organizing the dataset by period, we see that it is far less evident that the foreign grants began later but peaked earlier than those by the remaining granting bodies. Additionally, by analysing the data by period the 16 inscriptions datable only to the Roman period are now integrated into the data, significantly adding to attestations in the Roman period. These two particularities are not equally visible in both datasets and therefore demonstrate the importance of not relying on only one form of chronological analysis.

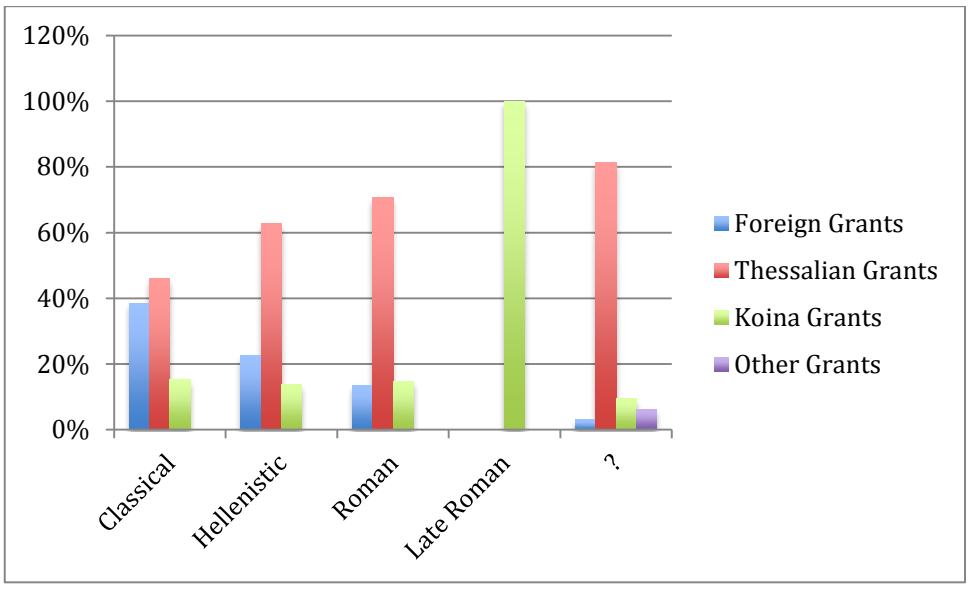
It becomes exceptionally clear in the graph below that most of the foreign honours

date to the Classical period. Despite a rise in numerical attestation, the proportion of the total grants per century that foreign honours represent decreases in the Hellenistic and Roman periods until they disappear in the Late Roman. In contrast, Thessalian city honours represent the majority of all decrees in each period except the Late Roman, when, as already mentioned, only the *koina* were active. The *koina* decrees represent the smallest group of the granting bodies. Despite their smaller quantity, a steady 14-15% of the decrees from each period were *koina* decrees. Overall, it seems that the granting of honorary decrees by federal leagues was not an exceptionally common practice, although they consistently engaged in honouring individuals from the Classical to the Late Roman period.

Table 6.5 - Percentage of Total Honorary Decrees by Granting Body and Period

Period	**Foreign Grants**	**% of Total per Period**	**Thessalian Grants**	**% of Total per Period**	***Koina* Grants**	**% of Total per Period**	**Other Grants**	**% of Total per Period**	**Total**
Classical	10	38%	12	46%	4	15%	0	0%	**26**
Hellenistic	51	23%	141	63%	31	14%	2	<1%	**225**
Roman	10	13%	53	71%	11	15%	1	<1%	**75**
Late Roman	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%	0	0%	**2**
Unknown	1	3%	26	81%	3	9%	2	6%	**32**
Total	**72**		**232**		**51**		**5**		**360**

Graph 6.5 - Percentage of Total Honorary Decrees by Period and Granting Body



By looking at each granting body in more detail, a more nuanced understanding can be reached about the activities of each. First I present the analysis of the foreign honours, before moving on to the Thessalian city and *koina* grants. By creating separate datasets for each granting body, a bias in the data becomes evident. Since only honorary decrees for Thessalians were selected for study from Greek cities outside Thessaly, all individuals honoured are citizens of Thessalian *poleis*. Foreign honours for Thessalians can help determine Thessalian activity outside Thessalian territory, they must, however, be analysed separately. Analysing the foreign decrees in their own right is particularly useful for shedding light on Thessalian activities outside the region, resulting in a better understanding of mobility patterns.

6.4. Foreign Grants for Thessalians

Table 6.6 - Foreign Honorary Decrees by Recipient

Recipient	Attestations	% of Total Foreign Decrees
To Thessalian	69	96%
To Foreigner	0	0%
To Roman	3	4%
Unknown	0	0%
Total	**72**	**100%**

Honorary decrees for Thessalians from foreign *poleis* can be used as a proxy for data on mobility since, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, honours were usually decreed as part of an exchange for a service provided, activity performed, or money, or goods donated. In order to receive honours, therefore, it was necessary for an individual to be actively engaged in some form in the political and economic life of a *polis*. While some activities, such as donating money or rescuing captives of war, do not require physical presence in the honouring city, the majority of the activities would have occurred within the honouring city, or benefited it in some way. The means of receiving honours will be discussed in more detail in the second part of this chapter.

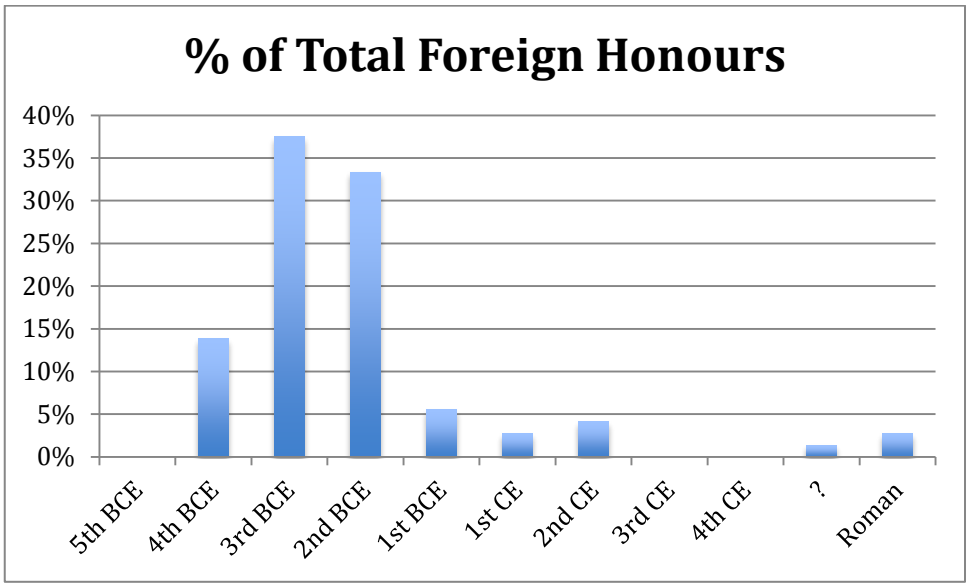
The analysis of foreign honours by century, as presented in the table and graph below, demonstrates that the largest proportion of documented foreign honours date to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. 12% date to the 4th century BCE, while 6% or less of

the total foreign honours are dated to each century from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE, after which foreign honours for Thessalians disappear. From this information we can say that it was during the 4th and 2nd centuries BCE that Thessalians were most active in *poleis* outside of Thessaly. While there was always some Thessalian activity abroad until the 2nd century CE, the majority was concentrated between the 4th and 2nd centuries BCE. Furthermore, the three individuals with Roman names documented from Thessalian *poleis* who were honoured in *poleis* outside Thessaly, demonstrate that Thessalian citizens were not only engaged in social strategies in other *poleis*, facilitated through increased mobility and permeability of *polis* boundaries, but also, adapting to the new socio-political context of the Roman period, aligned themselves with dominant power in the Mediterranean at the time. This topic will be discussed in greater detail in the second part of this chapter.

Table 6.7 - Foreign Grants of Honours by % of Foreign Decrees and % of Total Decrees per Century

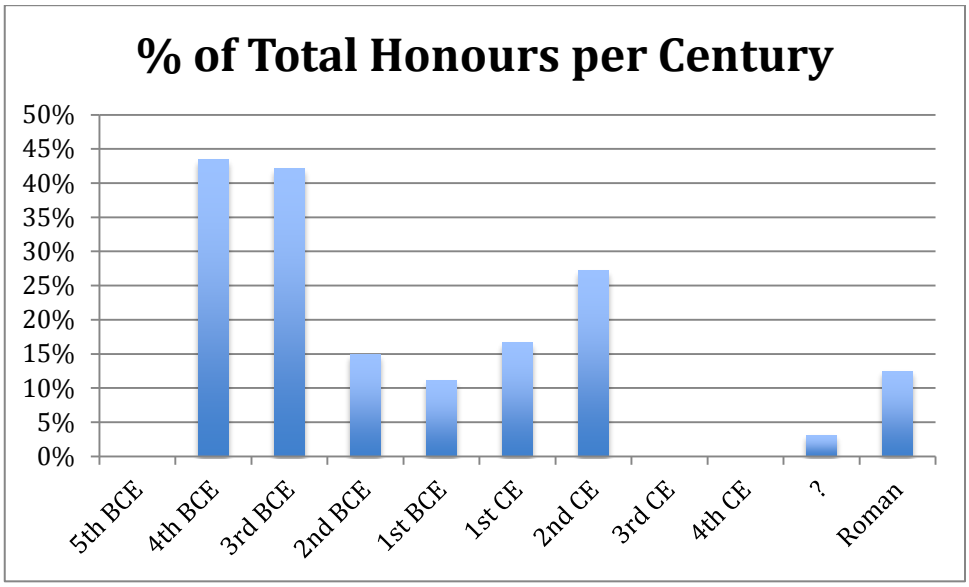
Date	**Attestations**	**% of Foreign Grants**	**% of Total Grants per Century**
5th BCE	0	0%	0%
4th BCE	10	14%	43%
3rd BCE	27	38%	42%
2nd BCE	24	33%	15%
1st BCE	4	6%	11%
1st CE	2	3%	17%
2nd CE	3	4%	27%
3rd CE	0	0%	0%
4th CE	0	0%	0%
Unknown	1	1%	3%
Roman	2	3%	13%
Total	**72**	**100%**	

Graph 6.6 - Percentage of Total Foreign Honours per Century



Looking at the foreign honours in terms of the percentage of the total honours per century, we see a slightly different picture. Nearly half of the honours from the 4th and 3rd centuries were granted by foreign *poleis*. Therefore, although most of the foreign honours were granted in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, foreign grants represent a higher proportion of the total grants in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE. This drops already in the 2nd century BCE, when foreign honours represent 15% of the total for that century. The 1st century BCE sees the continuation of this decline; only just over 10% of the honours came from foreign *poleis*. A brief resurgence is visible in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, when foreign grants reach up to nearly one-third of the total of 2nd century CE grants. It should be noted here that the 2nd century CE is represented by a total of only 12 inscriptions and therefore the three that appear in the table and graph above represent a fourth of the total, causing a potentially skewed result due to the small sample size. The 3rd and 4th centuries CE, on the other hand, are completely lacking foreign honours.

Graph 6.7 - Foreign Honours by Percentage of Total Honours per Century

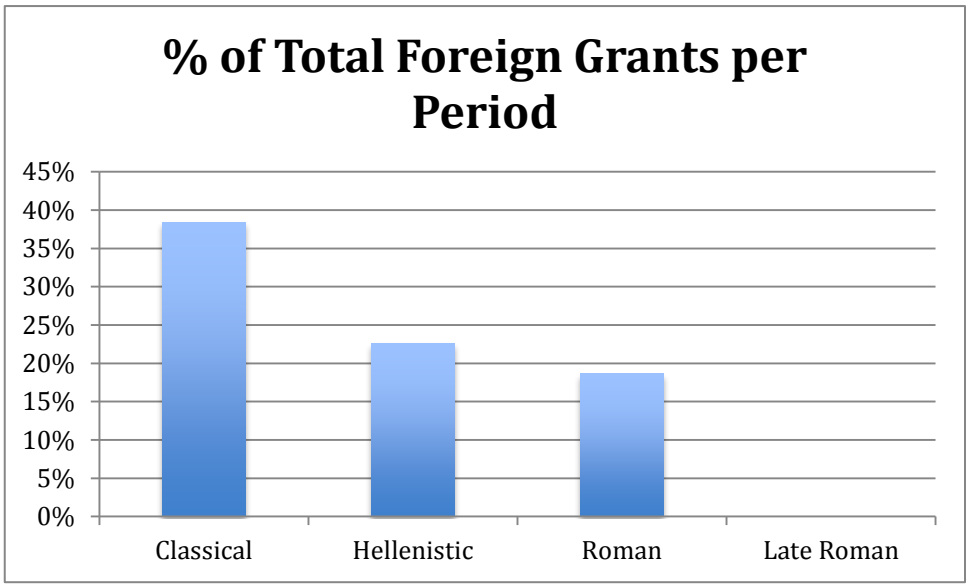


When the data are organized by period, it becomes very clear that there was a steady decrease in foreign *poleis* granting honours over time. The highest numerical attestation is documented in the Hellenistic period. Foreign honours make up over a third of the Classical period honours, so that when the foreign honours are analysed in terms of the percentage of the total honours per period, we see a peak in the Classical period which decreases over the Hellenistic and Roman periods before disappearing altogether in the Late Roman period.

Table 6.8 - Foreign Grants of Honours by Percentage of Foreign Honours and % of Total Honours per Period

Period	Attestations	% of Foreign Honours	% of Total Grants per Period
Classical	9	14%	38%
Hellenistic	52	71%	23%
Roman	11	15%	19%
Late Roman	0	0%	0%
Total	**72**	**100%**	

Graph 6.8 - Foreign Grants of Honours by Percentage of Foreign Honours and % of Total Honours per Period



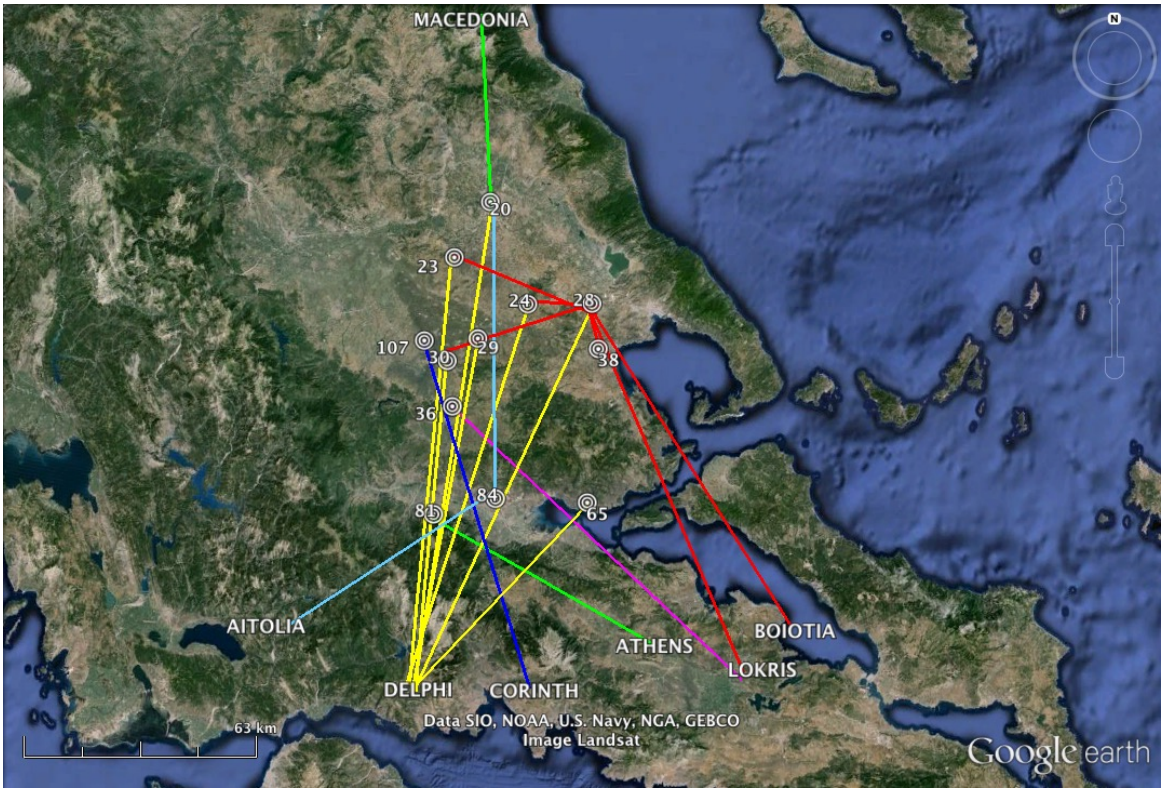
If we look at the geographical distribution of the foreign cities granting honours, the first phenomenon that becomes visible is the absolute dominance of Delphi among foreign *poleis* granting honours. 85% of the total foreign honours were granted by the city of Delphi. Athens takes second place with only 6% of the total. It is undeniable, based on this analysis that a particularly close association existed between the Thessalian *poleis* and the *polis* of Delphi. The systematic excavations of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi may mean that the quantity of honours granted by Delphi is recorded as particularly high in comparison to other foreign poleis, however, the leading role of Thessaly as the Amphictyony member with the most votes, and as the usual region to hold the presidency (Hornblower 1991, 81), may account for the extensive quantity of honours granted by Delphi to Thessalians, but this will be discussed in the next chapter.

Table 6.9 Foreign Honours by Location

Foreign Honours	Attestations	% of Total
Olympia	1	1%
Delphi	61	85%
Athens	4	6%
Epirus	1	1%
Aitolia	2	3%
Doris	1	1%
Asia Minor	2	3%
Total	**72**	**100%**

When this data is mapped according to period, seen in the series of figures below, certain patterns are discernable. First of all, in the Classical period, visualized in Figure 6.1 below, Delphi was the only foreign city active in granting honours to Thessalians, demonstrating its active role in the region. Citizens from Larissa (site 20), Krannon (site 23), Skotoussa (site 24), Pharsalos (site 29), Pherai (site 28), Echinos (site 65) and an unknown Thessalian city received honours from Delphi during this period.

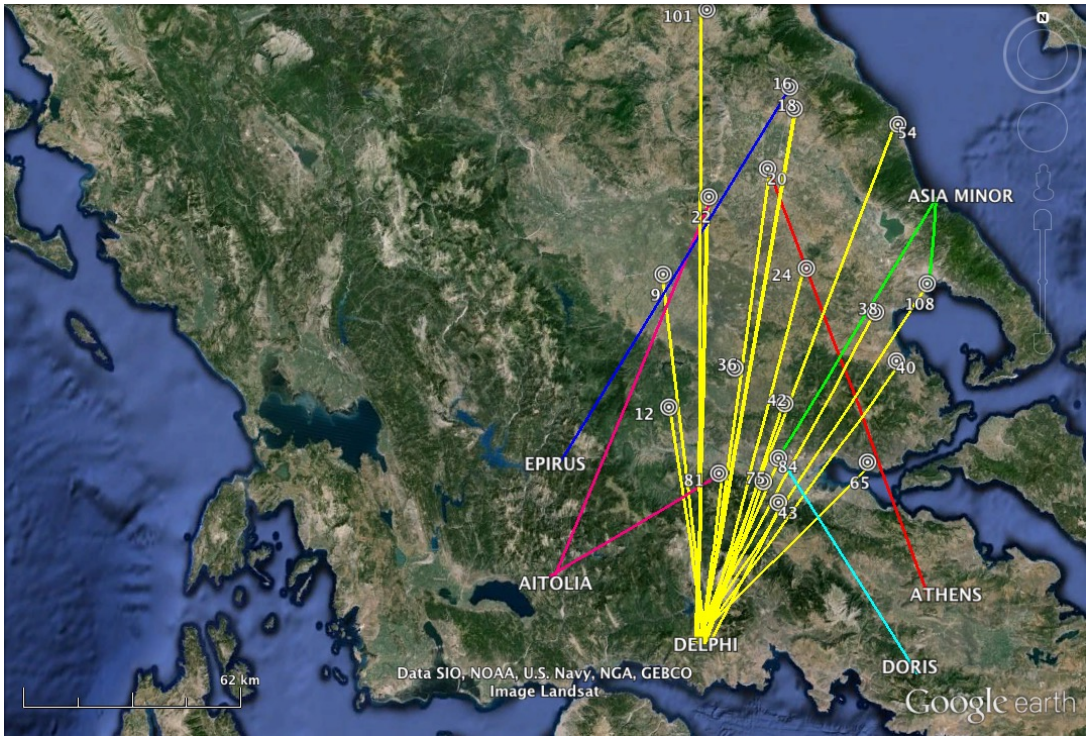
Figure 6. 1 – Distribution of Honours in Classical Period.



In the Hellenistic period, the primacy of Delphi in granting honours to Thessalians continued, as is visible in Figure 6.2 below. Larissa (5), Skotoussa (2) and Echinos (1) represent the only cities that received Delphian honours in both the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Citizens from Pythion (site 101), Atrax (site 22), Gyrton (site 18), Kierion (site 9), Demetrias (site 108), Phthiotic Thebes (site 38), Halos (site 40), Melitaia (site 42), Lamia (site 84), Erythrai (site 75), Herakleia Trachinia (site 43), Hypata (site 81) and Kypaira (site 12), in addition to two citizens from an unknown Dolopian city, received honours from Delphi during the Hellenistic, demonstrating an

increased involvement of Thessalians in Delphian affairs resulting in a broader distribution of Delphian honours. It is during this period that other foreign granting bodies became active; Epirus honoured a citizen from Gonnoi; an Aitolian city (Kallipolis) honoured a citizen from Atrax and one from Hypata; a city in Doris (Kytenion) honoured a Lamian, as did a city in Asia Minor (Colophon on the Sea). The same city in Asia Minor also offered honours to a citizen of Demetrias, while Athens honoured a Larissaian. Overall, the Hellenistic period sees the widest variety of geographical areas represented in terms of foreign cities that granted honours to Thessalian citizens.

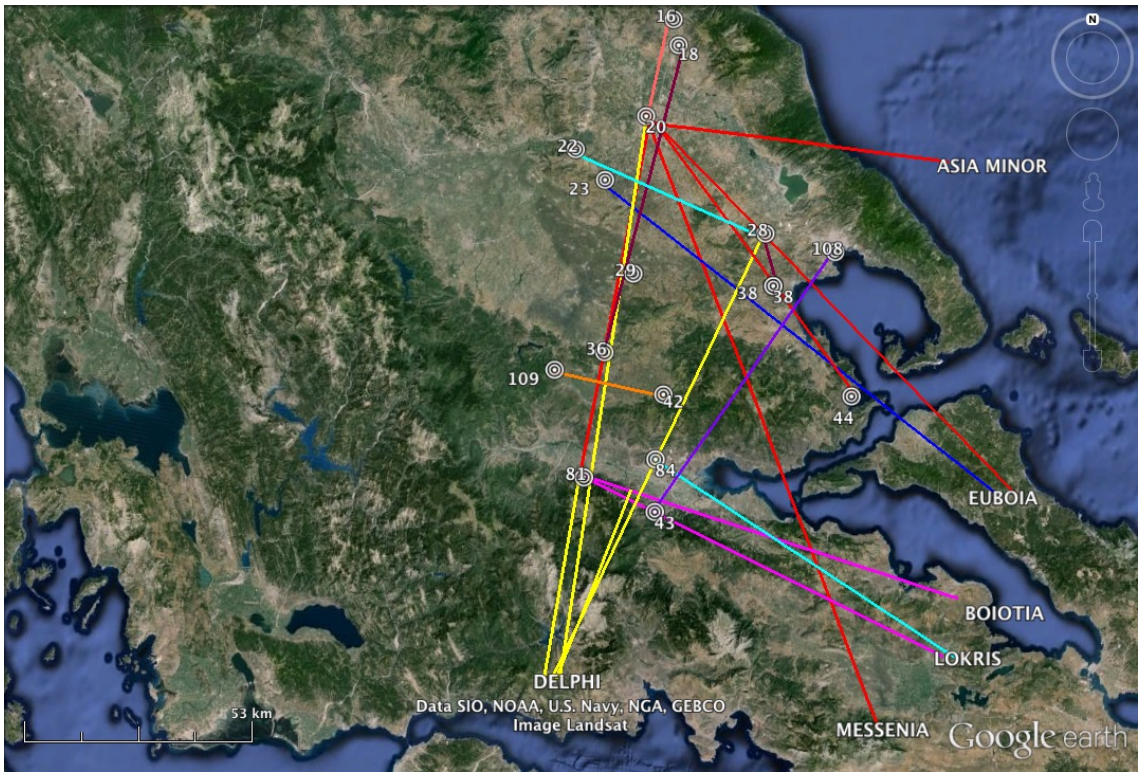
Figure 6.2 – Distribution of Foreign Grants to Thessalians in Hellenistic Period



The Roman period sees a contraction of activity of foreign cities, as is demonstrated by Figure 6.3 below. Only Delphi is active once again, with the exception of a single grant by a city of Epirus, with citizens from Hypata, Larissa, and Lamia having received honours from the important political and cultic centre. It is perhaps not surprising, given the results of the settlement and land use pattern analysis conducted in Chapter 4, that only a few important cities are represented at this time. Larissa, Hypata, and even Lamia represented major *poleis*, which continued to prosper into the Roman period. Overall, the Roman period already sees a substantial degree of contraction in

terms of the foreign cities offering grants to Thessalians. In the Late Roman period this pattern continues and we see a complete lack of honours granted by foreign *poleis* to citizens of Thessalian cities.

Figure 6.3 – Distribution of Honours in Roman period



The Hellenistic period saw the largest variety of foreign cities offering honours to Thessalians. This is likely a direct result of the increasing connectivity and interaction between cities in foreign states such as Epirus, Aitolia and parts of Asia Minor. The period of Aitolian control, particularly in the region of Achaia Phthiotis easily explains the presence of honours for Thessalians, as does the importance of the cultic centre of Delphi as the seat of the Amphictyony and the role of the Thessalians within the league. The power struggles of the Hellenistic period, particularly involving Aitolia and Epirus, is likely responsible for the increase of foreign grants in the Hellenistic period, with the different states engaging in reciprocal benefactions with citizens of important Thessalian cities. Interestingly, I have not identified a single case of a Macedonian city offering honours to a Thessalian, although as we shall soon see plenty of Thessalian cities granted honours to Macedonians, which perhaps is reflective of the longevity of Macedonian rule. It is possible that no grants were issued from Macedonian cities

because rather than Thessalians being active in the affairs of Macedonian cities, Macedonian citizens were engaged in social strategies within Thessalian *poleis*, perhaps reflecting strategies employed by the cities themselves in order to benefit in some way from the involvement of Macedonians in the political and economic activities of the Thessalian *poleis*.

The lack of foreign grants in the Roman period is particularly suggestive. As in Chapter 4 in terms of settlements occupied, and Chapter 5 in terms of the distribution of foreign city ethnics, a contraction is evident. As we shall see further on in this chapter, this is possibly due to the change in dominant powers in the area.

6.5. Thessalian *Polis* and *Koinon* Grants

When the data for Thessalian *polis* and *koinon* grants are organized by the location of the granting of honours, a few further patterns emerge. First of all, over thirty Thessalian cities granted honours to individuals. The majority of these granting cities are located in the eastern parts of Thessaly: in Pelasgiotis Larissa, Atrax, Krannon, Skotoussa, Pherai and Dotion were active in granting honours; in Perrhaibia Chyretiai, Doliche, Gonnoi, Gyrton, Mopsion, Olooson, Phalanna, and Pythion; in Phthiotis Pharsalos; in Achaia Phthiotis Lamia, Ekkara, Echinos, Pteleon, Halos, Peuma, and Thaumakoi; in Malis Herakleia Trachinia; in Ainis Hypata and Erythrai; and in Magnesia Demetrias and Spalauthra. This makes a total of 29 cities. In contrast, the western part of Thessaly sees remarkably fewer grants, since only seven cities granted honours: in Thessaliotis Euhydrion, Thetonion, Kierion, and Metropolis, while in Hestiaiotis Trikka, Aiginion, and Phayttos. In total, the seven cities granting honours from Thessaliotis and Hestiaiotis only represent ten honours for 3% of the total of 288. The granting of honours was overwhelmingly dominated by the eastern part of Thessaly. As mentioned in the section on the methodological approaches taken to the epigraphic data, it was mentioned that the eastern portion of Thessaly had much better access to marble, which may, at least in part, account for the preponderance of epitaphs in the eastern half.

In addition, the Thessalian and Magnesian leagues, as well as the Ainian, Perrhaibian (unpublished decree *GHW*6303) and Athamanian leagues all attest to the granting of honours. The Thessalian and Magnesian *koina* were far more active than the

other *koina*, with 7% and 6% of the total respectively, in contrast to the 2% of the Ainian *koinon* and less than 1% for the single attestation each by the Athamanian and Perrhaibian *koina*. Since all other leagues, except for the Magnesian league, were all incorporated into the Thessalian league by the Roman period I will not engage in a discussion of their grants, but it is worth briefly discussing the Thessalian and Magnesian leagues, the two *koina* that remained relatively influential during the period under study. Since Larissa and Demetrias were the respective seats of the Thessalian and the Magnesian *koinon*, it is interesting to see a division between the honours granted by the *koina* in their head cities, as well as in the honours granted by the *poleis* of Larissa and Demetrias. If we add the Thessalian league honours, Larissa granted a total of 68 honours for a total of 24% of the total, while Demetrias would document only 27 for a total of 9%. It is also interesting to note that while the *polis* of Larissa seems to be more active than the Thessalian league in terms of the honours granted in the city, the opposite pattern is evidenced for Demetrias, since the Magnesian *koinon* attests to more honours granted in Demetrias than the *polis*. It is difficult to determine what potential factors could motivate such a division; more information can be gleaned when we look at the recipients whom each city and league chose to honour.

Gonnoi and Larissa attest to at least 10% more honours granted than any other city. Hypata, Demetrias, Lamia and Pherai all document a minimum of ten honours, while Chyretiai, Doliche, Krannon, Atrax, and Thaumakoi document between five and ten honours and less than 3% of the total each. All of the remaining cities have fewer than 5 honours for 1% or less of the total. It is not surprising that Larissa sees one of the highest frequencies of honours, since its centrality and importance in both political and economical aspects of Thessaly remained relatively constant throughout its history. What is more surprising is that Gonnoi, a relatively minor city in comparison to Larissa and Demetrias, represents the city with the largest number of honours. Although it is somewhat remarkable in the completeness of its epigraphic record for a city of its size (Helly 1973b, x), fewer than 600 inscriptions are attested for Gonnoi, compared to the more than 2400 inscriptions for Larissa and over 1100 for Demetrias. Another interpretation must be found for the high attestation of honours from Gonnoi.

Table 6.10 - Thessalian City and *Koinon* Honours by Percentage of Total Honours

City	Attestations	% of Total
Aiginion	1	<1%
Atrax	5	2%
Chyretiai	8	3%
Demetrias	11	4%
Doliche	6	2%
Dotion	1	<1%
Echinos	2	1%
Ekkara	1	<1%
Erythrai	2	1%
Euhydrion	1	0%
Gonnoi	57	20%
Gyrton	1	<1%
Halos	2	1%
Herakleia Trachinia	2	1%
Hypata	10	3%
Kierion	2	1%
Krannon	9	3%
Lamia	11	4%
Larissa	49	17%
Metropolis	2	1%
Mopsion	4	1%
Olooson	2	1%
Peparethos	1	<1%
Peuma	1	<1%
Phalanna	4	1%
Pharsalos	3	1%
Phayttos	2	1%
Pherai	11	4%
Pteleon	1	<1%
Pythion	2	1%
Spalauthra	1	<1%
Skotoussa	1	<1%
Thaumakoi	7	2%
Thetonion	1	<1%
Trikka	1	<1%
Thessalian *koinon*	19	7%
Magnesian *koinon*	16	6%
Molossoi	1	<1%
Ainian *koinon*	7	2%
Athamanian *koinon*	1	<1%
Other	5	2%
Total	**288**	**100%**

The analysis of the granting bodies, whether cities, federal leagues, or a cultural or civic group, is fundamental for establishing what *poleis* were engaged in the system of reciprocal benefactions by granting honours to individuals. Thessalians were consistently the most commonly honoured; with the exception of the 4th century BCE, from the 5th century BCE to the 2nd century CE Thessalians are the most frequently attested honorands. The *koina*, on the other hand, were active from the Classical through the Late Roman, and they alone were active after the 2nd century CE. Overall, the Hellenistic period, the 2nd century BCE in particular, saw the peak of this practice, which continued to decline until it virtually disappears in the Late Roman period.

6.5.1. Recipients of Thessalian *Polis* and *Koinon* Grants

In order to determine whom was being honoured by what granting body and when, I have analysed the recipients of the total dataset, looking at whether individuals honoured were Thessalian, other Greeks (labelled Foreign), or Roman. I then completed analysis for each granting body in order to attain more nuanced understanding of the individuals whom different granting bodies chose to honour. It is important to note that individuals with Roman names could have originated from Thessalian *poleis* and likewise those with Thessalian origins could have had Roman citizenship. The categories of Thessalian and Roman, and for that matter foreign, are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In order to examine the use of social strategies by different groups and individuals I have created three categories of analysis, however, these fields are a heuristic tool only and do not suggest that an individual with Roman name elements could not also be Thessalian or from a foreign *polis*.

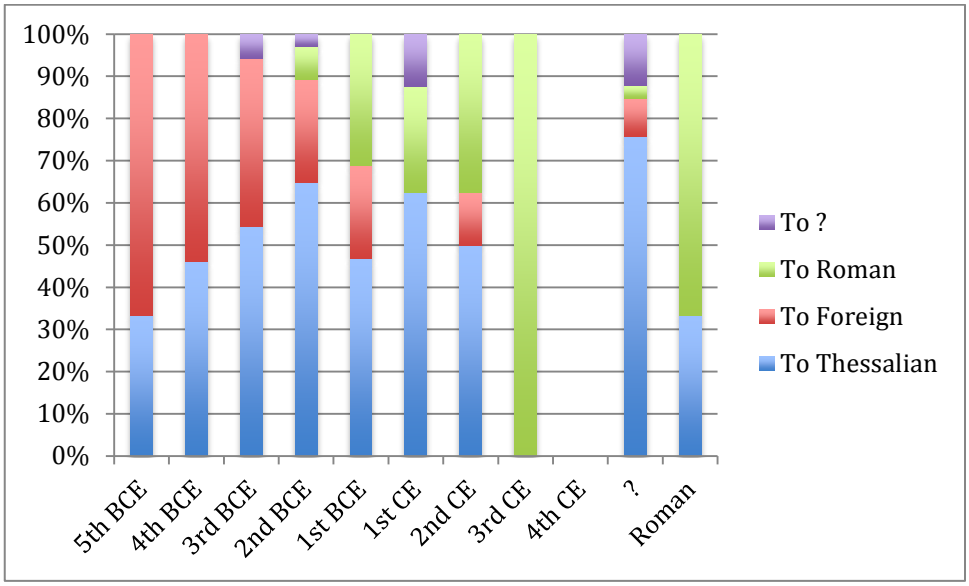
After removing the foreign decrees, analysed already above, I analysed the recipients of the remaining 288 honorary decrees, by century as can be seen in the table and graph below. Although individuals with Greek names still dominate with 59% of the total, the proportion of foreigners represented increases by 5%. The numerical attestation of honours for individuals with Roman names actually decreases by three when we remove the foreign honours, but there is still a slight increase in the percentage of the total honours they represent, at 14% rather than 12%. While this increase is not substantial, it does demonstrate the value of multiple lines of analysis in order to

uncover and reduce or eliminate potential biases.

Table 6.11 - Recipients by Percentage of Total Honours per Century

Date	To Thessalian	To Foreign	To Roman	To Unknown	Total
5th BCE	33%	67%	0%	0%	**100%**
4th BCE	46%	54%	0%	0%	**100%**
3rd BCE	54%	40%	0%	6%	**100%**
2nd BCE	65%	24%	8%	3%	**100%**
1st BCE	47%	22%	31%	0%	**100%**
1st CE	63%	0%	25%	13%	**100%**
2nd CE	50%	13%	38%	0%	**100%**
3rd CE	0%	0%	100%	0%	**100%**
4th CE	0%	0%	0%	0%	**100%**
Unknown	76%	9%	3%	12%	**100%**
Roman	33%	0%	67%	0%	**100%**

Graph 6.9 - Recipients by Percentage of Total Honours per Century



It is immediately observable in the table and graph above that a marked change occurred over time. In the 5th and 4th centuries foreigners were honoured most frequently, while from the 3rd century BCE onwards it was individuals from Thessalian *poleis* who dominated the honours. In the 1st century BCE individuals with Roman name elements began receiving honours more frequently, foreign honours decreased and individuals from Thessaly continued to represent the largest proportion of honorands until the 3rd century CE.

In order to determine if any pattern existed in the home patris of foreign honorands over time I have analysed the foreign recipients according to century, as can be seen in Table 6.12 below.

Table 6.12 – Chronological Distribution of Foreign Recipients

Date	Foreign Recipient Patris	Attestations	% of Total Foreign Recipients
5th BCE	Corinth	1	1%
	Opous	1	1%
Total		**2**	**3%**
4th BCE	Athens	1	1%
	Macedonia	2	3%
	Opous	2	3%
	Unknown	2	3%
Total		**7**	**10%**
3rd BCE	Macedonia	5	7%
	Aitolia	3	4%
	Athens	2	3%
	Cassopea	1	1%
	Cyrene	1	1%
	Smyrna	1	1%
	Crete	1	1%
Total		**14**	**21%**
2nd BCE	Alexandria Troas	2	3%
	Europos	1	1%
	Amphissa	1	1%
	Athens	4	6%
	Aitolia	2	3%
	Hieropolis	1	1%
	Kebros	1	1%
	Kleitor	1	1%
	Kos	1	1%
	Kyme	1	1%
	Macedon	4	6%
	Magnesia on the Menander	1	1%
	Mylasa	1	1%
	Messene	1	1%
	Miletus	1	1%
	Mytilene	1	1%
	Pergamum	2	3%
	Rhodes	1	1%
	Stratos	3	4%

Date	Foreign Recipient Patris	Attestations	% of Total Foreign Recipients
	Thasos	1	1%
	Crete	1	1%
	Unknown	4	6%
Total		**36**	**53%**
1st BCE	Chalkis	1	1%
	Karystos	1	1%
	Messene	2	3%
	Miletus	1	1%
	Opous	1	1%
	Skarphea	1	1%
Total		**7**	**10%**
1st CE		0	0%
Total		**0**	**0%**
2nd CE		0	0%
Total		**0**	**0%**
3rd CE		0	0%
Total		**0**	0%
Unknown	Unknown	1	1%
Total		**1**	**1%**
Roman		0	0%
Total		**0**	**0%**
Total		**68**	**100%**

As can be seen in Table 6.14 above, in the 5th century BCE only individuals from the Greek mainland (Opuntian Lokris and Corinthia) are represented. In the 4th century BCE Macedonians are introduced and in the 3rd century BCE, we see the introduction of recipients from Asia Minor, Aitolia and North Africa. It is during this century that the largest proportion of Macedonians and Aitolians are honoured, perhaps not surprisingly given the political context of the time. The 2nd century BCE sees the continuation of the 3rd century patterns but with far greater quantity and variety of cities represented. Macedonians and Aitolians are still honoured in the 2nd century BCE, however in the 1st century BCE only citizens from Asia Minor and the Greek mainland are honoured.

Over half of the recipients with Roman names were honoured between the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, which is perhaps surprising since the 1st century BCE marked only the official beginning of Roman imperial domination over Greece. We would expect to see more Romans honoured as time went by, but from the 1st century CE

there is a drastic drop-off in attestations. This same drop-off is witnessed across all recipients, but it occurred a century earlier.

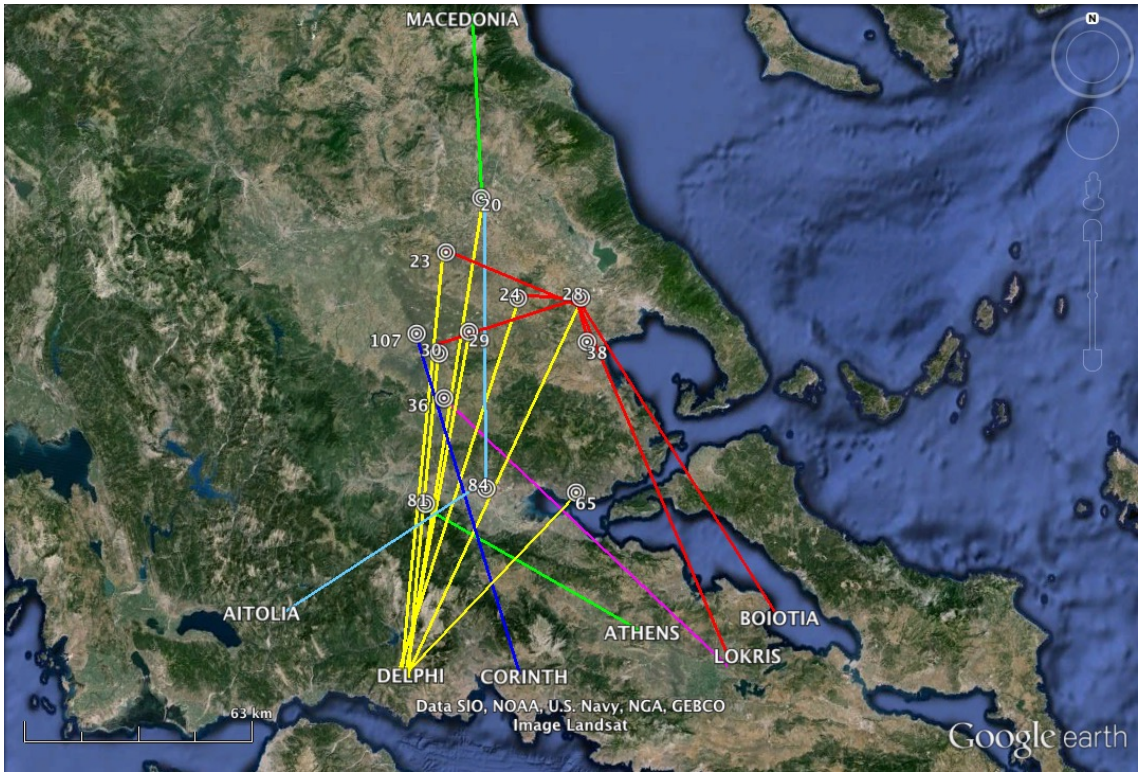
Approximately two-thirds of the recipients from both Thessalian and foreign *poleis* were honoured in the 2nd century BCE or earlier, leaving a small percentage distributed from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE.

Although honours for Thessalians and foreigners were attested until the 2nd century CE, already in the 1st century BCE there was a dramatic reduction in the attestations, while individuals with Roman names continue receiving honours for another century before the practice disappears. This is significant since it shows a continuation of the practice, although in a much reduced capacity, into the Late Roman period. By the 3rd century CE, it seems that no individuals with Greek names were being honoured. Is this due to a lack of involvement on the part of Greek citizens in the affairs of their own or other *poleis*? Or perhaps it is no longer customary to compensate the activities or benefactions of local or foreign citizens with the granting of honours. It is also possible that the so-called Third Century Crisis of the Roman Empire had consequences even in Thessaly and the rest of the Greek world resulting in, among other things, a reduction of capital investment on the granting of honours to individuals. Another solution lies in the possibility that these individuals represent citizens of Thessalian *poleis*, who by this time had Roman citizenship granted through the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE that enfranchised all free inhabitants of the Roman empire (see Buraselis 1993, 61-3 for a discussion of the different theories regarding the association of use of the name Aurelius with the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

The 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE show the most amount of variety in terms of the origins of the recipients. As time went on, honours became more restricted to a smaller group of cities, all in the eastern half of Thessaly. After the 2nd century BCE, no citizens of western cities were granted honours. From the 1st century BCE onwards, activity was concentrated more in the eastern part of Thessaly, perhaps due to its greater connectivity with the wider Mediterranean, particularly useful in terms of trade, communication and movement in general.

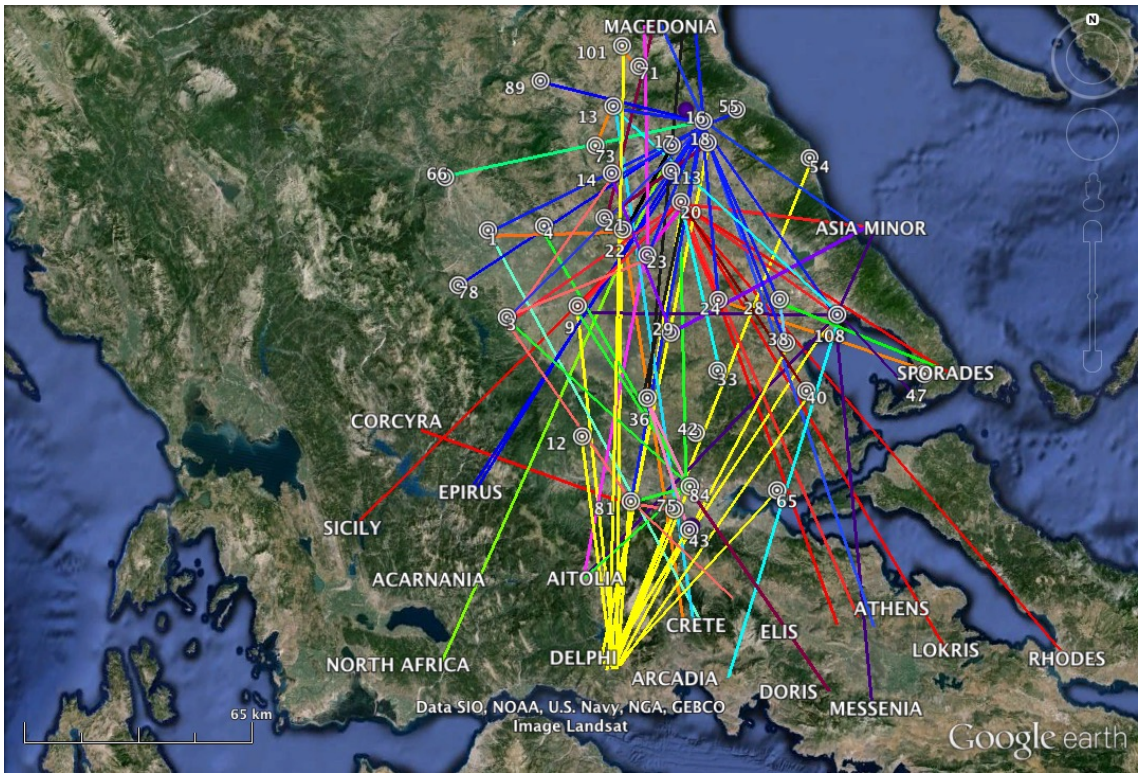
In order to determine whether any patterns are present in the chronological distribution of honours, and in order to understand the patterns of mobility overtime, the relationship between granting bodies and recipients have been mapped according to period.

Figure 6.5 – Distribution of Total Honours in Classical Period



In the above Figure 6.5, network lines have been drawn in order to facilitate analysis of the relationship between granting bodies and recipients in the Classical period. The honours granted by foreign *poleis*, here represented only by Delphi has already been discussed above. During the Classical period, Pherai (site 28) represents the most active Thessalian polis, granted honours to citizens of Phthiotic Thebes (site 38), Proerna (site 30), Skotoussa (site 24) and Krannon (site 23). In terms of non-Thessalian individuals Pherai honoured one citizen from Thebes in Boiotia, and three from Opous in Opuntian (East) Lokris. Lamia (site 84) with the second highest attestation, granted honours to one citizen from Larissa and one from Aitolia, while the remaining cities granted only a single honour each: Thaumakoi granted honours to a citizen from Phokis, while Thetonion honoured a citizen from Corinth. Only two grants by *koina* are documented during the Classical period, the Thessalian league having granted honours to two Macedonians while the Ainian league honoured a citizen from Athens.

Figure 6.6 - Distribution of Honours in Hellenistic Period



Again, the Hellenistic period saw the most activity in terms of honorary grants. As can be seen in Figure 6.6 above, this period is characterized by a large degree of interaction not only between Thessalians cities, but also from a large variety of regions outside of Thessaly including, Attica, Messenia, Lokris, Arcadia, Crete, Sicily, Thasos and Rhodes in addition to Asia Minor, Macedonia and Aitolia. Several cities granted honours to Macedonians at this time, Gonnoi, Larissa, Thaumakoi and Krannon, representing *poleis* from Pelasgiotis and Achaia Phthiotis. A marked difference can be seen in the patris of the recipients of honorary grants between Gonnoi and Larissa. Both offered a substantial quantity of honours, but while a large proportion of the individuals honoured by Larissa came from areas outside of Thessaly, Gonnoi mainly honoured other Thessalians. The nature of the archaeological excavations at Gonnoi means that the epigraphic data from this city are likely the most representative of the complete ancient epigraphic corpus for a Thessalian city (see Helly 1973a and 1973b), meaning that this data is particularly illuminating. It is possible that the large quantity of honours granted in Gonnoi reflect a response to the war against Perseus, who for some time had

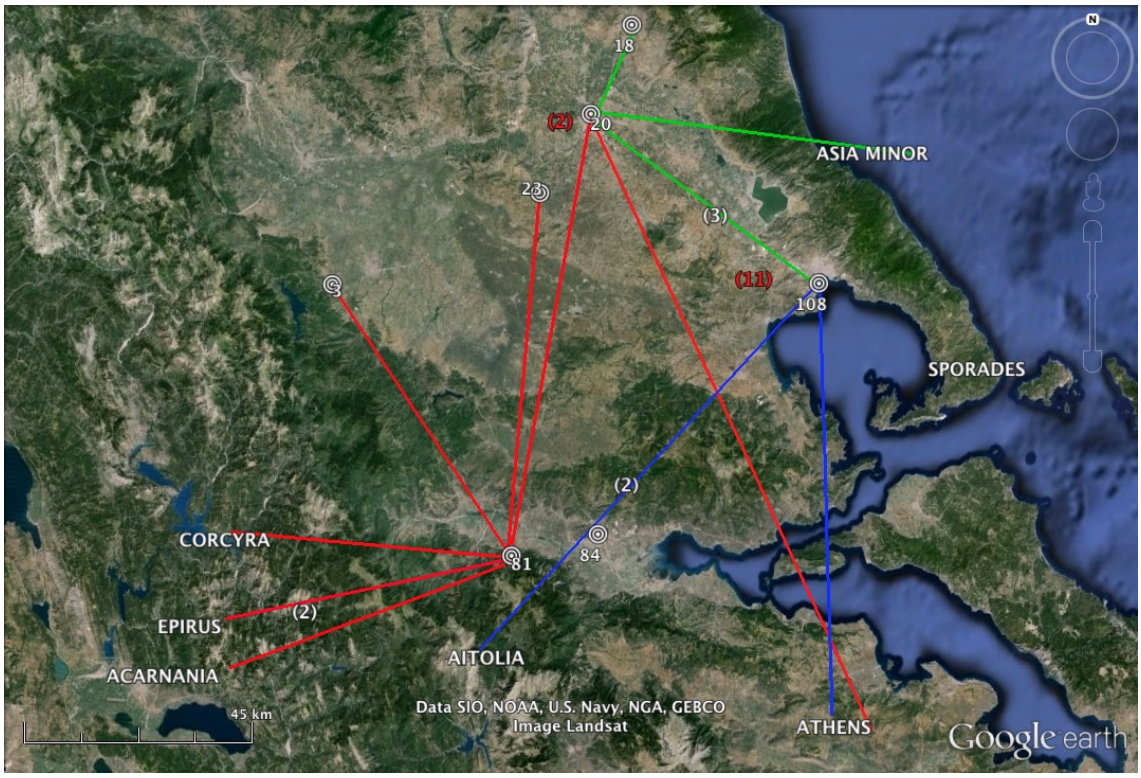
established camp at Gonnoi (Livy 42.54). The pressure placed on the city from the Macedonian garrison stationed there, not to mention the harvesting of crops for the army, could have been a causative factor in the subsequent attempts of Gonnoi to attract, or encourage the continued activity of, wealthy benefactors and new citizens.

Although during this period more cities that are less accessible in terms of road and waterways are represented, the majority of activity within Thessaly seem to take place between locations that are connected, either by roads or by the Enipeus and Peneios rivers or their tributaries. The Hellenistic period also saw the largest quantity of coastal site activity, with Demetrias, Phthiotic Thebes, Halos, Homolion and Lamia represented. The virtual explosion of honorary activity in the Hellenistic period is possibly due, as already discussed, to the increase in interaction generally in the Hellenistic period, a result of increased and longer reaching political and economic contacts. The role of economic activity in the distribution of Thessalian honours is suggested not only by the increase in the variety of cities represented both within Thessaly and abroad, but also by the fact that coastal cities, with their known role in the increasing trade networks of the Hellenistic period, are attested more so in this period than in any other.

When we look at the distribution of honours granted by Thessalian *koina*, we see that, interestingly, the Ainian *koinon* is most active in the Hellenistic, as can be seen in Figure 6.7 below. In terms of foreign recipients, the Ainian *koinon* honoured two citizens from Epirus, one from Acarnania and one from Corcyra. The majority of the Ainian activity was concentrated within Thessaly.

Honours were granted to a citizen of Larissa, Krannon and Metropolis by the Ainian *koinon.* The Magnesian league granted 14 honours during the Hellenistic period, the majority of which (11) were to citizens of Demetrias, while two were granted to citizens of Aitolia and one to an Athenian. The Thessalian league offered seven honours during this period, two to citizens of Larissa, three to citizens of Demetrias and one each to a citizen of Gyrton and a city in Asia Minor.

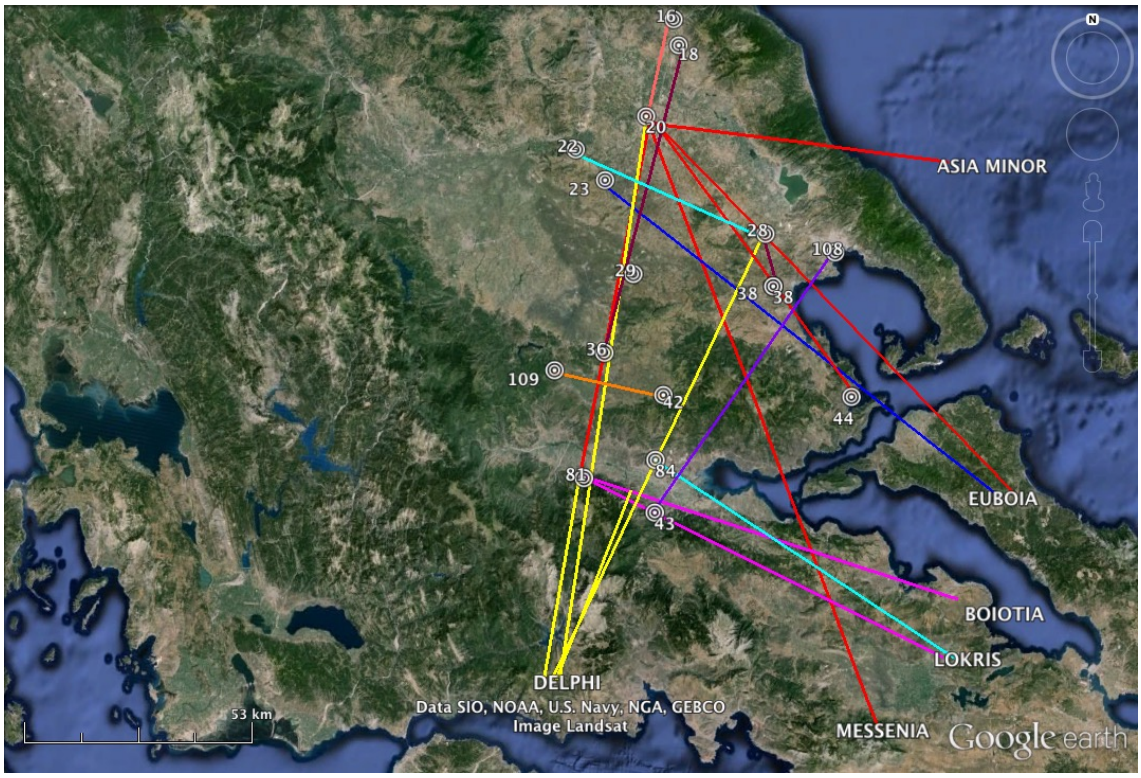
Figure 6.7 -Distribution of Honours by Thessalian *Koina* in Hellenistic Period



While it is obvious that the *poleis* were more frequently involved in granting honours, the *koina* too were involved in the system of reciprocal benefactions. The economic role of the leagues, particularly the Thessalian league, within the region suggests that even the *koina* could be involved in, and benefit from participating in the system of euergetism, which as mentioned at the start of this chapter, became an important means of financing in Greece during the Hellenistic period in particular.

It is immediately obvious that activity contracted dramatically from the Hellenistic to the Roman period, as can be seen in Figure 6.8 above. The only *koinon* active at this time was the Thessalian league, which granted a single honour to a citizen from a Euboian city and one to a citizen of a city in Asia Minor. The *polis* of Larissa granted eight honours to its own citizens, one to a citizen of Pteleon, two to citizens of Messenia, and another to a citizen of Hypata. Pherai honoured a citizen of Atrax, while Phthiotic Thebes honoured a citizen from Pherai. It is likely that these honours involving the *polis* of Pherai were quite early in the Roman period, since, as already mentioned, the territory of Pherai seems to have become *patromonia Augustae*, as attested by an inscription dedicated to several members of the imperial family by an imperial freedman (*AE* 1910, 356, no. 6).

Figure 6.8 – Distribution of Total Honours in Roman Period



Although interpreted by some scholars as demonstrating that the city was no longer occupied at this time (for example Helly 1980, 41), it is certainly possible that although the inscription explicitly mentions that the highly productive territory of Pherai, along with any goods or products produced therein was part of the imperial patrimony, that the city continued to be occupied and the land used under the care of the imperial freedman. It is not possible to determine with any degree of certainty the exact nature of the city of Pherai during the Roman period, but what is possible to say is that at least during the first years of the Roman period, this city was active in both granting and receiving honours. Other cities which attest to honorary activity during the Roman period are: Krannon, which honoured a citizen of Euboia; Thaumakoi, which honoured two Gyrtonians; Gonnoi which honoured a Larissaian in addition to two of its own citizens; Ekkara, which honoured a citizen of Melitaia; Demetrias, which honoured two of its own citizens and a citizen from Herakleia Trachinia in Malis; Hypata which in addition to three of its own citizens honoured an individual each from Lokris and Boiotia, and Lamia which honoured one of its own citizens and one from Lokris. Other cities which attest to honours, but only granted to their own citizens are: Doliche (site 74), Pythion (site 101), Atrax (site 22), Pharsalos (site 29), and Echinos (site 65).

In Figure 6.8 above, it is clear that a general contraction in honorific activity occurred in the Roman period. Not only were fewer cities attested, but also those cities granted fewer honours. Furthermore, at this time no citizens of the western regions of Thessaly, Hestiaiotis, Thessaliotis, Athamania, or Dolopia, received honours and no cities from these regions granted honours. Although it is possible that the contraction of site occupation, discussed in Chapter 4, in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods could be responsible, at least in part, for the restriction of honours to fewer cities, this would not account for the complete restriction of honours to eastern Thessalian cities. It is more likely that, as we have seen several times already, the cities of Pelasgiotis, Magnesia, Achaia Phthiotis, and Ainis located in the east were influential and important, in part because of their roles in the federal leagues, but also likely due to their superior connectivity and strategic locations. It is possible that as the power dynamic in in the Mediterranean underwent a major change with the expulsion of the Macedonians, the *poleis*, perhaps under the influence or encouragement of the Roman authorities, turned more and more to the eastern portion of Thessaly, where economic activity was facilitated by access to the sea and the potential for network creation outside of the region was increasingly possible. As we have seen in the previous two chapters, mobility generally increases from the Hellenistic period onwards, resulting in wider networks than previously possible. The extension of trade networks beyond Thessaly and mainland Greece would undoubtedly have resulted in increased potential for commercial activity, meant additional income for Thessalian *poleis* as well as citizens and foreigners involved in trade and commercial activities.

6.6. Recipients with Roman Names

Analysis of the Roman recipients by necessity takes a different form because of the complex nature of Roman names in the Greek context. The first individuals to be honoured represent known Roman citizens, active in Thessaly during the 2nd century BCE whose names were usually expressed *tria nomina* with a Greek genitive patronym and can be seen in Table 6.21 below. It should be noted here that these names represent those involved in the reciprocal system of euergetism and are not representative of the overall population of Roman citizens living in Thessaly, whether originally from Italy, Thessaly or elsewhere. Individuals bearing both imperial and non-imperial *nomina*

gentilicium are known in various areas of the region. Over twenty of the identified individuals who served as strategos of the Thessalian league had Roman *nomina* gentilicium, likely indicating Roman citizenship (Bouchon 2005 Annexes, 137-142).

The first documented case of an individual receiving citizenship was a citizen of Gyrton, Petraios, a friend of Caesar (Bouchon 2005, 305-306). The Macedonian governor, L. Cassius Longinus is known to have sponsored at least one Thessalian for citizenship, and was himself particularly active in the region having either fortified or improved a road in a difficult pass in the Tempe valley, where an inscription was set up reading: *L(ucius) Cassius Longin(us) proco(n)s(ule) / Tempe munivit* (*CIL* III 588) in 48 BCE (Bowersock *RhMus* 108, 1965, 280-282; Bouchon 2005, 305-309; Leake 1835, 398-400). I will not list every individual known from the epigraphic record here, especially since this has already been done in the ambitious PhD thesis of Richard Bouchon in 2005, but instead provide a brief overview of his work. Details on the individual names and inscriptions can be found therein. Six individuals have been documented bearing the Iulii *gentilicium*, eight Claudii, the members of two families from Hypata bore the Flavian *nomen*, while another ten Flavii are documented in other parts of Thessaly. Two Ulpii, and five Aelii are documented, while three families, from Hypata, Gomphoi and Larissa, as well as a possible fourth family from Echinos, are documented as Aurelii, although this number would have obvious been increased dramatically after 212 CE (Bouchon 2005, 307-8). A single Septimius is documented in Olooson (Bouchon 2005, 308). In addition, non-imperial *nomina gentilicium* are found: Memmius, Cocceius (from the governor L. Cocceius Iustus, not the emperor M. Cocceius Nerva), Cassius, Rubrius, Opius, Graeceius, Lollius, and Titius (Bouchon 2005, 308-9). Many of these individuals were of Thessalian origin and received citizenship through their associations with influential Roman individuals and services rendered to emperors, much like Greek cities offered citizenship to their benefactors. While not all individuals with Roman citizenship are documented as participating in the system of euergetism, the principal of reciprocity was involved at all levels of interaction between the provinces and the Roman authority.

Table 6.13 – Roman Citizens Honoured in Thessaly

Name	Titles/Positions	Honouring City/League	Date	Reason for Grant	Source
T. Quinctius Flamininus	Consul 198/197 BCE	Skotoussa	2nd BCE	Goodwill towards city	*SEG* 23:412
Quintus Caecilius Metellus	Consul	Ainian League	2nd BCE	Aretas and goodwill	IG IX 2, 0037
Gnaius Octavius son of Gnaius,	Consul 165 BCE	Echinos	2nd BCE	Role as fleet commander	SEG 25: 642
C. Flavius Apollonius and C. Flavius Bucco	Roman citizens, bankers or merchant	Gonnoi	2nd BCE	Euergetism	Helly 1973b, 47-9, no. 42
Marcus Perpenna and Marcus Popillius and 2 others	Consuls	Kierion	2nd BCE	Unknown	IG IX 2, 0258
Novius Ovii Latinus, Mamertinus	Roman Citizen	Larissa	2nd BCE	Freeing a slave in Sicily	*SEG*: 57: 506; 56: 636
M. Caninius Rebilus	Ambassador to Macedonia	Thessalian League	2nd BCE	Excellence and goodwill	*SEG* 37:483; 35: 597
Sextus Orfidienus	Prefect	Chyretiai	2nd BCE	Protection from Soldiers	AE 1917 1-7
Lucius Licinius Lucullus	Praetor	Ainian League	1st BCE	Euergetism	IG IX 2, 0038
Quintus Bretius Sura	Legate of Sulla	Athamanian League	1st BCE	Saviour and Euergetes	IG IX 2, 0613
Lucius Acutius, son of Lucius	Unknown	Olooson	2nd BCE	Goodwill towards city	IG IX 2, 1292; IX 2, 1293a; IX 2, 1294a
Lucius Sempronius Atratinus	Proprietor in Greece	Hypata	1st BCE	Role as general and for euergetism	IG IX 2, 0039
Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix	Consul, dictator	Italians in Larissa	1st BCE	Unknown	R. Bouchon, Topoi 15 [2007], p.271
T. Quinctius son of Titus	Unknown.	Larissa	1st BCE	Goodwill in war and peace	*SEG* 57: 512 (cf. 507)
Quintus Acutius Flaccus	Senator	Thessalian League	1st CE	Patronage and euergetism	AD 10, 51, n°2
Seia Catulla, wife of L. Cassius Longinus	Proconsul	Larissa	1st CE	Unknown	GHW06301B
Publius Memmius Léôn	Agoronomos	Gyrton	2nd CE	Role as agoronomos	R.Phil. 35 (1911), n°35

Name	Titles/Positions	Honouring City/League	Date	Reason for Grant	Source
Ulpius Valerius Marcianus		Larissa	2nd CE		AD 17 (1960), 290
Lucius Cassius Petraios, son of Hypatian Derkios	Agonothetes of Pythia, archiereus	Delphi	2nd CE	Role as agonothetes	FD III 4, n°50
Titus Flavius Eubiotos	Agonothetos of Sebasteia, Pythia, epimelete of Amphictyony, and Helledarchos	Hypata	2nd CE	Role in Delphi, Larissa, in games and Amphictyony	IG IX 2, 0043
Titus Flavius Kyllos	Strategos of Thessalian league, arhon of Panhellenes, agonothetes of Great Panhellenic Games	Thessalian League	2nd CE		*SEG* 25 (1971), 211
Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos	Athenian eponymous archon	Thessalian League	3rd CE		SEG 54 (2004), 558; 37 (1987), 492
Marcus Ulpius Domitius Leuros of Skarpea	unknown	Thessalian League	3rd CE		SEG 37 (1987), 493; AE 1927/28, Chr., 218-220; Demetrias V, 311
Lucius Cocceius Iustus	Consul	Larissa	Roman	Wisdom	IG IX 2, 1239
Marcus Antonius Orvanianus	Unknown	Dotion	Roman	Role as eirenarch	IG IX 2, 1077
Lucius Plautius Hypsaeus	Consul	Larissa	Roman	Unknown	GHW06329
Marcus Caecilius Metellus son of Lucius	Consul	Thessalian League	Roman	Unknown	AE 1910, col.374-375, n°22
Titus…Son of Titus (Flamininus?)	Unknown	Thessalian League	Roman	unknown	AnnEpe (1919), n°83
M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leurus and his sons	Consul	Athens	Roman	Role in Athens as consul	SEG 21:506

The table above demonstrates a significant pattern in the honouring of individuals with Roman names over time. In the 2nd century BCE, only Roman citizens who happened to be involved in Thessalian affairs were honoured. The same is true of the 1st century BCE, although by this time we see the gradual introduction of Thessalian citizens with Roman citizenship adopting and using Roman nomenclature.. This becomes more common with time, when we see Publius Memmius Léôn, M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leurus and his sons, Titus Flavius Eubiotos, Titus Flavius Kyllos, and Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos honoured by various Thessalian cities or leagues. While during the 2nd century BCE we can talk about discrete identities of Thessalian or Roman, by the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, these categories had a considerable amount of overlap, starting already in the 1st century BCE when Thessalians receiving Roman citizenship adopted Roman nomenclature but maintained their Greek personal name as a *cognomen*. Explicitly expressing connections to both Greek and Roman cultural traditions is significant as it represents the response of the elite members of society to the changing geo-political context. Having acquired Roman citizenship, the adoption of Roman nomenclature publically advertises their connections to the Roman power, while the retention of the Greek personal name in place of a *cognomen* expressly maintains the links to local Greek identity. Rizakis (2008, 569-72) has identified the same phenomenon in the Peloponnese, stating that this demonstrates a duality which the Greek elite citizens who had acquired Roman citizenship represented. The interactions between the Greek elite citizens and the Roman authority will be investigated further in the next chapter.

The 2nd and 1st centuries BCE saw significantly more honours granted to Roman citizens than the 1st to 3rd centuries CE. Gradually the practice of honouring private individuals ceased under the Roman empire. The significance of this phenomenon will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter when honours to emperors and the imperial family are examined. In the meantime, several trends in the distribution of honours to individuals with Roman names can be elucidated from a further investigation of this data.

Only three of the honours for individuals with Roman names mention a home city or regional ethnic: a Novius Ovii Latinus, Mamertinus was honoured by Larissa (*SEG* 49:615; 45:607, *IG* IX 2, 0258); and Marcus Ulpius Domitius Leuros of Skarpea was honoured by the Thessalian *koinon* (*SEG* 37:493). An additional four individuals

with Roman citizenship, as indicated by the possession of a Roman *nomen*, have been identified by various scholars as being Hypataian in origin: Titus Flavius Kyllos (*SEG* 25:211; see also Sekunda 1997); Lucius Cassius Petraios (*FD* III 4, 50; see Pouilloux 1986b, 290); M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leurus (*SEG* 21:506; *IG* IX 2, 1064; see Sekunda 1997); and his son or Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos (*SEG* 54: 558; 37:492; see Habicht 1987, 309-311, n.3; Sekunda 1997). Marcus Ulpius Domitius Leuros of Skarpea, mentioned above, was a member of the same family as M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leurus.

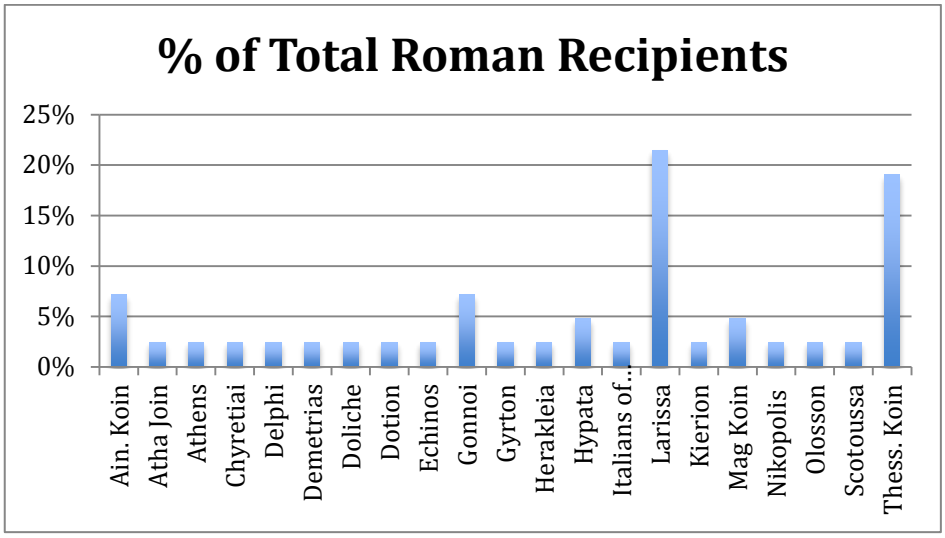
Since it is not possible to determine from what city the majority the Roman recipients originated, focus must be placed on the granting cities choosing to honour Roman citizens and the following table presents the granting cities that honoured Roman citizens. The Thessalian *koinon* and the *polis* of Larissa granted the most honours to individuals with Roman names with 19% and 21% of the total respectively. The Ainian *koinon* granted three honours for 7% of the total and the *polis* of Hypata, the seat of the Ainian *koinon* until its incorporation into the Thessalian league in the late 1st century BCE (Bouchon 2003, 320), granted another two for 5%. Gonnoi also granted three honours to Romans. The pattern of eastern Thessalian cities dwarfing the western ones in terms of the quantity of honours offered, seen earlier in this chapter, holds true also here. One single city from western Thessaly, Kierion, granted honours to a Roman. The cases of Nikopolis, Athens and Delphi represent the three individuals mentioned above whom, although Roman citizens, were of Thessalian origin.

Table 6.14 - Percentage of Total Roman Recipients by Honouring *polis* or *koinon*

Honouring Polis/*Koinon*	**Attestations**	**% of Total Roman Recipients**
Ainian *koinon*	3	7%
Athamanian *koinon*	1	2%
Athens	1	2%
Chyretiai	1	2%
Delphi	1	2%
Demetrias	1	2%
Doliche	1	2%
Dotion	1	2%
Echinos	1	2%
Gonnoi	3	7%
Gyrton	1	2%
Herakleia Trachinia	1	2%
Hypata	2	5%
Italians of Larissa	1	2%
Larissa	9	21%

Honouring Polis/*Koinon*	Attestations	% of Total Roman Recipients
Kierion	1	2%
Magnesian *koinon*	2	5%
Nikopolis	1	2%
Olooson	1	2%
Skotoussa	1	2%
Thessalian *koinon*	8	19%
Total	**42**	**100%**

Graph 6.10 – Percentage of Total Roman Recipients by Honouring *polis* or *koinon*



When we look at the chronological distribution of the honours granted to individuals with Roman names according to the granting cities or *koina*, it becomes clear that in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE the same quantity of honours were offered, but they varied according to granting bodies. Only the Ainian *koinon* and Larissa granted honours in both centuries, while the remaining 14 cities or *koina* granted awards in either century but not both. The only attestation of honours offered to a Roman from a western Thessalian city dates to the 2nd century BC; after which point all Thessalian cities granting honours are eastern, from Perrhaibia, Pelasgiotis, Magnesia or Ainis. In the first three centuries CE, the Thessalian *koinon* represented the only constant granting body, offering at least one honour per century to a an individual with a Roman name.

Table 6.15 - Roman Recipients by Honouring *polis* or *koinon* and Century

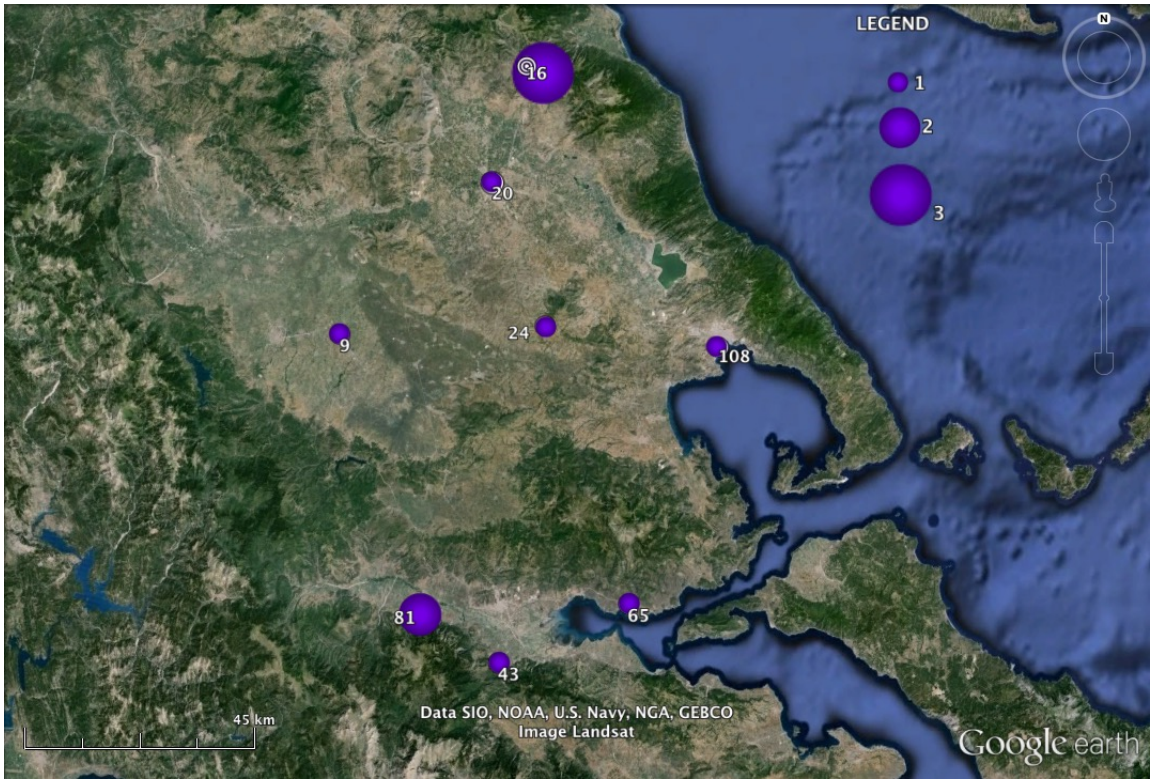
Century	Honouring Polis/*Koinon*	Attestations
2nd BCE	Ainian *koinon*	2
	Larissa	1
	Herakleia	1

Century	Honouring Polis/*Koinon*	Attestations
	Kierion	1
	Magnesian *koinon*	1
	Echinos	1
	Gonnoi	3
	Skotoussa	1
Total		**11**
1st BCE	Ainian *koinon*	1
	Athamanian *koinon*	1
	Chyretiai	1
	Larissa	2
	Delphi	1
	Demetrias	1
	Thessalian *Koinon*	1
	Hypata	1
	Olooson	1
	Italians in Larissa	1
Total		**11**
1st CE	Gyrton	1
	Thessalian *Koinon*	1
	Nikopolis	1
Total		**3**
2nd CE	Larissa	2
	Thessalian *koinon*	1
Total		**3**
3rd CE	Athens	1
Unknown	Thessalian *koinon*	2
	Magnesian *koinon*	1
Total		**4**
Roman	Doliche	1
	Larissa	4
	Thessalian *koinon*	3
	Dotion	1
	Hypata	1
Total		**10**
Total		**42**

If we look at this data divided by period, it becomes clear in the Figures 6.9 below, that although honours to individuals with Roman names are first attested in the Hellenistic period, it is not until the Roman period that this phenomenon becomes significant. In the Hellenistic period, only Gonnoi honoured more than one individual, while Larissa, Demetrias, Skotoussa, Kierion, Hypata, Herakleia Trachinia and Echinos

each honoured a single individual with a Roman name.

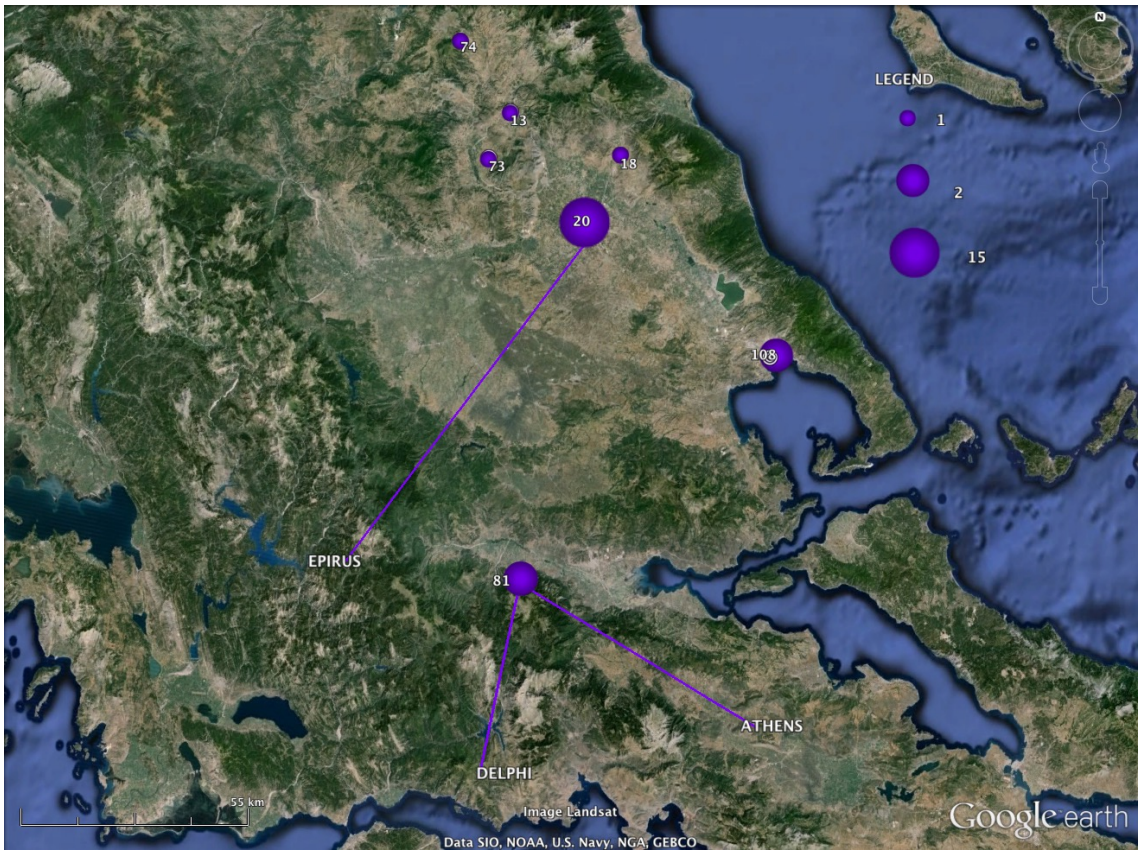
Figure 6.9 – Hellenistic Distribution of Honours to Individuals with Roman Names



In the Roman period, as can be seen in Figure 6.10 below, Doliche (site 74), Olooson (site 13), Gyrton (site 18), Chyretiai (site 73), Argithea (site 70), Demetrias (site 108), Dotion, Hypata (site 81) and Larissa (site 20) granted honours to individuals with Roman name elements. It is clear from this figure that the proportion of individuals honoured by the *polis* of Larissa (8) and the Thessalian *koinon* (6), far exceeds any other city. Despite the increased importance of Hypata and Demetrias, Larissa's activities, particularly in terms of interaction and involvement with individuals with Roman name elements, demonstrates its continued centrality in terms of the political, social and likely, economic activity of the region. Interestingly, a single site in the region of Athamania is attested (Argithea site 70). Not including this city, the activity during this period conforms to the general picture demonstrated above of a restriction to cities in the eastern portions of Thessaly. In contrast, however, more cities from Perrhaibia in the north are attested than at any other time, perhaps demonstrating an attempt within these cities to bolster their economic and political situation by associated themselves with individuals who, having adopted or been given, Roman names, were

likely more closely involved with the Roman authorities.

Figure 6.10 – Roman Period Distribution of Honours to Individuals with Roman Names



If we add the honours to individuals with Roman names to the total distribution of honours into the Roman period, as can be seen in the Figure below, we see that the Roman period is more active than first appears when the Roman name data is not included. It seems that part of the contraction of honours granted from the Hellenistic to the Roman period is filled by adding the individuals with Roman names honoured, although this gap is not completely filled. This pattern seems to demonstrate that while in the Hellenistic period, honours were granted to citizens from a a wide variety of cities and regions, during the Roman period activity was mostly restricted to individuals from Thessalian cities, the Greek mainland and Euboia, in one case, Asia Minor. Although honoured to a limited extent in the Hellenistic period, individuals with Roman names became much more commonly attested in the Roman period. This trend suggests that as Thessaly was brought under Roman control, the networks previously created outside the region, for example in Macedonia, Aitolia, Epirus, Asia Minor and the Greek mainland and islands were perceived of as of secondary importance in contrast to individuals with

Roman names whose association with the new Mediterranean power could be more politically and economically beneficial.

Since only two honours were granted in the Late Roman period, it is not necessary to map the occurrences. As mentioned earlier, both honours were granted by the Thessalian *koinon* to individuals with Roman names. Marcus Ulpius Domitius Leuros of Skarphea (*SEG*: 37, 493) and Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos were both honoured in Larissa by the league. The latter is also known to have been a Roman consul in Athens, as well as eponymous archon, was agonothetos of the Panathenaia, was a citizen of the Athenian deme Gargettus (J.H. Oliver 1948, 440-1). Richard Bouchon, in his 2005 thesis, conducted an analysis of the elite families of Thessaly in the Roman period, creating family trees when possible. Bouchon's stema for the Eubiotos-Kyllos family of Hypata (2005, 315, fig. 11) demonstrates that his role as a benefactor of the Thessalian league was directly due to his Thessalian heritage. This stema is particularly useful for highlighting the success of the social strategies employed by elite families. Known extensively in the epigraphic record of Hypata and other Thessalian cities (see Bouchon 2005, 312 for a complete list). This family will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter in relation to the role of the Delphic Amphictyony as a social strategy for elite members of Thessalian cities.

Before moving on to look at the types of honours granted, it is important to first look at a few more categories of identity, which may be expressed, in honorary inscriptions. The attestation of professions, magistracies, civic status, and gender is briefly analysed here. In terms of professions, it seems that very few warranted mention in an honorary decree. I have identified a single attestation of honours for a doctor, Eudoros son of Glaukos of Hypata from the 3rd century BCE (*SEG* 53:528; 38:517; Helly 1978, 149-56). The astronomer Antipatros from Hieropolis in Seleukis was honoured (*SEG* 35:596; 33:463; 31:576; *AAA* 1980, 250-252, n°2a). The philosopher Alexandros of Athens (*SEG* 57:510; Helly and Tziafalias 2007, 421-474) was also honoured and the rhetors Bombos Alkaios Aioleus and Leukios son of Nikasias Aioleus from Alexandria Troas were honoured together in a single text (Béquignon 1935, 55-64 no. 2; *SEG* 56:638; Helly and Tziafalias 2007, 421-474) as well as the Thessalian sophist Flavius Phylax son of Alexander was honoured in Hypata by *demos* of Olympia (*FD III 4, 412*). The poetess Aristodama of Smyrna (*IG* IX 2, 0062) represents one of the very few cases where a woman was honoured, in addition to a priestess (*AD* 11, 55-

56, n°1). Four priests (*SEG* 25: 642; *IG* IX 2, 1107b; *IG* IX 2, 1133; *SEG* 35: 618), were honoured, as well as five athletes (*CID* IV, n°106; Woodward 1910, 146-147, n°2; *IG* IX 2, 0614b; *BE* 1995, 290; *SEG* 44 (1994), 469; *GHW*06114). These represent quite less than 5% of the total of 360 honorary decrees.

Magistrates and foreign judges, on the other hand, are the most prolifically attested category, with 23 and 44 honours respectively. Women are rarely attested, with a total of ten honorands, and non-free individuals are missing completely. It is somewhat surprising to see a complete lack of freedmen, since, as Latin literary rhetoric suggests, wealthy freedmen with their sometimes-ostentatious display of wealth would have been prime candidates to participate in the system of benefactions. It is possible that freedmen are in fact attested amongst the recipients but since their status was not explicitly expressed, it is not possible to identify them. It is not surprising to find a complete lack of slaves, since lacking property a slave could offer nothing to a *polis* or a *koinon* in order to receive the reciprocal honours.

6.7. Types of Honours

The next analysis I performed on the honorary decree data was to determine what types of honours were granted, that is, what privileges or specific honours were granted. In order to analyse the different privileges and honours granted, I divided the total of 360 honorary decrees into two categories: (1) proxeny and citizenship decrees; and (2) other honours, as can be seen in the table below. I have added the foreign city grants back into the total database, since all recipients of foreign grants were Thessalian it will not create a bias in the following analysis. It is essential, in fact, to include the analysis of these grants in order to fully understand the distribution of types of honours granted to Thessalian, Foreign, and Roman recipients by different granting bodies.

The category of other honours includes the following privileges discussed earlier: crowns of various qualities; the proclamation of the crown in public assembly; the inscription and erection of the decree in a public place; the dedication of a statue; front row seats in the theatre; burial within the city limits; public maintenance of the citizen and his family; receiving the title of *soter* or *euergetes* with its accompanying elevated position (Chaniotis 2009, 23-4; 2012, 98). Proxeny and citizenship decrees, on the other hand, specifically awarded the title of *proxenos* or gave *politeia*, which was usually

accompanied by a combination of the privileges discussed earlier in the chapter.

6.7.1. Proxeny and Politeia Grants

For the purpose of this study, it is the proxeny and citizenship decrees that are most informative. Since the focus of this study is civic identity and social strategies employed by Thessalians, these decrees add significant information about the acquisition of multiple citizenships and how these were used as a social strategy by local and foreign elite individuals in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Furthermore, the privileges granted in proxeny and citizenship decrees had larger financial implications, which, as we shall see later in this chapter, had substantial consequences for their use as a social strategy in the negotiation of socio-economic and political position. For this reason, I concentrate the analysis on the proxeny and citizenship honours and only briefly discuss the other honours category, although analyses were conducted for both categories and the data are visible in the tables and charts to follow.

Table 6.16 - Honours by Type

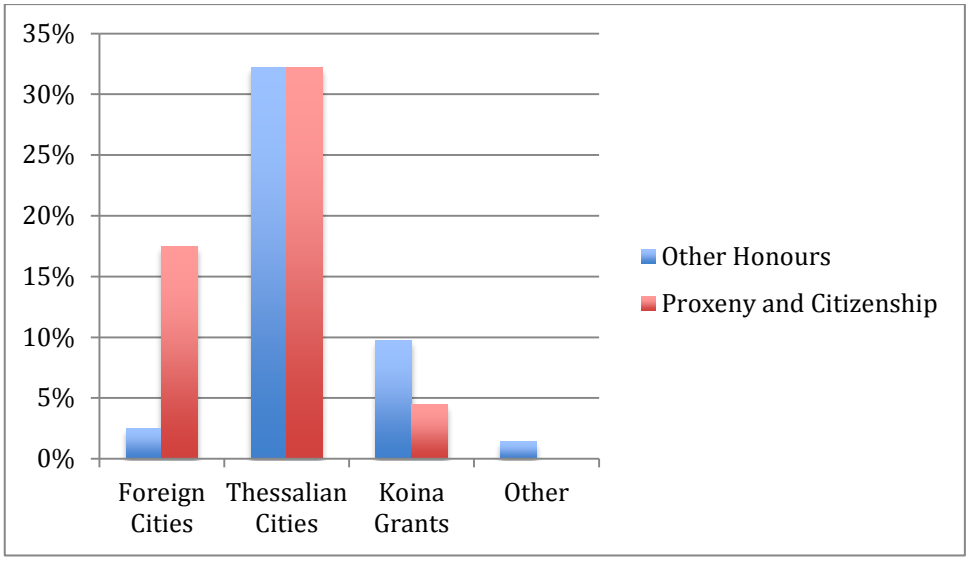
Type of Honours	Attestations	% of Total
Proxeny and Citizenship	195	54%
Other Honours	165	46%
Total	**360**	**100%**

The distribution between proxeny and citizenship grants and other honours is relatively even, with proxenies and citizenships being slightly more frequent, as can be seen in the table above. When the data for honour type is organized by granting body, it is apparent, as can be seen in the table and chart below, that there is a substantial difference between the types of honours granted by different granting bodies. While the grants by Thessalian *poleis* were equally distributed between (1) proxeny and citizenship and (2) other honours, foreign cities granted proxeny and citizenship grants far more often than other honours. *Koina*, on the other hand, granted more other honours than proxenies and citizenships.

Table 6.17 - Honours by Type and Granting Body

Granting Body	Other Honours	% of Total Honours	Proxeny and Citizenship Grants	% of Total Honours
Foreign	9	3%	63	18%
Thessalian	116	32%	116	32%
Koina	35	10%	16	4%
Other	5	1%	0	0%
Total	**165**	**46%**	**195**	**54%**

Graph 6.11 - Honours by Type and Granting Body



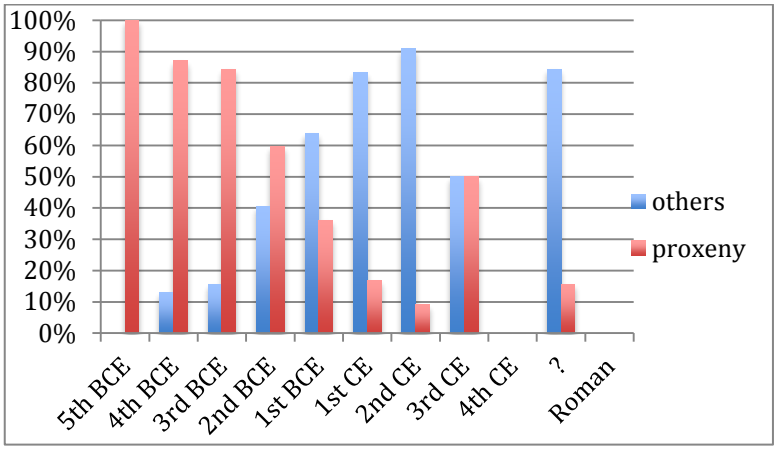
When we look at this same data by date, it becomes immediately clear that from the 5th to the 2nd centuries BCE a larger proportion of proxeny and citizenship grants are attested than other grants. This changes in tandem with the drop in frequency of honours in general in the 1st century CE, and larger proportions of other honours are documented.

Table 6.18 - Type of Honours by Century

Century	Other Honours	Percentage of Total Honours	Proxeny and Citizenship	Percentage of Total Honours
5th BCE	0	0%	3	1%
4th BCE	3	1%	20	6%
3rd BCE	10	3%	54	15%
2nd BCE	65	18%	96	27%
1st BCE	23	6%	13	4%

Century	Other Honours	Percentage of Total Honours	Proxeny and Citizenship	Percentage of Total Honours
1st CE	10	3%	2	1%
2nd CE	10	3%	1	0%
3rd CE	1	0%	1	0%
4th CE	0	0%	0	0%
Unknown	27	8%	5	1%
Roman	16	4%	0	0%
Total	**165**	**46%**	**195**	**54%**

Graph 6.12 - Type of Honours by Century



When we look at the proportion of the total honours per century in each category of honours, seen in table we see a slightly different picture. In terms of the proportion of the total honours per century, proxeny and citizenship dominate the earlier periods of Thessaly, although they do continue through its history. From the 5th to the 3rd centuries BCE, proxeny and citizenship decrees represent the majority of honours. From the 2nd century BCE onwards, proxenies and citizenship gradually decline as a proportion of total honours per century as other honours begin to be granted more and more, particularly from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE when they surpass the grants of proxeny and citizenship as the most common type of honours.

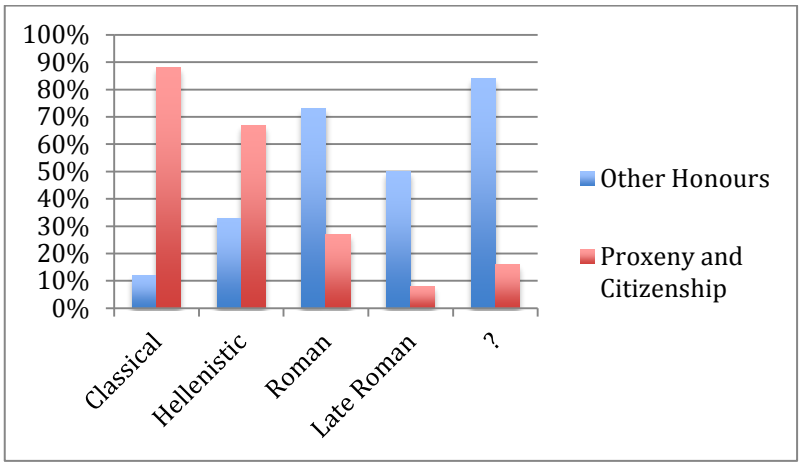
If we look at the data by period, in order to include the 16 honours datable only to the Roman period, as shown in the table and graph below, it is obvious that in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, but particularly the latter, the largest proportion of honours are proxenies and citizenship. This changes for the Roman period, when proxenies drop dramatically while other honours, while attested slightly less in the Roman period than in the Hellenistic, nevertheless continue to be granted in the Roman

period relatively consistently, before disappearing in the Late Roman period.

Table 6.19 - Type of Honours by Period

Period	Other Honours	% of Total per Period	Proxeny and Citizenship	% of Total per Period
Classical	3	12%	23	88%
Hellenistic	75	33%	150	67%
Roman	43	73%	16	27%
Late Roman	1	50%	1	8%
Unknown	27	84%	5	16%
Total	**165**		**195**	**54%**

Graph 6.13 - Type of Honours by Period



When proxeny and citizenship decrees are analysed in terms of the geographical distribution of the granting *poleis*, Gonnoi has the highest percentage of total Thessalian proxeny and citizenship grants with 32% of the total, and Larissa holds second place with 15% of the total. Interestingly, Lamia and Pherai, two cities which until now, had been relatively under the radar in terms of overall activity in granting honours in general, are tied for third place in the attestations of proxeny and citizenship decrees, each with 9% of the total. Thaumakoi and Krannon also have a higher proportion of proxeny and citizenship grants, with 6% and 5% of the total respectively. Thaumakoi, of a total of 7 honours, granted entirely proxenies and citizenships. Additionally, although their numbers are low, proxeny and citizenship grants from Thetonion,

Olooson, Phayttos, Ekkara, Metropolis, Peparethos, Phthiotic Thebes, and Trikka all represent 100% of the honours granted. It is interesting to note that although Demetrias was often one of the leading cities in terms of granting honours in general, as seen earlier in this chapter, a single proxeny or citizenship grant is documented. As we saw earlier, 11 honorary decrees were granted by Demetrias, but ten of these grants represented other honours, despite the city's prominence. It seems that the people of Demetrias were less concerned about bolstering the citizenry by offering proxeny and *politeia*. Gonnoi, on the other hand, granted a total of 58 honours, as seen earlier in this chapter, 37 of which were proxeny or citizenship grants, 64% of their total. In contrast to Demetrias, Gonnoi seems to have been particularly active in offering proxeny or *politeia* to foreign individuals in order to augment their current citizenry. A similar situation seems to be the case with Lamia and Pherai, which of a total of 11 honours each, ten represented proxeny and citizenship decrees.

In contrast, cities that offered only other honours and no proxenies are: Aiginion, Doliche, Dotion, Echinos, Erythrai, Euhydrion, Gyrton, and Spalauthra. Only the honours from Euhydrion and Spalauthra were granted to citizens, while the rest represent other honours granted to foreigners. This evidence supports the theory, advanced at the start of this chapter, that although proxeny and citizenship grants were obviously reserved for non-citizens, other honours could be granted equally to local citizens or foreigners.

Table 6.20 - Proxeny and Citizenship Decrees Granted by Thessalian *Poleis*

City	Attestations	% of Total Thessalian Proxenies	Total Honours Granted by Thessalian Polis	Proxenies as % of Total Honours per Polis
Hypata	1	1%	10	10%
Krannon	6	5%	8	75%
Atrax	2	2%	5	40%
Herakleia Trachinia	1	1%	2	50%
Chyretiai	2	2%	8	25%
Halos	1	1%	2	50%
Mopsion	3	3%	4	75%
Thetonion	1	1%	1	100%
Demetrias	1	1%	11	9%
Larissa	17	15%	54	32%
Phalanna	2	2%	4	50%

City	Attestations	Percentage of Total Thessalian Proxenies	Total Honours Granted by Thessalian Polis	Proxenies as Percentage of Total Honours per Polis
Ekkara	1	1%	1	100%
Gonnoi	37	32%	58	64%
Kierion	1	1%	2	50%
Pythion	1	1%	2	50%
Lamia	10	9%	11	91%
Metropolis	2	2%	2	100%
Olooson	2	2%	2	100%
Peparethos	1	1%	1	100%
Pharsalos	2	2%	3	67%
Phayttos	2	2%	2	100%
Pherai	10	9%	11	91%
Phthiotic Thebes	1	1%	1	100%
Skotoussa	1	1%	2	50%
Thaumakoi	7	6%	7	100%
Trikka	1	1%	1	100%
Total	**116**	**100%**	**215**	**54%**

When we look at the proxeny and citizenship grants offered by different *koina*, we see that the Ainian *koinon* represents the largest proportion of *koinon* proxenies, with 50% of the total, followed by the Thessalian *koinon* with 25% of the total and the Magnesian with 19%. The Athamanian *koinon* is not represented here as the only honours they granted were other honours. Looking at the percentage of the total grants per *koinon* that represent proxenies or citizenship decrees, the Ainian league again comes to the forefront, with 80% of all honours being proxenies or citizenship grants. This is very informative, since, as we just saw, the same is not true for Hypata, the seat of the Ainian league, where only 10% of grants represented proxeny and citizenship. It seems that in cases where citizenship was granted in the Spercheios Valley region of Ainis, it was the league, rather than the individual *poleis*, that were more active. In contrast this is not seen in the Magnesian *koinon*, where only 15% of the total honours were proxenies or citizenship grants. This is consistent with the *polis* of Demetrias, for which, as we have just seen, proxenies and citizenship grants represented only 9% of their honours. When we look at the Thessalian league, a middle ground between the situation with the Ainian and Magnesian *koina* is evident. While proxenies and citizenship represented 21% of the total Thessalian league honours, for Larissa the percentage is not drastically higher at 32%. A single proxeny was granted, to a Thessalian, by the Molossian *koinon*, a federal league in Epirus. More research is

needed to determine if this was typical of relations between *koina* as there was no scope for analysing the activities of other federal leagues, which did not grant honours to Thessalians

Table 6.21 - Proxeny and Citizenship Grants by *Koinon*

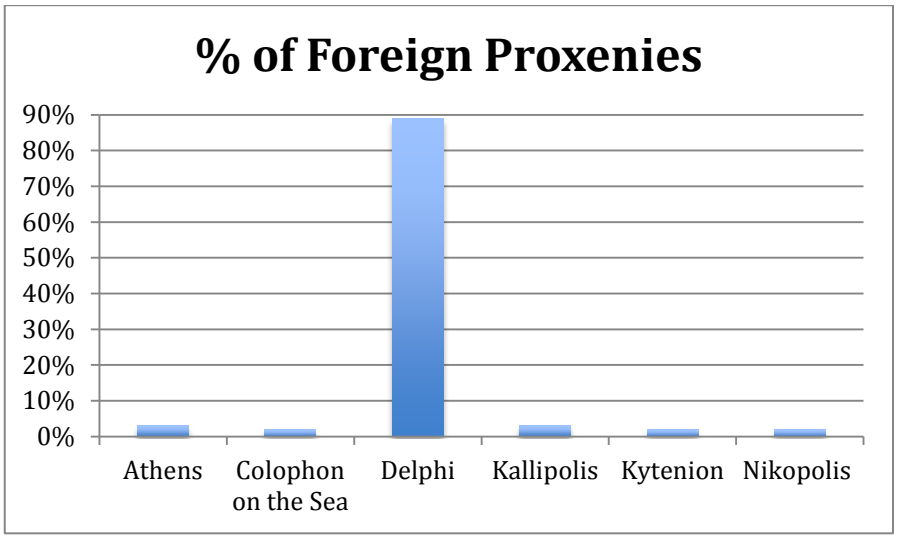
Koinon	**Attestations**	**Percentage of Total *Koina* Proxenies**	**Total Honours Granted by *Koina***	**Proxenies as Percentage of Total Honours per *Koinon***
Ainian *koinon*	8	50%	10	80%
Molossian *koinon*	1	6%	1	100%
Magnesian *koinon*	3	19%	20	15%
Thessalian *koinon*	4	25%	19	21%
Total	**16**	**100%**	**51**	**31%**

Looking at the foreign *poleis* that offered proxeny and citizenship decrees it is clear that, as with the total honours, Delphi dominates. 92% of the 61 honours granted by Delphi were proxenies. The grants just from Delphi represent 89% of the total foreign proxeny grants and nearly one-third of the total of 195 proxenies. Among the 56 proxeny decrees for citizens of Thessaly, Delphi made no grants of *politeia*. This is a particularly important phenomenon, which will be in the following chapter. For now however, it is important to say that, as can be seen in the table and graph below, there was a much higher than average attestation of grants from Delphi than for any other region. In part this is certainly due to both its geographic proximity of the important cultic centre, and the particularly important role played by Thessaly in the Amphictyony.

Table 6.22 - Proxeny and Citizenship Grants by Foreign Granting Cities

City	**Attestations**	**% of Foreign Proxeny and Citizenship Grants**	**Total Honours Granted by Foreign Cities**	**Proxenies as % of Total Honours per Foreign City**
Athens	2	3%	4	50%
Colophon on the Sea	1	2%	2	50%
Delphi	56	89%	61	92%
Kallipolis	2	3%	2	100%
Kytenion	1	2%	1	100%
Nikopolis	1	2%	1	100%
Total	**63**	**100%**	**72**	**88%**

Graph 6.14 - Proxeny and Citizenship Grants by Foreign Granting Cities

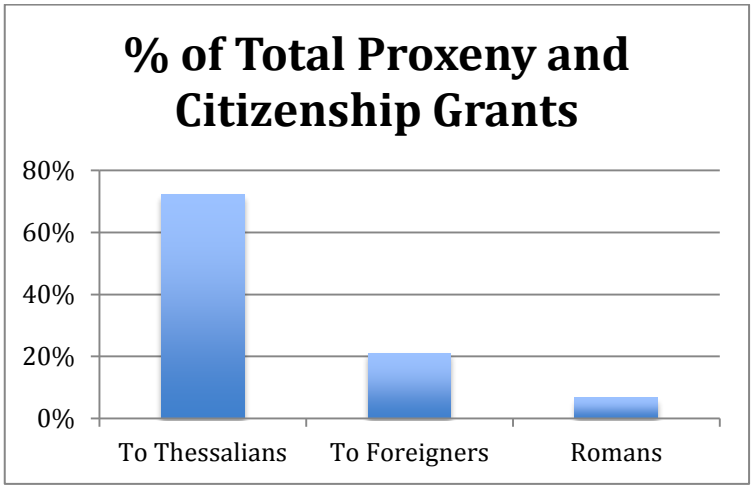


When we look at the recipients of the proxeny and citizenship grants, we see the same overall pattern as attested for the complete dataset of all honours analysed earlier in this chapter: Thessalians dominate, followed by foreigners, and, finally, Romans as the smallest group of recipients.

Table 6.23 - Recipients of Proxeny and Citizenship Grants

Recipient	Attestations	% of Total Proxeny and Citizenship Grants
To Thessalians	141	72%
To Foreigners	41	21%
Romans	13	7%
Total	**195**	**100%**

Graph 6.15 - Recipients of Proxeny and Citizenship Grants

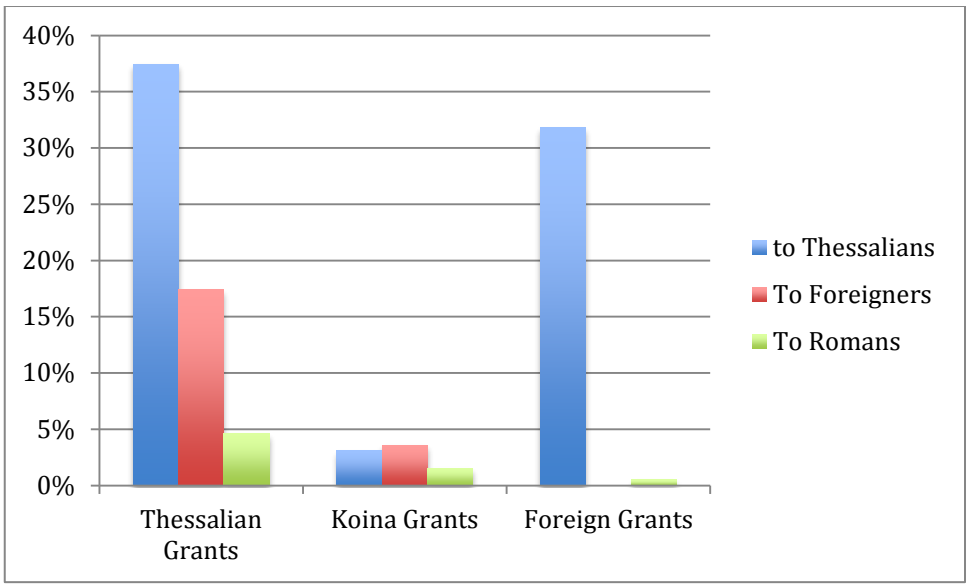


Looking at what granting bodies awarded proxeny and citizenship to what type of recipient we see that the Thessalian cities offered proxeny and citizenship most frequently to other Thessalians, followed by foreigners and finally Romans. On the other hand, the *koina* tended to be equally distributed in who they honoured, with Thessalians and foreigners being relatively equally attested. Foreign granting cities selected for this study obviously made Thessalians the vast majority of recipients, with only a single Roman with Thessalian origins receiving proxeny or citizenship from a foreign city.

Table 6.24 - Recipients of Proxeny and Citizenship by Granting Body

Recipient	Thessalian Grants	% of Total Proxenies	*Koina* Grants	% of Total Proxenies	Foreign Grants	% of Total Proxenies
Thessalian	73	37%	6	3%	62	32%
Foreign	34	17%	7	4%	0	0%
Roman	9	5%	3	2%	1	1%
Total	**116**	**59%**	**16**	**8%**	**63**	**32%**

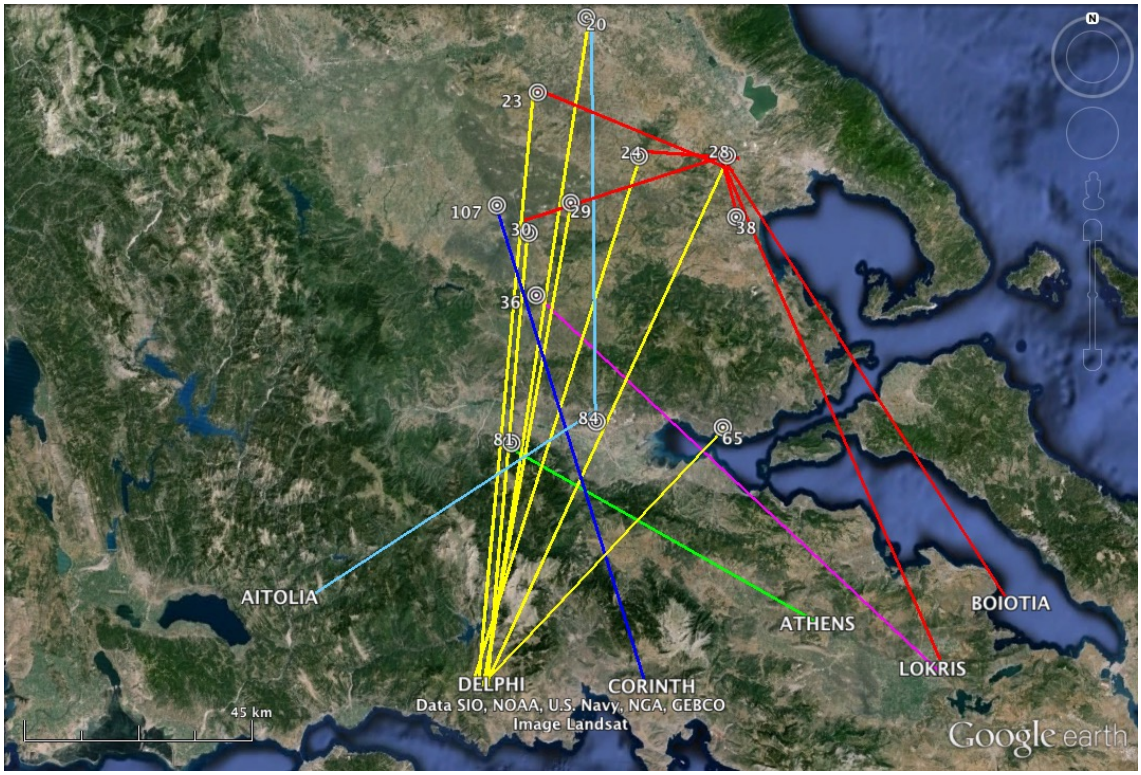
Graph 6.16 - Recipients of Proxenies by Granting Body



When these results are mapped by period, a more nuanced understanding of mobility and network patterns can be reached. Figure 6.11 below demonstrates that honorary activity was relatively restricted in the Classical period. Delphi represents the

only non-Thessalian city to offer honours to Thessalians. All of the citizens honoured came from cities in the eastern portion of Thessaly, Larissa, Krannon (2), and Pherai in Pelasgiotis, Pharsalos (2) in Phthiotis and Echinos in Achaia Phthiotis. Pherai offered the most amount of honours in this period, to both citizens of Thessalian cities (Krannon, Proerna, and Phthiotic Thebes) and foreign ones (Lokris (3), and Boiotia). Lamia honoured a citizen from Larissa and one Aitolian, while Thaumakoi honoured a citizen from Phokis and Thetonion honoured a Corinthian. Only two *koina* granted honours in the Classical period; the Thessalian league granted honours to two Macedonians while the Ainian League honoured an Athenian.

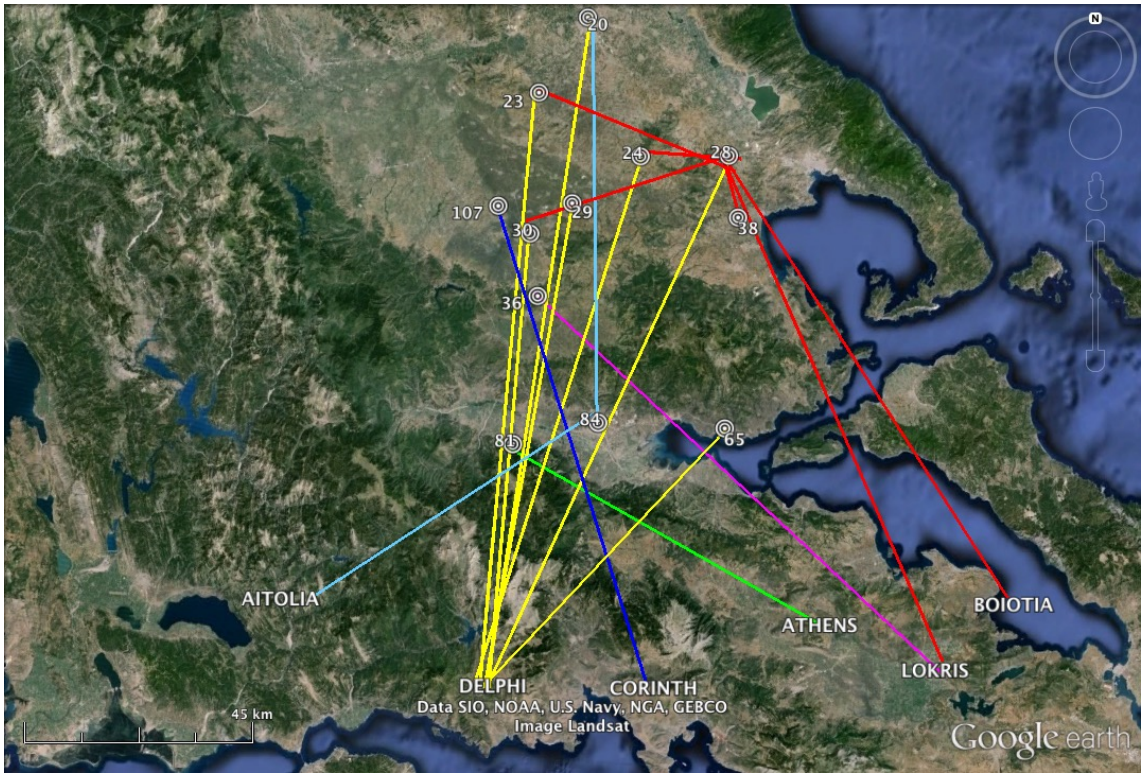
Figure 6.11 – Classical Distribution of Proxeny and *Politeia* Grants



Of the cities in the west only Thetonion in Thessaliotis was active in the Classical period. As can be seen in Figure 6.11 above, the activity in Thessaly was, in the Classical period, concentrated in the cities of the east. It is possible that connectivity between cities of the east was easier, certainly since the mountainous barrier of the Titanos separated the eastern and western plains. Alternatively, a type of solidarity among cities belonging to the same tetrad may explain this pattern, particularly in terms of administrative, economic and military concerns. In contrast to the western portion of

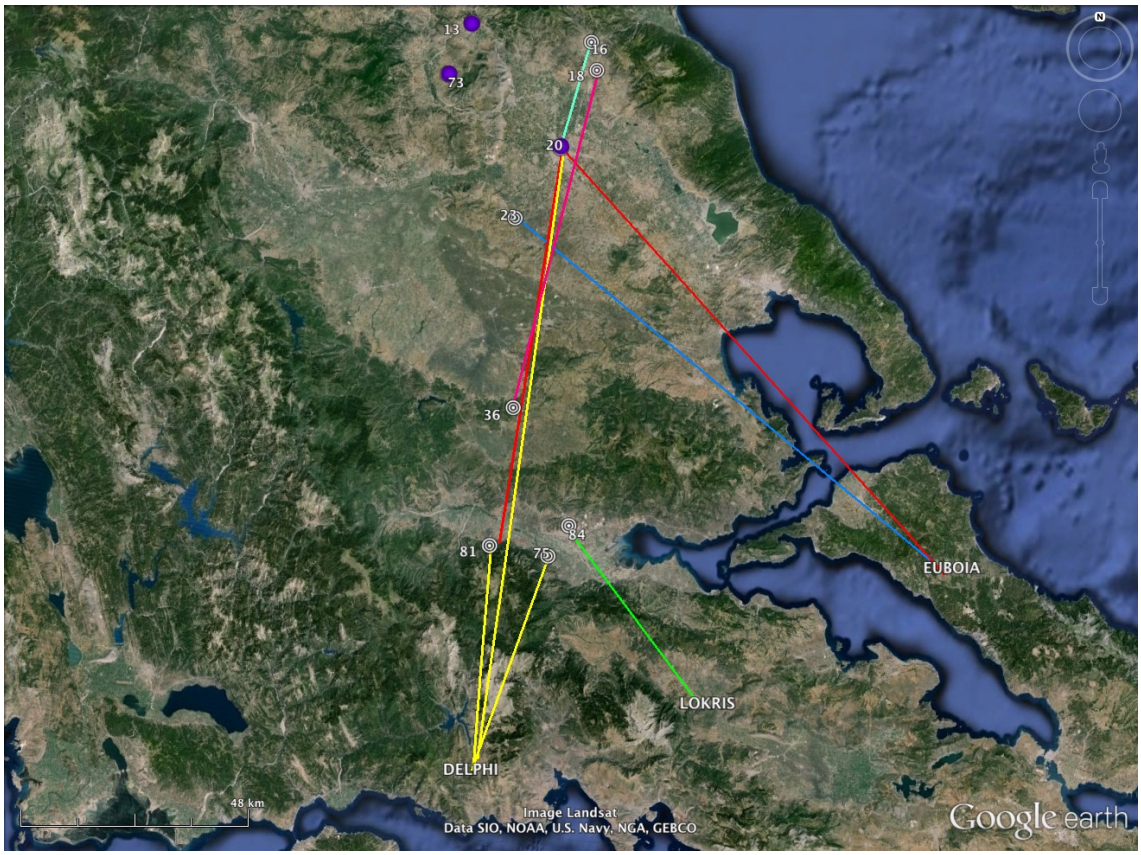
Thessaly, the eastern portion is not only well connected by the Enipeus and Peneios rivers, but was also better connected in terms of roads, as can be seen in the Figure above. Aitolia was the only region outside of the mainland of Greece to be granted proxeny or *politeia* during the Classical period. It is immediately clear in the Figure below that the situation had changed by the Hellenistic period.

Figure 6.12 – Hellenistic Distribution of Proxeny and *Politeia* Grants



It is clear in the above Figure 6.12 that once again, the Hellenistic period dominates. The same pattern documented in the total honours demonstrated earlier in this chapter is seen here. Gonnoi still leads with the most documented proxeny and *politeia* grants, followed by Larissa and Lamia. Overall, it can be said that the Hellenistic period was the height of the system of euergetism, however, as will soon be shown, this practice, although adapted to fit the new socio-political and economic situation which saw the Roman empire come to dominate the Mediterranean, continued into the Roman period.

Figure 6.13 – Roman Distribution of Proxeny and *Politeia* Grants



When the other honours are removed and only the proxeny and *politeia* grants are analysed, it is clear that a further decrease occurred in the honours granted in the Roman period, as can be seen in Figure 6.13 above. Even when the honorands with Roman names are included the situation does not change. This suggests a change occurring at this time in terms of the relative value of proxeny and *politeia* grants. Although still documented until the 3rd century CE, the number of proxeny and *politeia* grants drops significantly from the Hellenistic to the Roman and again from the Roman to the Late Roman. It is possible that this drop represents a change in the practice of recording the uses of the institution rather than reflecting a drop in the practice itself. Even for the Hellenistic period, the number of inscribed records of decrees known today likely does not faithfully represent the distribution of the practice in antiquity and therefore it is possible that, along with changes in the epigraphic habit, decisions to no longer inscribe the practice have created a false pattern in the data for the Roman period. Even if the near cessation of decrees in the 1st century CE was a result of decisions to no longer inscribe the practice on stone rather than an actual disappearance of the practice, however, regardless a change in the perceived value of the practice but both *poleis* and

individuals likely occurred. In terms of individuals, as Thessaly became part of the Roman empire and centuries went by, more individuals would have been enfranchised into the Roman system. It is possible that the ability to obtain Roman citizenship now outweighed the need for local citizenship or proxenies in order to create beneficial networks and be politically and economically active in cities other than one's *patris*. With the eventual incorporation of all provincials into the Roman system through the mass grant of citizenship through the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, the need or desire for *politeia* or proxeny from other cities became obsolete. Roman citizenship provided all of the required rights necessary for individuals to become active in cities other than their own. At the same time the *poleis* may have less actively sought out potential benefactors or rewarded such benefactors less frequently with proxeny and *politeia* since, for the same reasons, it would have been potentially easier to attract wealthy elite foreigners since local citizenship was not necessarily required. Mack's recent work on the institution of proxeny throughout Greek history (Mack 2015, 255- 262), published at the end of writing the results of this research, supports this link between Roman rule and the disappearance of proxenies, as well as attestations of other institutionalized forms of interaction between *poleis* and such as *symmachia* and *isopoliteia*. He interprets this disappearance as a sign of "…fundamental change of the system – from one in which prestige originated in interactions between peers, to one in which it derived from and continued to be dependent on hierarchical relations with the imperial power, and, ultimately, the person of the emperor."(Mack 2015, 262). Mack's assertion here that the nature of imperial rule was incompatible with an institution that was characterized by peer interaction is further supported by gradual replacement of proxeny and *politeia* grants with honorary dedications and decrees for emperors and members of the imperial family. While this does not mean that interaction did not occur between *poleis* under the Roman period, it does likely signify a change in the nature of this interaction, which through the *pax romana*, was no longer characterized by intra-*polis* conflict (see Mack 2015 255-262 for a discussion of these topics).

The decrease in stasis between *poleis* in the Roman period may very well have resulted in a decreased need for foreign visitors in the city to have official representatives in other *poleis*. At the very least, the need for *asylia*, a common privilege granted in proxeny decrees was no longer as required under the Romans as it was during the conflicts of the preceding centuries (Mack 2015, 262). This theme will be developed further in the next two chapters. The remainder of this chapter will focus

on the types of privileges and benefits granted in proxeny and *politeia* decrees in order to gain a better understanding of the potential value of these grants as a social strategy employed for the negotiation of social, economic and political status.

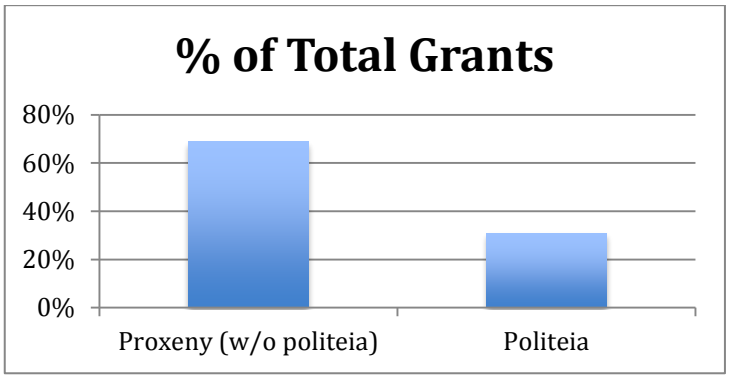
6.7.3. Privileges Granted in Proxeny and Politeia Grants

If we now turn to the last field of analysis for proxeny and citizenship grants and determine which specific honours and privileges were granted in the proxeny and citizenship grants, we see that proxeny grants are far more common than citizenship grants. It should be noted that in 8 cases, both proxeny and *politeia* were granted in a single decree, but for the majority of cases it is either proxeny (135 cases for 69% of the total) or *politeia* (60 cases for 31%).

Table 6.25 - Distribution of Proxeny and Citizenship Grants

Privilege Granted	Attestations	% of Total Grants
Proxeny (w/o *politeia*)	135	69%
Politeia	60	31%
Total	**195**	**100%**

Graph 6.17 - Distribution of Proxeny and Citizenship Grants

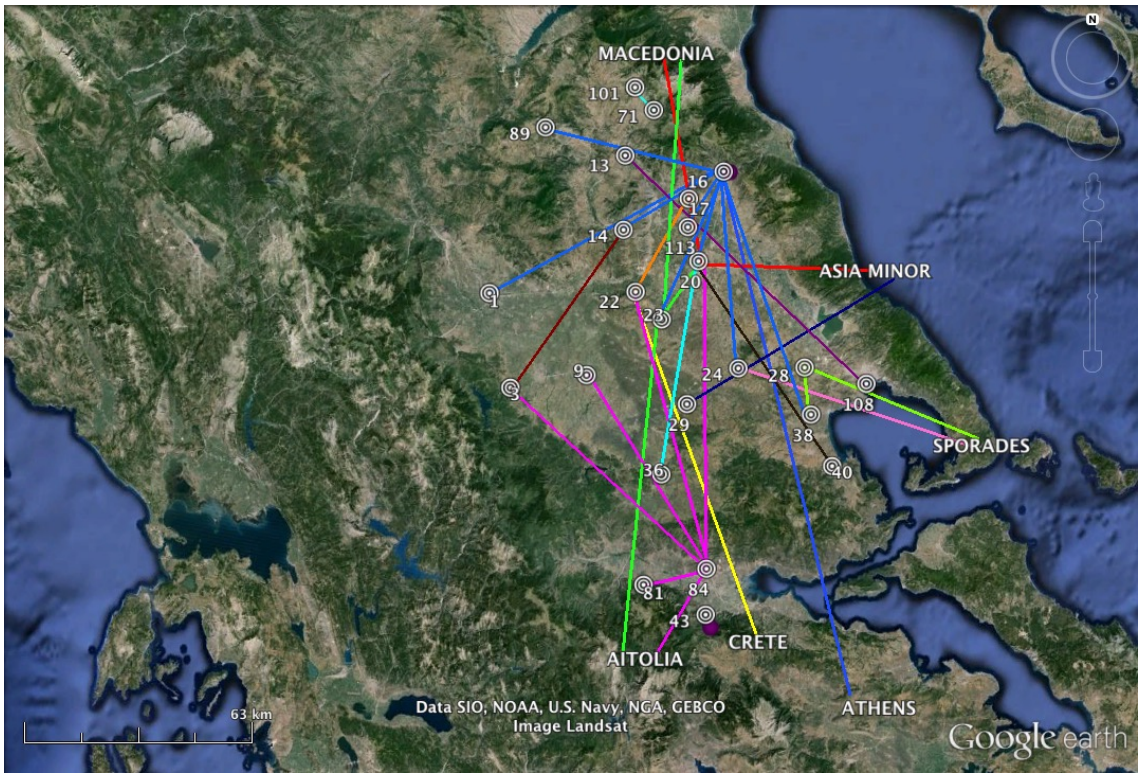


When only the citizenship grants are mapped by period, seen in Figures 6.14 to 6.16 below, it becomes clear that the Classical and Roman periods represent periods of low attestations of citizenship grants compared to the Hellenistic.

Figure 6.14 – *Politeia* Grants in Classical Period

It seems that during the Hellenistic, mobility was at its height in terms of individuals being engaged in the activities and economies of *poleis* which were not their *patris*, as can be seen in Figure 6.15 below. Activity in the Hellenistic period also seems to be located primarily along communication routes within Thessaly, between cities that were connected by either road or waterways. Compared to the total distribution of honours granted in the Hellenistic period, seen earlier in this chapter, far fewer non-Thessalian cities or states are represented. Only Aitolia, Macedonia, Asia Minor, Athens, Crete and two cities in the Sporades islands are represented and all but one city in Asia Minor were granted *politeia* in a Thessalian city. Only two individuals with Roman names were granted *politeia* in this period, one at Gonnoi (site 16), and one at Herakleia Trachinia (site 43).

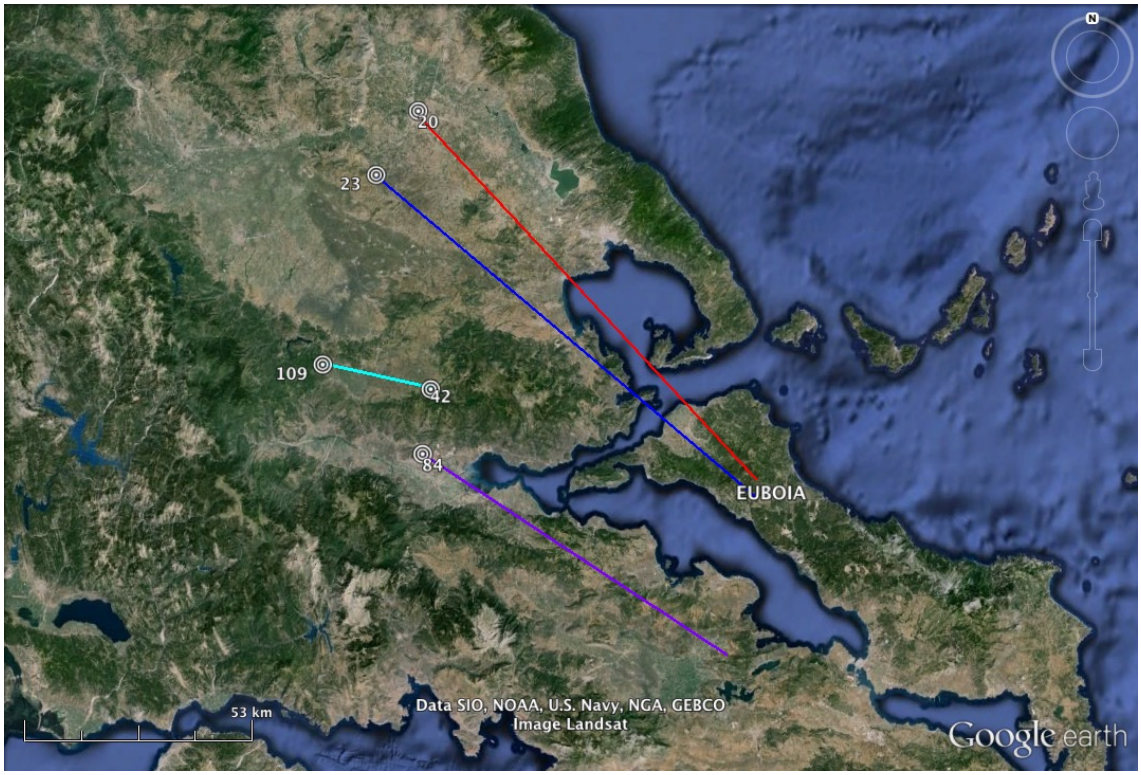
Figure 6.15 – *Politeia* Grants in Hellenistic Period



When we look at the Roman period, seen in Figure 6.16 below, it becomes obvious that citizenship grants were extremely reduced, only four cases being documented, only one of which was between two Thessalian cities (Ekkara – site 109 to Melitaia – site 42). The remaining three citizenship grants were given to two citizens of Euboia, one from Chalkis and one from Karystos, and one citizen of Opous in eastern Lokris. It is particularly interesting that no Romans were granted *politeia* during the Roman period, perhaps suggesting that after the inclusion of Thessaly as part of a Roman province, either Achaia or Macedonia, meant that local citizenship was not necessarily required for Roman citizens. This could explained through the incorporation of groups of *Romaioi* or *Italoi*, as documented in Larissa, who are demonstrated to have integrated into the city, holding magistracies and so on (Helly 1980, 37, 45;) In fact, as a group, the Italians of Larissa dedicated a statue of Sulla, (unpublished; cf. Bouchon 2007, 271), demonstrating support for van Nijf's assertion that throughout the Greek world, Roman individuals and groups became active in the political, economic and social contexts of Greek *poleis* in the Republican and imperial period (van Nijf 2009, 12-4)

It is of course possible that the lack of individuals with Roman names instead signifies a lack of Romans involved in the system of reciprocal benefits at this time, but as we have seen earlier in this chapter, significant quantity of individuals with Roman names received honours during this period and therefore another explanation is likely.

Figure 6.16 – *Politeia* Grants in Roman Period



When we look at the attestations of the granting of different privileges, a few important patterns emerge. *Isopoliteia* is granted 24 times, for 12% of the total. If we assume that *isopoliteia* conferred the same basic rights as *politeia*, that is equality of civil rights, its attestations could be joined to those of *politeia* resulting in an overall total of 84 grants of citizenship, for 43% of the total. Additionally, although far more proxenies than citizenship decrees were granted, the associated privileges do not seem to coincide with the distribution of either proxeny or *politeia* alone, but instead were granted on a case by case basis. For example 74 cases of *ges* (*kai oikias*) *enktesis*, the right of landholding, were granted for 38% of the total. This is 14 more attestations than for the grants of *politeia*. In contrast, for *epinomia*, grazing rights, were awarded 32

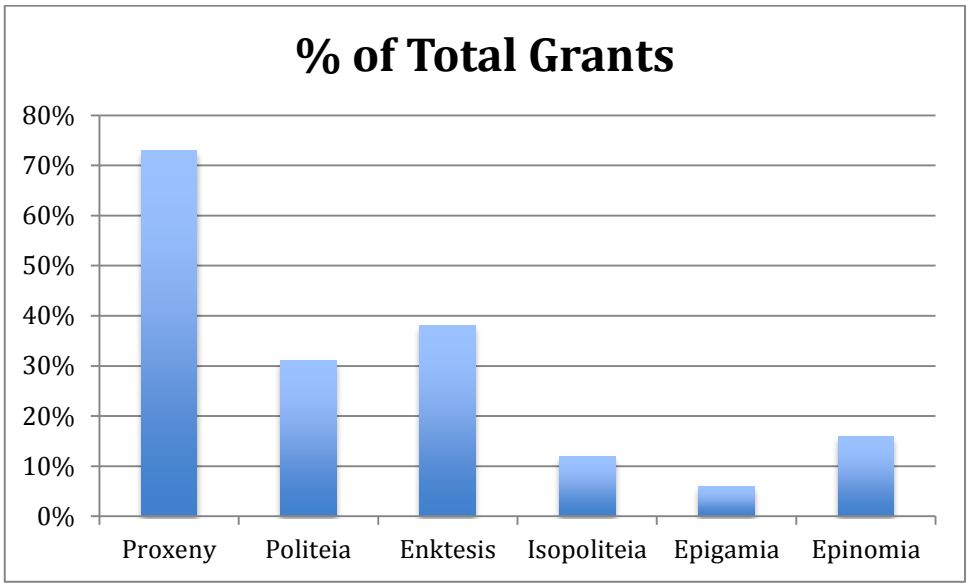
times, 16% of the total. *Epinomia* was predominantly granted in the Hellenistic period. Only one attestation is documented for the Roman period (*AE* 1917, no. 301; Moretti, ISE 2, 1975, no. 95), granted by Chyretiai to an individual named Sextus Ophidienus, son of Marcus, explicitly referred to as *Romaios*, a very rare occurrence in the dataset. The remaining 31 grants of grazing rights were given in the Hellenistic period. *Epigamia*, the right of intermarriage, was explicitly granted in very few cases, only 6% of the total.

It should be noted that not all proxeny and citizenship decrees explicitly listed every privilege or honour received, but sometimes made general statements, as discussed at the start of this chapter, conferring the same rights and privileges as the other proxenies or citizenship. Therefore the analysis I have conducted on the privileges and rights obtained is not necessarily reflective of reality, as some decrees which do not specifically mention *enktesis* or *epigamia*, for example, may have granted one or both privileges implicitly. It is my contention that since the majority of the decrees do spell out the rights and privileges associated with the grant of proxeny or citizenship, that what rights were granted were not a fixed formula but were rather granted on a case by case basis.

Table 6.26 - Rights and Privileges Granted

Right Granted	**Attestations**	**% of Total Grants**
Proxeny	143	73%
Politeia	60	31%
Enktesis	74	38%
Isopoliteia	24	12%
Epigamia	11	6%
Epinomia	32	16%

Graph 6.18 - Rights and Privileges Granted



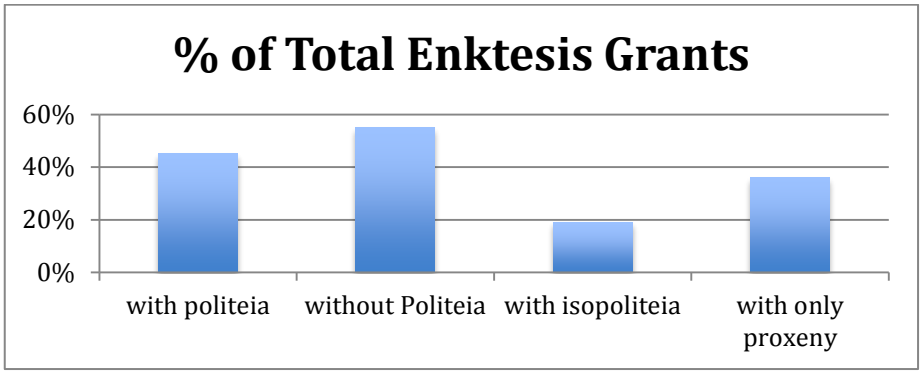
6.7.4. *Enktesis* Grants

Land was primary economic resources for elite citizens of Greek *poleis*, the acquisition of which was usually restricted to citizens. By looking at the grants of *ges kai oikias enktesis* it is possible to see how this particular privilege could have allowed reciprocal benefaction to be used as an economic and social strategy by elite members of society. As can be seen in the table and graph below, of the 74 total *enktesis* grants, 33 were granted in association with *politeia* while another 14 were with *isopoliteia*. This means that in 33 cases, for 45% of the total, *enktesis* was granted with citizenship. In 41 cases, 55% of the total, *enktesis* was granted without accompanying *politeia*, but in association with only proxeny or *isopoliteia*. In 27 cases it was granted with proxeny alone, accounting for 36% of the total *enktesis* grants, suggesting that land ownership was no longer restricted to citizens of a city, but could be granted as a privilege even with proxeny alone. Land ownership rights were never given, on the other hand, in association with other honours. It is only in proxeny and citizenship grants that they appear, suggesting that it was not an honour handed out often. If we look at the proportion of the total 360 honours that *enktesis* rights represent we see that only 21% of all honours came with *enktesis*. While not a large proportion, it is a significant enough to understand that this was a highly important benefit that was not conferred lightly.

Table 6.27 - Association of *Enktesis* with Other Grants

Enktesis	**Attestations**	**% of Total *Enktesis* Grants**
with *politeia*	33	45%
without *Politeia*	41	55%
with *isopoliteia*	14	19%
with only proxeny	27	36%
Total	**74**	**100**

Graph 6.19 - Association of *Enktesis* with Other Grants

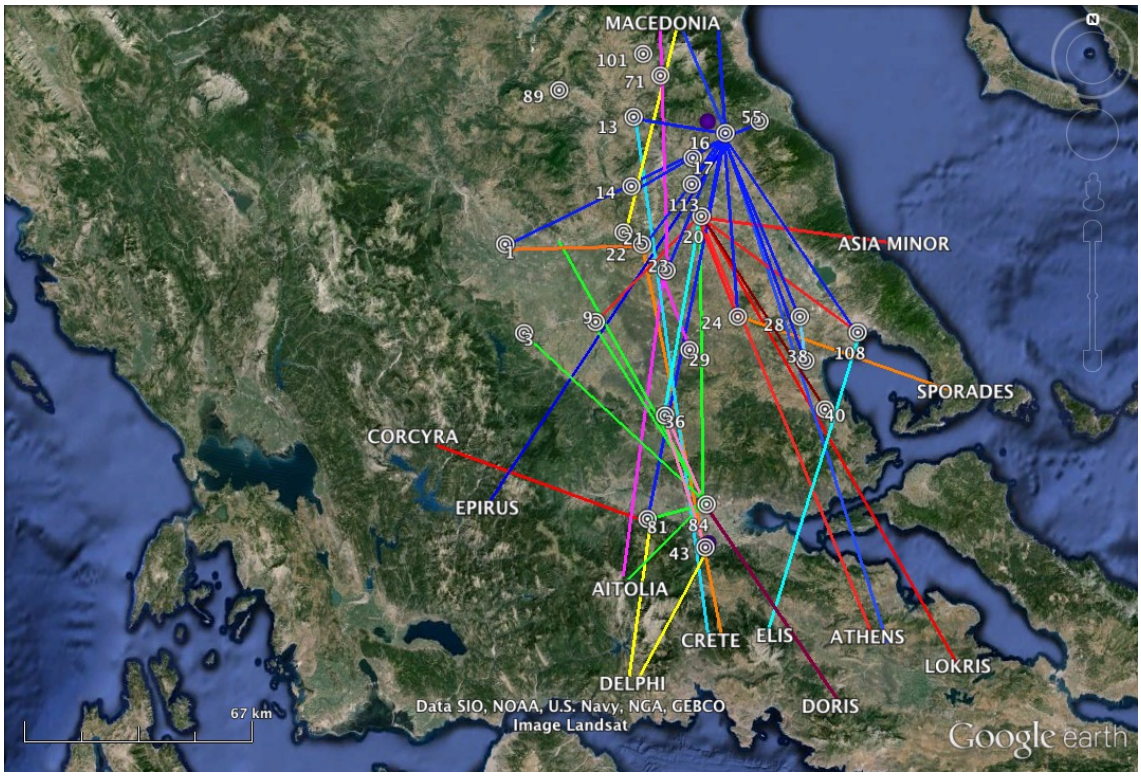


The value of having the ability to purchase or own property in foreign *poleis* and acquire multiple civic identities through the acquisition of foreign citizenship cannot be overestimated. During the 2nd century BCE, Flamininus restricted magistracies to the highest property class, and while this was not a new concept for Greece, it did solidify and further legitimize a system that was already in practice (Graninger 2011, 29). This resulted in a situation where the ability to hold influential magistracies directly depended on one's ability to accumulate wealth and property. If an individual was able to purchase land and financially benefit from its productive capacities, not just in their home *polis* but in others as well, the possibility for economic and therefore political and social advancement was increased. Interestingly, although the right to own or purchase land in the territory of a *polis* was usually restricted to citizens (Foxhall 2002, 210, 215), in many cases *enktesis* was granted in proxeny decrees, implying that the right to purchase or own property was, from the 3rd century BCE onwards, not dependent solely on citizenship but could be granted to foreign benefactors.

When the *enktesis* grants are mapped by period we see an even more obvious contraction from the Hellenistic to the Roman period, as can be seen in Figures 6.17 and

6.18 below. During the Hellenistic the ability to purchase a house and land in a territory of a city was granted to individuals from other Thessalian cities as well as from cities in Asia Minor, Macedonia, Aitolia, Epirus, Corcyra and several mainland Greek regions.

Figure 6.17 – Hellenistic *Enktesis* Grants



The Roman period on the other hand (visualized in Figure 6.18 below), demonstrates that *enktesis* grants were very uncommon, especially when compared to the total distribution of honours as presented earlier in this chapter. Only seven grants of *enktesis* were given during this period. Ekkara granted land rights to a citizen of Melitaia; Lamia and Hypata both granted *ges kai oikias enktesis* to citizens of Lokris, while Delphi offered *enktesis* to a citizen of Hypata and one from Erythreia. Two individuals with Roman names were granted *enktesis*, one by Chyretiai and one by Larissa. Furthermore, the grants in the Roman period all date to the 1st century BCE, quite early in the Roman period. It is very possible that very restricted nature of *enktesis* grants in the Roman period was a result of Roman domination, in the same way as proxeny decrees in general as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Figure 6.18 – Roman *Enktesis* Grants

Evidence for Roman control of territory is evidenced already in the 2nd century BCE in the letters to Chyretiai (*IG* IX 2, 338) and Metropolis (*SEG* IIIVII.495) from Flamininus (*SIG3*: 593; Armstrong and Walsh 1986, 32-46). The letters outline the return of property, which previously had belonged to Rome as a result of their victory over the Macedonians (Bouchon 2015, 495-500; Stamatopoulou 2013, 50) In the letter to Chyretiai, Flamininus encourages the Chyretians to consider only property and civil law in the distribution of the returned land, given to the treasury of the city (Armstrong and Walsh 1986, 32-3). Another series of letters from the Roman general Aemilius Paulus to the *tagoi* of Gonnoi likely reflects attempts by the Roman authority to arbitrate disputes arising from the distribution of the territory transferred from Macedonian to Roman control after the Macedonian wars (Bouchon 2015; Stamatopoulou 2013, 50). Bouchon suggests that these inscriptions reflect how the Roman authority used territory under their control in order to reward those loyal Rome, and punished rebellious or defiant individuals and communities (Bouchon 2015, 512-3). Roman control over the land acquired as a result of their victory over the Macedonians also undoubtedly included the granting of land to deserving individuals, as well as the

creation of imperial estates (Bouchon 2015, 512-3). An inscription from Pherai, discussed earlier in this chapter, adds further support for the Roman control over territory, demonstrating that by some point in the 1st century CE the city, territory and products of Pherai had become part of the *patrimonium Augustae.* The fact that the territory of an entire city was managed and controlled by Rome suggests that there was a vested interest on the part of the Roman authorities, at least from the 1st century CE onwards, for the accumulation of agriculturally productive territory.

Furthermore, evidence for Roman cadastration of the territory of Melitaia, demonstrates that the division and distribution of land in Thessaly was dominated more and more by the Roman authorities. It is entirely possible that the drastic drop in *enktesis* grants from the Hellenistic to the Roman period represented attempts by the Romans to restrict Thessalian citizens accumulating land in other *poleis*. It is also possible that the more intense activity in the Hellenistic period, particularly prevalent in the 2nd century BCE, reflected a situation where a large amount of land was not being cultivated or occupied and therefore both individuals and *poleis* were engaged in attempts to remedy this situation; the *poleis* with an eye towards making productive use of their territories and individuals with their sights set on accumulation of wealth through property and agricultural production. Following this line of logic, it is possible that the quantity of land in Roman control liberated from the Macedonians, at least some of which was returned (see the letter of Flamininus to Chyretiai, *SIG*3: 593; Armstrong and Walsh 1986, 32-46), meant that the *poleis* were not necessarily directly controlling land ownership in their territories. While the case of Chyretiai shows that Rome, at least on occasion, returned land to their *poleis*, it is possible that not all of the territories controlled by Rome after the defeat of the Macedonians were returned to their original owners. Alternatively, the return of the territory to Chyretiai, may represent, on the part of the Roman authorities, a desire to avoid being directly involved in the distribution of productive land, preferring to leave these matters to the individual cities.

It is my contention that a combination of the above factors resulted in the distribution of *enktesis* grants seen in the Figures above. Both a reduction in the amount of land available and the desire of the Roman authorities to control and restrict access to the available territory to the elite members of society, most likely resulted in the drop in *enktesis* grants. Although there is no evidence for the direct control of land distribution in Thessaly by the Romans, the dissolution of the Achaian League resulted in the restriction of the right of league members to move between cities in the league after the

destruction of Corinth; that is to say they restricted the mobility of the citizens of the former league members (Polybius 39.5.2-3; Pausanias 7.16.9; see Rizakis 2012, 37). A similar situation could have occurred in Thessaly, where the Roman authorities limited the granting of *politeia* and *enktesis* in order to restrict mobility and exert control over the distribution of territory. While it is not possible to determine with certainty the factors contributing to the distribution of *enktesis* grants, it seems likely that an increase in the hegemonic control of Rome over Thessaly in the early 1st century BCE, followed by the provincialization of the region under the early Principate, meant that further controls and restrictions may have been placed on the ability to purchase or own property in other *poleis* with the intent of taking advantage themselves of the productive capacities of the Thessalian landscape, or alternatively, restrictions were removed.

6.8. Concluding Remarks

In terms of the various rights granted in proxeny and *politeia* grants, it is not difficult to see why these would be sought after and likely competed for among the members of the local, as well as foreign, and Roman, elite members of society. Without these rights, a resident foreigner was not able to purchase or own land, would pay higher taxes, could not graze any herd animals, and was essentially a non-protected person. It is not difficult to see why the elite members of society would be interested in acquiring these privileges. By obtaining proxeny or citizenship in a *polis* other than one's own *patris*, the ability to accumulate wealth increased, through the purchase and production of arable land, through payment of favourable taxes or tax exemptions. Furthermore, honour and prestige were increased through the process of the public reading and display of the decree, in addition to the benefits of *proedria* and *promanteia*. By obtaining honours in communities outside their own, the prestige and influence of individuals were increased.

The data for social strategy use in Thessaly demonstrates that a change certainly occurred in the Roman period. In the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE honours were granted to citizens from all over the Mediterranean. This increase was likely a result of the responses of Thessalian *poleis* to demographic and economic pressures resulting from frequent war. Through mass grants of citizenship and the extension of proxeny and *politeia* rights to non-local individuals, *poleis* offered incentives for non-local

individuals, particularly wealthy elite members of society, to participate in the system of reciprocal benefactions, which, as discussed in Chapter 6.1, formed an important part of the funding of Greek *poleis*. The quantity of honorary grants dropped dramatically from the 1st century BCE onwards and from the 2nd century BCE individuals with Roman names are more frequently attested. From the 1st century CE the granting of honours to private citizens nearly ceases altogether.

The drop and eventual cessation of proxeny, *politeia* and *enktesis* grants from the 1st century CE onwards can be interpreted in different ways. On the one hand, it is possible that under Roman domination, the value of local citizenship had changed. As part of the Roman provincial system, it is possible that local citizenship was no longer required for land ownership in the territory of the *poleis*. Alternatively, the drop in honorary grants may have been a result of the impact of increasing Roman domination. As was demonstrated in Chapter 4 and above in Chapter 6.8, the primacy of agricultural territory in both the economic and therefore social and political welfare of the elite members of society, as well as the preoccupation of the Roman authorities in controlling agriculturally productive land distribution and use, as discussed in the concluding remarks of Chapter 4.

These topics will be picked up further in the next chapter, which will turn to look at the means by which individuals could receive honorary grants, in order to further elucidate the possible factors influencing change in the use of social strategies in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Chapter 7: Social Strategies: Modes of Obtaining Honours and Other Social Strategies

This chapter continues with the data analysed in the previous chapter, providing a more qualitative approach in order to focus on the means by which individuals could receive citizenship in a *polis* that was not their *patris*, including services rendered to *poleis*, serving in magistracies and priesthoods, serving on foreign courts, participating in athletic competitions and performances and honouring Roman emperors. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the overall patterns identified in Thessaly before moving on to the final chapter, which will contextualize the Thessalian results in relation to current scholarly debate on the nature of the Greek regions under the Roman empire.

7.1. Mass Citizenship Grants

Before discussing the ways in which an individual could obtain grants of proxeny and *politeia*, it is important to first discuss the few cases where mass citizenship was granted by *poleis* to multiple individuals, as the motives behind the grants were significantly different for mass grants as compared with individual ones. I have identified three cases of mass citizenship grants all dating to the 3rd century BCE: Pharsalos (*IG* IX, 2 234; IThess 50; Decourt 1990, 163-184; Gauthier 1985, 198-9; Stamatopoulou 2007, 226); Larissa (*IG*, IX 2, 517; Decourt 1990, 175-7; Gauthier 1985, 200; Helly 1984, 213-234) and Phalanna (*IG* IX 2 1228; Decourt 1990, 175; Gauthier 1985, 201. - Decourt 1990, 175, incorrectly identified inscription as *IG* IX 2 1298). The Pharsalian decree does not provide a specific reason for the grant of citizenship and landholdings in the 3rd century BCE to 176 people (Decourt 1990, 171), instead beginning with a general and formulaic expression:

> ἀ[γαθᾶι τύχαι]. ἁ πόλις Φαρσαλίουν τοῖς καὶ οὑς ἐξ ἀρχᾶς συμπολιτευομένοις καὶ συμπο-
> λ[εμεισάντε]σσι πάνσᾳ προθυμίᾳ ἔδουκε τὰν πολιτείαν καττάπερ Φαρσαλίοις τοῖς
> ἐ[ξ ἀρχᾶς πολ]ιτευομένοις· ἐδούκαεμ μὰ ἐμ Μακουνίαις τᾶς ἐχομένας τοῦ Λουέρχου [χώ]-
> ρα[ς ψιλᾶς πέλε]θρα ἑξείκοντα ἑκάστου τοῦ εἰβάτα ἔχειν πατρουέαν τὸμ πάντα χρόνον.
>
> With good fortune. To those who, already in the beginning had *sympoliteia* with the Pharsalians and played their part in military actions with all their zeal, the city

> of Pharsalos has granted *politeia* on the same basis as the Pharsalians who were citizens from the beginning; also providing arable land in the Makouniai that makes up the Louerchos basis: 60 plethra to each adult, which he owns in perpetuity as patrimony
>
> *IG* IX, 2 234, ll. 1-4

Following the list of eponymous magistrates, the list of recipients is presented. In all but 23 cases only personal names and patronyms are included, all in Thessalian dialect with the patronyms taking the adjectival form, therefore not allowing identification of the origins of the newly integrated citizens (Decourt 1990, 172). Decourt suggests that the names without patronyms represent non-free individuals, perhaps representing slaves or freedmen who had participated in the defence of the city and were accordingly granted citizenship (1990, 175-6). Debate exists as to whether these individuals were already living in Pharsalos, or belonged to surrounding communities, and whether although technically foreigners, they came from communities who already had an agreement of *sympoliteia* with the city of Pharsalos (see Decourt 1990, 175 for a discussion of the different opinions). Although it is not possible to identify the precise origins of the new enfranchisees of Pharsalos, some scholars have interpreted them as former *penestai* while others suggest they may have been at least semi-nomadic or transhumant communities (Decourt 1990, 179-80; Halstead 1987, 77-87; Sivignon 1975, 311-52).

It is the distribution of land to each individual that is of particular interest. Each new citizen was accorded 60 *plethra* of land equivalent to 60000m^2, or six hectares, per individual, making a grand total of nearly 1,000 hectares or 2,500 acres (Decourt 1990b, 178), estimates this figure to be slightly smaller). This is a substantial quantity of land, approximately 10km^2. For this reason, Decourt (1990b, 182-3) suggests that it lay at some distance from the city of Pharsalos and represented less consistently exploited, fertile lands. By dividing it among new citizens, it may have been hoped the land would become more productive thus effectively extending Pharsalian territory (Decourt 1990, 182-3). Regardless of whether the allotments in question were already within the territory of Pharsalos, the distribution of 10 km^2 of land demonstrates the necessity for *poleis* to actively acquire new citizens in order to work the land within their territory. In this case the need must have been particularly pressing for the city to have distributed such a large quantity of territory.

A series of letters between Philip V of Macedonia and an embassy from Larissa in the late 3rd century BCE (*IG* IX 2 517) describe a population crisis in Larissa

because of the recent wars, and report Philip V's decision to award Larissaian citizenship to some 200 new citizens from the nearby cities of Krannon and Gyrton (Graninger 2010, 321; Habicht 2006, 67-71). This event would have obviously affected the local identities of individuals and groups who were now to become Larissan. This does not preclude the continuation of previous *polis* identities, but would instead add an additional level of identity. This occurred at the same time as an agricultural production crisis in Larissa, which was a serious problem and was possibly remedied by an influx of population (Habicht 2006, 70). This agricultural disorder could also have been partly due to the fact that by the 3rd century BCE, the system of the use of *penestai* as agricultural and pastoral labourers had fallen into disuse, leaving the agricultural system lacking the traditionally utilized labour force (Ducat 1994, 73, 105-7). Bruno Helly suggests that it was an extension of Larissan territory towards the northeast and southeast that occurred in the 3rd century BCE, to include the territory of Gyrton and Krannon, that spurred the enfranchisement of new citizens, and it is for this reason that 142 citizens of Krannon and at least 59 citizens of Gyrton were enrolled as Larissan citizens (Helly 1984, 230). There are reasons to view the enfranchisement of the Krannonians and Gyrtonians as both political, in order to bolster the waning citizen body, and economic, in order to provide manpower for the production of grain in Pelasgiotis, particularly in light of the grain crisis documented in the 3rd century BCE (Gauthier 1985, 199-200; Graninger 2010, 321; Habicht, 2006, 67-71; Helly 1984, 230-1; Helly 2014, 135-249 discusses a similar case where public lands attributed to cavalry were sold in the second half of the 3rd century BCE).

The mass citizenship registration at Phalanna in the 3rd century BCE represents the smallest grant of mass citizenship of the three under study here, with slightly more than 50 new citizens added from the regions of Perrhaibia, Dolopia, Ainis, Achaia Phthiotis, Magnesia and those born from Phalannian women (*IG* IX 2 1228; Decourt 1990, 175; Gauthier 1985, 201). No royal intervention is mentioned, and Philippe Gauthier (1985, 201) interprets the inscription as recording action taken by the city of Phalanna to increase the civic body; rather than opening up citizenship to resident or passing foreigners, the city restricted new citizens to those from nearby communities or those born to women of citizen families in order to facilitate their integration within the city (Gauthier 1985, 201).

All three mass grants of citizenships provide important information about the strategies employed by *poleis* to ameliorate their financial and political situations, whether of their own volition or as a result of the encouragement of a king. In cases where the citizen body was deemed insufficient for the efficient functioning of the city and its territory, it seems from the data for Thessaly that a *polis* could grant mass citizenship to individuals, either from surrounding communities, or more generally from resident and passing foreigners. Furthermore, the distribution of land, explicitly discussed in the case of the Pharsalian decree, illuminates the importance of manpower for making the most productive use of the fertile lands making up the Thessalian plains. In these cases it was the *poleis*, or the Macedonian king, who identified the need and remedied the situation with mass grants of citizenship. As was discussed at the start of Chapter 6.1, the system of euergetism formed an important economic and political strategy of the poleis, particularly in times of demographic and/or economic difficulties. Individual citizens participated within this system, providing donations or assistance to poleis in order to obtain the various privileges discussed in Chapter 6. In the remainder of this chapter the means by which individuals obtained proxeny and *politeia* grants from foreign cities is discussed, concentrating on the changes that took place in the Roman period.

7.2. Means of Obtaining Proxeny and *Politeia*

This section focuses on the means by which individuals could receive honours in Thessaly, particularly proxeny or citizenship from foreign *poleis* with the focus placed on how these activities were used as a social strategy to gain honours in order to increase one's social position and influence. This discussion will be restricted to the following methods: services rendered to *poleis*, serving in magistracies and priesthoods, serving on foreign courts, participating in athletic competitions and performances and honouring Roman emperors. It is not always possible to determine the motive for which a *polis* granted *politeia* or proxeny. In some cases, the reason for the grant was stated in a general formulaic phrase describing the honorand as a good and decent man (ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς), or their behaviour as befitting good men (examples: *IG* IX,2 1; *IG* IX 2, 66a; *Gonnoi* 47). An example can be seen in a Larissan grant of *politeia* from the 2nd century BCE

ἔδο/ξε τοῦ δάμου τοῦ Λαρι[σ]σαίουν ἐπαι/νείσειν Ἀσκαλαπιάδαν Θεοφίλοι Περ/γαμεινόν, Φιλ[ό]την Ἱππολόχοι Κυζι/κεινὸν ἐτ τοῦ τάν τε ἐνδαμίαν πεπο̣/είσθειν αὐτὸς οὑς ποτείνεκε ἄν/δρεσσι καλο̣ῖς κἀγαθοῖς καὶ ἐτ τοῦ / εὐνόους διε̣κ̣είσθειν πὸτ τὸς πο/λίτας.

It seems good to the people of Larisa to grant praise to Askalapiadas son of Theophilos of Pergamum and Philotes son of Hippolochus of Cyzicus for having completed their stay as befitting good men and demonstrating their dedication continuously to our polity. (*SEG* 31:575, ll. 23-32)

Often only the εὔνους ὢν διὰ παντὸς διατε/λεῖ πρὸς τὴν πόλιν clause was included (*SEG* 33: 457). Another formula often used was ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν (because of their goodness/excellence) seen in several inscriptions (Bouchon 2004, 50 no. 1; *IG* II.2 484, 558; *Gonnoi* 20; *IG* IX 2, 0519-III; *IG* IX 2, 1292; *IG* IX 2, 1293a; *IG* IX 2, 1294a). Sometimes an honorand is described as being given proxeny and/or *politeia* because they are benefactors, ὄντι εὐεργέτᾳ (*IG* IX 2, 215) or διετέλει εὐεργετὲς (*IG* IX 2, 461a; 461b). Although sometimes the action or event that resulted in the grant of proxeny or *politeia* is explicitly described, all too often the use of formulaic phrases such as those presented above obscured the reason for the grant. Therefore the remainder of this chapter will be qualitative instead of quantitative since it is not possible to quantify the majority of the proxeny and citizenship decrees in terms of what motivated them.

7.2.1. Services to *Poleis*

In many cases, honours were granted to individuals either for donating money or goods to a *polis* in need. This could be a donation of money, materials or labour for defensive or offensive purposes during periods of war and conflict. In three cases, grain was donated to *poleis*, (*IG* IX 2, 1104; *SEG* 53: 516; *Gonnoi* 41), but only in one case was this donation reciprocated with *politeia* and proxeny; a citizen of Phalanna in the 2nd century BCE who donated grain to Gonnoi was rewarded with *politeia* (*Gonnoi* 41). Citizens of Larissa were honoured for their donations towards the reconstruction of the gymnasium in the 2nd century BCE (*SEG* 33:460)

In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, providing military assistance to a *polis* often resulted in grants of honours. Since it was predominantly citizens donating to their own *poleis* in these contexts, it was generally other honours that were awarded. Even in

cases where a foreigner provided assistance and received honours in return, it was, again, usually other honours that were granted, such as for an Aitolian general who assisted in the defence of the city of Erythrai (Bouchon 2004, 50, no. 1). Other services, such as in the 2nd century BCE case of a Roman from Sicily who freed a Larissan citizen who was taken as a war captive, could result in *politeia* being granted by the benefiting *polis* (*SEG* 57: 506; 56: 636; Helly, Tziafalias and Garcia-Ramon 2006, 436-9, 456-466). A similar situation is documented at the end of the 4th century BCE where a Larissan was given Athenian citizenship in exchange for doing everything appropriate to rescue captive cavalrymen just as he would for his own countrymen, since he had been honoured by the *demos* (Chaniotis 2012, 102). In the 2nd century BCE citizens of Larissa are honoured for their donations towards the reconstruction of the city walls (*SEG* 42:510).

In addition to services rendered to a *polis* in times of war, doctors and philosophers were commonly honoured, particularly in the 2nd century BCE. A 2nd century BCE doctor from Metropolis received proxeny and *politeia* in Hypata, most likely for services rendered to influential citizens of the Ainian city (*IG* IX 2, 0011). In a similar vein, philosophers and educators sometimes received proxeny or *politeia*, such as the two philosophers from Alexandria Troas in the 2nd century BCE who received *politeia* from Larissa for their work in educating the people (*SEG* 56: 638), the 2nd century BCE philosopher Alexandros son of Alexandros of Athens, who received proxeny, *isopoliteia* and *enktesis* from Larissa (*SEG* 57: 510), and the 2nd century BCE philosopher Satyros son of Philinos of Athens (*SEG* 57: 506; 56: 636; Tziafalias, Garcia-Ramon and Helly 2006, 435-456). A case of an honorary statue dedicated in Delphi for the Thessalian philosopher Ti. Flavius Alexandros from Hypata in the 2nd century CE represents a sign of the continuation of this practice, at least to some extent into the Roman period, by individuals having been granted Roman citizenship (Pouilloux 1986, 280-5). [4]

7.2.2. Magistracies and Priesthoods

[4] It should be noted that there is not an agreement as to whether this individual does indeed represent the Hypatian philosopher. See Puech 1992, 4834-4835.

Through the analysis of the Thessalian proxeny and citizenship grants, it is clear that fulfilling certain magistracies or priesthoods could result in the granting of honours. Gymnasiarchs were often honoured but since they were usually citizens of the city in which they served as gymnasiarch it is usually other honours they were awarded and not proxeny or *politeia*, as can be seen in the several examples from Thessaly (*IG* IX, 2 1238; *IG* IX 2, 0620; *IG* IX 2, 0621; *R.Phil.* 35, 1911, no. 48; *AD* 29, 1973-74 [1979], 562, pl.375γ; *GHW*06820). Three *strategoi* and *nomophylakes* of Demetrias were honoured by the *polis* of Demetrias (*IG* IX 2, 1108a), while a strategos of the Magnesian *koinon*, Kriton son of Kriton, was honoured by the *koinon* (*IG* IX 2, 1113). A Roman, Gaius Antonius Oubanianus, received honours from a city in the area of the Dotion plain, perhaps Sykourion for his role as eirenarch, a magistracy mentioned only once in the dataset under study (*IG* IX 2, 1077). Roman magistrates were honoured by *poleis* as well. Lucius Cocceius Iustus, consul of Rome, was honoured by Larissa (*IG* IX 2, 1239), as well as a praetor, Gaius Octavius son of Gnaius, was honoured by Echinos (*SEG* 25: 642).

Priests too were often honoured, although as with the magistrates, these individuals were often already citizens of the honouring city, and therefore other honours were awarded, for example in the case of the priest Kriton son of Kriton of Demetrias. The individual was honoured by the Magnesian *koinon* in the 2nd century BCE for his role as *strategos* of the league mentioned above (*IG* IX 2, 1113), as well as by the Magnesian *koinon* (*IG* IX 2, 1107b) and the *polis* of Demetrias (*IG* IX 2, 1133) for his role as priest of Sarapis. A priest of Zeus Akraios, Lysias son of Epitelos, was honoured by the city of Demetrias in last half of the 2nd century BCE (*IG* IX 2, 1108b). Two priestesses received honours: Eubiota daughter of Eubiotos, wife of Hippolochos son of Kephalos, was honoured by the *polis* of Larissa in the 2nd century BCE (*AD* 11, 1927-28 [1930], 55-56, n°1; Helly 2000, 154-155), and a priestess of the daughter of Julia, daughter of Augustus, whose first name cannot be deciphered, but was the daughter of Alexippos and the wife of Philiskos, son of Aristophylos (*IG* IX 2, 0333; Kramolisch 1978, 33 no. 52), representing the few honours granted to women in Thessaly and demonstrating their important role in the realm of cult and religion. A fragmentary Late Roman honorary dedication, not included in the quantitative portion of this study, was granted to an individual who is described as both a high priest and an *agonothetes* (*SEG* 37: 463). Buraselis, using evidence from three cases in Asia Minor in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods, demonstrates that vacant priesthoods were at

times sold, usually for life, suggesting that in times of need a *polis* could advertise the sale of a priesthood in order to attract a wealthy citizen willing to pay for the honour (Buraselis 2008b, 125-131). While there is no documented evidence that this practice occurred at any time in Thessaly, this anecdotal evidence from another Greek province of the empire highlights how priesthoods were valued enough by elite members of Greek *poleis* that they were willing to pay in order to hold such an office.

Serving as an ambassador, whether political or religious, was another means of obtaining honours from *poleis*. A Demetrian ambassador and Roman legate C. Caelius Rufus son of Gaius, was honoured by Demetrias around 52/1 BCE on a reused base also containing honours granted to Julius Caesar (Arvanitopoulos 1929, 201-206, n.424-424α). Additionally, a Kleitos son of Basanos of Gyrton was sent as ambassador to request judges from Teos in the 2nd century BCE and was subsequently honoured by the Thessalian *koinon* (SEG 47: 745; 44: 1689; 40: 476). A religious ambassador was honoured by Gonnoi in the late 3rd century BCE (*Gonnoi* 108), although the inscription is too fragmentary to recover many details.

7.2.3. Foreign Courts and Dispute Arbitration

Serving as judges and secretaries on foreign courts represented one of the most frequent social strategies employed in order to receive honours in Thessaly, as we have seen in Chapter 6. The use of third party arbitration to resolve disputes within or between *poleis* was a frequent occurrence throughout the Greek world. A small number of cases are known in the 4th century BCE in Asia Minor, but the large majority of the inscriptions relating to this phenomenon date to the Hellenistic period, particularly the 2nd and, to a lesser extent, the 3rd and 1st centuries BCE (Ager 1996, 2-4; Crowther 2006, 35; Robert 1973, 780). The practice is thought to have been brought to the Greek mainland from Asia minor through the Hellenistic kings (Robert 1973, 780-2), attested by a series of inscriptions demonstrating their increasing intervention and support of the use of third party arbitration (*IG* XII 6, 95; *SEG* 49: 1106; *SEG* 44: 696; Ager 1996: no. 5; *SEG* 23: 297; *IG* VII. 2792; *SEG* 11: 1122; *IG* XII.9.223; *REG* 1971: 180; *REG* 1969: 441; *IG* IX.2 add. P xi, no. 205 II - all mentioned in either Ager 1996 or Crowther 2006, 34-5 and Elliot 2004, 114-5, no. 34). If the dates attributed are correct (and it should be noted that many of them are not securely dated), the inscriptions demonstrate the practice moving into mainland Greece in the 3rd century BCE, when it became

embedded within the system of inter-state relations (Robert 1973, 778, 780-2; Ager 1996, 3). The documented cases dramatically increase in frequency in the 2nd century BCE, resulting in near-constant movement of judges from one city to another throughout the Greek mainland in this century (Robert 1973, 778, 780-2; Ager 1996, 3) From the 2nd century BCE we see Rome becoming directly involved in arbitration between cities, parallel to the continued use of foreign courts from other *poleis*. We see Rome increasingly involved in dispute resolution between Sparta and the Achaian league, Mylasa and Stratonicea, and many others (Camia 2009, 14, 16, 19). Specifically in the regions of Thessaly Rome became involved in dispute resolutions between Corcyra and the Athamanians, Narthaki and Melitaia, Pteleon and Larissa Kremaste (Camia 2009, 44, 51-64, 150). The attestations of dispute arbitration, whether by foreign judges or the Roman authorities decreases from the 1st century BCE, after which point there are few honours for foreign judges documented. From the 1st century CE onwards we see Rome being the primary arbitrator, examples from Thessaly being a dispute between Metropolis and Kierion in the 1st century CE (*IG* IX 2, 0261), between Pythion and a Macedonian city (*GHW*05797), Hypata and Lamia under Hadrian (*CIL* 3.586b; Elliot 2004, no. 38).

Various types of disputes were resolved through the use of foreign courts (κριτήρια or δικαστήρια) of various sizes and compositions (Ager 1996, 4, 11-12). These courts were usually formed of one, three or five judges accompanied by a secretary (Robert 1973, 772). The types of conflicts mediated through the use of foreign arbitration can be divided into two broad categories, public and private. Private disputes usually involved accusations related to offences (ἐγκλήματα) or commercial and loan disputes resulting from contracts and obligations (συναλλάγματα and συμβόλαια) taking place between individuals (Robert 1973, 773). Public disputes can again be divided into two discrete categories: those between states and those within a single state. The most common type of disputes between states were related to territorial or boundary issues, where two *poleis* laid claim on the same piece of land for reasons such its fertile productive capacity or strategic military value, the use of resources, access to transportation or communication routes, or the control of a shrine or sanctuary and the prestige and profits related to it (Ager 1996, 6-8). Additional inter-state disputes that were arbitrated by foreign courts include injuries to national pride, problems relating to conditions of treaties, and issues of religious administration or jurisdiction (Ager 1996, 4-7; Crowther 2006, 36). Sheila Ager broadly defines two general types of inter-state

arbitration in use by the Classical and Hellenistic *poleis*: obligatory and compromisary (Ager 1996, 7-9), where the first entailed pre-existence of a treaty between two city-states stipulating the use of international arbitration for resolution of any conflicts resulting in the future, while the second represents an ad hoc use where one or both *poleis* determined the need for third party mediation (Ager 1996, 7-9), often in the cases of poorly functioning local judiciary systems (Bouchon 2005, 67; personal communication 2015-09-03).

Disputes arising within a given city-state were primarily related to debt and loan conflicts, which would usually not have required the use of a foreign court as they could be arbitrated internally (Ager 1996: 4; Robert 1973, 773-5). The use of third party arbitration generally arose due to suspension of local courts or delayed trials, often as a result of social crises commonly attested in the Hellenistic period in both the literary and epigraphic record throughout the Greek world (Ager 1996, 4; Robert 1973, 773-5). Thessaly is no exception. Two cases of the use of foreign courts (Crowther 2006, 45 nos. A2 and A10) and two cases of sending a court (Crowther 2006, 45 nos. B3 and B23) in Thessalian cities are known from the 3rd century BCE. In the 2nd century BCE, on the other hand, however, 45 cases of a Thessalian city using a court (Crowther 2006, 45-6 nos. A1, A3-9, A11-18, A20-45) and 29 instances of a Thessalian city sending a panel of judges are documented (Crowther 2006, 45-6 nos. B1-2, B4-10, B13-22, B24-34) demonstrating that the practice had become widespread and regular, embedded within the political and judicial practices of the federal leagues and *poleis* (Crowther 2006, 38; Robert 1973, 776, 778). Richard Bouchon suggests that the continued use of foreign judges under the Roman empire in the 1st century CE and afterwards, were symptomatic of the poor functioning of the local structures (Bouchon 2005, 67), but it seems possible that another reason for their continued use can be found in the honorary grants made to foreign judges. From the 2nd century BCE onwards, Roman authorities became more frequently involved in dispute resolutions between cities, however, it seems that overall the numbers of disputes dropped drastically from the start of the Roman empire.

In total, 44 honorary decrees were identified for foreign judges in Thessaly. Not all of these received proxeny or *politeia*; only 17 of 44 documented honours for judges granted citizenship or proxeny (*SEG* 02: 274; *IG* XII Suppl., 360; *IG* V 2, 367; Arvanitopoulos 1929, 119-124, no. 422; *Gonnoi* 69; *Gonnoi* 70; *Gonnoi* 72; *Gonnoi* 73;

Gonnoi 74/75; *Gonnoi* 76; *Gonnoi* 80; *Gonnoi* 87; *Gonnoi* 91; *SEG* 49: 620, *SEG* 47: 743, *SEG* 26: 677; *SEG* 57: 515; *SEG* 48:660; *SEG* 57: 510; *IG* IX 2, 0068). Since less than half of the attested honours for foreign judges represent grants of proxeny or citizenship, it is possible to say with confidence that although serving as a foreign judge was definitely a means of obtaining honours from foreign *poleis*, it was not a guarantee of receiving proxeny or *politeia*. As one of the primary means of making oneself known and providing a service in a foreign *polis*, serving as a foreign judge was a strategy utilized by a significant number of the Thessalian elite citizens. As mentioned above, the usual size was one to five judges in addition to a secretary, meaning that for 44 honours anywhere from 88 to 260 individuals received honours, and anywhere from 40 to 100 individuals received proxeny or citizenship in exchange for serving as foreign judges or secretaries, although in several occasions the same individual served on multiple courts. While this number is likely quite high, this exercise serves to demonstrate the impact this system could have had on the demography and economy of a *polis*. Wealthy citizens in a position to serve as a judge would likely have known that this activity could result in the recompense of honours from the city in need of arbitration. It is possible that individuals consciously opted to serve on such a court as part of the negotiation of their status and influence, in addition to having the potential to directly contribute to the accumulation of wealth through the acquisition of productive land in foreign *poleis*, or through the favourable tax conditions granted by the grateful city. Furthermore, during the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE, since it is primarily leading citizens from Greek *poleis* that were travelling across the landscape to serve as foreign judges, it is very likely that due to the ability for networking and contact creation, particularly in terms of economic activity, serving as a foreign judge was an advantageous opportunity for the elite members of the *poleis*. The potential for receiving honours from grateful *poleis* and the opportunities for networking made serving on dikastic missions an effective social strategy, for which local elite members likely competed for the privilege.

This changes in the Roman period, however, when we begin to see fewer cases of dikastic missions and more incidences of Roman involvement in dispute resolution. Camia (2009 14-19, 51-64) provides an overview of this phenomenon, indicating all documented cases of Roman involvement in dispute resolution between Greek *poleis*. Examples specifically from Thessaly are also found. Roman authorities were involved

in arbitrating disputes between Narthakion and Melitaia (*CIL* 3.586b), Kierion and Metropolis (*IG* IX 2 261) and Hypata and Lamia (*IG* IX 2, p.19).

7.2.4. The Delphic Amphictyony

The Delphic Amphictyony was a religious association of regions surrounding Delphi whose role involved the care of the cult and temple of Apollo, the organization and funding of festivals, feasts and sacrifices (Ehrenberg 2013, 108-9). Although its primary role involved religious affairs, its economic and political clout is demonstrated in its foreign policy evidenced through the actions of the council, formed by officials from member states, for example in treaties made between the Amphictyony with *poleis* (Ehrenberg 2013, 109-110). The importance of the Delphic Amphictyony as a venue for the exercise of social strategies cannot be overlooked. In the Classical and Hellenistic periods, Daux states that generally a total of 24 votes formed the Amphictyony of Delphi, 2 for each of the 12 regions: Thessaly, Phocis, Delphi, the Dorians (Peloponnese and Metropolis), Ionia (Athens and Euboia), Perrhaibia and Dolopia, Boiotia, Lokris, Achaia Phthiotis, Magnesia, Ainis, and Malis (Daux 1975, 350). This composition remained more or less stable until Augustus and, although it could vary from decade to decade depending on a number of factors, the structure more or less distributed equally the votes across the member regions (Daux 1975, 350-5; Helly 1980, 43).

That Augustus made several changes to the composition of the Amphictyony is beyond doubt, although it is not particularly clear exactly what changes were made. There is debate surrounding whether Augustus gave the votes previously belonging to the perioikic regions of Magnesia, Malis, Ainis, Achaia Phthiotis and Dolopia to Thessaly or Nikopolis (Bowersock 1965, 97-8; Daux 1975, 353, 357-9; Helly 1980, 43). Daux sees the composition of the Amphictyony as weighted heavily in favour of Nikopolis under Augustus, with ten votes compared to the other regions, which each had only two, citing a passage of Pausanias as evidence (Paus. X 8, 2-5). According to Daux, Bowersock, in his *Augustus and the Greek World,* misinterpreted this passage and when he discusses Augustus' reform he misattributes changes that were made by a successor of Augustus (perhaps Tiberius or Nero) which were in place by the time Pausanias was writing (Bowersock 1965, 97-8; see discussion in Daux 1975, 358-9). Daux states, and I agree based on the presentation of the relevant text of Pausanias, that

it was not until after the death of Augustus that Macedonia, Thessaly and Nikopolis each had six votes, compared to the Delphians, Dorians, Ionians, Boiotians and Lorain's who all still had two votes each (Daux 1975, 353-4). Sometime between Augustus and Pausanias, therefore, the total vote was augmented by six, Macedonia was added and Nikopolis lost four while Thessaly gained four (Daux 1975, 353-4), likely the result of reforms by Hadrian when he visited Delphi in 125 CE (Camia 2011, 72, note 254).

Since the relationship between Thessaly and Delphi has been investigated in great detail by Richard Bouchon (2005), I provide only a brief overview of the role of the Amphictyony as en elite strategy in Thessaly.

With 61 honours, 56 of which were proxeny decrees, offered by the Delphians to Thessalians, it is clear that this was one of the principal social strategies employed by Thessalians in their negotiation of their social standing. Despite the fact that Delphi did not grant *politeia*, other important honours were granted, some of which would have had positive financial consequences, such as grants of *ateleia* and *enktesis*. In the majority of the Delphian proxeny decrees a specific reason for the grant is not given; rather the decree takes an abbreviated form, as in the following example:

Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Πολεμα[ι]-
νέτωι Εὐπολέμου Ἀχαι-
ῶι ἐγ Λαρίσας, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκ-
γόνοις προξενίαν, προμαν-
τείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικί-
αν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν
[π]άντων καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα
[κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις·
[ἄ]ρχοντος Ἀρχιδάμου, βου-
[λευ]όντων Ἀρισταγόρα,
[Δάμω]νος, Δεξίπ[που], Ἀ[θα]-
[μβου?].

The Delphians gave to Polemainetos son of Eupolemos, Achaian from Larissa, to himself and his descendants, *proxeny, promanteia, proedria, prodikia, asylia, ateleia* and all the other [privileges] as [they gave] to other *proxenoi*. Under the archonship of Archidamos, during the term of the councillors Aristagoras, Damon, Dexippos, A[thambos]

(*FD* III 4, 412)

The generic nature of many of the Delphian honorary decrees makes it difficult to determine exactly what services or activities resulted in a grant of proxeny or citizenship. A few inscriptions mentioning the reason for honouring an individual allow

us to extrapolate on the potential motives for the grants. A citizen from Hypata, whose name does not survive, received honours from Delphi in exchange for his service as *agonothetes* of the Pythia (*BCH* 23, 555, no. 41a), while Sosandros son of Pleistarchos, also of Hypata, was granted honours for his role as both *agonothetes* and *epimeletes* of the Pythian games (*FD* III 4, 63).

The success that a family could find by employing service to the Amphictyony as a social strategy can be demonstrated with a Hypatian family, Eubiotos-Kyllos. A member of this family, Kyllos son of Eubiotos was *epimeletes* of the Amphictyony in 95 CE when the league dedicated a statue to the proconsul of Achaia T. Avidius Quietus (*Syll*3: 822; see also Poullioux 1986a), and according to the reconstruction of the epigraphy by Bouchon (2005, 312-6), received Roman citizenship under Domitian between 92 and 96 CE after having served as strategos of the Thessalian league three times (see also Poullioux 1986a, 1986b, Larsen 1953; Sekunda 1997 for more detail about this family). As Bouchon (2005, 316) rightly points out, his involvement in the Delphic Amphictyony allowed Kyllos to make a name for himself among the elite, both within and outside Thessaly. In addition to his connections to Delphi and the proconsul of Achaia, Kyllos was also known as a an acquaintance of Plutarch, as well as his son, T. Flavius Eubiotos (Bouchon 2005, 316). Evidence that this family may have made connections through marriage to citizens of Phthiotic Thebes is found in the attestation of a Kyllos as a manumittor in that city the middle of the 1st century BCE (*IG* IX 2, 109; Sekunda 1997, 208-9). Furthermore this individual was also possibly treasurer of the Thessalian league around the same time and potentially strategos of the league in the first years of Augustus' reign (Bouchon 2005, 314; Sekunda 1997, 208-9). The strategies employed by the earlier generations of this family were undoubtedly very successful, since several generations later, we still find members being honoured by the Thessalian league as late as the 3rd century CE when nearly all honorary activity had ceased (*SEG* 37: 492, 54: 558).

All but two of the Delphian honours for individuals from Thessaly date to the period before Augustus, most to the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. The largest number date to the period before the reforms by the Roman emperors. This is the case for honorary inscriptions in general, a pattern identified and discussed in the previous chapter. It is therefore difficult to determine what consequences Augustus' reforms had for Thessaly, since the vast majority of the evidence dates to a preceding period. The

dramatic drop in Delphian honours after the 2nd century BCE is perhaps suggestive of a change in the role of this centre under the Romans. While it is known that the Roman authorities were actively engaged in the affairs of Delphi and the Amphictyony, the lack of honours in the Roman period suggests a change in the social, economic and political dynamics between Delphi and Thessaly. Individuals from Thessaly continue to serve as *agonothetai* and *epimeletai* well into the Roman period, as mentioned above; it is the documentation of honours granted in exchange for these activities that changes. It is not possible to say whether honours were no longer granted for these activities or whether they were simply no longer inscribed on stelai and displayed in public in the same way. We can say that it is possible that the role of the Amphictyony as a social strategy changed under the Romans.

So far, we have seen that there were several methods for obtaining honours from *poleis* or *koina*: providing goods or services, serving as a magistrate or priest(ess), serving as a foreign judge or secretary, performing well in athletic competitions, financing games, and fulfilling obligations with the Delphic Amphictyony. Some of these strategies took place primarily within one's own *polis* and therefore proxeny or citizenship grants were obviously not given in return. Serving as a foreign judge and fulfilling obligations to the Delphic Amphictyony, or Delphi in general, by serving as *agonothetes* or *epimeletes* of the Pythian games resulted in the largest numbers of citizenship and proxeny grants (56 for activities in Delphi and 17 for serving as a foreign judge). These strategies were used within the context of the reciprocal system of benefaction within cities and leagues, where individuals were rewarded for their euergetism with honours and special privileges. Two other broad categories of social strategies employed during the Hellenistic and Roman periods of Thessaly remain to be examined: the honouring of emperors and involvement in the imperial cult.

7.2.5. Honouring Roman Emperors and the Imperial Cult

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, the system of individual benefactions to *poleis* in exchange for honours from first involved Macedonian kings before evolving to include wealthy citizens and foreigners, and eventually Roman emperors. As we saw above, in the analysis of the honorary grants to citizens and foreign recipients alike, a dramatic decrease is documented beginning in the 1st century BCE, particularly in proxeny and citizenship grants. The honouring of Romans in

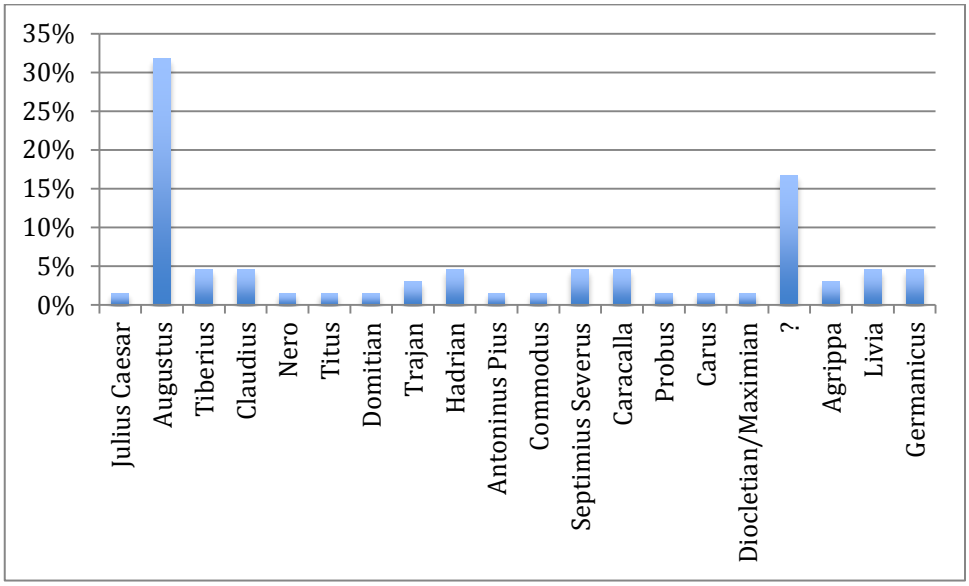
general began in the 2nd century BCE, and increased in the 1st century BCE. At the same time, beginning in the late 1st century BCE, the honouring of Roman emperors, the imperial cult and imperial games were established (the Sebasteia in Hypata and likely Demetrias, the Kaisareia in Larissa; Camia 2011, 130).

Table 7.1 – Honours for Emperors

Emperor	**Attestations**	**% of Total Honours to Emperors**
Julius Caesar	1	2%
Augustus	29	44%
Julio-Claudian	7	11%
Flavian	2	3%
Antonine	7	11%
Severan	6	9%
Probus	1	2%
Carus	1	2%
Diocletian/Maximian	1	2%
Unknown	11	17%
Total	**66**	**100%**

Between the 1st century BCE and the 1st century CE a total of 41 honorary inscriptions, statues and altars, were dedicated to Roman emperors, their family and inner circle, making over 62% of the total. In the following table and graph I have organized the data according to the emperor honoured, and it is immediately clear that Augustus represents the most frequently honoured emperor, with 32% of the total. I was unable to determine the recipient of 11 inscriptions due to their fragmentary nature, but I was able to confirm that they represented honours made to Roman emperors. Generally speaking the Julio-Claudian dynasty received nearly half (47%) of the total honours. If we include the three honorary statues dedicated to Augustus' family and inner circle, namely Livia, Germanicus and Agrippa, this total jumps to 44%]. The majority of emperors have a single attestation except for Trajan, Hadrian, Septimius Severus and Caracalla. This is perhaps not surprising, since generally speaking, after the Julio-Claudians, the Flavians and Severans were among the most frequently honoured emperors in the provinces, most likely due to their travels in the provinces and their increased visibility.

Graph 7.1 - Honorary Dedications to Emperors by Period



If we look at the geographical distribution of the honours for emperors, as in many of the analyses in the previous chapter, Larissa and Demetrias dominate, with the highest proportions of the total, 44% and 12% respectively. Larissa's honours span from Augustus to Hadrian, while Demetrias honours emperors from Julius Caesar to Caracalla. Atrax, Echinos, Lamia, Pherai, Phthiotic Thebes, Pythion and Trikka honour Julio-Claudians only, all but one being Augustus, and no activity is documented after the 1st century CE. In contrast, Aiginion, Chyretiai, Larissa Kremaste, and Melitaia do not document any activity until Septimius Severus. In the middle ground is Hypata, and the Thessalian and Magnesian *koinon*, whose activities are focused in the 1st and 2nd centuries CE.

Table 7.2 - Honours to Emperors by Granting City

City/*koinon*	**Emperor**	**Attestations**	**% of Total**
Aiginion	Septimus Severus	1	
	Probus	1	
Total		**2**	**3%**
Atrax	Augustus	2	
	Unknown	3	
Total		**5**	**8%**
Chyretiai	Septimus Severus	1	
Total		**1**	**2%**
Demetrias	Julius Caesar	1	
	Tiberius	1	
	Antoninus Pius	1	

City/*koinon*	Emperor	Attestations	% of Total
	Commodus	1	
	Septimus Severus	1	
	Caracalla	1	
	Unknown	2	
Total		**8**	**12%**
Echinos	Augustus	1	
Total		**1**	**2%**
Hypata	Augustus	1	
	Germanicus	1	
	Hadrian	1	
	Unknown	1	
Total		**4**	**6%**
Itonion	Unknown	1	
Total		**1**	**2%**
Lamia	Claudius	1	
Total		**1**	**2%**
Larissa	Augustus	11	
	Tiberius	2	
	Claudius	1	
	Nero	1	
	Trajan	2	
	Hadrian	2	
	Agrippa	2	
	Livia	3	
	Germanicus	2	
	Unknown	3	
Total		**29**	**44%**
Melitaia	Caracalla	1	
Total		**1**	**2%**
Pherai	Augustus	2	
Total		**2**	**3%**
Phthiotic Thebes	Augustus	1	
Total		**1**	**2%**
Pythion	Augustus	1	
Total		**1**	**2%**
Trikka	Augustus	2	
Total		**2**	**3%**
Larissa Kremaste	Diocletian and Maximian	1	
Total		**1**	**2%**
Thessalian *Koina*	Claudius	1	
	Domitian	1	

City/*koinon*	Emperor	Attestations	% of Total
	Unknown	1	
Total		**3**	**5%**
Magnesian *Koinon*	Titus	1	
	Caracalla	1	
	Carus	1	
Total		**3**	**5%**
Total		**66**	**100%**

During the course of my analysis of the honours to emperors, I noticed that six different epithets or titles were applied to emperors, and I therefore analysed the distribution of the titles *soter* (saviour), *euergetes* (benefactor), *theos* (divine/god), *huios theou* (son of a god), *sebastos* (Augustus) and *ktistes* (founder). As can be seen in the table below, *sebastos* was the most common epithet, while *theos* took second place and *soter* third. *Euergetes* and *huios theou* were the least commonly applied with the exception of *ktistes*, which was used only once.

Table 7.3 - Epithets for Emperors in Thessalian Honorary Inscriptions

Title	Attestations	% of Total Honours to Emperors
Soter	**14**	21%
Euergetes	**4**	6%
Theos	**24**	36%
Huios Theou	**5**	8%
Sebastos	**28**	42%
Ktistes	**1**	2%

When we look at the emperor to whom the epithets are applied we see patterns developing. Augustus is the only emperor to receive all of the epithets, although at no time do all six titles appear in a single inscription. Interestingly, it is not until Caracalla that we see an emperor given anywhere near as wide a variety of epithets as Augustus. Caracalla was given the titles of *soter*, *euergetes*, *theos* and *sebastos*. Only three emperors are explicitly referred to as *euergetes*: Augustus, Titus and Caracalla.

Augustus is the only emperor referred to as *ktistes*, founder, perhaps referring to his role in the *koinon*, the votes in the Amphictyony, or more generally as the founder of the Roman empire. *Soter*, saviour, was applied to Augustus in eight different cases, possibly reflecting his support for the Thessalian *koinon* and their role in the

Amphictyony. *Theos* is applied 16 times to Augustus, and in another 4 cases he is called *huios theou*, referring of course to his deification of his adoptive father Julius Caesar. Claudius, Titus, Caracalla and Carus are also given the title of god, suggesting that while it was a relatively common epithet to give a Roman emperor, it was not essential. Interestingly, in two inscriptions Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa, the close friend, advisor and general of Augustus, is honoured with the same titles otherwise reserved for gods and emperors, *soter* and *theos*. He is called a saviour god also in an inscription at Mytilene, where he is also referred to as *euergetes* and *ktistes* (*IG* XII.2.203). No specific reason is given for these honours, but it is likely that they relate to the fact that by 18 BCE Agrippa was given the governorship over the eastern half of the empire (Habicht 2005, 242-3). This is given weight by the fact that in Cyprus a month was named after him, Agrippeios, and the Agrippeia festival was celebrated on Kos (Habicht 2005, 242 note 3). Family members of Augustus, principally his wife and his adopted son Germanicus, were honoured as well, as can be seen from the table above, by Larissa, where their statues were erected in the theatre.

Table 7.4 – Epithets for Emperors

Title	Emperor	Attestations	% of Total Honours to Emperors
Ktistes	Augustus	**1**	2%
Soter	Augustus	**8**	12%
	Agrippa	**2**	3%
	?	**1**	2%
	Nero	**1**	2%
	Septimius	**1**	2%
	Caracalla	**1**	2%
Euergetes	Augustus	**2**	3%
	Titus	**1**	2%
	Caracalla	**1**	2%
Theos	Julius Caesar	**1**	2%
	Agrippa	**2**	3%
	Augustus	**16**	24%
	Claudius	**2**	3%
	Titus	**1**	2%
	Caracalla	**1**	2%
	Carus	**1**	2%
Huios Theou	Augustus	**4**	6%
	Tiberius	**1**	2%

Title	Emperor	Attestations	% of Total Honours to Emperors
Sebastos	Augustus	**17**	26%
	Tiberius	**1**	2%
	Claudius	**2**	3%
	Nero	**1**	2%
	Domitian	**1**	2%
	Hadrian	**1**	2%
	Septimius	**1**	2%
	Caracalla	**3**	5%
	Carus	**1**	2%

As already mentioned, the Thessalian *koinon* and several Thessalian cities were given permission by Augustus to use the epithet *sebastos*. This term is consequently found in inscriptions (IG IX 2 1296; *IG* IX 2, 41; BCH 85, 96-7; BCH 48, 367 no. 3; FD III 1, 546) and in the bronze coinage of the Thessalian league under the first three emperors (Rogers 1932, 28-29, no. 61-69, 75-77). It has even been used occasionally by individuals (FD III 4, 63; AE). It has been established, though a series of inscriptions, that the change from the stater to the denarii, referred to as the *diorthoma,* was done under Augustus, however the exact date is not agreed upon (Bouchon, 2008, 433-436).

Bouchon suggests that the use of *sebasteos* for individuals either meant the individual was part of the *synedrion* (Bouchon 2005, 94-5), or was a complimentary designation to the ethnic, citing the example of a Hypataian referred to as Σεβαστῆος Ὑπαταῖος in an inscription from Delphi. It is unclear, however, whether Augustus had granted this title to only to some Thessalian cities or to all of Thessaly as is suggested by the *koinon*'s use of this title, particularly on the coinage of the time (Bouchon 2008a, 437). Since it is only in a few cases that individuals are explicitly referred to with this title it is difficult to resolve this issue. Rather than interpret its use by the Thessalians as a proxy for the ethnic *Thessaloi*, I prefer to see the title as more of an honorary title, much like the epithets given to Augustus himself, as part of the reciprocal exchange between the first emperor and the northernmost region of the province of Achaia. Augustus had granted Thessaly several privileges and in exchange the Thessalian *koinon*, cities and individuals set up honorary decrees, statues and altars to the emperor. Granting the title of *sebasteos* to the Thessalians can be seen as a continuation of this exchange.

Table 7.5 - Uses of Epithet *Sebasteos*

Location	Individual	Details	Date	Source
Chyretiai	Alexandros son of …. , Sebasteos	Treasurer	1st BCE	AE 332,
	Phylion son of Philetairos Sebastos	Treasurer	1st BCE	AE 312
	Philotos son of Pylados and Neikon son of Polymarchos Sebastos	Manumittors	1st CE	AE 303
Azoros	Aristoteles son of Democharos and Adea daughter of Philotos, his wife and their son Demochares son of Aristoteles, Sebastoi	Manumittors	1st CE	AE 303
Hypata	--marchos Sebasteos	Treasurer	1st CE	IG IX 2 13
	Pleistarchos Sebasteos Hypatos	Xenos of Germanicus	1st CE	Bouchon 2005, 94
	Sebasteon Thessalon (*koinon*)	?	2nd CE	Archaiognosia 2003-4
	Lucos Hermolaos Sebasteos	strategos, priest	2nd CE	Archaiognosia 2003-4
Larissa	Olympicha daughter of Menon Sebastea	priestess	2nd CE	IG IX 2 573
Pythion	Sebasteas	Manumittors	1st CE	Pythion 7
Thebes	- ---rchos son of Po—ios Sebasteos –	Treasurer	1st CE	AE 1929 n. 24
	Agathanor son of Philon Sebasteos and Polyxenos son of Agathanor Sebasteos	Manumittor, Treasurer	2nd CE	PAE -1972, n. 2
Delphi	Sosandros Hypataios Sebasteos	Epimelete of Amphictyony	2nd CE	FD III 4, 63
	Hypataios Sebasteos	Agonotetos of Pythia	2nd CE	BCH 1961, 96
Lamia	Polis Sebasteon Lameion		1st CE	IG IX 2, 80
Meiltaia	Polis Sebasteon Melitaeon		3rd CE	BCH 1924, 327,
Coins				
Thess. Koin	Sebastēwn Thessalwn	Augustus	1st BCE/CE	
		Tiberius	1st CE	
		Claudius	1st CE	

The introduction of the Imperial cult under Augustus represented one of the primary ways in which local Thessalian elite citizens attempted to create favourable links with the Roman authorities (Spawforth 2012). Several of the honours for Augustus were in the form of inscribed altars, most likely associated with the practice of the Imperial cult. In addition to the honours and altars dedicated to the emperors, other data relating to the involvement of the local elite members in this cult provides evidence for imperial priesthoods. Imperial priests or priestesses are documented in Hypata, Echinos, and Larissa (Camia 2011, 154).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the relationship between Thessaly and Augustus was particularly strong; he was *strategos* of the Thessalian *koinon*, enlarged the territory

controlled by Thessaly by including all of the perioikic zones, including Magnesia, and the Spercheios valley regions under Thessalian control, may have changed the vote of the Amphictyony to give Thessaly additional seats and granted them permission to strike bronze coins (Helly 1980, 43-4). It is not difficult to see why a particular strong pattern of honours dedicated to Augustus existed in Thessaly.

It is my contention that the drastic drop in honorary inscriptions in the 1st century BCE was due, at least in part, to the introduction of the Roman Imperial system. Additional evidence is provided by the increase in the attestations of honours for leading Romans in the 1st century BCE, followed by the start of the honours dedicated to emperors in the same century. As honorary grants to wealthy private elite members of society began to wane, Roman emperors partially filled the gap. While there are not enough documented instances to have completely made up for the honours to private citizens, over the following centuries, Roman emperors continued to be honoured, despite the near disappearance of honorary decrees for individuals. By creating associations with individual emperors by dedicating inscriptions, statues and altars, cities were attempting to negotiate with the imperial patronage system in the same way they had done in previous centuries with the local and foreign wealthy elite members of society within the system of euergetism. *Poleis* were trying to maintain relationships of reciprocity. Even private citizens attempted to take part in this negotiation. Four of the 66 honours under study here were dedicated to emperors by individuals: in Hypata, Pleistarchos, son of Pleistarchos Hypataios Sebasteos, biological son of Sosandros, dedicated an inscription to Germanicus, his patron (*IG* IX 2, 0041). Gaius Julius freedman of Augustus, from Larissa, dedicates an inscription to Augustus, Tiberius and Germanicus (*AE* 1910, col.354-361, n°6). A priest of Augustus, also from Hypata and "first rank tagos" (πρω-/[τοστά]του ταγοῦ) [---]os son of Arnophilos dedicated honours to Augustus and the saviour gods in the 1st century BCE, while [---] son of Arnoxena of Atrax dedicated honours to an unidentified Roman emperor. It seems that while it was not overly common to honour emperors, some individuals attempted to engage in the negotiation of their socio-economic and political status in the same way as the cities and *koina*, by honouring emperors in an attempt to create a relationships of reciprocity. This is particularly relevant under the empire, where it was no longer through relationships with senators or influential Roman citizens that resulted in the acquisition of Roman citizenship, as it did for the few Thessalians of whom we are aware who were granted the status of Roman civis, but it was now through the emperor, culminating in the

universal grant of Roman citizenship under the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

Augustus was particularly active in euergistic activities in Greece, particularly in terms of restorations of cult shines and temples (Spawforth 2012, 142, 205). While these activities were undoubtedly part of the reason why Augustus was honoured to such a great extent in Greece in general and Thessaly in particular. The more significant event, however, was the introduction of the Imperial cult under Augustus, which represented one of the primary ways in which local Thessalian elite citizens attempted to create favourable links with the Roman authorities in their attempts to maintain favourable positions within the new political reality. Several of the honours for Augustus were in the form of inscribed altars, most likely associated with the practice of the Imperial cult. In addition to the honours and altars dedicated to the emperors, other data relating to the involvement of the local elite members of society in this cult provides evidence for imperial priesthoods. Imperial priests or priestesses are documented in Hypata, Echinos, and Larissa (Camia 2011, 154). While scholars such as Rizakis (2008) suggest that this represented a deliberate action on the part of the local elite citizens, Spawforth has recently argued that the emergence of the imperial cult was part of a larger strategy within Augustus's cultural revolution which aimed at easing tensions and reducing resistance to the imperial power (Spawforth 2012, 48-9, 271-2). Through the similarities of the imperial cult to the hero and ruler cult practices long part of Greek cultural heritage, the imperial cult did not represent a drastic departure from current cult practices and the use of the epithet *ktistes*, (founder) provides evidence for this association in Thessaly. Furthermore, the use of the epithet euergetes make direct associations to the system of reciprocal benefaction, again closing the gap between the a new imperial practice and an existing Greek cultural practice. By expounding the virtues of Greek cultural tradition of the past, Augustus sought to present a 'Roman' version of Greek culture that would on one hand appeal and reach out to the Greek political and economic elites members of society, while on the other hand minimizing the threat imposed by acknowledging Greek cultural superiority by rooting it in the past (Spawforth 2012, 270-2). The imperial cult functioned not only as a bridge between cultural traditions and created a bond between them, but it also functioned, as suggested by Spawforth and supported by Stewart, as a symbol of group belonging to cities and individuals for those actively engaged in creating and maintaining bonds with the imperial power (Stewart 2013, 100-1).

As discussed in Chapter 2, the relationship between Thessaly and Augustus was particularly strong; he was *strategos* of the Thessalian *koinon*, enlarged the territory controlled by Thessaly by including all of the perioikic zones, and the Spercheios valley regions under Thessalian control excepting Magnesia, may have changed the vote of the Amphictyony to give Thessaly additional seats and granted them permission to strike bronze coins (Helly 1980, 43-4). It is not difficult to see why a particular strong pattern of honours dedicated to Augustus existed in Thessaly.

7.3. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has demonstrated that certain strategies were effective means of entering into the system of reciprocal benefaction of the Thessalian *polis*. In all of the social strategies discussed above, it was not only the wealthy elite members of society, who benefited from engagement with the system of reciprocal benefactions, but also the *poleis*. There were numerous reasons for the *poleis* to support and continue the reciprocal system of benefactions. First, since euergetism functioned within the realm of wealth redistribution that was essential for the operation and prosperity of a *polis*, private benefactions were an essential part of the financing of the operation of the *poleis*, and second, the system encouraged positive demographic growth and encouraged citizens to continue their benefactions to the *poleis* (Chaniotis 2012, 106). The reciprocation of benefactions by a *polis* through honours and benefits to donors served not only to foster upward social mobility by non-elite wealthy citizens and mobility of wealthy foreigners towards the *polis* in question, but also to encourage local citizens to remain and not look for possibilities for advancement elsewhere (Oliver 2011, 355-6). Furthermore, these honours, displayed publicly, functioned as a means of encouraging other citizens and foreigners to emulate the actions of the honorands (Chaniotis 2012, 106). The hortatory function of these honours can be seen in the formula that appears in many such honorary inscriptions, seen in the example of an honorary inscription from Athens for a Larissan citizen: “Let us crown him with a golden crown according to the law to ensure that he becomes subject to emulation by all… knowing that the demos honours the just valour of those who demonstrate dedication in these affairs.” (*IG* II.2 484, 558 ll 15-23 - στεφανῶ/[σαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶ]ι

στεφάνωι κατὰ τ/[ὸν νόμον. ὅπως δ’] ἂν ἐφάμιλλοϊ ἦι πᾶ/[σι … τ/[ιμωμένων] ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου κατ’ ἀξίαν / [τῶν ἀπο]δεικνυμένων τὴν εἰς τὰ πρ/[άγματ]α εὔνοιαν).

Zuiderhoek has put forth a convincing case for the theory of demographic and economic pressures as a contributing factor for the *poleis’* attempts to attract new citizens who were wealthy enough to support the administration of the city through benefactions (Zuiderhoek 2011, 2011-181). He posits that the difficulties that the Greek *poleis* had in maintaining the size of their council (*boule*), particularly in light of the Roman requirements for members to be over 30 years of age and belong to wealthy elite families of the highest property class, who had held high magistracies (Zuiderhoek 2011, 186-9). The current elite members of a city engaged in various strategies to maintain the favourable position of their family, such as adoption and marriage (Zuiderhoek 2011, 189). Despite the strategies employed by the current elites, demographic pressures meant that if the current citizenry was not sufficient to support the administration and governance of the city, the system of reciprocal benefactions functioned to attract both citizens of a more modest ancestry but with considerable wealth to engage in these activities in a bid for upward social mobility or attract elite foreign individuals seeking to bolster their position through the accumulation of additional property and wealth (Zuiderhoek 2011, 189-93). Zuiderhoek’s contention that *poleis* could entice non-elite citizens to donate to the *polis* in exchange for honours and privileges that would increase their influence and prestige, seems a likely explanation for the increase in foreigners receiving honours, particularly in the 2nd century BCE.

Furthermore, Zuiderhoek’s assertion that euergetism not only offered the chance to non-elite wealthy families a chance to climb the social ladder, but also allowed established elite families to emphasize the legitimacy of their positions through the public display of the honours they received for their euergetistic behaviours, can be extended to include wealthy foreign individuals in the former category (Zuiderhoek 2011, 192). Competition among elite members was beneficial for a *polis*, particularly within the system of euergetism. The competition resulting from the new families entering the political scene and the old-established families likely resulted in the proliferation of the institution of euergetism, which emphasized the superior moral qualities of the benefactors, encouraging the continuation of competition.

As discussed at the start of Chapter 6, a fundamental purpose of the *poleis* offering honours to benefactors was to obtain revenue for the governance and administration of the city. Equally important, however, was the creation of farther-reaching networks. By creating bonds with citizens of other *poleis* through awarding privileges, ties were made with the *polis*, which could result in increased trade. In addition, it could have functioned as a method for increasing productivity of land, lying fallow through losses in demographics that occurred as a result of frequent war and social pressure.

In contrast to the closely guarded citizenship characteristic of the Classical period, an increased ease of obtaining citizenship or other privileges in multiples cities characterized the Hellenistic period. Since people could now move around more easily and create wider-reaching networks, there was more competition between elite members, and therefore it is not surprising to see an increase in the use of social strategies designed to distinguish oneself. It was not only other citizens of the Thessalian league or other Thessalian cities, but also Macedonians, Aitolians, Romans and other foreigners, who all competed for distinction during the Hellenistic period, although Romans only beginning in the 2nd century BCE. Using these strategies allowed a non-citizen to move closer towards citizenship or proxeny and acquire land and property in order to increase income which in turn increased his ability to serve in certain magistracies and gain political, economic and social influence.

Chapter 8: Discussions and Conclusions

8.1 Citizenship Grants: Potential or Effective Immediately

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the situation identified for Thessaly in the previous chapter before moving on to compare Thessaly with other regions of Greece. Throughout the Greek world, the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE saw a dramatic increase in foreigners receiving honours in Greek *poleis* other than their *patris* (Picard 2012, 341). Some scholars suggest that the honorific granting of citizenship to foreigners remained theoretical (Dana 2012; 249-50; Fournier 2012, 80; Gauthier 1985; Picard 2012, 341). That is, citizenship and the associated benefits were potential and were not activated unless the honorand, or his family if the honours were hereditary, transferred themselves to the *polis* offering the honours; this interpretation presupposes that links were severed with their original city, and multiple or joint-citizenship was not an option (Picard 2012, 341). Others instead advocate for theoretical grants, which changed in the 1st century BCE, along with Roman conceptions of citizenship (Bouchon, personal correspondence 2015-09-03) reflecting a shift in the conception of citizenship overall. While there is no ancient discussion on this topic to prove conclusively one way or another, it is my contention that grants were indeed active immediately, even in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. No Greek city explicitly forbade multiple citizenships (Picard 2012, 342), and I suggest that the high level of citizenship grants in the Hellenistic and Roman periods demonstrates that they were likely not merely potential, since this would not have been an effective method of attracting non-local elite members of society to participate in the *polis* unless they were willing to abandon ties with their *patris*. Furthermore, as demonstrated above, a fair quantity of proxeny decrees granted land ownership and grazing rights without *politeia*. The example of Zobios, who had lived for many years in Larissa and had demonstrated himself to be without reproach in his *patris* and in Larissa, gives further credence to the immediate validity of the privileges granted to foreigners in proxeny and citizenship decrees. Grants of citizenship by *poleis* served a purpose for those *poleis*. It was not an altruistic, purely formal gesture made by grateful cities, but was done to gain income for the operations of the city, to increase the citizenry during times of demographic pressures, particularly during prolonged periods of war (Zuiderhoek 2011, 185-6), and

to increase the networks of the proposers and honorands. While I advocate for the immediate effectiveness of grants of *politeia*, or *enktesis*, this does not mean that in every case where individuals were granted land rights that they immediately acquired or purchased property. It is most likely that, in line with the theort of discrepant experience, some individuals would have taken advantage of the opportunity offered, while others did not. Regardless of whether the individual granted politeia or enktesis decided to take advantage of the associated privileges, the data demonstrate how the offering of grants by Thessalian *poleis* likely served as a strategy for their survival and prosperity.

Periods of increased warfare can place demographic and economic strain on communities because of demand for manpower, provisions, equipment, repairs for both the defending and the invading armies (Chaniotis 2011, 124-131). Foxhall, however, has argued for a limited effect of war on the agriculture and economy with reference to Attica during the Peloponnesian war (1993, 136-142). Other scholars do not agree and stress the short and long-term consequences of warfare (Chaniotis 2011, 124-8; Shipley, forthcoming; 2008, 57-8). Planting, maintenance, harvesting, and processing of agricultural produce could have been greatly hampered by the presence of foreign armies in the area, as is advocated by Chaniotis and will be discussed in Shipley's forthcoming monograph, to whom I am grateful for a sight of a draft (Chaniotis 2011, 124-8; Shipley, forthcoming; 2008, 57-8). On the one hand, war could result in a reduction in production, while on the other it could lead to an increase in demand (Chaniotis 2011, 128). It is likely that that the frequent wars in Thessaly from the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE would have significantly contributed to economic pressures. The responses of *poleis* to these pressures varied, but they included the importing of food supplies, treaties with nearby communities, loans from other communities or private individuals, the ransoming of captives, and the creation of special funds for purchasing grain (Chaniotis 2011, 133-5). In moments of crisis, some *poleis* relied on subscriptions and the charitable acts of wealthy elite citizens (Chaniotis 2011, 133). The reliance on the system of euergetism in Hellenistic *polis* economies was discussed at the beginning of Chapter 6. The increase in honorary decrees in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE in Thessaly can therefore be interpreted as on of the strategies which *poleis* employed during periods of increased economic and demographic pressure in order to ensure their survival. The wealthy individuals participating in this system were likely motivated by

similar factors, since it was agricultural estate holders who potentially had the most to lose from economic and demographic pressures, their survival.

If *poleis* actively engaged in attracting wealthy elite individuals to participate in the system of reciprocal benefaction, whether local or foreign, it follows that these honours and privileges had to mean something. Were they only latent and not activated until an individual cut ties with their original *polis*, the attraction would likely not be so great. In cases where a more influential *polis* granted citizenship, it is possible that an individual could choose to cut ties with their home *polis* in order to enter the political scene of the more powerful *polis*. In many cases it was a foreigner from an important city, who was unlikely to relocate, who was honoured with citizenship in a smaller, less influential *polis*, and it therefore makes more sense that these grants were not potential at all, but had real and immediate benefits.

Further support for citizenship grants being effective immediately is found in the mass granting of citizenship, with multiple individuals being granted *politeia* at the same time, for example at Larissa and Pharsalos (*IThess* 50; *IG* IX.2 234). In the case of Larissa, by reading the letters of Philip V to Larissa dated to 214 BCE (*IG* IX 2, 0517; *SEG* 55:605), it is clear that demographic pressures and fertile lands lying uncultivated were the primary motivation for the mass grant of citizenship to foreigners. It was not financially viable for a *polis* to have parts of its territory lying uncultivated, particularly for a Thessalian city, whose financial well-being, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, relied heavily on the production of grain. While mass grants of citizenship were far from the norm, the increasing inclusion of the foreigners in the system of reciprocal benefaction can be interpreted as another method of attracting new citizens who had sufficient wealth to purchase and cultivate land and be actively engaged in funding the activities and administration of the *polis* through benefactions. While this argument cannot be conclusively said to prove that citizenship grants were effective immediately upon their conferral, it seems that little support or evidence exists to support the alternative. Even if they were not, it is clear that, from the 3rd century BCE onward, people were moving around with much greater frequency in the Greek world as a whole, first as a result of the integration of the Mediterranean under Alexander and later, to a greater extent, under the Romans, and were more actively engaged in the economic and political realms of foreign *poleis*. It is entirely possible that due to the security and *pax Romana*, especially from the 1st century BCE onwards, not to mention the even wider economic

networks brought about as a consequence of incorporation into the Roman provincial fabric, the boundaries of the *poleis* were now more permeable than ever before.

8.2 Thessaly within the Wider Greek and Roman World

As Roman presence increased in Greece, from the 2nd century BCE onwards, wealthy Roman citizens, equestrians and senators, as well as emperors (later) became involved in the euergetism system of the Greek cities through the conscious attempts of the *poleis* to engage with the influential members of the new dominant power. Additionally, Greek citizens who achieved Roman citizenship continue to be documented as participating in this system in the first centuries of the Roman period. This system was not incompatible with the cultural traditions of the Romans, who, in the Republican period, were used to seeing leading citizens financing building projects, public games and festivals (see Cornell and Lomas 2005 for a thorough discussion of euergetism and patronage in Roman culture). Between the 2nd century BCE and second half of the 1st century BCE, important and influential Roman citizens who were actively engaged in the military, or political spheres of Thessaly became participants in the Greek system of euergetism. In reward for services rendered they received honours from Thessalian cities and leagues, as demonstrated in Chapters 6 and 7. This pattern changed again at the start of the Principate in 27 BCE. From the 1st century CE onwards there is a distinct lack of the honours to private citizens, Roman or otherwise, that were prevalent in the previous centuries. It is my contention that these honours ceased due to a change in the perception of the role of honorary grants under the imperial system. Euergetism and elite competition for honours and the associated economic and political benefits are characteristic, not of an empire headed by a single individual, but more of democratic or oligarchic forms of government. Under the Roman empire, it was the emperor himself who bestowed benefactions and served as *euergetes* and patron for the cities and citizens within the empire. These cities and citizens therefore reciprocated by honouring the emperor.

From the 1st century CE onwards, it is only in very rare cases that proxeny, citizenship or other honorary grants were bestowed on private individuals. It is possible that the competition among elite private citizens may have been seen as potentially dangerous and threatening or subverting the power and influence of the emperor and

was therefore seen as something to be controlled. Spawforth has recently highlighted the role of Augustus and his cultural reforms, in particular the emphasis on the glories and superior cultural and intellectual traditions of the Greek past in an attempt to reduce resistance and encourage the integration of Greek elite citizens into the imperial system (Spawforth 2012, 271-2).

The drop in grants after the 1st century BCE may have represented a reduction in the necessity for *poleis* to seek financial support through donations and euergetism of private individuals. While it is possible that the epigraphic habit explains the drop in attestations from the 1st century BCE, the evidence that both individuals and *poleis* now relied more on engagement with the imperial authority demonstrates how the uses of these social strategies were adapted over time, to include the adoption of Roman cultural traditions such as nomenclature, honouring of emperors and the imperial family, and participation in the imperial cult for the negotiation of their positions within the new geopolitical reality.

In order to contextualize the results of the analysis for Thessaly, the remainder of this chapter will focus on placing the Thessalian data within the wider Greek world. In particular I focus on comparative analysis with other regions of Greece under Roman rule, concentrating particularly on the Peloponnese. Although more segregated from the rest of mainland Greece than Thessaly, the Peloponnese forms a discrete territorial unit in a similar way that the mountain ranges and Aegean sea create a natural boundary for Thessaly, although it never formed a unified political unit as in Thessaly. In addition to the Peloponnese, Boiotia has been particularly well studied in terms of Roman period studies. For these two regions there is a large variety of scholarly research on the nature of Greek and Roman interaction and the impact of increasing Roman domination on settlement and land use patterns, as well as on the use of social strategies by local elite members of society in the face of the changing geopolitical climate (see Alcock 1993; Bintliff 2008; Hoët van Cauwenberghe 1996; Stewart 2013, Shipley 2005, 2006, 2008, forthcoming; Rizakis 2009a, 2009b, 2010; Rizakis and Zoumbaki 2001). This makes the Peloponnese and Boiotia the most appropriate comparative case studies in order to determine whether patterns identified for Thessaly represent regionally specific or more universal responses to increasing Roman domination. Overall, what emerges from detailed analysis of the data in Thessaly, the Peloponnese and Boiotia is an image of more or less similar patterns across these parts of the Greek mainland, although with a

fair degree of variation reflecting the physical, political, economic and social specificities of different regions with varying geography and differential access to resources and communication routes.

8.3 Settlement and Land Ownership Patterns

Settlement patterns in Thessaly have been shown to document a rise in the number of rural farmstead estates on the one hand, and increased urbanization within the bigger centres from the 2nd century BCE onwards on the other. The overall picture for both Boiotia and the Peloponnese is congruent with Thessaly: from the late Hellenistic to the Roman period an overall reduction in site numbers is evidenced (Bintliff 2008, 24-5; Stewart 2013, 95). Increased urbanization is documented as a trend in some areas of the Peloponnese in the Roman period, for example in the northeast and around Sparta (Alcock 1991, 461-2; Shipley 2008, 65-6; Stewart 2013, 95-6, 99), as well as by Alcock for Greece overall, for example in Attica, Boiotia, and Euboia (Alcock 1993, 215-8; Rizakis 2010, 8). Other areas of the Peloponnese, especially Achaea and eastern Arcadia, witness contraction in urban site size (Bintliff 2008, 23-5) demonstrating a level of regional variability in settlement patterns. Evidence is also present in the Peloponnese for increased elite land ownership, particularly in terms of rural estates (Stewart 2013, 87-8; Shipley 2005, 329-30). In terms of site continuity, there was a fair amount of site continuity between the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Although a significant proportion of mid-sized settlements were abandoned, for the most part the sites occupied in the Roman period represented settlements whose establishment dated to preceding periods. The Peloponnese documents intra- and inter-regional variability in the degree of settlement continuity, with some regions faring better than others, for example Laconia, Nichoria, and Messenia (Shipley 2005, 329; 2008, 66; Stewart 2013, 79-80, 87-8), a similar trend identified in other areas of the Roman world, for example in Britain (Mattingly 2006, 123).

Overall, the situation identified by Alcock for the remaining regions of the province of Achaia holds true also for Thessaly. An overall decrease in site numbers, a contraction of secondary settlement numbers and increased urbanization of the larger centres all point to a change in land ownership patterns (Alcock 1993, 215-8)

Changes in land ownership patterns during the Roman period are suggested by survey data in many regions of Greece, although regional variation is present in both scope and scale. For the Argolid, Forsell cites significant drops in site numbers, instability in site occupation and overall loss in small rural sites as evidence for changes in patterns of land ownership (Forsell 2002, 64). Stewart (2013, 77-88), documents a significant amount of regional variation in site continuity for the Peloponnese as a whole from the Hellenistic to the Roman period, with some regions seemingly stable while others documented significant site loss and new site foundations. While a significant degree of site continuity is evidenced for Thessaly, the drop in overall site numbers, the decrease in secondary settlements and gradual increase of rural structures identified as farmsteads or *villae rusticae*, similarly suggest a change in land ownership patterns. Furthermore, the rise of isolated farmhouses and *villae rusticae* in the Late Hellenistic and Roman period, documented in Thessaly and elsewhere in the Roman province of Achaia, for example in Megalopolis, Messenia and the southern Argolid, suggests that changes in land ownership had occurred (Shipley 2005, 326-7, 329-30; 2008, 66; see Rizakis and Touratsoglou 2013 for recent contributions on farms and rural villas throughout Greece in the Roman period; and specifically Zarmakoupi 2013, 752-761; see Mattingly 2006, 123 in relation to differential timing of rural villa construction in Britain). This increasing domination by elite members of society, who became more invested in and involved with perpetuating the Roman cultural values, can also be seen in the Roman bathhouses built in Thessaly during the 1st and 2nd centuries CE, a phenomenon present in many other Roman provinces (see and DeLaine and Johnston 1999 for contributions relating to Roman baths in the provinces).

A change in land ownership patterns is further supported by the evidence, rare though it is, for imperial estates in Thessaly. The entire territory of the city of Pherai became *patrimonium Augustae* sometime in the 1st century CE, and it is very likely that other substantial estates existed within the region. Parallel cases have been identified for other regions of Greece, where land, usually agriculturally productive, became part of the imperial holdings, for example Attica (Rizakis 2013, 24, n. 17), and elsewhere in the Roman provinces such as Egypt (Bowman and Wilson 2009, 5). Even more evidence for changes in land ownership patterns comes in the form of the involvement of Roman authorities in the reorganization and redistribution of territory surrounding several *poleis*, for example Corinth, Dyme, Patras, Nikopolis, and Melitaia in the first two centuries CE (see Cantarelli et al. 2008, no. 40; Salviat and Vatin 1974; Rizakis 2013,

28-9 n. 38). Furthermore, the involvement of Roman authorities in territorial dispute resolution between *poleis* demonstrates preoccupation on their part with controlling the distribution and ownership of land (examples *SEG* 45:588, *IG* IX 2 261; *CIL* 3.586b; *GHW*0597; see Camia 2009, 14-19, 51-64).

Rizakis has noted that the agricultural system in the Peloponnese, the primary base of the economy, appears to have suffered drastically in the 2nd century BCE and into the 1st century BCE as well, due to a lack of manpower and the abandonment of productive land (Rizakis 2010, 4). A similar situation is recognizable for Thessaly, documented not only through the epigraphic and literary evidence, which demonstrates periods of financial and agricultural crises in the 2nd century BCE, but also through the increased attestations of elite participation in euergistic activities, which, as discussed in the conclusions of the previous chapter, can be viewed as an economic strategy employed by cities to mitigate demographic and economic pressures resulting from long periods of warfare. It is possible that the Peloponnesians may have felt the economic impact more strongly than the Thessalians since they did not have enough prime agricultural territory to produce substantial surplus for export, as was the case for the Thessalians (Rizakis 2010, 5). In both Thessaly and the Peloponnese, documented economic and agricultural crises coincide with the peak in citizenship and land grants in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE. It seems very likely, based on the data for *politeia* and *enktesis* grants, and supported by comparative evidence from the Peloponnese, that the change in land ownership patterns, in which an increasing amount of land was concentrated in increasingly fewer hands, was the result of the responses of *poleis* to these crises as well as the increasing competition for self-advancement between dominant citizens of *poleis*.

Rizakis (2008, 8) also suggests that in the Peloponnese *enktesis* grants had become easier to acquire from the 1st century BCE onwards, allowing Roman settlers to purchase land with relative ease. Once again the Thessalian data demonstrates a dramatic drop in *enktesis* grants already in the 1st century BCE. It is my suggestion that instead the imperial authority and local elites cooperated to maintain their dominant position, which, within the Greek and Roman economies, was necessarily focused on land ownership for agricultural production. Before completing discussing on this topic, the nature of the Macedonian and Roman rules is addressed in order to understand their respective impact on the socio-economic and political contents.

8.4 The Impact of Macedonian and Roman Dominance

Contextualizing the situation in Thessaly with that found by Alcock (1993) it becomes clear that the conclusions reached in this research support one of the main assumptions: that the unifying power of Roman conquest resulted in a period socio-economic and political stability not seen in previous centuries. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Alcock did not engage in a discussion of the different nature of Macedonian and Roman domination that resulted in the Romans achieving what the Macedonians did not. It is my contention that the settlement, identity expression, and honorary data suggests that the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE represented a period of adaption to the changes resulting from the transitions from Macedonian rule to (pseudo-)independence to Roman rule.

In the case of Thessaly, Macedonian rule was more concerned with security and benefiting economically from conquered territory (Shipley 2005, 330), whereas Roman domination over time began to interfere more directly in the economic, social and political affairs of the Greek *poleis* (Rizakis 2010, 5-8). The first Roman interventions in Thessaly occurred at the start of the 2nd century BCE with the reinstatement and reorganization of the Thessalian league and the creation of a new census limiting participation in at least certain magistracies to the highest census class. Unlike in Thessaly, the first major interventions in the institutions of the Peloponnesian cities is first documented in the 1st century BCE (Rizakis 2010, 6; Alcock 2002, 45-6). Although direct intervention of this kind took place earlier in Thessaly, the eventual result was very similar, in terms of the social and economic consequences. In the Peloponnese, as in Thessaly, the Roman period saw a continuation of patterns begun in the Hellenistic period: increased differentiation in wealth across society and an accumulation of wealth and property in the hands of the elite members of society (Shipley 2005, 229-30; 2008 65-6; Stewart 2013, 95; Alcock 2002, 45-6). Under Roman encouragement, the concentration of productive agricultural territory was concentrated in the hands of few wealthy elite members, such as Octavian's grant of the entire island of Cythera to Eurycles of Sparta (Stewart 2013, 100; Dio 54.7; *IG* V.1 1172). While there are no comparable anecdotal stories of extensive grants of property to individuals in Roman Thessaly, the increase in rural structures interpreted as farmsteads and *villae*

rusticae in the countryside, and the evidence for Roman-instigated land redistribution, evidenced at Melitaia in the form of Roman period cadastres visible in the surrounding landscape (see Cantarelli *et al.* 2008, appendix 2), suggests that the control of agricultural productivity and its increased restriction in the hands of the wealthy elite members of society were also characteristic of Roman rule here. Recently, evidence for the reorganization of territory has been emphasized as a characteristic of the attempts by the Romans to take advantage of the agricultural potential of the Greek landscape (Alcock 2002, 46). Although this reorganization usually occurred within the context of the establishment of Roman colonies, for example at Corinth, Dyme, Nikopolis and Patras (Alcock 2002, 45-6), evidence for a wider application of Roman land redistribution can be found in Thessaly, where despite the fact that no Roman colonies existed, evidence at Melitaia for cadastration confirm that the Roman authorities were actively engaged in controlling the distribution of land. Further support for the active involvement of Roman authorities in land division issues is documented by their arbitration of territorial disputes between *poleis* in many parts of the Greek mainland, including Thessaly (see Camia 2009 14-19, 51-64). Mattingly stresses land reorganization as one of the principal means of exercising imperial authority over conquered peoples and regions (Mattingly 2009, 120). Land redistribution and reorganization was applied selectively and in a targeted way by the Roman authorities, both in the Republican and the imperial period, as is evidenced by a large degree of variation in the application of policy, with some regions being completely devoid of evidence for land redistribution (Mattingly 2009, 120). Furthermore, the regionally variable responses in terms of settlement and land use patterns demonstrated in section 8.3 provides evidence for flexible responses of communities to both the Macedonian and Roman authorities (Shipley 2008, 67).

The resulting picture is one of far more profound societal change under the Romans than under the Macedonians, who were primarily interested in security and strict economic benefits (Rizakis 2008, 1-2; Shipley 2005, 330). In the context of the Roman Peloponnese, Rizakis has pointed out that unlike the Macedonians before them, Roman domination had a greater impact on the socio-economic and legal status of the inhabitants, evidenced by the introduction of different patterns of land ownership (Rizakis 2008, 1), a situation which is certainly supported by the data for Thessaly.

8.5 Mobility and *Polis* Permeability

It has been demonstrated in the previous chapters that an increase of mobility, particularly among the political and socio-economic elite of society, increased dramatically in the 2nd century BCE as a result of the Roman liberation of Thessaly from Macedonian domination in 197 BCE. It is important to note that mobility here is not meant as a physical mobility that can be directly read from the tombstone and honorary data. Through the examination of the expression of city and regional ethnic on the inscribed tombstones as well as through the analysis of proxeny, *politeia* and land ownership grants, changes in mobility patterns have been demonstrated, suggesting that in the 2nd century BCE, and to a lesser extent the 1st century BCE, the politically and economically dominant members of society were more frequently engaged in the economic and political affairs of cities outside their *patris*. Mobility increased dramatically as private individuals are documented more and more as active in multiple *poleis*. The acquisition of multiple citizenships and the increased involvement of private citizens in the affairs of multiple cities certainly suggest both an increase in mobility and increased *polis* boundary permeability, a topic to be discussed by Shipley in his monograph on the Peloponnese between Alexander and Flamininus (forthcoming). As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, it is my contention that proxeny, citizenship and land grants were not potential, as suggested by several scholars (Bouchon 2005; 115; Dana 2012; 249-50; Fournier 2012, 80; Gauthier 1985; Picard 2012, 341), but rather were effective immediately and did not necessarily require a transfer of residence. The patterns identified in the Thessalian data instead should be interpreted as increased horizontal mobility of the wealthy elite members of society who through participating in the political and economic activities of multiple *poleis*, and were engaged in networking in attempts to increase or maintain their privileged socio-economic and political positions within society.

In the Hellenistic period, much of the activity of the local leading individuals was concentrated in participation within the traditional Greek system of euergetism. In the 2nd and most of the 1st century BCE influential Roman elite citizens began to be incorporated into this system, whether on their own initiative or at the behest of a community or individual. By the start of the 1st century CE, the dramatic drop in

honorary decrees for private individuals, demonstrated in Chapter 6, suggests that the practice had adapted and evolved to suit the new imperial system, now focusing on the imperial cult and honouring emperors and the imperial family. Rizakis proposes a similar situation for the Peloponnese, stating that the participation of wealthy leading citizens in charitable activities in cities other than their own resulted in the further segmentation and the rise of a supra-local elite stratum that through participation in the imperial cult and through acquisition of Roman citizenship dominated the economic and political scenes and was active in a wider field than previously possible (Rizakis 2008, 3-5).

A recent point brought up by Mattingly warrants discussion here. The emphasis in past scholarship on Roman cultural influence on local populations in terms of emulation obscures the discrepant nature of the engagement and investment of the provincial elite members in the Roman system (Mattingly 2014, 21-2). Variability above all characterized the relationship between provincials and the Roman authority, resulting in a plurality of identities (Mattingly 2014, 22). While some of the local elite individuals and groups would have more intensely invested in Roman cultural traditions, adapting their lifestyles and customs to fit the new social order, others would have been indifferent or even hostile to the idea of abandoning their traditions and customs in favour of Roman ones. The use of mixed Roman and Greek nomenclature from the 1st century BCE onwards, furthermore, reflects the fact that rather than abandoning one cultural identity for another, individuals consciously engaged in the negotiation of their identities in an attempt at social mobility. While it is clear that many of the elite members of society actively sought association with the Roman power through the adoption of cultural traditions, others, less visible epigraphically, certainly will have retained their local customs and traditions and resisting Roman identity.

It would seem, then, that the trends identified in Thessaly were not a regionally specific characteristic but instead represented a more universal trait of the adaptation of local elite members of society to Roman domination. Rizakis states, however, that this “extra-civic charity” was not the heritage of Greek tradition but more characteristic of the Roman context where individuals and families sought to distinguish themselves as engaged in building and restoration projects or provided donations to cities other than their own (Rizakis 2008, 6). The trend identified in the honorific data of Thessaly, on the other hand, does not support this assertion. It has been demonstrated in Chapters 5

and 6 that mobility began increasing in the 3rd century BCE and peaked in the 2nd century BCE. It is therefore more accurate to say that this characteristic began under Macedonian dominance and increased dramatically during the century and a half when Greece was 'free'. Furthermore, although not commonly attested, cases of extra-local reciprocal benefactions documented in Thessaly date to the Classical period, showing that this phenomenon was not a result of Roman influence.

It is my contention that during the Classical period and the start of the Hellenistic period mobility was more rigidly controlled. Only in exceptional circumstances were land rights or citizenship granted to non-local individuals. Already in the 3rd century this began to change as more individuals were documented as active in the political and economic spheres of cities other than their own. The chaos and upheaval resulting from the conflicts of the 3rd to 1st centuries BCE in Thessaly likely had a direct impact on this increased mobility. It has been shown that the 3rd and 2nd centuries were characterized by demographic, economic, and agricultural crises in the region and therefore it is highly likely that *poleis*, adapting to changing political and economic circumstances, opened their gates, so to speak, to non-local politically and economically influential individuals in attempts to win their continued patronage, thus resulting in an increase in *polis* boundary permeability.

From the early Principate the situation changed once again. While I agree with Rizakis that the imperial cult and honouring of the imperial family became an important strategy for the local elite members of Greek communities, I do not concur that the increase in mobility (in my sense) was influenced by Roman cultural practice, as this practice was documented prior to Roman domination. In fact, the situation suggested by both the use of civic ethnics on tombstones and the drop in honorary grants for individuals from the 1st century BCE onwards seems to suggest the opposite pattern to that attested in the 3rd to the 2nd centuries BCE; fewer people are now mobile. Although this data could be interpreted as a change in mobility overall, and a renewed decrease in *polis* boundary permeability, it seems more likely that it reflects a change in the social strategies employed for the negotiation of status. Evidence exists in Athens for individuals from prominent Thessalian families with Roman citizenship (*IG* II. 2 1064, 3700-3703) and even with Roman senatorial status (*ZPE* 38, 107-14; *IG* II.2 3700, 3701, 3702, 3703), who engaged in practicing the imperial cult and actively honouring Roman emperors and their family; this suggests that from the early

Principate the negotiation of socio-political and economic status was tied up in engagement with the imperial authorities and Roman socio-cultural traditions. This topic is more fully addressed in the following section, discussing the evidence for resistance, cooperation and integration of socio-political and economic elite members of the Greek *poleis*.

8.6 Cooperation, Resistance, and Integration

In terms of the cooperation with or resistance of local inhabitants to Roman rule, the situation in Thessaly displays the same heterogeneous response as documented in other regions of Greece. Rizakis suggests that the local elites in the Peloponnese do not seem to have opposed Roman rule for the most part but instead cooperated with the imperial system, facilitating their mutual survival and prosperity (Rizakis 2008, 1-2). Zoumbaki (2008), on the other hand, has pointed out several instances where Peloponnesian elites were seemingly divided on their opinion of Roman rule and discusses cases of opposition to some of the policies implemented by the Roman authorities. Zoumbaki cites the criticism present in the writings of both Polybius and Plutarch, in addition to the disorder at Dyme in 144-143 BCE, as evidence for resistance (Zoumbaki 2008, 25-9). The instigators of the disorder were punished by the Roman authority with execution for most cases, and with a trial in Rome for another (*Syll*^{3}: 684; Sherk 1969, no. 43). Although Zoumbaki (2008, 25-9) points out that this type of heavy-handed Roman intervention was not replicated in the subsequent centuries, it demonstrates the ability and willingness of the Roman authorities relatively early in their involvement in Greek affairs, to intervene in order to discourage dissension and resistance to their authority in the area.

A similar situation can be documented for Thessaly in the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE. During the Roman civil wars, several cities were sacked and destroyed, including Gomphoi in Hestiaiotis, punished for its support of Pompey (see Caesar, *B.C.* 3.80; Plut. *Caes*. 41; Larsen 1938, 432). This destruction of entire cities is also seen earlier in the sack of Lamia by Manius Acilius Glabrio during the Aitolian war (191-189 BCE), in retaliation for the Aitolians, who controlled Lamia at this time, having invited Antiochus into the city (Livy, 36.15-37.4). In other regions after the 3rd Macedonian war, in 167 BCE, Aemilius Paullus tried the supporters of the Macedonians from

Aetolia, Acarnania, Epirus and Boiotia and executed several political figures as enemies of Rome (Livy 45.31; Champion 2007, 269). An early supporter of Octavian, one Eurycles of Sparta, whose father had been executed by Marcus Antonius, was given Roman citizenship, but banished later by the Princeps for causing troubles throughout the Greek cities (Zoumbaki 2008, 30; Strabo, 8.5, 1; Dio Cass. 54. 7, 2). The destruction of cities and punishment of individuals demonstrates how the Romans, although cooperative for the most part with local Greek elites, were not hesitant in punishing dissenters and troublemakers, whether individuals or entire cities throughout of Greece. Furthermore, these harsh punishments seem to have served the purpose of discouraging open resistance and revolt. Aside from the extreme, and relatively limited, examples of heavy-handed Roman interference, overall we do not see evidence for the consistent application of Roman policy, or evidence for conscious imperialistic expansionism, particularly in the last two centuries BCE. For the most part, policies seemed to have been applied on an ad hoc basis, and do not reflect a concerted effort to remodel Greece according to some preconceived plan (see Morstein-Marx writing as Kallet-Marx 1995 for the strongest advocacy of this theory).

This situation seems to have changed at the start of the Principate. Although direct interference is documented, for example in the reorganization of the Delphic Amphictyony by Augustus, it is instead through the conscious attempts to integrate Greece within the imperial system, particularly through the inclusion of Greek elite members in the imperial system, accomplished through appealing to the past cultural traditions of Classical Greece. By the time of Augustus, as has been demonstrated by Bouchon (2008a) and Spawforth (2012), more attention was placed on the integration of leading Greeks into the imperial system, accomplished through the cultural reformations of Augustus which emphasized Greek intellectual culture and encouraged the prominent and influential Greek citizens to personally and societally invest in the imperial system. Bouchon suggests that the adoption of the “Augustan Era” in the early years of the 1st century BCE in Thessaly, along with the *diorthoma*, formed part of Augustus’ strategy discouraging dissention and encouraging local elites to engage in the Roman imperial system in order to obtain benefits and to encourage a sense of dynastic continuation under Tiberius (Bouchon 2008a, 450-60). Through the Roman espousal of the glorious past and superior educational institutions of the Greeks, the imperial authority appealed to aspects of Greek cultural tradition, while at the same time also encouraging their cooperation and inclusion in the imperial system.

8.7 Identity and the Value of Local Citizenship

The integration of the Greece into the Roman empire, and the investment that Greek elite members of the *poleis* made in Roman political and cultural traditions, have important implications for identity. The data from Thessaly clearly demonstrates that with the passing of time, Greek and Roman identities become less distinct and more entangled. From the 1st century BCE onwards, Greek elite citizens began acquiring Roman citizenship, adopting Roman nomenclature, and participating at the highest levels of Roman political culture. Despite the gradual adoption of Roman cultural practices, however, the elite members of Thessalian society continued to emphasize their Greek identity, evidenced particularly through the retention of the Greek personal name in place of the Roman *cognomen*.

The increased inclusion on the part of local elite members within the Roman system evidenced in the Thessalian context as discussed in Chapter 7, parallels for which are found in other regions. Rizakis suggests that the Peloponnesian elite in the Roman period embodied a duality, whereby on one hand they represented and propagated Roman power, while on the other hand they maintained the traditional values of servitude to one's local *polis* in a strong expression of their cultural identity (Rizakis 2008, 568). Through engagement in the imperial cult, seeking Roman citizenship or patronage, or adopting markers of Roman cultural traditions such as baths, gladiatorial games, Roman nomenclature (Rizakis 2008, 569-72; Woolf 1994, 126; 2012, 222-4), Greek elite members of society emphasized their role in the imperial system. Furthermore, the presence of Roman architectural forms and decorative traditions, such as in bath complexes, the performances of gladiatorial games in amphitheatres or theatres, the spread of Latin epigraphy, and the increase in Roman citizenship acquisition by provincials are found across the provinces from the turn of the millennium onwards (Woolf 1994, 126-7). On the other hand, the maintenance of essential aspects of Greek culture such as *gymnasia* (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 186-9; Woolf 2012, 224-5), the predominance of the Greek language and the limited use of Latin (Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 82-96), and the continued activity in *polis* government all point towards conscious attempts at maintaining a Greek identity. Furthermore, I agree with Rizakis (2008, 569-72) that the continued use of a personal Greek name as a

cognomen, a pattern demonstrated for Thessaly as well as in other areas of the Greek world, was a symbolic representation of this duality; of the investment that local elite citizens made in their identities as belonging to both the Roman and the local Greek cultural traditions. Prominent leading Greek citizens were engaged in strategies in order to create and maintain connections to the governing Roman power, while by engaging in the traditional activities of the *polis* such as fulfilling magistracies and priesthoods, they reinforced their local identity and legitimized their advantageous and leading positions at the local level and beyond.

As the Roman period progressed, the intermingling of these identities is evidenced, as more and more individuals are documented with mixed Roman and Greek names. It becomes more difficult after the 1st century BCE to distinguish between what we might call Roman Italians, Roman Thessalians, Thessalian Romans and so on, demonstrating support for Wallace-Hadrill's assertion that Greek and Roman identities were not necessarily mutually exclusive (Wallace-Hadrill 2011, 419). That identity expression patterns underwent changes from the Hellenistic to the Roman period to include elements of both identities is evidenced in the data for Thessaly, as well as elsewhere in the Greek world. Woolf has suggested that the increased connectivity resulting from the expansion of the Roman empire, had an impact on the conscious realization of difference between different components of the Roman empire, which in turn resulted in new ways of formulating and accentuating distinctive identities (Woolf 2012, 228-9). The Thessalian data, and the particular habit of maintaining the Greek personal name in the adoption of Roman nomenclature, supports Woolf's theory. Despite their acquisition of Roman citizenship, conscious effort was placed in expressing an identity that was neither fully Greek, nor Roman, but emphasized the difference between the two categories, signalling that the named individual belonged fully to neither cultural tradition or identity, yet to both at the same time. These changes demonstrate the complex nature of cultural and civic identity and highlight the manipulable and dynamic nature of identity expression, negotiation and maintenance in response to changing economic, social and political realities.

In terms of the perceived value of local citizenship, the drop in citizenship grants in the Roman period in Thessaly possibly suggests a change in the perceived value of the grants, and consequently, local citizenship. The inclusion of Thessaly within the empire may have obviated the need for local citizenship in order to own property within

a city's territory, and therefore a drop in *politeia* and *enktesis* grants is seen. Discussing Athens, Onno van Nijf comments on the value of local citizenship in the Roman period stating that since individuals still invested time, money and effort in their local *poleis*, and therefore we should assume that the local level remained an important aspect of identity and did not imply a devaluation of local citizenship (van Nijf 2012, 177). The increased association of Thessalian citizens with the Roman authority, and increasing incidences of the acquisition of Roman citizenship, did not mean that involvement in local politics and economics was no longer important to citizens of Greek cities, but rather represented how, as Greg Woolf eloquently and famously described the situation, citizens of *poleis* across the Greek world were becoming Roman, yet staying Greek (Woolf 1994).

8.8 The Continuation of the *Polis*

Throughout the Roman period the traditional political and social institutions such as the *boule*, *demos*, *gymnasia* and so on, which characterized the Classical Greek *polis*, continue to serve important functions in daily operations. The Hellenistic and Roman periods, rather than representing a period of decline and collapse reflect a widening of the fields of operations of the wealthy elite of Greek, Roman, and Roman-Greek, citizens. As time went by and these categories became more entwined, it is likely that the preoccupations of the wealthy influential elite strata reflected heterogeneous responses to Roman rule. While some citizens and cities were more actively engaged with the Roman authority, others remained more indifferent or even resisted the influence of Rome on the operations of their communities, demonstrating the validity of Mattingly's discrepant experience throughout the empire. What is not evidenced, either in Thessaly, or in other regions of Greece, was any total collapse of *polis* society. The *polis* remained a primary sphere of political and economic activity, now not only for citizens, but for non-local individuals as well. Through their engagement with the Roman authorities through participation in the imperial cult, honouring emperors, adoption of Roman nomenclature and acquisition of Roman citizenship, *poleis* and their citizens were actively engaged in maintaining their relevance and involvement in the changing geopolitical context of a Roman imperial Mediterranean.

This thesis has proposed that settlement and land use patterns in Thessaly from the Hellenistic to Roman period conform to the general patterns detected for other regions of Greece. Regionally variable trends have been identified, suggesting increased urbanism in combination with a reduction in smaller secondary habitation sites and a change in rural habitation patterns characterized by a reduction in secondary habitation sites, an increase of larger rural estates and eventually *villae rusticae*. The variation in site continuity between different regions of Greece, particularly the Peloponnese, Boiotia, and Attica, may be suggestive of a change in land ownership patterns, also supported by the presence of imperial estates and of and larger rural estates in general, and by the evidence for Roman initiated land distribution in *coloniae* and *poleis*. Roman preoccupation with the agriculturally productive capacities of the landscape is evidenced through the changes in land use and ownership, numismatic iconography, evidence for exportation of grain, and the existence in the reformed Thessalian league of the position of *seitotamias* (*seitotamias*), all of which suggest strategies for a more intensified exploitation and control of agricultural production.

The analysis of identity expression patterns in the funerary record indicates a peak of mobility in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, as indicated by the distribution of *polis* and region ethnics. The decline in ethnics, documented from the 1st century BCE onwards is partially mitigated by the presence of Roman names beginning in the 2nd century and increasing throughout the Roman period, indicating an increase in both the presence of Italian Romans and the adoption of Roman nomenclature by enfranchised locals as well as the use of Roman name elements for slaves and freedmen. The decline in ethnics could theoretically be explained by a devaluation in local identity, but the continued involvement of local elite members in their communities, as well as the retention of the Greek personal name as the primary identifier used in place of the Roman *cognomen*, suggests that local identity remained important, although perhaps to a lesser extent than before. The incorporation of two different onomastic traditions in the epigraphic record of Thessaly and other regions if Greece demonstrates that, although local elite citizens became increasingly invested in Roman cultural practices, local identity was equally emphasized.

Social strategy analysis has emphasized the centrality of the system of reciprocal benefactions of the *poleis*, the documentation of which demonstrates a peak in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, followed by a decline throughout the Roman period. *Poleis*

offered honours, and particularly *proxenia*, *politeia* and *enktesis* grants, to prominent wealthy individuals - citizens of their own *poleis*, other Greek *poleis* and influential Roman citizens - in exchange for donations and services rendered to the *polis* as part of a strategy to lessen the impact of the demographic and economic pressures resulting from extended periods of war. This resulted in the legitimization and proliferation of elite dominance, particularly in terms of land ownership and participation in the highest levels of political activity. Used by Macedonian kings, private *polis* citizens, Roman citizens and eventually Roman emperors, and assisted the increasing 'globalization' of the Mediterranean, engagement in the system of euergetism was one of the primary arenas for elite competition, which becoming more prevalent from the 2nd century BCE and may indicate that operating on a purely local scale was no longer sufficient for the maintenance or enhancement of the privileged positions of elite members. The accumulation of wealth relied heavily on the accumulation of property, which, while previously restricted to citizens, was made more accessible by the *poleis* as part of their strategy to increase the productivity of the landscape. Furthermore, the simultaneous involvement of wealthy elite members of society in multiple *poleis* facilitated intra-*polis* interaction and resulted in larger and further reaching networks, increasing the available potential benefactors, allowing the *poleis* to continue their existence and the elite strata of society to maintain their dominant positions. The decrease in private citizens documented in the system of euergetism from the 1st century CE onwards at first sight may suggest a devaluation of local citizenship and a decline in the functioning of local governments, but more likely reflects an overall change in social strategies employed by local elite members under Roman domination, particularly from the Principate onwards. The increasing acquisition of Roman citizenship, the adoption of Roman nomenclature, the honouring of emperors and participation in the imperial cult all suggest that elite engagement with social strategies was designed to enhance and emphasis connections with the imperial power. The retention of the Greek personal name, the continued involvement in local cults and government demonstrates emphasis of local Greek identity.

8.9 Concluding Remarks and Future Research

Through these analyses we can better understand the impact of increased cultural contact and foreign domination on local situations. The data from Thessaly demonstrates the relevance of the theories of cultural interaction and discrepant experience, providing evidence for heterogeneous responses to Roman rule and to the adoption of Roman cultural traditions. Out-dated explanations of the increasing "Romanization" of the provinces or the decay and decline of Greek culture, are certainly not supported by the evidence in Thessaly or in other regions of Greece. The rhetoric of the Roman period of Greece as one of decline and depopulation is also done away with, while further support is advanced for regionally variable changes in settlement and land use patterns. Overall this thesis contributes to the growing corpus of regional studies of the Roman provinces, in addition to adding much needed attention to Thessaly in particular and Greece during the Roman period in general. While many topics are left to be explored in relation to Roman Thessaly, this work seeks to contribute to filling the gap. Detailed analysis of the urban data from the Thessalian sites occupied in the Roman period is still lacking, while analysis of the ceramics of the Roman period and comprehensive survey still need to be conducted. One step at a time, the corpus of Thessalian studies is growing with ever-increasingly nuanced approaches which undoubtedly will continue in the future.

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A NAME AND A PLACE: SETTLEMENT AND LAND USE PATTERNS, IDENTITY EXPRESSION, AND SOCIAL STRATEGIES IN HELLENISTIC AND ROMAN THESSALY

Volume 2

Appendices

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Leicester

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Appendix 1 - Additional Analyses

1.1 – Extra Identity Expression Analysis

Expression of single name element

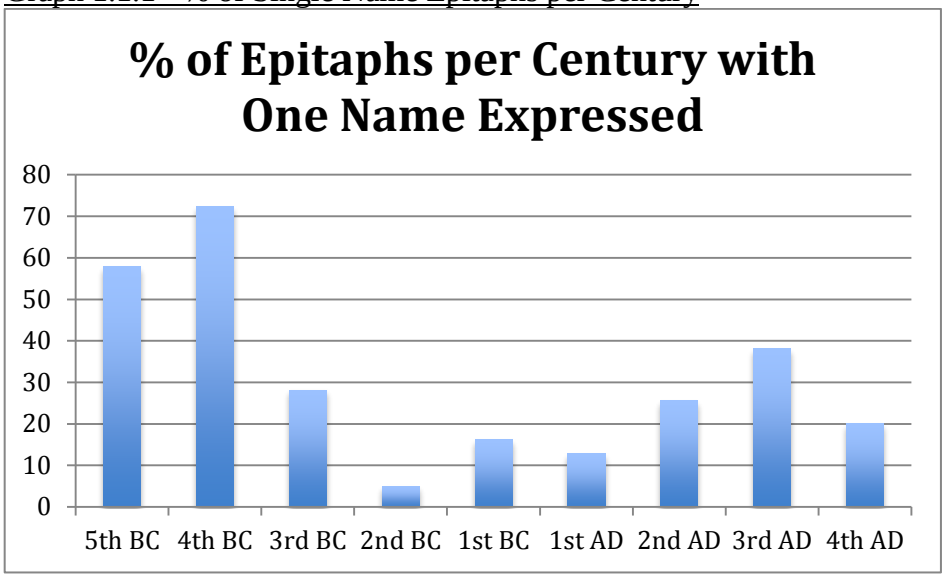
In a total of 360 cases, only a personal name appears in the inscription and no secondary identifiers such as the patronym (father's name), metronym (mother's name), gamonym (spouse's name) were expressed. Very occasionally the names of offspring, when they were the dedicators of the funeral monuments, are mentioned, although this is quite rare and seems to be the exception rather than the rule. Because only a single name was included in these cases it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine the social or civic status of these individuals. While it is possible that some may represent individuals with slave or freedman status, it is extremely unlikely that they all did. Looking at chronological distribution of the expression of a single name element provides a more nuanced understanding of this phenomenon.

Table 1.1.1 - Cases of Stelai Expression Only One Name Element per century

Century	No. of Attestations	% of Total Inscriptions per Century
5th BCE	11	58%
4th BCE	120	73%
3rd BCE	114	28%
2nd BCE	11	5%
1st BCE	6	16%
1st CE	6	13%
2nd CE	11	26%
3rd CE	8	38%
4th CE	1	20%

It is immediately apparent when we look at the chronological distribution of single-name grave stelai that a general trend forming an upside-down bell curve, with peaks occurring in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE; numbers decreased from the 3rd century BCE and rose again in the 2nd century CE, as can be seen in the following graph.

Graph 1.1.1 - % of Single Name Epitaphs per Century

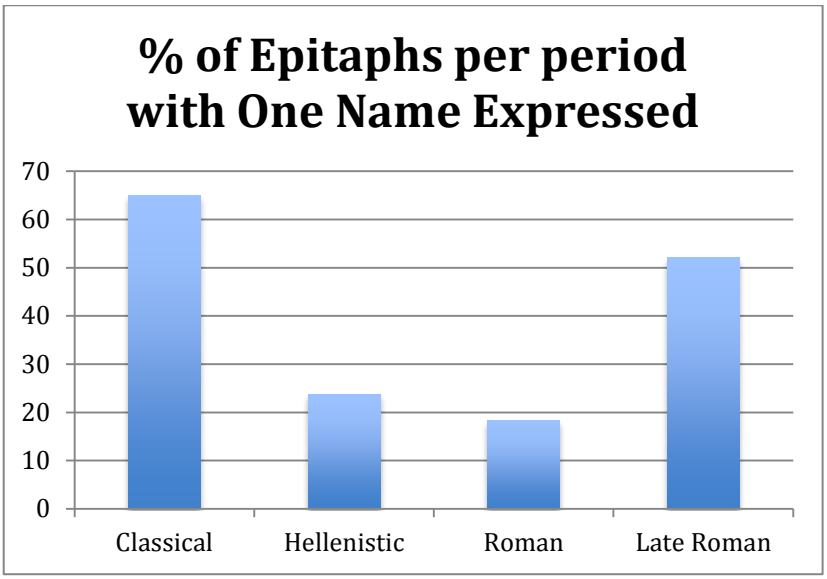


This also holds up if we group the data into larger periods. By visualizing the frequency distribution over a long period of time we can identify larger patterns of change such as the one visible in the following table and graph.

Table 1.1.2 - Cases of Stelai Expression Only One Name Element per period

Period	No. of Attestations	% of Total Inscriptions per period
Classical	120	65%
Hellenistic	157	24%
Roman	47	18%
Late Roman	25	52%

Graph 1.1.2 - Funerary Inscriptions Attesting Single Names per period



The use of additional identifiers became much more frequent in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, where only 24% and 18% expressed a single name. An interesting

case is seen when we look at the Late Roman period epitaphs, a very large percentage of which, over 52% carry only a single name. Is should be noted that the percentage of Late Roman single-name epitaphs is particularly high due to the small sample size and therefore, although it appears that a resurgence of expressing a sinle name occurred, it must be kept in mind that this is possibly a false impression created though bias in the data.

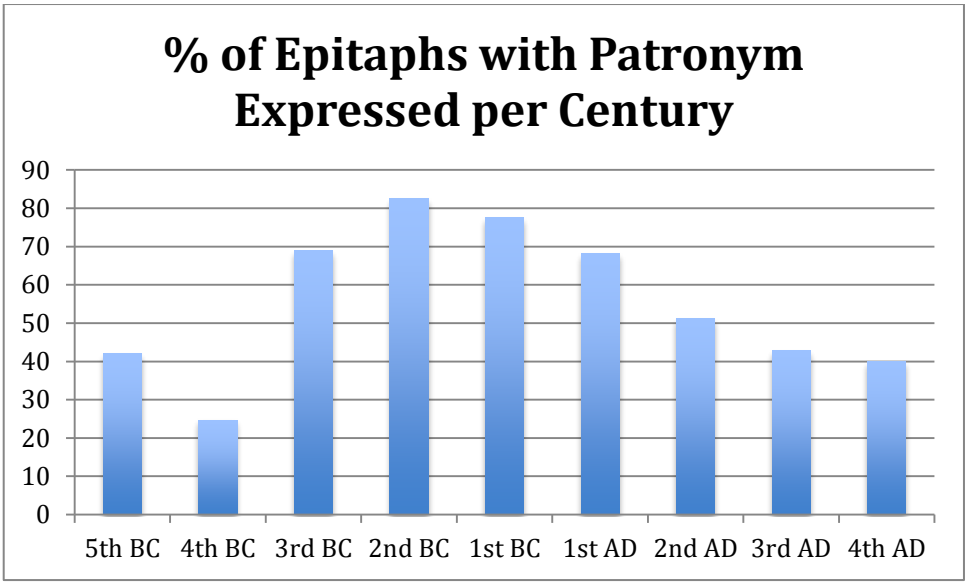
Expression of Greek Patronyms

Despite the fact that a fair number of grave stelai identified the deceased individuals by a single name element only, a far greater number provided an additional identifier, in the form of the patronym. The patronym is by far the most commonly attributed secondary identifier in my datasets, with a total of 710 attestations. As expected, the reverse trend is visible compared with the results of the single name epitaphs, as can be seen in the following table and graph.

Table 1.1.3 - Frequency of Patronym Expression per Century

Century	No. of Attestations	% of Total Inscriptions per Century
5th BCE	8	42%
4th BCE	41	25%
3rd BCE	279	70%
2nd BC	180	83%
1st BC	38	78%
1st AD	32	68%
2nd AD	22	51%
3rd AD	9	43%
4th AD	2	40%

Graph 1.1.3 - Percentage of Epitaphs with Patronyms per Century

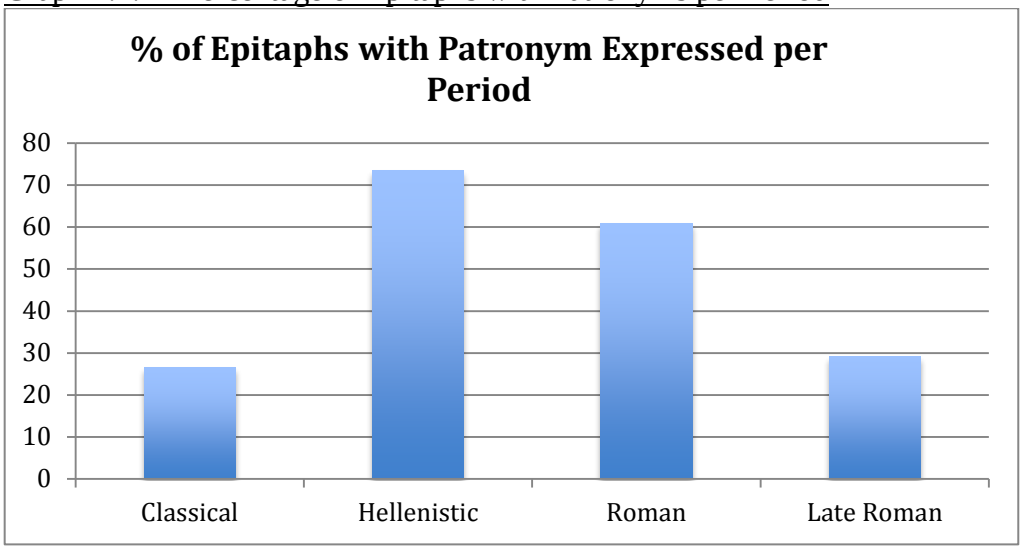


Again if we look at these data by broad time periods as shown in the table below, we see that in the Classical and Late Roman periods patronyms occur in less than 30% of the identified epitaphs from these periods, while in the Hellenistic and Roman period (from the 3rd century BCE to the end of the 2nd century CE) they occur in 62% or more of the cases.

Table 1.1.4 - Frequency of Expression of Patronym by Period.

Period	No. of Attestations	% of Total Inscriptions per period
Classical	49	26%
Hellenistic	485	73%
Roman	156	61%
Late Roman	14	29%

Graph 1.1.4 - Percentage of Epitaphs with Patronyms per Period

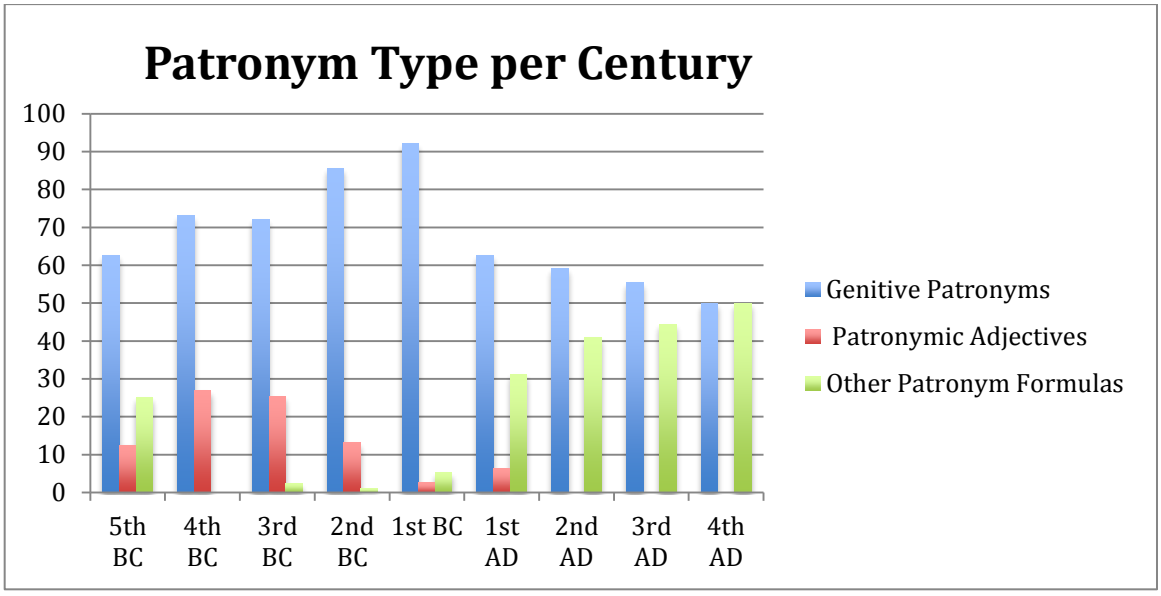


A unique feature of identity expression in Thessaly relates to the grammar of the patronym. The common form for expression the patronym in the Greek world was through the use of genitive singular of the father's personal name. In Thessaly, on the other hand, the patronym could also be expressed through an adjectival form which agrees in case, number and gender with the personal name, beginning in the late 5th or early 4th century BCE. (Helly 1970, 176-7; Morpurgo-Davies 1968, 89, note 2; Tziafalias et al 2006, 438-9).

Table 1.1.5 – Type of Patronym Used Over Time

Period	Genitive	% of Total	Adjective	% of Total	Other	% of Total
5th BCE	5	63%	1	13%	2	25%
4th BCE	30	73%	11	26%	0	0%
3rd BCE	201	72%	71	25%	7	3%
2nd BCE	154	86%	24	13%	2	1%
1st BCE	35	92%	1	3%	2	5%
1st CE	20	63%	2	6%	10	31%
2nd CE	13	60%	0	0%	9	41%
3rd CE	5	56%	0	0%	4	44%
4th CE	1	50%	0	0%	1	50%

Graph 1.1.5 - Patronym Type per Century



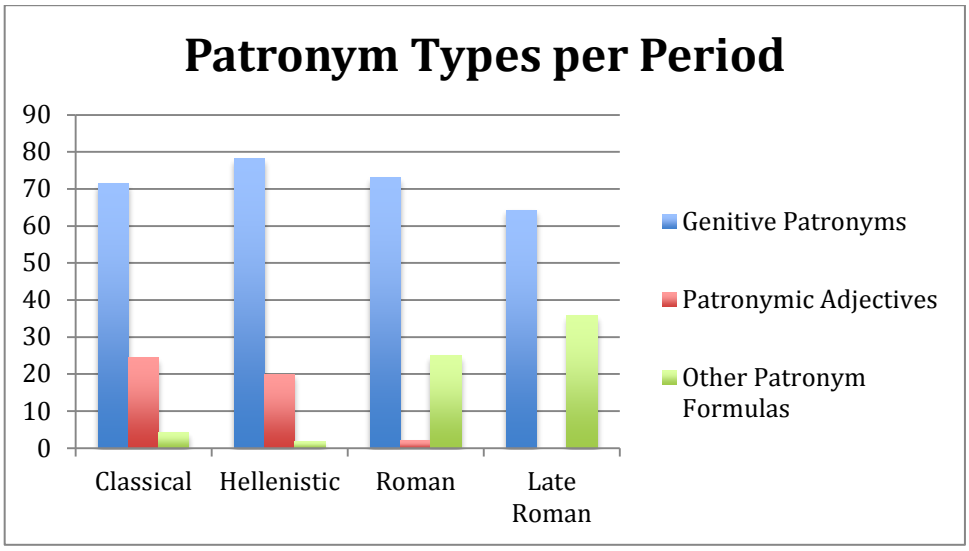
When we turn to the distribution of patronym types over time, Table 1.1.6 below, we can see that although the genitive was the most common form of the patronym from the 5th century BCE to the 3rd century CE, the patronymic adjective

was most common in the 4th and 3rd centuries which, after which points it decreases in frequency. (Helly 1970, 181-2; Hunold 2009, 87-8; Morpurgo-Davies 1968). The small percentages for the 1st centuries BCE and CE represent the gradual change from one form to the other, with some cities maintaining the adjectival form for longer than others. For example, in Demetrias the genitive patronym appeared quite early compared with Larissa, where the adjectival form continued to some extent until the 1st century CE (Helly 1970, 181-2; Hunold 2009, 87-8; Morpurgo-Davies 1968). Accompanying the decrease of the adjectival form was the simultaneous rise of other formulas, predominantly following the pattern of the nominative for the dedicator and the accusative or dative for the deceased. This formula appeared for the first time in Thessaly in the 5th century BCE and in very limited numbers inthe 3rd century BCE, but it was not until the 1st century BCE that the use of this formula became common. This formula continued to increase until the 4th century CE, when it appears to have been as common as the genitive, although as mentioned the numbers for the 3rd and 4th centuries BCE could be misleading.

Table 1.1.6 - Patronym Type by Period

Period	Genitive	% of Total	Adjective	% of Total	Other	% of Total
Classical	35	71%	20	30%	1	1%
Hellenistic	379	78%	112	22%	5	1%
Roman	114	73%	2	1%	41	25%
Late Roman	9	64%	0	0%	5	31%
Totals	**537**	**76%**	**112**	**16%**	**55**	**8%**

Graph 1.1.6 - Type of Patronym Used by Period



The same pattern is visible when the data are analyzed by broad temporal category. The graph above clearly demonstrates that while the genitive form appeared with more or less the same frequency across all periods, the adjectival forms was used mainly in the Classical and Hellenistic with very infrequent occurrences in the Roman period. In direct contrast are the occurences of the father's name in other formulas. Although a few cases are documented before the Roman period, the vast majority occur in the Roman and Late Roman periods.

Seeking to explain the simultaneous occurrence of the different forms of the patronym in the same time period Hunold suggested that a pattern developed in the Hellenistic period, in which local citizens expressed their patronym with the adjectival form, while foreigners and slaves predominantly used the genitive form (Hunold 2009, 87-8). Evidence from these centuries seems to contradict Hunold's assertion and instead suggests a different pattern. An inscription from Metropolis, dated to the 3rd century BC and referred to in the secondary literature as the Convention of the Basaidai (Theocharis 1964 [1966], 265; Helly 1970; Parker 2010), contains patronyms of both forms, four in the Thessalian adjectival form and seven in the genitive form (Helly, 1970, 176-7). Helly noticed that the four patronyms in the adjectival form were all third declension nouns ending in –ας or –εις, while the seven in the genitive were either typical second declension names, or athematic names which do not follow the standard patterns of the declensions (Helly 1970, 176-7).

This pattern does not hold true when other inscriptions with patronymic adjectives are analysed, names of all declensions appear in both genitive and adjectival form (for example: *IG* IX 2, 0429: Ἀγασικλῆς from the first declension; *SEG* 32, 591: Ἱππόλοχος from the second declension; and *IG* IX 2, 456: Κρανοβουλὶς from the 3rd declension). A tombstone with three names dating to the 3rd century BCE (*SEG* 35 48), Φαιναρέτα Καλλιαία, Εὔφορβος Θερσίππου, and Σιμάκα Κλέωνος, contains one patronymic adjective and two genitives (Tziafalias 1984, p 213, no. 86). A first declension name, Kallias is in the adjectival form, while the second and third declension names used the genitive form. Since both types of patronyms are used on the same monument, Hunold's theory of use by foreigners and Helly's hypothesis of 3rd declension nouns using the adjectival form is not supported. It seems far more likely that the gradual abandonment of the adjectival form in favour of either the

genitive form or other formulas was the result of the evolution of the Greek language and the adoption of the Greek *koine*, which developed out of the 4th century and spread, at various speeds, throughout the Greek world, and resulted in the gradual decrease and abandonment of the use of local dialect forms.

It appears that it is in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE that the use of the genitive increased, with some cities, such as Larissa, maintaining the adjectival form for longer. It is likely that the increasing cultural contacts in the Mediterranean world, the heritage of the successors of Alexander's empire and subsequently the Roman Empire, hand in hand with the development of the Greek *koine*, were the most influential factors in the abandonment of the adjectival form in favour of the more widespread genitive form. This change in patronym type is somewhat obscured by the fact that funerary formulas became much more varied over time, as seen in the above graph, and an increase occurs in the other types of formulas for funerary dedications, particularly in the nominative for the dedicator and the accusative or dative for the deceased.

The picture that emerges through the analysis of the use and types of patronyms over time is one of variability and innovation, rather than of static adherence to tradition and convention. It seems very likely that the increase in variability in the Roman and Late Roman periods was due, at least in part, to the increased mobility and cultural contact beginning in the 3rd century BCE. As a result of the expansion of the Macedonian empire of Alexander, contact was increased throughout the Mediterranean, people became more mobile, moving from their home *patris* to different *poleis* and bringing with them their traditions and customs. Later in this chapter, in the section on the use of ethnics and civic identity expression in Thessaly, I shall demonstrate that this pattern indeed began in the Hellenistic period and continued during the Late Republic and Imperial periods. Another possible explanation for the increased variability in funerary formulas can be found by examining the purpose of this genre of epigraphy. Funerary dedications were not only made for labeling the grave and identifying the deceased, but were a part of a commemorative action, which involved both the deceased and their living families.

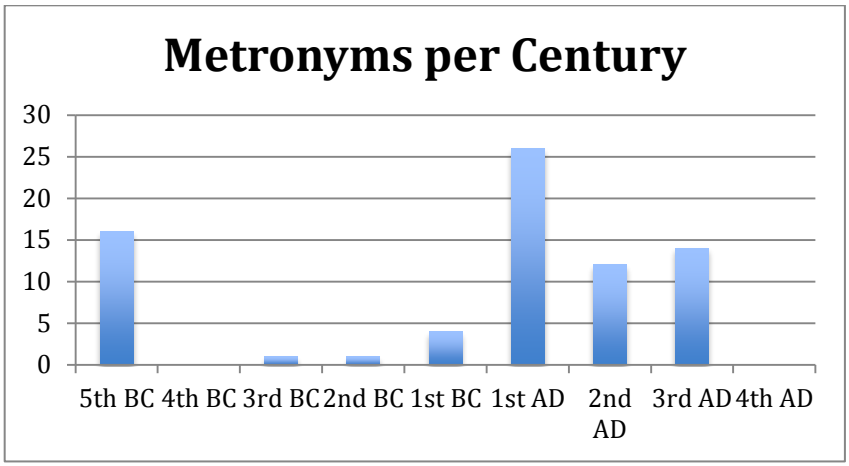
3) <u>Metronyms and Gamonyms</u>

Although the patronym was by far the most common secondary identifier used in the Greek world to differentiate individuals with the same personal name, it was not the only means. In a very small minority of epitaphs the mother's name was expressed, either alone or accompanied by the father's name. I have identified 43 epitaphs referencing the mother, approximately 4% of the 1,150. Not surprisingly, reference to matrilineal descent is far less frequent than the expression of the patronym, but as can be seen in the table and graph below, the first three centuries CE witness the most attestations.

Table 1.1.7 - Attestations of Metronyms per Century

Century	Attestations	% of Total Epitaphs per Century
5th BCE	3	16%
4th BCE	0	0%
3rd BCE	5	1%
2nd BCE	3	1%
1st BCE	2	4%
1st CE	12	26%
2nd CE	5	12%
3rd CE	3	14%
4th CE	0	0%

Graph 1.1.7 - Percentage of Epitaphs with Metronym per Century

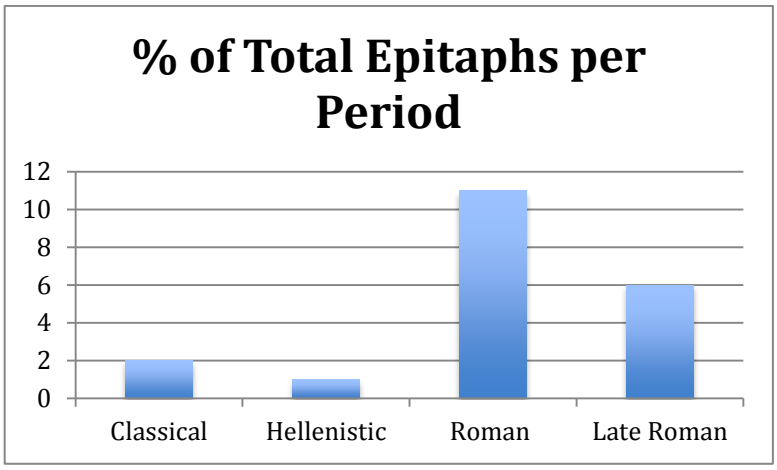


This pattern becomes even clearer when we look at the attestations of metronyms by historical period. The Roman period, as can be seen in the table and graph below, had double the attestations of any other period, while the late Roman period saw the second highest proportion of epitaphs giving the name of the mother.

Table 1.1.8 - Attestations of Metronym per Period

Period	Attestations	% of Total Epitaphs per Period
Classical	3	2%
Hellenistic	8	1%
Roman	29	11%
Late Roman	3	6%

Graph 1.1.8 - Percentage of Epitaphs with Metronyms per Period

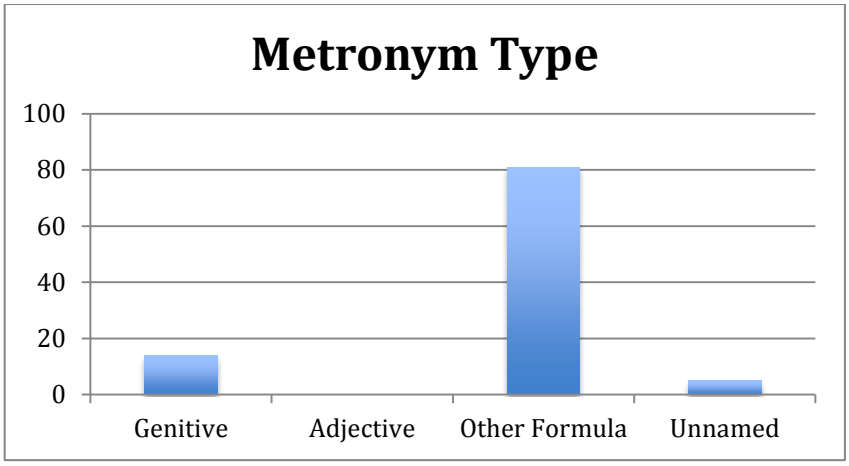


Unlike patronyms, the adjectival form of the metronym is not attested in Thessaly. As is evident in the table and graph below, the large majority of metronyms appear most frequently in dedicatory formulas, most often represented by the nominative for the dedicator and the accusative or dative for the deceased.

Table 1.1.9 - Metronym Type

Type of Metronym	Attestations	% of total Metronyms
Genitive	6	14%
Adjective	0	0%
Other Formula	35	81%
Unnamed	2	5%

Graph 1.1.9 - Metronym Type



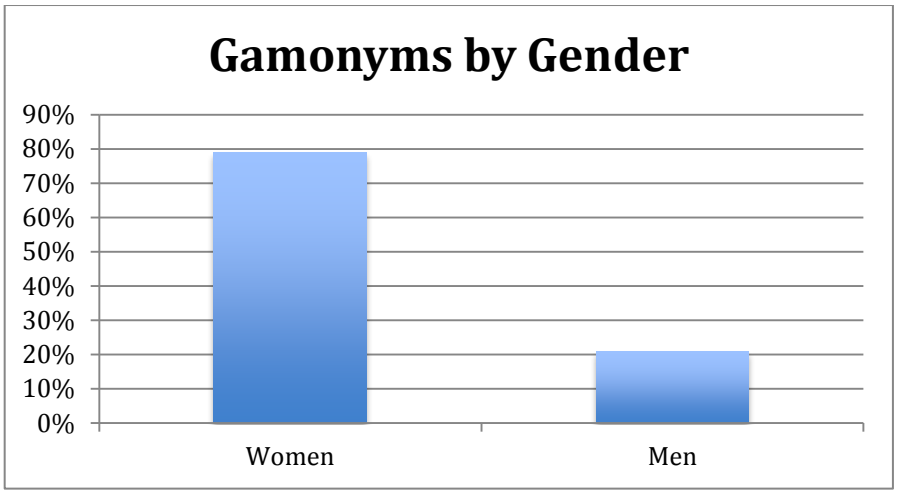
In two cases (*SEG* 38: 438 and Santin 2006, n°45), the mother was mentioned as a dedicator of the gravestone, but she was not named, in stark contrast to the father, who, if mentioned, was always named. In four of the six cases where the mother's name was expressed in the genitive (*SEG* 26: 643; *IG* IX 2, 0336; *IG* IX 2, 0738; and *SEG* 34: 569), the father's and mother's names occurred together, leaving only two cases where a metronym in the genitive occurred as the only identifier aside from the personal name of the deceased (*IG* IX 2, 0820 and *IG* IX 2, 0874). One of these cases is a double epitaph where mother and daughter are buried together (*IG* IX 2, 0874). The mother, Maxima, is identified specifically as the household slave (οἰκέτις) of an Amynandros, while the daughter is only referred to as Nikokrata, daughter of Maxima. There is no mention of the father of either woman, and while the text does not specifically refer to Nikokrata as a slave, it must be assumed that she would have had the same servile status as her mother. The dedicator of this epitaph is not mentioned explicitly, but it is possible that it was the owner, Amynandros. Overall, half of the metronyms expressed in the genitive occur in the Hellenistic period, and half in the Roman period.

A total of 89 cases, 8% of the 1,150 epitaphs under study, expressed a gamonym as a secondary identifier. As can be seen in the following table and graph, this secondary diacritic was used primarily in reference to married women (79% of the total of gamonyms), while in a minority of cases (19%) it was used in reference to a male, meaning that the name of the wife was given as the gamonym.

Table 1.1.10 - Gamonyms by Gender

Gender	Attestations	Gamonyms by Gender
Women	70	79%
Men	19	21%

Graph 1.1.10 - Gamonyms by Gender

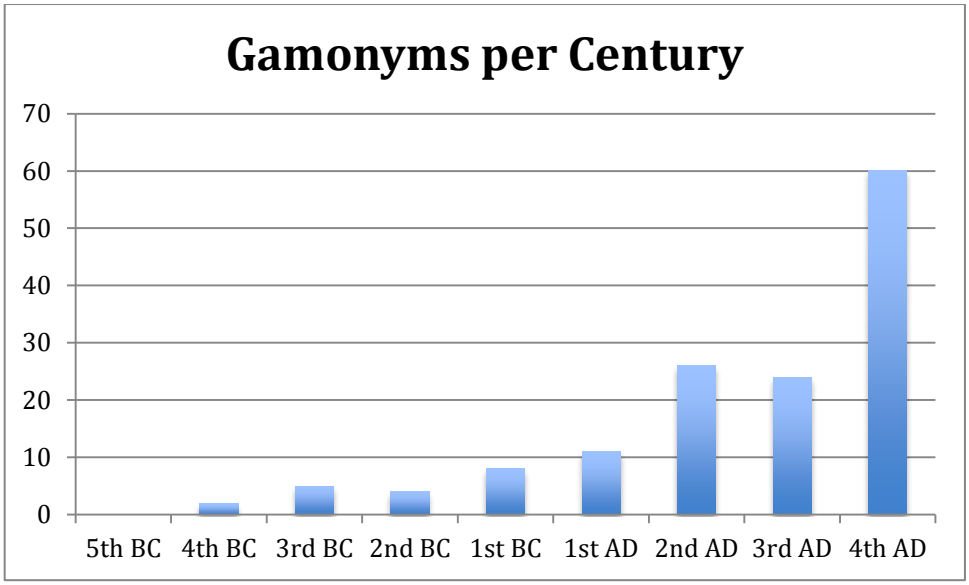


When we look at the attestations of gamonyms by century, which can be seen in the table and graph below, we see a very clear pattern of increasing frequency. Over time a steadily increasing number of epitaphs appear contained gamonyms.

Table 1.1.11 - Gamonyms by Century

Century	Attestations	% of Total Epitaphs per Century
5th BCE	0	0%
4th BCE	4	2%
3rd BCE	21	5%
2nd BCE	9	4%
1st BCE	4	8%
1st CE	5	11%
2nd CE	11	26%
3rd CE	5	24%
4th CE	3	60%

Graph 1.1.11 - Gamonyms by Century

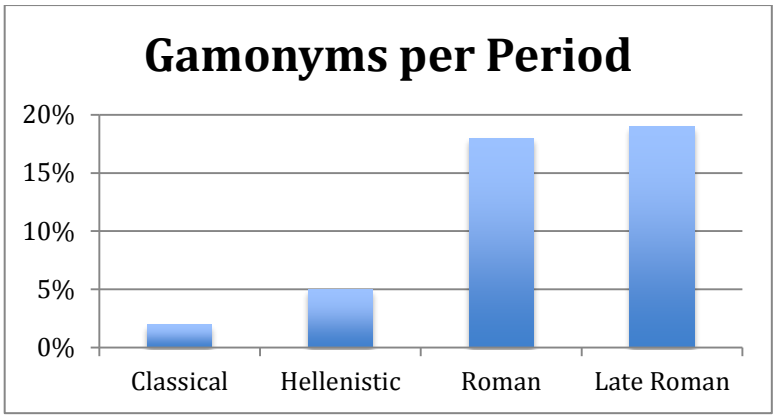


As was the case with patronyms and metronyms, the small sample size of the 5th century BCE and the 3rd and 4th centuries CE brings into question the statistical validity of this analysis. Once again, it is through the analysis of the larger dataset organized by historical period that assists in reducing bias. 5% or less of epitaphs in the Classical and Hellenistic periods contained a gamonym, while nearly 20% of all epitaphs from the Roman and Late Roman included the gamonym as one of the secondary identifiers, or the only one.

Table 1.1.12 - Gamonyms by Period

Period	Attestations	% of Epitaphs per Period
Classical	4	2%
Hellenistic	31	5%
Roman	45	18%
Late Roman	9	19%

Graph 1.1.12 - Gamonyms by Period

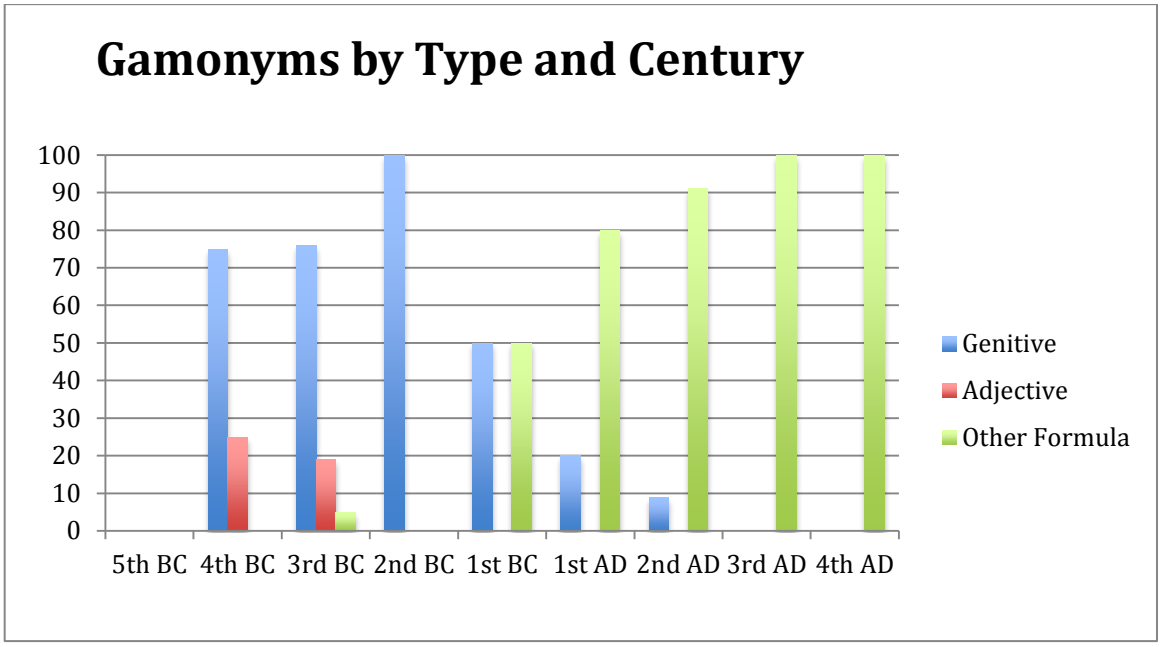


In analyzing the gamonym data both in terms of date and type we notice immediately the same pattern as was identified for the patronyms: genitives occur primarily in the centuries BCE, falling out of use in favour of other formulas in the 1st and later centuries CE, while the limited use of the Thessalian dialectical adjective form occurs in the 4th and 3rd centuries BCE before falling out of use altogether.

Table 1.1.13 - Gamonyms by Century and Type

Century	Total	Genitive	% of Gamonyms per Century	Adjective	% of Gamonyms per Century	Other Formula	% of Gamonyms per Century
5th BCE	0	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
4th BCE	4	3	75%	1	25%	0	0%
3rd BCE	21	16	76%	4	19%	1	5%
2nd BCE	9	9	100%	0	0%	0	0%
1st BCE	4	2	50%	0	0	2	50%
1st CE	5	1	20%	0	0	4	80%
2nd CE	11	1	9%	0	0	10	91%
3rd CE	5	0	0%	0	0	5	100%
4th CE	3	0	0%	0	0	3	100%

Graph 1.1.13 - Gamonyms by Type and Century



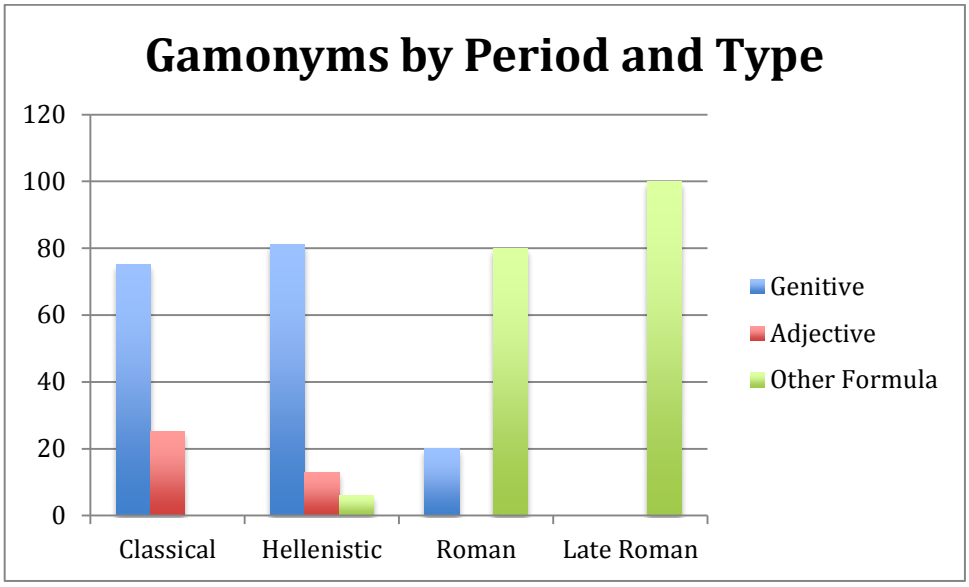
By dividing the data into broad periods, as in the table and graph below, the pattern of gamonym types over time is made increasingly clear. It is only during the Hellenistic and Roman periods that there is some overlap in the forms used; otherwise

there is a sharp differentiation between the way in which the gamonym was expressed over time.

Table 1.1.14 - Gamonyms by Period and Type

Period	Genitive	% of Gamonyms per Period	Adjective	% of Gamonyms per Period	Other Formula	% of Gamonyms per Period
Classical	3	75%	1	25%	0	0%
Hellenistic	25	81%	4	13%	2	6%
Roman	9	20%	0	0%	36	80%
Late Roman	0	0%	0	0%	9	100%

Graph -1.1.14 - Gamonyms by Period and Type



Since they appear only in formulas where the dedicator of the grave monument is named, and never occur in cases where another person is the dedicator of the grave stelai, it seems likely that the use of these other formulae, in contrast to the traditional genitive or adjectival forms, allowed women the opportunity to include their names on stone monuments which they had commissioned for their spouses. It is possible that this trend was the result, at least in part, of changing gender relations in the Hellenistic period.

Expression of Professional Designation

A total of 14 epitaphs gave the decreased a profession, the most common being a religious position; either priest (Decourt and Tziafalias 2007b, 338; *SEG* 25: 681; *IG*

IX 2, 0402), or seer (*I.Thess* 030; *SEG* 35: 626). Doctors represent the second most attested profession, with four epitaphs set up for five doctors. (Giannopoulos 1931, 130; *IG* IX 2, 0317; *SEG* 53: 1276; *SEG* 34: 497, this last epitaph is for two doctors). Other professions attested are two *presbuteroi* (*IG* IX 2, 1165; *AE* 1929, p.157, n°23), a pantomime artist (*AE* 1910, col.370-371, n°16), a gladiator (*AE* 1981, Αρχ. Χρον., p.37-52) and a ship owner or captain (*AE* 1929, p.143, n°11).

Table 1.1.15 - Attestations of Profession by Find Spot

Find Spot	Number	% of Professions
Demetrias	6	35%
Larissa	3	18%
Phthiotic Thebes	2	12%
Trikka	1	6%
Pharsalos	1	6%
Phyllos	1	6%
Doliche	1	6%
Atrax	1	6%
Unknown	1	6%
Total	**17**	**100%**

Graph 1.1.15 - Percentage of Total Professions by Find Spot

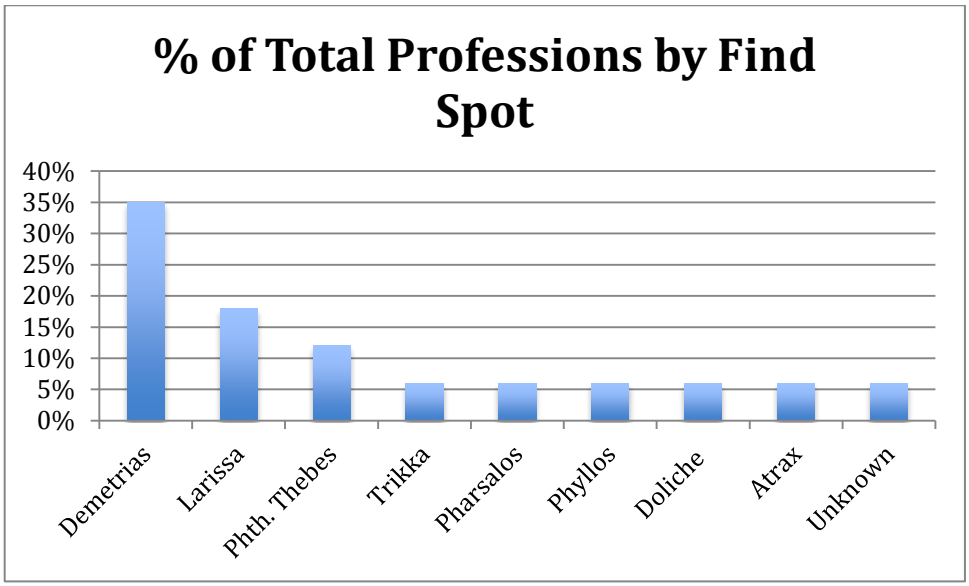


Table 1.1.16 - Professions by Century

Century	Number	% of Professions	% of Total Epitaphs per Century
5th BCE	0	0%	0%
4th BCE	0	0%	0%
3rd BCE	6	45%	1%
2nd BCE	1	8%	Less than 1%
1st BCE	1	8%	2%
1st CE	0	0%	0%
2nd CE	4	31%	9%
3rd CE	1	8%	5%
4th CE	0	0%	0%
Total	**13**	**100%**	

Religious identities: Jewish and Christian

An interesting category of identity attested in Thessaly is religious identity, particularly Jewish and Christian. No epitaphs explicitly use a word such as 'Christian' or 'Jewish' as an identity marker for this category of identity, either imagery such as a cross or the Chi-Rho in the case of Christian, or a specific formula, τῷ λαῷ, in the case of Jewish serves to identify this aspect of the deceased's identity. I have identified 10 cases of Jewish identity by the inclusion of τῷ λαῷ (to/for the people) (Panayotou 2014, 63), all but one dating from the 1st to the 3rd centuries CE and all but one coming from Larissa. I have identified 13 Christian epitaphs by the inclusion of the iconographic symbols of a cross or Chi-Rho. All but two of these were found in Phthiotic Thebes, a known important site during the Late Roman period. The remaining two came from Larissa. None of the Christian epitaphs are dated to a specific century but to the Christian period, which for my purposes is the Late Roman period.

Expression of slave and freedman status

Before presenting the results of the analysis of slave and freedman identity in Thessaly, it is important to discuss the visibility of these categories in the epigraphic record. In total I have identified 18 freedmen and nine slaves. These 27 cases all explicitly refer to the individual as either a slave or a freedman/woman. What is unclear is whether an explicit reference to such status was included in all epitaphs for these classes of individuals. If we assume that all epitaphs for slaves and freedmen explicitly

mentioned their status, and non-local individuals mention their civic identity, do the remaining individuals all represent citizens of a given *polis*? It is possible that that some single name epitaphs, without any secondary identifiers, could belong to slaves or even freedmen, but this is not possible to determine with certainty. It seems possible to me that freedmen would be more likely to have epitaphs that do not explicitly mention status, since, they no longer belong to the servile class and would have rights and privileges closer to free individuals or resident foreigners. Again, it is not possible to determine if any individuals without explicit reference to status could belong to either the slave or freedman classes. Therefore, for the purposes of this analysis, I am operating under the assumption that the status of slaves and freedmen would be identified on their grave stelai, although the ancient reality is likely to have been otherwise.

I identified a total of nine slave epitaphs, but since six of these cannot not be dated more precisely than to a general period, there is not enough data to analyse in terms of temporal distribution by century and I have therefore only analysed this category by period. I have identified three different terms in use to denote slaves: οἰκέτης (a household slave), δοῦλος (chattel slave) and θρεπτός (housebred slave). As is evident from the table below, the Roman and Late Roman periods had the highest percentage of slave epitaphs. The small numbers is likely due to the fact that in many, if not most cases, slaves may not have been provided with a funerary inscription after burial. It is also possible that some may have been given grave markers of a perishable nature such as wood. Alternatively, as mentioned above, it is possible that at least some of the single name epitaphs belonged to slaves. It is not possible to confirm any of these scenarios, a problem generally found in any archaeological studies of the servile class, a group whose numerical presence in the past reality is nearly invisible in the present archaeological remains.

Table 1.1.17 - Chronological Distribution of Slave epitaphs per Period

Period	Number	% of Slaves	% of Epitaphs per Period
Classical	0	0%	0%
Hellenistic	1	11%	less than 1%
Roman	5	56%	2%
Late Roman	3	33%	6%

In all but one of the nine cases the patron is identified: a patron whose name does not survive sets up a grave stelai for his own slave Zosimos (IG IX 2, 972), the slave Maxima and her daughter Nikokrata have a patron with the name Amynandros (IG IX 2, 874), Romia is the slave of Philas (IG IX 2, 856), Agnos is the *doulos* of Sosipatros (IG IX 2, 88), Diogenis is the *threptos* of Polyxenos (GHW02179), Telesphorion is the *threptos* of Gnaios Pompeios Aphthoros (GHW02037), Orbana is the *oiketis* of Isagoros (*IG* IX 2, 925), and Leontogenes is the *oiketis* of Isidorou (GHW00988).

I have identified 18 epitaphs where the deceased individual is labelled as *apeleutheros*/*a*, all of which date to the Roman period.[1] In every case the patron is identified. An interesting epitaph refers to a Hermione as both the wife and freedwoman of a Tiberius (GHW02410). Tiberius is not given a patronym or any other secondary identifiers and therefore his status is unknown, although judging from the fact that his wife is also his freedwoman it is likely that he is a free male citizen (either Greek, Roman or both) of Larissa, the city in which the stelai was found. Larissa, once again, has the largest quantity of freedmen epitaphs with 16 of the 18 cases being found here. The other two were found at Demetrias (GHW02549) and Olooson (GHW02638).

1.2. Extra Honorary Data Analysis

When I analysed the recipients of the honours by century, I noticed several patterns. First of all, no individual with a Roman name is honoured before the 2nd

[1] *IG* IX 2, 868; *IG* IX 2, 854; ; *IG* IX 2, 851; GHW01642; *IG* IX 2, 865; *IG* IX 2, 858; IX 2, 853; *SEG* 46: 648; *IG* IX 2, 852; *IG* IX 2, 855; *IG* IX 2, 857; *AE* 1916, n°295; *ThessHim* 7, 226, n°109; *SEG* 42: 517; GHW05990; GHW01718; *IG* IX 2, 1166; *IG* IX 2, 856.

century BCE, as can be seen in the graph and table below. This is surprising, since although we would expect the Romans to be strongly active in Thessaly after their victory against the Macedonians at the start of the century, they had already been active in Thessaly in the last part of the 3rd century BCE. Since, however, this involvement was predominantly military and not as much political or economic, it is less surprising that no honours are documented before Flamininus and the Romans freed the Thessalian cities at the end of the Second Macedonian War in 197 BCE.

Over half of the recipients with Roman names were honoured between the 2nd and 1st centuries BCE, which is perhaps surprising since the 1st century BCE marked only the official beginning of Roman imperial domination over Greece. We would expect to see more Romans honoured as time went by, but from the 1st century CE there is a drastic drop-off in attestations. This same drop-off is witnessed across all recipients, but it occurred a century earlier.

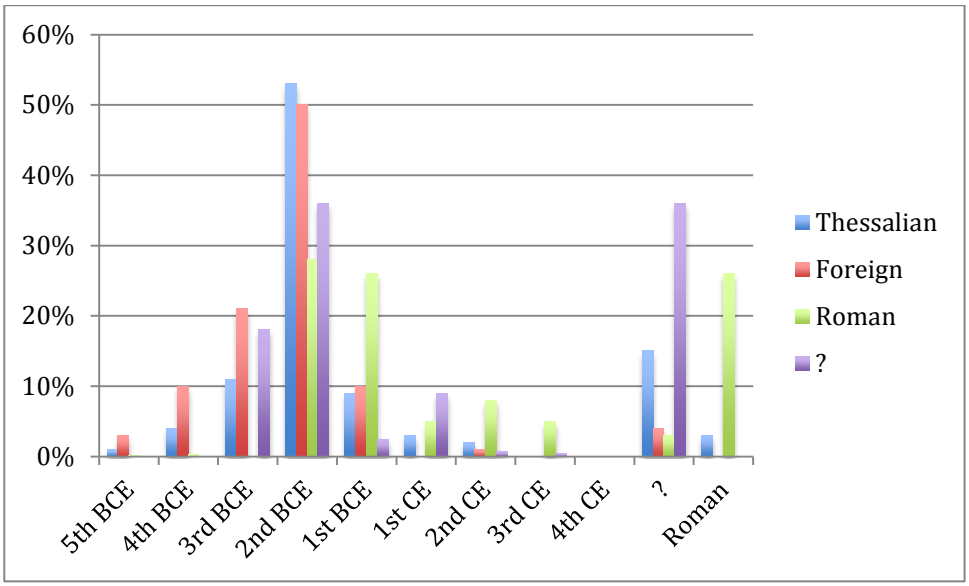
Approximately two-thirds of the recipients from both Thessalian and foreign *poleis* were honoured in the 2nd century BCE or earlier, leaving a small percentage distributed from the 1st century BCE to the 2nd century CE. Although honours for Thessalians and foreigners were attested until the 2nd century CE, already in the 1st century BCE there was a dramatic reduction in the attestations, while individuals with Roman names continue receiving honours for another century before the practice disappears. This is significant since it shows a continuation of the practice, although in a much reduced capacity, into the Late Roman period. By the 3rd century CE, it seems that no individuals with Greek names were being honoured. Is this due to a lack of involvement on the part of Greek citizens in the affairs of their own or other *poleis*? Or perhaps it is no longer customary to compensate the activities or benefactions of local or foreign citizens with the granting of honours. It is also possible that the so-called Third Century Crisis of the Roman Empire had consequences even in Thessaly and the rest of the Greek world resulting in, among other things, a reduction of capital investment on the granting of honours to individuals. Another solution lies in the possibility that these individuals represent citizens of Thessalian *poleis*, who by this time had Roman citizenship granted through the *Constitutio Antoniniana* in 212 CE that enfranchised all free inhabitants of the Roman empire (see Buraselis 1993, 61-3 for a

discussion of the different theories regarding the association of use of the name Aurelius with the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

Table 1.2.1- Honours by Recipient Type by Century with Foreign Honours Removed

Date	Thessalian	% of Total Thessalian	Foreign	% of Total Foreign	Roman	% of Total Roman
5th BCE	1	1%	2	3%	0	0%
4th BCE	6	4%	7	10%	0	0%
3rd BCE	19	11%	14	21%	0	0%
2nd BCE	90	53%	34	50%	11	28%
1st BCE	15	9%	7	10%	10	26%
1st CE	5	3%	0	0%	2	5%
2nd CE	4	2%	1	1%	3	8%
3rd CE	0	0%	0	0%	2	5%
4th CE	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Unknown	25	15%	3	4%	1	3%
Roman	5	3%	0	0%	10	26%
Total	**170**	**100%**	**68**	**100%**	**39**	**100%**

Graph 1.2.1 - Percentage of Recipient Type by Century with Foreign Honours Removed



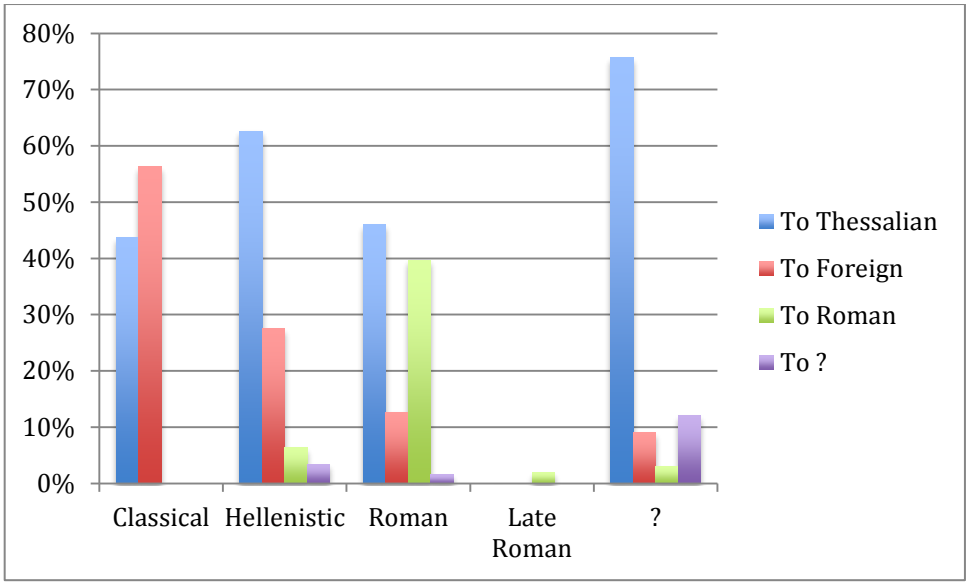
Once again, in order to incorporate inscriptions dated generally to the Roman period, analysis is conducted by period, as can be seen in the table and graph below. In the Classical period individuals with Greek names, from both Thessalian and foreign *poleis* were honoured with similar frequency, the latter being attested slightly more

often, although in general very few honours are documented for this period. The Hellenistic period sees an explosion in the attestations of honours. The recipients of the Hellenistic period are predominantly individuals from Thessalian *poleis* (63%), although foreigners are still represented at 28% of the total. Individuals with Roman names begin to be honoured in the Hellenistic period, but it is not until the Roman period that they represent a significant proportion of the honours attested. Individuals from Thessaly are still honoured more frequently than any other category, although those with Roman names are a close second. Foreigners, on the other hand, see a marked drop in the frequency of honours received in the Roman period, dropping down to 13% of the total. As already seen, the Late Roman period is practically devoid of honours and the two single attestations honour Roman-named recipients.

Table 1.2.2. - Percentage of Total Grants by Recipients per Period with Foreign Grants removed

Period	Thessalian	% of Total per Period	Foreign	% of Total per Period	Roman	% of Total per Period	Unknown	% of Total per Period	Total
Classical	7	44%	9	66%	0	0%	0	0%	16
Hellenistic	109	63%	48	28%	11	6%	6	3%	174
Roman	29	46%	8	13%	25	40%	1	1%	63
Late Roman	0	0%	0	0%	2	100%	0	0%	2
Unknown	25	76%	3	9%	1	3%	4	12%	33
Total	170		68		39		11		288

Graph 1.2.2 – Percentage of Total Grants by Recipients per Period with Foreign Grants removed



Geographic Distribution of Honours

In order to determine whether any patterns were discernable in the physical distribution of honours granted, analysis of the geographical distribution of recipients was conducted, looking both at the origins of the recipients as well as the city or league granting the honours, in order to determine whether certain cities or leagues had a tendency to honour individuals from given areas. In addition this analysis sheds light on the scale of the social strategies used by different individuals. I concentrate on determining whether the cities honoured local citizens, other Thessalians, other Greek foreigners, or Romans at the same time as I focus on whether individuals were actively engaged in *poleis* on local, regional, Hellenic, or Roman provincial scales.

When the honours were analysed in terms of the home *patris* of the Thessalian recipients, visible in the Table below, it became evident that Larissa dominates with 24% of the honours, while Demetrias takes second place takes 13%, as can be seen in the table and graph below. The city with the next highest frequency is Hypata, which with less than half the attestations of Demetrias represents 6% of the total. The remaining cities all have fewer than ten honours each and represent 5% or under of the total. It is hardly surprising that citizens from Larissa and Demetrias are honoured more frequently than those from other cities. As the seats of their respective leagues and important cities in their own rights it is not unlikely that cities hoping to entice Larissan or Demetrian benefactors to continue their activities in their city offered honours in the

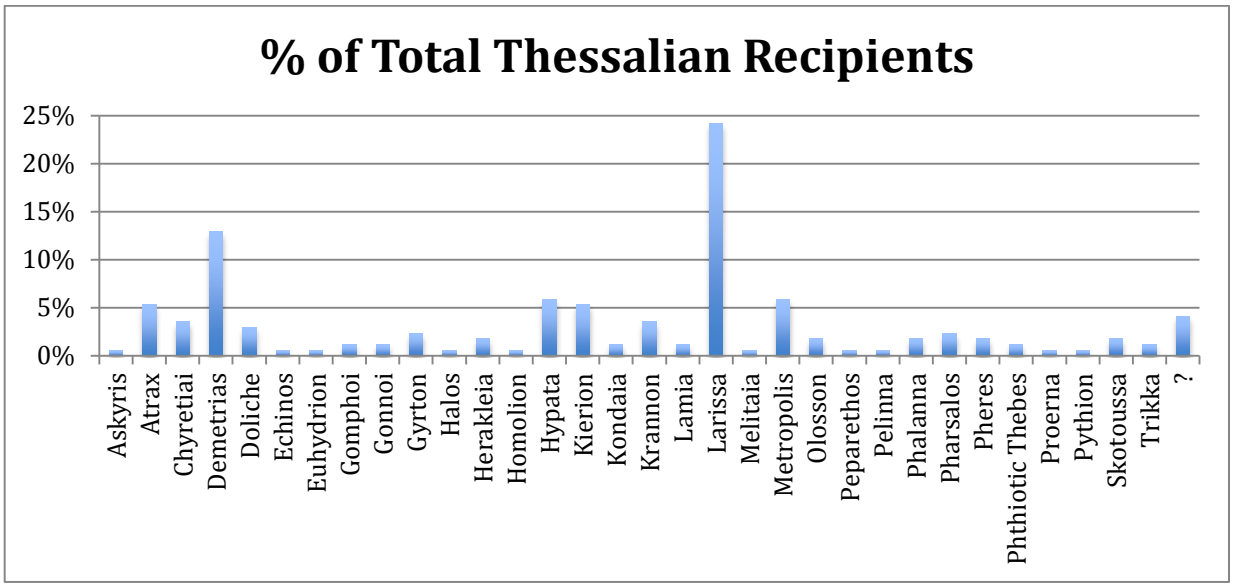
hopes of creating a sense of continuing obligation on the part of the benefactor. The wealthiest and most prominent individuals would make the best benefactors; not only would they have the spare income necessary for the completion of benefactions, but they would also be better known and potentially have greater influence in the political and economic Pherai.

Table 1.2.3 - Thessalian Recipient Patris by Percentage of Total Thessalian Recipients

Recipient City	Attestations	% of Total Thessalian Honours
Askyris	1	1%
Atrax	9	5%
Chyretiai	6	4%
Demetrias	22	13%
Doliche	5	3%
Echinos	1	1%
Euhydrion	1	1%
Gomphoi	2	1%
Gonnoi	2	1%
Gyrton	4	2%
Halos	1	1%
Herakleia Trachinia	3	2%
Homolion	1	1%
Hypata	10	6%
Kierion	9	5%
Kondaia	2	1%
Krannon	6	4%
Lamia	2	1%
Larissa	41	24%
Melitaia	1	1%
Metropolis	10	6%
Olooson	3	2%
Peparethos	1	1%
Pelinna	1	1%
Phalanna	3	2%
Pharsalos	4	2%
Pherai	3	2%
Phthiotic Thebes	2	1%
Proerna	1	1%
Pythion	1	1%
Skotoussa	3	2%
Trikka	2	1%
Unknown	7	4%

Total	**170**	**100%**

Graph 1.2.3 -Thessalian Recipient Patris by % of Total Thessalian Honours



When we look at which Thessalian cities the honorands came from and by which community they are honoured, presented in the following table and figure, a few important patterns emerge. First of all, Gonnoi, a city that did not attest to much movement as evidenced by the presence of ethnics expressed on tombstones, comes to the forefront as the city that granted the most amount of honours, particularly to citizens of other Thessalian cities. Larissa also attests to a large amount of honours offered, however, in contrast to Gonnoi, a substantial proportion of the individuals honoured came from areas outside of Thessaly. The nature of the archaeological excavations at Gonnoi means that the epigraphic data from this city are likely the most representative of the complete ancient epigraphic corpus for a Thessalian city (see Helly 1973a and 1973b), meaning that this data is particularly illuminating. It is possible that the large quantity of honours granted in Gonnoi reflect a response to the war against Perseus, who for some time had established camp at Gonnoi (Livy 42.54). The pressure placed on the city from the Macedonian garrison stationed there, not to mention the harvesting of crops for the army, could have been a causative factor in the subsequent attempts of Gonnoi to attract, or encourage the continued activity of, wealthy benefactors and new citizens.

Of the 41 honours granted to Larissaians, 19 of them were granted by the *polis* of

Larissa, thus representing honours to its own citizens. The remaining bodies that honoured Larissaians are Gonnoi (site 16), Halos (site 40), Krannon (site 23), Lamia (site 84), Larissa (site 20), Mopsion (site 17), Peuma (site 33), Thaumakoi (site 36), Pteleon (site 44), the Thessalian League and the Magnesian League. Interestingly, all of the cities listed here are located in the eastern half of Thessaly, represented by the tetrads of Pelasgiotis and Phthiotis and the perioikic regions of Perrhaibia, Achaia Phthiotis and the Spercheios Valley region of Ainis. No honours were granted to Larissaians by any other region of Thessaly. Citizens of Demetrias (site 108) are likewise honoured by eastern states: Demetrias (site 108), Gonnoi (site 16), Olooson (site 13), Spalauthra (site 47), the Thessalian *koinon* and the Magnesian *koinon*. In fact, very few citizens from western Thessalian cities are represented as recipients of honours: only a total of 23 citizens from Hestiaiotis or Thessaliotis were honoured (10 from Metropolis (site 2), 9 from Kierion (site 9), 2 from Gomphoi (site 78), and 2 from Trikka (site 1)), compared with 147 from eastern cities. Moreover, the few recipients from the western portion were honoured by eastern cities: two citizens of Gomphoi, are honoured by Gonnoi, , citizens from Metropolis are honoured by the Neoi of Larissa, the Ainian *koinon*, and the cities of Phalanna, Lamia, and Gonnoi. Atrax and Gonnoi honoured two citizens from Trikka, while Demetrias, Gonnoi, Kierion itself, Larissa and Krannon honour citizens of Kierion. No other citizens of either Hestiaiotis or Thessaliotis were honoured at all, nor is anyone from Dolopia. Since, as mentioned in Chapter 2, the western portion of Thessaly has been the recipient of substantially less scholarly study, both historical and archaeological, it is entirely possible that the discrepancy is due to this. It is also true, however, that most of the major settlements were located in eastern Thessaly, and that most political and economic activity, particularly on a regional and supra-regional scale, took place there. Additionally, since the data on the expression of ethnics in the funerary inscriptions also indicated movement from west towards the east of individuals, it is possible that since, particularly as time went on, a large part of the activity took place in the subregions of Pelasgiotis, Achaia Phthiotis, Magnesia and Ainis, these areas were more attractive centres for political and economic advancement through the use of social strategies.

Table 1.2.4 – Percentage of Total Honours by Thessalian Honouring City and Honorand Patris

Honouring	Honorand	Attestations	% of	Honouring	Honorand	Attestati	% of

City	Patris		Total	City	Patris	ons	Total
Aiginion	Gonnoi	1	1%	**Larissa**	Hypata	1	1%
Atrax	Atrax	3	2%		Kierion	1	1%
	Trikka	1	1%		Larissa	19	11%
Chyretiai	Chyretiai	6	4%		Metropolis	1	1%
	Olooson	1	1%		Skotoussa	1	1%
Demetrias	Demetrias	5	3%	**Molossoi**	Larissa	1	1%
	Herakleia	1	1%	**Metropolis**	Krannon	1	1%
	Kierion	1	1%		Hypata	1	1%
Doliche	Doliche	5	3%	**Mopsion**	Atrax	2	1%
Echinos	Echinos	1	1%		Larissa	1	1%
Ekkara	Melitaia	1	1%	**Olooson**	Demetrias	1	1%
Erythrai	Hypata	1	1%	**Peparethos**	Larissa	1	1%
Euhydrion	Euhydrion	1	1%	**Peuma**	Larissa	1	1%
Gonnoi	Atrax	2	1%	**Phalanna**	Gyrton	1	1%
	Demetrias	1	1%		Metropolis	2	1%
	Gomphoi	2	1%		Phalanna	1	1%
	Gonnoi	1	1%	**Pharsalos**	Pharsalos	2	1%
	Homolion	1	1%	**Phayttos**	Gyrton	1	1%
	Kierion	5	3%	**Pherai**	Atrax	1	1%
	Kondaia	2	1%		Krannon	1	1%
	Krannon	3	2%		Peparethos	1	1%
	Larissa	6	4%		Phthiotic Thebes	2	1%
	Metropolis	4	2%		Proerna	1	1%
	Olooson	2	1%		Skotoussa	1	1%
	Phalanna	2	1%		Pherai	1	1%
	Pherai	1	1%	**Phthiotic Thebes**	Pherai	1	1%
	Phthiotic Thebes	1	1%	**Pteleon**	Larissa	1	1%
	Skotoussa	1	1%	**Pythion**	Askyris	1	1%
	Trikka	1	1%		Pythion	1	1%
Halos	Halos	1	1%	**Spalauthra**	Demetrias	1	1%
	Larissa	1	1%	**Thaumakoi**	Gyrton	2	1%
Herakleia	Herakleia	1	1%		Herakleia	1	1%
Hypata	Hypata	6	4%		Lamia	1	1%
Krannon	Krannon	1	1%		Larissa	2	1%
	Larissa	2	1%	**Thessalian *Koinon***	Demetrias	3	2%
	Metropolis	1	1%		Gyrton	1	1%
	Pharsalos	2	1%		Larissa	1	1%
Lamia	Lamia	1	1%	**Ainian *Koinon***	Krannon	1	1%
	Larissa	2	1%		Larissa	1	1%
	Metropolis	1	1%		Metropolis	1	1%

	Pelinna	1	1%	**Magnesian *Koinon***	Demetrias	11	6%
	Atrax	1	1%		?	3	2%
	Hypata	1	1%	**Neoi**	Metropolis	1	1%
	Kierion	1	1%		Larissa	3	2%

If we look at the above Table 1.2.4 and in terms of what cities each *polis* honoured, a few particularities surface. Gonnoi certainly granted honours to the most diverse locations, speaking both geographically and in terms of importance or centrality. Cities from all four tetrads as well as the perioikic regions of Magnesia and Achaia Phthiotis are represented. Only the Spercheios Valley regions are left out, in addition to Dolopia and Athamania, which as noted in Chapter 2, suffer from a lack of systematic study. Gonnoi granted the most honours to citizens of Larissa, unsurprisingly since Larissa was overall the most commonly honoured *patris*. Kierion, a much smaller city in Thessaliotis, receives the next largest number of honours, while Metropolis takes third place, and Krannon fourth. Larissa and Metropolis represent two large influential *poleis*, the former decidedly more so than the latter. Kierion and Krannon, as well as Atrax, Gomphoi, Kondaia, Olooson and Phalanna, on the other hand, are at best mid-sized *poleis* from geographically dispersed regions. Larissa, in contrast, honoured its own citizens foremost, followed by citizens from Hypata, Kierion, Metropolis and Skotoussa. Lamia honoured only one of its own citizens, and citizens from Larissa, Metropolis, Pelinna, Hypata and Kierion. In fact, Lamia represents the city, which granted honours to the most citizens from western cities. Pherai, located in Pelasgiotis, exclusively honoured citizens from eastern cities: Atrax, Krannon, Phthiotic Thebes, Proerna, Skotoussa and Pherai itself.

When we look at the honouring activities of the federal leagues, we see that only the Ainian *koinon* offers honours to a western city, Metropolis, in addition to Krannon and Larissa. The Thessalian league's activities were concentrated in Pelasgiotis and Magnesia, while the Magnesian league honours only citizens from Demetrias, in addition to three citizens of an unknown Thessalian city. The honorary activity of the leagues account for only 22 honours for 13% of the total.

Table 1.2.5 - Foreign Recipients by City of Origin and % of Total Foreign Recipients

Recipient City	Attestations	% of Total
Aitolia	5	7%

Alexandria Troas	2	3%
Amphissa	1	1%
Athens	8	12%
Cassopea	1	1%
Chalkis	1	1%
Corinth	1	1%
Crete	2	3%
Cyrene	1	1%
Europos	1	1%
Halicarnassus	1	1%
Hierapolis	1	1%
Karystos	1	1%
Kebros	1	1%
Kleitor	1	1%
Kos	1	1%
Kyme	1	1%
Macedonia	13	19%
Magnesia on the Menander	1	1%
Messene	3	4%
Miletus	2	3%
Mylasa	1	1%
Mytilene	1	1%
Opous	4	6%
Pergamum	2	3%
Rhodes	1	1%
Skarphea	1	1%
Smyrna	1	1%
Stratos	3	4%
Thasos	1	1%
Unknown	3	4%
Total	**68**	**100%**

The analysis of the geographical distribution of foreign recipients, visible in the table above, established that citizens of Macedonia received the most honours, 19% of the total, while Athens has the second highest frequency with 12%. Aitolians are in are the next most represented honourees with five attestations, 7% of the total, followed by Opous in Lokris with 6%. Three citizens each from Messene and Stratos received honours, and two each from Miletus, Crete and Alexandria Troas. The remaining foreign cities attest to 1% of the total each with a single attestation each. Only a single citizen from North Africa was honoured, from Cyrene. A total of 12 honours for ten cities of Asia Minor were granted, while a total of 34 citizens from 17 Greek cities

from either mainland Greece or the Greek islands received honours. I was unable to determine the origins of the recipients of three honours, although it was possible to determine that they were granted to foreigners based on remaining fragments, which identify the inscription as an honorary decree for foreign judges.

Larissa and Gonnoi honoured the most foreign citizens; Larissa honoured 17 from 12 different foreign locations and Gonnoi 17 from six foreign states. The Thessalian *koinon* takes third place, having honoured six citizens from five foreign cities. The honours granted by Larissa are relatively evenly split between recipients from Asia Minor and the Greek mainland and islands. Additionally, Larissa honoured a citizen from Aitolia and two from Macedonia. Gonnoi honoured six citizens from Macedonia, representing the city which granted the most honours to Macedonians, followed by Larissa and the Thessalian *koinon*, which each honoured two Macedonians. Erythrai, Krannon, Lamia, and the Magnesian *koinon* honoured citizens from Aitolia, which, especially in the cases of Erythrai and Lamia, is not surprising given the Aitolian control over this zone of Thessaly in the 3rd century BCE. Mopsion honoured the only citizen from Cyrene in North Africa to be honoured, and no individuals from Egypt were identified as honorands, despite the fact that we know of Egyptians living and dying in Thessaly, as seen in Chapter 4. It is quite interesting that no citizens of Delphi were honoured, especially given the high attestation of Delphian honours for Thessalians (61), as demonstrated earlier in this chapter. The relationship between Thessaly and Delphi was quite important, with Thessalians holding the majority of votes and usually fulfilling the role of the president of the Amphictyony, so it is strange that at no time was there a reciprocation of the Delphian honours granted to Thessalians. This relationship will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, in the context of the role of the Amphictyony and Delphi in general as a social strategy employed by the elite members of Thessalian society.

1.3. Extra Means of Obtaining Honours Analysis

Athletic Competitions, Festivals and Games

Onno van Nijf, studying the acquisition of multiple citizenships by athletes and performers in the Greek world, found that thousands of monuments existed detailing the citizenships that athletes had received from cities, highlighting their status and distinctions, elevated by the *poleis* to the level of benefactor (van Nijf 2012, 175). Cities honoured athletes, artists and performers with citizenship in the hopes of maintaining a relationship of mutual benefaction for the future. The 2nd century BCE saw a general increase in agonistic festivals in Greece, and under the Principate an "agonistic explosion" occurred in the proliferation of athletic festivals (van Nijf 2009, 6-7; 2012, 175-8). Van Nijf reports that these festivals became a source of rivalry in which host cities competed to host the biggest and best games, with the best prizes and performers (van Nijf 2009; 2012, 178; for athletes in the Roman period Greek world see van Nijf 2006; 2012). Roman names are documented among the participants and victors of different athletic competitions and games, particularly at the Eleuthereia of Larissa, celebrated in honour of the tutelary deity of the Thessalian league, as well as the liberation of Thessaly from Macedonian control (Eckstein 2008, 296-7; Graninger thesis, 95-6, note 65). Several inscriptions were found honouring victors of different contests. A Neapolitan with Greek name (--ης Ἰσιδῶρου) as winner of a lyre contest was honoured sometime between 116 and 80 BCE (*IG* IX 2, 528, I.15), while a Roman, qualified by (Ῥωμαῖος), with an incompletely deciphered name also won a lyre contest towards the middle of the 1st century BCE (*IG* IX 2, 534, I). Hatzfeld (1919) identifies other Italians as winners of local contests and since their names appear without ethnic Hatzfeld therefore identified them as local residents, although it is possible that their use of the *tria nomina* was sufficient to identity them as Romans originating from Italy without the explicit inclusion of their origins. In addition to athletes, performers could be honoured, such as the poetess Aristodama of Smyrna and her brother Dionysios who were granted *politeia* and *enktesis* by Lamia (*IG* IX 2, 0062).

In addition to athletes and performers themselves, the funding or organizing of games could result in grants of proxeny or citizenship, as was the case with two Thessalians honoured as *agonothetai* of the Pythian games at Delphi (*FD* III 4, 63; *BCH* 23 (1899), 555, n°41a). At Delphi in particular, a change in the financing and organization of the games was part of a larger evolution in the politics and economics of the time. Bouchon, in his 2005 thesis on the elite families of Thessaly and Delphi,

determined that from at least the 1st century CE onwards, the majority of documented agonothetai at Delphi, responsible for the management financing of the games (Bouchon 2005, 108; personal correspondence 2015-09-03). Honours and grants of citizenship were the potential reward for organizing and funding a successful agonistic festival, an incentive for the magistrate to dedicate more of his funds while it resulted in an increase of revenue for the *polis* generally as the city flooded with tourists and athletes, and provided a much needed focus for appeasing the citizenry through the provision of entertainment, feasts, and the chance to make important contacts. It is likely that this practice has existed already for some time in the Greek world, since the financing of *poleis* in general relied more and more heavily on benefactions from the Hellenistic period onwards, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter.

The importance in network creation of events such as festivals, where citizens of many different areas of the Greek world convened to participate in or observe the games, and in order to network and make lucrative contacts, as demonstrated in the case of a Larissaian citizenship grant for Zobios, son of Zobios, of Chalkis. This mentioned that he and his brother Dionysios had been awarded proxeny by the Thessalian *koinon* previously (SEG 55: 608; Helly and Tziafalias, 2004-2005), 407-17, n.II). The main editor of the text suggests that it was through athletic competitions that the connections were made between the honorands and the proposers of the citizenship grant, Philokrates son of Antigonus (SEG 55: 608). He suggests that since both cities had athletic competitions in this period, the Eleuthereia in Larissa and the Rhomaia in Chalkis, it was likely though mutual participation in these contests that the ties were made. The rationale given by the Larissan Philokrates for the grant of citizenship was that he had lived for many years in the city (Ζωβίου ὅτι ἐ[πὶ] / [τ]ὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἐνδημήσας ἀπὸ χρόνω[ν. l [π]λειόνων l 11-12), had shown himself to be beyond reproach both in his *patris* and in Larissa (ἀνέγκλητος ἦν γεγονὼς καὶ τῆ[ς]/[ἰ]δίας πατρίδος καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλε[ως], ll 12-13), and most importantly, that the honorand still has many services to provide the city and its people ([ἐ]μφανίζοντος δὲ καὶ διότι πολ[λοῖς τῶν] / [π]ολιτῶν χρήσιμος ἦν γεγ[ονώς- - - - - - -], ll 14-15) (SEG 55: 608). The argument for connections between the Larissan and the Chalkidian by means of athletic competitions is convincing, although, but since nothing is explicitly mentioned in the inscription about either contest this has to remain a theory. This inscription is particularly important because it demonstrates not only the process of a citizen

requesting citizenship for a *proxenos*, but also because it explicitly sets up the fact that this individual has many services still to offer the city, supplying evidence for the fact that *poleis* benefited from the acquisition of new wealthy citizens. It confirms the cyclical reciprocal relationship: Zobios had offered his services as proxenos to a Thessalian, he received proxeny in return, and perhaps other additional benefits (not detailed in this inscription). Based on the fact that the inscription mentions that he lived in Larissa for many years it is possible that he had received the award of *enktesis* when he was granted proxeny. Since he has many services to still render to the *polis*, it is very likely that he had continued his benefactions. Through his connection with the Larissan Philokrates, Zobios received citizenship with the explicit reminder of his continued obligation to serve the *polis*.

In the Roman period, the creation and adaptation of existing festivals in honour of influential Roman citizens and Roman emperors, provides important information on how existing institutions were adapted to the new geo-political context (Camia 2009, 207). Participants from Thessaly in *kaisareia* in Larissa are documented, as well at Corinth and Epidaurus, while *sebasteia* are documented in Hypata and Demetrias, as well as Argos (Camia 2009, 207-208; 2011, 130; see also Kantirea 2008 for evidence of the imperial cult in the province of Achaia). Tied to the practice of the imperial cult, which will be discussed later in this chapter, the creation and renaming of games in honour of Roman emperors provides evidence for the attempts of *poleis*, as well as leading citizens through their financing, to engage with the imperial authority in attempts to benefit from the associations created.

7.2.7. Adoption and Manumission

We have already seen above how creating links with influential *poleis* or important institutions such as the Delphic Amphictyony, serving in certain

magistracies, and performing certain benefactions or services for a *polis* allowed individuals to bolster their position and influence in society. In addition to these social strategies, the institutions of adoption and manumission functioned as a means for families and individuals to create socially binding associations and alliances with influential families and enlarge their social networks, and to negotiate their identity in order to gain social, economic, political and/or cultural capital. While marriage has been the primary means of creating social ties between families, adoption and manumitting of slaves increase dramatically in the 2nd century BCE, much like the social strategies discussed above.

Adoption was a common enough practice in both Greek and Roman society, with high profile individuals and families employing this strategy to create or maintain ties or alliances between important individuals and families in cases where marriage was not possible or appropriate. The benefits or advantages acquired through adoption could be political, social, or economic, and were likely often multiple. Julius Caesar's adoption of Octavian essentially linked two powerful families, already related by blood, and ended up being an essential step for Augustus' successful formation of the Roman empire, the control of which remained in the Julio-Claudian family for almost a century (Lindsay 2009, xi 9; 75-6 Wilson 1998, 16). Augustus, without a natural male heir, continued the pattern through the adoption of his heirs Lucius and Gaius, who both died young, resulting in the adoption of his step-son, former son-in-law, and future emperor Tiberius (Lindsay 2009, xi9, 75-6).

Adoption was used as a strategy to resolve issues resulting from a lack of male direct descendants by families not only during the Roman period. From the time of Solon's reforms in Athens, recourse existed for citizens without male heirs (ἄπαιδες), in the form of laws concerning testaments, making allowance for the creation of a will consisting of adoption for an ἄπαις (Asheri 1963, 7-8; Rubinstein et al. 1991, 139). Through this process, according to the law, the adopted son would inherit from his adoptive father's household, continuing the lineage, and was required to sever ties with his biological household, abandoning any previous inheritance or succession rights (Asheri 1963, 8). This would be extremely advantageous for the adoptive family in that the lineage would not become extinct and this would prevent the alienation of family property (Lindsay 2009, 6-8, 41). In addition, the family supplying the adopted male could benefit, despite the fact that all legal rights to succession and inheritance in his

biological family were forfeited, through the creation of ties or alliances with the adoptive family. The adopted male could benefit doubly, especially since they were rarely, if ever, first-born sons and therefore becoming the primary heir in a new family would conceivably result in increased assets and avoid the need to share familial property between multiple sons (Lindsay 2009, 41). Since the primary motive for adoption was the maintenance and continuation of family lineage and property inheritance (Lindsay 2009, 93) females were very rarely adopted, but were more usually used to create alliances and ties through marriage.

It is important to note that the adoptions discussed below are those where there is explicit reference to both an adoptive and a biological father. It is impossible to know whether or not other cases existed which did not specifically testify to the existence of a biological father and therefore there is no telling how many other adoptions took place. The cases listed below, illuminate certain trends in the process and the individuals and family groups involved.

I have identified 36 cases of adoption in Thessaly (an additional two on top of the 34 identified by Bouchon 2005, 244-6). All but one of the datable adoptions have been attributed to the first centuries BCE and CE. While eight are undated, it is not unlikely that these date to the same period.

Table 1.3.1 - Thessalian Adoptions by Century

Century	No. of Attested Adoptions
1st BCE	12
1st CE	15
2nd CE	1
Unknown	8
Total	**36**

It is not particularly surprising that a fair amount of the epigraphically attested adoptions involved families and individuals known from other sources, particularly from the epigraphy. The adoption of Eubiotos, biological son of Eukolos, by Klearchos son of Hegesaretos of Larissa may have linked the well-known families of the Kylloi and Eubiotoi of Hypata to the family of Klearchos/Hegesaretos of Larissa, although it is quite a matter of debate whether this particular Eubiotos belongs to this Hypatian

family (Bouchon, personal correspondence 2015-09-03; cf. Sekunda 1997, 207-226). Additionally, links to the Roman authority were likely made through this adoption since Hegesaretos, the father of Klearchos, active between 63 and 49 BCE, was a supporter of Pompey, a friend of Cicero, and is mentioned by both Cicero and Caesar (Caesar, *BC*, III.35; Cicero *Epis*. 291 XIII.25; Sekunda 1997, 211). Potential members of this family are particularly visible in the epigraphy of Thessaly, involved in most if not all aspects of Thessalian politics and society. Eubiotos, adopted son of Klearchos, was twice *strategos* of the Thessalian League in the second half of the 1st century BCE (the first time before 27 BCE: *AE* 1917, p. 25 no. 313, 12; the second time ca. 10 BCE: *IG* IX.2 541, 11), *tagos* of Larissa near the end of the 1st century BCE (IG IX 2 549, 6), and gymnasiarch of Larissa around 26/25 BCE (*AE* 1930, p. 177, 16). Through the continued lineage of the Kylloi/Eubiotoi family in Hypata, however, it is clear that this Eubiotos son of Eukolos was not required to renounce ties with his biological family when he was adopted by his Larissaian family (see family tree in Sekunda 1997, 226). The adoption resulted in the acquisition by Eubiotos of Larissaian citizenship, allowing him to serve as *tagos* and gymnasiarch of Larissa, which he would have been unable to do as a citizen of Hypata (Sekunda 1997, 211). Furthermore, as we have seen several times now, Larissa and Hypata were two of the most influential *poleis* in the Roman period, both of which were granted permission by Augustus to use the title of *sebastos* (Sekunda 1997, 208). It is likely no coincidence, therefore that these two powerful families from two of the most important *poleis* used adoption as a means of creating ties and alliances to bolster their socio-economic and political position.

The documentation surrounding the manumission of slaves is quite extensive in Thessaly and has been well studied. A particular Thessalian practice, following legislation of the Thessalian League governed the terminology and formula used in public inscribed manumission documents: the freedman is indicated, followed by the word *apeleutheros(a)*, and the name of his master or patron in the genitive (Helly 1983a). This Thessalian usage, which is similar to the Roman custom, and Helly suggests there may have been a Roman inspiration for the Thessalian formula (1983a). Zelnick-Abramovitz, who has studied the rise of documented manumissions in the 2nd century BCE in central Greece in general, has suggested that the rise was the result of a federal tax implemented on manumissions after the reorganization of the Thessalian *koinon* by Flamininus at the start of the century (2013, 119-120), although it has been

suggested that this tax likely was exacted at the local and not federal level (Bouchon, personal correspondence, 2015-09-03). Documented into the 3rd century CE, this tax was paid by the manumitted slaves themselves, on top of the fee they paid their owner for their freedom, this tax likely formed a substantial income for either the federal league (Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013, 39) or, more likely, individual cities. While Zelnick-Abramovitz states it is possible that this fee covered only the cost of inscribing the manumission (2013, 120), she goes on to interpret the financial difficulties documented in the epigraphic record of Thessaly in the first half of the 2nd century BCE as the impetus for the implementation and wide distribution of the practice (2013, 127). It is unfortunately, not possible to determine the purpose of the federal fee exacted on manumissions (Vlassopoulos, 2014) but despite this fact, its mere existence demonstrates how changes implemented by the Roman authorities affected the economy and social structure of the region. As more and more slaves were manumitted from the 2nd century BCE to the 2nd century CE, more individuals would have been able to participate in the economic, if not necessarily political, affairs of the Thessalian *poleis* and leagues through their newly acquired rights of marriage and producing offspring with Roman citizen status, voting and acquiring wealth and property (Peterson 2006, 1-2).

Manumission and freedmen, particularly in the Roman context, are known to have been socially, if not legally, bound to their patrons "by a life-long bond rooted in the patron's role as a pseudo-father, benefactor, and 'giver of life'" (Mouritson 2011, 51). This familial-type bond allowed the *familia* to extend their economic and political activities through the proxy of their freedmen through continued social obligation on the part of the newly freed slave to his former owner (MacLean 2012; Mouritsen 2012, 213-5, see pages 36-65 and 206-247 for a very detailed discussion of the patron/freedman relationship and the role of freedmen in the Roman economy). Frequently employed by former owners in order to bolster their political, economic and personal networks manumission was used as a social strategy within the framework of status negotiation of the politically and economically prominent members of society, as well as the newly freed slaves themselves.

Appendix 2.1: *Polis* Coinage

Polis	Sources	Dates	Figure No.
Atrax	Nomos 4, 1023, 1032	4th BCE	1, 2
Demetrias	Nomos 4, 1034	3rd BCE	3
Eurea	Nomos 4, 1037, 1039	4th BCE	n/a
Eurymenai	Nomos 4, 1038	4th BCE	4
Gomphoi	Nomos 4, 1045, Triton XV 72.2	4th BCE	5, 40
Gonnoi	Nomos 4, 1046	4th BCE	6
Gyrton	Nomos 4, 1048, 1050, 1051, 1052, 1043, 1055.1, 1055.2; Triton XV 83.7, 83.9, 83.13	4th BCE - 1st/2nd CE for countermark	7-9
Halos	Nomos 4, 1056, 1057	3rd BCE	10
Homolion	Rogers, 1932, nos. 257	4th BCE	41
Iolkos	Nomos 4, 1066	4th BCE	11
Kierion	CNG MBS 90, 15	4th BCE	12
Krannon	Nomos 4, 1077-1087	4th/3rd BCE	13
Larissa	Nomos 4, 1095, 1102-1116, 1122-1133, 1136, 1137, 1139, 1140, 1141-1163, 1165-1172; Triton XV, 330, 387.5, 387.6, 387.8, 388.1-388.8, 389.1, 393.1, 393.2-393.6, 398.2 (countermark = 83.13, 389.1, 398)	4th/3rd BCE - 1st/2nd CE for countermark	14-19
Meliboia	Nomos 4, 1195-1197; Triton XV, 446-456	4th BCE	20
Methulion	Nomos 4, 1200-1202, 1204	5th/4th BCE	21, 22
Metropolis	Triton XV, 483.5	1st/2nd CE	39
Orthe	Nomos 4, 1220, 1221	4th/3rd BCE	23
Pelinna	Nomos 4, 1226-1232	4th BCE	24
Phakion	Nomos 4, 1249; Triton XV, 566	3rd BCE	25
Phalanna	Nomos 4, 1250-1253, 1257, 1258	4th BCE	26
Pharkadon	Nomos 4, 1265-1276	5th BCE	27
Pharsalos	Nomos 4, 1277-1299	5th BCE	28, 29

Pherai	Nomos 4, 1300-1302, 1307-1309, 1312, 1314-1316, 1319, 1320, 1322-1325; Triton XV, 712, 713	5th BCE	30-32
Phthiotic Thebes	Nomos 4, 1346-1349; Triton XV 758-762, 764	3rd BCE	33
Proerna	Nomos 4, 1326-1328; Triton XV, 719-721	3rd BCE	34
Rhizous	Nomos 4, 1329; Triton XV, 723-724	4th BCE	35
Skotoussa	Nomos 4, 1331-1340, 1343-1345; Triton XV, 727-732,735-738, 740-743 746-748, 750, 752,-754, 757	5th/4th BCE	36-37
Trikka	Nomos 4, 1351; Triton XV, 765-774, 781-783, 784	5th BCE	38

Figures of Thessalian *Polis* Coins

Figure 1. Atrax. *Triton* XV, no. 51

Figure 2. Atrax, *Triton* XV no. 59.8

Figure 3. Demetrias, *Nomos* 4, no. 1429.2

Figure 4. Eurymenai, *Nomos* 4, no. 1039

Figure 5. Gomphoi, *Nomos* 4, no. 1044

Figure 6. Gonnoi, *Nomos* 4, no. 1045

Figure 7. Gyrton, *Nomos* 4, no. 1050

Figure 8. Gyrton, *Nomos* 4, no. 1051

Figure 9. Gyrton, wheat countermark, *Triton* XV, no. 83.13

Figure 10. Halos, *Nomos* 4, no. 1057

Figure 11. Iolkos, *Nomos* 4, no. 1066

Figure 12. Kierion, *Triton* XV, no. 104.2

Figure 13. Krannon, *Triton* XV, no. 114.2

Figure 14. Larissa, *Nomos* 4, no. 1129

Figure 15. Larissa, *Triton* XV, no. 383.3

Figure 16. Larissa, *Triton* XV, no. 278

1.5:1

278

Figure 17. Larissa, *Triton* XV, no. 354.2

354.2 1.5:1

354.2 1.5:1

Figure 18. Larissa, *Triton* XV, no. 393.2

393.2

Figure 19. Larissa, wheat countermark, *Triton* XV, no. 389.2

Figure 20. Meliboia, *Triton* XV, no. 445

Figure 21. Methulion, *Triton* XV, no. 473.1

Figure 22. Methulion, *Triton* XV, no. 462

Figure 23. Orthe, *Nomos* 4, no. 1220

Figure 24. Pelinna, *Nomos* 4, no. 1428

Figure 25. Phakion, *Nomos* 4, no. 1249

Figure 26. Phalanna, *Nomos* 4, no. 1250

Figure 27. Pharkadon, *Triton* XV, no. 600

Figure 28. Pharsalos, *Nomos* 4, no. 1284

Figure 29. Pharsalos, *Nomos* 4, no. 1292

Figure 30. Pheres, *Nomos* 4, no. 1302

Figure 31. Pheres, *Nomos* 4, no. 1300

Figure 32. Pheres, *Nomos* 4, no. 1316

Figure 33. Phthiotic Thebes, *Nomos* 4, no. 1346

Figure 34. Proerna, *Triton* XV, no. 72

Figure 36. Skotoussa, *Triton* XV, no. 734

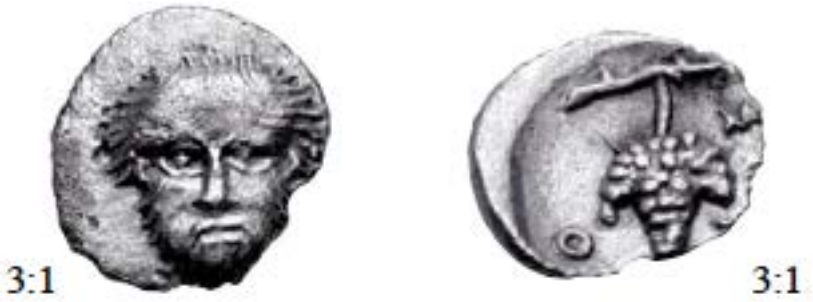


Figure 37. Skotoussa, *Triton* XV, no. 732

Figure 38. Trikka, *Nomos* 4, no. 1352

Figure 39. Metropolis, wheat countermark partially covered by later owl countermark. *Triton* XV, 483.5

Figure 40. Gomphoi, wheat countermark (partially covered by later owl countermark), *Triton* XV, 72.2

Figure 41. Homolion, Rogers 1932, no. 257

Appendix 2.2: *Koinon* Coinage

Table 2.2.1 – Thessalian *Koinon* Coin Database

Koinon	**Sources**	**Dates**	**Figure No.**
Thessalian *koinon*	Nomon 4, nos. 1001-1008, 1372, 1382-1385, 1387, 1391, 1395, 1403, 1404, 1410, 1413	5th/4th BCE, 2nd BCE to Imperial	6-9
Magnesian *koinon*	Nomos 4, nos. 1178, 1180, 1181, 1195-1197, 1191, 1192	2nd BCE	3, 4
Ainian *koinon*	Triton XV, nos. 37, 43.1, 43.2	1st BCE	1, 2
Oitaian *koinon*	CNG MBS 90, no. 126	3rd/2nd BCE	5
Perrhaibian *koinon*	Nomos 4, nos. 1235-1243	5th BCE	10

Figures of Thessalian *Koinon* Coins

Figure 1. Ainian League, *Triton* XV, no. 43

Figure 2. Ainian *koinon*, *Triton* XV, no. 43.1

Figure 3. Magnesian *koinon*, *Triton* XV, no. 407

2:1 2:1

Figure 4. Magnesian *koinon*: *Triton* XV, no. 406

1.5:1 406 1.5:1

Figure 5. Oitaian *koinon*, *Triton* XV, no. 493.1

493.1

Figure 6. Thessalian *koinon*, *Triton* XV, no. 4

1.5:1 4 1.5:1

Figure 7. Thessalian *koinon*, *Triton* XV, no. 875.3

Figure 8. Thessalian *koinon*, *Triton* XV, no. 856.4

Figure 9. Thessalian *koinon*, wheat countermark, *Triton* XV, no. 887.1

Figure 10. Perrhaibian *koinon*, *Nomos* 4, no. 1235

Inventory Number	Ancient Toponym (If known)	Modern Toponym	GPS Location	Period	Type	Source	Notes
260		X.Θ 296.800	39°16'15" - 22°44'16"	H,R,L	Rural Site	Pikoulas 2006, 333; AD 55 B'1 475, 481; AR 52, 73	KP 296,800. The investigation continued and completed explore six new excavation trenches, dim. 4x4 mwithout coming to light architectural remains. Habitation position during the Hellenistic and Roman period only documented by finds (Clay loom weights, spindle whorls and fragments of glass vessels and ceramics (plates. Late Roman farmstead, plain wares, bonze coins and loomwirghts, pots and amphorae) that were collected. Late Roman farmstead, plain wares, bonze coins and loomwirghts. X.0.296.820. Investigation of this LRom farmstead was completed. Finds include mainly LRom plain wares, some sherds from plaques decorated with shields or anthemia. Other finds, e.g., three bronze coins and loomweights, were sparse.
259		X.Θ 297.200	39°16'20"- 22°44'18"	H	Rural Site	Decourt 1990, 68-69; AR 52, 73	hearth, 2 iron sickles, courtyeard. X.0.297.200. Investigation of the Hel farmstead was completed, revealing a new rectangular structure 6.2m by 6.2m. Finds here include two iron sickles with traces of wooden handles. A hearth was found in the main building of the complex, and the court area was clea
256		X.Θ. 270.300 (Pontika) Sourpi	39° 4'8" - 22°53'9"	H, R	Rural Site	AD 56-59, 581; AD 53 B2, 434-6	L Rom house, proabbaly farm stead. Tile collapse covered plain pottery, mainly amphora, bronze coin of augustus, loomweights, spindle whorls, bronze jewelry including a fibula, iron tools and glass ware (Alexiou plot), E of road. Excavation of LRom house remains (probably a farmstead) covered by tile collapse was completed. Finds include plain pottery (chiefly amphorae), a bronze coin of Augustus, loomweights and spindle-whorls, bronze jewellery (including a fibula), iron tools and glassware. On a small hill W of the road a small Neo settlement was
257		X.Θ. 276.000 Sourpi	39° 6'56" - 22°51'11"	H, R	Rural Site	Helly, Forthcoming, Chapter III; AD 56-59, 581; AD 53 B2, 434-6	identified.
316		X.Θ. 276.400	39° 7'7"- 22°51'1"	R	Rural Site	AR 52, 71	Small Roman farmstead
308		X.Θ. 277.500	39° 7'35" - 22°50'38"	Cl, H. R	Rural Site	IG IX 2, 89; Syll 3, 674. ; Stählin , DHT 1924, 187-8; Cantarelli 1995, 311-2, foto 10-11; 1997, 113 and foto, 2008, no 64	East of Road tile collapse covered house remains, possibly another farmstead
319		X.Θ. 296.150	39°15'47"N - 22°44'11"	M, B, R	Rural Site	AD 55 B'1 475	ruralsite, likely farmhouse
320		X.Θ. 296.680	39°16'9"N- 22°44'15"	EBA, R	Rural Site	AD 55 B'1 475	only mobile finds documenting use of site in EBA and Roman
283		(P)ano Kastro Palaiokarya	39°16'5" - 22°44'14"	H	Fortification ?	Pikoulas 2006, 334	Fortification, stone built no mortar.
65	**Achinos/Echinos**	Ackinos	39°25'3" - 21°29'13"	C,H,R,L	Settlement	AR 52, 70; Archil. fr. 201 W; SCYL 63; PS Scymn 602-4; Aristoph. Lysistr 1169-70; Demosth IX 34, 120; Polyb. IX 41, 10; Livy XXXIII 13, 6; XXXIV 23, 7; Strab. IX 5, 10; F GR HIST 265 F 34; Procop, Aed IV 3, 5; Bell. Got. IV 35; Heschy s.v. Alopi; Steph Byz sv. Alopi; AD 47 (1992) [1997], 192; BCH 192 (1998) 824, fig 133; Stählin 1924, 153, 186, 198, 220; Béquignon 1937, 299-303; NPauly 1; AR 48, 64; AR 52, 70; AD 49 B'1, 313; AD 47 (1992) [1997], 192; Papakonstantinou 1994, 232-4; 2000, 203-13; Cantarelli 2008, no. B.; 60-1.	City cemetery has hut shaped tomb part of a 1st C BC cemetery found. cemeteries dating to Late Hellenistic, Early roman period. Red-glaze pottery and terra sigilata engraved (EUTUXHS) and lamp with Grafitto. Other graves with more terra sigilata, terracotta figureines, glassware, ring etc.
309		Achladea	39°10'21" - 22°24'56"	C, H	?	AD 49 B'1, 331-3; Cantarelli 2008, 26	hill that has a church and cemetery on the top that dominates the vast agricultural area of the valley of Mytaries and has a suberb view of the Fortress of Pereia. the ancient path (mule trail) for Bouzion and the one for the Kastro of Pereia and Petroton are certainly ancient paths and are no longer in use if not by the farmers of the terrain.
139		Aerino	39°20'2" - 22°45'35"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 96-112	classical stele, perhaps archaic, Late Roman milestone
310		Haghios Paraskevi (Chloi)	39°24'2" - 22°43'47"	C, H	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 99-102, 112	small habitation settlement on the grounds of the modern church
311		Haghia Triada	39°02'12"- 22°27'24"	C, H, L	Temple?	Stählin 1924, 162-4; Cantarelli 2008, no. 40c	the W side of the Monastery of H. Triada demarcates a small clearing close to a small rise/hill marked by the presence of three large crosses and called the Golgota. In this area, amount the plantains, there is a fountain fed by a derivation of water from the spring of H. Gheorghios. Between 1989a nd 1990 the local inhabitants dug out a section of the acropolis wall (on the SW side, adjacent to the large tower), to allow the passage of agricultural equipment. the blocks were tranfere to H. Triada and positioned around the fountain. a little to the NE of the fountain, inside the monastery of H. Triada, there are sparse remains of an archaic or classical temple which, upon which, in 1874, the church of H. Triada was built. this was an important area: H/ Triada was adjacent not only to the summit of the acropolis, but corresponded above all to a point of transition along the ssmall transhumance road that used one of the more ancient mountain passes (by Agkaditsa-Dybri or by Agkaditsa-Palaiochorion). Here is found lithic fragments and sporadic ceramic frags from all periods. the path that descends bordering the W side of the wall is ancient. a building, likely a temple on the perimeter of H. Triada. Inside the church collumn fragments and byzantine fragments are reused
312		Haghioi Apostoli Analipsis Trogonias	39°46'52" - 21°23'57"	C, H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 169; Pikoulas 2006, 331	small habitation settlement
194		Haghios Georgios -Melitaia	39°2'28" - 22°27'8"	A, C, H, L	?	Stählin 1924, 187; Strabo IX 5, 6§; Cantarelli 2008, 40d	the area is important for 3 reasons: 1. the presence of a church dedicated to H. Georgios that was contructed on the foundations of an ancient building, maybe a shrine/temple. 2. the fact that it belongs to the protohistoric hilly area of Melitea that corresponds to the very ancient Pyrrha mentioned by Strabo IX 5, 6 as the polis situated on the hill (then called Meliteia). 3. the certainty that the area was used for copper working, near the ancient base-of-mountain-road of the Othrys. aside from the temple foundations, near the ruins are outcroppings of walls that, due to their disposition, are not able to outline the shape of a building or determine the function.
295		Haghios Georgios	39°01'40" - 22°20'24"	H, L	Settlement?	Cantarelli 2008, no. 32	a dozen or so meters in front of the church is found ancient ceramic fragments, the concentration of which, aside from in a small sadle) increases following the west face of the hill. Secure traces of habitation with surface finds primarily being hellenistic and byzantine ceramics.
313		Haghios Georgios -Sophades	39°19'53" - 22° 3'28"	C,H	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68; Strabo IX 5, 6§; Cantarelli 2008, 40d; Haghios Georgios - Sophades	the area is important for 3 reasons: 1. the presence of a church dedicated to H. Georgios that was contructed on the foundations of an ancient building, maybe a shrine/temple. 2. the fact that it belongs to the protohistoric hilly area of Melitea that corresponds to the very ancient Pyrrha mentioned by Strabo IX 5, 6 as the polis situated on the hill (then called Meliteia). 3. the certainty that the area was used for copper working. aside from the temple foundations, near the ruins are outcroppings of walls that, due to their disposition, are not able to outline the shape of a building or determine the function.
117		Haghios Georgios (Tekke)	39°18'0" - 22°39'18"	C, H, L	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 70	settlement identified by Decourt
118		Haghios Nikolaos/ Kato Orphana	39°24'31" - 22°11'44"	H	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68	settlement identified by Decourt
270		Haghios Nikolaos -Othrys	39° 8'31" - 22°43'29"	C, H, L	Fortification	Chykerda 2010, 112-20,	Fortification in Othrys between Halos and Peuma. Approximately 10 km from Halos
119		Agnantia	39°01'53"- 22°22'32"	C, H	?	Philippson 1950, 270 (n. 1); Pikolas in Trikalina 32, 2012; Cantarelli 2008, no. 22	Agriculture area that is very fertile due to the hydrolic resources. In this area is found an ancient canal (coming from the S and oriented towards NW) of a spring (Megali Brysi in the area named Kuluria on the F Geol). May correspond to the canal mentioned in the inscription dealing with the confines between Meliteia and Xyniai. the ancient axis of the mountain pass rises in a NW direction passes for the area now called Nea Makrisi, Magouules and the plain of Domokos
293		Agrissa (Mati) Magoula	39° 7'1" - 22°18'38"	H-R	Settlement?	Stählin 1924, 17, 84, 106; Cantarelli 2008, no. 16	vast prehistoric (ca. 21000m2) to the right of the road coming from Lamia towards Pharsala. Its appearance is now like a ample rise elevated around 6.5 m from the road and in a small wood in which is a fountain, it was partly damaged by the construction of a restaurant (estiatorion). From the point of view of topography it is important as a node to different directions. The archaeological remains are equally distrubuted on the whole surface of the magoula. Aside from the certain presence of a conspicuous agricultural settlement already in the prehistoric period, to the W of Mati and of the modern road around 150m, aside from a church, there s an area of stone/bedrock? Fit with irregularly cut blocks likely a foundation of a building. On the W side of the the road that passes from Lamia to the slopes of the hill of Domokos the collapse of a house because of an earthquake and the subsequent excavations brought to light an area of probably votive offerings (marble and terracotta statuettes) reported by the Archaeological Guard Sig Vassilis Karanikolaos
120		Ai-Lias Petrochorio Bitsenas	39°26'50" - 21°31'42"	C, H	Fortification	Decourt 1990, 155-9; Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Pikoulas 2006, 334	located on top of a pointed hill on site of church. Ceramics from late classical to hellenistic

66	**Aiginion**	Kalabaka	39°46'41" 21°34'10" 39°8'41" -22°11'46"	C,H,R C, H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 121-4; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 47-8; P. Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Pikoulas (Trikalina 29) 2008. Stählin 1924, 154; Helly 1992, 79-81; V. Karachristos http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 269	between 191 and 167 BC, the territory of Aiginion belonged to Macedonian Timfea. Since they were pro-Macedonian, the Troops of Quintus Fabius Maximus and Lucius Postumus Alvinius pillaged Aiginion References to sources on this are sparse and archaeological data currently scarce to can safely recreate the image. Mostly testified in connection with military operations the Second and Third Macedonian War and the efforts of the Romans to dominate in Thessaly (2nd century BC). In 198 BC, the Roman general Titus Flamininus during his campaign in Thessaly with allies Athamanes under Amynandro, and after he had occupied the opposite Faloreia (position "Scooby"), it insisted on the siege of Aegina, because impregnable position or perhaps to save time. settlement with walled fortification to the South of the modern town of
122		Akarrai	39°05'28" - 22°20'59"	C, H	Settlement	Cantarelli 2008, no 21b	Ekkara (Kato Agoriani of F Geol) 1 km ca. to the south of the modern habitation. Acropolis on the summit of the hill of the modern town with a modest height of 265 m above sea level, due to the fact that it had to control only the hilly hinterland, the roads to the mineral areas and a few valley passes meandering in the Othrys., the first along the course of the Myzi river, the second to the West of the rise of Kamilorrachi; both of which lead in important directions oriented N-W/S-E formed by the valley of the river Onochonos which reaches, among others, the center of Kedros, the site of a sanctuary dedicated to a female divinity
123		Alchani	38°56'58" 22°53'27"		Settlement?	ARCHIL fr. 201, ed. M.L West; SCYL 65; ARISTOPH Lysistr 1169-70; RE 1; Philippson 1950, 205	an agricultural area made very fertile by the presence of 2 rivers. The name Tsifliki refers to the plots of land (only the most fertile) expropriated by the Turks and given to Greeks for obligatory cultivation during the occupation .around 7km to the SE is a track of the ancient road from Palamas to the plain in the directions of NW oriented towards Thaumakoi and towards the axis of Lamia-Larissa. the inhabitants of Palamas and Karyai recorded blocks of squared limestone discovered in the course of plowing at Alfa, Alkani and Marmaria
56	**Alope?**	Rakhes / Phourni	39°03'59" - 22°21,49"	A,C,H,R,L C, H	Settlement	Cantarelli 2008, no. 21A	to the N and NE of the hill there is to the left of the road for those coming from the junction of the National with the road for Glypha there is a vast settlement that demonstrates on the surface an abundance of classical and hellenistic pottery between Echinos and Larisa Kremaste, in an area called Alope according to ancient geographical tradition. Mentioned in Homer and still occupied in the Archaic period as well as Classical large hilly area now completely covered by grain cultivation; the inhabitants of Palamas and Karyai recorded blocks of squared limestone discovered in the course of plowing at Alfa, Alkani and Marmaria
124		Alpha/Paliokaluva/Paliochori	39°45'22" - 22°19'26"		?		Ambelonas 6, dans la plaine à 2 km environ à l'ONO du village et à 100 m au Sud du Titarisios, propriété Gkoltsou, établissement étagé en deux paliers vers l'O, de forme presque ovale, direction EO, dimensions 300 m sur 200, hauteur 5 M; occupation: NA, NM, NR, Bronze, Classique,
245		Ambelona 6		N, M, B, C, R, L	Settlement	Helly, Forthcoming, Chapter III	romain, byzantin.
258		Amigdali 2 Lake Karla	39°35'12" - 22°42'3"	H	Rural Site	Decourt 1990, 68-69; Karapanou - lecture at CIG; AD 56-9, 499-505, 549-50, 606; AR 52, 70;	Farmhouse with ceramic furnance. Function as Inn?
225		Ampelia (Magoula Palaiokastro) (Derengli)	39°18'29" - 22°30'6"	B, A, C, H, R, L	Settlement?	Pritchett 1963, 1-2; Tarn JHS 28, 1908, 202-33; Bakhuizen 1994.	180/69 BC wintered Roman troops there. No mention after Roman civil war
125		Ampelochoriou/Borothikou	39°46'21" - 21°19'29" 39°18'49" 22°55'49"	C, H	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 331 Lauffer 1989, 106-07; Npauly; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr under Amphanai	small fortified structure on right bank of river In 353 BC, the city fell into the hands of Philip II of Macedon and 10. From that moment rather considered as Magnetic and supported that can be delivered by Philip magnets 11. Yet, according to the reviewer Demosthenes, the income from the port and market town attributed to the same Philip B 12, who apparently was garrisoned in Pagases 13. in 293 BC, became neighboring Pagases in Dimitriada 14. According to Strabo 16 Pagases was the seaport of Feres , abstained 20 stadia from
51	**Amphanai/Pagasai?**	Soros		A,C,H	Settlement		Iolcos and took their name from the shipyards of Argo
63	**Amyros**	Palaiokastro /Gerakari	39°41'33" 22°41'40" 39°10'31" - 22° 5'27"	A,C	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 58ff; Philippson 1950, 131; Gallis 1973, 329-32; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 175 Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 165	During the construction of the motorway R 65, the limits of Karditsa in the summer of 2009 until today, found the following: a) in Anavras in KP 55 +750, position rural sanctuary with use of archaic up the Hellenistic years that attaches figurines, vases and female busts (fig. 22) and KP 60 +200 (A / K Anavras) a constructed pipeline Roman period (fig. 23), b) in St. Theodore, KP 80 +100, rectangular ceramic kiln the late Hellenistic
126		Anavra	39° 6'27" 22° 3'52"	A, C, H, R	Temple	Helly 1992, 64-75; Stählin 1924, 148f; Npauly; E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 233	period (fig. 24) It is one of the major cities of Dolopia , which, according to Titus Livius conquered and destroyed by the Aetolians in 198 BC The location of the city is difficult. The recommendations of travelers and scholars of Thessaly is based on several site visits and trek Aetolians to Thessaly , which describes Titus Livius giving one to one of the cities they encountered along the way. Also mentioned in an inscription from Thavmakos (Domokos) of the 2nd century BC of a dispute with Ktimene
67	**Angeiai**	Loutropigi (Smokovo)	39° 6'30" 22° 7'52"	C,H,R	Settlement	Helly 1992a, 49-58; AD 42 Chr, 290-4	about limits on rights in a temple of the deity Omphale .
68	**Ano Ktimene**	Ano Dranista		C, H	Settlement		mountainous site on route to Lamia. surrounded by terraces. Settlement but evidence of surrounding fortifications
128		Ano Phteri (Hellenika)	39°22'54" - 21°23'28"	C?,H,R?	Settlement?	Béquignon 1937, 315; Philippson 1950, 244	Not much is known. No recent investigations
69	**Anthela**	Anthili	38°48'0" 22°30'38"	C,H,R	Settlement	RE Suppl. 3, Anthele; Kase 1991, 105-6; Lauffer 1989, 119; Bequignon 1937, p?	early seat of Amphictyony, settlement on border of territory of Boiotia, in Malis
61	**Antikyra**	Haghios Theodori/ Kostalexi	38°51'20" 22°21'56"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Béquignon 1937, 305-306; Stählin 1924, 153, 3, 197, 6, 209; Kase 1991, 77-78; NPauly 1;	polis on the border of Boiotia
45	**Antron**	Glypha / Akhilleion	38°57'7" 22°58'25"	A ?. C,H,R	Settlement	Béquignon 1937, 307-12; Lauffer 1989, 713-14; Npauly; Papaconstantinou 1994, 229-232	coastal city, captured by Demetrios but given its independence
254		Archani	38°58'38" - 22° 9'47" 39°21'50" 21°31'19"	H,R,L	Cemetery	Stählin 1924, 145, 152; Pikoulas 2006, 333 Hammond 1967, 252-53; AD 37 (1982) 231; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 315-6; AR 48, 62-3; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 229-33	Tombs dated from 3rd BC to 3rd AD Located along the road that connects Ambrakia to Gomphoi. Used by the Romans to enter the Thessalian plain during the 2nd Macedonian war in 198 BC. Cemetery in use from the 4th to the 1st C BCE. According to the offerings of the graves seem cemeteries Argithea used from the 4th to the 1st century. B.C. 11. The coins found in the excavations of Argithea the majority of cuts are ancient Amvrakias this when the excavator is an
70	**Argithea**	Hellenika / Knisovo /Agrithea		C,H,R	Settlement		indication of the political and economic ties between the two cities
19	**Argoussa/ Argoura?**	Gremnos Magoula	39°39'20" 22°21'0" 39°29'49" 22°44'58"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Francke 1955; PECS Argura; Leekley 1980, 139; Knoepfler 1983; Helly forthcoming Helly 1995, 86; Npauly; Helly 2006, p 202; Helly 2000, 63, Marzoliff 1994, 256; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 175; Stählin 1924, 103	slight continuation of habitation
25	**Armenion**	Petra	38°59'39" - 22°24'13"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stamatopoulou 2012, 78; Stählin 1924, 189. Italian ed. 241, no. 351; Cantarelli 2008, no. 71	Abandoned in 1st C CE at the base of a mountain system there is a wooded area where there is a fountain and the monastery (fig 19). Interpreted as the area where there was a temple which is indicated as the first point of the border between the Xyniai and Melitea (Inscription Syll3. 546a. II.10-11). a statue of
300		Asclepeion (Moni Antinitsis)		H, B	Temple		Hygeia. only the fountain remains in the ancient temple area.
71	**Askyris**	Sparmo	39°59'58" 22°16'34" 39°34'0" 22°13'8"	C?,H,R	Settlement	Cantarelli 2008 n. 10; Lucas 1991; 1994, 208-209; BARR; Pleiades Lucas 1997 PECS; TIB Hellas 129; Leekley 1980, 130; Lauffer 1989, 154-55; Npauly; Stählin 1924, 36-7, 86 146, 207, 220; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 56; P. Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Decourt 1990 139ff.; Helly 1979, 242; 1999, 106-8	location uncertain Ist C CE - epigraphic record ceases. No written record for the Roman period, but continued to exist until early byzantine times (?). Later Byzantine wall followed the course of the old collapsed wall, built of rubble and spolia of ancient building material. xtensive Hellenistic and
22	**Atrax**	Aliphaka (Kastro) / Koutsokhero	38°55'06" - 22°33'31"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	AD 56-9 ; 499-505, 549-50; Cantarelli 2008, no. 81	Roman cemeteries, "cutting" in many cases ancient remains. the ancient settlement areas of Avlakion are two. The first is to be sought within the framework of the settlements resulting from the attendance of two important axes crossing the Othrys: the first towards the valley of the Dristelorrrema (and the road of the pass of Longhitsion, which is the closest), the second towards the Mt. Pyrgos and Palaiochorion. The closeness of the O/E coastal axis of the Malian gulf that once linked the settlements on the coast at the mouth of the minor mountain passes of the Othrys. The second settlement area consisted of fertility. Avlakon is located in the alluvial fan/cone of the Dristelorrema. The zone of the Othrys to the N of H. Athanios is geologically interesting (fault line follows the valley of the Dristelorrema.the presense of bronze age tombs to the NW of the small church of H. Athanasios and fragments of tomb offerings, between Avlakioin and the old road to the S of the town, makes on think that at least a part of the ancient settlement corresponded to the centre of the current town, while a few nuclei of shepards or citizens must have lived in the large area of the SKino (see 82A, Katsarela) to the W and NW of the church.
280		Aulakion		H, L	Fortification ?		

110	**Azoros**	Vouvala	39°59'9" - 22° 4'57" 39°29'38" 22°54'4"	H,R,L	Settlement	TIB 131; Npauly; Lucas 1992, 94-137; E. Nikolaou. http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Lucas 1994, p.207-210; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 222-8; Batziou, unknown date(b); Stählin 1924, 7, 9, 18, 20f, 38, 113-4. TIB 136; Stählin 1924, 41, 45, 58, 60-2, 76, 80 Npauly, RE1;V. Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; AD 56-59 (2001-2004) [2012], p. 485-487.	he fortifications dating to the first half of the 3rd century. BC. found abundant fragments of sculptures and architectural members of an older temple of the 3rd century. BC, which according to inscriptions attributed to Apollo Lukeio
62	**Boibe**	Kanalia	39°0'7" - 22°24'47"	B,A,H,R	Settlement	AR 52, 73; Cantarelli 2008, n. 71A	On the hill "Paleokastro" east of Channels Magnesia is walled citadel and city in the area of Saint Tryphon, which was proposed to be identified with the hamlet voivoda. However recent research in manufacture of Reservoir Karla unearthed important discoveries confirming the existence of an organized occupation of the Final Neolithic and the Mycenaean and Geometric period until the classical and the late Hellenistic era, the area located between the position "Koryfoula" and the hill of St. Athanasius, east of the drained lake Voiviidas (Karla). In this position he was investigated and visited a preserved section of the Mycenaean cemetery consisting of clusters of small domed tombs of the 14th and 13th century. BC, built on a thick layer of the Final Neolithic. Because of the temporal finds covering a long history from the Late Neolithic to the Roman period, but mainly also because of the Mycenaean and geometric embankments, justifying the reference to the new list of Homer, we propose to regard this position as the voivoda Homer and the hamlet which synoikistike ancient Demetrias. Georgiadis indicate the existence walls, similar in construction to those of the consummate and vertebrae columns and other architectural elements built in St. Athanasios Church, which apparently belonged to an ancient temple in Region 1.
274		Bouna Antinitsa	39°08'06" - 22°22'03"	H, B C, H	Fortification	Cantarelli 2008, no. 27	from the area of the monastery, a peak that is part of the Bouna Antinitsis rises in W direction. On the eastern summit (170m higher than the monastery) there is the remains of an ancient settlement (see fig 19) described by Stahlin as a 'φρούριον. The fortress served as a summer shelter for shepards and an observation point towards the W of the pass, towards the S on the area between Lamia and the Malian gulf and towards the NW on a part of the terriory of Xynias (in the classical period) bordering Melitea. erosion on the southern side of the peak where there was a side of the ancient defensive structure. the principle road for access to the monastery (coming from the road of the principal pass of the Othrys - the Derben-Fourka) had in some tracts traces of a late antique or byzantine pavement (now all asphalted). Stahlin hypothesized that this 'garrison' protected the shepars of this zone, but at my suggestion, the start of the border line between Xyniai and Melitea corresponded to the area of the temple dedicated (according to my hypothesis) to Asclepius, suggesting that this site not only functioned for protecting shepards, but also to control the underlying Othrys pass of Fourka
132		Bouzion	39°08'54" 22°34'02"		Fortification	Philippson 1950, 272; RE Suppl. 12; (IG IX 2, add, p.IX, 205 II; FD III 4, 351' IG IX 2, 103 (see also Helly 2001, 239-87); IG IX 2, 104; Stählin 1924, 165, 169-70. Italian Ed. 116-7; Helly 2001, 239-87; Cantarelli 2008, no. 86; A	a double fortification on two hilltops adjacent to Bouno. The only one that still presents evidence of fortification is the one to the West. Belonging to the territory of Pereia, as the territory to the North of the Bouziorrema's entrance into the Koudeles river belongs to Pereia (until it had its own territory), while to the South, there was the territory of Meliteia and therefore to the W it is deduced started to belong to Thaumakoi. from the top towards the NW there is a view of the valley of the Kakara river acropolis of the small polis of Chalai that guards the roads between the Bouna Gouras and the coastal plain of Halmyros. Melitea in the Hellenistic period bordered Chalai in the dispute concerning the confines with the polis Peuma, as shown from the epigraphic (IG IX 2, add, p.IX, 205 II; FD III 4, 351' IG IX 2, 103 (see also Helly 2001, 239-87); IG IX 2, 104. This was likely the result of Melitaian hegemony. This means that before the 'senatoconsulto' of 140 BCE, that assigned to Narthakion the border zone of Agkaditsa and the Kastro of Xerobouni maggiore (see 68), Melitea controlled the principle roads of Achaia Phthiotis: through Chalai and Phylidon it controlled the road that rises from the coastal plain of Halmyros, while with its own fortifications controlled the upper middle tract of the Derben-Fourka pass, as well as another 3 minor passes of the Othrys that belong to the highlands between Palaiochorion and Agkaditsa. Of these 3, the first leads from Xerias potamos to Dybri, the second from Neraidorrachi to Palaiochorion to Loutsa and the third Katsarela-Pyrgos-Limogardion. the remains of numerous buildings at various levels of the acropolis and at the foot of the walls
34	**Chalai**	Tsournati	39°33'58" 22°28'7"	A,C,H	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69; Kontoyannis 1992; Helly 1995, 293	
72	**Chalkai**	Nikaia Larisis?	39°34'33" - 21°37'6"	C,H,R	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 96-8112	uncertain identification
134		Chalkiorachi	38°55'35"- 22°51'34"	C, H C	Settlement	Stamoudi 2006, 133-48; Papakonstantinou 2002, 1-52 Pelasgias; Cantarelli 2008, no. D	small settlement At Chani on the marina shore at a tavera and of a nearby villa, there is a byzantine well, a marble column and the remains of a dock/pier between the bank and the shoreline there are many ancient pottery fragments. Along the beach, there are many flints with copper slag perhaps the remains of an ancient pier. This could have been the location of the embarkement of the copper mined from the Kastro of Pelasghia. THis could suggest that Chani was related to teh port area of Larisa Kremaste
135		Chani	39°52'1" - 22°32'46"		Settlement?	Stamatopoulou 2012, 86-7	Santuary, abandoned at some time before 2nd C BC when used for burials which continued into Roman period and Early Christian
136		Chani tes Kokkonas, Tempe Valley	39°46'30" - 21°18'52"	C, H, R, L	Temple		domestic structures, evidence for wine processing
137		Chani Zamani Malakasiou	39°08'04" - 22°26'46"	C, H	Settlement	Pikoulas 2006, 331 Cantarelli 2008, no 50b	the kastro occupies the northern part and a southern part of the outcrop. IN 1990 the remains of wall was more conpicuous than in 2003, when only small remains of the wall and a discreet number of ceramic fragments was found. The importance of this site is seen in the fact that it had direct control over the valley of the Enipeus and abpve all was close to the confines of 4 poleis *Melitea, Phyliadon, Pereia and Peuma*, Its distruction occurred already in the Hellenistic period and was probably connected to the destruction of Peuma. the defensive settlement seems to have contained a few buildings within the higher (superiore) wall, however, within the larger walls, at almost the base of the hill, the
138		Charasani	39° 6'10" - 23° 3'31"	C, H, L	Fortification	Stamatopoulou 2012, 78; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr	remains related to small buildings are visible.
314		Chomatokastro (Mylos)	39° 6'45" - 23° 5'44"	R	Fortification	BCH XLVIII 1924, 348-53; Stamatopoulou 2012, 78; V. Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 183	Fort built to control sea traffic Roman period fort. Roman tombs; Located 4 km southeast of the village Trikeri at "Kottes" N. Verdelis investigated hypocausts a Roman bath This item has been inhabited since the prehistoric period to the Byzantine period Hellenistic and Roman tombs have been excavated in the area at "Chomatokastro" where there is part of a mudbrick Roman walls The position has been proposed to identify with the city of Myra. traces of
121		Chomatokastro Kottes	39°47'17" 22° 7'34"	N, A, C, H, R, L	Fortification	Cantarelli 2008, no. 58; TIB 147-48; Stählin 1924, 25f; Leekley 1980, 136; Lucas 1995, Lucas 1997	habitation Classical or Hellenistic
73	**Chyretiai**	Domenikon	39°20'46" - 22°29'49"	C?,H,R,L	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69	
140		Dasolophos 1 (Haghios Anthasios)	39°20'30" - 22°30'23"	C, H, L	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small settlement in Enipeus valley
141		Dasolophos 2 (Haghios Anthasios)	39°02'06" - 22°30'57"	C, H	Settlement	Cantarelli 2008, nos. 54* and 54a	small settlement in Enipeus valley
206		Dasos		N, C, H-R, L	Settlement		thi mine was definitely used in antiquity as seen by the slag and the frags of prehistoric plain ware, and plain ware from the classical and hellenistic periods, as well as the byzantine when the area was inhabited immediately up from it. settlement located on one of the plateaus actually made of 3 steps/terraces that slightly incline in sense N-S, which in antiquity was likely a single slope. The complete extension of the sea today is 5000m2 but since the zone is subject to natural erosion phenomena and heavy human intervention for agricultural use, it is likely that in antiquity the occupied space of the settlement was larger. The plateau is flanked to the East by a muletrail that, continuing towards the S, passes near the cemetery and arrives at the copper mine probably already used in antiquity

			39°20'38" - 22°56'7"			Cantarelli 2008, no. 81; Stählin 1924, 2, 3, 14, 44-7, 51, 54, 61-70, 98, 140, 173; TIB 144-45; Leekley 1980, 133-35; Lauffer 1989, 190-91; Cohen 1995, 111-14; Stamatopoulou 2011, 79, 80-3; AR 48, p. 60-1; Stamatopoulou 2012, 80-2. Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 165-70. Eustathiou and Triantaphyllopoulou 2006, 193-205; Triantaphyllopoulou 2009, 341-9; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 152-3; Kontaxi 1996; Papachatzi 1946, 42-57; Marzolf 1992, 337-4; Helly 1992b, 78-80.; AR 52, 74-5	of disuse between the late 1st C BC and first half of 1st C AD, workshops/structures built, dated by a coin hoard on a wall of a building erected by the northern parodos and pottery workshops in the vicinity of the southern parodos. Aqueduct constructed, also in high part of the cavea. Adapted in Roman times to house gladiatorial games. Votive and honorific statues found from 1st C BC-1st C AD suggest a public space NE of theatre in area of presumed stadium. Evidence of repair and englargement of fortifications on eve of Mithridatic wars in 88 BC. Strabo reports that in early Imperial city was reduced in size, confirmed by archaeological evidence of the abandonment of large parts of the Hellenistic city, especially to the south, and their reuse as burial grounds. Major public monuments in the northern section(nucleus of the city) were abandoned and use changed, for example the Anaktoron, symbol of Macedonian control of the city, where in the northern wing of the abandoned building several installations of bronze casting workshop with furnaces and parts of equestrians statues and debris and 3 pottery kilns were found. From 3rd C AD onwards, the southern and eastern sections were used as a burial ground. During Roman period, hub of city was around the Northern Harbour and modern Aivaliotika (the area between the theatre and the Anaktoron) and the coast. rescue excavations have demonstrated the density of Roman habitation as well as diachronic settlement history. the later buildings, especially those of the 2nd and 1st C BC, roughly followed layout of their predecessors. Some had elaborate mosaic floors and plastered walls (See AD 53, 414-5 for ex). Many scholars, including Marzolff, Batziou-Efstathio and Triantafyllopoulou, have remarked that the 1st C Ad was a period of contraction and perhaps
108	**Demetrias**	Nee Pagases/Alykes		H,R,L	Settlement		
142		Dendraki	39°20'16" - 22°23'8"	C,H	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small settlement
			39°59'4" - 22°22'29"		Fortification	Stählin 1924, 6; Chykerda 2010	
281		Ditnata		H, R	?		small fortification in the othrys
			40° 3'11" 22° 2'11"			Pikoulas 2006, 333; Stählin 1924, 7, 9, 18, 21, 38; Tziafalias 2000; Lucas 1992, 94-137; Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Lucas 1994, p.207-210; 1997; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 222-8; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 158; Batziou, unknown date(b)	The 2005 excavations revealed eight different buildings that remain in the hands of the underground and used as storange areas. In these buildings found water channels, a small cist grave, enough marble parts of the ancient period, many copper coins of the Roman period, and several of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. he citadel investigated Gallery 85 m long. which dated to the late Hellenistic period. Around the Gallery found in the foundations of buildings lining. Found during the excavation of two construction phases, a third of BC century. and an imperial course
74	**Doliche**	Sarantaporo		C,H,R,L	Settlement		
144		Doxaras	39°29'1" - 22°18'3"	C,H	Fortification	Chykerda 2010, Philippson 1950, 180; Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortified structure
			39° 5'34" - 22° 9'43"			Stählin 1924, 154; Helly 1992, 79-81; V. Karachristos http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 269	The Ioannidou 8 indicates that, from a small-scale excavation at the top of the citadel, revealed a rectangular building with Hellenistic pottery and a few findings which included spindle whorls, a stone chisel and two bronze coins of Thessaly 2nd century. B.C. In the village of Lower Agorianis have also discovered tombstones with inscriptions of the Hellenistic era. The Helly 11 interpreting this text of Titus Livius 12 from another perspective, puts Ekkarra in Makrirahi (Kaitsa) Fthiotida. Finally, it has identified a new, unfamiliar place, with long habitation near the present village in northern Ekkara Fthiotida, at the foot of the hill "Ampelorrachi». settlement with walled fortification to the South of the modern town of Ekkara (Kato Agoriani of F Geol) 1 km ca. to the south of the modern habitation. Acropolis on the summit of the hill of the modern town with a modest height of 265 m above sea level, due to the fact that it had to control only the hilly hinterland, the roads to the mineral areas and a few valley passes meandering in the Othrys., the first along the course of the Myzi river, the second to the West of the rise of Kamilorrachi; both of which lead in important directions oriented N-W/S- E formed by the valley of the river Onochonos which reaches, among others, the center of Kedros, the site of a sanctuary dedicated to a female divinity. Stahlin identified an ancient road that exits from the wall facing south
109	**Ekarra**	Makryrakhi / Kaitsa		H,R	Settlement		
114	**Elateia**	Evangalismos	39°49'52" - 22°31'16"	H,R	Settlement	RE2; Helly 1999, 113-7; AR 52, 70	
145		Eleftherochorio	39°16'56" - 22°38'30"	N,C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 162-4; Salvatore 1994, p 105-6, 112	small fort
			39°01'35" - 22°31'18"	A ? C, H		PECS; Lauffer 1989, 235-36; Npauly; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 311; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 63-5; AR 48, 63; E. Nikolaou, http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Cantarelli2008, n.59.	almos circular small hill in front of the large settlement of Kalamaki. Close to the course of the river Rema. The peak of the hull has thick vegetation of wild oak and 'mediterranean scrub' The function of the structure at the summit of the hull is justified by the importance of the metallurgic activities and agriculture practived on the adjacent hill to the W of Kalamaki which is larger and lower. The N and NW slope of this small hill is very rich in ceramic. The existance of important remains on this small hill led to the modern story that the tomb of Elleno mentioned by Strabo at IX 5, 6 in the agora of Melitea instead belongs to a Elena. The name of this site is directly related to the story of Strabo the road between Kalamaki and Ellenika is ancientstructures are found at the summit inside a very dense patch of vegetation. Maybe a small sacred area? Traces of other structures are visible also on the slopes of this small hill with the largest density being on the NW slope (the area adjacent to the settlement of Kalamaki)
221		Ellenika			Settlement		
			39°13'30" - 22°15'20"	H, R, L		Cantarelli 2008 n. 4	agricultural habitation area characterized by buildings arranged on an orthogonal urban plan and crossed by two ancient principle roads, of which the one runninf N-W/S-E was paved with paving stones. Closely connected to the fortification of Ereipia of Monastirion. a tract of the ancient route conserved since 1993 still visible in the 1990's was hardly visible in 2003 due to excavation work to build warehouses and some modern buildings. It proceeded for a few dozen meters and is identidied for hundreds of meters in the terrain. distant only ca. 60 meters from the modern N-S acis passing for Eripia and more to the South for Petrilia (a fraction of Sophiada). the area is occupied by numerous small buildings that were dilineated by small mounds of soil and vegetation. This settlement, probably built between the Roman and Byzantine periods, was closely connected to the fortification of Ereipia of Monastiriou
116		Epeiria Neou Monasteriou			Settlement?		
112	**Ereikinion**	Megalo Elefterokhori / Vlachoyianni	39°40'42" - 22° 6'3"	H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 27, 35, 115, 128; Lucas 1995; Decourt 1990, 118	polis
32	**Eretria**	SW Eretria	39°18'4" 22°37'25"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 174fBlum 1992, 157-229; NPauly 2; di Salvatore 1994, 94-9	polis
75	**Erythrai**	Phrantzi	38°50'46" 22°23'4"	C, H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 210-1; Kase 1991, 100 (n. 37)	polis
115	**Eudieron**	Konospoli - west of Karya	39°58'33" - 22°21'5"	H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 6; SAGT 7, 105-09; Lucas 1991, 137; 1997, 141	polis
76	**Euhydrion**	Ktouri	39°21'43" 22°16'57"	C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 76, 133, 143; Leekley 1980, 137; Decourt 1990, 214-15	polis
147	**Eureai**	Eureai	39°40'44" - 22°53'18"	C, H, R	settlement	Helly 2004 obolos 7, 103-115	polis
			39°51'53.16" - 22°44'3.80"			Stählin 1924, 45, 50, 68, 127f; Karachristos http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 201-3	Skykulas says city Evrymenai between cities Rizo and Myra outside the Pagassitikos bay 4. Apollonius Rhodius 5, the 3rd century. BC, in the Argonautica, places it at the entrance of the valley of Tempi, immediately after the mouth of the river Amyroiou, ie the position where traditionally placed the ancient city Omolio. Reference to Evrymenon find and the Roman poet of the 1st century. AD, Gaius VALERIUS Flaccus 6 in his Argonautica, which is essentially based on the text of Apollonius the Rhodian. Strabo mentions it as "Erymnai" and places near Omolio and Rizountos although as he admits-not know the exact location of these cities because, in his time, cities or townships were minor. The Byzantine historian Procopius (ca. 500-565 AD) in his work On Ktismaton 8 calls it "Evrymenon" and informs us that it was fortified by Justinian. Titus Livius, in his work «Ab Urbe Condita», he says a city named "Evrymenai ', but obviously lies somewhere in western Thessaly, probably in Estiaiotidas 12.
77	**Eurymenai?**	Stomio		C, H, R, L	Settlement		
318		Farm near Echinos	38°53'45"N - 22°43'30"	R, L	Rural Site	Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012 , 61-2	Building at city limits of Ancient Echinos may be farmhouse
149		Fontana Turca	39°20'27" - 22°42'3"	C, H	Settlement	Béquignon 1937, 313-15; PECS Kastrorachi; Salvatore 1994, p 99-100, 112	small settlement
			39°02'35" - 22°27'54"	C, H,		Pikoulas 2006, 333; Cantarelli 2008, no. 40G	The pottery and finds, collected indicate mycenaean, EBA and Roman occupation. the area of Gazouni corresponds to a hilly area at the Eastern base of the acropolis of Melitea where there was found much copper slag. Also ceramic fragments that lead to the SE until the area of Zatali, which is much richer in ceramic frags. the ancient tract between Melitea and Gazouni is now retraced by a country road that follows in the E direction to the foot of the acropolis hill of Melitea haviung its origin in the centre of the modern town of melitea. a productive structure, and maybe also settlement is found in the locality of Zatani/
150		Gazouni			Settlement?		

		39°09'31" - 22°13'14"	C, H-R		Stamoudi 2006, 133-48; Cantarelli 2008, no. D	characterized on the south by slopes of Gynaikokastron and on the right right of the road coming from Belesiotai by a spring of very cold water (mentioned by STAHLIn by the name Matja), at a distance of a few meters from the spring that the ΙΔ'ΕΠΚΑ of Lamia excavated a tomb with a rich array of Classical material. 2.5km ca. to the NW of the Magoula Peuma. 3.5km to the North is found that which no the F. Geol. is simply called magoula..this foot-of-the-mountain area had a certain economic interest in what constituted the area of Pighi (13a) and the area of the Mahgoula located in the locality of Pevma (10). A vast agricultural area closely defended by the fortification that dominates the ridge/summit of the Gynaikokastron hills and the Magoula without a name. In the north area of the spring, there are numerous tiles and fragments of bricks indicating the presence of a settlemtn that might have consistuted a development of inhabitation corresponding to the Magoula Pevma (see 10 and 13b)
151	Geladria	39°07'37 - 22°23'50"		Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 96-8, 112; Cantarelli 1997, 113, 2008, no. 13a and 13b; LIVY XXXII 17; Stählin 1924, 155. ed. Ital. 200.	tower/temple(?) of classical period on the cofine between Pereia and Meliteia (L'Hermaion indicated on the inscription about the confines between Meliteia and Pereia) on the most northern peak of a hill (512 m above sea level) making up part of a ample hill system between the Kassidiaris (called along Nathakion mountain) and the Koudeles river. IN 2002 a survey was carried out by Dr. Κρισούλα Φρούντα of Lamia (XIV ephorate of Lamia). Survey will be published in the next volum of Cantarelli A.P. we can consider the mule trail between Bouzion and Polydendrion a secure part of an ancient road, which in antiquity should have been only a dirt road the temple was covered by vegetation and a large amass of stones and pieces of limestone placed by the owner of the property. It is square (14m x 14m). The inhabitants of Bouzion call it generically Kastro . hill to the SE of Hermaion. At the northern base of the hull there is a spring. On the peak were found fragments of preclassical ceramics and numerous classical and hellenistic ceramic sherds on the slopes in the area of the spring. The assemblage indicates a frequented place, maybe already in the prehistoric period., along the direction N/S (from the valley of the Enipeus to the plain of Melitea). While the classical fragments are maybe to be placed in relation with the agricultural activity of the area or in reference to the Hermaion.
152	Girgaki (Bouzion)		C,H,L	Temple		
153	Girtoni	39°45'38" - 22°26'37"	C,H,R	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 99, 112; Cantarelli 2008, no 29a	small scale settlement
154	Gkireni	39°21'10" - 22°17'37"	C, H, L	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69; Helly in Brunet 1999	small scale settlement
52 **Glaphyrai**	Kopraena / Kapurna	39°26'37" 22°52'56"	A,C,H,L	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69	In hellenistic times, along with other villages, constituted Demetrias
		39°25'9.43" - 21°40'5.99"			PECS; Lauffer 1989, 235-36; Npauly; Stählin 1924, 36, 122, 124f; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 311; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 63-5; AR 48, 63; E. Nikolaou Έλοα http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr	their King Amynandros, 2nd: by Julius Caesar in 48BC during thr civil war. Town shrunk in Late Roman period. Remains of building from Hellenistic and Roman period with stepped foundations?/steps? and a housing section. Grave column of the 2nd century AD embossed female bust and inscription found in Gelanthi assigned to the graveyard of Gomfοι . Seems to have existed in the 6th c AD, as literary evidence reports the walls being restored by Justinian. Domes (?)of walls have been used to in the second use for the construction of buildings later phases of occupation, Roman-Late Roman. Early Roman graves excavated.The excavations in the ancient city uncovered portions large public building and part of an ancient road 29. Moreover , section revealed large public building which probably belonged to the Market 30. Riverbed In Pamissos tombs of the Hellenistic and Roman periods , belonging in the southern cemetery of ancient molars 31. Tombstone of the 2nd century AD embossed female bust and inscription found in Gelanthi assigned to the graveyard of the molars 32 The city's location was strategically important because it controlled the road to Estiaiotidas and Thessaliotida . Due to its geographical position , the city suffered many conquests and catastrophes. When the Macedonian king Philip II took command of the Thessalian army after agreement what the Thessalians , as it would take the war against the tyrants of Pherae , launched in 352 BC creating a strong fortified city on the border with Athamania sending Macedonian colony in the city of the molars , which was renamed in honor of ' Philippi or Filippoupolis ». The Filippopolis
78 **Gomphoi**	Mouzaki		CHRL	Settlement		
156	Gonnocondylos (Zesti)	39°52'44" - 22°28'19"	C, H, R	Fortification	Stählin 1924, 9; Helly 1973, 39-44; Helly, Gonnoi I, 39-42, Lucas 1991, 1997	
		39°51'13" 22°29'39"			TIB 166; Helly 1973; PECS; Stählin 1924, 2, 3, 8, 10, 13, 30, 33, 37, 46, 74, 88, 91-2, 148; Lauffer 1989, 236-37; Npauly; P. Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Dériziotis 1979, 35; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 219-21	Especially during the second and especially the third Macedonian war, their role is considered important. In 197 BC after the defeat in Kynoskephalai, Philip R resided in Gonnoi for a day to replenish his forces before returning to Macedonia. In 191 BC Antiochus III stopped his march to Tempe and returned to Dimitriada in sight and only troops Appian Claudius, who descending from Macedonia, had seized up from Gonnoi hills. Perseus, in 171 BC, conquered the city and made it his base, strengthening fortifications triple ditch and piles, installing guard and stayed there until the battle of Pydna. That same year, the consul Publius Licinius Crassus, considering the impregnable city, abandoned any attempt to seize. During the independence of the Macedonian guardianship (196-146 BC) the Gonni became an important member of the public Peraivos while later with the inclusion of Peraivos the Thessalian League, in 146 BC, they lost their power to drift into decline during the imperial era.
16 **Gonnoi**	Dereli		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
		39°21'16" - 22°58'37"			PECS; Leekley 1980, 158-60; Lauffer 1989, 237;Stählin 1924, 44-5, 62, 65, 76, 146; Bakhuizen 1992a; V. Adrimi-Sismani, http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 153-6; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 152	Another city of the 4th century. B.C. discovered on the hill of Goritsas 1 just opposite the Ancient Dimitriada has been proposed since 1924, from Fr. Stählin, identified with the ancient Orminio 2, which is placed by Strabo 3 at Pagasitiko Gulf, within 27 stades of the ancient Dimitriada. Under the terms of Stählin, the city of Orminiou built on the hill of Goritsas was a twin fortification for safety Demetriada. On this hill was built in the first half of the 4th century. B.C. a city, probably when Philip II of Macedon made fortifications in Magnesia within an overall political-military planning. The fortification was completed by Cassander probably between 316-298 BC, and the city has been inhabited for a short period after 294 BC the inhabitants were forced to relocated to ancient Dimitriada. The gradual abandonment of is completed until 250 BC
79 **Goritsa/Orminion?**	near Volos		C?,H	Settlement		
158	Gridsova	39°17'4" - 22°36'33"	C, H	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-9, 205-208	small scale settlement
		39°09'20" - 22°13'00"			E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Lucas 1994, p.207-210	the rocky hill of Gynaikokastron is composed of a major hill, 305 m high and of a smaller rise, along side near the plain, 174m high called Sarmanitsa in the F Geol. It arrangements makes up a notable kastro for guarding the surrounding plain comparable to the fortress of Pournarion.
273	Gynaikokastron		H	Fortification		the building on the summit was described by Stahlin
		39°47'4" 22°30'27"			Stählin 1924, 30, 32, 38, 91-2; Lauffer 1989, 242; Helly 1999, 113; 2007, 133-152; Vasiliki Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr under Amphanai;	
18 **Gyrton**	Mourlari, near Evangelismos		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		small scale settlement
		39°0'20" - 22°34'47"	M, C-H		Pikoulas 2006, 333; Cantarelli 1995, 316; EAD 2006 "Le ultime indagini del gruppo italiano e presentazione del sistema difensivo del antica Meliteia". Volos 2006 in Archaiologico Ergo Thessalias kai Stereas Elladas.; Cantarelli 2008, no 61	the peak of the hill is crowned with natural rock and of systemized rock (in the appearance of a small 'castello'). Internally there is the substructure of the perimeter of an ancient rectangular building (a small church dedicated to H. Marina was built on top in the 19th C). The ΙΔ'ΕΠΚΑ of Lamia by Dr. Crisula Fuda and also Stefania De Francesco and FLoriana Cantarelli (fig 17). it could be identidfied as a fortified point of control or, more likely, a temple that signalled the southern limit of the territory of Phyliadon and, subsequently, the SE confines of Melitea. the function of the limit and the point of visuality for control is evident and could have been performed also by a temple: from the peak it dominates a large tract of the S slope of the Othrys up to the costal strip and the sea (Coast of H. Marina at Platania) while towards the N it dominates Liakrorrachi and other pastures of the highlands.
223	Haghia Marina			Temple		
		39°28'49" - 21°31'53"			RE Θηπών oder Θηπώνιον; E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; AR 58, 86; Pikoulas 2006, 333.	
159	Haghia Triada Kalogeri		C, H	Settlement		small scale settlement
		39° 8'50" 22°49'35"			TIB 170-71; PECS;Stählin 1924, 1-3, 66, 137, 153, 171, 177ff, 212, 219; Leekley 1980, 140; Lauffer 1989, 256-58; Stamatopoulou 2012, 75-6; Reinders 1987, 2002; Haagsma 2012; Stissi 2012; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 245-9; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 153-4	Early Iron age Necropolis, used from Sub-mycenean to the end of the geometric period, then again in the Hellenistic and Roman times - See AD 56-9, chr B2, 487-9. Evidence for Habitation post-dating the anadonment in mid 3rd BC (AD 56-9, B2 489=90., 524-9). Farmhouses identified in the Sourpi plain, for ex. at locality Touvla (AD 56-9, B2 475-6).
40 **Halos**	Alos		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
		39° 8'50" 22°49'35"			TIB 170-71; PECS;Stählin 1924, 1-3, 66, 137, 153, 171, 177ff, 212, 219; Leekley 1980, 140; Lauffer 1989, 256-58; Stamatopoulou 2012, 75-6; Reinders 1987, 2002; Haagsma 2012; Stissi 2012; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 245-9; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 153-4	
238 **Halos Gate Farm**	Alos		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		Southwest gate reoccupied as farm house in Hellenistic and Roman periods

		Hellenika	38°53'44"N - 22° 2'44"E"	A? C, H		PECS; Leekley 1980, 158-60; Lauffer 1989, 237; Bakhuizen 1992a; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; PECS; Leekley 1980, 158-60; Lauffer 1989, 237; Bakhuizen 1992a	structures are found at the summit inside a very dense patch of vegetation. Maybe a small sacred area? Traces of other structures are visible also on the slopes of this small hill with the largest density being on the NW slope (the area adjacent to the settlement of Kalamaki)
268					Settlement		
268		Hellenokastro	39°23'55" - 21°41'36"	H	Fortification	AD 56-59, 581	well built fort guarding gomphoi and mountain passes to Agrithea
			38°47'38" 22°25'57"			Stählin 1924, 31, 67, 76, 81, 90, 107, 131, 193, 2101, 208, 225; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 48; Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; SAGT 1, 81-82; PECS Herakleia Trachinia; Leekley 1980, 122-23; Lauffer 1989, 264-65; Bequignon 1937, 240-256; AR 49, p. 49;	
43	**Herakelai Trachinia**	Asopos Gorge - SW of Iraklio		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		polis
			40° 0'1" - 22°35'54"			Salvatore 1994, p 99, 112; Loverdou-Tsigarida 2007, 6-53	
80	**Herakleion**	Platamonos castle?		C,H,R	Settlement		polis
			38°45'44" 22°25'0"			Stählin 1924, 210f; Helly 2006β, 145-169.; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr	
60	**Homilai**			A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		polis
			39°53'5" 22°36'30"			Stählin 1924, 46; PECS; TIB Hellas 173; Leekley 1980, 148-49; Karachristos http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 194-200. According to Bruno Helly (2004), this site could be Eurymenai and Homolion is actually on the coast	Polis.Regarding the inscriptions, mostly dating from the 4th century. B.C. until the 1st century. A.D. Gold items as graves good = fairly common.
55	**Homolion**	Laspokhorion		A,C,H,L	Settlement		Example of gold signet ring from 2nd C BC
			38°51'59" - 22°14'31"			Stählin 1924, 3, 24, 119, 200, 220-2; Bequignon 1937, 307-12; Lauffer 1989, 713-14	
81	**Hypata**	Hypati		C,H,R,L	Settlement		polis
			39°21'58" 22°58'7"			TIB 165-66; Stählin 1924, 44, 50, 62-5,73, 75ff, 148, 153; Leekley 1980, 158-60; Lauffer 1989, 706-08; Stamatopoulou 2012, 79; Derizioti is 1979b, 292-302; AD 56-9, 510-5; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 140-1, 150-3; Skaphida 2012, 365-72; Papachatzi 1946, 24-34;	Iolcos Hellenistic loses its autonomy - as evidenced by Strabo - because now along with other neighboring towns participated in the settlement as a hamlet of Demetriada by Macedonians. Imperial finds dated to 2nd-4th C AD, part of wall that probably belonged to Roman aqueduct. Southern part was destroyed by constructed of a bath (likely private) complex preserved at foundation (hypocaust) level, base of marble Ionic column of Imperial date built into bath complex. Part of marble exedra bearing manumission inscriptions dated from 2nd BC to 2nd AD. More bath complexes dating from late Imperial to late roman/early christian times). Architechtural remains of glass workshop from 2nd-3rd c AD, with paved floor. From the Hellenistic period , the archaeological finds are fewer and the tombs found in the cemetery of Nea Ionia show that there is still a small town in the Old . Moreover , later , Strabo describes Iolcos as a hamlet Demetriada distanced 7 Stades from it. Therefore, following the settlement of the Dimitriada is certain that the city of classical times shrunk, but was not abandoned , since tile " Kalibites" built tombs , and simple pit represent this period in the same cemetery .In Roman times the city continued to be inhabited, as evidenced by the same cemetery 15. Beside the church of St. Theodore excavated Roman baths complex, which remains today in the basement of the building, the street Souli 16, and in place of Glass identified embankments Roman period.
49	**Iolkos (?)**	Palaio-volou		A,C,H,L	Settlement		
			39°33'18.04" - 22°58'32.67"			Pritchett 1963, 1-2; Stählin 1924, 52, 61; JHS 28, 1908, 202-33; Bakhuizen 1994.	
82	**Iphnoi?**	Pelion, near Cape Puri		C, H	Settlement		Polis. Location uncertain
			39°23'50" 21°45'10"			Dasios 1992, 90 (no. 129); TIB 176 PECS; Stählin 1924, 82, 128-9, 227; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 312; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 62-3; AR 55, 34	
2	**Ithome/Tamiai?**	Phanarion		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		Synoikism, first with Gomphoi then with Metropolios at the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd C BC.
			39° 9'3" 22°42'47"			TIB 177; Stählin 1924, 175f; Leekley 1980, 130, 140; Lauffer 1989, 284-85; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 154	
41	**Iton?**	Zerelia / Platanos		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		Polis. Location uncertain
			39°01'43" - 22°31'11"	A, C, H		Dasios 1992, 90 (no. 129); TIB 176 PECS; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 312; Stählin 1924, 80, 84, 100, 115	a vast archaeological area (max height of plateau = 740m above sea level). From the remains it can be deduced tha the settlement was surrounded by a city wall made ffrom a single wall of irregular blocks of modest dimensions. Kalamaki is found a little to the NW in respect to another important archaeological area called Ellenika, situated on a modest rise defended by a small city wall made from large regular blocks of the classical period (see 59). The importance of Kalamaki is evident in respect to it being adjacent to the copper mine of Dasos (1.5km to W) and also the closeness, a little to the S of the area of Kalkiolakka (means 'copper deposit'). At its Western limit the area of Kalamaki dominates the heart of the Miletaian territory. Towards the NW you can see the Eastern slope of the acropolis of Melitea. some access paths to the citywall, one of which leads, in S-E direction to the small fortified hill of Ellenika. traces of numerous small structures. Finds = cups, small jugs, walls of large containers from the Archaic and Classical periods as well as numerous tiles.
220		Kalamachi			Settlement?		
			39°14'20"- 23°15'2"			Karapanou - lecture at CIG; AD 56-9 ; 549-50; AR 52, 70	
265		Kallithea (between Argalasti and Xinovrisi)		H, L	Fortification		Settlement site inhabited throughout the Hellenistic Period based on the ceramic evidence
			39°13'3" - 21°59'17"			Stählin 1924, 132; Philippson 1950, 305 (no. 59); Helly 1992, 85-88; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 165;	
83	**Kallithera**	Haghios Yannis? near Paliouri		C, H	Settlement	E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr	polis, location uncertain
			39°16'39" - 21°54'11"			Panios, 1994, 226; "AD 53, p.440-2; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 165-6; E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr"; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012; AR 52, 76	Artefacts from Urban centre , as well as graves from cemetery, dating from Late 4th C to Late Hellenistic. Habitation in this city lasts from the second half of the 4th until the end of the 3rd century BC 3 According to the archaeological evidence of the cause of the disaster was the fire 4. Evidence re-habitation in the 1st century BC. The burials in accordance with their offerings dating from the 4th to the 1st century BC. Southeast of Kallithira, at "Xinovryssi 's tomb of the Roman period, namely the 3rd century. A.D. It culvert, vaulted with square plan. From archaeological evidence that has not been used since the roof seems to crashed before using
303		Kallithero		H, R, L	?		
324		Kalochori 5	39°42'19" - 22°32'53"	R	?	Helly Chp IV forthcoming	small rural site - forthcoming
164		Kaloyero	39°23'58" - 22°17'54"	C, H, L	Fortification	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortified structure
289		Karandai (Grintia)	39° 6'44" - 22°32'58"	H	Settlement	RE Καράνδα; Philippson 1950, 200	polis
165		Karatsadali	39° 9'11" 22°41'5"	C,H	Fortification	Stählin 1924,175-7; Chykerda 2010, Philippson 1950, 180	small fortified structure in Othrys
166		Karatsadali 2	39° 7'59" 22°41'19"	C,H	Fortification	Stählin 1924,175-7; Decourt 1990, 68-69; Chykerda 2010	small fortified structure in Othrys
			39°04'09" - 22°26'24"			Pikoulas 2006, 331; Cantarelli 2008, no 44	area with remains is divided into 2 sections: the magoula itself and a plateau adjacent to the magoula. The magoula is in the centre of a vast alluvial plain formed in the quarternary period. Has an eliptical form and extends to a surface area of 66000m2. the plateau, immediately to the S, is separated from the magoula by a wall structure of a small outcropping of a largely rectangular form and small dimensions comprising an area of 14000m2. Should be a site of rather large importance since total surface area = 80000m2. the principle axis of the casdasters coincide with the road between Melitea and Pereia. evidence for prehistoric and protohistoric settlement.
299		Karues Magoula (Karuai)		H	Settlement?		
			39°35'24" 22°55'14"			Stählin 1924, 45, 51, 68; PECS; Lauffer 1989, 310;	
53	**Kasthaneia**	Keramidi		A,C,H	Settlement	Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 175	Polis. Location uncertain
167		Kastraki (Profitits Ilias)	39°15'45" - 22°31'16"	C, H	Fortification	Stählin 1924, 122; Decourt 1990, 68-69	Small fortified structure
			39°12'32" -22°27'52"			Stamatopoulos 2012, 88; Decourt 1990; Cantarelli 2008, no. 48	magoula (510m above sea level - but only 5 meters above the surrounding fields) with a Hellenistic wall built with irregular blocks of diverse sizes. There is evidence of a gate on the S side. The magoula is surrounded on the S and SE by 2 waterlines, of which one is fed by the Kastrachi Brysi. Aside from protecting the cultivators of the fertile territory, this fortified site had the function of controlling, a little more to the E, a tract of the path that follows (oriente NE/SW) the Kassidiaris mountain range and also to control, first by the polis of Pereia (6 km to the SW), then by Pereia-Melitea in a second face, after the pooling of their territory, of the border area. (from Kastrachi you can see the mountain on which is the acropolis of PEuma). It is also significant that Kastrachi is found in an area called Palaiochori (in the F Geol), a name which often remains to indicate areas traditionally left free in confine areas between the territory of centres which corresponded to poleis in antiquity. the path that accesses the wall, along the S of the magoula is conserved. in the walled area and in the surrounding terrain, there are remains of structures removed to make it easier for tractors now used to move.
					Fortification		
279		Kastraki Haghios Antonios		H	?		
			39° 5'46" - 22°48'47"			Stählin 1924, 62, 71, 151-2, 165, 170ff, 178, 177; V. Adrimi-Sismani. http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Pikoulas 2006, 331; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 250	Northwest of the Monastery of Kato Xenia is Kastraki (formerly Karantza Ntagla), a fortified settlement with polygonal wall, from which perisynellegisan shards of the 4th and 3rd centuries. B.C. 1 A small excavation made by the Arvanitopoulos in 1908 and brought to light a square building of the 4th century. B.C. Later Efstathiou excavated a house in the Middle Bronze Age and cleared a portion of the ancient wall. The settlement has not been systematically investigated so remain unidentified.
129		Kastraki Almyros		M, A, C, H	Fortification		
143		Kastraki I	39°17'37" - 22°42'8"	B,M,A,C	?	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortification in territory of Pheres
285		Kastraki II	39°17'37" - 22°42'8"	H, R	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 97, 112	small settlement in territory of Pheres
168		Kastraki III	39°17'55" - 22°40'41"	C, H	Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 98, 112	small fortification in territory of Pheres
169		Kastri Prodromou	39°33'25" - 21°35'16"	C, H, R, L	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 332	small fortification in territory of Pheres
170		Kastro Dasochoriou	39°52'54" - 21°49'16"	C,H,R	Settlement?	Strabo IX 5, 10; Cantarelli 2008, no. 50D	Unknown site type, kome? Ceramics from 4th C to Roman period

171	Kastro Deli-Achmèt	39°21'15" - 22°39'11"	C, H	Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 105, 112	small fortification in territory of Pheres
172	Kastro di Rigeion	39°21'19" - 22°36'32"	C, H	Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 105-6, 112	small fortification in territory of Pheres
275	Kastro Kainotouti - Karuas Trizolou	39°19'6" - 21°29'28"	H, EB	Fortification	AD 55 B'1 475	small fortification in territory of Pheres
		39°19'39" - 22°42'20"			Salvatore 1994, p 98, 112	Small fortified site which seems to have been large enough to be
273	Kastro Kokkina		C,H	Settlement		considered a settlement
174	Kastro Kokkonas	39°38'24" - 21°49'52"	C,H	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 332	small fortification in territory of Pheres
		40° 7'30" - 22° 9'5"			Lucas 1997 ; AR 49, p. 55; AR 59, p. 50; Chaniotis, A., Corsten, T, Stroud, R.S., Tybout, R.A. SEG 56 629-630; Deriziotis, L., AD 56-59 (2001-2004) [2012], B'2, p. 608-610; Deriziotis and	
323	Kastro Livadiou		R, L	Fortification	Kougioumtzoglou 2012.	small fortification
175	Kastro Ovrianas	39°40'51" -21°46'34"	C, H, L	Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 112	small fortification in territory of Pheres
307	Kato Kastro Palaiokarya	39°25'30" - 21°31'4"	A, H, R, L	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 333	small fortification in area of Karya
176	Kato Vasiliki	39°20'39" - 22°32'29"	C, H, L	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small scale settlement
177	Katophli Elatis Turnas	39°29'56" - 21°32'5"	C, H	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 333	small fortification inPindus range
178	Kelaithra	39°17'17" - 22° 2'31"	C, H, R	Settlement	AD 56-59, 487-9; Stählin 1924, 133	Polis? Potentially ancient name the same
		39°01'24" -22°28,56"			AR 52, 70; Cantarelli 2008, no. 57	rocky hill fortified in a roughly round form, 832m high. This kastro certainly had an important function for the defence of the copper mine of Dasos (a little to the N and beyond the Neochororrema), in an earlier period maybe functioning in the territory of Phyliadon and in the Classical and Hellenistic period in the territory of the polis of Melitea.There was also an important northern tract of the Othrys pass passing by Longhitsion that descends in the valley of the strean called Rema in the F Geogr. and Mavrorrema in the F Geol. with access therefore to the plain of Melitea and to the paths into the mountainous systemo f the Bouna Gouras. To the South it controlled access to a internal road for FOkalia and Kleftes. A religious procession (still practiced in the 20th C) from Melitea across H. Gheorghios (area of the sanctuary dedicated to Artemis and Aspalis) and the valley to the N of Kleftes and to the N of Palaiokastron of Xerobouni descending after to the fountain, tied to a traditional cult (now dedicated to the virgin) in the area of Keramochori.walled structures are identified also inside the small walled area. Scarse remains of the foundation of a structure close to the fountain but not enough remains to label it a building. The area of the fountain is scattered with many ceramic fragments
264	Keramachorion		H, LA, B	Fortification		
		39°35'46" 22°43'3"			Stählin 1924, 103; Philippson 1950, 274 (n. 3); TIB Hellas 184-85; B. Helly 1984, 220; 1987, 139	
26 **Kerkinion**	Ano Amygdali		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		Polis
		39°22'3" 22° 4'0"			Stählin 1924, 1, 4, 27, 36, 93, 129; Lauffer 1989, 581; Decourt 1995, 9-34; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 316-8, Stamatopoulou 2012, 89; E. Nikolaou.http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Decourt 1990; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 71-7; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 162-4; Katarachias 1992; AR 52, 76	leading role of city continued into hellenistic and Roman period and ceased to exist likely in early christian period. Cemeteries dating to Hellenistic and Roman period, in localities of kalampokies, Matarangas, Xeraulaka and Kotronolakkes. In honorary decree of the 2nd century BC, found in Mataraga referred to as Kiarion. (IG IX 2, 258. 168 π.Χ.). According to inscriptions from the city itself, but also from other, citizens of Kieriou hear cases other cities are tagoi, generals and secretaries of the Thessalian, race winners appear to freedom of Larissa and Ptoia Boeotia and contribute to build initially, the first half of the 2nd century BC, and later rebuilding in the late 1st century BC a public building in the city, the Bouleiou. Inscription of the 1st century AD fitted at the Church of St. George Tower Kieriou informs us that the Congress of the Thessalian dealt with resolving border disputes between Kieriou and Metropolis. The "country" of Kieriou also at "Orgozinos" revealed piecemeal assembly buildings preserved part of the Roman period. Other excavations revealed archeological finds of the Classical, Hellenistic and Roman periods: the plain walls, houses with warehouses and roads, of which one crossed the southern cemetery and connected the Kierion other contemporaries settlement, located to the area euphonious, Kallithira, Mavroneri. In the area of "Kalampokies" and "Kontarika" unearthed Roman graves. The cist graves, pit, tile and clay urns
9 **Kierion**	Pyrgos Kieriou		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
179	Kokkina	39°19'48" - 22°41'47"	C,H,R?	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 99, 112	small settlement in territory of Pheres
		39°12'41" - 22°17'19"	N, B, C, H, R		Cantarelli 2008, no 44; Leake 1835, 247; Arvanitopoulos 1910, 198; AD 25 (1970) 244; AD 29 (1973-4); AD 34 (1979) 191; Cantarelli 2008 n. 5	magoula about 4 or 5 m higher than surrounding terrain, circumference of 40000m2 and includes a minor raised area to the SE. it is deliniated along all its perimeter by narrow streets made by farmers to reach various fields
161	Kommeno Tzami Magoula			?		
		38°51'53" - 22°20'40"			Philippson 1950, 200; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 61-2	Cemetery with burials from Mycenean, Proto, proto-sub, Classical and Hellenistic
148	Kompotades		M, G, C, H	Cemetery		
		39°43'18" - 22°22'57"			Stählin 1924, 38, 92; RE; Philippson 1950, 307 (no. 181); Helly 1999, 114; 2007 132-152	
113 **Kondaia**	Fallani		H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 38, 92; Helly 1973, 44-46	Polis
		39°53'30" - 22°27'1"	N, A, C, H,			
236	Kondylos		R, L	Settlement		small settlement
	Koromilea	39°1'42" -22°17'2"	C/H, B		Cantarelli 2008, no. 60; Cantarelli 1995, 317, 2008, no. 30b	hill system overlooking/facing the ex-basin of the Xynias lake. (aka basin of Daukli). In this area there was likely a productive settlement that had its own fortification in Nisi (ancient Xyniai) fig 12
180				Settlement?		
		39°17'59" 23° 8'38"			Stählin 1924, 47, 53, 225; Philippson 1950, 157; PECS; Lauffer 1989, 346; P. Nitasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Stamatopoulou 2012, 78; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 177-8	Oracle of Apollo, in use to at least the late Hellenistic Period - investigated by Arvanitopoulos but not published. The magnetic "city Koropi" Classical times 1 is incorporated in 294 BC - According to Strabo the ancient Dimitriada 2. Here was one of the most famous shrines and oracles of magnets, the sanctuary of Apollo Koropaiou 3. The sanctuary flourished from Archaic times to the Roman era. Atop the hill there are architectural remains of the ancient settlement of Koropi , dating from archaic to Roman times (Αρβανιτόπουλος 1911. 1914.)
48 **Korope**	Margarania (?)		A,C,H,R	Settlement		
		39°18'38" - 22°35'18"			RE Κονδάιο; Philippson 1950, 307 (no. 181); Helly 1999, 114; 2007 132-152; Decourt 1990, 68-69	
181	Kosistres		C, H	Settlement		small settlement
182	Koukourelos Potamias Stournaraiikon	39°26'42" - 21°29'35"	C, H	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 333	small fortification in Pindus range
183	Koumitsia	39°24'13" - 22°13'34"	C,H	Settlement	Darmezin, 1994, 211-2; Decourt 1990, 68-69	small settlement
184	Kouslou	39°21'48" - 22°33'47"	C, H	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small settlement
		39°13'14" - 22°17'23"	N, B, C, H, R		Stählin 1924, 189. Italian ed. 241, no. 351; Cantarelli 2008, no. 71; Wace and Thompson 1912, 11 N 103;	an important prehistoric magoula, excavated by Ι΄ ephorate in 2002. Dr. Nina Kyparissi-Apostolika (Volos 27.2.2003-2.3.2003)
162	Koutroulo Magoula			?	7; Cantarelli 2008 n. 5a	
		39°30'2" 22°18'0"			Stählin 1924, 12, 38-9, 80, 88, 91, 110-1; PECS; Leekley 1980, 143; Lauffer 1989, 251-52; P. Nitasios .http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; *Archaeologikos choros Krannonos* ; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 111-5.	In 214 BC several Krannonas acquire the right of citizens of Larissa, in accordance with a resolution of Larissa foreign naturalization, which was mandated by Philip V of Macedonia.In the Thessalian, who reestablished in 196 BC by the Romans, no Krannonios assumes the office of general. In 191 BC and short-lived period subordinated to the city of Pergamon King Antiochus. In the Hellenistic period, under the surface and excavation data, the city expanded to the plain that stretches in front of the hill "Castle". From the wall of the Hellenistic city identified section of width 3m., Whose course includes the Hellenistic houses excavated in recent years, about 300 meters southeast of the citadel.Rather out of it, seems to have been the late Hellenistic pottery workshop of KLEONOS and THEODOTOU, which among other products manufactured and roof tiles
23 **Krannon**	Kastro / Douraki		A,C,H,R	Settlement		stamped bearing the names of their creators
		39°03'09" - 22°28'35"	N, A, C, H, R, L		Cantarelli 2008, no. 53	the archaeological area is at the foot of the hill and presents some traces of a wall in irregular blocks that starts 700m to the S of the junction of the road that comes from Neochorion and the road Melitea-Fyliadona. a large productive area placed in an important location as it is found at the mouth of the road for the valley of Neochoritikos that accesses notable points in the territory (Dasos, Mavri, Liakorrachi, H. Marina)
205	Krikorrachi			Settlement		
185	Krini	39°23'14" - 22°21'27"	C, H, L	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small settlement
		39° 3'51" 21°58'42"			Stählin 1924, 148-9; Helly 1992, 64-75; E. Nikolaou.http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 234-6.	
11 **Ktimene**	Rentina		A,C,H,R	Settlement		2nd C BC dispute with Aggeias over the property of a temple (RPh 1911, 289, 41.)
12 **Kypaira**	Palaia Yannitsou	39° 1'53" 22° 4'57"	A,C,H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 27; Helly 1992, 79-80	small settlement
		39°17'27" - 22°39'5"	C, H		SAGT 7, 105-09; Lucas 1991, 137; 1997, 141;	
186	Lakka			Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 99, 112	small fortification in territory of Pheres
		38°54'14" - 22°26'8"			Stählin 1924, 24, 40, 126, 213-7, 220; Béquignon 1937, 263-78; Leekley 1980, 123-24; Lauffer 1989, 365-66; Stamatopoulou 2012, 85; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 57; Papakonstantinou 1994b, 6-25; AR 52, 70-1	large structure forming part of Hellenistic city's civic centre (agora) revealed. Dating to 3rd C BC by a decree and collapse dating to 2nd C AD. Excavations at the site of the new courthouse revealed the SE part of the cemetery with graves from 2nd C BC to 1st C AD.
84 **Lamia**	Lamia		C,H,R,L	Settlement		
188	Lampros	39°20'59" - 22°42'28"	C, H	Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 100, 112	small fortification in territory of Pheres
237	Lapathous-Charax? Kallipefke	39°57'40" - 22°28'45"	N, C? H, R	Fortification	Stählin 1924, 10-3, 37; Pikoulas 2006, 332	small fortification in Pindus range

			39°38'24" 22°24'54"			Stählin 1924, 4, 20, 24, 30, 33, 36,-41l 45, 57, 79, 88, 92-9, 112, 120, 137; PECS; TIB 198-99; Leekley 1980, 144-45; Lauffer 1989, 367-69; Stamatopoulou 2011, 79; P. Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Tziafalias 1994; ADelt 56–59 2001–2004, Chr B2 600-605 ; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 105-110; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 157	Theatre A, built in 3rd C BC and remained in use until the 4th C AD, Adapted in Roman times to house gladiatorial games.Part of Major Roman road with a stoa along the western side. Area used for housing in Early Christian period. In numerous parts of the city, Roman period houses with Mosaic floors have been revealed dating to 2nd C AD and elaborate building complexes of the 3rd and 4th AD with mosaics, including luxourious dwellings and bath complexes. Nymphaeum, dated to the 3rd-4th C AD, linked to the rise of Larisa as a principal city (provincial capital) of Thessaly under Diocletian's reforms that ended the koinon. After 197 Larissa becomes the main station of Roman troops in Thessaly. Under Augustus and Tiberius there is a boom, new buildings constructed including Theatre B, roads are repaired, followed by a period of stagnation and subsequent renewal in the 2nd C AD, witnessing construction of baths and drainage networks
20	**Larissa**	Larisa		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
			38°57'51" - 22°50'19"			Stählin 1924, 2-4, 153, 182ff; Philippson 1950, 208;	
85	**Larissa Kremaste**	Pelasgia		C,H,R,L	Settlement	Lauffer 1989, 369-70; AD 55 B'1 448-9	Polis
86	**Leibethra**	Skotina	40° 1'28" - 22°32'2"	C, H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 10; Lucas 1997	Polis
			39°49'54" 22°18'16"			Helly 1999, 113-14; Lucas 1997, 120, 125, 145, 182;	
15	**Leimone /Alone?**	Argyropouli		A,C,H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 30-2; Béquignon 1937, 316-22; PECS; Lauffer 1989, 401-02	Polis
			39°2'56" -22°27'25"			Cantarelli 1997, 2008, no 47*	the main road (34° N-E) of the ancient cadastization to the E of Melitea (while to the NW of the town there is the ancient cadasters to Karyai) on which was also superimposed the roman Limitatio (2-1st C BCE). Started from the height of the NE gate of the wall of the Acropolis of Melitea and is preserved to Thanasorrema, beyond which the traces are scarce due to the modern hydraulic system of the Thanasorrema and the Fyliadorrema in the modern town of Fyliadona adjacent to the E of Melitea. Between the two cadastizations (oriented towards NW) there is strip of land (area of a spring 'Haghiobrysi' in the F Geol) into which flowed a few waterlines. This area was recuperated after WWII and was divided according to modern measurements. THe whole area of Libadi is rich in finds: classical ceramics, relief or glazed cups, hellenisitic-roman jugs and byzantine ceramics. between the SW part of Libadi and the SE sie of the wall of Melitea is the large building described in 40
191		Libadi		C, H, L	Settlement?		
			39°30'32" 22° 5'18"			Stählin 1924, 79, 83f, 130; PECS; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 322-3; Stamatopoulos 2012, 88; E. Nikolaou.http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 82-3	Vlochos, identified by some as Asterion/Peirasia, but Decourt Identifies with Limnaion which the Roman consul Blabios seized in 189 BC during the war with Antiochus. Some (Xatzeaggelakes in1st DSIP 2006, p. 322-3) even suggest it could be ancient Phakion. column of 200-150 BC, tombstone this time, owned Nikasippo of Nicias and saves invocation to chthonic Hermes
5	**Limnaion**	Vlokhos		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
			38°58'37"- 22°34'01"			Pikoulas 2006, 335; Cantarelli 1995, 315, 2008, no. 83 and 84	the peak of the hill is crowned with natural rock and of systemized rock (in the appearance of a small 'castello'). Internally there is the substructure of the perimeter of an ancient rectangular building (a small church dedicated to H. Marina was built on top in the 19th C). The ΙΔ΄ΕΠΚΑ of Lamia by Dr. Crisula Fuda and also Stefania De Francesco and FLoriana Cantarelli (fig 17). it could be identidfied as a fortified point of control or, more likely, a temple that signalled the southern limit of the territory of Phyliadon and, subsequently, the SE confines of Melitea. the function of the limit and the point of visuality for control is evident and could have been performed also by a temple: from the peak it dominates a large tract of the S slope of the Othrys up to the costal strip and the sea (Coast of H. Marina at Platania) while towards the N it dominates Liakrorrachi and other pastures of the highlands. the closest area is that of Liakrorrachi (to the NE) and Palaiokastro of Longhitsion. the area of Longhitsion has many particular characteristics: it is located on the summit of the minor pass of the Othrys and corresponds to the point where it starts to descend towards the valley of the Rema. Dominates a vast panorama: towards the NE (in alto) you can see H. Marina (see 61 and fig 16) and towards the E the hills of Palaiokastron, a tract of the road of the pass and the area favourable for pastoralism, livestock raising and agriculture. It has a lush vegetation and is protected by the wond being located at the base of a rocky 'cord', almost as if in a niche, where there are two copious springs. this could suggest the presence of an ancient settlement, which perhaps could be found between the road of the pass and the hills of Palaiokastron, in the area of Koutsoulia, to the E and W sides of which are two springs and various lines of water and to
298		Loggitsion		H, R, L	Settlement?		
			38°53'54" - 22°15'50"			AR 24 (1977-78) 38-39; AD 49 B'1, 311;	
322	Loutra Hypatis	left side of Road Loutrwn Ipatis -Ladikous		R,L	Baths		bathhouse on north bank of river
			39°03'00"- 22°26'30"	N, A, C, H, R, L		Cantarelli 2008, no .41	along the ancient road axis of the cadaster to the NW of Melitea on the W side, at about 125m from the start of the axis there is a small magoula called 'Magoula' in the F Geol. Fragments found = neolithic, A, C, H, R, B
195		Magoula			Settlement		
			39°47'58"- 22°25'18"			Decourt 1990, 68-69; BARR (C1) Philippson 1950,	
192		Magoula Kastri		C,H,R	Fortification	307 (no. 185)	small fortification in Enipeus valley
			39°18'53" - 22°24'16"			Pikoulas 2006, 333; Cantarelli 2008, no. 42	magoula with ceramic frags from A, C, H, B, both the axes that dilineate the magoula to the E and N. the abundance of ceramics (tiles, bricks, amphora and other containers) denote the presence of a small agricultural settlement
193		Magoula Paliambela (west of Serifis)		C,H, L	Settlement		
306		Magoula Phikis Barumpopis	39°30'2" - 21°39'33"	A, C, H	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 332	small fortification in Pindus range
			39°33'41" - 22°43'57"		Farm in H, cemetery in	AD 56-9 ; 499-505, 549-50	
261		Magoula Tserli (Kalamaki) Lake Karla		H, R	R		multiple room farmhouse, used as cemetery in Roman period
			38°56'45" - 22° 6'52"			Stählin 1924, 14-8, 222-4; Béquignon 1937, 316-22;	
87	**Makra Kome**	Varibopi/Makrikome?		C?,H	Settlement	PECS; Lauffer 1989, 401-02	Polis
292		Makrakomi	38°56'45" - 22° 6'52"	H	Settlement?	Pantos, 1994, 226-7	Small settlement, uncertain
			39°02'20" 22°24'45"			Cantarelli 1995, 218; 2008, no. 34b.	eliptical shaped plain on a slope between two small valleys formed by streams at the lowest base of an ample hilled rea, along the forested slope passed the ancient base of mountain road. A large part of this zone was deforested and terraced and today is used for cereal cultivation, is a roughly poligonal form and has a surface area of 22000m2. Halfway up the hillside runs a mule path that passes by the cemetery of the town following to N-E towards Melitea, while from the other part it reaches a small wood with a spring that feeds a water trough lower down. the path between the ancient church of H Dimitrios and the cemetery of Makrolibadon is definitely ancient. In some places there are signs of a pavements of small stones and small irregular blocks maybe from the Byzantine period.
250		Makrolibadon		H-R, L	?		
			39°48'30" - 22°29'28"			Stählin 1924, 88; AD 56-59, 540-2; Andreadaki-	
155		Makrychori		N, B, H	?	Vlasdaki 2012, 158-9	prehistoric settlement but hellenistic pottery found
255		Malakasiou	39°29'18"-21°32'19"	H	Cemetery	Decourt 1990, 68-69	cemetery and likely surrounding settlement
305		Malakasiou Monastery	39°45'46"- 21°17'17"	H	?	Pikoulas 2006, 331, AR 40, p. 46	unknown site type
			39°51'19" - 22° 4'14"			Philippson 1950, 305 (no. 7); Lucas 1995, 123;	
88	**Malloia**	Palaeokastro / Margara		C,H,R	Settlement	Lucas 1997, Darmezin 1992,	Polis
196		Malouka	39°22'28" - 22°43'17"	C, H	Fortification	Decourt 1990, 68-69; Salvatore 1994, p 105-6, 112	small settlement in territory of Pheres
			39°07'54" -22°25'45"			AR 40, p. 46; Cantarelli 2008, n. 49	the area is characterized by the presence of the large cistern and by an intersection of roads leading to various ancient settlements in all directions: to the NE is the magoula and the Hellenistic settlement of Kastrachi; to the E and SE is the valley of the Enipeus and the 2 poleis of Peuma and Phyliadon (Morjes); to the SE and S is the kastro of Charasani (at Mantasia see 50B) and the large settlement that the locals call Magoula Amoudera (at POlydendrion); to the W and NW is the Hellenistic settlement of Achladea, and further the polis of Pereia (Kastro of Petroton). 700m more to the W of Mytaries, on the summit of a slope of a hill of grain, there is a significant structure, called Petromagoula (494m above sea level)
251		Mantasia		H, B	?		
			38°48'13"- 22° 5'52"			Stählin 1924, 177, 193; Decourt 1990, 68-69; Pantos,	
267		Marmara		H	Fortification	1994, 226	small fortification in Spercheios valley

			39°01'01" - 22°32'26"	N? B, A, C, H-R, L		Pikoulas 2006, 331; Cantarelli 1995, 312; 2008, no. 60	on the right bank of the Rema in the locality of Mavri, there is a very gentle slope of a roughly oval form that ends in an acute angle in the Northern extremity. Surmounted by a partly rocky hill called Gheladograiko (902m above sea level) now covered in vegetation and difficult to access. it is reachable by a street coming from Neochorion and is situated on the left side for those coming from the W heading E. in front there is a drinking trough and an oak glade. the surface area where finds come is ca 15000m2. the tract between Mavri, Ellenika and Kalamaki is considered ancient. in some places there are no visible structures but some rises in the terrain present evidence for wall collapses, not datable or determinable for function. Finds = Bronze age impasto ceramics and lithics (neolithic?), Archaic and Classical period = olpai, hydriai, kylikes, kotylai, amphora, oinochoai, olle, and skyphoi made of impasto, black gloss or red gloss. Hellenistic = jugs, amphora, olle, and cups in plainware as well as a 'perfume' beaker in red gloss. as well as commercial amphora of the greek-italian type. Roman = amphora, plates, pans, and bowls of impasto or plainware.
222		Mavri			Fortification		
54	**Meliboia**	west of Velika	39°45'20" 22°51'14" 39° 2'25" 22°27'26"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 15, 45, 50f, 121; Pauly 1; Stamatopoulou 2011, 77; Karachristos http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Helly, 2004 (Obolos 7), 110-5; A. Tziafalias 1994b, 143-152; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 184-93 Stamatopoulou 2012, 85; Wace and Thomson 1912, 170, fig 115; Stählin 1924, 83, 104, 143, 152-3, 162-6, 169; RE XV 1 (1931) 534-40; Daux and de la Coste Messiere 1924, 343-376; 1925-6, 185; Rocchi 1988, 143-51; Ager 1989, 107-114; Cantarelli (1991-1995, 1997, 1999, 2005, 2008, no. 40); EAD 2001, 403-9; Decourt, Nielsen and Helly 2004, n.438, 705; Mpougia 2005, 110-132; Bouchon 2005; AD 27 1972, chr. 329-30; AD 28 1973, chr 281; Thessalika 2, 1959, 80ff; Barrington Gazatteer no. 551 ; V. Karachristos http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 252-61	Early Christian basilica excavated at Kastro Velikas Identified by excavator as Roman/Early Christian Meliboia. Sacked by the Romans after the battle of Pydna in 168 BC. Titus Lucretius Carus (**De Rerum Natura 2.500 – 2.501)** mentions the purple dye from Meliboia period. Probably in the 4th C BC ancient greek cadasterization to the E and W of the polis, over which a roman cadaster was placed in the II or Ist century BC (the survey is to be published in the next volume). most notable finds: a large building beside a circular form in the NE side (temple?); a large porticoed building with a water structure in the middle; structures likely related to a theatre, 2 porticoed buildings connected with a stairway on the SE side of the acropolis. a Romanrural farmstead at the east base of the hill and a small basilica more to the S. Aquaduct of the spring (from H. Gheorghios, 2.3 km ca to the SE of Melitea) on the hill of H. Triada. Collection basin in the saddle between the acropolis and the hill of the monastery of H. Triada. coins and votive offerings of Hellenistic and Roman date were found (AAA 5, 1972 47ff). traces of tombs in the area of the old cemetery, traces of graves at H. Triada. Sparse Hellenistic gracves in the more eastern section of the cadasters. Byzantine necropolis on the already abandoned acropolis. The historian Polybius 21 which states that Philip V of Macedonia failed to capture in 217 BC the city, because it had high walls and he had such high scales. In the middle of the 2nd century . BC Melitea seems that part of the Thessalian Confederacy with Heraclea Trachiniae , capital of Oita , according to a resolution and a second inscription (IG IX 2, 89. Ναρθάκιο. 140 π.Χ.). Roman times, the city in an honorary inscription for the emperor Caracalla (early 3rd century AD.), and his mother Julia Domna (SEG III.466. Μελιταία), bears the name Sebaste, a title indicates that this period Melitea had power and prestige. At about the same time (mid-2nd century BC.) Seems resolved the differences of Melitaea with Heraclea Trachiniae, capital of Oita, as evidenced by a resolution (IG IX 2,
42	**Melitaia**	Avaritsa		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
286		Mesochora	39°28'26" - 21°19'22"	H	Settlement	AD 56-59, 544-5	Unwalled village of Hellenistic Period. Possible destruction layer
197		Metamorphosis Sotiros	39°30'52" - 22° 1'58" 39°19'54" 23° 3'8.98"	C, H, L	Fortification	Kase 1991, 100 (n. 37); Decourt 1990, 68-69 Stählin 1924, 47, 53; Philippson 1950, 157; Helly 2006b, 145-169.; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 176	small fortification between plains In Christian times, there is movement of the population of the town beach PLATANIDIA 10. Moreover, recently it has been proposed identification of Methoni with the ruins on the hill of Goritsas 11 while
59	**Metho(a)ne?**	Nevestiki	39°24'37" 21°57'56"	A,C,H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 80, 143; Helly 1992, 85-9; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 320; Stamatopoulos 2012, 88; E. Nikolaou.http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; AD 49 B'1, 328, 339-41; AD 56-9, 565; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 79-81	on position is proposed to place Korakai. Building, Ceramics dating from Archaic to Hellenistic but mosaic seems to belong to a later time period.site identified as ancient Methulion. Said to be occupied until the Roman period but finds seem to date to Hellenistic at latest (?). with finds dating from the Archaic to the Roman times was known, since during excavations in the area have revealed fragmentary architectural remains and other finds 8. worth mentioning a particular part of a mosaic floor Hellenistic 9 the which probably formed outdoor courtyard, part of an ancient road 10 and well constructed with clay cylindrical conductors
8	**Methulion**	near Prodromos Karditsas (Myrine)	39°20'14" 21°49'52"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 27, 36, 126-130; PECS; Leekley 1980, 146; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 315; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012,59-62; E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; AD 56-9, 494-6; AR 58, 91, 93; AR 48, 62-3; AR 47, 128-9; AR 41, 36-7	formed at the beginning of the 4th C through Synoikism of 3 smaller surrounding communities. Highest growth during Hellenistic and Roman Period. Finds from recent excavations show that site was in use from4th C BC to 4th C AD; Numerous pottery kilns dating to the Hellenistic and Roman period found in the centre of the modern town, and in periphery of the town in the cemetery areas. Roman bath complex with elaborate figural mosaics including mythological scenes, rape of Europa and the persuasion of Helen by Aphrodite. Ambassadors of the Metropolis declare allegiance to the Roman consul Quintus Flaminius, who invaded Thessaly in 198 BC, and during the war of Antioch in 191 BC Metropolis is delivered to the High Manios Aquilius. Citizens of Krannonas honor a Metropolitan for his benefactions to the town about 168 BC 17. Whilst Metropolitans honor Glaucus of Eudoras citizen consul in 160/159 BC for the services offered to them, giving the "Proxenio And politeian OL [n] tisin [e] n [inomian Cl] very safe [s] if war and] peace",. according to an inscription from Larissa dating after 196 BC In the 1st century AD Congress of the Thessalian resolve border disputes between Kieriou - Metropolis, which vindicated the Kierion.(IG IX 2, 261.)According to archaeological evidence, the construction of the temple of Apollo dates back to just before the mid-6th century BC and destroyed by fire in 2 " c. BC
3	**Metropolis**	Palaiokastro Georgikon		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
290		Mexiates	38°52'35" - 22°18'44"	H	Settlement?	Pantos, 1994, 226-7	Kastro - fort - and tombs
198		Mikron Perivolakion	39°23'36" - 22°39'56"	C, H	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p. 104, 112	small settlement in territory of Pheres
89	**Mondaia**	Loutro Elassonos	39°57'34" - 21°56'18"	C, H	Settlement	RE Μονδοία; Lucas 1992, 110; Lucas 1994, p.207-210	Polis
17	**Mopsion?**	Stenon Rhodias	39°47'22." 22°23'7"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 22, 30, 38, 87-9, 92; Helly 1999, 103-104, 113; Lucas 1997, 145, 193; AR 48, 63; AD 49 B'1, 331-3; AR 52, 76	Polis
130		Moschato	39°19'7" - 21°47'40"	A,C,H	Settlement		Temple of Apollo? Earliest phases date to 6th C BC to 2nd BC when it was destroyed by a fire and abandoned
90	**Mylai**	Vlakhoyanni	39°45'4" - 22° 3'51"	C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 27ff; Lucas 1995, 121-23	Polis
271		Myli Watchtowers	39°10'46" - 22°37'58" 39°9'54" - 22°25'36"	H	Fortification	Chykerda 2010 AD 55, B'1, 454; Cantarelli 2008, no. 49	small fortified buildings in Othrys the axis of Mytari, the crossroad and the axis parallel to the W are all ancient. The modern roads are now more to the S of Mytaries and pass to the S of Achladea. between the structure of Petromagoula and the large cistern (22m x 6.8m) there are numerous regular stone blocks that
296		Mytaries	38°56'54" -22°30'21"	H, H/R, L	Settlement?	Xen, hell IV 3, 3-9, Ages II.2; Plut, Ages. 46; Strabo IX 5, 10; Ptol. III 12, 43; IG IX 2, 89-91 (also in Syll3 674 A); Lauffer 1989, 455; Bequignon 1937, 282-291;AD 55 B'1, 451-4; Stählin 1924, 167, 187-9; RE XVI, 2 SV. Narthakion, Coll. 1760-1764; Rocchi 1988 146-51; Cantarelli 1991, 1995, 313-4; Magnetto 1997, 192-4; EAD 2006 927-944; Cantarelli 2008, no. 75; AD 53 B2, 397-400.	should have been part of one or more buildings. graves, 4th/3rd-2nd BC; bronze coin og thessalian league from Between 196 and 1st C BCE = last burial. in this high plateau of the Othrys at the foot of the peak of Palaiokastron (corrisponding to the Polis of Narthakion) there are many ruins of poor houses and a small church. This settlement area is now completely abandoned. 800 m to the S of the church of H. Iaonnis. the acropolis (fig 20) with its defensive wall of 'emplekton' occupies the peak of the Othrys with a smoothed form (principly due to wind erosion) and declining towards the W. at 200m on its base the village of Limogardion was built, at one time occupied by miners but now by livestock raisers. Described by Stahlin. excavations in course on the acropolis b the ephorate of Lamia. an important centre of Achaia Phthiotis that in the Roman period obtained a increase in its territory including the pastures of Agkaditsa and Palaiokastro of the Xerobouni Maggiore as its border zone. An inscription from Larisa (see GARSNEY, GALLANT and RATHBONE 1984). For the Romans it was important to control the connection between the roads of the mountain pass and the coast, with the goal of guaranteeing the transport of grain from the plain to the N of the Othrys to the ports on the Malian gulf.the path between H. Ionnes and the acropolis is definitely ancient, at the point where the road deviates towards the N there is the church of H. Dimitrios, To the W of this church (the christian continuation of a cult to Demeter??) there is the name (only in the F Geol) Serpina, in the area of Palaiochorion, maybe referencing to a shrine to (Pro)serpina in the ROman period? at the base of the acropolis. At least one temple
91	**Narthakion**	Limogardi (Palaiokastron)		C,H,R	Settlement		hypothesizable due to the remains
202		Narthakion I	39°14'21" - 22°29'25"	C, H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 167, 187-9; Pikoulas 2006, 333;Decourt 1990, 68-69	small scale settlement
203		Narthakion Kastron	39°14'12" - 22°30'9"	C, H	Fortification	Stählin 1924, 167, 187-9; Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortified building in Othrys
204		Nea Smolia	39°42'3" - 21°53'44"	C? H	Settlement	Pikoulas 2006; Darmezin, 1994, 212; Bouchon Correspondence June 19, 2014	small settlement uncertain location
269		Neochoraki	39° 9'37" - 22°37'1"	H	Fortification	Chykerda 2010; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 250	small fortified building in Othrys

301		Neochoraki alternate	39° 9'11" - 22°37'2" 39° 8'33" 23°13'28"	H,R,L	Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 112; Philippson, p. 306, n. 103; Chykerda 2010 Stählin 1924, 47, 54-5; Helly 1992, 49-58; Lauffer 1989, 478-79; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; AR 58, 78; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 183; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 158	small fortified building in Othrys The national is "Olizonios' 2. Olizona The city is referred to as magnetic by Pseudo-Skylakas 3, which places it south of the city known as Spalathra, as" small town "that participated in the settlement of Demetriada the 3rd century. B.C. Strabo 4. The 337/336 BC, one of the hieromnemon of magnets came from Olizona. Scattered surface architectural remains of Hellenistic, and wall sections, like marble headstones, have been discloses in the surrounding area of St. Andrew, at "Paliokastro" 6. From this position comes a headless statue of a woman with gray marble delivered in 1987 in M. EPCA
46	**Olizon?**	Haghios Andreas / Palaiokastro	39°53'34" 22°11'14"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Lucas 1997, 151; ; PECS; Lauffer 1989, 207-08; P. Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Dériziotis 1979, 35; Lavva 1994, 315-326. Lucas 1997. Stählin 2002, 70-98. Hansen & Nielsen 2004, 725. Rakatsanes and Tziafalias 2004; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 219	In Roman times the territory of the city extended sufficiently far east as leaves us to infer a Latin inscription of the time of Trajan with the determination of the boundaries between the Macedonian and Olossona Dion (Lucas 1997, 151.)
13	**Olooson**	Elassona	39°12'55" - 22° 2'12"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 24, 30-2, 38; Helly 1992, 78-79, 85; Stamtopoulou 2012, 89; E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaouand Kravaritou 2012, 77-8	graves from 4th C BC to Roman Period. Even in the 'Chaliadia', a short distance outside the eastern walls of good came to light sacred Hellenistic temple with 'antis'. Inside the temple found many clay figurines Artemis like "Bendis'. 8, Demeter and Aphrodite . rchaeological survey in the northeastern part of the cemetery proper, showed that it was used from the 4th century. B.C. to Roman times. The excavation activity in the area and spotted the southeastern city cemetery, the use of which, according to the data available so far, dating from the 4th to the 2nd century BC
92	**Ortha**	locality Chelonokastro near Kedros		C,H,R	Settlement		
93	**Oxyneia**	Oxyneia - Xirokampus	39°47'47" - 21°30'42" 39°18'49" 22°55'49"	C? H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 113-5; Philippson 1950, 270 (n. 1); Pikolas 2012; Stählin 1924, 44, 63-7, 73-4, 104, 153; Kontoyannis 1992; Helly 1995, 293; PECS; Leekley 1980, 133-35; Lauffer 1989, 499-500; V. Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 158-164; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 15; Papachatzi 1946, 35-42	Polis Since 2004 established joint research program of M. EPCA with the Department of History, Archaeology and Social Anthropology , University of Thessaly to research the city , which was inhabited during the Archaic and Classical period (5th-4th century BC.) 9 and the Sanctuary of Apollo , located a few tens of meters outside the southern walls of the ancient settlement 10. Apollo's temple , measuring 22,5 x 8,33 m , with internal wooden colonnade of 10 columns , consisting of the narthex and nave , which on 3 sides exposed stone bench . The west of the city lies the cemetery , where a significant number of excavated graves with rich grave goods PG , Archaic and Classical 11. These findings suggest that there was interruption of habitation in the early 3rd century BC 12 The absence of Hellenistic pottery indicates that probably the city's population was absorbed in the settlement of Demetriada .
50	**Pagasai/Amphanai**	Nees Pagases	39°13'9" -22°15'17"	A,C,H,R,L?	Settlement	Chykerda 2010;DIMAKI 1994, 93-4 N 2, 92 FIG 1.4.	in progress of excavation by the Ιf΄ΕΠΚΑ. Elevated and well visibile from the surrounding territory. Has an extension of around 25000m2
198		Palaiochorion Magoula		N, B, C,R, L	Settlement	95 FIG 13, 96 FIG 14; Cantarelli 2008 n. 7b	
146		Palaiokastro	39°23'13" - 22°47'5"	N,B,M,A,C,H	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 112	small settlement in territory of Pheres
207		Palaiokastro Kalogeron	39°29'11" - 21°31'15" 39°38'50" - 21°33'51"	C, H?	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 333 Stählin 1924, 189. Italian ed. 241, no. 351; Cantarelli 2008, no. 71A	small fortification in Pindus range Stahlin hypothesized that this 'garrison' protected the shepars of this zone, but at my suggestion, the start of the border line between Xyniai and Melitea corresponded to the area of the temple dedicated (according to my hypothesis) to Asclepius, suggesting that this site not only functioned for protecting shepards, but also to control the
282		Palaiokastro Kaloneriou Niklitsi		H, R, L	Fortification ?		underlying Othrys pass of Fourka
208		Palaiokastro Petrotou/Liaskobo	39°19'20" - 21°25'35"	C, H	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 335	small fortification in Pindus range
209		Palaiokastro Philuras / Lesianon	39°29'22" - 21°36'29"	C, H, R	Fortification	Decourt 1990, 68-69; Pikoulas 2006, 333	small fortification in Pindus range
210		Palaiokastro Skotoussa (?)	39°25'0" - 22°34'12" 39°05'31" - 22°13'11"	C, H, L N, B, R, L	Settlement	Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 115-20. AD XXV 1970, 244; Dimaki 1994, 96 N. 8, 92, FIG 1.8, 100 FIG 28, 30; Cantarelli 2008, np. 19	small settelemnent on Kynoskephale eliptical form, immediately to the W of the village of Panaghia. The site starts around 7.5m from the small road that surrounds it and has an extension of 15000m2. excavations by the ephorate of Lamia. the presence of reamins of walls definitely belongs to buildings and suggests
321		Palaiokklisia			Settlement		a substantial settlement
199		Paliambela Magoula	39°4'9" -22°25'13" 38°58'37"- 22°29'51"	A, C, H, L	?	Decourt 1990, 68-69 Cantarelli 1991; EAD 1995, 313-4; 2008, no. 74	unknown site type in this high plateau of the Othrys at the foot of the peak of Palaiokastron (corrisponding to the Polis of Narthakion) there are many ruins of poor houses and a small church. This settlement area is now completely abandoned. 800 m to the S of the church of H. Iaonnis (see 73)
297		Paliochorion	39°18'30" - 22°38'44"	H, B	Settlement?	Cantarelli 2008, no 19; Decourt 1990, 68-69	the presence of reamins of walls definitely belongs to buildings and
211		Paliociissi	39°52'58" - 21°5'4'42"	C, H	Settlement	Decourt 1990, 68-69; Darmezin, 1994, 211-2;	suggests a substantial settlement
212		Paliogourtsia		C,H,R	Settlement	Decourt and Darmezin 1999, Lucas 1997.	small scale settlement
213		Paliokastro Portis	39°24'50" - 21°37'30" 39°00'10" - 22°29'33"	C, H C, H, R?	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 335 IG IX.2, 89,1.20; Xenophon, hell IV3.3-9; ages, II.2; PLUTARCH Ages, 56,20,5; Cantarelli 1991; EAD 2005, 308-9; EAD 1999, 128-32; 2008, 287-294; Stählin 1924, 1987 (Italian ed. 238-9);DAVERIO ROCCHI 1988, 143-151; BAKER 2000, 33-47; Cantarelli 2008, no. 68	small fortification in Pindus range the hill system, dominated by the Xerobouni maggiore is made up of 4 peaks: to the E is Palaiokastron (Anabra in the F Geol), a kastro with an important defensive system of the pasture lands of Agkaditsa that was the object of periodic disputes between the polis of Melitea (see 40, fig 24-6) and the polis of Narthakion (see 75). most likely refers to the pasture and the fortification mentioned in inscription IG IX.2, 89, II.20-1. The confine area (small plain of Agkaditsa and neighbouring pastures of Kleftes) was characterized by an area left empty (see DAverio Rocchi's work) between Melitea and Nathakion traditionally left to tbe used for pasture for shepards from both poleis. at the Northern border of the plain, on the eastern most peak of the Xerobouni Maggiore, there is a fortification most definitely established by Melitea for controlling this border zone (Agkaditsa and Kleftes). This is identifiable as the χωρίον ἔρημον , an important defensive structure in the 2nd C that was essentially in a state of abandonment due to the exploitation/use of the area by the Romans after 196 BCE. Stahlin identified Palaiokastro as the ancient Pras mentioned by Xenophon (Hell IV.3,3-9). Cantarelli instead identified Pras witht he Palaiokastro to teh SE of Dybri. the path between the sadle and the fortified area. presence of various buildings inside the fortified area
214		Palaiokastron	39°25'8." 22° 6'19"		Fortification	Stählin 1924, 132-5; Decourt 1990, 162-74; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 319; 2006, p. 320; Stamatopoulos 2012, 88; E. Nikolaou.http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 83-4; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 162.	coins minted in archaic and Hellenistic period. In a listed archaeological site Ermitsiou identified many antiquities. At node Ermitsiou - Palama new road Palama - Larissa revealed for the first time architectural relics of Middle Bronze Age, two of which belong to arched buildings 12. Still salvage excavations in the modern settlement unearthed artifacts from the late Bronze Age, the Proto- 13 and archaic 14. revealed, still fragmentary preserved wall sections, wells constructed with clay pipes, depository, storange jars and numerous small finds and coins 15 Classical and Hellenistic periods. From a public building in the city must come to seal the tiles to "[da] Moshi" found in the modern settlement 16.
6	**Peirasia /Asterion ?**	Ermitsi	39°34'32" 21°57'12"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 116-8, 126; TIB 161; PECS; Leekley 1980, 149; Lauffer 1989, 523; Hatziangelakis 2008 p. 307; Stamatopoulou 2012, 90; AD 52 B1, 512; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 52-5; P. Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou 2012, 351-63.Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012,168; Trikalina 12, 87-138	Strong growth in Hellenistic period (354-197 BC) in Roman period becomes obscure hamlet, acropolis becomes bishopric of Gardikio in Byz. Cemetery: burials date from 5th/4th BC to 2nd BC. Signs of 'decadence in 2nd C BC, before becoming a small hamlet under the Romans. In Byzantine times the city was severely limited and include only the area of the ancient citadel. he tombs excavated so far date from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period.
4	**Pelinna**	Petroporos	39°10'55" 22°24'13"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 169, 176; Philippson 1950, 200, 272; Woodward 1910, 147-54, no. 4.	the acropolis of the polis Pereia on the slopes of the large mountain system of the Kassidiaris (Fig 11). Mentioned in the catalogue of ships. It is likely that after the 2nd Macedonian war and especially I nthe Roman imperial period the agircultural use was enhanced in the basin of Pereia and the road axis passing through Mytaries was used to direct the exportable surplus towards the coast.the trail that decends towards Achladea and the river Koudeles (that further to the east takes the name Enipeus) is dedicated only to agricultural work and is certainly one of the ancient paths towards Meliteia. the remains of various buildings are evidenced on the acropolis and a possibly sacred building on the acropolis
37	**Pereia**	Tsurnati / Khalai	38°49'49" - 22° 5'20"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement Fortification	Pantos 1992, 414-21 1994, 226	Hellenistic Building, likely fort. Surrounded by tombs of Roman and paleochristian
276		Perivoli		H	?		
133		Persoufli Magoula	39°19'4" - 22°45'41"	N,B,M,A,C,H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 108; Salvatore 1994, p 96-8112	small settlement in territory of Pheres
215		Petra /Koutsouflíani	39°49'46" - 21°32'19" 39°12'56" - 22°16'02"	C,H N, B, A, C, H-R, L	Fortification	Stählin 1924, 38; Salvatore 1994, p 105, 112; Pikoulas 2006 Cantarelli 1995 307-8; Cantarelli 2008 n. 7	small fortification in territory of Pheres enormous magoula (10600m2) of a vaguely rectangular fgorm with a raised rounded profile and found in the middle of an exceptionally fertile and currently cultivated plain. ***** continuous habitation***** almost without interuption from the Neolithic to the Byzantine. marble and limestone blocks. An architectural element in marble of a certain height was visible and photographed in 1990 on the South side of the Magoula, to the right of the rural access road.
163		Petrilia Magoula			Settlement?		
216		Petrino	39°29'47" - 22° 9'22"	C, H, L	Settlement	Leekley 1980, 137; Decourt 1990, 214-15	small scale settlement

217	Petrino (Pyrgos 1)	39°30'14" - 22°10'54"	C,H	Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 105-6, 112; Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortification in territory of Pheres
218	Petrino (Pyrgos 2)	39°30'4" - 22° 6'51"	C,H	Fortification	Salvatore 1994, p 105-6; Darmezin, 1994, 216; Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortification in territory of Pheres
277	Petromagoula	39°10'55" - 22°18'17"	H?	?	Cantarelli 1991, 2008 n. 8; Strabo IX 5, 10; Cantarelli 2008, no. 50D	the naturally fortified rise was probably home to a garrison found likely on the boundary line between the territories of the poleis of Thaumakoi and Proerna . Adaptations in the rock can be seen, maybe small rooms, maybe in connection with its function as a garrison. The system of defense of Thaumakoi was articulated: consisting of the rock/fortress named Stronghilokastron, the rock/fortress of the hill of Thaumakoi and the rock/fortress of the Pournarion hill.
302	Petromagoula	39°06'40" - 22°25'47"	H	Fortification ?	AD 56-59, 544-5; Cantarelli 1991, 2008 n. 50C*	small rocky hill that was used for a variety of purposes: shelter for pastoralist activities, small quarry for limestone, dug niches into the rock for burials. Another interesting element is the closeness to the SW of Ammoudera (along the ancient road between Manitari and Polydendron) and , a little more to the E, of the road in the S-E direction that borders the Fyliadorrema up to the prehistoric area of Pournarkaia (51). some flint and sporadic fragments of plain hellenistic sherds are found here.
33 **Peuma**	Kallithea	39°12'1" 22°31'52"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 164-5; RE; Leekley 1980, 140; Stählin 1924 154, 158, 165; RE XIX 2 (1938), Coll. 1399-1405; Decourt 1995, n.131, pp 145-7, 2006; Praktika epistomonikis sunantisis.; Haagsma 2010; Chykerda 2010; Cantarelli 2008, no. 87; AD 56–59 [2001–2004]Chr B2, 559–64); Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 160; AR 54, 60-1; AR 52, 76-8	fort guarding the valley of the Enipeus and an important passage between the centres of the plain of Melitea, the Bouna Gouras and the plain of Halmyros. Identified by Stahlin as Peuma that was in a judicial dispute with Chalai (flanked/paralleled? In court by melitea), and also with the poleis Pereia and Phyliadon on its confines, arbitrated by Militaian judges against Peuma (IG IX 2, add, p.xi, 205 II lines 1-16).
219	Peuma Magoula	39°09'52" - 22°13'19"	C, H	Settlement	Pikoulas 2006, 331; Cantarelli 2008 n. 10	ancient path to acropolis from west gate (info from Haagsma). many remains of buildings visible on acropolis, saddle and NE slope of the hill (habitation area) magoula (199 m above sea level) only 2m above the plain. Radius of ca. 400-500m, and on the western border there are numerous fragments of moved blocks piled along the small road that parallels the western border. the abbundance of rooftiles and ancient bricks (often painted red or black) may indicate the presence of a settlement
94 **Phakion?**	Nea Smolia	39°41'48" - 22° 1'2"	C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 29, 38, 101, 113-5 ,133; Decourt 1990, 155-9; E. Nikolaou .http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 81-2.	mentioned by Titus Livius (Τίτος Λίβιος XXXII.13.9.) as one of the cities destroyed by Philip V in 198 BC following the policy of scorched earth to prevent the supply of Titus Quintus Flaminius during the Second Macedonian War
14 **Phalanna**	Damasi	39°42'55" 22°10'54"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	PECS; Lauffer 1989, 532; Lucas 1995, 122; Stählin 1924, 17-8, 27, 30-1, 35, 88; P. Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Helly 1999, 113; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 217-8	The city flourished in the 5th and 4th century. B.C. and became the most important city of Peraivos. Although later in the Hellenistic period was exceeded by Gonnoi, was useful in Perseus for transit through the territory and for camping, during his campaign in 171 BC against Macedon, during the Third Macedonian War. Falanna minted its own silver and copper coins and developed her own school artistry, the result of which is important in a number of remarkable sculptures and reliefs that adorn museums Larissa and Volos.
95 **Phalara/Stylis/Ainianion?**	Paralos / Stylis	38°54'47" - 22°37'2"	C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 198, 217-8; Polyb XX 10, 16; XX 11, 2; Livy XXVII 30, 3; XXXV 43, 8; XXXVI 29, 4; Strabo I 60; PLIN, N.H, IV 27; F GR HIST 265 F 36 (apud Stephj Byz. S.V. Phalhron). Mentioned in the inscription of Larisa (Roman Grain), where the port was called Phaleroi: IG IX 2, 89-91 (also in Syll 3, 674A), Béquignon 1937, 295-97; PECS; Lauffer 1989, 533; AR 52, 70; Bequignon 293ff; AR 1952, 120; Leekley and Efstratiou 1980, 126-; Pantos 1994, 221-8; Béquignon1937, 293-9; ; Cantarelli 1995, 314-5, 2008, no. A; Stavrogiannis 2012; AR 52, 71	graves from He;lenistic and Roman period. on the profitis Ilias Hill NE of Stylis on the Malian gulf. Roman cist graves found on the Kastraki of Ainianon. Tombs from Hellenistic and Roman periods (ceramic material).ca. 600 m to the W of Stylida starts the Othrys pass of Longhitsion. Falara may have been origninally the port of an autonomous centre then maybe utilized by other centres (probably Narthakion and other centres within the Othrys, while use seems to have been excluded
96 **Phaloreia**	Skoumpas Peristeras	39°37'47" - 21°37'21"	C,H,R	Settlement	RE; Philippson 1950, 305 (no. 44); Pikoulas (Trikalina 29) 2009.	Polis
97 **Pharkadon**	Klokoto	39°34'19" - 22° 1'21"	C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 116, 166; PECS; Lauffer 1989, 535; Location given by Lyon team - attributed Phakardon to modern town of Klokotos by Lucas 1997; AR 55, 55-6	Polis
29 **Pharsalos**	Pharsala	39°17'52" 22°22'39"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 1-4, 94, 110, 120, 135-41, 152, 158, 163, 178; PECS; Leekley 1980, 150-51; Lauffer 1989, 535-37; Phtois Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Dériziotis 1979, 35; AD 56–59(2001–2004) Chr. B2, 13, 542–44, 545–47, 551–59); Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 99-104; Karapanou 2012, 405-18; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012,159-60; AR 52, 79	See AD, 56-9, B2 543-4 for Roman period. n the 1950s Nick. Verdelis excavated graves at both cemeteries of ancient city-east and west-but especially the second where unearthed tombs from the Mycenaean through the Hellenistic period.48 BC the plain that stretches in front of the city will take one of the most important battles of the civil conflict between the Roman generals for the administration of the state. This is the famous battle between Pompey and Caesar, which resulted in a victory for the latter. This constitutes the final written report to Pharsalus, which in Roman times will follow the fate of the other Greek cities to shrink end to the Byzantine era in the highest part of the northern slope of the hill Prophet Elias, immediately below the citadel, occupying the sixth of its initial magnitude.The city was included in the program of Justinian in the 6th century AD refortified
21 **Phayttos**	Zarkon	39°35'50" 22° 9'25"	A,C,H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 102, 115-7; Helly 1999, 113-14; Lucas 1995; RE; Decourt 1990, 117-121; AR 24, 41	Polis
28 **Pherai**	Velestino	39°23'2" 22°44'34"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 2-4, 35, 60, 65, 67, 70-1, 88, 94, 98, 104-6, 110, 128, 137, 163-4, 168, 173; Béquignon 1937a; PECS; TIB 133; Leekley 1980, 157-58; Lauffer 1989, 700-702; Helly - 2006, p. 202; AR 48, 64; Stamatopoulou 2012, 82-3; Dougleri-Intzesiloglou 1992, 437-46; 1994, 71-92, 2008, 233-44-; di Salvatore 1994, 93-124; AD 56–59 [2001–2004] Chr B2 537–38; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 120-8; Andreadaki- Vlasdaki 2012, 154-5; AR 48, 63-4; AR 52, 74	abandoned in 1st C CE?. Evidence of 2nd construction phase on a road leading to port city of Pagasai or Demetrias during Hellenistic or Roman period. Graves from NE cemetery dating to Roman period. A small building to the S of the road excavated and pottery and small finds date it to the 2nd-3rd C AD, probably isolated farmhouse. North of the temple, a rectangular building of possible cultic use was revealed, consisting of 3 ares, in use during the Hellenistic and ROman periods. Immediately East of the interchange at Velestino, a large building complex with a large interior courtyard and many rooms was excavated and in use from the 4th to the 2nd C BC, based on numerous building phases and finds. The site was inhabited continuously from the Late Neolithic period (around 4000 BC) up to the early Roman Imperial period (1st century AD), so probably abandoned The new settlement, named Velestino, created in the late Byzantine period (13th century AD). In Northwest Ypereias Fountain revealed part of a private house Hellenistic era , including underground tank in the shape of a square room that communicates with a well through underground gallery with 22 steps. At the town market revealed Gallery of the 2nd century BC In the South side of the city lies the " borough of Ceramics" from the same period 22, with workshops producing pottery . From the 1st century BC begins the gradual abandonment of the city , which occurs in the final first-second century AD. Also, in the region of ancient Feron - Kokkini, Perivleptou, Elytherochoriou, Perivolakia-unearthed traces of small fortified villages Classical and Hellenistic Periods 23.
98 **Phila?**	Pyrgetos	39°55'11" - 22°37'9" 39°15'41" 22° 3'22"	C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 13, 37; Papazoglou 1988, 115-16 Theocharis 1964, 244-55; Habicht 1976; Leekley 1980, 151; Kilian-Dirlmeier 2002, 129-133; E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Katarachias 1992	Polis uncertain location In use throughout Roman period as evidenced by inscriptions and finds on site. The sanctuary also mentioned in an inscription from Larissa 18 150 - 130 BC which informs us that honored two brothers with Larissa posted statues in the temple of Athena Itonia expense of the participants. Apart from the above sample testimonials for the sanctuary and its connection with the public providing information and coins of the Thessalian second (196-27 BC) and the imperial period (27p.Ch. - 268 AD). During imperial times issued coins of the current emperor usually the obverse , while the reverse remains Itonia Athena the type of Promachos. In the Hellenistic era dating vertebrae Doric columns , cornice sections , which may belong to a building or temple portico . Fragmentary preserved resolution of 1963 by reference to Athena and the second of 1964 with reference Itonia Athena was one of the important research findings . In the sanctuary came to light also building with baths and mosaics of the 3rd century . A.D. 24 Early Christian basilica from the 5th century AD with mosaic floors. Found also part retaining wall or fence that delimited to the east the altar during the Roman period and out of this ceramic kilns .
10 **Phillia/Itonion**	Philia Karditsis		A,C,H,R	Settlement		

			39°16'17" 22°45'43"			Stählin 1924, 35, 67, 72, 126, 153, 171-3; RE Thebai 3; Leekley 1980, 155-56; Lauffer 1989, 434-35; Stamatopoulou 2011, 80 2012, 76; *AR* 58, 76; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; *AD* 49 B'1, 321-4; Leekley 1980, 155-6; AR 52, 73-4AD 56–59 [2001–2004] Chr B2, 475, 508–10; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 240-4; Paveli 2009, 383-91; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 153	AD 217. Adapted in Roman times to house gladiatorial games. Bath structure from Imperial date - 2nd AD. Late roman finds = basilicas, habour installations, public building possibly related to harbour, luxurious private houses with mosaic floors, bath complexes and extensive cemeteries. To the WEst of tavern, large part of Roman insula ,showing that dense occupation existed in 2nd and 3rd C AD where also 3 rooms identified as part of a worshop, perhaps for glass were identified by TRiantaphyllopoulou, an ancient street, traversed with stone build drainage pipe, clay drainage pipers, remains of a stoa and a partially investigated bath complex (caldarium) with 2 square cisterns to either side of the bath complex. Another large Roman building complex of modest materials was found which had coloured plaster walls (red, light blue, green, black and yellow) and decorated in the NW part with geometric and floral designs or imittion wall masronry, floors of beaten earth. 10 rooms revelaed and the western wing thought to be used for entertaining. In rectangular, semi-hypaethral area in front of this wing, a small bronze incense burner and 4 bronze statuettes of Athena, Aphrodite, Asklepius and Hermes were found. NW and SE sides of building used for food preparation and perhaps workshop acitivities as is suggested by the vast quantities of pottery (amphorae and cooking wares) and a large round construction that is covered with mortar.Based on the finds, it is believed that the building was used already in the first century AD and was repaired on various occasions. Temporarily though, in the late 3rd century. BC, the "Thebes" were renamed in Plovdiv, in honor of the Macedonian king Philip E. The city is bordered north by Feres, Amfanes
38	**Phthiotic Thebes**	Akitsi / Mikrothivai		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
39	**Phylake?**	Persouphli / Dervesi	39°17'21" 22°45'44"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Lauffer 1989, 547; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 250	
			39°07'32" -22°29'54"			Stählin 1924, 164, 168; Lauffer 1989, 549; Stählin 1924 167-9, FiG 20; 1914 83-103; Cantarelli 2008, 85.	in the 3rd C BCE, Fyliadon protected by western neighbour Melitea. the access road to the acropolis and the path on the W side for the ancient habitation. to the W of the wall extends the ancient habitation. Numerous substructures of buildings are identifiable. From a building on the acropolis there was a handle with the stamp 'IERO' probably
99	**Phyliadon?**	Morges		C?,H	Settlement		belonging to a deposit of amphora of a temple
226		Phylleion 4	39°25'38" - 22°13'22"	C,H	Settlement	Darmezin 1994, 216; Decourt 1990, 68-69	small scale settlement
227		Phylleion 5	39°25'17" - 22°14'24"	C, H, L	Fortification	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortification in Enipeus valley
228		Phylleion 6	39°24'53" - 22°14'9"	C, H, L	Fortification	ΙΔ ΕΡΚΑ, 61-2; Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortification in Enipeus valley
			39°25'7" -22°15'21"			Βασίλειος Καραχρήστος Ιστορικός - Msc ΑρχοολΔγης Α.Ι.Θ.Σ http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Decourt 1990, 68-69	
229		Phylleion 7		C, H, L	Fortification		small fortification in Enipeus valley
			39°24'40" 22°11'4"			Stählin 1924, 133; Decourt 1990, 148-58, 174-80; E. Nikolaou.http://atlasthessalias.culture.g.; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 85-6	From Magoyla Paliambela come only two tombstones of the Hellenistic era (**I.Thess I, 30-40.**), not save the name of the deceased, and a textile
7	**Phyllos**	Magoula Paliambela		A,C,H,R	Settlement		weight named SIMYLIS
			39°31'7" - 21°35'1"			Stählin 1924, 123-4; RE Suppl. 10; Karachristos ;	
100	**Pialeia**	Pialeia		C,H,R	Settlement	Pikoulas 2006, 332	Polis uncertain location
			39°39'26" - 21°46'13"			Darmezin, 1994, 216; AD 56-59, 582-4; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012 , 166	
215		Platanos		N, R, L	Baths		Roman Baths
			39° 9'23" - 22°48'34"			Pantos, 1994, 226-7; AD 56-59, 487-9	Sub-mycenaean and geometric cemetery reused in Hellenistic and
157		Platanos (Voulokalyva)		M, H, R	Cemetery		Roman period
253		Platistomo	38°57'57" - 22° 7'21"	H	Cemetery	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small cemetery likely with associated settlement
			39°20'51" - 22°15'39"			Salvatore 1994, p 99-100, 112; Decourt 1990, 68-69	
231		Polineri 1		C, H, L	Settlement		small settlement in territory of Pheres
			39°05'01" - 22°24'44"	A, C, H		Stählin 1924, 49, 51; Strabo IX 5, 10; Cantarelli 2008, no.50D	low and large hill considered by the locals to be a large magoula. The E-W side measures 550m ca and the N-S 400mC ca. In reality it relates to a very rich settlement area in the Classical and Hellenistic period that owes its importance to its location between two streams. This area is found in the territory of the polis of Melitea, while it was close to the confine line with Pereia previous to the treaty making their territory common. the presence of tile fragments, bricks and blocks suggests a conspicuous settlemtn predominantly agricultural of the Classical and Hellenistic period
201		Polydendron - Ammoudera			Settlement		
			39°08'28"-22°18'36"			Arvanitopoulos 1910, 198-9; Stählin 1921, 6-14, 16-7; Stählin 1924, 157; Cantarelli 2008, no. 14;	the fortress of pournarion is found in a splendid position for controlling in part both the road that rises in the direction of the valley of Derben-Fourka as well as, to the N and NW, the plain of Domokos. IN the surrounding plain, there is the modern town of Pournarion, reachable by a minor road of 1.5km, that breaks off the N/S axis to the northern slopes of the fortress. the rocky hill has a trapezoidial form and is fortified and presends a modest surface area on the summit. The northern slope/side is quite steep, which contributed to the collapse of part of the wall. Stahlin mentioned Pournarion with the name of the period and he limits himself to confirm that "Peristeriaon its imposing limestone cliff, where, however, no ancient material was found. It seemed to us, instead, that the perimeter of two rectangular buildings (one larger) left their signs because of the different humidity of the plants that dilineate the
278		Pournarion		B, H	Fortification ?		perimeter of likely two structures
		Palaiokastron (Divri)	38°57'28" 22°26'32"	A, C, H, B		Stählin 1924, 39, 187-8, 228; Xen. Hell.4.3.9; Cantarelli 1991; 2008, no. 70, 71; EAD 1995, 308-10,	the zone occupies along its whole length the surface on a single rocky spur oriented N-E/S-W and declining in its most southern part and lowers towards the valley of the Xerias river. This kastro was was erected in a harsh and vast natural setting for its outstanding defensive value and control of the road of the minor pass of the Othrys passing by the area of Dybri. the rocky promontory has a cliff/gulley to the W and a profound valley to the E, while the point degrades progressively in the S-W direction. It is probably that Palaiokastro could be identified with ancient Pras, that was maybe originally the centre of a territory that to its W had the territory of Lamia (confine along the principle pass of the Othrys, the Derben-Fourka) and to its E, the territory of Narthakion, while during the Classical and Hellenistic periods the area between the Derben-Fourka and the valley of the Xerias proabably the fart part of the territory of Lamia and the area to the E of the valley of the Xerias was occupied by Narthakion.The name Pras probably means that at this place mercantile activity took place, maybe a livestock market, in relation to the needs of the sanctuary of H. Gheorgios (see 64) and of nearby centres. a series of buildings are delineated in the terrain, especially in the higher and larger part of the promontory, the one close to the northern wall. The settlement area itself was outside the walled area and was located between the crossroads for Dybri (area of the little church) and the zone that declines slightly towards the S up to the Kastro. this whole large area was identified as a settlement area based on the abundance of irregular blocks and tile framents, bricks and various containers. some anient walls near a modern chapel, to the W of the crossroads of the muletrail of the pass of Dybri and the one that leads to the Kastro, could be related to a
58	**Pras?**				Settlement		
			39°14'33" 22°16'48"			Leake 1835, 455-6, 459; Arvanitopoulos 1910, pp 180, 198-9; Wace and Thompson 1912, p 11, n. 104; AD 19, 1964, chr. 263; AD 20 1965 318ff; AD 21 B 1966, p 249ff; 3; Stählin 1924, 126, 155, 157, 181; E. Kirsten RE XXXIII, 1 1957, Coll 107-108; Papakonstantinou 1994, pp 236-7 Fig 13-4; Cantarelli , EAD 1995, PP. 305-6; 2007 1-15; 2008, no. 1; Phrousou 2008, 67-83; AR 1968-9, 20-1; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 262-8	acropolis occupies the summit of a foothill/offshoot of an elongated form (N-W/S-E), artifically flattened/plateaued, which on the NW side declines forming a minor priominance which is also defended by a "emplekton" defense wall. - overlooks large very fertile plain and the roads from Larissa leading to the principle pass through the Othrys. some buildings are identified in the area of the acropolis and are the object of excavation by the ΙΔ'ΕΠΚΑ. The remains of Mycenean and Classical periods in the town of Neon Monastirion. Temple of Demeter (site of Thesmophoria) in operation at least until the Roman occupation of the city in 191 BCE.. Strabo 3 reports the city indicating its position among the cities Thavmakos and Pharsalus. Titus Livius 4 states that the Roman consul Manius Aquilius Glavrion seized Proerna and other forts in the spring of 191 BC during the Antioch War (192-191 BC). Proerna city, is a dedicatory inscription from the early 2nd century. B.C. Overview of the Hellenistic era, Proerna seems to enter a period of growth since, except that acquires powerful new wall and increases the building within the walls of continued operation of the sanctuary of Demeter as Themophoros, at least up to the early 2nd century. BC, while in the 3rd century. B.C. issue for the first time and its own currency.roads that exit from the North and South gates of the acropolis, towards the ancient road axis that connects Larisa to Lamia. From the East gate towars Mount Klari and other paths across the mount Narthakion. some buildings are identified in the area of the acropolis and are the object of excavation by the ΙΔ'ΕΠΚΑ. The remains of Mycenean and Classical periods in the town of Neon Monastirion. Temple of Demeter (site of Thesmophoria) in operation at least until the Roman occupation of the city in 191 BCE.
30	**Proerna**	Gynaikokastro		A,C,H	Settlement		
287		Profitis Ilias Megalis Kerasias	39°44'41" - 21°30'14"	H	Settlement	Pikoulas 2006, 331	small settlement
			39°14'18" - 22°26'56"			Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 165; Decourt 1990, 68-69	
232		Profitis Ilias Dilofo		C, H	Settlement		small settlement
		Property of Nikis Baltadourou-Panagopoulou	38°53'56" - 22°43'1"			Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr	
252				H, R	Cemetery		small cemetery likely with associated settlement
233		Psychiko 1	39°25'28" - 22°18'42"	C, H, L	Fortification	Decourt 1990, 68-69	small fortification

234	Psychiko 2	39°25'19" - 22°18'16"	C, H, L	Fortification	Cantarelli 1997, 113, 2008, no. 13a and 13b; LIVY XXXII 17; Stählin 1924, 155. ed. Ital. 200.	small fortification
44 **Pteleon**	Gritsa hill near Pigadi	39° 2'7" 22°58'15" 39°16'43" 22°49'16"	A,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 151, 181; Leekley 1980, 152; Lauffer 1989, 573-74 Stählin 1924,173; Stamatopoulou 2011, 80; Stamatopoulou 2012, 76; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaouand Kravaritou 2012, 237-9	small settlement The citadel of Pyrasou identified relics Neolithic , Helladic , Protogeometric , Geometric and Classical habitation .The port declined after the 217p.Ch. , as well as in the later Hellenistic period (1st century BC.) , while the 2nd century . A.D. Gets the name of Thebes as the city located on the Castle - hill and shows a recovery. In the Pyrasou have found many ancient tombs , mainly Roman and Early Christian 6 and a Protogeometric . Extramural nearby buildings revealed modern complex with rich finds (140 bronze coins , ceramics, etc.) , which apparently belongs to the port facilities of the era , and a Roman bath with hypocaust , which was repaired and preserved in Christian times demonstrating the enduring habitation in Late Antiquity . Also found a
64 **Pyrasos**	Nea Ankhialos		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		big part early Christian cemetery with rich offerings
235	Pyrgos-Mataranga	39°22'30" - 22° 3'33" 40° 3'15" - 22°13'4"	C, H, L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 77, 128, 131, 169; Cantarelli 2008, no 29a; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 163 Stählin 1924, 10. 14, 19, 21, 37-8; E. Nikolaou. http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Lucas1992, 94-137; 1994, p.207-210; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 222-8; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 158; Batziou, unknown date(b)	small settlement as evidenced by three dedicatory inscription from the first half of the 4th century. BC (SEG XXIX, 546.), found in Elassona, and said cities Peraivos without including the cities of "perraivikis Tripoli." These cities listed again as perraivikes the 2nd century. B.C. by Titus Livy . Τίτος Λίβιος (XXXVI.10.5:)Polybius ολύβιος XXVIII.13.1) three cities belonged to a kind of confederacy led by generals of Tripolis (IG XII 8, 178 (Σαμοθράκη. 2ος αι π.Χ): άπό Λζωρίου σπρατ ηγός Τριπολιτ [ῶ]ν. Πρβλ. Stählin 1908,
101 **Pythion**	Agioi Apostoli Pithio		C,H,R,L	Settlement		70.)
304	Ramnia	39°43'19" - 22°32'45"	H	?	Cantarelli 2008, no. 40H; helly chp IV forthcoming	unknown site type
284	Rhizoma	39°40'23" - 21°43'59" 39°49'45" - 22°47'48"	H,R,L	Settlement	Darmezin, 1994, 216 Stählin 1924, 50; RE 1; Karachristos http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 204-216.	Roman Baths, hellenistic ceramics Strabo (IX.5.22.) states that Rizo bordered with Omolio and Evrymenon, admitting however that did not know precisely the position of these cities because, in his time, was insignificant. It also includes the Rizountos, in the list of villages which eventually became neighboring Dimitriada (Στράβων IX.5.15. Ιντζεσίλογλου 1996, 91-111.) most scholars place Rizountos either in Tarsana, at the mouth of the river Paliouria, where they had identified nine Byzantine walls and 10 blocks were probably pre-Christian times, or in the adjacent area of rocky hill Pencils, west of Tarsana and a short distance from him, in which were found remains of bath and burials of Late Antiquity, Hellenistic sherds and many ancient coins. Recently, the Helly 14 suggested as a possible position define the region where it is today Komnineios Monastery Assumption & St. Demetrius, on the eastern side of the wooded Ossa between towns mouth and Karytsas. As evidenced by existing archaeological remains, in place of the monastery predates ancient temple dedicated to an unknown deity.
102 **Rhizous**	Tarsanas	39°03'42" - 22°19'51"	C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 161; Cantarelli 2008, no. 20.	along the modern road between the Othrys pass and Domokos exactly 5 km to the N of the exit of the pass, there is a large magoula on the left side (its western edge was flattened for construction of the modern road to Pharsala). Considered by Daux and De la Coste-Messeliere as the definite kwma in the inscription dealing with Meliteia and Xyniai. (cantarelli rather thinks it belongs to Koritsa Mahoula 2.5km more to the east), which was also on the axis of the ancient road that exited the pass and followed up to Thaumakoi more to the E (Mavri, Agnantia, Koritsi Mahoula, Nea Makrisi, Stronhili (lefka), Magoules, Mati, Thaumakoi). Traces of the ancient road was probably used as a border. The same ancient path from the foothills passes in this zone a little to the S and parallel to the first hill rises of the Othrys. modestly sized limestone blocks roughly squared. Maybe from buildings. The Sabba Magoula may have been a settlement area, at least for the hellenistic period
294	Sabba Magoula	39°4'8" - 22°25'30"	H, L	Settlement?	AD 55, B'1, 454; Cantarelli 2008, no 43	the magoula presents material from prehistoric, protohistoric, H-R and B, the principle axis of the agrarian division that corresponds also to the main road between Melitea and Pereia as well as the minor road immediately to the south of the magoula. traces of a small nucleus of
262	Saltari Magoula	39°11'49" 23°20'27"	H-R, L	Farm?	Philippson 1950, 306 (no. 148); Lauffer 1989, 610; AR 48, 63; V. Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 181-2; Stählin 1924, 41. 45, 52, 56, 63, 68	habitation connected to agricultural production building excavated contained finds indicating building was built in classical and remained in use until Roman times. East Temple discovered by B. Adrymi - Sismani residues architectural and vertebrae of limestone Doric columns that were there in beta use, building section Early Christian and a depositor containing pottery Roman period. Also excavated tombs and classical era (4th century BC.) In region 7. On the north side of the hill , the plot Bliagkou revealed part of a building
57 **Sepias?**	Cape Pouri/ Liri Sepiada		A,C,H	Settlement		classical times , and part of the wall of the citadel is built of ashlar blocks
103 **Side?**	Tsopalades	38°55'57" - 22°22'1"	C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 219; RE 2	Polis uncertain location
239	Sikies	39°29'30" -22°12'9" 39°22'59" 22°32'13"	C?	Settlement	Pikoulas 2006, 335 Stählin 1924, 36, 80, 104; Misailidou-Despotidou 1993, 204-5; E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Leekley 1980, 154; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012,115-20	Settlement play a hegemonic role in Thessaly, called to rally the people, which took place in theater. But, instead of appearing himself sent his mercenaries, peltasts and archers, who once surrounded the attendees killed them. Then threw the corpses of the dead in the ditch that was around, outside the city wall. The women and children were sold as slaves and the money they paid the mercenaries, while the city was plundered. Despite abandonment and devastation that occurred as a natural consequence of this tragic event, the city survived the years after citizens mentioned in inscriptions hold various offices as tagoi, generals, consuls or even cashiers in ancient Oracle of Delphi. In the Hellenistic period after the death of Alexander the Great, Scotoussa and Thessaly generally are in the midst of controversy initially between Macedonians and Aetolians for hegemony in Greece and then between Macedonians and Romans. Soils in the area are often transit of foreign troops. One of the latest reports from the city is that of Plutarch on Caesar, who in 48 BC, just before colliding with Pompey in the plain of Pharsalus, requested and received from Skotoussa cereals. In the 2nd century. A.D. The town was now deserted under what Pausanias notes. Inscription = a resolution adopted at the beginning of the 2nd century. B.C. and concerns to better organize the defense of the city in event of a hostile threat. So based on this inscription, the wall of darkness appears to have more than forty-four towers, most of which were square, but there were some cyclical. The towers strengthen both the city wall and that of the citadel, 'very', as stated in the inscription. Between the towers and a three-story noted the so-called "tristegos", which probably played a role watchtowers with large
24 **Skotoussa**	Haghios Triada / Souphli		A,C,H,R	Settlement		radius and visibility may have been in the citadel
104 **Sosthenis**	Vardates	38°49'10" - 22°25'21"	C,H,L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 210; Béquignon 1937, 306-307; Kondoyannis 1994; Daux 1924, 163-6	Polis
241	Soublero Itamou	39°13'4" - 21°49'2" 39°11'17" 23°13'15"	C, H	Fortification	Pikoulas 2006, 335 Stählin 1924, 54; RE Σπάλαυθρα; Stamatopoulou 2012; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 155; Adrimi-Sismani http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 179-80; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 155	small fortification in Pindus range votive grave stele of Hellenistic and Roman date, monumental tomb of Roman date, houses dated to Hellenistic and Roman periods. evidenced by inscriptions of the Hellenistic period , when the city known as Spalathra had synoikisthei in Dimitrias. Christian basilica (mosaic) in the house Tsougou Also excavated in 1977 part classical era cemetery on the estate Angelini-Hatzinikou Scattered stone cist graves have been identified in the olive groves north of the modern village The presence of the city known as Spalathra city in the Hellenistic period documented by an inscription testifies to the existence of a temple dedicated to Artemis
47 **Spalauthra**	Khortos	39°22'40" - 22°50'33"	A,H	Settlement	Salvatore 1994, p 99-102, 112; AR 54, 60	Soteira The archaeological site in place of Sparta - Quarry is known from investigations of A. Arvanitopoulos 1911 , which revealed remains of a prehistoric settlement and habitation Geometric, Archaic , Classical and
131	Spartia (Latomeion)		N, A,C,E,R,L	Temple		Byzantine years
242	Spartiacque	39°16'34" - 22°42'8"	C, H	Fortification	Béquignon 1937, 315; Philippson 1950, 244; Salvatore 1994	small fortification in territory of Pheres
105 **Spercheiai?**	Kastrorakhi	38°55'21" - 22° 1'58" 39°7'14" - 22°17'54"	C, H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 222f; Béquignon 1937, 313-15; PECS Kastrorachi Stählin 1924, 161; AD 53 B2, 434-6 ; Cantarelli 2008, no. 17	Polis uncertain location the fortress of Stronghilokastron occupies a hill (720m above sea level), 1.5 km from the acropolis of Thaumakoi and to the W of Mati. Has a visual of the ancient polis (thaumakoi?) and controlled the pass for the S to E and also the road to the mine area. the path between the fortress and the area with minor defensive structures of Haghios Aemilianos. on the slopes of this hill there is a regular diffusion of ceramic fragments and fragments of blocks relating to the traces of housing structures
263	Strongylokastron		H, L	Fortification		
291	Syka	38°52'47" - 22°11'56"	H	Settlement?	Pantos, 1994, 226-7	small settlement in Spercheios valley

		39°28'46 - 22°11'49			Stamatopoulos 2012, 88; Decourt 1990; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 88-99; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 164	Roman baths with Mosaics, North of the prehistoric settlement discovered architectural relics Roman baths 5. Revealed, two rooms with mosaic floors under the destruction layer of clay roof tiles, pottery, coins from the 2nd century AD and probably part of a marble statuette of Hercules
111	Sykeon (East of village of Sykeon)	39°42'56" 22°43'53"	N, C, H, R	Settlement	Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 324-5; Stamatopoulos 2012, 88-9; E. Nikolaou http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; AD 56-59, 576; Decourt 1990; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 88-99; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 164-5	
27 **Sykourion**	Neromylo Ayias	39°01'42" - 22°27'59"	A,C,H,R,L A, C, H, L	Settlement	IG IX 2, 89); SYLL3, 674. ANT. LIB XIII; ; Stählin 1924, 187-8; Cantarelli 1995, 311-2, foro 10-11; 1997, 113 and foto, 2008, no 64	Polis This sanctuary area dedicated to Artemis and Aspalis was very important, as is reported by the poet Nicandros. Numerous remains of structures, 4 of which are identified as temples or shrines (described on pages 317-339). The area is found to the left of the road of the mountain pass for those coming from H. Triada. you leave the muletrail at the point where the sacred building to G, Gheorghios us and cross the plateau that declines towards the stream formed by the spring. In the central-western zone of the plateau there are two rocky rises, one of which is round in form and is called Blachos by the locals (see 66).the path that leads up from the sanctuary to the small hill of Blakos. a part of the buildings should have served the life of the sanctuary or for the need of pilgrims. The function of the long walls that end in buildings at their 'superiore' extremity have been provisionally identified by Cantarellu as a zone for hosting pilgrims and also used for space for festivities of markets/fairs with annexes to shelter the animals belonging to the sanctuary or those offered by the faithful. 4 possible temples (Main one found at the modern building of H Gheorghios in the NE side of the plateau in a dominant position over the valley and the river.
224	Ta iera - Haghios Georgios	39°14'37" - 22°16'21"	N, PG, TE, A, C, H, R, L	Temple	Leake 1835, 455-6, 459; Wace and Thompson 1912, 11 N.104; Cantarelli 1995 305-6. LOOK UP ALSO UNDER NEON MONASTIRION (PROERNA); Cantarelli 2008, no 2; Phrousou 2008, 67-83.	oval shaped magoula a little to the west in respect to Gynaikokastron . Signs of a hellenistic fortified wall. Blocks reused in various agricultural buildings at the magoula and the road suggest a possible extension to the habitation of Proerna in the Hellenistic period. blocks reused in different agricultural buildings at the magoula and suggests maybe an extension in the Hellenistic period of the settlement of Proerna. Other remains are found reused in the foundation of some houses in the town of Byzantine origin of Neon Monastirion
189	Tapsi Magoula	39° 7'48" 22°17'51"		Settlement	RE Θαυμακοί; PECS; TIB Hellas 148-49;Leake 1835, 455=469; KIP 1910, 71-3; Arvanitopoulos 1910, 197-200; Stählin 1924, 155-8; Cantarelli 1991, 1995, 1999,; BCH 1924, 354ff; AD 26, 1971 chr.236-7; AD 28, 1973 chr.281ff; Leekley and Efstratiou 1980, 120; Papakonstantinou 1994, 235-7; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 181	one should be found along the traces of the ancient road that connects thaumakoi to various northern directions. A ROMAN PERIOD CEMETERY was excavated by the Ephorate of Lamia at the foot of the hill. Strabo wrote that from the Homeric Θαυμακίη (Iliad, II. 716-9)there was the 'lord'(?) patron (?) Filottete (Philoctetes?) (also of other centers of Magnesia, Meliboia and Olizon) but also adds it there was in Phthiotis (so he identified it with Thaumakoi). According to Livy, Thaumakoi owes it name to the amazing view of the plain (see fig 10). The fortress of ancient Thaumakoi (639 m above sea level) is a walled area on a hilltop on which the available land was flattened, very narrow, indicating it was part of the defenses and the housing was located in different areas of this large hilly area. (fig 9). The defensive capability was particulary tied to three areas: the acropolis and the fortress of Pournarion (see 14) to control towards the north, and the small fortification on the plateau of H. Aemilianos for control towards the NE and E and the Kastro called Stronghylokastron for its round form (at a distance of 1.2 km to the SW of the Acropolis for control towards the south (17). thaumakoi controlled, 27 km N of the principal Othrys pass, the great road between Larisa and Lamia that crosses the plain of Domokos a little firther to the west of the modern line. Two dirt roads towards the NE and SE connect the hill of Thaumakoi with various directions. temple of Artemis? The excavations of the ΙΔ' ΕΠΚΑ of Lamia cover the entire town of Domokos., the settlement (above which rises the modern center), the necropolis and the archaeogical areas at the foot of the hill
36 **Thaumakoi**	Domokos Kastri	39°21'49" - 23°12'43"	A?,C,H,R,L	Settlement	Stamatopoulou 2012, 78; AR 48, 63	Iron age tombs, Doric temple of 4th C BC and Late Roman/Early Christian basilica. In late 1990s (AD 51 B1, 333; AD 56-9 B2, 466) part of acropolis wall and classical building with classical and hellenistic pottery. Habitation seems to continue after foundation of Demetrias. Late Roman, early christian Basilica
127	Theotokou (locality of Xourihti)	39°22'11" - 22°29'14"	A, C, H, L	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 110, 141; Decourt 1990, 69, 205-208	
106 **Thetideion**	Haghoios Athanassion / Kato Dasolophos	39°17'35" - 22°12'21"	C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 80, 90, 132; RE Θητών oder Θητώνιον; E. Nikolaou A.I.Θ.Σ.http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; *AR* 58, 86;	Polis
107 **Thetonion**	Gefiria	39°33'48" 21°45'54"	C,H,R	Settlement	Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 86-7 PECS; Leekley 1980, 156-57; Stählin 1924, 36, 40, 79-80, 115-20, 124; Lauffer 1989, 690-91; Hatziangelakis 2008, p. 308; Stamatopoulou 2012, 90-1; P. Ntasios http://atlasthessalias.culture.gr; AD 56-9, 585-9; Pikoulas 2008, 93-105; Nikolaou and Kravaritou 2012, 48-52; Andreadaki-Vlasdaki 2012, 167-8; AD 23B'2 270; AR 42, 25; AR 40, 51;	Evidence only from Archaic and Classical periods phases, has elaborate figural mosaic dating to 3rd C AD, n the upper left corner of the scene there are the names of psifotheton. These four brothers, Titus Flavius, Hermes and Vassos, sons of Hermes. From the Roman baths, which was built in the 3rd century. A.D. and renovated in the late 4th century AD, discovered the underground parking of the hypocaust for steam baths (caldarium), the spaces in which were baths with lukewarm water marble baths (tepidarium) and a hall with mosaic floor, probably in resting place. and a contemporary bath complex that belongs to ancient gymnasium. Asclepeion suffered damage during Roman period. Parts of a public building with high quality hellenistic and Roman ceramics and votive relief pinakes of Hellenistic date with depiction of Hermes. in recent years, mainly residential remains, excavated belonged to private and public buildings of the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Small sections of Hellenistic houses excavated, that showed signs of repairs and renovations. Another building, with a mosaic floor of geometricc designs surrounding medallions of birds, animals, flowers and vessels. Large quantity of pottery, loomweights, spindle whorls, tools, inclusing strainers and a mould for the production of relief bowls and figurines suggest workshop activities, perhaps dating to the 1st C AD by the presence of a 2 silver denarii of Vespasian.Generally, in the Hellenistic period, it appears that Triki fell into the background because of anti-Makedonian policy, unlike its neighboring cities Pelinna (east) and Gomfoi (the southwest) that flourished. In 352 BC, along with Farkadona destroyed by Philip II, probably due to the disobedience of orders, and the exiled anti Macedonians excluded from amnesties and not allowed to return. In 199 BC, Triki held by the Amynandro of Athamanon ally
1 **Trikka**	Trikkala / Haghios Nikolaos		A,C,H,R,L	Settlement		
240	Tripolis Larisaia 1 - Platykampos	39°37'21" - 22°31'44"	N, C, H	Cemetery	AD 45 B1, 220; Helly 1999	small cemetery associated with nearby settlement
243	Tripolis Larisaia 2 - Glauki	39°36'38" - 22°34'24" 39°36'54" - 22°33'17"	N, C, H	Settlement	Helly 1999; Helly, Bravard and Caputo 2001, 91; Stählin 1924, 30; Cantarelli 2008., no. 16	small settlement forming Tripolis Larisaia
244	Tripolis Larisaia 3 - Tyrnavou? /Mélia		N, A, C, H, R	Settlement		small settlement forming Tripolis Larisaia
246	Tsangli (Pyrgos)	39°17'28" - 22°36'26"	C, H, L	Fortification	Stählin 1924, 174; Helly 1999	small fortification
247	Tsani	39°20'54" - 22° 9'29"	C,H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 130; Darmezin, 1994, 216;	small settlement
288	Tsiougkari Bronterou	39°30'5" - 21°30'55"	H	Settlement	Pikoulas 2006, 333	small settlement in pindus
248	Tsouka -PanHaghia Korudallou	39°48'27" - 21°21'2"	C, H	Fortification	Cantarelli 2008, no. 40A	protohistoric settlement with round, stone foundations of buildings of unclear function
272	Tsournati-Vrisi	39° 9'1" - 22°34'20"	H	Fortification	Chykerda 2010	fortification in Othrys
190	Tzouka	39°02'20" - 22°26'54"	ME, TE, C, H	Temple	Pantos, 1994, 226-7 Cantarelli 2008, no. 40a	this hill has undergone important phenomenon of erosion because of which today presents itself as a conical form which is part of the same slope of the hill to which Melitea belongs more to the E. It is characterised by ravines of red soil and is very washed away like an area of natural watershed where small lines of water are created. to the , W the slope of the hill is washed/licked by the river bed of the Taxiarchis (today just a line of water). This whole slope consists of Tzouka. The Taxiarchus and the area characterized by gulles at the church of H. Gheorghios (40D) constitutes the settlement area of the prehistoric settlement. The peak of the small hill is now characterized by a small plateau of a roughly romboid shape, with an extension of ca. 170m2, but the area including also the perimeter at teh base of the hill has an area much larger of around 4300m2. here could have been positioned the more elevated part of a settlement that should have developed more amply in the whole plateay at the base of the hill and to its north. THe ceramic fragments belong to the protohistoric settlement, which for a large part have eroded from the top which still continues and continues to provide new material, which are much more numerous at the base of the hill and the bed of the river Taxiarchis. protohistoric settlement with round, stone foundations of buildings of unclear function

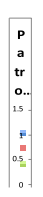
266	Vrynaina (Vrinena)	39° 4'57" - 22°47'38"	H, R, L	Fortification	Stählin 1924, 155-6. Ed Italiana 200-1 Tav VIII foto 2; Cantarelli 2008 no. 13	Among the villages and Vrynaina Kokkotoi and east Platonorematos on top of an extensive slope lies the castle of VRYNAINA . The castle was a natural fortress from the west side of town encircled a 2.6 hectares . From the investigations carried out by the Wieberdink there in 1990 , found that life began in the Hellenistic period and lasted until the 6th century AD It is an impressive place to place in the heart of the mountain and fortification on top of cliffs , but needs systematic research which will surely give us too much information about itself Fortress and local history in general.
230	Vrysia	39°15'38" - 22°19'40"	M,C,H	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 83, 157-8; Pantos, 1994, 226-7; Decourt 1990, 68-69	isolated building in plain, also known as Magoula Vrysia
317	Χ.Θ. 296.575.	39°16'5" - 22°44'14"	R	FARM	AR 52, 73; AD 55 b'1 475	Indirect indications of BA and Rom settlement in the vicinity.
31 **Xylades/Palaiopharsalos**	Xylades	39°17'29" 22°31'21" 39°2'18" 22°16'9,65"	A,C,H,R	Settlement	Stählin 1924, 142; Decourt 1990, 123, 128-130, 200-203 Stählin 1924, 160, 166; RE; Lauffer 1989, 713; AD 1926, N. 12, PP 43-54.; Stählin 1924, 160-; Bouchon, 2005, annexe 30; Cantarelli 2008, no 30	Polis fortified acropolis in an almost rectangular form of the ancient polis of Xyniai (fig 17????). This polis owes its origins to 2 factors: 1 = the exploitation of mineral resources of the Othrys (copper) already in the Mycenean period. 2= the placement of the site near the northern foot- of-mountain-road of the Othrys, the paths of the minor valley passes of the Othrys to the WEst of the main pass (Derben-Fourka). In particular it should be considered how it is probably that the pass starts W of Koromilea, passes by Fteres then to the WEst of a hill system dominated by Fylakio (819m above sea level), then gradually rises in the area of Moschokarna then descends to Styrfaka and Lianokladi (valley of the Spercheios). Support for this is possible through the ceramics of the Lianokladi type circulating to the N of the Othrys. the access road to the acropolis and the principle road in the interior of the acropolis are partially preserved. there are remains of a few buildings and a cistern on the acropolis. a small hill consisting of vulcanic rock and metamorphic rock that formed a small island slightly emerging from the lake. (476M). Classical and Hellenistic pottery frags found as well as Byzantine. The ΙΔ΄ΕΠΚΑ of Lamia ecavated a mycenean? Tomb on the E side of the small hill. Likely the change in landscape affected the use of this small island over time: a necropolis in Mycenean period and perhaps just a stopping place forthe polis of Xyniai for the fresh water fishers, while in the Byzantine period it was perhaps a refuge for a small community
35 **Xyniai**	Koromilia	39°02'31" - 22°27'52"	A,C,H,R,L C, H, H-R?	Settlement	Stamatopoulou 2012, 86-8	area of great importance due to an area of definite artisan production suggested by the abundance and variety of ceramic material on the surface as well as the fragments of production waste. remains of some small buildings. There are also traces of a floor paved in terracotta. According to some locals it should be the stage of the theatre, however,
249	Zatali			Settlement?		theatre identified in a slightly higher position

Lyon Inv No	Find Spot	Ancient	Details	Document	Contents	Date	Sources	Ethnic	Patronym	Metrony	Gamonym	Patron	Roman Name
?	Néa	Phthiotic	Greek personal		μνημῆον δια-	Christian	AE 1929						
GHW00001	Pagasai	Demetrias		Funerary	ΗΔΙΣΤΗ	2nd BC	Thess.Mn.						
GHW00002	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ	3rd BC - ca	Arvanitopoulo		gen				
GHW00003	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn				gen		
GHW00004	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΥΜΝΙΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00006	Pagasai	Demetrias	Macedonia	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Macedonia	gen				
GHW00007	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00009	Pagasai	Demetrias	Lyttos Crete	Epitaph	ΧΑΛ[- -]ΔΗΣ	3rd BC	SEG 53 2003	Lyttos Crete	gen				
GHW00010	Pagasai	Demetrias		Funerary	ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ	2nd BC	Arvanitopoulo		gen				
GHW00011	Pagasai	Demetrias		Funerary	ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΗΣ	3rd BC ca 217	SEG 46 1996		gen				
GHW00012	Pagasai	Demetrias	Macedonia	Epitaph	ΣΩΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 11	Macedonia	gen				
GHW00013	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΙΡΗΝΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00014	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΔΩΡΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00015	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00016	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΧΑΡΜΙΔΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 15		gen				
GHW00017	Pagasai	Demetrias	Pella	Epitaph	ΔΗΜΩ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Pella	gen				
GHW00018	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΤΙΜΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn						
GHW00019	Pagasai	Demetrias	Cassandrea?	Epitaph	ΗΔΥΛΗ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 18	Cassandrea			gen		
GHW00020	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00021	Pagasai	Demetrias	Crete	Funerary	ΑΡΧΙΔΙΚΗ of	3rd BC	SEG 30 1980	Crete					
GHW00022	Pagasai	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	[ΑΣΚΛ]ΛΗΠ[ΙΑ	2nd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Sidon	gen				
GHW00023	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΒΙΩ ΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ	2nd BC ca	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00025	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00027	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΜΗΝΟΦΙΛΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00028	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Κλέων	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00029	Pagasai	Demetrias	Epirus	Epitaph	ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Epirus	gen				
GHW00030	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΠΗΝΗΙΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00031	Ano-Volos	Demetrias	Apollonia	Epitaph	ΣΙΜΑ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997	Apollonia	gen				
GHW00032	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00033	Pagasai	Demetrias	Arados	Epitaph	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	2nd BC - ca	SEG 25 1971	Arados Phoenicia	gen				
GHW00034	Ano-Volos (A	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΧΡΥΣΙΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 1156		gen				
GHW00037	Pagasai	Demetrias	Tyr	Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟ	3rd BC ca 217	Thess Mn	Tyr	gen				
GHW00040	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΩΤΕΡΑ	2nd BC - ca	Thess Mn						
GHW00041	Ano-Volos	Demetrias	Larissa	Epitaph	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΑ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 1184;	Larissa	gen				
GHW00042	Ano-Volos	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 1140;		gen				
GHW00043	Pagasai	Demetrias	Lysimacheia	Epitaph	ΣΕΥΘΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Lysimacheia	gen				
GHW00044	Pagasai	Demetrias	Bithynia	Epitaph	ΒΟΙΩΝ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 41	Bithynia	gen				
GHW00045	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΑΧΘΗΣ	3rd BC ca 225	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00046	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Ζωΐλος	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00049	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΠΡΑΙΧΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00050	Pagasai	Demetrias	Epirus	Epitaph	ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 46	Epirus	gen				
GHW00051	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	3rd BC ca 225	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00053	Pagasai	Demetrias	Thebes	Epitaph	Λύσιππος	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Thebes					
GHW00055	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Δημητρία /	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00056	Pagasai	Demetrias	Busiris Egypt	Epitaph	ΟΥΑΦΡΗΣ	3rd BC	Stamatopoulo	Busiri s Egypt	gen				
GHW00057	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΩ ΔΩΡΟΥ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00059	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΧΟΙΡ[ΙΛ]Η	3rd BC	Arvanitopoulo		gen				
GHW00060	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΣ	2nd BC - ca	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00061	Pagasai	Demetrias	Macedonia	Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΗ	3rd BC -	Thess Mne	Macedonia	gen				
GHW00064	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Ἄδυμος	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00065	Pagasai	Demetrias	Polyreni a Crete	Epitaph	ΘΕΡΣΑΓΟΡΑΣ	3rd BC	SEG 53 2003	Polyreni Crete					
GHW00066	Pagasai	Demetrias	Bithynia	Epitaph	ΤΗΡΗΣ	2nd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Bithynia	gen				
GHW00068	Pagasai	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	Δημητρία /	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Sidon			gen		
GHW00069	Pagasai	Demetrias	Istia	Epitaph	ΕΥΘΙΑΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 65	Istia	gen				
GHW00070	Pagasai	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΑ	2nd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Sidon	gen				
GHW00071	Pagasai	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	Ἡλιόδωρος /	3rd BC	SEG 25 1971	Sidon	gen				
GHW00072	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΤΑΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 68		gen				
GHW00073	Pagasai	Demetrias	Chalcedon	Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Chalcedon	gen				
GHW00074	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΛΕΩΝ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00075	Pagasai	Demetrias	Kassandrea	Epitaph	ΕΚΑΤΑΙΟΣ	3rd BC ca 217	Thess Mn	Kassandrea	gen				
GHW00076	Pagasai	Demetrias	Cassopiea	Epitaph	Ξέναρχος /	4th BC	Thess	Cassopiea	gen				
GHW00077	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00078	Pagasai	Demetrias	Cassopea	Epitaph	ΓΑΛΛΙΘΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 74	Cassopea	gen				
GHW00079	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00080	Pagasai	Demetrias	Kition	Epitaph	ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 25 1971	Kition	gen				
GHW00082	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΠΙΝΘΗΡ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00083	pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΚΛΕΙΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 078		gen				
GHW00084	Pagasai	Demetrias	Crete	Epitaph	ΑΝΘΙΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Crete	gen				
GHW00085	Pagasai	Demetrias	Askalon	Epitaph	ΣΙΛΛΙΣ	3rd BC	SEG 25 1971	Askalon Judaea	gen				
GHW00086	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΓΛΑΦΥΡΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00087	Pagasai	Demetrias	Maceonia	Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Maceonia	gen				
GHW00088	Pagasai	Demetrias	Crete	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ	2nd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Crete	gen				
GHW00089	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 84		gen				
GHW00090	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΛΥΚΙΣΚΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 85		gen				
GHW00091	Pagasai	Demetrias	Illyria	Epitaph	ΔΑΖΙΣ ΙΛΛΥΡΙΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Illyria					
GHW00092	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Παλλήνη	2nd BC	Thess Mn						
GHW00094	Pagasai	Demetrias	Egypt	Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 57 2007	Egypt	gen				
GHW00096	Ano-Volos	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΟΤΙΜΑ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 1145;		gen				
GHW00098	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΜΑΡΧΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 92		gen				
GHW00101	Pagasai	Demetrias	Herakleia	Epitaph	ΜΗΝΙΣ	3rd BC ca 225	Thess Mn	Herakleia					
GHW00102	Pagasai	Demetrias	egypt	Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	2nd BC ca	SEG 57 2007	egypt	gen				
GHW00104	Pagasai	Demetrias	Pharsalos	Epitaph	Φιληδῶ ἔ(ι)κ	4th BC	Thess Mnem	Pharsalos					
GHW00106	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 99				gen		
GHW00108	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00109	Pagasai	Demetrias	Methymna	Epitaph	ΤΙΜΩΝΑΞ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Methymna					
GHW00110	Pagasai	Demetrias	Bouchetia	Epitaph	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΙΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Bouchetia	gen				
GHW00112	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΥΡΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 105				gen		
GHW00113	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΚΑΛΛΙΦΑΝΗΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00114	Pagasai	Demetrias	Tyr	Epitaph	ΑΒΔΗΣ	3rd BC	SEG 25 1971	Tyr	gen				
GHW00115	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΦΡΑΝΤΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00116	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΠΕΡΣΑΙΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 109		gen				
GHW00122	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΡΟΔΟΚΛΕΙΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn						
GHW00127	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 120		gen				
GHW00128	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Στρατονίκη	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00129	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΟΡΚΑΣ	2nd BC ca	Thess Mn				gen		
GHW00130	Pagasai	Demetrias	Herakleia	Epitaph	ΒΟΙΣΚΟΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Herakleia	gen				
GHW00131	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00133	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΘΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00134	Pagasai	Demetrias	Europas	Epitaph	ΠΟΛΕΜΩΝ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Europos	gen				
GHW00135	Pagasai	Demetrias	Cos	Epitaph	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Cos					
GHW00136	Pagasai	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΩ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Sidon	gen				
GHW00137	Pagasai	Demetrias	Apollonia	Epitaph	ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ	3rd BC bef	Thess Mn	Apollonia	gen				
GHW00140	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΣΤΡΗ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 132		gen				
GHW00141	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn				gen		
GHW00142	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΟΛΒΙΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn				gen		
GHW00147	Pagasai	Demetrias	Macedonia	Epitaph	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Macedonia	gen				
GHW00150	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Ἡράκων	1st half 2nd	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00152	Pagasai	Demetrias	Cyrene	Epitaph	Μνησῶ /	4th BC	Thess Mnem	Cyrene	gen				
GHW00156	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00159	Pagasai	Demetrias	Askalon	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΦΙΛ-	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Askalon Judaea	gen				
GHW00162	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00163	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Ἀρτέμων	4th BC	Thess Mnem						
GHW00164	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΩΤΕΡΑ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 156		gen				
GHW00165	Pagasai	Demetrias		**Epitaph**	ΑΡΙΣΤΩΝ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00166	Pagasai	Demetrias	Kephalonia	Epitaph	ΓΟΡΓΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Kephalonia	gen				
GHW00167	Pagasai	Demetrias	Samos	Epitaph	ΕΥΑΝΔΡΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Samos	gen				
GHW00169	Volos (A	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΕΙΣΑΡΧΗ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0377;		gen				
GHW00170	Volos	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΙΚΗ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0373;				gen		
GHW00171	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗ	3rd BC	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00172	Pagasai	Demetrias	Mantinea	Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΩ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Mantinea			gen		
GHW00173	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΩΤΗΡΙΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 165		gen				
GHW00174	Pagasai	Demetrias	Crete	Epitaph	ΡΑΔΙΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Crete	gen				
GHW00175	Pagasai	Demetrias	Kassandrea	Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΗΜΟ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Kassandrea	gen				
GHW00176	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΩΝ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 168		gen				
GHW00177	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΜΕΓΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ	2nd BC - ca	Thess Mn		gen				
GHW00178	Pagasai	Demetrias	Illyria	Epitaph	ΡΟΔΩΝ	3rd BC	Thess Mn	Illyria	gen				
GHW00179	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Παρθένιον /	4th BC	Thess Mnem		gen				
GHW00180	Pagasai	Demetrias	Macedonia	Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΙΑ	3rd BC - ca	Thess Mn	Macedonia	gen				
GHW00181	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Φιλοκλείδης /	4th BC	Thess Mnem		gen				
GHW00182	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΙΑΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00183	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess Mn 175		gen				
GHW00184	Pagasai	Demetrias	Arcadia	Epitaph	Κλευγένης	4th BC	Thess Mn	Arcadia	gen				
GHW00186	Pagasai	Demetrias	Egypt	Epitaph	ΣΩΤΗΡΙΣ ΔΙΝ- -	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Egypt			gen		
GHW00188	Pagasai	Demetrias	Halicarnassus	Epitaph	ΦΙΛΩΤΕΡΑ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Halicarnassus	gen				
GHW00189	Pagasai	Demetrias	Pelusium, Egypt	Funerary	ΜΥΡΤΩ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Pelusium, Egypt GHW00191					
Pagasai	Demetrias			Epitaph	ΘΕΟΤΙΜΑ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00192	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	Νίκαρχος	1st half 2nd	Thess.Mn						
GHW00193	Pagasai	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Sidon	gen				
GHW00194	Alykès Volou?	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΣΤΑ	3rd BC - ca	IX 2, 0388;		gen				
GHW00195	Alykès	Demetrias	Arados	Epitaph	ΠΑΣΙΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Arados, Phoenicia					
GHW00197	Pagasai	Demetrias	Thrace	Epitaph	ΣΕΥΘΗΣ ΘΡΑΙΞ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Thrace					
GHW00198	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00199	pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΗΤΑΙΟΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00201	Pagasai	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΗΔΥΛΑ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00202	Pagasai	Demetrias	Corinth	Funerary	ΑΙΝΗ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Corinth	gen				
GHW00203	Pagasai	Demetrias	Arados	Epitaph	ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.	Arados, Phoenicia	gen				
GHW00204	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias		Epitaph	Νικόστρατος	4th BC	Thess.Mnem.		gen				
GHW00205	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00206	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias	Chyretiai	Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΝΩΡ	2nd BC - ca.	Thess.Mn.	Chyretiai	gen				
GHW00207	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΑΡΙΣΤΗ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00208	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΟΝΑΣΙΩΝ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00209	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias	Ephesos	Epitaph	ΦΙΛΑΡΧΙΣ	2nd BC - ca.	Thess.Mn.	Ephesos	gen				
GHW00210	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias	Peuma	Epitaph	ΣΙΜΜΙΑΣ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Peuma	gen				
GHW00211	Pagasai (2nd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00212	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΤΙΜΩΝ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn. 204		gen				
GHW00213	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΗ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00214	Pagasai (2nd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΖΩΠΥΡΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.206		gen				
GHW00215	Ano-Volos	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΗΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00216	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΞΕΝΥΛΛΑ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00217	Ano-Volos	Demetrias	Nicopolis	Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΡΕΤΑ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Nicopolis	gen				
GHW00218	Ano-Volos	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ	4th BC	IG IX 2, 0376;		gen				
GHW00219	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΤΥΧΑΣΩ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00221	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias	Chalcidici	Epitaph	ΔΗΜΩ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Chalcidici	gen				
GHW00222	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias	Paphos	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΔΩΡ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Paphos	gen				
GHW00223	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias	Gaza	Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.	Gaza	gen				
GHW00224	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias	Acarnia	Epitaph	ΝΙΚΙΠΠΗ	3rd BC - ca	Thess.Mn.	Acarnania	gen				
GHW00225	unknown	Demetrias		Epitaph	[ΘΕ]ΑΝΩ	3rd BC - 225-	Thess.Mne		gen				
GHW00226	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Funerary	ΑΓΙΑΣ	3rd BC	Polemon B 2,		gen				
GHW00229	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΣΙΝΝΩ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00236	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Megara	Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΣΤΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Megara	gen				
GHW00237	unknown	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑ |	2nd BC ca.	Thess. Mn.		gen				
GHW00238	Pagasai (2nd	Demetrias	Cos	Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΥΔΗΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Cos	gen				
GHW00239	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΗΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.231;		gen				
GHW00240	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	A Getan (from	Epitaph	ΤΑΡΟΥΧΙΝΑΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	A Getan from Thrace	gen				
GHW00241	unknown	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΔΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00244	Pagasai (2nd	Demetrias	Crete	Epitaph	ΗΡΩΣ ΑΡΝΑΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Crete	gen				Greek
GHW00246	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Macedonia	Epitaph	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Macedonia	gen				
GHW00248	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess. Mn.		gen				
GHW00249	Demetrias	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΒΙΟΤΗ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.241		gen				
GHW00250	unknown	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΑΛΑΚΡΕ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.						
GHW00251	unknown	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΔΩΡΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00255	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	Ταρούλας	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00256	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Theangela	Epitaph	ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΙΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess. Mn.	Theangela	gen				
GHW00257	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.249;		gen				
GHW00260	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00261	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΗΡΩΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00262	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Thessalonike	Epitaph	ΜΑΧΑΤΑΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Thessalonike	gen				
GHW00263	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΚΡΙΤΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00264	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΩΤΙΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00265	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Askalon	Epitaph	ΙΑΣΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Askalon, Judaea	gen				
GHW00266	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΚΛΕΙΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00267	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Pharsalos	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΠΕΙΘΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Pharsalos	gen				
GHW00269	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00270	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00271	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΗΔΥΛΙΝΗ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.263		gen				
GHW00272	unknown	Demetrias	Heraklea	Epitaph	[Ε]ὔξενος	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Heraklea	gen				
GHW00273	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΡΩΛΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00274	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00276	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Athens	Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΙΟΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Athens	gen				
GHW00277	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Lysimacheia,	Epitaph	ΣΕΥΘΗΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Lysimacheia, Thrace	gen				
GHW00278	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Gomphoi	Epitaph	ΜΟΥΣΙΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Gomphoi	gen				
GHW00279	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00280	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΡΓΑΣΙΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.						
GHW00282	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΦΙΛΟΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00284	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΜΗΤΡΙΧΗ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.						
GHW00288	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΖΩΠΥΡΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00292	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΜΑΘΗΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.						
GHW00293	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΖΩΙΛΟΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.285		gen				
GHW00295	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΜΝΑΣΕΑΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.287		gen				
GHW00297	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΓΩ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00298	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.290		gen				
GHW00299	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝ[- -]Σ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00301	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Bithynia	Epitaph	ΕΡΜΑΦΙΛΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	IG IX 2, 1172	Bithynia	gen				
GHW00302	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Arados	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	PAAH 1912,	Arados, Phoenicia	gen				
GHW00303	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		**Epitaph**	ΤΕΛΕΣΙΑΣ |	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00304	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΡΩΠΗ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00305	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Funerary	ΕΙ ΤΙ ΚΑΙ	2nd BC	Polemon 2		gen				
GHW00306	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΜΗΤΡΟΦΑΝΗ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00308	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Hyria/Huria,	Epitaph	ΔΑΖΟΣ	3rd BC	Thess.Mn.	Hyria/Huria, Aulis	gen				
GHW00309	Pagasai?	Demetrias		**Epitaph**	ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00310	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΖΩΠΥΡΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00311	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΤΑΡΟΥΛΑΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00312	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00313	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Psidia	Epitaph	Εὔτυχος /	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Psidia	gen				
GHW00314	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΠΕΙΣΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00315	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Skiathos	Epitaph	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Skiathos	gen				
GHW00316	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.				gen		
GHW00317	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΙΣΧΙΝΗΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00318	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΕ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00319	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Argos	Epitaph	ΝΟΗΜΑΟΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.	Argos					
GHW00320	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Sardegna	Epitaph	ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Sardegna	gen				
GHW00321	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΦΑΝΗΣ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00322	Pagasai (2nd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΩ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00324	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΘΗΝΑΙΙΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00325	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Funerary	Πρωτόμαχος /	3rd BC	Polemon 2		gen				
GHW00326	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΗΓΗΣΩ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00327	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΖΩΠΥΡΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00328	Demetrias(Pa	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΚΕΡΚΙΩΝ	3rd BC	SEG 03 1929,						
GHW00329	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΝΙΧΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00330	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Askalon	Epitaph	ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Askalon, Judaea	gen				
GHW00331	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 25 1971,	Sidon	gen				
GHW00333	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΡΟΔΙΑ	2nd BCca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00334	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΑΤΥΡΙΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00335	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	Σύνεσις	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00336	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Zakynthos	Epitaph	ΛΥΚΙΔΑΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Zakynthos	gen GHW00339				
Pagasai?	Demetrias			Epitaph	ΚΛΕΙΝΩ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00342	Pagasai (2nd	Demetrias	Angeia	Epitaph	ΛΥΚΟΛΕΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	SEG 25 1971,	Angeia	gen				
GHW00344	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΧΙΔΙΚΗ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00345	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΗΔΙΣΤΗ |	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00346	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Mysia	Epitaph	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Mysia	gen				
GHW00348	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Chalicidi	Epitaph	ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Chalicidi	gen				
GHW00349	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00350	Pagasai?	Demetrias	Troy/ Ilius	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Troy/ Ilius	gen				
GHW00352	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00353	Pagasai?	Demetrias		Epitaph	Ἀρχιμένης /	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.		gen				
GHW00355	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Askalon	Epitaph	ΖΗΝΩΝ	2nd BC ca.	Thess.Mn.	Askalon, Judaea	gen				
GHW00357	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Askalon	Epitaph	ΜΕΤΤΟΥΝΜΙΚΙ	3rd BC	SEG 29 1979,	Askalon, Judaea	gen				
GHW00396	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΙΠΠΟΔΑΜΑ	2nd BC	Gonnoi 215		gen				
GHW00397	unknown	Pherai?		Epitaph	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΣ	4th BC	GHW00397						
GHW00398	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΣΩΠΑΤΡΑ	1st BC	Gonnoi 285		gen				
GHW00427	Gonnoi (West	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΟΔΙΚΑ	1st half 2nd	Gonnoi 240		gen				
GHW00429	Ano-Volos (A.	Demetrias	Tyr	Epitaph	ΜΙΚΙΝΗΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1191	Tyr	gen				
GHW00430	Ano-Volos (A.	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΑ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1141		gen				
GHW00433	Demetrias(un	Demetrias?	Halos	Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 1173	Halos	gen				
GHW00434	Alykès Volou?	Demetrias;	Pherai	Epitaph	ΑΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΑ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0371	Pherai	gen				
GHW00436	Pharsalos	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ	2nd AD	SEG 45 1995,		other				
GHW00437	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	Ἐπαφρῶν	Rom. Imp.	Béquignon Y.,		gen				praenomen
GHW00439	unknown	unknown		Epitaph	ΤΕΡΕΝΤΙΣ	2ndAD	GHW00439		other				personal
GHW00453	Demetrias(3rd	Demetrias	Acarnia	Epitaph	ΓΛΑΥΚΟΣ	2nd BC	PAAH 1912,	Acarnania	gen				
GHW00486	Demetrias(Pa	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΧΕΤΙΜΑ	2nd BC	SEG 03 1929,		gen				
GHW00527	Portaria	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΠΡΑΞΙΣ,	1st BC	IG IX 2, 1160						
GHW00579	Demetrias	Demetrias	Sidon/bilingual	Epitaph	σκλαπιάδας / -	3rd BC	SEG 25 1971,	Sidon/bilingual/	gen				
GHW00632	Demetrias(Pa	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	3rd BC	SEG 03 1929,		gen				
GHW00694	Demetrias	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	3rd BC?	SEG 25 1971,	Sidon	gen				
GHW00710	Hermitsi	Phyllos		Epitaph	ΦΥΛΑΚΑ	1st BC	I.Thess 029;		gen				
GHW00713	Volos	Demetrias		Funerary	ΒΥΒΛΩΝ	2nd AD	IG IX 2, 1139;				other		
GHW00716	Chortos Volou	Spalauthra	Thasos	Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 1214	Thasos	gen				
GHW00721	Alykès Volou?	Demetrias;	Syracuse	Epitaph	[- -]Ν	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0370	Syracuse	gen				
GHW00722	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΛΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0441		gen				
GHW00729	Gonnoi (West	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΣΩΠΑΤΡΑ	1st BC	Gonnoi 280		gen				
GHW00731	Trikala	Trikka		Funerary	ΝΕΙΚΙΑΔΗΣ	2nd AD	IG IX 2, 0316;						
GHW00734	Kanalia Volou	Dotion (IG)		Epitaph	ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 50 2000,		gen				1 Greek
GHW00738	Dendrakia	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΣΙΜΩΝ Ο	5th BC	IG IX 2, 0250		gen				
GHW00740	Volos	Demetrias	presbuteros	Epitaph	Αὐρ(ήλιος) -	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 1165		gen				Greek
GHW00746	Léchonia	Methone?		Epitaph	ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡΟΣ	2nd BC?	IG IX 2, 1199		gen				
GHW00750	Gonnoi (West	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 223		gen				
GHW00753	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 224		gen				
GHW00754	Gonnoi (Nord)	Gonnoi		Epitaph	Ἀντιγόνα	2nd BC	Gonnoi 243		gen				
GHW00756	Rhigaio	Pherai		Epitaph	Κρανοβουλί[ς]	4th BC	IX 2, 0456		adj				
GHW00760	Gonnoi (West	Gonnoi		Epitaph	2 names -	2nd BC	Gonnoi 247		gen				
GHW00767	Atrax?	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΓΕΙΣΙΠΠΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax,298						
GHW00768	Atrax?	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 496		adj				
GHW00772	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΗΡΩΙΔΗΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 1047;		gen				
GHW00774	Volos (Néa	unknown	doctor	Epitaph		Christian	Giannopoulos		gen				
GHW00777	Gonnoi (West	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΠΕΙΣΙΣ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 227		gen				
GHW00780A	Makryrachi	Ekkara?;		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟ	3rd AD	IG IX 2, 0228a		gen				
GHW00783	Ano-Volos (A.	Demetrias	Herakleia	Epitaph	ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1177	Herakleia	gen				
GHW00784	Argalasti (A.	Spalauthra		Epitaph	[- -]ΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 1215		gen				
GHW00785	Volos	Demetrias	Thebes	Epitaph	ΓΕΝΝΑΙΑ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1178	Thebes	gen				
GHW00789	Alykès Volou?	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΜΑΛΙΩ	4th BC	IG IX 2, 0381		gen				
GHW00792	Gonnoi (West	Gonnoi		Epitaph	Epitaph of	1st half 2nd	Gonnoi 244		gen				
GHW00798	Atrax?	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΔΑΜΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 434		adj				
GHW00800	$$Kastrion (=	Dotion (IG -		Epitaph	Ἀνθεμὶς τ- /	2nd AD	IG IX 2, 1095						
GHW00803	Ambélia	Pharsalos		Funerary	ΝΕΙΚΑΤΑΣ	3rd AD	Polemon 2		gen				
GHW00810	Volos	Demetrias	Sidon	Epitaph	ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ	3rd BC?	SEG 25 1971,	Sidon	gen				
GHW00812	Néa	Phthiotic		Funerary	ΕΙΜΙ ΦΙΛΩΝ	2nd AD	R.Phil. 35		other				
GHW00815	Pharsalos	Pharsalos		Funerary	ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΑ	3rd BC	SEG 26 1976-		gen				
GHW00818	Pharsalos	Pharsalos		Funerary	[πολλοῖσιν	3rd BC	SEG 28 1978,		gen				
GHW00823	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	Εἴρου	2nd BC - ca.	SEG 43 1993,		gen				
GHW00827	Trikala	Trikka	doctor	Funerary	ΦΩΤΑ ΘΕΟΙΣ	3rd AD	SEG 53 2003,				other		
GHW00828	unknown	Gonnoi		Epitaph	Δάφναι	2nd BC	Gonnoi 278		gen				
GHW00829	Demetrias(1st	Demetrias	Argos	Funerary	[Ἄρ]γος μὲν	3rd BC	Polemon 2	Argos					
GHW00834	Néa	Phthiotic	Jewish	Epitaph;	ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ	3rd AD	IJO I2004,						
GHW00837	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΑΤΡΑ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 216		gen				
GHW00840	Ano-Volos	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 1152		gen				
GHW00844	Léchonia	Methone?		Funerary	ΕΙ ΤΙΣ ΕΝ	3rd AD	Santin 2006,						
GHW00845	Néa Anchialos	Phthiotic		Funerary	ΚΙΝΩΝ	3rd BC	SEG 26 1976-		other				
GHW00846	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Funerary	Funerary	1st AD	Gonnoi 212;		gen				
GHW00852	Krini	Euhydrion		Epitaph	ΑΜΕΡΙΜΝΟΣ	2nd half 2nd	I.Thess 042						
GHW00864	Gonnoi (West	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΝΙΑΣ	1st half 2nd	Gonnoi 237		gen				

GHW00865	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	[ΜΑΝ]ΙΝΧΟΣ	1st half 2nd	Gonnoi 238		gen									
GHW00869	$$Lefkiou	Euhydrion		Epitaph	Epitaph of	1st half 1st	SEG 45 1995			other	other							
GHW00878	Polynéri	Euhydrion		Epitaph	Λ(ΟΥΚΙΟΣ)	2nd AD	AE 1930		other				1 praenomen					
GHW00884	Volos (place	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΦΛ: ΕΙΡΗΝΗ	Rom Imp	AE 1930		gen				1 men Greek					
GHW00886	Alykès	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΜΙΚΚΑ	2nd BC	AE 1932		gen									
GHW00889	Velestino	Pherai		Funerary	ΚΑΣΑΝΔΡΑ for	3rd AD	AD 1932		other				1Greek					
GHW00890	Alykes Volou	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΑ	Rom Imp	AD 1933 p 4		gen									
GHW00893	Demetrias	Demetrias		Funerary	ΘΕΟΚΡΙΤΑ	3rd BC	SEG 28 1978		gen									
GHW00896	Volos (A	Demetrias;	Crete	Epitaph	ΑΝΔΡΟΚΑΔΗΣ	3rd BC	SEG 53 2003	Crete	gen									
GHW00897	Volos (A	Demetrias;	Herakleia	Epitaph	ΓΛΑΥΚΑ |	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0363	Herakleia	gen									
GHW00899	Volos (A	Demetrias;	Macedonia	Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ |	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0369	Macedonia	gen									
GHW00900	Volos (A	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ |	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0372				yes							
GHW00901	Volos (A	Demetrias;	Bithynia	Epitaph	ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ |	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0361	Bithynia	gen									
GHW00906	Volos (A	Demetrias;	Macedonia	Funerary	ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ	3rd BC	SEG 49 1999	Macedonia	gen									
GHW00907	Volos (A	Demetrias;	Crete	Epitaph	Ἄντις /	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0366	Crete	gen									
GHW00908	Volos (A	Demetrias;	Epidaurus]	Epitaph	ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΙΑ |	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0362	Epidaurus	gen									
GHW00909	Volos (A	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΟΝΑΣΙΧΑ |	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0384		gen									
GHW00911	Volos (A	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΗΣΩ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0380		gen									
GHW00924	Alykès Volou?	Demetrias		Funerary	ΟΔ'	3rd BC	Santin 2006,											
GHW00954	Volos	Demetrias?		Epitaph	ΣΙΜΑ	3rd BC	SEG 23 1968		gen									
GHW00957	Velestino	Pherai		Funerary	Λαμπίδος ἆρα	4th BC	SEG 23 1968											
GHW00958	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΡΧΟΣ	1st half 2nd	IG IX 2 1049;		gen									
GHW00970	Volos	Demetrias	Boiotia	Epitaph	ΔΕΞΩΝ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 1175	Boiotia	gen									
GHW00972	Ano-Volos	Demetrias?	Eleuthernes	Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 1176	Eleuthernes	gen									
GHW00988	Velestino	Pherai	Slave - oiketes	Epitaph	ΛΕΟΝΤΟΓΕΝΗΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0447					yes						
GHW00990	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΚΡΙΤΑ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 229				gen							
GHW00991	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	3 names -	1st half 2nd	Gonnoi 239		gen									
GHW00992	Rhizomylo	Pherai		Funerary	κρύπτει μὲν	4th BC	SEG 23 1968		gen									
GHW00994	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΗΓΗΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	1st BC	Gonnoi 281		gen									
GHW00999	unknown	unknown		Epitaph	Epitaph of	2nd BC	SEG 32 1982		gen									
GHW01068	Demetrias(	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΚΟΙΝΤΙΑ	1st AD	Thessalika 1						Praenomen/n					
GHW01071	Velestino	Pherai		Funerary	ΖΗΝΟΣ ΑΠΟ	3rd BC	SEG 52 2002		gen									
GHW01078	Aérino Volou	Pherai		Epitaph	ΓΟΡΓΟ	5th BC	AD18 1963											
GHW01159	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΕ	1st BC	GHW01159		gen									
GHW01162	Pharsalos	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 43 1993		gen									
GHW01163	Krini	Euhydrion		Funerary	ΑΒΡΟΞΕΝΑ +	2nd AD	I Thess 043;		other									
GHW01170	unknown	unknown		Funerary	Melantho	4th BC	BE 1976 333;				gen							
GHW01179	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Funerary	ΤΕΛΕΥΤΙΑΣ	4th BC	SEG 25 1971											
GHW01181	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΛΚΙΠΠΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 25 1971											
GHW01183	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	[Π]ΟΡΘΑ	3rd BC	SEG35 1985		adj									
GHW01184	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	Σιμυλίς (or	4th BC	SEG 35 1985											
GHW01186	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΑΒΒΟΣ son	5th BC	SEG 25 1971		gen									
GHW01189	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΕΠΑΙΝΙΣΤΗ	4th BC	Gonnoi 214		gen									
GHW01190	Gonnoi (foot	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΑΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	1st half 2nd	Gonnoi 245		gen									
GHW01193	Gonnoi (foot	Gonnoi		Epitaph	[ΑΡΙ]ΣΤΑΓΟΡΑ	1st BC	Gonnoi 254		gen									
GHW01195	Tsourba	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΕΚΑΤΟΝΒΟΣ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 226		gen									
GHW01196	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	[Α]ρχέπολις	2nd half 2nd	Gonnoi 253											
GHW01207	Pagasai	Demetrias;		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΦΙΛΑ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0378		gen									
GHW01210	Velestino	Pherai		Funerary	Ἀστραγόρα Ο	3rd BC	SEG 40 1990		other									
GHW01212	Ayios Yorgios	Pherai		Epitaph	ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0442		gen									
GHW01214	Nea	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΟΣ	3rd BC	AE 1915 no 3		gen									
GHW01215	Nea	Phthiotic		Epitaph	2 men and 2	Hellenistic	AE 1915		gen									
GHW01229	Larissa (anc	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0693		adj									
GHW01231	Larissa (anc	Larissa?		Funerary	ΤΕΤΡΑΕΤΗΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0651											
GHW01234	Larissa (anc	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΤΡΥΦΩΣΑ	1st BC	IG IX 2 0766		gen									
GHW01235	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΕΚΤΟΣ	Hellenistic	IG IX 2 0436		adj									
GHW01240	Elateia	Gyrton		Epitaph	[Ν]ΙΚΟΔΙΚΑ	3rd BC	R.Phil. 35				adj							
GHW01241	Larissa (anc	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΕΥΤΥΧΙΣ ΚΑΙ	2nd AD	IG IX 2 0881											
GHW01242	Larissa (anc	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΣΙΑΣ |	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0736		gen									
GHW01243	Larissa (anc	Larissa?	Ainis?	Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΟΚΤΟΣ |	3rd BC	SEG 55 2005	Ainis?										
GHW01244	Larissa (anc	Larissa?	Cyzique	Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0776	Cyzicus	gen									
GHW01246	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΠΕΤΑΛΛΙΣ |	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0711		adj									
GHW01247	Larissa (A	Larissa		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΙΔΑΣ	1st AD	IG IX 2 0724		adj									
GHW01250	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΗΣΥΧΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0965		other									
GHW01251	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΛΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ |	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0703		adj									
GHW01253	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚΟΣ	3rd BC	AE 1910		gen									
GHW01254	Larissa (anc	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΟΥΕΤΤΙΑ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0833						nomen					
GHW01255	Larissa (anc	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΑΡΟΣ |	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0713		adj									
GHW01256	Larissa (anc	Larissa?	Cnidus	Epitaph	ΑΣΙΑΣ ΚΝΙΔΙΑ	4th BC	IG IX 2 0775	Cnidus			gen							
GHW01259	unknown	unknown		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΙΝΟΥ	4th BC	SEG17 1960				adj							
GHW01264	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΤΙΜΑ	3rd BC	SEG 23 1968		adj									
GHW01265	Larissa	Larissa	Salamina	Epitaph	ΕΠΙΚΛΗΣ	3rd BC	SEG 23 1968	Salamina Cyprus	gen									
GHW01267	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΗ	1st BC	SEG 15 1958,		gen									
GHW01271	Mavrovouni	Krannon		Epitaph	ΕΥΡΩΠΗ	1st BC	SEG15 1958,		gen									
GHW01278	unknown	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΟΙΤΑΟΣ,	3rd BC	45 1995, 639		adj									
GHW01279	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΑΡΧΕΠΟΛΙΣ	4th BC	IG IX 2, 0686		adj									
GHW01282	Larissa (anc.	Larissa		Epitaph	ΜΝΑΣΟΥΝ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0707		adj									
GHW01291	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΑΜΦΙΔΑΜΟΣ	3rd BC?	IG IX 2, 0683		adj									
GHW01294	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	[ΠΑΡ]ΘΕΝΟΣ	2nd AD	IG IX 2, 0649;		other									
GHW01296B	Larissa	Larissa	Salona (Illyria,	Funerary	{²in circulo:}²	Christian	SEG 37 1987,	Salona Illyria,			gen							
GHW01301	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0954		other				1 Greek					
GHW01306	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	[ὅ]οδε	Rom. Imp.	SEG 28 1978,											
GHW01311	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΜΑΞΙΜΑ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0909		other				1praenomen					
GHW01318	Vryotopos	Phalanna		Epitaph	ΖΩΣΙΜΗ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 1259		gen									
GHW01348	Kokkinoyio	Doliche		Epitaph	ΤΕΡΤΙΑ	2nd half 1st	AE 1923,						nomen,					
GHW01351	Evangélismos	Olosson		Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 23 1968,		gen				Greek					
GHW01356	Metaxochori	Dotion (IG)		Epitaph	Family tomb:	1st AD	IG IX 2, 1085		other									
GHW01358	Aétolophos	Sykourion		Funerary	a)epigram	2nd AD	SEG 28 1978,											
GHW01359	Ayia	Dotion (IG)		Epitaph	ΓΑΙΣ [= ΓΑΙΟΣ]	1st AD	IG IX 2, 1084						1 praenomen					
GHW01360	Kastri Ayias	Kerkinion?		Epitaph	Ἀλεξάνδρα	Rom. Imp.	AE 1931,				other							
GHW01361	Elateia	Gyrton		Epitaph	εἶρουϊ	Hellenistic	AD 1931,		gen									
GHW01367	Sotiritsa	unknown		Epitaph	Κοσμία καὶ	Rom. Imp.	AE 1931,		other									
GHW01368	Meliboia	unknown		Funerary	ΟΥ ΔΙΚΕΟΝ Ι |	Rom. Imp.	AE 1931,		other									
GHW01370	Metaxochori	unknown		Epitaph	ΜΑΡΚΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ	Rom. Imp.	AE 1933., p.3,		other				praenomen/n					
GHW01381	Gonnoi (Nord)	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΩΝΙ	1st BC	Gonnoi 279		gen									
GHW01383	Tsourba	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 225		gen									
GHW01389	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΟΝΗΣΙΦΟΡΕ	2nd AD	Gonnoi 289		gen									
GHW01399	Tsourba	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 219		gen									
GHW01403	Larissa (A.	Larissa	Slave	Epitaph	[- -]Ν ΛΑ- -	2nd AD or	IG IX 2, 0972					yes						
GHW01405	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0830		gen				1 praenomen,					
GHW01408	Larissa (A.	Larissa		Epitaph	ΣΑΒΕΙΝΑ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0880		other				1cognomen2g					
GHW01410	Larissa	Larissa	jewish	Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΥΠΩ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 56 2006,				gen		Greek					
GHW01411	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?	slave	Epitaph	Μαξίμα	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0874			gen		yes	1					
GHW01425	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?	jewish	Epitaph	ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΟΣ	2nd BC	SEG 56 2006,		gen									
GHW01434	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	Πρεῖμος	Rom. Imp.	SEG 50 2000,				other		praenomen,					
GHW01439	Elateia	Gyrton		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ	Rom. Imp.	R.Phil. 35		other									
GHW01439a	Elateia	Gyrton		Epitaph	ΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ	3rd BC	R.Phil. 35		gen									
GHW01443	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	Κασία Ἀπάτη	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0828											
GHW01444	Larissa?	Larissa?		Funerary	ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΣ	1st AD	SEG 28 1978,		gen									
GHW01446	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	2nd BC	Gonnoi 249;		gen									
GHW01447	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΕΡΔΙΚΚΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 320											
GHW01449	Homolio	Eurymenai		Epitaph	ΓΑΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ	Rom. Imp.	AD 17											
GHW01454	Kastro	Atrax	Macedonia	Epitaph	ΒΙΛΚΗΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 339	Macedonia										
GHW01461	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	Η ΜΙΤΟΣ ΩΣ	3rd AD	IG IX 2, 0640;				gen							
GHW01465	Larissa (west	Larissa		Epitaph	ΤΙΤΟΣ ΤΙΤΟΝ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0955		adj				praenomen x2					
GHW01470	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΟ[ΙΝΤ]ΟΣ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0944				other		1 praenomen					
GHW01473	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΣΑΚΟΝΔΑ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 1054;				gen		praenomen/c					
GHW01489	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΟΥΕΝΝΙΑ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0832		gen				praenomen,					
GHW01492	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	Atticus and	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0922		other									
GHW01494	Kastro	Atrax		Epitaph	[Θ]ΑΥΜΑΣΙΛΑ	1st half 2nd	IG IX 2, 0479;		adj									
GHW01498	Larissa	Larissa	Delphi	Epitaph	ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΑ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0774	Delphi			gen							
GHW01499	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΜΑΡΚΟΥ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0840						praenomen					
GHW01501	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0708		adj									
GHW01502	Larissa (A.	Larissa		Epitaph	[ΕΠ]ΙΚΤΗΣΙΣ |	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0739		gen									
GHW01506	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΚΟΙΝΤΑ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0837						praenomen,					
GHW01511	Kastro	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΟΚΚΑΣ	3rd BC	R.Phil. 35											
GHW01515	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΙΛΕΑ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0670											
GHW01517	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΛΥΣΩ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0974		gen				trianomina					
GHW01520	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	ΠΕΤΡΩΝΙΣ (=	Rom. Imp.	AD 11 1927-				other							
GHW01523	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΓΕΙΣΙΠΟΛΙΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0664											
GHW01525	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΛΕΩΝ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0936b				other							
GHW01527	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Funerary	ΚΛΙΤΑΓΟΡΑ	1st AD	SEG 45 1995,		other									
GHW01541	Larissa (anc.	Larissa		Epitaph	ΝΕΙΚΑΓΟΡΑ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 0763		gen									
GHW01544	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΚΕΡΔΩΝ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0883			other								
GHW01546	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΝΟΥ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 314											
GHW01550	Larissa	Larissa	Slave -	Epitaph	ΝΙΚΗ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0856					yes	1 greek	LNUM006				Grec
GHW01551	Larissa?	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΣΤΡΑΤΩΝ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 0671		gen					LNUM006				Grec
GHW01554	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?	Arcadia	Epitaph	ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ |	4th BC	IG IX 2, 0773	Arcadia	gen									
GHW01555	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΑΡΟΣ |	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0714		adj									
GHW01556	Larissa (anc.	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΟΧΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0666;											
GHW01558	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΕΥΤΥΧΙΣ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 0789		gen									
GHW01560	unknown	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΡΜΑΙΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0668											
GHW01561	Larissa (anc.	Larissa	Bithynia - slave	Epitaph	ΜΑΡΚΟΝ	Rom. Imp.	?	Bithynia - slave	gen			yes	1praenomen,					
GHW01567	unknown	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0709;		adj									
GHW01569	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΔΕΚΜΟΣ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0842		gen				praenomen,					
GHW01571	Larissa (A.	Larissa	jewish	Epitaph	ΜΑΞΙΜΟΣ	3rd AD	SEG 56 2006,		gen				praenomen,					
GHW01574	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΝΑΞΑΓΟΡΑΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0682		adj									
GHW01576	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΛΕΥΚΙΕ	Rom. Imp.	33 1983, 469						trianomina					
GHW01581	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΓΑΘΟΒΟΥΛΑ	2nd AD	AE 1910,											
GHW01585	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΝΕΙΚΩΝ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 0801		gen									
GHW01587	Larissa	Larissa	Jewish	Funerary	ΔΗΜΩ	2nd AD	SEG 56 2006,		gen		gen		1 Greek					
GHW01588	Larissa (A.	Larissa	pantomime	Epitaph	Epitaph of	1st BC	SEG 33 1983,	pantomime										
GHW01591	Larissa?	Larissa		Funerary	Epigram for	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0642;											
GHW01600	Larissa	Larissa?	Freedman	Epitaph	[Α]ΝΤ[Ι]ΟΧΗ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0868					yes						
GHW01603	unknown	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΓΑΙΟΣ	3rd AD	IG IX 2, 0827		other				1 praenomen,					
GHW01604	unknown	Larissa?	freedman	Epitaph	ΕΛΕΝΗ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0854					yes						
GHW01605	Larissa	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	Ἀκοῦτε	1st AD	SEG 55 2005,					yes						
GHW01607	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΛΑΙ	1st AD	GHW01607		gen									
GHW01624	Krannona	Krannon		Epitaph	ΙΛqΞΙΝΟΣ	5th BC	BE 1964, 222;											
GHW01635	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΣΥΝΕΡΩΣ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0884		gen									
GHW01638	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΠΕΙΘΟΥΣΑ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0764		gen				greek					
GHW01639	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΛΥΚΑ ΤΕΧΝΗΣ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0820			other								
GHW01641	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΥΔΕΞΙΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0695		adj									
GHW01642	Larissa	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	ΛΥΚΑ, for her	1st AD	GHW01642				other	yes						
GHW01643	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΔΑΙΠΥΛΑ	1st AD	SEG53 2003,		gen									
GHW01653	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΚΛΗΣ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0977		other									
GHW01658	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ |	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0702		adj									
GHW01660	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΕΥΦΟΡΒΟΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0697		adj									
GHW01661	Larissa (west	Larissa	Rhabdouchos	Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΚΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0735	Rhabdouchos	gen									
GHW01662	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΣΟΛΦΙΚΙΑ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0836		gen									
GHW01663	Larissa	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	ΣΕΡΤΑ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0865					yes	praenomen/c					
GHW01664	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΩΝ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 0785		gen									
GHW01676	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 0757		gen									
GHW01678	Larissa (A.	Larissa		Epitaph	ΠΥΘΟΥΝ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0717		adj									
GHW01679	Elateia	Gyrton		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΑΡΙΣΤΑ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 1069		gen									
GHW01681	Krannona	Krannon		Epitaph	ΑΦΡΟΔΙΣΙΑ	1st BC	SEG 15 1958,		gen									
GHW01684	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	ΕΙΜΙ ΚΑΛΗ	3rd AD	IG IX 2, 0658;		other									
GHW01687	Larissa (anc.	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΟΠΟΥΡΑ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0676											
GHW01691	Velestino	Pherai	Tegea	Funerary	ΚΑΛΛΙΑΣ of	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0430;	Tegea	gen									
GHW01693	Larissa	Larissa	Jewish	Funerary	ἐμε σο[—]...	Rom. Imp.	SEG 54 2004,											
GHW01706	Larissa	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	P(ublius) ·	Rom. Imp.	33 1983, 465		gen			yes	praenomen,					
GHW01709	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΤΙΜΑΣΙΠΟΛΙΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0721		adj									
GHW01710	Larissa (A.	Larissa		Epitaph	ΜΑΡΚΕ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0831						praenomen,					
GHW01711	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΚΑΡΠΙΑ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0892		other									
GHW01716	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΥΓΕΙΑ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0968		other									
GHW01717	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΜΕΛΑΝΘΟΥ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0705		adj									
GHW01718	Larissa	Larissa	Freedmen	Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ,	1st AD	GHW01718					yes						
GHW01721	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΜΟΙΒΕΥΣ	2nd BC	29 1979, 497		adj									
GHW01722	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ	2nd half 2nd	IG IX 2, 0685		adj									
GHW01724	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΥΠΑΤΡΕ	1st BC	SEG 15 1958,		gen									
GHW01725	Larissa?	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΕ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 1053;		gen									
GHW01733	Larissa (west	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΝΔΡΟΝΕΙΚΟΣ	2nd AD	IG IX 2, 0890											
GHW01736	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΣΥΜΜΑΧΕ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0750		gen				Greek					
GHW01737	Larissa (anc.	Larissa	Smyrna	Epitaph	ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΣ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0969	Smyrna	other				trianomina					
GHW01745	Larissa (anc.	Larissa		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΑ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0957		gen				1					
GHW01746	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΟΙΝΤΕΣ	Rom. Imp.	IX 2, 0791						praenomen,					
GHW01752	Krannona	Krannon		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 15 1958,		adj									
GHW01758	unknown	Larissa		Epitaph	[Π]ειθίδας /	4th BC	IX 2, 0710		adj									
GHW01769	Elateia	Gyrton		Epitaph	[ΠΟ]ΛΥΞΕΝΕ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 1070		gen									
GHW01770	Velestino	Pherai		Funerary	ΠΥΡΡΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 53 2003,		adj									
GHW01780	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	[- -]ΟΝ	4th AD	SEG 28 1978,		other									
GHW01783	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΑ	1st AD	IG IX 2, 0809		gen									
GHW01787	Larissa (A.	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ	Rom. Imp.	33 1983, 467		gen				praenomen,					
GHW01796	Larissa (anc.	Larissa	Jewish?	Epitaph	ΒΟΥΚΟΛΙΟΥΝ..	1st AD - after	SEG56 2006,		gen									
GHW01800	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΙΕΡΑ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		adj									
GHW01802	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΤΑΡΕΤΑ	2nd BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01803	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΜΕΙΔΕΙΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01804	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΟΥΣΑ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01805	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΡΜΙΟΝΑ	3rd BC	SEG35 1985,		adj									
GHW01807	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΙΚΕΛΑ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01808	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΟΥΡΥΠΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01809	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΙΛΕΑ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01810	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΕΑΝΟΥ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		adj					LNUM007	1977	Helly		Grec
GHW01811	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΤΑΝΟΥΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01812	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΟΠΛΟΥΝΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,							LNUM003				Grec
GHW01814	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01815	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΑ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,							LNUM005				Grec
GHW01816	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΑΤΑΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01817	Pétroporos	Pelinna		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ	2nd BC - ca	SEG 43 1993		gen					LNUM002			auparavant	Grec
GHW01818	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΕΙΣ	3rd BC	SEG 25 1971							LNUM008				Grec
GHW01820	Pétroporos	Pelinna		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΙΝΙΠΠΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 43 1993		adj									
GHW01821	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΑΕΙΣΥΛΑ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985											
GHW01822	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΥΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,											
GHW01823	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΙΠΠΟΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 25 1971											
GHW01824	Zesti	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΕΥΒΙΟΤΑ Η	1st AD	Gonnoi 288		gen									
GHW01856	Volos	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΕΚΟΥΝΔΑ	1st AD	GHW01856		gen				praenomen/c					
GHW01858	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΚΙΝΕΑ ΚΑΙ	5th BC	IG IX 2, 0426		adj									
GHW01881	Pharsalos	Pharsalos	Thebes	Epitaph	ΘΕΟΖΟΤΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 32 1982	Thebes										
GHW01882	Pharsalos?	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΙΑ	2nd half 2nd	SEG43 1993		gen									
GHW01883	Scotoussa?	Scotoussa		Funerary	ΤΟΝΔΕ	3rd BC	SEG43 1993		gen									
GHW01888	Kaloyiroi	Gomphoi?		Funerary	ΣΑΜΑ ΓΥΝΑ	4th BC	SEG 021924											
GHW01900	Krini	Euhydrion		Epitaph	ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΣ	3rd AD	AD 10 1926				other							
GHW01904	Achilleio	Antron?		Epitaph	Ἀμεινίχα /	3rd BC	AE 1933, Αρχ.		gen									
GHW01921	Néraïda or	unknown		Epitaph;	ΘΟΙΩΔΑΣ	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 0198		gen									
GHW01922	Néa	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΕΙΛΑΡΙΩΝ ΤΘ	Rom. Imp.	MDAI(A) 33											
GHW01932	Eretria	Eretria		Epitaph	[Ζ]ωσίμη	2nd AD	SEG 49 1999		gen									
GHW01938	Eretria	Eretria		Epitaph	ΧΕΙΡΙΑΣ	2nd BC	AD 11 (1927-		gen									Grec
GHW01945	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	3 names:	3rd BC	SEG 27 1977		gen									
GHW01946	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	ΣΙΒΥΛΛΗ	3rd BC	SEG 27 1977		gen									
GHW01949	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph;	ΑΛΙΠΑΤΟΣ by	Rom. Imp.	AD 29 (1973-											
GHW01954	Amygdali	Kerkinion?		Epitaph	ΑΦΡΟΔΕΚΤΩ	3rd AD	SEG 31 1981				other							
GHW01955	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΕΙΡΑΤΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 226;											
GHW01960	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΟΥΦΡΟΝΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 365;											
GHW01961	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΙΠΟΛΙ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 438;		adj									
GHW01962	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΝΑΞΙΛΑΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 301;											
GHW01963	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΜΑΧΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 415;							LNUM021	1984			Grec
GHW01964	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΣΙΛΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 225;											
GHW01967	Demetrias(so	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΜΗΛΑ	1st BC	SEG 42 1992		gen									
GHW01973	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΝΝΩ	3rd BC	SEG 29 1979		gen									
GHW01977	Atrax (Nord-	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΛΑ	4th BC	SEG 32 1982											Grec
GHW01978	Atrax (NE	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 32 1982											
GHW01981	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΜΑΧΙΔΑΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985											
GHW01982	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΑΡΙΔΑΜΑ	2nd BC	SEG 29 1979											
GHW01983	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΕΝΕΚΟΡΡΟΣ	2nd BC	IAtrax 329;											
GHW01984	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΑΕΙΣΑΡΕΤΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 310;											
GHW01985	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΙΝΕΙΣΙΠΟΛΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 300;											
GHW01987	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΝΟΠΟΛΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 376;											
GHW01988	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΒΥΚΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 304;											
GHW01989	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΦΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 316;											
GHW01999	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΜΕΝΕΙΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 263;							LNUM002				Grec
GHW02000	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΑΛΑΚΙΟΥΝ	4th BC	IAtrax 212;											
GHW02001	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΓΑΣΙΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 220;											
GHW02002	Atrax (lower	Atrax	Opontontian	Epitaph	Ἐχέλαος	3rd BC	SEG 32 1982	Opontontian Lokris										
GHW02003	Atrax (East	Atrax		Epitaph	ΞΕΝΑΡΧΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 378											
GHW02025	Néa	Phthiotic		Funerary	ΑΥΛΟΣ	1st AD	SEG28 1978						1 trianomina					
GHW02028	Elasson	Olosson		Epitaph	ΤΙΜΑΝΔΡΑ	4th BC	IG IX 2 1308;		gen									Grec
GHW02033	Kastro	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΜΕΝΕΙΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 379;											
GHW02034	Kastro	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΙΣΣΤΟΝΟΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax,											
GHW02035	Pharsalos	Pharsalos	Nile	Funerary	[— — — — —	2nd AD	SEG 43 1993	Nile										
GHW02037	unknown	unknown	Threptos	Funerary	ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡΙΩΝ	3rd AD or	IG IX 2 1372;					yes	trianomina	LNUM002			Pierre	Grec
GHW02062	Domeniko (A	Chyretiai		Epitaph	ΠΡΕΙΜΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0353;		other				praenomen					
GHW02066	Tyrnavos or	Phalanna	Azoros	Epitaph	α[ς	5th BC	SEG 47 1997	Azoros										
GHW02068	Larissa?	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΑΔΥΝΕΙΚΑ	2nd half 2nd	SEG 32 1982		gen									
GHW02069	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΒΡΥΛΛΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 273;											
GHW02070	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΥΛΑΚΙΔΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 449;		adj									
GHW02072	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΟΥΛΑΚΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 354;											
GHW02073	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΙΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 194;											
GHW02074	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΜΥΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 274;											
GHW02075	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΥΒΡΙΔΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 205;											
GHW02076	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΕΙΔΕΙΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 258;											
GHW02077	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΤΟΛΟΒΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 204;											
GHW02079	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΕΡΣΟΥΝ	3rd BC	IAtrax 284;											
GHW02080	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΟΣΘΕΝΕΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 240;											
GHW02082	Atrax (East	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΡΟΝΟΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 265;											
GHW02083	Atrax (East	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 278;											
GHW02086	Atrax (East	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΡΥΛΟΧΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 405;		adj									
GHW02095	Valostalos	Krannon		Funerary	Epigram for	2nd AD	AAA 5 1972		other									
GHW02099	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΣΤΑΡΕΤΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 222;											
GHW02100	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΣΤΙΟΥΝ	4th BC	IAtrax 184;											
GHW02109	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΙΚΩΝ	1st AD - 96	IG IX 2 0971		gen				praenomen					
GHW02117	Hypati	Hypata		Epitaph	ΚΛ ΥΓΕΙΝΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0055;						nomen, Greek					
GHW02123	Lamia	Lamia	slave	Funerary	ΕΝΘΑΔΕ	Christian	IG IX 2 0088;					yes						
GHW02137	Halmyros	Halos (IG)		Epitaph	ΕΛΠΙΣ	4th BC	IG IX 2 0122		gen									
GHW02149	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΝΔΡΕΑ[Σ]	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0149		gen									
GHW02169	Vlochos	Limnaion		Epitaph	ΜΕΓΑΛΟΚΛΕΑΣ	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995											
GHW02171	Vlochos	Limnaion		Epitaph	ΑΙΧΝΑΡΕΤΑ	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995											
GHW02173	Eretria	Eretria		Epitaph	[ΑΡ]ΙΣΤΩΝ	1st AD or later	SEG43 1993		gen									
GHW02179	Mikrothives	Phthiotic	Threptos	Epitaph	Διογενίς	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0184		gen									
GHW02187	Néraïda or	unknown	Mytilene	Epitaph	ΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0196	Mytilene	gen									
GHW02189	Eretria	Eretria		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΟΞΕΝΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0200;		gen									
GHW02190	Eretria	Eretria		Epitaph	ΠΕΤΘΑΛ[ΟΣ]	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0201;		adj									
GHW02191	Eretria	Eretria	Pleuron	Epitaph	ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0202;	Pleuron	gen									
GHW02193	Melitaia (A	Melitaia		Epitaph	ΜΕΛΙΤΑ	4th BC	IG IX 2 0210		gen									
GHW02198	Makryrachi	Ekkara?;	adoption?	Epitaph	ΕΥΤΥΧΟΣ ΤΟΝ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0227;		other									
GHW02204	Ambélia	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	Hellenistic	IG IX 2 0253;											
GHW02205	Pharsalos	Pharsalos		Funeral	Αὐρ(ηλία)	Rom Imp	IG IX 2			other			nomen					
GHW02206	Ayios Yorgios	Krannon?;		Funerary	ΔΙΟΚΛΕΑΣ by	5th BC	SEG 26 1976-			other								
GHW02207	Sophadès (A	Kierion		Epitaph	[Δ]ΑΜΟΣΙΑ	2nd BC	SEG 45 1995		adj									
GHW02208	Ayios	Kierion		Epitaph	[Μ]ΕΝΕΠΟΛΙΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 45 1995		gen									
GHW02209	Moscholouri	Kierion		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΓΕΝΗΣ	Rom Imp	SEG 53 2003											
GHW02210	Grammatiko	Thetonion		Funerary	Epigram for	5th BC	SEG42 1992											
GHW02211	Métamorphos	Limnaion		Epitaph	ΘΕΙΡΙΩΝ	5th BC	IG IX 2 0272;											
GHW02212	Palamas (A	Limnaion		Funerary	Funerary	2nd BC	SEG 45 1995		other									
GHW02224	Trikala (A	Trikka	doctor	Funerary	doctor ΓΗΡΥΣ	1st BC	SEG 53 2003											
GHW02225	Trikala	Trikka		Funerary	Hippias and	1st AD	SEG35 1985		other									
GHW02228	Agnandéro	Trikka (IG)		Epitaph	ΚΟΙΝΤΑ	Rom Imp	SEG 46 1996				other		1 praenomen					
GHW02233	Damasi (A	Phalanna		Funerary	Epigram for	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0336;		gen									
GHW02242	Dendrakia	Pharsalos	Akyphas Doris	Epitaph	ΜΙΚΚΑΛΟΣ	1st half 2nd	SEG 40 1990	Akyphas Doris	gen									
GHW02243	Dendrakia	Pharsalos	Pleuron	Epitaph	ΦΡΙΚΩΝ	1st half 2nd	IG IX 2 0401;	Pleuron	gen									
GHW02244	Remmatia	Pharsalos	Sidon / priest	Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0402;	Sidon / priest	gen									
GHW02246	Ano-	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΑΦΘΟΝΕΤΩ	5th BC	IG IX 2 0405;		gen									

GHW02248	Ano-	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0407;		gen						
GHW02253	Larissa	Larissa?		Epitaph	[ΗΡ]ΑΚΛΕΙΔΑΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 0434		adj						
GHW02254	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΣΑΜΙΣ	4th BC	IG IX 2 0437		adj						
GHW02257	Larissa	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΝΙΧΟΜΑΧΑ	2nd BC	IG IX 2		adj						
GHW02258	Kokkina	Scotoussa?		Epitaph	[- -]	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0449		gen			cognomen?			
GHW02262	Ayios Yorgios	Krannon		Funerary	Epigram for	3rd BC	SEG54 2004		gen						
GHW02264	Krannona (A	Krannon		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΣΙΠΠΟΣ	3rd BC	27 1977 201		adj						
GHW02265	Mandra	Atrax		Epitaph	ΛΑΤΤΑΜΕ	2nd BC	SEG29 1979		gen						
GHW02268	Kastro	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΙΝΟΜΑΧΑ	Hellenistic	IG IX 2 0481;								
GHW02269	Loutro	Atrax		Epitaph	ΞΕΝΟΚΛΕΑ	3rd BC?	IG IX 2, 0482;								
GHW02292	Larissa (IG)	Larissa		Funerary	ΠΟΥΤΑΛΑ	3rd BC	SEG 57 2007		adj						
GHW02293	Larissa?	Larissa		Funerary	ΣΩΣΙΠΑΤΡΑ	1st AD	IG IX 2 0639;		other						
GHW02294	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	ΣΤΗΛΗ	1st BC	SEG 30 1980		other						
GHW02296	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΜΦΙΜΑΧΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 183;								
GHW02297	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΡΓΕΙΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 233;								
GHW02299	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΡΜΟΞΟΥ	4th BC	IAtrax 234;								
GHW02309	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΙΤΟΛΑΟΣ	2nd BC	IAtrax 409;		gen						
GHW02312	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΤΘΟΝΕΙΤΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 238;								
GHW02317	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΜΕΙΤΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 250;								
GHW02318	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΓΙΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 180;								
GHW02324	Larissa	Larissa?		Epitaph	Ἀνθυ<λλ>ίς	Rom Imp	SEG 46 1996		gen			praenomen			
GHW02327	Larissa	Larissa?	freedman	Epitaph	ΛΕΟΝΤΩ	1st BC	SEG 46 1996				yes				
GHW02329	Larissa	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΛΥΚΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 46 1996		adj						
GHW02330	Larissa	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΒΑΘΥΛΙΣ	1st BC	SEG46 1996			gen					
GHW02342	Larissa (A	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟ	1st BC	IG IX 2 0734		gen						
GHW02343	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΔΕΞΙΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0737		gen						
GHW02344	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΔΙΩΝ	1st BC	IG IX 2 0738		gen						
GHW02374	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕ	1st AD	IG IX 2 0780		gen						
GHW02376	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΣΙΑ	1st BC	IG IX 2 0783		gen						
GHW02380	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	Κλειταγόρα	4th BC	IG IX 2 0793		gen						
GHW02394	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2		gen			Greek			
GHW02399	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΟΚΚΗΙΑ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0829		gen						
GHW02400	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	[- -]Ε | [- -	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0835			gen		trianomina			
GHW02402	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	ΣΤΑΘΙ ΠΕΛΑΣ	Rom Imp	SEG 30 1980		gen			nomen			
GHW02403	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΛΟΥΚΙΕ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0844					praenomen			
GHW02404	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0846		gen			Greek			
GHW02405	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	[ΠΡΕ]ΙΜΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0847		gen			praenomen			
GHW02409	Larissa?	Larissa	Freedman	Epitaph	ΔΕΚΜΑ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0852				yes				
GHW02410	Larissa?	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	ΛΕΙΤΗ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0855		gen			1Greek			
GHW02411	Larissa	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	ΠΡΙΜΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0857				yes	praenomen			
GHW02419	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	ΜΝΗΜΗΣ	2nd AD	SEG 25 1971			other					
GHW02420	Larissa	Larissa	grandmother	Epitaph	ΟΙ ΕΓΟΝΟΙ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0877								
GHW02428	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	Αὔγη Γάϊον	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0897			other		1Greek			
GHW02436	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	Λάϊνα	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0907			other		1 Greek			
GHW02437	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΜΑΡΚΙΑ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0910		gen			1 praenomen			
GHW02439	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	ΟΥΝΟΜΑ	Rom Imp	SEG27 1977			other		1greek			
GHW02449	Larissa (A	Larissa		Epitaph	ΒΛΑΝΔΟΝ	1st BC	IG IX 2 0929			other					
GHW02451	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph;	ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0931		other						
GHW02453	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	[- -]ΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0933			other		1 Greek			
GHW02456	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΦΛΑΒΙΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0938			other		1 nomen			
GHW02462	Larissa (west	Larissa		Epitaph	ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 0945		other			1 praenomen			
GHW02466	Larissa?	Larissa		Funerary	ἀναδε[— —]	Christian	SEG 37 1987								
GHW02468	Nikaia	Larissa		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΑ	Rom Imp	SEG 42 1992		other						
GHW02471	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΟΙΝΙΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0667								
GHW02472	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΙ	1st AD	SEG 35 1985		other			1 praenomen			
GHW02482	Larissa?	Larissa	jewish	Epitaph	ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ	Rom Imp	SEG 56 2006		gen			praenomen			
GHW02484	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 0672								
GHW02507	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	[- -]Ε ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 1016					nomen			
GHW02521	Elateia	Gyrton		Epitaph	ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 1066		adj						
GHW02524	Elateia	Gyrton		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΞΕΙΝΑ	2nd AD	IG IX 2 1071		gen						
GHW02531	Vathyrevma/V	unknown		Epitaph	ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣ	2nd AD	IG IX 2 1087;			other					
GHW02537	Volos	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΒΙΟΤΗ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 1144		gen						
GHW02547	Volos	Demetrias		Epitaph?	[Α]ΒΟΥΔΙΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 1162		gen						
GHW02548	Volos? ("on	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΛΟΝΓΕΙΝΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 1163		other			praenomen			
GHW02549	Volos? (near	Demetrias	freedmen	Epitaph	ΓΑΙΟΣ	1st BC	IX 2 1166		gen		yes				
GHW02553	Volos?	Demetrias		Epitaph;	ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 1170								
GHW02555	Volos	Demetrias	Athens	Epitaph	Αὖλος	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 1172	Athens	gen						
GHW02565	Léchonia	Methone		Epitaph?	ΛΟΥΚΙΟΣ	Rom Imp	IG IX 2 1200					trianomina			
GHW02583	Tyrnavos?	Phalanna		Epitaph	ΓΟΡΓΙΑΣ	1st AD	IG IX 2 1248		gen						
GHW02584	$$"Phalanna"	Phalanna		Epitaph	ΙΑΤΤΟΥ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 1249		adj						
GHW02589	Ambélônas	Phalanna		Epitaph	ΝΕΣΤΩΡ	1st AD	IG IX 2 1254								
GHW02591	Tyrnavos (A	Phalanna		Epitaph	ΙΕ' | ΚΕΡΔΩΝ	2nd AD	IG IX 2 1256;		gen						
GHW02619	Mikrothives?	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΑ	4th BC	IG IX 2 1364								
GHW02626	Larissa	Larissa	Trikka	Funerary		4th AD?	AD 16 1960	Trikka							
GHW02627	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΓΑΕΙΕ	1st BC	AE 1910					praenomen			
GHW02628	Dolichi (A	Doliche	Elasson	Epitaph	ΕΥΦΟΡΒΟΣ	1st AD	AE 1923		gen						
GHW02629	Dolichi	Doliche		Epitaph	ΑΡΤΕΜΩ for	2nd AD - ca	AE 1923		gen	other					
GHW02632	Miléa	Doliche		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΝΙΚΟΣ	3rd BC	AE 1923		gen						
GHW02633	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	ΑΡΩ	3rd BC	AE 1923		gen						
GHW02634	Miléa	Doliche?		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤ	2nd BC	AE 1923		gen						
GHW02636	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ +	3rd BC	AE 1923		gen						
GHW02637	$$Kastri	Azoros		Epitaph	ΧΡΥΣΟΓΟΝΟΣ	3rd BC	AE 1923		gen						
GHW02638	Elasson	Olosson	freedman	Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	1st BC	AE 1916		gen		yes				
GHW02643	Elasson(	Olosson		Funerary	ΚΛΕΟΔΑΜΟΣ	5th BC	SEG 40 1990		gen						
GHW02645	Elasson	Olosson?		Epitaph	ΑΒΡΙΑΣ	1st BC	AE 1916		gen						
GHW02647	Pythion	Pythion		Epitaph	ΠΑΝΤΟΡΔΑΝΑ	2nd BC - ca	AE 1924								
GHW02653	unknown	Chyretiai		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΩΝ	1st BC - ca	AE 1917		gen						
GHW02666	Lamia	Lamia?		Epitaph	ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΝΩ	2nd BC —	SEG 03 1929		gen						
GHW02672	Dogani Ayias	Mopsion?		Epitaph	ΡΟΥΦΑ	Rom Imp	AE 1933 Αρχ		gen			praenomen			
GHW02676	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	[- -]ΟΣ	3rd BC	AE 1910		adj						
GHW02677	Itéa/Itia	Phyllos	hieromantis	Epitaph	ΣΤΡΑΤΩ	2nd AD	BE 1951 125;			other					
GHW02680	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΜΕΛΙΣΣΑ	3rd BC	AE 1910		adj						
GHW02684	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ	Rom Imp	R.Phil. 35			gen					
GHW02685	Larissa	Larissa	Jewish	Epitaph	ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΣ	2nd AD	SEG 56 2006								
GHW02691	Stylida (baths	Lamia?		Epitaph	ΕΠΑΦΡΩ	Rom Imp	SEG 03 1929		gen						
GHW02694	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΡΜΟΔΙΟΣ	4th BC	AE 1910								
GHW02696	Larissa (A	Larissa	Larissa (anc	Epitaph	a couple's	1st AD	AE 1910		other						
GHW02753	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΣΩΠΑΤΡΑ	2nd BC	Gonnoi 242		gen						
GHW02756	Tsourba	Gonnoi		Funerary		3rd BC	AE 1973 248;		gen						
GHW02757	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 470								
GHW02759	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	Ἀγάθουν |	4th BC	SEG34 1984		adj						
GHW02782	Polydendri	Meliboia		Epitaph	ΑΝΦΙΟΝΕΙΑ Α	5th BC	JHS 33 (1913,		gen						
GHW02784	unknown	city		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΠΟΛΙΣ	4th BC?	Berytus 16								
GHW02788	Demetrias(ba	Demetrias		Funerary	ΕΥΣΤΑΘΙΑ) -	ca 400 AD	SEG 26 1976-			other					
GHW02800	Atrax (lower	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 469								
GHW02803	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	[Σ]ΑΜΙΑ	2nd BC	IAtrax, 463;		gen						
GHW02806	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΛΚΙΜΑΧΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 221;								
GHW02807	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Funerary	Epigram for	1st AD	SEG 37 1987								
GHW02810	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	Ἄβρα	4th BC	SEG 34 1984								
GHW02812	Atrax (ville	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 189;								
GHW02814	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΙΜΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 448;		adj						
GHW02816	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΦΘΟΝΗΤΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 453;		gen						
GHW02817	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	[Σ]ΟΥΦΡΟΝΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 292;								
GHW02818	Atrax (West	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΔΟΚΟΥ	4th BC	IAtrax, 228;								
GHW02824	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΥΡΡΙΧΙΔΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 289;								
GHW02941	Demetrias	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΑΡΕΣΤΟΣ	Rom Imp	SEG ;		gen						
GHW02999	Larissa (A	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΛΩΔΙΑ	Rom Imp	SEG 34 1984		gen			nomen			
GHW03575	Larissa (A	Larissa		Epitaph	ΓΑΙΕ	Rom Imp	SEG 52 2002					trianomina			
GHW03577	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΡΑΣΥΛΟΧΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 480;		gen						
GHW03581	Larissa	Larissa	Cyzique -	Funerary	ΦΟΙΒΟΣ	2nd half 2nd	SEG 32 1982	Cyzicus - Gladiator							
GHW03584	Larissa (A	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΛΠΙΣ	3rd AD	SEG 35 1985								
GHW03585	Larissa (A	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΠΠΟΣ	1st half 2nd	SEG 35 1985		gen						
GHW03587	Sykia	Malloia		Epitaph	ΣΥΦΡΟΣ	5th BC	SEG 55 2005								
GHW03588	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	[- -]ΝΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 473;		adj						Grec
GHW03589	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΜΦΙΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax231;								
GHW03590	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΝΟΥ	3rd BC	IAtrax 377								
GHW03591	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΕΡΣΟΥΝ	4th BC	AD 34 1979								
GHW03600	Chalkiadès	Scotoussa		Epitaph	ΑΤΕΛΕΒΑΙΑ	4th BC	AE 1930 p 96-								
GHW03601	Pharsalos	Pharsalos		Epitaph	ΑΓΑΠΑ	5th BC	SEG 19 1963								
GHW03603	Larissa	Larissa	Atrax	Funerary	ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΣ	5th BC	SEG 46 1996	Atrax	gen						
GHW03613	Krannona	Crannon		Epitaph	[- -]ΑΙΝ- -	1st BC	SEG 35 1985,		adj						
GHW03614	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΛΥΚΟΣ for	4th AD?	SEG35 1985			other					
GHW03617	Eretria	Eretria		Epitaph	Nikias son of	5th BC	SEG 38 1988		other						
GHW03618	Eretria	Eretria		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΣ	2nd half 1st	SEG 38 1988		gen						
GHW03619	Krini	Euhydrion		Funerary	ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΣ	2nd AD	SEG 37 1987		other						
GHW03620	Vlochos	Limnaion		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΣΙΠΠΟΣ	1st half 2nd	SEG45 1995		gen						
GHW03621	Ayios Yorgios	Krannon		Epitaph	ΑΛΚΑΙΟΣ	1st half 2nd	SEG 32 1982								
GHW03622	Ayios Yorgios	Krannon		Epitaph	ΣΙΜΥΛΙΣ	2nd BC	SEG 32 1982								
GHW03632	Dolichi (A	Doliche	Bithynia /	Funerary	ΙΑΤΡΟΝ	2nd AD?	SEG 53 2003	Bithynia / doctor							
GHW03633	Kastri	Doliche		Funerary	ἄνδρα Φίλα	Rom Imp	SEG 37 1987		other						
GHW03634	Dolichi (A	Doliche		Epitaph	ΑΝΦΩΤΙΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 1278;		gen						
GHW03638	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	ΟΙΝΗΣ	2nd BC	IG IX 2 1307;		gen						
GHW03645	Pythion (A	Pythion		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ	3rd BC	IG IX 2 1289;		gen						
GHW03646	Topoliani	Doliche?		Epitaph	[- -]ΣΑΝΙΑΣ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 1291;		gen						
GHW03651	Kastro	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΝΔΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ	1st AD?	PAAH 1910,		adj						
GHW03652	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΑ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		adj						
GHW03657	Nikaia	Larissa		Epitaph	ΙΟΥΛΙΑ	Rom. Imp.	SEG42 1992,			other		1 nomen, 2			
GHW03665	Azoros (north	Azoros		Epitaph	ΚΑΛΛΙΠΟΛΙΣ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03666	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	ΘΕΙΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03667	Azoros?	Azoros		Epitaph	ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03668	Azoros?	Azoros		Epitaph	ΓΑΣΙΔΑΜΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03669	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	Εὐπάτρα |	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03670	Nikaia	Azoros		Epitaph	ΘΗΡΟΜΑΧΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03671	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	Ἀντιγένης	4th BC	SEG35 1985,		gen						
GHW03673	Azoros	Azoros		Funerary	ΚΑΛΛΙΚΛΕΑΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03674	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	Νικαγόρα |	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03690	Zarkino	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΔΑΣ	3rd BC	AE 1945-47,								
GHW03703	Phiki	unknown		Epitaph	[- -]ΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ -	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		adj						
GHW03708	Krannona	Krannon		Epitaph	Σπερχίς	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03710	Azoros (north	Azoros		Epitaph	ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03711	Azoros (au	Azoros		Epitaph	ΛΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03713	Pythion	Pythion		Epitaph	ΑΡΥΒΒΑΣ	2nd BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03715	Pythion (sans	Pythion		Epitaph	ΔΕΡΔΑΣ	4th BC	SEG35 1985,		gen						
GHW03726	Elasson	Olosson?		Epitaph	ΜΕΓΑΛΟΚΛΕΙΑ	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1306		gen						
GHW03728	Pythion	Pythion		Epitaph	[ΠΑ]ΝΤΑΡ[ΕΤΑ	3rd BC - ca	SEG43 1993,		gen						
GHW03731	Pythion	Pythion		Funerary	ΜΝΑΜΑ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03742	Likoudi	Azoros		Epitaph	ΜΟΛΛΑΚΑ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03743	Likoudi	Azoros		Epitaph	ΧΑΙΡΩΝ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03744	Likoudi	Azoros		Epitaph	ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗ[Σ]	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03745	Likoudi	Azoros		Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03746	Likoudi	Azoros		Epitaph	ΑΥΤΟΒΟΥΛΑ	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03748	Azoros?	Azoros		Epitaph	ΗΒΑ	4th BC	SEG35 1985,		gen						
GHW03766	Polynéri	Euhydrion		Epitaph	D. M. | P. AEL.	Rom. Imp.	45 1995, 598			other		trianomina			
GHW03814	Volos	Demetrias	uios	Epitaph	[ΤΙΤΟΣ]	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 1164		gen			praenomen,			
GHW03828	Pythion	Pythion		Epitaph	ΜΙΚΡΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG35 1985,		gen						
GHW03829	Sykea	Malloia		Epitaph	ΕΥΤΑΓΟΣ	1st BC	SEG35 1985,		gen						
GHW03830	Evangélismos	Malloia		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΦΑΝ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03831	Evangélismos	Malloia		Epitaph	ΝΕΙΚΑΣΙΠΟΛΙ	1st BC	SEG 40 1990,			gen					
GHW03834	Achinos	Echinos		Epitaph	FAMILY TOMB	2nd BC	SEG 23 1968,		gen						
GHW03838	Likoudi	Azoros		Epitaph	ΙΧΘΥΛΟΧΟΣ - -	4th BC	SEG35 1985,		adj						
GHW03840	Larissa?	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΡΑΜΟ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 32 1982,								
GHW03841	Krini	Euhydrion		Funerary	ΕΦΕΣΙΑ -	3rd AD	SEG 45 1995,								
GHW03843	Néraïda	Lamia?		Epitaph	ΣΩΠΟΛΙΣ	2nd AD	SEG 16 1959,		gen						
GHW03852	Eleftherai	Krannon		Epitaph	[Ἐμ]πεδίουν	4th BC	SEG 35 1985,		adj						
GHW03854	Larissa	Larissa	seer	Epitaph	ΣΑΤΥΡΑ Α	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03857	Larissa (135	Larissa		Funerary	ΜΝΗΜΟΝΙΣ	2nd AD	SEG35 1985,								
GHW03858	Larissa (22 -	Larissa	Jewish	Epitaph	[- -]ΤΗΡ ΤΩ	4th AD	SEG 56 2006,								
GHW03859	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΣΑΤΥΡΑ	3rd BC - ca	SEG 35 1985,		adj						
GHW03860	Larissa	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	ΕΥΤΥΧΣ	1st BC	SEG 35 1985,				yes				
GHW03862	Larissa	unknown	Larissa	Epitaph?	Πρωτόμαχος	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,	Larissa							
GHW03865	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΥΟΔΟΣ ΚΑΙ	3rd AD	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03869	Makrakome	Makrakômè		Epitaph	ΛΕΩΝ	Hellenistic	SEG 15 1958,		gen						
GHW03876	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΕΤΘΑΛΟΣ	1st half 2nd	SEG 42 1992,		adj						
GHW03878	Larissa	Larissa		Funerary	Αἰνοπαθῆ	3rd BC	SEG 42 1992,		adj						
GHW03886	Velestino	Pherai	Larissa	Funerary	ΕΝΘΑΔΕ	4th BC?	SEG 34 1984,	Larissa							
GHW03897	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΞΑΝΘΙΠΠΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 177;								
GHW03898	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΣΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 337;		adj						
GHW03899	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΕΡΑΙΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 472;		adj						
GHW03900	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΥΠΑΝΕΜΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 293;								
GHW03901	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΛΑΔΟΚΟΥ	4th BC	IAtrax, 356;								
GHW03902	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΕΡΣΟΥΝ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 219;,								
GHW03903	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 216;								
GHW03904	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΙΑ	2nd BC	IAtrax, 333;								
GHW03905	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΑ	2nd BC	IAtrax, 328;								
GHW03907	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΡΟΥΤΤΑΛΙΣ	3rd BC	34 1984, 524								
GHW03908	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΑΝΙΧΑ	4th BC	SEG 34 1984,								
GHW03909	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΤΟΝΟΑ	4th BC	SEG 34 1984,								
GHW03910	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΑΥΜΑΡΕΤΑ	3rd BC - ca	SEG 34 1984,		gen						
GHW03911	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΚΥΔΕΙΣ	3rd BC - ca	34 1984, 528		adj						
GHW03912	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΤΟΝΑΣ	3rd BC	SEG 34 1984,		adj						
GHW03913	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΕΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 343;		gen						
GHW03914	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΙΔΙΝΑ	4th BC	IAtrax,174;								
GHW03915	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΟΦΙΛΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 399;		adj						
GHW03916	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΤΥΡΑ	3rd BC - ca	IAtrax, 217;		gen						
GHW03917	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	Εὐδέξιος	4th BC	SEG 34 1984,								
GHW03918	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΥΡΑΝΕΑΣ	4th BC	SEG 34 1984,								
GHW03920	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΒΛΙΧΑΝΑ	4th BC	SEG 34 1984,								
GHW03921	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	Fragment: - -	2nd BC	IAtrax,		adj						
GHW03923	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	Μάξιμε	1st half 1st BC	SEG 34 1984,		gen			praenomen,			
GHW03925	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡΑΤΗ	2nd half 2nd	SEG34 1984,		gen						
GHW03926	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΙΣ	4th BC	AD 39 1984								
GHW03935	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΟΥ	3rd BC - ca	IAtrax, 394;		adj						
GHW03939	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Dedicace?	[- -]ΑΕΙΔΙΑ	2nd BC	IAtrax, 128;		adj						
GHW03941	Atrax (site)	Atrax	doctor	Funerary	the doctors	3rd BC	SEG 34 1984,		other				LNUM006	Ne se	Grec
GHW03942	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΕΡΕΚΛΕΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 295;	GHW03943							
Atrax (north	Atrax	Thebes		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΖΟΤΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 34 1984,	Thebes GHW03944	Atrax						
(north	Atrax			Epitaph	ΣΑΜΟΙΤ[ΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax, 290;								
GHW03947	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΙΛΕΑ	4th BC	IAtrax, 193;								
GHW03948	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	[Ἑ]ρμόννο[ς]	4th BC	IAtrax, 280;								
GHW03949	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΑΜΥΛΛΕΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax, 201;								
GHW03950	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΑΝΙΧΑ	4th BC	IAtrax, 256;								
GHW03955	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΟΥΦΡΟΝΑ	4th BC	IAtrax, 291;								
GHW03956	Zarkos	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΣΣΤΑΣ	1st half 2nd	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03957	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax, 279;								
GHW03958	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΕΡ[Δ]ΙΑΣ	2nd BC	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03959	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΑΥΛΛΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 294;								
GHW03960	Atrax (East	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΛΑ	4th BC	SEG 32 1982,								
GHW03961	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΣΤΑΣ	3rd BC	SEG 32 1982,								
GHW03962	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΞΕΝΟΚΡΙΤΑ	4th BC	SEG32 1982,								
GHW03966	Krannona	Krannon		Epitaph?	ΑΙΧΝΟΥΝ	2nd BC - ca.	SEG 35 1985,						LNUM006		Grec
GHW03967	Ayios Yorgios	Krannon		Epitaph	[ΤΙ]ΜΟΛΚΛΙΑΣ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		adj						
GHW03972	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Funerary	Funerary	1st half 2nd	SEG 35 1985,		other						
GHW03973	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΗΣΔΙΣ (ou [- -	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,								
GHW03974	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΔΙΔΥΜΙΣ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03976	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	Κρατιέας	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		adj						
GHW03977	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣ	2nd AD	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03978	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΕΥΒΙΟΤΑ	2nd BC	SEG35 1985,		gen						
GHW03979	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΓΟΝΗ	2nd AD	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03980	Dendra	Argoussa		Epitaph	3 names :	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,		gen						
GHW03981	Dendra	Argoussa	Larissa	Epitaph	ΒΑΒΥΛΛΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 35 1985,	Larissa							
GHW04153	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph?	[ΑΘΗ]ΝΟΔΩΡ	1st BC	IG IX 2, 0623		gen						
GHW04425A	Domeniko?	Chyretiai		Funerary	ΕΠΠΗΔΟΜΗ...	5th BC	SEG 31 1981,								
				Epigram	(epigram for		569; AE 1917,								
GHW04713	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	[Ε]ΠΙΜΕΝΑ	3rd BC	Gonnoi 235		gen						
GHW04804	Sophadès	Kierion		Epitaph	ΘΗΚΑΙΑ	4th BC	SEG33 1983		adj						
GHW04915	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΣ	2nd BC	SEG 34 1984		gen						
GHW04916	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΝΙΚ[Α]ΣΙΛΑ	3rd BC	SEG 34 1984,		adj						
GHW04919	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΝΑΣΟΣ	3rd AD	SEG 34 1984,		gen						
GHW04932	Kanapitsa	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΠΑΥΛΟΣ	Christian	SEG 34 1984,		gen						
GHW04933	Demetrias	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΑ	2nd BC	SEG 34 1984		gen						
GHW04935	Demetrias	Demetrias		Epitaph	a) ΖΩΕΙΛΟΣ	3rd AD	SEG34 1984,		gen						
GHW04955	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΝΙΠΑ	5th BC	IAtrax 173								
GHW04969a	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 46 1996,								
GHW04969b	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΠΠΑ	Rom Imp	SEG 46 1996		gen						
GHW04970	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΡΧΙΝΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 46 1996		gen						
GHW04971	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 46 1996,		gen						
GHW04972	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΑΓΟΡΑ	Hellenistic	SEG 46 1996		gen						
GHW04973	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΛΕΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΗ	Hellenistic	SEG 46 1996,		gen						
GHW04974	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΣΩΣΙΓΕΝΗΣ	Hellenistic	SEG46 1996		gen						
GHW04975	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΤΙΜΟΞΕΝΑ	Hellenistic	4SEG 6 1996,		gen						
GHW04976	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΚΑ	Hellenistic	SEG 46 1996		gen						
GHW04978	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΣΥΡΑ	4th BC	SEG 46 1996,		gen						
GHW04979	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΜΝΑΣΩΝ	Hellenistic	SEG 46 1996,		gen						
GHW05370	Miléa	Doliche		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΜΑΧΟΣ	2nd AD	SEG 42 1992		gen						
GHW05371	Miléa	Doliche		Epitaph	ΕΥΜΗΛΟΣ	2nd AD	SEG 42 1992,		gen						
GHW05389A	Miléa	Doliche		Epitaph	Top	2nd AD	SEG 42 1992								
GHW05389B	Miléa	Doliche		Epitaph	Epitaph of	2nd AD	SEG 42 1992,								
GHW05408	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΜΒΡΟΤΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 210;								
GHW05409	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΔΑΜΟΣ	2nd BC	IAtrax, 391;								
GHW05411	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΕΡΕΝΙΚΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 206;								
GHW05413	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΛΕΙΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax,208;								
GHW05414	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΑ	4th BC	IAtrax, 200;								
GHW05415	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	2nd BC	IAtrax 388;								
GHW05416	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΘΘΟΝΕΙΤΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 237;								
GHW05417	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΓΙΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 181;								
GHW05428	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	Θαυμαρέτα	4th BC	IAtrax 363;								
GHW05431	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΛΥΣΙΔΙΚΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 196;								
GHW05432	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΟ[ΥΝ	4th BC	IAtrax 229;								
GHW05433	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΠΑΡΤΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 384;								
GHW05434	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΝΒΡΟΤΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 211;								
GHW05437	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΦΡΟΣΥΝΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 246;								
GHW05438	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΤΟΔΙΚΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 414;								
GHW05440	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 393;		adj						
GHW05442	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΡΥΝΙΣΚΕ	2nd BC	IAtrax 461;		gen						
GHW05443	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΑΡΟΥΝΙΔΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 272;								
GHW05444	Kaloyiroi	unknown		Epitaph	ΜΟΝΙΜΟΣ	2nd BC	SEG 43 1993		gen						
GHW05451	Rachoula	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΥΝΑΓΟΣ	1st half 2nd	SEG 43 1993		adj						
GHW05452	Rachoula	Atrax		Epitaph	[ΑΡ]ΙΣΤΟΝΟΥ	1st half 1st BC	SEG 43 1993		gen						
GHW05453	Rachoula	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ	1st AD	AD 43 1988		gen						
GHW05454	Rachoula	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΓΕΙΣΙΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 432;		adj						
GHW05456	Evangélismos	Larissa		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ	2nd BC - ca	SEG 43 1993		adj						
GHW05460	Homolio	Eurymenai		Epitaph	ΣΙΜΥΛΙΣ	3rd BC	SEG 43 1993			adj					
GHW05473	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΑΣΙΧΑ	2nd BC - ca	SEG43 1993			gen					
GHW05483	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΜΦΙΑΣ	3rd BC	SEG 34 1984								
GHW05484	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΡΟΝΟΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 381;								
GHW05486	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΑΝΔΡΕΔΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 371;								
GHW05487	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΟΤΙΜΜΙΔΑΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 251;								
GHW05488	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 397;		adj						
GHW05489	Atrax (site)	Atrax	GYRTON	Epitaph	[- -]	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995	Gyrton	adj						
GHW05494	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 302;								
GHW05498	Krini	Euhydrion		Funerary	ΗΝ ΕΣΟΡΑΣ	3rd AD	SEG 45 1995		other						
GHW05499	Larissa	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΜΕΝΟΥΝ	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995		adj						
GHW05503	Domeniko(A	Chyretiai		Epitaph	ΑΘΗΝΑΕΙ	2nd half 1st	SEG 45 1995		gen						
GHW05506	Velestino	Pherai	Adamantia	Epitaph	ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995	Adamantia							
GHW05507	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΑ	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995								
GHW05508	Achinos	Echinos		Epitaph	ΣΩΤΗΡΙΣ	Rom Imp	SEG 45 1995		gen						
GHW05509	Demetrias	Demetrias	Nikopolos	Epitaph	Αὐφιδία	Rom Imp	SEG 45 1995	Nikopolos	gen			nomen			
GHW05511	Demetrias	Demetrias	Pherai	Epitaph	ΑΓΑΘΟΥΝ	Hellenistic	SEG 45 1995	Pherai	adj						
GHW05512	Platanos	Halos?		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 45 1995		gen						
GHW05513	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΟΙΝΕ	4th BC	SEG 45 1995								
GHW05514	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΙΟΣ	3rd BC	45 1995 571								
GHW05515	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΠΟΛΙΣ	4th BC	SEG 45 1995								

GHW05516	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΙΠΠΟΜΑΧΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995										
GHW05518	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΛΕΟΝΤΟΜΕΝΕ	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995		adj								
GHW05519	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 45 1995										
GHW05521	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΑΙΝΥΛΛΑ	4th BC	SEG 45 1995						LNUM007	1977	Helly		Grec
GHW05522	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΠΟΛΙΣ	4th BC	SEG 45 1995										
GHW05523	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΜΕΙΛΑ	4th BC	SEG 45 1995										
GHW05529	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΙΜΥΛΟΣ	2nd BC	SEG 45 1995		gen				LNUM003			Ne se	Grec
GHW05530	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΑΛΛΕΝΙΚΑ	4th BC	SEG 45 1995						LNUM003				Grec
GHW05532	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΑΡΟΠΙΣ	4th BC	SEG 45 1995										
GHW05536	Larissa	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΝΕΙΚΗ	Rom Imp	SEG 45 1995										
GHW05538	Scotoussa	Scotoussa		Epitaph	ΟΛΥΜΠΙΧΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 45 1995		adj								
GHW05539	Domeniko?	Chyretiai?		Epitaph	ΑΣΙΔΗΜΕ	2nd half 2nd	SEG45 1995		gen								
GHW05546	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΓΗΣΑΝΔ[ΡΟΣ	2nd BC	SEG 46 1996										
GHW05547	Gélanthi	Gomphoi?		Epitaph	ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	2nd half 2nd	SEG 46 1996			other							
GHW05551	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΜΕΛΑΝΘΙΟΣ -	Hellenistic	47 1997 764;										
GHW05552	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΛΑΙΧΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05553	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΜΕΝΕΙΑ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05555	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΨΕΥΔΩΝ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05556	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΣΚΟΠΑΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05558	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05560	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΙΒΟΥΛ	Hellenistic	SEG47 1997		gen								
GHW05561	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΡΧΕΔΗΜΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05562	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05563	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΚΥΝΩΝ -	Hellenistic	SEG47 1997										
GHW05564	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΙΣΧΙΝΑΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05568	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΜΝΑΣΙΓΟΝΑ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05569	Mikrothives	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΑΦΘΟΝΗΤΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05591	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	Ἄβρα	4th BC	SEG47 1997										Grec
GHW05594	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ	1st AD	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05599	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΟΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ	2nd BC	SEG 47 1997		adj				LNUM003				Grec
GHW05600	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΙΠΠΟΜΑΧΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		adj				LNUM003				Grec
GHW05602	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΕΤΘΑΛΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		adj								
GHW05603	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΟΤΤΥΦΑ	4th BC	Bull Ep										
GHW05604	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΦΑΜΑ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05605	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΟΑ	2nd BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05606	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΟΠΛΟΥΝΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05607	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΑ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05610	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΣΤΟΦΥΛΙΔΑΣ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05611	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΙΜΑ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05612	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΛΥΣΙΧΑ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		adj								
GHW05616	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΠΟΛΙ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05617	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΑΤΥΡΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05618	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΙΟΜΕΙΔΕΙΣ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05619	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΟΡΜΙΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05621	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΙΑ	3rd BC	SEG47 1997		adj								
GHW05622	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΛΑΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		adj								
GHW05623	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΝΟΥ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05624	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΕΜΙΣΣΤΟΥ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05627	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΕΛΕΙΑ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997										
GHW05628	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΔΙΚΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		adj								
GHW05631	Kastri	Phalanna?		Epitaph	ΓΛΑΥΚΙΑΣ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 47 1997,		other								
GHW05632	Kastri	Phalanna?		Epitaph	ΑΡΧΙΑΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05633	Scotoussa	Scotoussa		Epitaph	ΑΤΤΥΛΑ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		adj								
GHW05635	Scotoussa	Scotoussa	Boumeliteia	Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΡΧΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997	Boumeliteia									
GHW05641	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΝΟΥΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		gen								
GHW05642	Sykourio	Gyrton (BH)		Epitaph	Μάξιμος	Rom Imp	SEG47 1997			other		1 praenomen					
GHW05643	Sykourio	Gyrton (BH)		Epitaph	ΠΟ[ΛΥ]ΦΙΛΑ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997		adj								
GHW05644	Sykourio	Gyrton (BH)		Epitaph	Family tomb	3rd BC	SEG47 1997		adj								
GHW05648	Evangélismos	Gyrton (BH)		Epitaph	ΚΟΡΑΙΝ[Ε]ΤΑ	4th BC	SEG 47 1997			adj							
GHW05649	Evangélismos	Gyrton (BH)		Epitaph;	ΠΡΟΣΔΕΚΤΗ	2nd AD	SEG 47 1997			other							
GHW05652	Evangélismos	Gyrton (BH)	Chalcedonia	Funerary	ΗΡΙΛΑΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 47 1997	Chalcedonia	gen					2010	Santin/Helly		Grec
GHW05656	Evangélismos	Gyrton (BH)		Funerary	ΠΡΩΤΙΩΝΑ Η	Rom Imp	SEG47 1997			other							
GHW05658	Evangélismos	Gyrton (BH)		Epitaph	Σεραπίων καὶ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 47 1997,		other			1 praenomen					
GHW05662	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ	1st half 2nd	IAtrax 408;		adj								
GHW05663	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΕΝΕΤΤΟΛΕΜ	4th BC	IAtrax, 259;										
GHW05666	Atrax?	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΕΝΟΥΝΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 440;		adj								
GHW05668	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΙΝΥΛΛΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 254;										
GHW05669	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΝΙΚΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 269;										
GHW05670	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΕΙΔΟΥ	4th BC	IAtrax 366;										
GHW05671	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΜΕΥΣΟΠΟΛΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 230;										
GHW05672	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΒΟΙΑ	2nd BC	IAtrax 390;										
GHW05673	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥΝ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 385; SEG 42 1992, 494-6; AD42										
GHW05674	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΠΑΤΡΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 372;										
GHW05675	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΔΟΥΡΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 373;										
GHW05677	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΚΡΑΤΕΙ	3rd BC	IAtrax 499;										
GHW05678	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΑΙ[ΡΟΥ]ΝΙΔΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 442;		adj								
GHW05685	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΑΡΙΨ	3rd BC	IAtrax 223;										
GHW05686	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΑΝΝΥΧΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 199;										
GHW05687	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΟΡΤΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 213;										
GHW05688	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΣΤΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 207;										
GHW05694	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΛΠΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 242;										
GHW05695	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΟΔΙΚΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 261;										
GHW05696	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΗΣΙΜΑΧΑ	2nd BC	IAtrax 455;		gen								
GHW05704	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	Epitaph of	1st BC	SEG47 1997		gen								
GHW05705	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΦΝΕΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 187;										
GHW05706	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 355;										
GHW05709	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΟΝΙΜΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 287;										
GHW05711	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΟΥΣΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 435;		adj								
GHW05716	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 307;										
GHW05717	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΑΡΜΟΝΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 319;										
GHW05718	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΕΙΣΑΡΕΤΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 474;		adj								
GHW05720	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΘΕΝΟΥΝ	3rd BC	IAtrax 322;										
GHW05721	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΙΝΟΦΥΛΑ	1st half 2nd	SEG 51 2001										
GHW05722	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 471;		adj								
GHW05727	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΝΙΚΑΓΟΡΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 359;										
GHW05728	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΙΚΡΑ	4th BC	IAtrax 198;										
GHW05729	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΝΟΣΤΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 313;										
GHW05730	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΡΥΒΙΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 188;										
GHW05732	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΙΣΤΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 324;										
GHW05749	Atrax?	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΠΙΝΟΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax, 433;		adj								
GHW05755	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 308;										
GHW05766	Krannona	Krannon		Epitaph	ΔΟ[Υ]ΤΑ -	2nd half 2nd	SEG 40 1990										
GHW05782	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΤΙΜΟΛΑΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 327										
GHW05784	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΛΑΔΑΜΑ	2nd BC	IAtrax 330;										
GHW05785	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΔΑΜΙΔΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 309;										
GHW05786	Gardiki	Ainian		Epitaph	Φυλίσιον τοῖ	5th BC	SEG 56 2006										
GHW05810	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΙΠΠΟΣ	3rd BC	AE 1930		gen								
GHW05827	Klokotos	Pharkadon?		Epitaph	[ΕΡΜ]ΙΟΝΗ	Rom Imp	SEG 42 1992			other							
GHW05829	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 42 1992		gen								
GHW05830	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	Αἰσχυλίδης	2nd BC	SEG 42 1992		gen								
GHW05836	Larissa	Larissa	freedman	Epitaph	ΣΕΞΤΕ ΟΥΕΤΙΕ	Rom Imp	SEG 42 1992				yes	praenomen					
GHW05837	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΝΤΙΡΡΑΣ	4th BC	SEG 42 1992		adj								
GHW05840	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑ	3rd BC	SEG 42 1992		adj								
GHW05848	Servia	unknown	Chyretiai	Funerary	ΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ	2nd BC	BE 1965 230;	Chyretiai	gen								
GHW05850	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΡΑΤΕΙΣΑΡΟΥ	2nd BC	IAtrax 407		adj								
GHW05852	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΟΚΡΑΤΕΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 297										
GHW05853	Pinias/Piniad	Atrax		Epitaph	ΚΟΥΜΟΣ	2nd BC	IAtrax 227										
GHW05855	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΣΑΜΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 382										
GHW05857	Atrax (north	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΣ	1st half 2nd	IAtrax 459		gen								
GHW05902	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΜΑΝΙΧΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 344		adj								
GHW05904	Kastro	Atrax		Epitaph	ΕΥΔΑΜΟΣ	4th BC	IAtrax 243										
GHW05907	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΛΚΕΤΑΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 338		gen								
GHW05936	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΝΙΚΑ	2nd BC - Mid	IAtrax 460		gen								
GHW05940	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΛΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 437		adj								
GHW05941	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΒΛΙΧΑΝΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 296										
GHW05942	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΥΛΛΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 306										
GHW05944	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΦΙΛΕΙΔΟΥ	4th BC	IAtrax 367										
GHW05946	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΧΟΡΤΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 325										
GHW05947	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΟΠΛΟΥΝΟΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 318										
GHW05981	Melitaia	Melitaia		Epitaph	ΣΩΔΑΜΟΣ	3rd BC	SEG 49 1999		gen								
GHW05990	Larissa (anc	Larissa?	freedman	Epitaph	ΒΑΣΣΟΣ	Rom Imp	GHW05990				yes						
GHW05991	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Funerary	Σωσικράτους	4th BC	SEG 38 1988										
GHW06116	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΙΣΧΥΛΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 370										
GHW06135	Azoros	Azoros		Epitaph	Σάμος	4th BC	SEG 53 2003		gen								
GHW06255	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΝΦΑΡΕΤΟΣ	1st BC	IAtrax 334										
GHW06256	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΡΧΕΠΟΛΙΣ	3rd BC	IAtrax 276										
GHW06257	Atrax (site)	Atrax		Epitaph	ΑΓΛΑΟΝΙΚΑ	3rd BC	IAtrax 299										
GHW06468	unknown	Halos?		Epitaph	ΜΝΑΜΑ ΔΕ	3rd BC	GHW06468		other								
GHW06473	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΕΥΤΥΧΗΣ for	Rom Imp	SEG 51 2001			other							
GHW06482	Makrichori	Gonnoi?		Epitaph	Epitaph of	3rd BC	SEG51 2001		gen								
GHW06486	Larissa	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΑΓΕΛΑΟΣ	4th BC	SEG 56 2006		adj								
GHW06512	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΑΓΙΑ (or	Rom Imp	SEG32 1982		gen								
GHW06525	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΠΡΟΠΟΣ	2nd AD	SEG 40 1990		gen								
GHW06538	Larissa	Larissa	Boiotia	Epitaph	Κλέων	4th BC	SEG 32 1982	Boiotia									
GHW06592	Néa	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΧΟΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ	3rd BC	AE 1929		gen								
GHW06593	Néa	Phthiotic		Epitaph	[ΛΥ]ΣΙΜΑΧΕ	2nd BC	AE 1929		gen								
GHW06598	Néa	Phthiotic	Thebes	Funerary	ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΝ	3rd AD?	SEG 17 1960	Thebes									
GHW06599	Néa	Phthiotic	Nikomedia /	Epitaph	ΙΕΡΩΝ	2nd AD	SEG 55 2005	Nikomedia /	gen								
GHW06601	Néa	Phthiotic		Funerary	ΧΑΙΡΩΝ	3rd AD	BE 1967 329;										
GHW06609	Néa	Phthiotic		Epitaph	Μ(ΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ)	Rom Imp	AE 1929		gen								
GHW06613	Néa	Phthiotic	Greek personal	Epitaph	✠ / ✠	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06617	Néa	Phthiotic	greek personal	Epitaph	✠ /✠ ἔνθα	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06620	Néa	Phthiotic	personal	Epitaph	✠ {²crux	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06621	Néa	Phthiotic		Epitaph	✠ Κυριδί✠-/	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06622	Néa	Phthiotic	greek personal	Epitaph	✠ μημόρι-	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06623	Néa	Phthiotic	1) Greek	Epitaph	[Ε]ἰρήνης	Christian	AE 1929				yes						
GHW06627	Néa	Phthiotic	Thebes?	Epitaph	[— — — —	Christian	AE 1929	Thebes?									
GHW06629	Néa	Phthiotic	greek personal	Epitaph	ἔνθα κῖτ-/ε	Christian	AE 1929		gen								
GHW06630	Néa	Phthiotic	greek personal	Epitaph	✠ μνη-/μῖον	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06631	Néa	Phthiotic	greek personal	Epitaph	Πρω-/βάτι /	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06632	Néa	Phthiotic		Epitaph	[μνημεῖον]	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06633	Néa	Phthiotic	Praenomen?	Epitaph	[μνημεῖ]ον	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06634	Néa	Phthiotic	presbuteros	Epitaph	[μν]ημῆον	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06635	Néa	Phthiotic		Epitaph	μνημεῖον /	Christian	AE 1929,										
GHW06636	Néa	Phthiotic	Antoninus	Epitaph	✠ Ἀντω-	Christian	AE 1929										
GHW06664	Makrakome	Makrakome		Epitaph	ΑΥΤΑΓΟΡΑ	Hellenistic	SEG 15 1958										
GHW06665	Makrakome	Makrakome		Epitaph	ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ -	Hellenistic	SEG 15 1958										
GHW06671	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		Epitaph	ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΣ	2nd BC	SEG55 2005,		gen								
GHW06713	Néa Anchialos	Demetrias?	Thebes	Epitaph;	Καστάλιος	Rom. Imp.	Thess.Mn.002	Thebes	gen			greek					
GHW06769	Néa	Phthiotic		Epitaph;	ΚΟΠΡΙΑ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 42 1992			other							
GHW06775	Anagennisi	Larissa?		Epitaph	ΛΥΚΟΣ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 56 2006		other								
GHW06776	Argissa (= Amygdalea?)	Argoussa		Epitaph	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ	2nd BC	SEG 56 2006, 619; AD 55 B1 2000 2009,										
GHW06777	$$Argissa (= Amygdaléa?)	Argoussa		Epitaph	ΚΛΕΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΑΧΑΙΟΜΕΝΕΙΑ	2nd BC	SEG 56 2006, 620; AD 55 B1 (2000 [2009],		adj								
GHW06779	Larissa	Larissa		Epitaph	ΔΑΜΑΙΝΕΤΑ	4th BC	SEG 56 2006,										
GHW06897	Volos (in a	Demetrias	Crete	Epitaph	ΕΡΜΑΣΙΩΝ	Rom. Imp.	AE 1945-47,	Crete	gen			Greek					
GHW07925	Nea Ionia	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΕΥΤΥΧΙΔΗΣ	Hellenistic	SEG42 1992,		gen								
GHW07926	Nea Ionia	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 42 1992,		gen								
GHW07939	Néa Ionia	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΣΥΝΕΣΙΣ ΝΕΑ	christian/byz	SEG 38 1988,										
GHW07942	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΦΥΛΛΙΚΑ |	3rd BC - ca	SEG 39 1989,		adj								
GHW07943	Velestino	Pherai		Epitaph	ΑΒΡΥΛΛΑ	4th BC	SEG 39 1989,										
GHW07952	Nea Anchialos	Phthiotic		Epitaph	ΟΝΗΣΙΜΗ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 40 1990,		gen								
GHW07962	Demetrias	Demetrias		Epitaph	ΑΝΔΡΩΝ	Rom. Imp.	SEG 42 1992,		gen								
GHW07966	Platanos	Halos?		Epitaph	ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΣ	Hellenistic	SEG 45 1995,		gen								
GHW07972	Marion	Marion	Thessalian	Funerary	ΛΑΙΑΡΧΟΣ for	3rd BC	SEG 50 2000,	Thessalian	other								
GHW07974	Kaisareia	Aiani		Epitaph	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ	2nd AD 125-	EAM 49		other								



Lyon Inv No.	Find Spot	Ancient Place Attribution	Document Type	Author	Recipient	Home Ethnic	Guarantors	Detail	Notes	Contents	Notes/Translation	Century/Period	DATE	Sources	Type of Grant	Author	Recipient Ethnic	Proxeny	Politeia	Isopoliteia	Enktesis	Epigamia	Epinomia
??	Athens	Athens	Honorary Decree	Athens	M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leurus Γαργεττιον	Γαργεττιον?		honours to M. Ulpius Eubiotos Leurus and his sons		15 [παισὶν αὐτοῦ τοῖς κρ.] Οὐλ. Τεισαμενῷ καὶ Πουπηνίῳ Μαξίμῳ καὶ σείτησιν τὴν ἐν τῇ θόλῳ καὶ πρυτανείῳ ἐπὶ διμοιρίᾳ [καὶ στέ]- [φανον ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι κα]ὶ πανηγύρεσι ν· ἀπονενεμῆσ θαί τε αὐτῷ προεδρίαν ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἀγῶσιν·	βου] λὴ περὶ το[ύτων . . .] ἐβουλεύσατ ο· Oliver, Hesperia XX 1951, 351. 43. [- - - - - - - ἐξη]ητα[ῖς καὶ μάντεσι(?) - - - - -] Oliver, Ath. Exp. 45. [- - - - - - - α]ὐτῷ τε κα[ὶ] ᾿ο[ῖς κ]ρ. π[α]σ[ὶ]ν καὶ Oliver, Hesperia, loc. cit., 353. 46.	Roman		SEG 21:-506; IG IG II2 1064, 3700-3703;ZPE 38, 1980, 107-14; J.H. Oliver (1982), 601-2	Other	Athens							
GHW03001	Herakleia des Thermopylais	Heraklea	Honorary Decree	Herakleia	Sextus Cornelius Marcus, Roman	Roman	Chabrias son of Athana[ippos], Eudamos son of Kriton, Her...(akleia)	πολιτείαν καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησ[ιν		see IG		2nd BCE	before 146 BC	SEG 33 (1983), 458; IG IX 2, 0001; BE 1997, 298; 1996, 153; AE 1842, p.510, no. 825	Proxeny or Politeia	Herakleia	Roman				yes		
GHW03002	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Ain. Koin	1. Ἀρίστων[ος — —] Ἀρ<χ>ελάου 2. Σωσιστράτω <ι> Φιλέου Ἀθηναίωι.	1. ? 2. Athens		1.proxeny, epinomia, egktesis 2. Proxeny,	2 decrees	**1.** [— — — — — —]ωι Ὑπαταῖοι ἔδοσαν προξ[ενίαν — — —] [— ἐπι]νομίαν ἔγκτησιν πάντων αὐτῶι καὶ [ἐκ]- [γόνοις] καὶ τἄλλα πάντα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοι[ς προξένοις] ἀρχόντων Ἀντινόου [— — — — — — — — — — — — — —] vacat 5		4th BCE	after 323 BC	IG IX 2, 0003	Proxeny or Politeia	Ain. Koin	1. ? 2. Athens	yes			yes		yes
GHW03004 A	Hypati (A. Yorgios)	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Ain. Koin	Στρ]άτιος Γναθίου Κορκυραῖος	Corcyra	The Ainiarchs Agis son of Tolmaios, Hipparchos son of Boutheros, Moschion son of Sitos, Sperchidas son of Kudolaos, Nikolaos son of Menadamos and Charigenes and Kleostratos sons of Mnason	Proxeny, politeia in the Ainian koinon, enktesis, asphaleia,		[θεὸς τύ]χαν ἀγαθάν. / [αἰνιαρχεόν τω]ν Ἄγιος τοῦ Τολμαίου τὸ τρίτον, Ἱππά[ρ]- /[χου τοῦ Βουθ]ήρα, Μοσχίωνος τοῦ Σιττύρα τὸ δεύ[τε]- [ρον, Σπερχίδ]α τοῦ Κυδολάου, Νικολάου τοῦ Μενε[δάμου]· 5 [ἐπειδὴ Στρ]άτιος Γναθίου		2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC	IG IX 2, 0005b; AE 1874, p.488-492, no. 442	Proxeny or Politeia	Ain. Koin	Corcyra	yes			yes		
GHW03005 a	Hypati (A. Yorgios)	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Ain. Koin	Lysippos son of Lysippos, Dorkinas son of Menekrates, Alexon son of Polemarchos, Xenon son of Lamias, Epignetos son of Agelaos of Stratos	Stratos	Polemarchos son of Pheidias, Polykletos son of Polygnotos, Aristeas son of Aristodamos, Lykon son of Torybbas, Mikkion son of Boulaios, Teleas son of Teisamenes, of Hypata, Luka son of Xenon from Apitheion.	προξενίαν		αἰνιαρχεόντ ων Ἄγιος, Θεοδώρου, Πλειστάρχο υ, Χαριδάμου, Πολίτα᾿ / τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων ἔδωκε προξενίαν Λυσίππωι Λυσίππου, / Δορκίναι Μενεκράτεο ς, Ἀλέξωνι Πολεμάρχου , Ξένωνι Λαμίου, Ἐπι- /γνήτωι Ἀγελάου Στρατίοις. ἔγγυοι τᾶς προξενίας Πολέμαρχος 5		2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC	SEG 44 (1994), 447; 42 (1992), 532; 29 (1979), 1752; IG IX 2, 0006; Bouchon (R.), Rech. Ainianes, no. 4	Proxeny or Politeia	Ain. Koin	Stratos	yes					
GHW03005 b	Hypati (A. Yorgios)	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Ain. Koin	Sostratos son of Sostratos (Gymnasiarch of Larissa in 136/5 BC	Larissa	Agis son of Tolmaios, Pleistarchos son of Stratagos, Charidamos, son of Athanasios of Hypata; Politas son of Lamios of Erythreion	proxeny	Gymnasiarch	[τὸ κοιν]ὸ[ν] τῶν [Αἰνι]άν[ων] ἔδωκε προξενίαν Σωστράτωι [Σ]ωστράτο υ Λαρ[ι]ο- [σέωι —. ἔγγ]υοι τᾶς προξενίας Ἀγ[ις] Τολμαίου, Πλείσταρχος [Σ]τρα[τά]- γου, Χ[α]ρίδαμος Ἀθαναί[ου] Ὑπαταῖοι, Πολίτας Λαμίου Ἐρυθρήϊος		2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC	SEG 44 (1994), 447; 42 (1992), 532; 29 (1979), 1752; IG IX 2, 0006	Proxeny or Politeia	Ain. Koin	Larissa	yes					

GHW03005c	Hypati (A. Yorgios)	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Ain. Koin	1. υσίππωι Λυσίππου, Δορκίναι Μενεκράτεος, Ἀλέξωνι Πολεμάρχου, Ξένωνι Λαμίου, Ἐπι-γνήτωι Ἀγελάου Στρατίοις (Stration, Akarnia) 2. Σωστράτωι [Σ]ωστράτου Λαρι[σ]-[σέωι 3. Παυσανίαι [— — — —]-δίκου, Ἀρι[στ]οκλεῖ Ἀ[ρι]σ[τολ]όχου, Φανοδίκωι	1. Stration, 2. Akarnia, 3. Larissa 4. Metropolis 5. Krannon 6. ?	1. Πολέμαρχος 5 Φειδία, Πολύκλητος Αοἰ[—]ν. τοῦ, Ἀρι[σ]τέας Ἀριστοδάμου, Λύκων Μικκίων Βουλαίο[υ], Λεπ[τίνα]ς Ἀ[λκί(?)]μου Ὑπαταῖοι, Λευκίδας Ξένωνος Λαπιθήϊος 2. Ἄγ[ις] Τολμαίου, Πλείσταρχος [Σ]τρα[τά]-γου, Χ[α]ρίδαμος Ἀθαναί[ου]	proxeny	n/a	1.αἰνιαρχεόντων Ἄγιος, Θεοδώρου, Πλειστάρχου, Χαριδάμου, Πολίτα· τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων ἔδωκε προξενίαν Λυσίππωι Λυσίππου, Δορκίναι Μενεκράτεος, Ἀλέξωνι Πολεμάρχου, Ξένωνι Λαμίου, Ἐπι-γνήτωι Ἀγελάου Στρατίοις. ἔγγυοι τᾶς προξενίας Πολέμαρχος	2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC	SEG 44 (1994), 447; 42 (1992), 532; 29 (1979), 1752; IG IX 2, 0006	Proxen Ain. Koinon or Politeia	1. Stration, Akarnia, 2. Larissa, 3. Larissa 4. Metropolis 5. Krannon 6. ?	yes	
GHW03005d	Hypati (A. Yorgios)	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Ain. Koin	Chiron son of Pausanias of Metropolis	Metropolis	Glaukion son of Hippomachos	proxeny		τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων ἔδωκε προξενίαν Τ[— — — — —]α Μα-/τροπολίται. ἔγγυος τᾶς προξενίας Ταχ[— — — —δ]άμου /	2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC	SEG 44 (1994), 447; 42 (1992), 532; 29 (1979), 1752; IG IX 2, 0006	Proxen Ain. Koinon or Politeia	Metropolis	yes	
GHW03005e	Hypati (A. Yorgios)	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Ain. Koin	Empedion and Polyxenos sons of Mimnomachos of Krannon	Krannon		proxeny		τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων [ἔ]δωκε προξενίαν Πε[τρα]ίωι Πολυσ<τ>ρό[του — — — — — — — — —] Φημιομάχου Κραννωνίοις. ἔγγυοι τᾶς προξενίας Τολμαῖος Πολίτα, <Πλείσταρ>[χος] Στρατάγου, Χαρίδαμος Τολμαίου, Ἀθάναιος Ἀθαναίου, Ἀριστ<έ>[ας	2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC	SEG 44 (1994), 447; 42 (1992), 532; 29 (1979), 1752; IG IX 2, 0006	Proxen Ain. Koinon or Politeia	Krannon	yes	
GHW03005f	Hypati (A. Yorgios)	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Ain. Koin	Aleximachos son of Aristoboulos, Nikandros son of Apollas, Lykos son of Nikoboulos, Stratos Aristomachos son of Kallidamos, Philonikos son of Pausanias of Stratos		Agis son of Tolmaios, Charidamos son of Athanaios, Eukrates son of Deinias, Eurylochos son of Xenodamos, Archinos son of Hippomachos of Hypata, Politas son of Lamios of Erythreion	προξενίαν		τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων ἔδωκε προξενίαν Ξενάγωι Ἀριστολάου, . . ΑΙΑΡΙΝΟ[— — — —] Λύκωι Νικοβούλου, Ἀριστολάωι Χαριδάμου, Φίλωνι [— — — — —] Ἀριστεάτοις (?). ἔγγυοι τᾶς προξ[ενίας]· Ξενίας Ἀριστοδάμου, Χαρίδαμος Ἀθαναίου,	2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC	SEG 44 (1994), 447; 42 (1992), 532; 29 (1979), 1752; IG IX 2, 0006	Proxen Ain. Koinon or Politeia	Stratos	yes	
GHW03008A	Hypati (mur nord A. Yorgios)	Hypata	Honorary Decree	Hypata	Timotheos of Skarphea	Skarphea	Archons Orthodamos son of Pherekrates, [—]los son of Dinos (?), Sitturas son of Munnion, Peitholaos son of Euandros and Demetrios....	προ[ξ]ενίαν καὶ ἐ[γκτη]σιν γᾶς καὶ οἰ-[κίας ἐν Ὑπ]άται καὶ ἀσφάλειαν	proxenyfor ΤΙΜΟΘΕΟΣ [· ·] ΣΚΑΡΦΕΥΣ (Skarphea) (enktesis, asphaleia...)	1st BCE	ca. 70 BC	SEG 55 (2005), 608 (ap.cr.); IG IX 2, 0009; AE 1842, p.509-510, no. 823-824	Proxen Hypatay or Politeia	Skarphea	yes	yes
GHW03010A	Hypati	Hypata?	Honorary Decree	Metropolis	doctor (?) Glaukos, son of Eudoros, of Hypata.	Hypata		προξενίαν καὶ πολιτείαν, ἀσφάλε[ιαν], for Glaukos, son of Eudoros, of Hypata.	doctor	[. . . . . οἱ τ]ογοὶ καὶ ἡ π[ό]λις / Ὑπαταίων τοῖς ἄρ]χουσι καὶ τ[ῆ]ι πό-/[λει χαίρειν. τῶ]ν δεδομένων τι-/μίων ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλεως ἡμῶν /5 /Γλαύκωι Εὐδώρου τῶι ὑμετέ-/ρωι πολείτηι ἀπεστάλκαμεν /ἡμε[ῖς τὸ] ἀντίγραφον, ἵνα εἰ-	2nd BCE	160/159 BC?	SEG 53 (2003), 535; 55 (2005), 608 (ap.cr.); 54 (2004), 556 (ap.cr.); 35 (1985), 602; IG IX 2, 0011	Proxen Metropolisy or Politeia	Hypata	yes	yes

GHW03011	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Lamia	Ἱπποκράτει, Δα-<μ>ο[κρ]ίτου, Ζιμμία Θεσσ-5 αλοῖς ἐξ Λαρίσας	Larissa		προξενίαν πολιτείαν, ἔνκτησ[ι]ν, asphalia and all other rights	no patronyms given for honorands!	ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι· Λαμιεῖς ἔδωκαν προξενίαν πολ-ιτείαν Ἱπποκράτει, Δα-<μ>ο[κρ]ίτου, Ζιμμίᾳ Θεσσ-5 αλοῖς ἐξ Λαρίσας αὐτο-ῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις τὸμ πά-ντα χρόνον καὶ ἔνκτησ-[ι]ν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας καὶ ἀ-σφάλειαν καὶ κατὰ	4th BCE	4th BC	IG IX 2, 0060	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamia	Larissa	yes	yes	
GHW03012 A	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Lamia	Νικόμαχον Δι(ι)οκλέο [ΣΦΔιοκλέος Ματροπολίτ αν Ἀκαρνᾶνα	Metropolis		πολιτείαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἰσοτέλειαν, ἐπινο-μίαν, ἔνκτησιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κατ-ὰ γᾶν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ 10 εἰράνα[ς] καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις	στραταγέον τος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν ἐ[— — —] Ἀρσινοέος ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι· ἁ πόλ[ις τῶν] Λαμιέων καὶ ἁ βουλὰ μηνὸς Χρυτταί[ου τᾶι] πεντεκαιδεκ άται· Νικόμαχον Δι(ι)οκλέο[ς ?] [ΣΦΔιοκλέος] 5 Ματροπολίτ αν Ἀκαρνᾶνα	3rd BCE	216-212 BC	IG IX 2, 0061; AE 1838, p.115-116, no. 63	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamia	Metropolis	yes	yes	yes
GHW03012 B	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Lamia?	[ΠΟΛΛ?]ΙΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΑ ΥΠΑΤΑΙΟΣ - poet	Hypata	Φίλιππος Δεξικράτεο[ς].	proxeny, politeia, enktesis, epinomia, asphaleia III	poet	ἀγαθᾶι τύχα[ι· ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλει· / [ἐπειδή Πολ?]ῖτας Πολῖτα Ὑπατεί[ο]ς [ποιητὴς ἐ]πῶμ παραγενόμε νο[ς] [ἐν τᾶμ] πόλιν δείξεις ἐποιήσατ[ο] 5 [ἐν αἷς] τᾶς πόλιος ἀξίως ἐπεμνάσ[θη], [εἶν]αι αὐτὸν πρόξενον τᾶς πόλιος	3rd BCE	3rd BC	SEG 55 (2005), 2052; IG IX 2, 0063; AE 1838, p.116, no. 64	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamia?	Hypata	yes	yes	yes	yes
GHW03013	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Aitolians?	poetess Aristodama of Smyrna and her brother Dionysios. ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΑΜΑ ΑΜΥΝΤΑ ΖΜΥΡΝΑΙΑ ΑΠΊΟ[ΝΙΑΣ]	Smyrna		politeia, enktesis, epinomia, asylia, asphaleia…	poetess	τῶν Αἰτωλῶν· στραταγέον τος Ἀγήτα Καλλ(λ)ιπολ ίτα [ΣΦΚαλλιπολί τα]ΣΦ· ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι· ἔδοξε [τᾶι πόλει] τῶν Λαμιέων· ν ἐπειδὴ Ἀριστο[δ]άμ α Ἀμύντα Ζμυρναία ἀπ᾽ Ἰω[νίας] ποιήτρια ἐπ[έ]ω[μ] πα[ρα]γ[ε]ν ομ[έ]να ἐν τᾶμ πόλιν πλείονας ἐ[πιδείξεις]	3rd BCE	218/217 BC	SEG 49 (1999), 618; 55 (2005), 2052; 54 (2004) 787 (ap.cr.) et 1919; 52 (2002), 2004; 50 (2000), 1762; 45 (1995), 2359; 2 (1924), 360; IG IX 2, 0062; AE 1838, p.115, no. 62 (Rangabé)	Proxeny or Politeia	Aitolians?	Smyrna	yes	yes	
GHW03014	Karabas (habitat abandonné près d'Halmyros)	Phthiotic Thebes (BH); Pyrasos (IG)	Honorary Decree	Phthiotic Thebes	ΑΡΙΣΤΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΦΕΡΑΙΟΣ	Pheres		(politeia, epinomia, asylia, asphaleia, enktesis, ateleia…)		[στρατ]α<γ>έοντος [— —]του, μηνὸς Ἰτωνίου δεκ[άται], [ἐν ἐ]κκλησία[ι], ἀρχόντω[ν — —]δάμου το[ῦ Πολυ]-[κλ]είτου, Νικασίππου τοῦ Ἀγασίππου, Δαμ[— — —] [τοῦ] Μενεστράτο υ, ταμεύοντος Στρατο[νί]-5 [κου] τοῦ [ca. 2-3 στρ]αταγῶν· ἐπειδὴ παραγεγ[έ]ν ηνται παρὰ τᾶς πόλιος τᾶ[ς] Κῴων ἀρχιθέωρος Ἀριστόλοχ[ο]ς καὶ θεωροὶ Ἡράκλειτος, Μ-16 καρεύς, ἐπαγγέλλον τες τὰ Ἀσκλαπίεια θυσίαν τε καὶ μουσικὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ γυμνικὸν καὶ ἐκεχειρίαν	?	?	SEG 53 (2003), 560 et 850 (ap.cr.); IG IX 2, 0132	Proxeny or Politeia	Phthiotic Thebes	Pheres	yes	yes	yes

GHW03016	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Decree?	Lamia?	Pausanias	Atrax	[—]ος Φιλονίκου.	[προξενίαν, πολιτ]είαν, ἀτέλειαν, ἐπινομ[ί<α>ν], [ἀ]συλ>ία[ν], [ἀσφάλειαν	proxeny for [Π]Α[ΥΣΑ?]ΝΙΑ[Σ - - -] (politeia, ateleia, - -, asphaleia...) = 184/183) [ἀγαθᾶι] τύχαι· [στραταγέον]τος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν Θεοδώρου [τοῦ] [Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀ]τραγίου, ἀρχόντων Νικο[β]ο<ύλ ο>[υ] [Πυρρί]α τοῦ Εὐβουλί]δα [— — —] <τ>οῦ [— —]	186/185 BC	2nd BCE	184/183 BC	IG IX 2, 0065; AE 1838, p.117, no. 66	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamia?	Atrax	yes	yes		yes
GHW03017	Lamia (Panayia tis Theotokou)	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Lamia?	Polyxenos son of Philon and Philon P[===]	Kierion	?	politeia, enktesis, asphaleia, isoteleia	[στραταγέο]ντος Θ[εσσαλῶν Πρωτέα τοῦ Μονίμου Ματροπολίτα μηνὸς Γευστο[ῦ — — —] [— — — — — — — —]ος τοῦ Δαμοφῶνος· ἐπεὶ Πολύξενος Φίλωνος καὶ Φίλων Π[ολυξένου] [— — — — — — — κ]αὶ κοινᾶι τᾶι πόλει καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν τοῖς ἐντυγχανόντοις τῶν	2nd BCE	184/183 BC	SEG 50 (2000), 637 et 1753; 45 (1995), 485 et 613; 44 (1994), 1736; 3 (1929), 462; IG IX 2, 0066	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamia?	Kierion	yes	yes		
GHW03018	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Lamia	Daimenes son of Sinon(?) Δαι μένει Σ[ί]νος Λ[α]ρισαί<ω>ι	Larissa		politeia, isoteleia, enktesis, asylia, asphaleia and all other rights	ἀ[γ]αθ<ᾶ>ι [τύχαι]· / [στ]<ρ>αταγέοντος <τῶ>ν [Θ]ε[σσαλῶν Λεονταμένε]·/ος <Θ>εραίου, ἐν δὲ Λαμίαι ἀ[ρ]χόν[τω]ν Οὐ. . [—], / Νικοδάμου τοῦ Ὀν[—], Σι<μ>[αρί]σ[τ]ου [τοῦ — —], / Λαμιέ[ς ἔ]δωκ[α]ν Δαι μένει Σ[ί]νος	2nd BCE	186/185 BC	IG IX 2, 0067; Garcia-Ramon (J.L.), Helly (B.) & Tziafalias (A.), BCH 130 (2006), p.470-471; Topoi 15 [2007], p.235-236)	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamia	Larissa	yes	yes		
GHW03019	Lamia (source pres de la mairie, IG)	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Lamia	τοῖς δικασταῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις - Ξενο-φάντου, Εὐμήλῳ Ἀριμήλου, Πασίνωι Παιδύλου Ὀπουντίοις	Opuntia	judges	politeia, isoteleia, [epinomia], enktesis, asylia, asphaleia	judges	Ἀγαθᾶι Τύχαι· Λαμιεῖς ἔδωκαν τοῖς δικασταῖς τοῖς Ὀπουντίοις [ca. 4-5]νι Ξενο-φάντου, Εὐμήλῳ Ἀριμήλου, Πασίνωι Παιδύλου Ὀπουντίοις προξενίαν, πολιτείαν, ἰσοτέ-λειαν, ἐπινο-μίαν, ἔνκτησιν γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας,	1st BCE	100-50 BC	SEG 53 (2003), 540; IG IX 2, 0068; AE 1838, p.116, no. 65	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamia	Opuntia	yes	yes		yes
GHW03020	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Lamia	ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΕΥΣ, ΙΠΠΙΑΤΡΟΣ	Pelinna		honours, politeia, isoteleia, enktesis, asphaleia, asylia.. for proxenos ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΜΕΝΕΟΣ ΠΕΛΙΝΝΑΕΥΣ, ΙΠΠΙΑΤΡΟΣ	Προγραφῆς γενομένης πρὸς τὴν ἐκλ-σίαν τὴν ἐν τῶι Ἱπποδρομίωι μηνί, στρατη-γοῦντος Ἡρακλείδου, περὶ τοῦ δοθῆναι πο-4 λιτείαν Ζωβίῳ Ζωβίου, προξένῳ Θεσσα-λῶν, καὶ Διονυσίῳ Ζωβίου Χαλκιδεῦσιν τοῦ καὶ ἐπαχθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν	2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC	SEG 55 (2005), 608 (ap.cr.); 33 (1983), 1570; 28 (1978), 505	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamia	Pelinna	yes	yes		

GHW03025	Anthotopos Halmyrou (Tsourna Vrysi)	Chalai?	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin		Demetrias	crown , statue (ΕΙΚΩΝ), proclamation of the crown in all Thessalian cities for 3 strategoi who were assigned the duty to arbitrate between Herakleia and Melitaia - **Δαμόξενον Φιλοδήμου, Ἀρχίδαμον Νικοβούλου, Ἄσσιον Νικοκράτεος)** setting up of the	arbitrators	[- -] [ἔδοξε τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν] [ἐπαινέσαι] [τοὺς αἱρεθέντας δικαστὰς? ὑπὸ τῶν Δημητριέων] Δαμόξενον Φιλοδήμου, Ἀρχίδαμον Νικοβούλου , Ἄσσιον Νικοκράτεος στρατηγήσαντας ἐνὶ ἐνιαυ-	IG IX 2 103. B.Helly, BCH 125 (2001) 239-287, presents a new critical edition (265/266) and a thorough analysis of this document, which is only known from a transcription by Zosimas Esfigmenitis (1888). After detailed discussion of the topography	2nd BCE	ca. 190-184 or after 146 BC	SEG 55 (2005), 954; 51 (2001), 723; IG IX 2, 0103; BCH 125 (2001), p.239-287	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Demetrias					
GHW03026	Platanos Halmyrou	Halos (IG)	Honorary Decree	Halos	Μένιππον Διοφάντου Λαρισαῖον	Larissa	π[ο]- λιτείαν, ἀσυλίαν, [ἰσ]οτέλειαν , ἐπινομίαν, ἔγκτησιν γᾶς [καὶ οἰ]κίας, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ κα- τὰ γᾶγ καὶ κατὰ [θά]λασσαν καὶ πολέμου κ- 10 αὶ εἰράνας καὶ χρή[μ]ασι καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις)		στραταγέον τος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν Θεο[δώρου τοῦ Ἀ]- [λεξάνδρου] , ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι· ἁ πόλις ἁ Ἀλέω[ν] [καὶ ἁ] βουλά, μηνὸς Ὁμολωΐου τριακ[άδι]· Μένιππον Διοφάντου Λαρισαῖον πρόξ[ενον] 5 εἶμεν τᾶς πόλιος καὶ εὐεργέταν ἐν τὸν [ἅπαν]- τα χρόνον,		2nd BCE	183-182 BC	IG IX 2, 0107	Proxeny or Politeia	Halos	Larissa		yes	yes	yes	yes
GHW03031	Domokos	Thaumakoi	Honorary Decree	Thaumakoi	Μά- κ<ω>νι Ὀμφαλί<ω>νος Λαρισαίωι	Larissa	προξενίαν καὶ πολιτείαν, ἐπινομί- αν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀτέλ- 5 ειαν πάντων καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας ἐ<ν> τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ αὐτ<ῶ>ι καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις		ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι. πόλις Θαυμακ<ῶ>ν ἔδ<ω>κε Μά- κ<ω>νι Ὀμφαλί<ω>νος Λαρισαίωι ὄντι εὐεργέτ- ᾳ αὐτᾶς προξενίαν καὶ πολιτείαν, ἐπινομί- αν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀτέλ- 5 ειαν πάντων καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας		2nd BCE	ca. 145 BC	SEG 42 (1992), 510 (ap.cr.); IG IX 2, 0215	Proxeny or Politeia	Thaumakoi	Larissa	yes	yes		yes	yes
GHW03033	Domokos	Thaumakoi	Honorary Decree	Thaumakoi	Akromenes, son of Aristoboulos , of Lamia.	Lamia	prxeny epinomia, asylia, asphaleia, enktesis, ateleia. enktesis..)		[ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι π]<ό>λι<ς> [Θαυμακῶν ἔδωκε — —] [Λ]α[μιεῖ(?)] προξενίαν, ἐπι[νομίαν], ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλε<ι>αν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ πολέμου καὶ 5 εἰ[ρά]νας ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόν<ον> καὶ αὐτῶ[ι] [κ]αὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις [π]άνṭα·		?	?	SEG 03 (1929), 469; IG IX 2, 0217	Proxeny or Politeia	Thaumakoi	Lamia	yes			yes	yes
GHW03034	Domokos	Thaumakoi	Honorary Decree	Thaumakoi	Ἀλέξ]ιππος καὶ Ἱππόλοχος οἱ Ἱππολόχου Λαρι- [σαῖοι	Larissa	προξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτεί- 10 [αν, ἐπινο]μίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἔγκτησιν, ἀτέλειαν [ἁπάντων] καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρό- [νον καὶ ὅ]σα τοῖς ἄλλοις		[στραταγέον τος] Ἀλεξίππου μηνὸς Ἰτωνίου δευ- [τέραι ἐν κυρί]αι ἐκκλησίαι ἀρχόντων Στύφωνος [— — — — — — Εὐ]θυδάμου τοῦ Μαράντα, Κάμωνος [τοῦ — — — — —]ου, ταμιεύοντος Ἡρακλείτου τοῦ Λάμ- 5 [πωνος(?) ἐπειδὴ		2nd BCE	ca. 145 BC	SEG 57 (2007), 532; IG IX 2, 0218	Proxeny or Politeia	Thaumakoi	Larissa	yes		yes	yes	yes

GHW03036 A	Domokos (fortin turc)	Thaumakoi	Honorary Decree	Thaumakoi	Androsthenes, son of Themistogenes, of Gyrton	Gyrton	proxeny and euergetes title for ΑΝΔΡΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΘΕΜΙΣΘΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΓΥΡ[ΤΩΝΙΟΣ] (Gyrton)	στραταγέον τος] τῶ[ν] Θ[ε]σσαλῶν [Ὀ]ρόμαγνα Ἀ δ[ρομίῳ . . . .] δευτέ[ρα ἀρχόντων — —] / [— τοῦ] Κλεαγένεος, Περιάνδρου τοῦ Λάμπων[ος . . . . .]ς> τοῦ> Νικοβούλ[ου, —]#Μ[—]/ . . . . ένων ἐκ προγραφῆς· ἐπειδὴ Ἀνδροσθένη	1st BCE	ca. 50 BC	SEG 49 (1999), 501; 28 (1978), 505; 3 (1929), 470; IG IX 2, 0219	Proxeny or Politeia	Thaumakoi	Gyrton	yes			
GHW03037	Rhizi Pharsal	Rhizi (Ρίζι)	Politographie	Pharsalos		no ethnics, o	Politeia for 176 people	176 noms + c "A good Fort	3rd BCE	3rd c. BC	IG IX 2, 0234; cf. Ducat 1994, p.107-113	Proxeny or Politeia	Pharsalos	no ethnics, only some patronyms	yes		yes	
GHW03038	Géphyria Karditsis	Thetonion (IG)	Honorary Decree	Thetonion	Σοταίρὸι τὸι Κ-ορινθίό ι	Corinth	οικιάταις, asylia and ateleia, for ΣΟΤΑΙΡΟΣ Ο ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΟΣ (Corinth)	— — — — — 2 Θεῖδνιοι ἔδοκαν Σοταίρὸι τὸι Κ-ορινθίό ι κάυτὸι καὶ γένει καὶ ϝ-οικιάταις καὶ χϝέ μασιν ἀσυλία- 5 ν κάτέλειαν κεὔεργέτα ν ἐ-ποίεσαν ϝέ ν ταγᾶ ϝέ ν ἀταγ- ίαι. αἴ τις ταῦτα παρβαίνοι, τὸ-ν ταγὸν τὸν ἐπεστάκοντ	5th BCE	5th BC	SEG 55 (2005), 608 (ap.cr.); 49 (1999), 2458; 47 (1997), 664; 46 (1996), 620; 45 (1995), 656; 44 (1994), 1735; 40 (1990), 1708; 42 (1992), 490 et 1771; 30 (1980), 537; IG IX 2, 0257	Proxeny or Politeia	Thetonion	Corinth	yes			
GHW03039	Sophades (A. Paraskévi)	Kierion	Honorary Decree	Kierion	4 Italians: a Roman, 2 citizens of (Canusium? Capua?) and one from Nôle?	Roman	προξεννία[ν] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὅσσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις for 4 Italians: a Roman, 2 citizens of (Canusium? Capua?) and one from (Nôle?) (proxeny+ ΤΑ ΛΟΙΠΑ...)	[Στραταγ]εί οντος τοῦμ Πετθαλοῦν Πείσσα ΡΕ[. . .] [Κιαρι ?]εῖος, ταγευόντου ν ἐγ Κιαρίο ι Πλουτ ίουν[ο ς?] [Δαμμ]ατρεί ου, Ἀρτέμουνος Φιλουταίου, Μνάσσα 4 [- ca. 4-6 -]τατείου, Μνάσσα Εὐανδρείου, Μαχάτα [2-3]αινετείου, Γενναί[δ]α	2nd BCE	ca. 168 BC	SEG 49 (1999), 615; 45 (1995), 607 (+ 546 et 548); IG IX 2, 0258; BE 1997, 298; 1996, 153; I.Thess. 015	Proxeny or Politeia	Kierion	Roman	yes			
GHW03040	Sophades	Kierion	Honorary Decree	Kierion	?	for a benefactor of the city	τος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν Ἀγασιμ[ένο υς τοῦ- - - -] [. .]τους Λαρισαίου· ταγευόντων δὲ τῆς πόλεως- - - -] [- - - - τοῦ] Ἀριστάρχου, Ἀναξάνδρου τοῦ Ἀρχίππ[ου - -,] 4 [. . .] τοῦ Φιλονίκου, Ἀμυνέου τοῦ Ὀλυμπιάδο υ, [- - - - - - - - - -] τοῦ	2nd BCE	ca. 117 BC	SEG 56 (2006), 630bis; 45 (1995), 608 (+ 546 et 548); IG IX 2, 0103; BCH 125 (2001), p.239-287	Other	Kierion	Kierion				
GHW03046 B	Domeniko (A. Yorgios)	Chyretiai	Honorary Decree	Chyretiai	Sextus Ophidienus, son of Marcus, of Rome	Rome	proxeny, epinomia, egktesin, asphaleia, for Sextus Ophidienus, son of Marcus, of Rome	see Arch Ephem.	1st BCE	1st BC (end)	AE 1917, no. 301; Moretti (L.), ISE 2 (1976), no. 95	Proxeny or Politeia	Chyretiai	Rome	yes		yes	yes

GHW03049	Velestino	Demetrias (BH); Pheres (IG)	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin	[—]ος Εὐάνδρου Δημητρ[ιεὺ]ς	Demetrias	Decree of the Magnesians for a citizen of Demetrias (rights given are not legible)		[Μ]άγνητες Θαι[— — — — — — —] Δημητρι<έα> [πάσης ἀρετῆς] ἕ<ν>ε[κε]ν κα[ὶ εὐνοίας]. [— —] 5 [— —]	2nd BCE	196-146 BC	IG IX 2, 0412	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias					
GHW03051	Krannona	Krannon	Honorary Decree	Krannon	Ἀρχαρέτα Λεπτιναία Καλυδουνία	Calydon	politeia, enktesis, tribe, (politeia, enktesis, choice of tribe) for FEMALE citizen of Chalkis	Female given politeia	θιὸς τύχαν ἀγαθάν· / ἁ πόλις ἁ Κρανουν-/ν<ί>ο<υ>ν ἔδουκε Ἀρχαρέ-/τα Λεπτιναία Καλυδο- 5 υνία πολιτείαν καὶ ἔν[κ]τασιν {²⁷ἔν|τασιν(?)}²⁷ κατάπερ κοἰ ἄλλ[οι] [Κ]ρ̣αννούνιοι καὶ φυλᾶ[ς] [ἔμ]μεν τᾶς κε δε[ίλη][τα]ι. εἵλετο ἔμμεν Ἀ- 10	3rd BCE	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0458; AE 1900, col.53-54, no. 2	Proxeny or Politeia	Krannon	Calydon		yes		yes	
GHW03053	Krannona (ou Larissa? cf. Zikidis)	Crannon? Larissa?	Honorary Decree	?		?	Decisions about the Stele			2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0460	Other	Unknown	Krannon					
GHW03054	Krannona	Krannon	Honorary Decree	Krannon	Ἱπποδρόμι[ος — — —] [Λαρισ]αῖος	Larissa	εὐεργε[τὲς τὸ κοι]- 5 [νὸν τ]ᾶς πόλιος, δεδόσθαι αὐτ[οῦ καὶ τοῖς] [ἐσ]γόνοις πολιτείαν,		[— — —]οσίνα(?), γυμνασια[ρχέντος — — —] [— — —] Μυσκελειοὶ ἔδ̣ο[ξε τοῦ κοινοῦ τᾶς] [πόλιος· ἐπ]ειδε[ὶ] Ἱπποδρόμι[ος — — —] [Λαρισ]αῖος διετέλει εὐεργε[τὲς τὸ κοι]- 5 [νὸν τ]ᾶς πόλιος, δεδόσθαι αὐτ[οῦ καὶ τοῖς] [ἐσ]γόνοις πολιτείαν, καττά[περ	2nd BCE	ca.168 BC	SEG 39 (1989), 1817; IG IX 2, 0461	Proxeny or Politeia	Krannon	Larissa		yes			
GHW03059	Zarkos (A. Ioannis Theologos)	Phayttos	Honorary Decree	Phayttos	Μακεδ[ό]-[νι]	Macedonia	ἀτέλειαν, ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ αὐτῶι [κ]αὶ ἐγγόν[οις, εἶναι δὲ καὶ] [γ]ῆς [καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκ]τησιν καὶ ἀσυλ[ίαν] καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ χ[ρή]-[μ]ασι for macedonians(?)		{²I}² [— — — — —]αναι[— — — —] / [— — — — — — — —]αίωι Μακεδ[ό]-/[νι] ἀτέλειαν [— — —]ονε[— —] / [καὶ] ἰσοτέλειαν [— — — — —] /5 [κα]ὶ ἰσοπολιτείαν καὶ αὐτῶι / [κ]αὶ ἐγγόν[οις, εἶναι δὲ καὶ] / [γ]ῆς [καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκ]τησιν καὶ ἀσυλ[ίαν] /	?	?	IG IX 2, 0490	Proxeny or Politeia	Phayttos	Gyrton	yes				yes
GHW03060	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa		Rhodes	for 4 Rhodians and the "people of Rhodes"			2nd BCE	bef. 168 BC	IG IX 2, 0504	Proxeny or Politeia	Phayttos	Gyrton		yes			yes
GHW03061	Larissa (A. Achilleios)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa			entitled (ΑΛΕΞΙΠΠΟΣ ΙΠΠΟΛΟΧΕΙΟΣ, tagos)		Ταγευόντ[ου]ν Ἀλεξίπποι Ἱππολοχ[είοι], Ἀντιόχοι Ἀν[τιγονείοι, Σ]ούτα Ἀνδ[- - - -][-], Κ[α]λλι[- - - - - - - -]ΟΙΧΥΔΑΟΙ, .Π[- -] 4 οι Α[- - - -, ταμιευόντουν - - - καὶ - - - - -] [- -]τέρα, [ἀγο]-[ρᾶς ἐόνσας, ἀγορανομέ]	2nd BCE	ca. 160BC?	SEG 57 (2007), 506; 56 (2006), 632; 31 (1981), 573; IG IX 2, 0505	Proxeny or Politeia	Phayttos	Macedonia			yes	yes	

GHW03063	Larissa (cimetiere turc)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin		Mylasa		Thess. Koin. for judges from Mylasa	judges	[- -] [ἔδοξε τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν] [ἐπαινέσαι] [τοὺς αἱρεθέντας δικαστὰς? ὑπὸ τῶν Δημητριέων] Δαμόξενον Φιλοδήμου, Ἀρχίδαμον Νικοβούλου, Ἄσσιον Νικοκράτεος στρατηγήσαντας ἑνὶ ἐνιαυ-	2nd BCE	ca. 130 BC		SEG 51 (2001), 723 (ap.cr.); 47 (1997), 744; 45 (1995), 546; IG IX 2, 0507; BE 1998, 211; ABSA 92 (1997), p.354-357	Other	Larissa	Rhodes			
GHW03064	Larissa ("in Φαλήρῳ", IG = ?)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin		Miletus		for judges from Miletus	judges	[- -] [ἔδοξε τῶι κοινῶι τῶν Θεσσαλῶν] [ἐπαινέσαι] [τοὺς αἱρεθέντας δικαστὰς? ὑπὸ τῶν Δημητριέων] Δαμόξενον Φιλοδήμου, Ἀρχίδαμον Νικοβούλου, Ἄσσιον Νικοκράτεος στρατηγήσαντας ἑνὶ ἐνιαυ-	1st BCE	ca. 49/48 BC		SEG 51 (2001), 723; IG IX 2, 0508	Other	Larissa	Larissa			
GHW03065 B?	Larissa (A. Charalambos?)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Ἱ]έρωνος τοῦ Δυνατοῦ Κιε- 10 [ριέως	Kierion		ὑεργέτην Θεσσαλῶν [εἶναι καὶ ἐκγό]νους αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπάρχ[ειν] [αὐτῷ γῆς καὶ οἰκ]<ί>ας [ἔγκτησιν]		ἀγαθῆ<ι> τύχηι· / [στρατηγοῦ]ντος τῶν Θεσσαλῶ[ν Λέ]-/[οντος τοῦ Ἀ]γησίππου Λαρισαίο[υ, ἱπ]-[παρχοῦντος] Παυσανίου τοῦ Κλίτω-/[νος Λαρισαίου], τ̣αραντιναρχοῦντος /[— — Ἀντ]ι̣ π̣ά̣τ̣ρου τοῦ Πολυνίκου [Λ]α[ρι]-/[σαίου, γρα]μ̣ματεύ	2nd BCE	ca. 140 BC		SEG 52 (2002), 1894; 45 (1995), 546; IG IX 2, 0509	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Mylasa			
GHW03068	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	citizens of Pergamum	Pergamum		politeia for citizens of Pergamum		ΕΚΙ[.]ΙΦΙΕ[— — — — — — — — — — — —] / ΓΛ[— — —]κεν̣[— — — — — — — — — —] / [— — — — —]σα[— — — — — — — — — πὲρ] / [δεῖ το]ύτου[ν δεδόχθειν ἐπαινείσειν Σού]-/[σανδρο]ν Μελ[ανίππειον, Ἄρ]ατ̣ο[ν] Ἀρ[ιστομά]-/[χειο]ν, Δαμμάτ̣<ρ>ιον	2nd BCE	171/0 BC		SEG 57 (2007), 506; 56 (2006), 635; 31 (1981), 574; IG IX 2, 0512; Helly (B.), Topoi 15 (2007), p.220-224	Other	Thess. Koin	Miletus			
GHW03070	Larissa?	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	κατοικείουνθι ἐν Λ[αρίσα - -	Larissa		fragmentary; honours given to a "resident of Larissa" (κατοικείουνθι ἐν Λ[αρίσα - - -])		[— — — — — —]ιείοι, Λε[— — — — — — — — — —] [— — ἁ πόλις] Λαρισαίουν [ἔδουκε — — — — — —] [— — — — —] κατοικείουνθι ἐν Λ[αρίσα — — — —] [— — — — —]αν κὰτ τὸν νόμον τοῦν̣ [Λαρισαίουν], 5 [τὸ μὰ ψάφι]σμα		?		IG IX 2, 0514	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Kierion	yes		yes

GHW03071	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa		Larissa	Decree giving title of ΣΟΥΤΕΙΡ (Souteir/Sôter)to 3 citizens of Larissa	ταγευόντου ν Ἀττύλαι Στρατουνείο ι, Νικολάοι Ἀρχεπολεί-οι, Φιλοκλέος Γελουνείοι, Ἀριστοφάνε ος Ἀναξαγοραί οι, Ἀρ-γέα Ἀρχελαείοι Θύοι ὑστέρα[ς ἕνας καὶ] νέας ἀγορανομ-έντος <Φιλοκλέος Γελουνείοι>, Φιλοκλέος Γελουνείοι λέξαντος· ἔδοξε τοῦ	2nd BCE	after 169/8 BC?	SEG 57 (2007), 509 (cf. 506); IG IX 2, 0515; Topoi 15 (2007), p.239-245	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Pergamum	yes	
GHW03073	Larissa?	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Δαμοκρά-της Λαφρίου, Δημήτριον Μονίμου Ἀμφισσεῖ,	Amphissa	καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν καὶ ἀτέλεια [ν] αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ τὰ λοι-πὰ τίμια ὅσα	Ἀ γ α θ ᾶ ι τ ὺ χ α ι · Λακεδαιμον ίων γραμματοφ ύλ α ξ Πόλλις Ἐπὶ σ τ ράου ὁ ἐπὶ Ὀβρίμου Ἀμφισσέων ἄρχουσι καὶ τᾶι πόλι χαίρειν · 4 τῶν ὄντων παρ᾽ ἁμὲ γραμμάτων ἐν τῶι δαμοσίωι ὑπο-γέγραφα ὑμῖν τὸ ἀντίγραφον · ν νομογράφω	letter from the ephors of Lacedaemon a to(?) the city of Larissa/Amphissa(?), tagoi and to the people (ambassador?)	2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	SEG 52 (2002), 541 (ap.cr.); IG IX 2, 0518	Other	Larissa	Larissa		
GHW03074 A	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Peuma		Larissa?	honors for a benefactor (Larissa?) -	[— — — — — —]οα#ᾳ. ας εὖ νους ὑπάρχ[ω]ν [— — —]ιον[— — — — — — — —] [Πευματί]ω ν τῇ πόλει κατὰ κοινὸν [καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδί]αν τῶ[ν πολιτ]ῶν ᾗ[σῖς ἐντυγχά]-[ν]ουσιν αὐτῶι ἐπιδιδοὺς αὐτὸν ἀπροφασίστ ως [ο]ὗτε πόνο[ν οὔ τε κακο]-παθίαν	2nd BCE	late 2nd BC	SEG 45 (1995), 615; IG IX 2, 0519-I; BE 1997, 295	Other	Larissa	Larissa		
GHW03074 C	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Larissa	Hegesipolis	Scotoussa	κ]αὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν for ΗΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΣ of Scotoussa	[— κ]αὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλ[οις — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — στεφανῶσαι δὲ καὶ] θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν] [καὶ] εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμο[ν ἡ]μῶν, ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῶι παρ᾽ [ἡμῖν] [κ]αὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν	IG IX 2 519. J.- C.Decourt, op.cit. (cf. SEG 45 544) 145-147 no. 131, republishes the only decree which can be assigned to Peuma, with a few new restorations. LL. 2/3: ᾗῶν πολιτῶ]ν [τοῖς ἐντυχά[ν]ο, υσιν αὐτῶι [ᾗῶν πολιτῶ]ν [τῷ δεομένῳ	2nd BCE	late 2nd BC	SEG 45 (1995), 615; 44 (1994), 1689; IG IX 2, 0519-I	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Amphissa	yes	yes
GHW03076	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Pteleon	Nysandros, son of Theodotos [rather than Diodotos (?), IG], of Larisa.	Larissa	copy set up at Larissa of Decree of Pteleon for ΝΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ of Larissa	[— — — — — — — — γενομένο]υ δὲ Ξενοδόκου [ε²⁷]κοινο]ῦ δὲ ξενοδόκου(?))²⁷ Φ[— — — — — —] [— — —] Αἰζῶσιος Ἀφθονήτου εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Νῶσα[νδρος Δι(?)]-οδότου Λαρισαῖος εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ τῆι πόλει τῶν [Πτε]-λεειῶν, διατηρῶν τὴν	Roman	Augustus	SEG 53 (2003), 545; 45 (2000), 526 et 1685; 7 (1997), 2300; 46 (1996), 2340; IG IX 2, 0520	Other	Peuma	Larissa?		

GHW03094	Elateia Larissis ou Sykourio?	Mopsion	Honorary Decree	Mopsion	Φα- λάκρου Σουσιανακτ ε<ι>- [ο]υ Κυραναίου	Cyrene	from Mopsion for a citizen of Cyrene (ΦΑΛΑΚΡΟΣ ΣΟΥΣΙΑΝΑΚΤ ΕΙΟΣ ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΣ)		θεὸς τύχαν ἀγαθάν. ἁ πόλις Μοψείουν Φα- λάκρου Σουσιανακτ ε<ι>- [ο]υ Κυραναίου ἔδουκ[ε] 5 [ἀγ]ορᾶς νομίμας ἐό[ν]- [σας, ἀ]γορανομέ ντο[ς] [— — — — —]γρ[— — —]	3rd BCE	3rd BC	SEG 57 (2007), 514; IX 2, 1056; García-Ramón, Helly & Tziafalias, 2007, p.65, no. 1	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Scotoussa	yes
GHW03098 A	Volos (phrourion)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin		Demetrias?	Magnesians for the strategos ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΑΙΤΩΛΙΩΝΟ Σ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥ Σ (end missing)	Strategos	[— —]Ο[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] [Λ]φροδισι ῶνος ιη'. σ ρα[τηγοῦ ντος — — — — — μη]- νὸς Ἀφροδισιῶν ος δεκάτηι λλκ[ίμ]α[χ]ο [ς — — — —], Ἀντίπατρος Εὐθυδήμου, Ἀρίσταρχος Σωΐδου, Ἀρισ ο- 5 κράτης Ἀριστάρχου,	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 39 (1989), 1863; IG IX 2, 1100a	Other	Pteleon	Larissa	
GHW03099	Makrinitsa (Panayia)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin	? priest of Serapis?	Demetrias	proedria in all Magnesian cities, end of a decree of the Magnesians (proedria)	stele set up in the temple of Sarapis in Demetrias	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ἀνατεθῆναι δὲ τὴν] 1 στήλην ἐν Δημητριάδι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Σαράπιδος, [εἰς ἣν] καὶ ἀναγραφῆν αι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ προε- δρίαν ἐμ πάσαις ταῖς κατὰ Μαγνησίαν πόλεσιν, προνοη-	2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1101	Other	Mopsion	Cyrene	
GHW03100	Volos (phrourion, poudriere)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin	ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥ Σ	Demetrias	honours, crown, ΕΙΚΩΝ ΓΡΑΠΤΗ + proedria for ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥ Σ (treasurer)	treasurer	[— — — — —]σσιν[— — — — — — — — —] [— — κ]αὶ ἦν ποιοῦντ[αι ἐκτένειαν εἰς τοὺς] [καλ]ὰς ἀναστρεφο μ[ένους ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς] ὁρμῶσιν ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιο[τον καὶ τὸ συμφέρον] 5 τοῖς κοινοῖς πράγμασιν· δ[ε]δόχθαι τοῖς συν]- [ἕ]δροις ἐπαινέσαι	2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1102	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias?	
GHW03101	Volos (phrourion, ramparts)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin		Demetrias	Magnesians for ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΑΔΥΜΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥ Σ (secretary) (elogy, crown , proedria)	secretary	Μάνητες Ἑρμογένην Ἀδύμ[ου] Δημητριῆ τὸν γραμματέα [τῶν] συνέδρων ἀρετῆς ἕνεκ[εν καὶ] εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτούς. {?corona}? 5 Μένανδρος Νικίου Δημητριεὺς ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ Νικομήδη[ς] Σίμου ὁ ἱππάρχης, Θεόδοτος	2nd BCE	ca. 130-126 BC	IG IX 2, 1103	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias	

GHW03102	Volos (phrourion)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin	ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΥ of Demetrias	Demetrias	elogy + ΕΙΚΩΝ ΓΡΑΠΤΗ - - for ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΕΥΒΟΥΛΟΥ (strategε, wheat) ()	wheat	Πυθόδοτος Πραξίου ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Μαγνήτων καὶ Εὔβουλος Εὐβούλου ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν συνέδρων καὶ Τειμόκριτος Κασσάνδρου ὁ ταμίας τῶν Μαγνήτων εἶπαν˙ 5 ἐπειδὴ Σώπατρος Εὐβούλου ὁ γεγονὼς στρατηγὸς τῶν	1st BCE	1st BC (and later?)	SEG 37 (1987), 469; 34 (1984), 1690; IG IX 2, 1104	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias
GHW03103	Agria Volou (A. Yorgios)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin		Roman	[προξ]ενίαν καὶ τἆλλα τίμια καὶ φιλάνθρωπα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἀλ[λοις προ]ξένοις - and the city ΤΩΝ ΚΑΝΑΙΩΝ = Kanaia?) - b) untitled - c) end of a very fragmentary Decree for a Roman		. . . . . ἐπεὶ Πολεμαῖος Ἁρπαγίωνος Καλυδώνιος, ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶἀγαθὸς, εὐνόως διακείμενος πρὸς πάντας Μάγνητας πειρᾶται καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐ- 16 στὶν δυνατὸς ἀεί τινος ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιος γίνεσθαι, κατὰ κοινόν τε καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 40 (1990), 470; 32 (1982), 613; IG IX 2, 1105	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias
GHW03104	Ayios Lavrentios Volou (Pélion)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin		Dmetrias? Perrhaibia?	Magnesians for Perrhaibian judges (or for an arbitrer from Demetrias in a conflict between Thessalians et Perrhaibians ?)	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — —]˙ ἐπεὶ Ζωΐλος Ἐπιτέλου, [— — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — — — Ἀν]δρομένου, Ἀντιγένης Φιλοδ[— — — —] [— — — — — — — ἀποσταλέντες] δικασταὶ ἐπὶ τὰς κατὰ τὸ συμβ[όλαιον] [διαφορὰς	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 46 (1996), 2340; IG IX 2, 1106	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias
GHW03105 A	Makrinitsa (Panayia, mur sud)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin		Demetrias	a) Magnesians for ΚΡΙΤΩΝ ΚΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ, priest of Sarapis (gold crown + ΕΙΚΩΝ ΓΡΑΠΤΗ)	priest		2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1107b	Proxeny or Politeia	Mag. Koin	Roman	yes
GHW03106	Makrinitsa (Panayia)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	polis of Demetrias	Ἄβρυλλον Ἀθη]ναί[ου], [Ἀγε]λάδαν Ξενοκράτου, Δαμόξενον Φιλίππ[ου] [στ]ρατηγήσαντας καὶ Ἀρχέδημον Κρατίνου, [Δ]ημήτριον Νικολάου, Ἀσκληπιόδωρον Γενν[ίπ]- 5 [π]ου νομοφυλακήσαντας	Demetrias?	honours for 3 strateges and 3 nomophylacs	strategos, nomophylac	ἡ πόλις ἡ Δημητ[ριέων Ἄβρυλλον Ἀθη]ναί[ου], [Ἀγε]λάδαν Ξενοκράτου, Δαμόξενον Φιλίππ[ου] [στ]ρατηγήσαντας καὶ Ἀρχέδημον Κρατίνου, [Δ]ημήτριον Νικολάου, Ἀσκληπιόδωρον Γενν[ίπ]- 5 [π]ου νομοφυλακήσαντας. vacat	2nd BCE	ca. 130-126 BC	SEG 29 (1979), 544-545; IG IX 2, 1108	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Dmetrias? Perrhaibia?
GHW03109	Magnésie (péninsule de --, IG)	Spalauthra; Demetrias (IG)	Honorary Decree	Spalauthra		Demetrias	from Spalauthra for ΛΥΣΙΑΣ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ (strategos of Magneseia) (elogy + olive crown)	strategos	{²coronae ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σπαλαυθρέων Λ(υ)σίαν Ἐπιτέλου Δημητριή στ[ρατ]ηγή- σαντα τῶν Μαγν(ή)των ἀ[ρ]ετῆς ἕ- νεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτόν. {²corona}² 5 [σ]τρατηγοῦντος Λυσίου μηνὸς Ἑρμαιῶ- νος ἑνδεκάτῃ Ἀριστόνικος Πυθονίκου ὁ ὑποστράτηγ	2nd BCE	ca. 130-126 BC	IG IX 2, 1111	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias

GHW03110	Ayios Lavrentios Volou (Pélion)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin	?	?	Magnesians ? (fragment)	[στρ]α τῆν οὖ ντος [— — — — — — — — — — — — —] [— —] ἔκτη ἀπιόντ[ος — — — — — — — — — — — —] [— —]ος καὶ Μεθων[— — — — — ὁ ὑποστράτηγ ος καὶ] [οἱ] δήμαρχοι εἶη[αν· ἐπεὶ — — — — — — — — — —] 5 [—]ους ἀνήρ		?	IG IX 2, 1112	Other	Demetrias	Demetrias?
GHW03111	Volos (phrourion, ramparts)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin		?	Magnesians ? (fragment)	[— —] 1 [— — — καλῶν] <κ>αὶ ἀγαθῶ[ν ἀνδρῶν — — — — — — — —]. . ᾳ?]ᾳ?[—] [ὁ δῆμος εὐ]χάριστος καὶ τιμῶν — — — — — — —]ους τῶν [— — — — —] ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημέ[ν	2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1113	Other	Spalauthra	Demetrias
GHW03112	Volos (phrourion, ramparts)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin		?	Magnesians ? (fragment)	[— — —]δανα [— — — —]πα [— — —]ωτα [— — —]τον δι 5 [— — —] πόλιο(?) [— — —]<ν>όντ< ω>ν(?) [— — —]νος ἐπὶ [τῶν Μα]γνήτων col. b.1 ει[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] [δ]ιακε[ι— — — — —		?	IG IX 2, 1114	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Unknown
GHW03117	Tyrnavos (A. Prodromos)	Phalanna	Honorary Decree	Phalanna	Glaukos, son of Apollonios, of Gyrton	Gyrton	προ]εδρίαν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶ- [σι] καὶ εἰσ<σ>[δον εἰς τὴμ π]όλιν καὶ τὴν χώ- [ρ]<α>ν καὶ <ἐ>[ξοδον ἀσυλ]εὶ καὶ ἀσπονδεὶ [κ]αὶ ἐμ π ολέ μωι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη, καὶ ἀτέ- 30 [λ]ειαν ὧν ἂν εἰσ[άγηι] for Phalanna for Glaukos, son of Apollonios, of Gyrton (?)	[— — — — —]ι[—]. . . [—]ων καὶ τὴν ἐ[ν]σ[τᾶ]- /[σ]αν δ[ιαφ]ορὰν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐν τοῖ[ς] / πολίταις [δι]αλῦσαι, τὰς μὲν ἀρχ[ὰς] / τῶν πραγμά[τ]ω ν αὐτὸς ἀπέφηνε ν / 5 μετὰ πάσης φιλανθρωπί ας, ἐπὶ δὲ / τὸ καθ' ἕκασ[τον] τῶ[ν	2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1230	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Unknown
GHW03118	Tyrnavos (A. Athanasios	Phalanna	Honorary Decree	Phalanna	?	Metropolis	ἀσυλί]αν ,προξενία καὶ ἡ πολιτεία For citizens of Metropolis (politeia, --, asylia)	[— — — — — — — — — — —]. [—]. . [—]/ [— — — — — —]. [— ἀσυλί]αν καὶ πολέ- /[μου] καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγό-/[ν]οις καθάπερ καὶ Φαλανναίοι ς ἐδό-/θη ἡ προξενία καὶ ἡ πολιτεία ἱερη- /τεύοντος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Παρμε- /νίωνος τοῦ	2nd BCE	ca. 200-150 BC	IG IX 2, 1231	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Unknown

GHW03119 A	Elasson (Panayia Olympiotissa)	Olosson	Honorary Decree	Olosson	ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΑΚΟΥΤΙΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΣ	Rome		προξενίαν?, ἀσφά?]- [λ]ειαν, ἀσυλίαν	[Θεός· τύχην ἀγαθήν· vacat στρατη]γοῦντος Φιλοξένου τοῦ Εὐάρχ[ο]υ [ἱερέως δὲ τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ - - - -]βίου τοῦ Αὐτοβούλου, ταγευόντων [Σ]ωπάτρου [τοῦ Ἑπίνου?, - - - - - - - τοῦ Θα?]υμίου, Ἀνδρομάχου τοῦ	A. Arvanitopoulos, POLEMON 1 (1929) 119 ff. no. 422. H. Kramolisch, La Thessalie (1979) 205-206, rejects A.'s identification of the officials on record in LL. 1-5 with those mentioned in IG, IX, 2, 1292 (fragment of an honorary decree of a Perrhaibic	1st BCE	1st BC	SEG 56 (2006), 648; 33 (1983), 1586; 29 (1979),\,544; IX 2, 1292; IX 2, 1293a; IX 2, 1294a; Kontogiannis 2006, p.93-99	Proxeny or Politeia	Phalanna	Gyrton	yes	
GHW03121	Herakleia des Thermopylais? Achinos?	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Demetrias	τοὺς δικασ-τὰς Φῦρον Μελάντα, Κλέω-να Ἐπιστράτου, Φιλόχωρον 5 Μοσχίωνος καὶ τὸν γραμ-ματέα Σωκράτη Νίκωνος.	Heraklea Trachinia		Decree of Demetrias for judges from Heraklea of Thermopylai (Heraklea Trachinia)	judges	Ἡ πόλις ἡ Δημητριέων τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἡρακλεωτῶν καὶ τοὺς δικασ-τὰς Φῦρον Μελάντα, Κλέω-να Ἐπιστράτου, Φιλόχωρον 5 Μοσχίωνος καὶ τὸν γραμ-ματέα Σωκράτη Νίκωνος, Ἀρίσταρχος Ἀριστοκράτους Ἰώλκιος στρατηγὸς Μαγνή[των]		1st CE	1st CE	SEG 23 (1968), 405; BE 1960, 194; AD 19 (1964 [1966]), p.243; BCH 95 (1971), p.543-559 (p.555)	Proxeny or Politeia	Phalanna	Metropolis	yes	yes
GHW03123	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Decree	Lamians		Aitolia	Ἀντίγονος Μυρμι-δόνος, and Ἀμύντωρ Ξενοδόκου	Proxeny, politeia, ateleia, egktesis (oikia and ges), epinomia, Damasias, son of Proxenos, of Aitolia.	n/a	Ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι · Λαμιεῖς ἔδωσαν Δα-μασίαι Προξένου Αἰτωλῶι προξενίαν πολειτείαν καὶ ἀτέλειαν τὸν πάντα χρό-νον καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ κατὰ γῆ- 5 ν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἐγ-κτησιν καὶ ἐπινομίαν καὶ αὐτοῖς κα-		3rd BCE	ca. 300-250 BC	SEG 16 (1959), 373; AE 1955, p.81-84	Proxeny or Politeia	Olosson	Rome		
GHW03124	Halos (place calledParalia Tsengeli, inv.)	Erythrea of Thermopylais; Halos (inv.)	Honorary Decree	Erythrea?	for the doctor (?) Eudoros son of Glaukos of Hypata	Hypata		for [- -]ΩΡΟΣ ΓΛΑΥΚΟΥ [ΥΠΑΤΑΙΟΣ?]	doctor	Ἔδοξε τηι βουληι καὶ τωι δήμωι Et. Taf.X b — — — — ναγορου ιεροποιου, [Κα]λλικράτη ο Ἀπολ- 4 ὶλ ε]υεν, Ἀλλεξίμαχοο ευεν-γνώμη πρυ-τάνεων επειδή Εὔ]δωροο Γλαύκου vac. [?Ὑπαταῖο<: δ]ιατελεῖ περΟ τὴν f]- 8 [μετέραν πολύν —]ΩΝ καὶ πρδτερον	or nos. 76/77, 79, 87, and 497/498 see SEG 53 528, 535, 580, 609, 1139 and 1068, respectively [in no. 289 (IGR III 732) the reading i]ατρός is to be rejected(Chaniotis, A.; Corsten, T.; Stroud, R.S.; Tybout, R.A.. "Medicine. Physicians. (53-2191)." Supplementum	3rd BCE	end 3rd BC	SEG 53 (2003), 528; 38 (1988), 517; AE 1915, no. 1; Moretti (L.), ISE 2 (1976), no. 103	Other	Demetrias	Herakleia Trachinia		
GHW03133	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Pheres	ΑΡΙΣΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΣ ΟΠΟΝΤΙΟΣ	Opuntos		πρό]ξ-ενος ἀσ[φάλει]α χαὐτδι καὶ το ῖ ς κένο καὶ ἀσ(υ)λί-α		Ἀρισστόμαχος Ὀπόντιο[ς πρό]ξ-ενος ἀσ[φάλει]α χαὐτδι καὶ το ῖ ς 5 κ(ω)καὶ ἀσυλί-α καὶ πολέμοιο καὶ ἠιρένας.		5th BCE	ca. 450-425 BC	SEG 23 (1968), 415; Béquignon (Y.), BCH 88 (1964), p.400-402, no. 1	Proxeny or Politeia	Lamians	Aitolia	yes	yes	yes
GHW03134	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree; Proxeny	Pheres	ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΣ ΠΡΟΕΛΝΙΟΣ	Proerna		[π]ολιτείαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἐπικαμίαν [?*ἐπιγαμία ν]?*, [ἀσφά]- 5 [λεια]ν τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ ἐν πολέ - μῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ for ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑΣ ΠΡΟΕΛΝΙΟΣ (Epikratidas of Proerna)		Φεραῖοι [ἐ]δό[κ]αι-εν προξενίαν κάσυλίαν Ἐπικρατίδα[ι] 5 [αὐτ]δι καὶ παί-[δ]εσσι Προελνίο[ις].		5th BCE	ca. 450-425 BC	SEG 23 (1968), 416; Béquignon (Y.), BCH 88 (1964), p.402-403, no. 3	Other	Erythrea?	Hypata		

GHW03135	Unknown (trouvée au Pirée)	Pheres	Honorary Decree; Proxeny	Pheres	(Lykidas of Oponte) and his brother	Opuntos	πρό]ξ-ενος ἀσ[φάλει]α / χαύτοῖ καὶ τοῖ ζ /5 κένο καὶ ἀσ(υ)λί-α καὶ πολέμοιο /καὶ ἱερένας ΛΥΚΙΔΑΣ ΟΠΟΝΤΙΟΣ (Lykidas of Oponte) and his brother		4th BCE	4th BC	BE 1938, 189; Peek (W.), Ath.Mitt. 59 (1934), p.56, no. 14	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Opuntos	yes			
GHW03136	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree; Proxeny	Pheres	ΠΟΛΥΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ ΑΛΚΙΔΑΜΟΥ ΠΕΠΑΡΗΘΙΟΣ	Peparethos	politeia for Polykleides f. Alkidamos de Peparethos)		3rd BCE	3rd BC	Béquignon (Y.), Rech. Pheres (1937), p.78, no. 1; McDevitt 0207	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Proerna	yes		yes	yes
GHW03137	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree; Proxeny	Pheres	ΑΡΧΕΛΑΟΣ ΣΜΙΚΡΙΩΝΟΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΟΣ	Thebes	προξενίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν	Ἀρχελάωι : Θηβαίωι Σμικρίωνος υἱῶι Φεραῖοι ἔδοσαν προξενίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν 5 αὐτῶι καὶ γενεᾶι καὶ χρήμασιν. Κρατεραῖος Ἀγασικράτεος.	4th BCE	late 5th?/4th c. BC	SEG 23 (1968), 417; BCH 88 (1964), p.402, no. 2	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Opuntos	yes			
GHW03139	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree; Proxeny	Pheres	ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΑΣ ΣΚΟΤΟΣΣΑΙΟΣ	Skotoussa	προξενίαν κα[ὶ ἀ]σ[υλία]ν 5 κ[αὶ ἀτ]έ[λει]αν for ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΑΣ ΣΚΟΤΟΣΣΑΙΟΣ (Aristokléas de Skotoussa)	Ἀριστοκλέαι Σκοτ-οσσαίωι Φεραῖοι ἔδ-ωκαν προξενίαν κα[ὶ ἀ]σ[υλία]ν 5 κ[αὶ ἀτ]έ[λει]αν [α]ὐτῶι [καὶ χρ]ήμασι.	4th BCE	4th BC	SEG 23 (1968), 419; BCH 88 (1964), p.405, no. 5	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Peparethos	yes			
GHW03140	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Pheres	Δαμύλλω[ι] Ὀποεντίω[ι]	Opuntos	προξενί[αν] 5 ἀτέλειαν ἀσυλ[ία]- ν προδικία[ν] αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς [κεί]- νου καὶ πολέμο υ καὶ ἰράνης.for ΔΑΜΥΛΛΟΣ ΟΠΟΕΝΤΙΟΣ (Damyllos d'Oponte)	Δαμύλλω[ι] Ὀποεντίω[ι] Φεραῖοι ἔδ[οσ]- αν προξενί[αν] 5 ἀτέλειαν ἀσυλ[ία]- ν προδικία[ν] αὐτῶι καὶ τοῖς [κεί]- νου καὶ πολέμο υ καὶ ἰράνης.	4th BCE	4th BC	SEG 23 (1968), 420; BCH 88 (1964), p.405-406, no. 6	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Thebes	yes			
GHW03141	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Pheres	Εὔρυ - - - - - - καὶ Ἱπποστρ[άτ ωι]	Krannon	proxeny, ἀσυλίαν	Τοῖς Κρα[ννουνί]- ις Εὔρυ - - - - - - - καὶ Ἱπποστρ[άτ ωι] ἀσυλίαν καὶ [αὐτο]- 5 ῖς καὶ [χ]ρεμά[τεσ σ]- ιν καὶ ἐπινο[μίαν].	4th BCE	4th BC	SEG 23 (1968), 421; BCH 88 (1964), p.406-407, no. 7	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Skotoussa	yes	yes		
GHW03142	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Pheres	{- -ωι Θηβαίωι, Ἀχαίω	Phthiotic Thebes	π]ροξενί- 5 [αν, εὐερ]γεσία[ν], θε- [αροδοκί]αν , [π]ρο- [μαντεία]ν, ἀτέλει- [αν, ἀσυλί]αν, ἐπιτι- [μὰν καθά]περ Δελ- 10 [φοῖς˙	Θεός. - - - - - - - - - ωι Θηβαίωι, Ἀχαίωι Ἱππο . . . . - - - - - - - - Φεραῖοι ἔδώκαιεν προξ[εν]- [ίαν καὶ] ἀτέλειαν καὶ ἀσυλί[αν] 5 [καὶ ἐπιν]ομίαν καὶ πολέμοιο [καὶ] [ἰράνης κ]αὶ αὐτο[ῖς κα]ὶ οἰκιά[ταις] - - - - - - - - -	4th BCE	4th BC	SEG 23 (1968), 422; , BCH 88 (1964), p.407-408, no. 8	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Opuntos	yes			
GHW03154	Velestino (excavations sanctuaire Zeus Thaulios)	Pheres	Honorary Decree	Pheres	?	Atrax	Fragment of a proxeny decree of Pheres for city of Atrax	n/a	..αν πότταν πόλιν τοῦν Ἀτραγίουν / ...στουν κάττὰν προξεννίαν Α Γ Α	?	?	Béquignon, Rech. Pheres (1937), p.87, no. 51	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Krannon	yes			

GHW03159	Krannona (Kastro)	Krannon	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Krannon	r Gorgos, son of Simos, of Pharsalos.	Pharsalos	ἰσοπολιτεί- αν καὶ ἔνκτασιν καὶ ἀτέ- 5 λειαν τᾶν φοράουν καὶ τοῦν ἄλλουν πάντουν καὶ ἀσπάλειαν καὶ πολέμοι- ο καὶ ἰράνας	Ἀγαθᾶ τύχα: ἔδουκε ἁ πό- λις Κρανουνίου ν Γόργωι Σί- μου Φαρσαλίωι ἰσοπολιτεί- αν καὶ ἔνκτασιν καὶ ἀτέ- 5 λειαν τᾶν φοράουν καὶ τοῦν ἄλλουν πάντουν καὶ ἀσπάλειαν καὶ πολέμοι- ο καὶ ἰράνας καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐγ-	3rd BCE	250/215 BC	SEG 23 (1968), 437; Ancient Macedonia II (1977), p. 539; , REA 66 (1964), p.313-315	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Phthiotic Thebes	yes				
GHW03161	Larissa (mosquée Omer-Bey)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin	Ἀριστοκλῆς Ἀρ[ιστοκλέο υς Λα]- [ρι]σαῖος	Larissa	Thess. Koinon for Aristokles, son of Aristokles, de Larissa	[ἀγαθῆι τύχηι]· [στρατηγοῦ ντος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν] [. .]π[— —, — — — — — — ἱππαρχοῦντ ος δέ] [Π]ολλέου τ[οῦ — —, γραμματεύο ντος τῶν] 5 συνέδρων [— — — — — — — — — — — — —]· [ο]υ, ταραντιν[αρ χοῦντος — — — — — — —] [το]ῦ	2nd BCE	196-146 BC	AE1910, col.332-341, no. 1; Moretti (L.), ISE 2 (1976), no. 103	Proxeny or Politeia	Pheres	Atrax	yes				
GHW03164	Larissa (excavations Verdélis)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa?		?	for an ambassador ? fragment of 12 lines of 3 to 7 lettres per line (l.8: - - ΠΡΕΣΒΕΥ- -; l.11: - - ΤΟ ΨΗΦΙ- -)	ambassador		1st CE	1st AD	PAAH 1955, p.147-148, note 3 + pl.48a; McDevitt 0332	Proxeny or Politeia	Krannon	Pharsalos	yes	yes		
GHW03165	Larissa (πλατεῖα Θέμιδος = Place M. Sapka)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Τίτον?] Κοῖντ ον Τίτου Ῥωμαῖ- ν [ον	Rome	προξενίαν, ἐπιγα - [μίαν, ἐ]νκτησ[ί]ν, ἀτέλε[ιαν, ἀσ]υ[λίαν]	[- -] [- -]Κ[- - - - -] [- - - - - τῶν ἀγῶν?]ν ἀγομένων ἥκ.ιο- [τα διὰ? τὸν π]ολυετῆ πόλεμον, καὶ καν- 4 [δυνευ]ούσ ης τῆς πόλεως κατα- [λειφθῆναι?] ὑπὸ τῶν τηβεννοφόρ ω[ν], [αὐτὸς γ]ε	1st BCE	88/87 BC	SEG 57 (2007), 512; AE 1910, col.344-349, no. 3; Topoi 15 (2007), p.251-284	Other	Thess. Koin	Larissa					
GHW03166	Thasos	Larissa?	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Larissa		Thasos	proxeny Decree of Larissa (?)for 2 judges (?) from Thasos	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ἐπὶ τῆι εὐνοίαι(?) ἣ]ν ἔχουσιν [εἰς] [τὴν πόλιν — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]ε. ηι καὶ Ἤγησα. 2-3. [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τίμια, 4 [ὅσα — — — — — — — — — — καὶ τοῖς	2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG XII Suppl., 360; Robert (L.), RPh 1936, p.129-131 (OMS II, p.1208-1210)	Other	Larissa?	Larissa					
GHW03168	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa koinon, ?	Ἀγασικλεΐ / Μέντορος Μακεδόνι	Dion, Macedonia	proxen γfor ΑΓΑΣΙΚΛΗΣ ΜΕΝΤΟΡΟΣ, macedonian from Dion	Ἀγαθῆι τύχ[ηι. /Λαρισαίω] ν τὸ κοινὸν / ἔ]δωκεν Ἀγασικλεΐ / Μέντορος Μακεδόνι / ἐγ Δίου, εὐεργέτηι γεν[ο- /μένωι τῆς πόλε[ως ὑπὸ / τ]ὴν σιτοδείαν, προξενί- /ἀν κατὰ τ¯ον νόμον κτλ.	3rd BCE	3rd BC	AE 1910, col.341-344, no. 2	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Rome	yes		yes	yes	

GHW03169	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	(Bombos-[B]ὁμβος Ἀλκαίου Αἰολεὺς [ἀπ᾽ Ἀλεξαν]δρεί ας - and Leukios - Λεύκιος Νικασίαιος Αἰολεὺς ἀπ᾽ Ἀλεξανδρεί ας)	Alexandria of Troade	their work in educating the people	politeia, enktesis and all other advantages of Larisan citizens for 2 rhetors from Alexandria of Troade	rhetors	Ταγευούντο υν Κρίτουνος Παυσανιαίο ι, Κρατει-/σίππποι Θερσανδρεί οι, Θρασυμάχο ι Ἀριστιουνεί-/οι, Φιλοφείροι Ἀσανδρείοι, Θερσάνδροι Πολυξεινε[ί]-/οι, ταμιευόντο υν Λυκίνοι Αλ[ε]ξανδρε ίοι καὶ Μενε-/κράτεος Εὐστρατ[ι]δ	Kritoun son of Pausanias, Krateisippos son of Thersandeos, Thrasumachos son of Aristioun, Philopheiros son of Asandros, Thersander son of Polyxenos and were treasurers Lukinos son of Alexandros and Menekrateis son of Eustratidas, were	2nd BCE	160-150 BC	SEG 56 (2006), 638; Chiron 36 (2006), p.171-203; BCH 59 (1935), p. 55-64, no. 2	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Thasos	yes	
GHW03170	Krannona?	Krannon	Honorary Decree	Krannon	]ον Ἀριστοφίλο υ, Χαιρέ- 5 [- -] οκρίτου, Ἀ[λφιλην]ν[ ] Ἀριφ[[.-] [και τοὶ γρα[Ἀ(ρι)ατ ή αυτῶν ' Αρ ἰιτά» ιλο[ν]	Karystos		ττροξενίαν, πολιτείαν, ἐιυνοfxἶαν, ἀτ- φαλείαν πολέμου καἶ εἴρηνης καἶ ταλλα τι- ^.ια πάντα δσα	[ἐπανέσαι δε καἶ στεφαγώ-] [σαι τον δήρ,ρντόν Καρυστίων άρετας] [ένεκα καἶ εύνοιας της προς τους Λαρισαίους (ου Κραννωνίου ς)] [Στὰ το άνδρας καλούς κάγαδούς] έςαπο- [στεἶλαι — 45-17 1. —] ΟΛΗΝ * έπαννέ- [σαι δέ καἶ τους δι.κασ]ταςτ	1st BCE	1st BC (2nd Half)	IG XII Suppl., p.201, testimonia no. 3; BCH 59 (1935), p.71-73, no. 4	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa koinon, ?	Dion, Macedonia	yes	
GHW03179	Unknown	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	Medeios, son of Oxythemis, of Larisa.	Larissa	proxeny	[ἀγα]θ[ῆι τύ]χηι· Μη[δ]- [εί]ωι Ὀξυθέμιος [Λ]- [αρ]ισαίωι Γοννε[ῖ]- [ς ἔδ]ωκαν, καθάπε[ρ] 5 [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις [π]- [ροξ]ένο[οις] πρ[ό]ξε[νί]- [ίαν — — — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — —]	3rd BCE	3rd BC	Gonnoi 001	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Alexandria of Troade		yes
GHW03181	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Ξενάρχωι Ἰπ[πάρχου] Κονδαιεῖ	Kondaia	proxeny for a citizen of Kondaia	[ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἡ πόλις] 1 ἡ Γοννέων ἔ[δωκεν] Ξενάρχωι Ἰπ[πάρχου] Κονδαιεῖ προξ[ενίαν] [εὐ]εργέτη ν[τι, Γον]- 5 [νῆ εἶναι, κα]θάπε[ρ τοῖς] [Γοννεῦσιν — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — —]	3rd BCE	3rd BC	Gonnoi 003	Proxeny or Politeia	Krannon	Karystos	yes	yes
GHW03183	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree;Proxénie; Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	Σιμίαι Αντιπάτρου Δημη- τριεῖ	Demetrias	proxeny, isopoliteia, enktesis, epinomia, asphaleia, for Simias of Demetrias	ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννέων ἔδωκεν Σιμί- αι Αντιπάτρου Δημη- τριεῖ προξενίαν, ίσο- 5 πολιτείαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρή- νης· ταγευόντων Μανίγ- 10 χου	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 005; 086	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Larissa	yes	

GHW03183b	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree;Proxénie; Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	Γενναίῳ Κρα[τε]- ραίου, Μεθυστάδει Μένωνος, Θεσσα[λῷ] 10 [— — καὶ τῷ γραμμα]τ ᾳξ] αὐτ ῶν Με γ ισ- [κῷ — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]	Krannon	for judges and secretary from Krannon	judges	ταγευόντων Παρμενίωνο ς τοῦ Ἴτρα- τονίκου, Δικαίου τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου, Εὐβιότου τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου, Πυρρία τοῦ Πυρρίχου, Μανίγχου τοῦ Παρμενίωνο ς ταμιευόντω ν Κλεοξένου τ[ο]ῦ 5 Ἀσάνδρου, Δημάρχου τοῦ Δημοκράτου· γραμμα- τεύοντος	2nd BCE	2nd BC	GHW03183b	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Kondaia	yes				
GHW03185	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Μενεδήμωι Δεινίου Λαρισαίωι	Larissa	προ[ξε]- [νίαν, ἰσο]πολιτ[εί αν, ἔνκ]- [τη]σιν, ἐπινομία [ν, ἀσ]- [φά]λειαν, ἀσυλίαν [καὶ] 5 [ἐν] πολέμωι καὶ ἐν [εἰ]- ρήνηι	{2vestigia litterarum}2 1 [— — — — — — — —Ω προ[ξε]- [νίαν, ἰσο]πολιτ[εί αν, ἔνκ]- [τη]σιν, ἐπινομία [ν, ἀσ]- [φά]λειαν, ἀσυλίαν [καὶ] 5 [ἐν] πολέμωι καὶ ἐν [εἰ]- ρήνηι καὶ αὐτῶι [καὶ ἐγ]- γόνοις· ταγευόντ[ω	3rd BCE	3rd BC	Gonnoi 007	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Demetrias	yes	yes		yes	yes
GHW03186	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Menedemos, son of Deinias, of Larisa.	Larissa	προξε[νί]- αν, πολιτείαν, ἐ[πιγα]- [μίαν, — — — — — —]	[ἀγα]θῆι τύχ(ι)ηι {2e τύχηι}2e- ἡ πόλις [ἡ Γ]ννέων ἔδωκεν Μενεδήμωι Δεινίου Λαρισαίωι αὐτῶι 5 καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξε[νί]- αν, πολιτείαν, ἐ[πιγα]- [μίαν, — — — — — —] ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννέων ἔδω[κε]ν Πausανίαι Μενεκράτο υς Κασσωπαίω ι προξ[ε]- %%νίαν, ἰσοπολιτεία ν, ἔνκτησιν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσ- [φά]λειαν, ἀσυλίαν ἐν πολέμωι καὶ ἐν εἰρήν[ηι] 5 [αὐ]τῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις· ταγευόντων Νι- [— — — —	3rd BCE	3rd BC	Gonnoi 008	Other	Gonnoi	Krannon					
GHW03188	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Πausανίαι Μενεκράτο υς Κασσωπαίω ι	Cassopea	proxeny, isopoliteia, enktesis, epinomia, asphalia, asylia for Pausanias of Cassopea											Gonnoi 010	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Larissa	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes
GHW03189	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Εὐφορβίνηι - ολάου Ὀλοσσονίωι, Γλυκίνωι Φιλίσκου Δημητριεῖ, Βίωνι Δι- 5 ονυσίου Θηβαίωι	Olosson, Demetrias and Thebes	proxeny, ἰσοπολιτεία ν, ἔνκτη- /σιν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσφά- /λειαν, ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἐν πολέμωι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνη[ι] 10 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις	ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γ[ον]- νέων ἔδωκεν Εὐφορβίνηι [. 3-4.]- ολάου Ὀλοσσονίωι , Γλυκίνωι Φιλίσκου Δημητριεῖ, Βίωνι Δι- 5 ονυσίου Θηβαίωι προξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτεία ν, ἔνκτη- σιν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσφά- λειαν, ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἐν	3rd BCE	3rd BC	Gonnoi 011	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Larissa	yes	yes			yes

GHW03190	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Alexandros son of Admetos	Arkynia, Macedonia	Proxeny, isopoliteia, enktesis, epinomia, asphalia for Alexandros, son of Admetos, of Arkynia in Macedonia. Macedonian shield design at start of decree	Macedonicus}² 1 ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννείων ἔδωκεν Ἀλεξάνδρωι Ἀδμήτου Μακεδόνι ἐξ Ἀρκυνίας προξε- νίαν, ἰσοπολιτείαν, ἔνκτησιν, 5 ἐπινομίαν, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέ- μου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις, ἐπειδὴ Ἀλέξανδρος	3rd BCE	end of 3rd BC	SEG 33 (1983), 457; Moretti (L.), ISE 2 (1976), no. 104; Gonnoi 012	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Cassopea	yes	yes		yes		yes
GHW03191	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi		Macedonia	for a macedonian	[ἀγ]αθῆι {²clipeus}² τύχηι· [— — — — — — — — — — — —]	3rd BCE	end of 3rd BC	Gonnoi 013	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Olosson, Demetrias and Thebes	yes	yes	yes	yes		yes
GHW03198	Gonnoi (acropolis)	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	—]ΩΙΠ[— — — — Ὀλοσσονίω	Olooson	προξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτεί[α ν, ἔν[κτησιν, ἀσφάλειαν] [ἀσυλίαν καὶ] πολέμου καὶ εἰ[ρήνης καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ] 5 [ἐκγόνοις, καθ' ἃ κ]αὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς for a citizen of Olosson	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 [— — — — — — —]Δ. . Ο[— — — — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — —]ΩΙΠ[— — — — Ὀλοσσονίωι] [προξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτεί[α ν, ἔν[κτησιν, ἀσφάλειαν] [ἀσυλίαν καὶ] πολέμου καὶ	3rd BCE	end of 3rd BC	Gonnoi 018, 043	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Arkynia, Macedonia	yes	yes		yes		yes
GHW03200	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	[— — — — —]ΛΙΟΝ Ῥωμα[ίον	Rome	πρόξενον τῆς πό λ[εως καὶ εὐεργέτην καὶ] 10 πολίτην for a Roman	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 [— πρὸς τὴν πό]λιν ἡ[μῶν — — — — — —] [— — — — —]Ο. ΣΚΑΙ[— — — — — — — —] [— — διό δε]δόχθ αι τῆι πόλει τῆι Γοννέ]- [ων] ἐπαινέσαι τε Γ[— — — — — — — — —] 5 [— — — — —]ΛΙΟΝ	2nd BCE	Start 2nd BC	Gonnoi 020	Other	Gonnoi	Macedonia						
GHW03201	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	Polyxenos, son of Aristophylos, of Larisa.	Larissa	πολιτείαν, ἐπιγαμίαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὰ λο[ι]- πὰ τίμια πάντα	ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννέων ἔδωκεν Πολυξέ- νωι Ἀριστοφύλο υ Λαρισαίωι καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγό<ᵗᵉ>νο>ᵗᵉ ις πολιτεί- 5 αν, ἐπιγαμίαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀ- σφάλειαν, ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὰ λο[ι]- πὰ τίμια πάντα καθάπερ κ[αὶ] τοῖς λοιποῖς	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 021	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Olooson	yes	yes		yes		
GHW03202	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Kebbas, son of Menedemos, of Larisa	Larissa	proxeny?	ἀγαθ ῆι τύχηι· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννέων ἔδωκεν Κέββαι Μενεδ ή[μο υ] [Λαρισαίωι — — —] 5 [— — — — — — — —]	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 022	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Rome	yes	yes				
GHW03206	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	Διαγόρ - [ου τοῦ Διαγό](?)ρο υ Κυμα[ίωι]	Kyme	proxeny? for a citizen of Kyme	[ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἡ π]όλις Γοννέ- [ων ἔδωκεν — — —]εείωι Διαγόρ - [ου τοῦ Διαγό](?)ρο υ Κυμα[ίωι] [— — — — — — — — — — — —]	2nd BCE	start 2nd BC	Gonnoi 026	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Larissa	yes		yes	yes	yes

GHW03210	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Daileon, son of Eraton, of Larisa	Larissa	ἰσοπο- λιτείαν καὶ ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμί- αν καὶ ἔνκτησιν κα- θάπερ καὶ Γοννεῦ- σιν καὶ ἐπινομίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν	ἀγαθῆ τύχῃ· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννέων ἔδω- κεν προξενίαν Δα- ιλέοντι Ἐράτωνος 5 Λαρισαίωι καὶ ἰσοπο- λιτείαν καὶ ἰσοτι- μίαν καὶ ἐπιγαμί- αν καὶ ἔνκτησιν κα- θάπερ καὶ Γοννεῦ- 10 σιν καὶ ἐπινομίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 030	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Larissa	yes				
GHW03211	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Aischylos, son of Sosidemos, of Macedonian Europos.	Europos	isopoliteia, isotimia, enktesis, epinomia, asphalia for a macedonian of Europos	ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννέ - ων ἔδωκεν πρ[ο]- ξενίαν Αἰσχυλί- 5 νωι Σωσιδήμου Μακεδόνι Εὐρω- παίωι {ωι} ἰσοπολι- τείαν καὶ ἰσοτιμί- αν καὶ ἔνκτησιν 10 καθάπερ Γοννε ῦ- σιν, ἐπ]ινομίαν, ἀ- σφάλειαν	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 031	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Kyme	yes	yes	yes		yes
GHW03212	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Ἀμύντ αι Δημοκράτο υς Ὁμολιεῖ	Homolion	προξενίαν [ἰ]σοπολιτεί αν, ἔ[νκτη]- [σιν, ἐπινομί]αν, ἀσ[φά]- [λειαν,for Amyntas of Homolion	[ἀγ]αθῆι τύχη[ι]· ἡ πόλι [ς] ἡΓοννέω ν ἔδωκεν Ἀμύντ αι Δημοκράτο υς Ὁμολιεῖ προξενίαν 5 [ἰ]σοπολιτεί αν, ἔ[νκτη]- [σιν, ἐπινομί]αν, ἀσ[φά]- [λειαν, — — — — — —] . . Ο[— — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — —]ΝΕ 10	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 032	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Larissa		yes	yes	yes	
GHW03215	Gonnoi (inventory)	Aiginion?	Honorary Decree	Aiginion		Gonnoi	honours for a citizen of Gonnoi (ΟΙΝΙΑΣ ΞΕΝΟ[ΚΡΑΤ ΟΥΣ ΓΟΝΝΕΥΣ])	[— — — — — — — — — —] 1 [— — — —]] ΕΝΕ[— — — —] [— — — —]μίου, προ[ότα]- [τεύοντ]ος δὲ τῆς ἐκκλη- [σίας Ἀρ]ισοστοκλέ ους το[ῦ] 5 [— — — —]ου· τοῦ ταγοῦ εἰπόν- [τος· ἔδοξ]ε τῷ δήμῳ τῷ Αἰ- [γινιέων ἐπαι]νέσαι	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 035bis	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Europos		yes	yes		yes
GHW03217	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi		Macedonia	for a macedonian	{²clipeus Macedonicus}² 1 [αγα]θῆ τύχη· [ταγευ]ό[ν]τ ωνΔημ. 5- 6. . ΤΟΥ [— — — — — — — —]ΜΕ[— — —] [— — — — — — — — —] {²vestigia}² 5 [— — — — — — — — — —] {²vestigia}²	2nd BCE	Start 2nd BC	Gonnoi 037	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Homolion	yes	yes	yes		yes

GHW03218	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi		Phalanna	πολιτείαν, π[ροξενίαν, ἐπ]ινο- 40 μίαν, [ἐ]νκ[τ]ησ[ιν , ἀσφάλειαν κ]αὶ ἐν [πολέμωι καὶ ἐν εἰρήν]ηι καθ' ἃ κ[αὶ] [τοῖς λοιποῖς for 2 citizens of Phalanna		[ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· στρ]ατη[γ]ο ῦντος / [τῶν Περραιβ]ῶν Κλέωνος τοῦ Τιμο- / [θέου] Γ[οννέ]ως τὸ δεύτερον· ἱερέω[ς] [τοῦ Ἀσκλη]πιοῦ Σ[τρ]ατονίκ ου τ[οῦ] 5 [Παρμενίων ος, μη]νὸς Ποησίου δευτέραι, [ἐκκλησία]ς ἐννόμου, προστατεύ- [οντος τῆς	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 040	Other	Aiginion	Gonnoi			
GHW03221	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi		Phalanna	πολειτείαν, προξενίαν, [ἐ]πινομίαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ [ἐν πολ]έμωι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνηι,	sitos!	[ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ταγε]υ ὀντω ν Στρατ ο[νί]- [κου τοῦ Παρμενίω]ν ος, Ἀντιγόνου τοῦ [— — — — — — — —]ου τοῦ Δημητρίου, [— — — — — — — —ο]υ, Ἀριστοκλέο υς τοῦ 5 [— — —, ταμευ]ὀντ ων δ[ὲ] Εὐάρχου [τοῦ — — — — —],	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 041	Other	Gonnoi	Macedonia			
GHW03222	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	C. Flavius Apollonios and his son C. Flavius Bucco, Roman citizens.	Rome	προξενίαν Γαΐωι Φλαυΐωι καὶ Γαΐωι Φλαυΐωι Βόκκωνι Ῥωμαίοις ἔνκτησι- ν, ἐπιγαμίαν, ἀσφάλειαν		ἀγαθῆ τύχη· στρατη- γοῦντος Ὀρθαγόρου τοῦ Φιλίππου Ἐρικινέως· ἐπει- δὴ Γάιος Φλάυιος Γαΐου Ἀ- 5 πολλώνιος καὶ Γάιος Φλάυ- ιος Γαΐου Βόκκων ὁ υἱὸς αὐ- τοῦ Ῥωμαῖοί εἰσιν διακεί- μενοι πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἡ- μῶν ἐπιδιδόντες	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 042	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Phalanna	yes	yes	yes
GHW03226	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	[. .]ΑΛΓΛΛΗ Σ Ῥωμαῖο[ς	Rome	proxeny? (incomplete)		[— — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 [— — — —]ΙΙ[. .]ΝΙ[— — — —] [— — — — — —]ἄνου τοῦ [— —] [τοῦ] Εὐβιότ[ου]· ταμευόν- των Λυσίου τοῦ Ἀρμέου, 5 Πλουτάρχου τοῦ Παρμ- ενίωνος· μηνὸς Διθυμα- νβίου εἰκάδι· ἐπειδ ἡ [. . .] [. .]ΑΛΓΛΛΗ	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 047	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Phalanna	yes	yes	yes
GHW03227	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Νίκων Φ[ι]-	Macedonia	proxeny? for a macedonian		{2clipeus Macedonicus}2 /1 ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ταγευόντων / Εὐβιότου τοῦ Ἀλάνδρου, Πυρρί-/ου τοῦ Νικαίου, Αἰνέου τοῦ Ἀν- /τιγόνου, Δημάρχου τοῦ Δημο- /κράτους, Παρμενίωνο ς [τοῦ Αἰν]- /ησίου· ταμευόντ[ων] Ἀριστίω νος / τοῦ Ξενομένου,	2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	Gonnoi 048	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Rome	yes	yes	yes

GHW03228	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Ἀπολλοδώρ ου [Μακεδών	Macedonia	proxeny? for a macedonian	{²clipeus Macedonicus}² /1 ἔδοξε τῇ πόλει· ταγευό[ντω ν — — — — τοῦ — — — —]- κλέους, Νικάνδρου τοῦ Φιλ[— — —, — — — τοῦ Παρ]- /μενίωνος, Ἡγελόχου τοῦ / ιι[— — — —, — — — — τοῦ] / Ἀντιόχου· ταμιεύόντω ν Κ[— — — — τοῦ — — —, Λ]- /σάνδρο(ο) υ	2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	Gonnoi 049	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Rome	yes			
GHW03230	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	[.]ΤΛ. ΕΤΟΥ Κραν[νω]- 5 γίω,	Krannon	[ισ]οπολ[ιτε ίαν] [καὶ ἐπι]νομ[ί]αν καὶ ἐνκ- [τ]ησαν καὶ [ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφά]- 10 [λ]ειαν	[ἀγ]αθῇ τύχῃ· ἡ πόλ[ις] [ἡ] Γοννέων ἔδωκε [— — — — — — — —] [.]ΤΛ. ΕΤΟΥ Κραν[νω]- 5 γίω, Γοννῆ εἶναι [καθθ]ηε[ρ καὶ] τοῖς Γ[ον]- νεῦσιν, [ισ]οπολ[ιτε ίαν] [καὶ ἐπι]νομ[ί]αν καὶ ἐνκ- [τ]ησαν καὶ [ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀσφά]- 10 [λ]ειαν καὶ	2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	Gonnoi 051	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Macedonia	yes			
GHW03231	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Σωσιστρ [άτ ω] Βυκίνου Μητροπ[ολί τη	Metropolis	προ[ξ]ενίαν, ἰσοπ[ολιτεία for a citizen of Metropolis	ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γον[νέ]- ων ἔδωκεν Σωσιστρ [άτ ω] Βυκίνου Μητροπ[ολί τη προ]- [ξ]ενίαν, ἰσοπ[ολιτεία ν — —] 5 [— — — — — — — — — — —]	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 052	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Macedonia	yes			
GHW03246	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi		Macedonia	for a macedonian	{²clipeus Macedonicus}² 1 ἀγα[θ]ῇ τ[ύχῃ]· [ἡ πό]λις[ἡ Γοννέων] [— — — — — — — —]		?	Gonnoi 067a	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Krannon	yes	yes	yes	
GHW03256	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree?	Gonnoi			Beginning of a decree for foreign judges?	[ἀ]γαθῆι τύχηι· [ἐε]ρομνημο νοῦντος Ἀπολλωνίδο υ [τοῦ . . .]ος [ου]· ταγευόντων Σίμ- [μου τοῦ Λυσ]ιμάχου, Ἀριστομένο υ 5 [τοῦ . . .]ΑΥ. ου, Ἀσάνδρου τοῦ Δικ- αιογένου, Ἀσάνδρου τοῦ Εὐβιό- [τo]υ, Δημητρίου τοῦ	judges	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 068	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Metropolis	yes	yes		
GHW03257	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi		Mondaia	ἡ προξενία καὶ πολιτεία for judges from Mondaia	judges	{²vestigia litterarum}²/ 1 [τὰ δεδομένα τίμια ἀναγρ]αφῶ σι[ν εἰς]/ [κίονα λιθίνην καὶ] ἰεθῶσαν ἐ[ν τῷ] / [ἱερῷ τ]ῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τῆς ἐν ἀκροπόλ [ει] , / δ[δομένης τῆς δαπάνης ἀπὸ τῶν/5 τῆς πόλεως προσόδων· γράψαι δὲ / καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Μονδαιέων	2nd BCE	ca 178 BC	Gonnoi 069	Other	Gonnoi	Macedonia				

GHW03258	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	ἐξ Ἄτ[ραγος δικασ]- ταῖς Πολίτᾳ Φιλίππου, Σιμίᾳ Ἀγάθωνος, 5 Σίμωνι Δικαίου καὶ τῶι γραμματεῖ αὐ- τῶν Ἀριστοτέλει Ἡέρωνος	Atrax	politeia, egktesis, asphalia, epigamia, epinomia for judges from Atrax.	judges	[— —]1[— — — — — προστατεύο ντος τῆς ἐκκλησί]- /ας τῶν ταγῶν Θε[— — — — — — — — —· ἔδοξε] / τῆι Γοννέων πόλει τοῖς ἐξ Ἄτ[ραγος δικασ]- ταῖς Πολίτᾳ Φιλίππου, Σιμίᾳ Ἀγάθωνος, 5 Σίμωνι Δικαίου καὶ τῶι	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 070	Other	Gonnoi	Gonnoi				
GHW03259	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	[Π]αρμενίω ν Μικύθου, Ξεν[— — — — — —] [. . . Μ]νασίας Φιλινίου·	Kierion	for judges from Kierion	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —]/[— — — καὶ τε]θῆ [ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς] [Ἀθηνᾶ]ς τῶι ἑ[ν ἀκροπόλει· τὴν δὲ ἐσο]- μένην εἰς ταῦ [ἡα δαπ[άνην δοῦ]- ναι τὸν ταμίαν ἀπὸ τῶν [τῆς πόλεως] 5 προσόδων· διαποστέλα ι δὲ [καὶ πρὸς] τὴν	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 071	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Mondaia	yes	yes		
GHW03260	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi		Phthiotic Thebes	[π]ολιτείαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἐπικαμίαν {²⁶ἐπιγαμία ν}²⁶, [ἀσφά]- 5 [λεια]ν τὸν πάντα χρόνον καὶ ἐν παῖ - μῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὐτοῖς τε καὶ ἐκγό- [νοις] καθ' ἃ καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς πρ[οξένοις· for judges from Phthiotic Thebes	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 [.]ἰαν Ἀνδραγάθο υ, Νικίαν [— — — — —] [.]χου καὶ τὸν γραμματέα αὐτῶν Φιλο[κ]- [λ]ῆν Φιλοκλέους· δεδόσθαι {²⁶δεδόσθαι}²⁶ αὐτοῖς [π]ολιτείαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἐπικαμίαν {²⁶ἐπιγαμία ν}²⁶, [ἀσφά]-	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 072	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Atrax	yes	yes	yes	yes
GHW03261	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	?	Kierion	proxeny, other rights not visible for judges from Kierion	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] / [— — — —]Σ[— — — — — — — — — — — —]ον] / [καὶ] ἐ[ν] πο[λέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ αὐ]- [τ]οῖς τε κ[αὶ ἐκγό]ν[οις καθ' ἃ καὶ τοῖς λοι]- /ποῖς προξένο[ι]ς· ἀναγ[ρ]αφ[ῆναι δὲ] τοῦτ[ο τὸ ψή]φ ισμα	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 073	Other	Gonnoi	Kierion				
GHW03262	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	δικαστ[αῖς] 10 ἐκ Φερῶν Καλιοθένη Μασάκου, Εὐδήμῳ Μασάκου, Λέον[τι] [Με]νίσκου καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ αὐτῶν Μένωνι Πολυ[ε]- [ν]ίδο	Pheres	προξενίαν, ἰσοπολειτείαν, ἐπινομίαν, [ἔγ]- κτησιν, ἀσφάλειαν for judges from Pheres	judges	1, δικασστῶν Φεραίων. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ἱερομνημον εύοντος Δημοκρά- του τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου· ταγευόντων δὲ Θεοφάνο[υ] τοῦ Ἀρμέου, Εὐφήμου τοῦ Εὐδήμου, Παρμενίων[ος] 5 τοῦ Τιμοθέου, Παρμενίωνο ς τοῦ Μανίγ[χ]ου,	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 074; 075	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Phthiotic Thebes	yes	yes	yes	

GHW03264	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	ἐκ Κιερίου Κορράγῳ Πετραίου καὶ Φρύνῳ Πολυκράτου ς καὶ Ἡρακλείδῃ Νικασείπ- που καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ αὐτῶν Νικάρχῳ Στρατονίκ<ο υ>	Kierion	πραξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτείαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀσφάλειαν for judges from Kierion	judges	Φεραίων δικαστῶν. below molding.2 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· ἱερομνημον οῦντος Δη- μοκράτου τοῦ Λοάνδρου· ταγευόντων δὲ Θεοφάνου τοῦ Ἀρμέου, Εὐφήμου τοῦ Εὐδή- μου, Παρμενίωνο ς τοῦ Τιμοθέου, Παρμενί- ωνος τοῦ Μαννίχου,	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 076	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Kierion	yes			
GHW03265	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	Δαμάγητος [. .]ν ἔου, Δημήτριος Μανί[ν]- [χου], Εὐπόλεμος Φρύνου καὶ [ὁ γραμματεύ ς αὐτῶν]ν Σιμ. . [. . . Ἀ]ντιφάνου,	Gomphoi	? (no honours legible) for judges judges from Gomphoi	judges	[ἀγαθῇ]ῇ τύχῃ· μηνὸς Δι- [θυρ]αμβίο υ εἰκάδι· ταγευόν- [των] Παρμενίωνο ς τοῦ [Αἰν]ησίου, Δημαινέτου τοῦ [Ἀν]τιγόνου, Ἐπικράτου τοῦ Μι- [κύ]θου, Πιτθέως τοῦ Λυκίνου, [Ν]ικάνορος τοῦ Φιλώτου· τα- μιευόντων Σωπάτρου	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 77	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Pheres	yes	yes	yes	yes
GHW03266	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi		Metropolis	for judges from Metropolis	judges	ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· μηνὸς Διθυραμ- βίου εἰκάδι· ταγευόντων Παρμενίωνο ς τοῦ Αἰνησίου, Δημαινέτου τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου, Ἐπικράτου τοῦ Μικύθου, Πιθέ- ως τοῦ Λυκίνου, Νικάνορος τοῦ Φιλώτου· ταμιευόν- των Σωπάτρου τοῦ Πυθο- γένου,	2nd BCE	early 2nd BC	Gonnoi 78	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Kierion	yes	yes	yes	
GHW03267	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi		Metropolis	for judges from Metropolis	judges	ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· μηνὸς Διθυραμ- βίου εἰκάδι· ταγευόντων Παρ- μενίωνος τοῦ Αἰνησίου, Δη-μαινέτου τοῦ Ἀντιγόνου, [Ἐπι]- κράτου τοῦ Μικύθου, Πιτθέω[ς] [τοῦ] Λυκίνου, Νικάνορος τοῦ [Φιλώ]- του· ταμιευόντω ν Σωπάτ ρ[ου]	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 79	Other	Gonnoi	Gomphoi				
GHW03268	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	δικασταὶ ἐκ <[16]Τρίκης>[16] ἐπὶ τὰς βολίμους δίκας Γλαυ- κίας Ἀττίνου, Ξενοφάνης Εὐ- φορβίδου, Πραξίας <[16]Αὐτονόμο υ>[16] καὶ ὁ γραμμα- τεὺς αὐτῶν Ἀρι<σ>τοκλ ῆς Φίλωνος,	Trikka	[πο]- λειτείαν, ἐπιγα [μίαν, ἔ]νκτησ[ιν, ἀ]- σφάλειαν κα[ὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν εἰρή]- for judges of Trikka	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] Νικάνο]- ρος τοῦ Φι λ[ώτ]ου· ταμιευόντα ν Σ [ω]- πάτρου τοῦ Πυθογένους, Λοάνδρου [[ου]] τοῦ Δικαιογένου. γραμματεύ- οντος Λυσιμάχου τοῦ Ξίμμου· ἐπει- δή οἱ	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 080	Other	Gonnoi	Metropolis				

GHW03269	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi		Miletus	for judges from Miletus	judges	[— —] 1 [— —]ΙΛ [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] . ΤΩΝΑΣ) [[—] ὑπὲρ Μιλησίων δ[ικαστῶν . . . . . c. 20. . . . .] . ος	2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 081	Other	Gonnoi	Metropolis			
GHW03270	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi			for foreign judges	judges		2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 82	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Trikka	yes	yes	yes
GHW03271	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree?	Gonnoi						2nd BCE	1st half of 2nd BC	Gonnoi 83	Other	Gonnoi	Miletus			
GHW03275	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	ς Γενναίῳ] [Κρ]ατεραίο υ, Με[θυστάδε ι Μένωνος], Θεσσαλῷ Κ [— — — — καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ] 5 Μενίσκ [ῳ	Krannon	πολιτείαν, ἔνκ]- τησ[ιν, for judges from Krannon	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — τοῖς ἐκ Κραν]- 1 [νῶ]νος [ἐπὶ τάς — — — — δίκας πα]- [ραγ]ενομέν ο[ις δικασταῖς Γενναίῳ] [Κρ]ατεραίο υ, Με[θυστάδε ι Μένωνος], Θεσσαλῷ Κ [— — — — καὶ τῷ γραμματεῖ] 5 Μενίσκ [ῳ — — — — — πολιτείαν,	2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	Gonnoi 087	Other	Gonnoi	Gonnoi			
GHW03276	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi		Metropolis	for judges from Metropolis	judges	[— —] 1 [δο]ῦναι τοὺς ταμίας ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως] προσόδων· διαποστέλλα ι δὲ καὶ πρὸς [τ]ὴ[ν] πόλιν Μητροπολιτ ῶν τοὺς ἐνάρχους {τα} ταῦτὰ δεδομένα φιλάνθρωπ α τοῖς 5 [τε] προγεγραμμ	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 88	Other	Gonnoi	Gonnoi			
GHW03277	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	?	Atrax	? for judges from Atrax	judges	[— —] 1 [— —]Ο[— —]οκράτου· γραμματεύο ντος [δὲ] / [Δι]λώτ[ου] τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέο υ· μην[ὸς] / [Δι]θυραμ% ºº%ººβίου δεκάτῃ· ἔδοξε τῇ [πό]-/λει τῇ Γον%ºº%νέων τοῖς παραγεγονό [σι δι]- 5 κασταῖς ἐξ	2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	Gonnoi 89	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Krannon	yes	yes	
GHW03278	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	αλακίας Θερσικρά- τους, Δημήτριος Πετραίου, Λυκίσκος Κλεοσθένου καὶ ὁ γραμματεὺς Λεόντιος Παι- μάνδρου	Gomphoi	for judges from Gomphoi	judges	ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· μηνὸς Διθυ- ραμβίου εἰκάδι· ταγευόν- των Εὐβάτου τοῦ Παρμε- νίωνος, Ἀσάνδρου τοῦ Δη- 5 μαινέτου, Φιλοκράτου τοῦ Παυσανίου, Παυσανίου τοῦ Παυσανίου, Ποσιδίππου τοῦ Μενεκράτο υ· ταμιευόν- των Κλεοξένου	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 90	Other	Gonnoi	Metropolis			

GHW03279	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi		Skotoussa	πολι τ[είαν], ἐπιγαμίαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀσφ[άλειαν καὶ] 30 αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγόνοις κα[ὶ ἐν πολέμῳ] καὶ ἐν εἰρήνῃ, καθάπερ [καὶ τοῖς] λ ουσοῖς ⟦. 2-3. ⟧ [πολ]ίτας for judges from Scotoussa	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 ΛΟΚ[— — — — — — — — — — — —]· λωνίδου τ ῳῦ — — — — — — — — — — —] τοῦ Ἐπικράτου, Α [— — — — — — — — Πα]- τροκλέου· ταμιευό[ντ ων — — — — —] 5 τοῦ Ἀσάνδρου, Θεολύτου	2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	Moretti (L.), ISE 2 (1976), no. 105; Gonnoi 091	Other	Gonnoi	Atrax			
GHW03280	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi			forforeign judges	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 [— — — — —]λ Ν[— — — — — — — — — — —] [ἀσφάλ]ειαν καὶ π[ολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης· προνο]- [ηθῆ]ναι δὲ τοὺς ἐνά[ρχους ταγοὺς ὅπως τὸ] ψήφισμα τοῦτο γραφ[ὲν εἰς στήλην λι]-	2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	Gonnoi 92	Other	Gonnoi	Gomphoi			
GHW03297	Demetrias (theatre)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin	ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΟΡΕΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ	Demetrias	Magnesians for ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΟΡΕΣΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ (Demetrios son of Orestas)			2nd BCE	2nd BC	BE 1964, 229; AD 16 (1960 [1962]), p.174; Thessalika 3 (1960), p.79-80, no. 1	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Skotoussa	yes	yes	yes
GHW03298	Demetrias	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin	Πολεμαῖος Ἁρπαγίωνος Καλυδώνιος	Calydon	proxeny (other rights not visible but possibly included) of Magnesians for Polemaios son of Harpagiōn from Calydon		Στρατηγοῦν τος Ἱστιαίου του Νίκωνος * μηνὸς Ἀφροδισιών ο[ς δεκάτηι ˙ Σι ?]/μος Δίωνος καῖ Σώτιμος Ἀριστομάχο υ 6 γραμματεὺς [των συνέδρων] εἶπαν * ἐπεὶ Πολεμαῖος Ἁρπαγίωνος Καλυδώνιος ἀνε[7 \συνέδροις ' ἐπ[α]ι[νέ]σ[	2nd BCE	ca. 120-115 BC	SEG 32 (1982), 613; , BCH 74 (1950), p.33, no. 1B	Other	Gonnoi	Gonnoi			
GHW03299	Demetrias (theatre)	Thessalian League	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin.	ΣΩΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ	Demetrias	proxeny, gold crown, politeia, enktesis, asphaleia, for [- - -] ΣΩΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ (- -son of Sōkles)		Col. I - τας συνγενεῖς καὶ ἀστυγεί- τονας τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐν ὁ- μονοίαι καὶ φιλίαι καθεστάναι πρὸς Θεσσαλούς, τὴν πλείσ- 5 την ἐπεπόητο σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρους τούτου, εἰσφερόμε- νος δι᾽ὧν	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 31 (1981), 570; BE 1965, 221; Thessalika 3 (1960), p.81, no. 2	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias			
GHW03299	Demetrias (theatre)	Thessalian League	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin.	ΣΩΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ	Demetrias	proxeny, gold crown, politeia, enktesis, asphaleia, for [- - -] ΣΩΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ (- -son of Sōkles)		Col. I - τας συνγενεῖς καὶ ἀστυγεί- τονας τοῦ ἔθνους ἡμῶν ἐν ὁ- μονοίαι καὶ φιλίαι καθεστάναι πρὸς Θεσσαλούς, τὴν πλείσ- 5 την ἐπεπόητο σπουδὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μέρους τούτου, εἰσφερόμε- νος δι᾽ὧν	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 31 (1981), 570; BE 1965, 221; , Thessalika 3 (1960), p.81, no. 2	Proxeny or Politeia	Mag. Koin	Calydon	yes		

GHW03301	Volos (A. Konstantinos)	Olosson	Honorary Decree	Olosson	Φιλόμηλον Δι- 10 [ογνήτου, Νικαείβουλ ον Ἀ]ρνίου, Φιλόστρατο ν Ἰσταίου καὶ γραμ[μ]- [ατέα Ξενοκράτην Ξεν]οκρίτο	Demetrias	proxeny, politeia, enktesis, asphaleia, for judges and a secretary from Demetrias	judges	[ἀγαθῆι τύχηι. στρατηγοῦν τος τῶν Περραιβῶν Φιλο]- 1 [ξένου τοῦ Εὐάρ]χου, τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου, Φαλαν[αίου], [ἱερέως δὲ τοῦ] Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ὀλοσσόνι Καλλίβίου τοῦ] [Αὐτοβούλου· μην]ὸς Γορπιαίου ὀγδόηι ἀπιόντος·	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Polemon A [1] (1929), p.119-124, no. 422	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Demetrias			
GHW03304	Volos (A. Theodoroi, Palaia)	Demetrias?; Iolkos?	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin.?		Athens?	Decree of (Demetrias or Magnesians ?) for judges (ἀ'Athenes?)	judges		2nd BCE	130 BC	R.Phil. 35 (1911), no. 46; BCH 95 (1971), p.543	Proxeny or Politeia	Thess. Koin.	Demetrias	yes	yes		yes
GHW03306	Damasouli	Phalanna?	Honorary Decree	Phalanna		Metropolis	from Phalanna (?)for judges from Metropolis	judges		2nd BCE	2nd BC?	AE 1916, no. 274; JHS 33 (1913), p.332-337, no. 16	Proxeny or Politeia	Olosson	Demetrias	yes	yes		yes
GHW03311	Unknown	Thessalian League	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin.	?Euergetas?	Chalcidici,	proxen, asylia, ateleia, γ for a Chalcidian		εὐεργέται Χαλκιδεῖ Πετθαλοὶ ἐδώκαιεν προ- ξενίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀ- [τέ]λειαν καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ γενε- 5 ᾶι προστατευό ντων Σορ- σικιδάων [κ]αὶ Κωτιλιδάων.	see Helly (B.) & Tziafalias (A.), BCH 128-129 (2004-2005), p.414 for attestation of Euergetas as a personal name and not as a adjective	4th BCE	4th BC	BE 1938, 189; Peek, Ath.Mitt. 59 (1934), p.57, no. 15	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Athens?		yes	
GHW03311	Unknown	Thessalian League	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin.	?Euergetas?	Chalcidici, Macedonia	proxen, asylia, ateleia, γ for a Chalcidian		εὐεργέται Χαλκιδεῖ Πετθαλοὶ ἐδώκαιεν προ- ξενίαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἀ- [τέ]λειαν καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ γενε- 5 ᾶι προστατευό ντων Σορ- σικιδάων [κ]αὶ Κωτιλιδάων.	see Helly (B.) & Tziafalias (A.), BCH 128-129 (2004-2005), p.414 for attestation of Euergetas as a personal name and not as a adjective	4th BCE	4th BC	BE 1938, 189; Ath.Mitt. 59 (1934), p.57, no. 15	Other	Phalanna	Metropolis			
GHW03312	Larissa	Athenes	Honorary Decree	Athens		Larissa	honours for judges from Larissa	judges	[Ἀθη]ναίων ψήφισμα· [ἐπὶ Ἰ]άσονος ἄρχοντος τοῦ μετ[ὰ Πολύκλει]- [τον], ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγεΐδος δεκάτης πρυ[τανείας ἦι] 4 [Ἐπι]φάνης Ἐπιφάνου Λαμπτρεὺς ἐγ[γραμμάτευ]- [εν, Μ]ουνιχιῶν ος ἑνάτῃ μετ' εἰκάδ[ας, δευτέρα?] [κα]ὶ	Decree of the Athenians. - Under the archon Iason successor Polykleitos, at the 10th prytany, that of Aigeis tribe, which Epiphanes son Epiphanes of the deme of Lamptrai was secretary, 22 Mounichiôn 22nd day of prytany, Assembly meeting at	2nd BCE	109/108 BC	SEG 49 (1999), 621; BCH 123 (1999), p.165-174	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Chalcidici, Macedonia			
GHW03314	SSKrannona ou Kambos?	Krannon	Honorary Decree	Metropolis	?	Krannon	ἀτέλειαν] 1 πάντων, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσυλίαν, νν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγός^{80}ς^{80}- νοις καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνηι καὶ ἐμ πολέμωι καὶ ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ 5 πάθουσι καὶ δράσασιν καὶ φυλῆς εἶναι ἧς ἂν βούλωνται for citizens of Krannon	[— — — — — — — — — ἀτέλειαν] 1 πάντων, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσυλίαν, νν ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐγγός^{80}ς^{80}- νοις καὶ χρήμασιν καὶ ἐν εἰρήνηι καὶ ἐμ πολέμωι καὶ ἰσοτιμίαν καὶ 5 πάθουσι καὶ δράσασιν καὶ φυλῆς εἶναι ἧς ἂν βούλωνται	2nd BCE	ca. 200 BC	BE 1971, 374; AD 16 (1960 [1962]), p.182	Proxeny or Politeia	Thess. Koin.	Chalcidici,	yes		
GHW03318	Demetrias	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Demetrias		Messene	for judges from Messene	judges		see B.Helly, BCH 95 (1971) 543-559 for text	2nd BCE	ca. 150-100 BC	SEG 37 (1987), 447; BE 1972, 238; BCH 95 (1971), p.543-559	Other	Athens	Larissa			

GHW03319	Domokos (four du boulanger)	Thaumakoi	Honorary Decree	Thaumakoi	Ἰταλὸς Φιλίοκου Γυρτώνιος	Gyrton	proxeny for Italos, son of Philiskos, of Gyrton.	[Ἀ]γαθ[ῇ τ]ύχῃ. | [Ἐπραταγέον τος τῶν Θεσ]σαλῶν Ἰσαγόρα, / μηνὸς Ὁ[μολῶ]ου, ἐννόμου ἐκκλησίας οὔσης, τ[ῶν τ]αγῶ[ν/. . . ᾿. . . τοῖ]ο Κλεογέν[εο]ς, Στύφωνος τοῦ Νικοβούλου, Περιάν- /δρου τοῦ Λάμπου ἐμφανισμὸν ποιησα[μέ]| νων· [ἐπ]ειδὴ	1st BCE	ca. 50 BC	SEG 03 (1929), 468; BCH 48 (1924), p.369-375, no. 4	Proxeny or Politeia	Metropolis	Krannon	yes		yes
GHW03321	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Thess. Koin	([Κ]Λ[ΕΙΤΟΣ?] ΒΑΣΑΝΕΩΣ ΓΥΡΤΩΝΙΟΣ	Gyrton	Thess. Koinon for an ambassador ([Κ]Λ[ΕΙΤΟΣ?] ΒΑΣΑΝΕΩΣ ΓΥΡΤΩΝΙΟΣ) sent to Teos to request judges	ambassador	Ἔδοξε τῶι κοινῶι Θεσσαλῶν, ἐπειδὴ Τήϊοι / [σ]υγγενεῖς καὶ φίλοι καὶ εὔνο[ι] ὑπάρχοντες Θεσ- /[σα]λῶν, πέμψαντος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοῦ ἔθνους /4 / [π]ρεσβευτὴ ν Βατ[θ]ίαν Βασανέως Γυρτώνιον κα[ὶ] / [πα]ρακαλο ῦντος ἐξαποστεῖλα ι πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν / [τ]ῶν	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 47 (1997), 745; 44 (1994), 1689; 40 (1990), 476; AD 26 (1971 [1974]), p.303; AAA 5 (1972), p.277-279; BCH 97 (1973), p.341	Other	Demetrias	Messene			
GHW03322	Pharsalos	Pharsalos	Honorary Decree	Pharsalos	Παυσιμάχω[ι] Νουμηνίου Ἁλικαρνασσεῖ	Halicarnassus	proxeny, politeia for ΠΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΟΣ ΝΟΥΜΗΝΙΟΥ of Halicarnassus		Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· Παυσιμάχω[ι] / Νουμηνίου Ἁλικαρνασσεῖ / Φαρσάλιοι ἔδωκαμ προξενί- /αμ, πολιτείαμ[- - - - - - -]	3rd BCE	3rd BC	SEG 37 (1987), 498; I.Thess 051	Proxeny or Politeia	Thaumakoi	Gyrton	yes		
GHW03324	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa?			for Onomakleis Peithiaios Petthalos…		Ταγευόντου ν Ἀνδρομάχοι Πολυχαρμείοι, Προυτομάχο ι Λακουνεῖοι, Ἐμπεδιοῦνο ς Εὐᾷ - 4 κεῖοι, Ἀλεύα Δαμοσθενεί οι, Ἰσ- χομάχοι Μενουνεῖοι, γυμνασι- αρχέντος Τιτύροι Σουεῖοι, Θε- μιστίαι ἔτα καὶ δεκότα, ἀγο- 8	Rom. Imp.	Roman period	SEG 29 (1979), 529; AD 29 (1973-74 [1979]), p.571	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Gyrton			
GHW03325	Atrax (rampart Nord)	Atrax	Honorary Decree	Atrax	Ὀρθοτίμωι Κελαίθου Κρῆτ[ι] [ἐ]ν Τυλεσί[ωι]ι	Tylisos, Crete	προξενίαν, ἰσοτελεί[αν], 4 πολιτείαν, ἰσοτιμίαν, ἔνκτησιν [τῶν] πάντων, ἀσφάλειαν for Orthotimos		Ἀγαθῆ Τύχη· ἡ πόλις Ἀτραγίων ἔ- δωκεν Ὀρθοτίμωι Κελαίθου Κρῆτ [ι] [ἐ]ν Τυλεσί[ω]ι προξενίαν, ἰσοτελεί[αν], 4 πολιτείαν, ἰσοτιμίαν, ἔνκτησιν [τῶν] πάντων, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμο[υ καὶ] εἰρήνης καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 33 (1983), 448; 32 (1982), 568; 29 (1979), 502; BE 1980, 288; AD 29 (1973-74 [1979]), p.583-584; ZPE 51 (1983), p.157-161	Proxeny or Politeia	Pharsalos	Halicarnassus	yes	yes	
GHW03327	Atrax (site)	Atrax	Honorary Decree	Atrax	[- - name + patronymic - -]ου Τρικκαίωι	Trikka	[προξενίαν, ἰσοτέλειαν, π]ολιτείαν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἔνκτησιν πάν[των - - -] [- - - - ἀσφ]άλειαν, display in the sanctuary of Apollo Lykeios		[- - name + patronymic - -]ου Τρικκαίωι εὐεργέτηι ὄντι αὐτῶν Ἀ[τρ]αγέω[ν ἡ πόλις ἔδωκε] [προξενίαν, ἰσοτέλειαν, π]ολιτείαν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, ἔνκτησιν πάν[των - - -] [- - - - ἀσφ]άλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ εἰσάγουσιν κ[αὶ	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 33 (1983), 450; 25 (1971), 665; AD 19 (1964 [1966]), p.265b; ZPE 51 (1983), p.162	Other	Larissa?	Larissa			

GHW03331	Unknown	Crannon?	Honorary Decree	Krannon		Metropolis	for judges from Metropolis	judges	- Δαμαινέτοι Μα[.c-.8...λέξαν-]τος· ἐπεὶ Δύθουν Πο[...c.13...]ραιος Ἀφίναιος, Νικασικράτ[ειες . .c.8...] 4 Ματροπολῖται ἐξαποσταλέντ[ες δικασταὶ] ὑτ τᾶς Ματροπολιτᾶν πόλιος τά[ς μὲν πλείσ-]	2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 27 (1977), 226; BE 1979, 247	Proxeny or Politeia	Atrax	Tylisos, Crete	yes	yes	yes
GHW03334	Larissa (excavations Gallis)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Chrysogonos, son of Pyrrichos, of Macedonia	Macedonia	Poleteia for Chrysogonos, son of Pyrrichos, of Macedonia		Ταγευόντου ν Ἀνανκίτ|ποι Πεθθαλείοί, Ἀριστονό-/οι Πεθθαλείοι, Μνασία Πο[υ]|ταλείοι, Ἐπιγένεος Ἰασο-/νείοι, Μενάνδροι Πολυαινε|δαίοι· Ἱπποδρομίοι τᾶ ἕς καὶ δεκότα, ἀγορανομέντος	Μνασία· ὀπειδεὶ Χρυσόγο-/νος,	3rd BCE	220-210 BC	SEG 27 (1977), 202; Gallis 1977, p.33-43	Proxeny or Politeia	Atrax	Trikka	yes	yes	yes
GHW03352	Demetrias (Demokratia -Basilika)	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Demetrias			for foreign judges?	judges	[- - - - - - - - - - - - - - -] καὶ ἐπι- [- - -ca. 22 - - - ἐλέσθαι δὲ καὶ πρεσβ]ευτὴν ἐν τῇ [ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὅστις ἀποδώσει - - - - - τὸ ψήφισμα κ]αὶ παρακαλέ- 4 [σει αὐτοὺς τῶν στεφάνων τὴν ἀναγόρευ]σιν ποιήσασθαι ν [καὶ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς	2nd BCE	ca. 150-100 BC	SEG 37 (1987), 446; BE 1979, 247	Other	Krannon	Metropolis			
GHW03356	Athenes (agora)	Unknown	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin	ΤΙΤΟΝ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΝ ΚΥΛΛΟΝ ΑΡΞΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ...	Rome?	ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΤΙΤΟΝ ΦΛΑΟΥΙΟΝ ΚΥΛΛΟΝ ΑΡΞΑΝΤΑ ΠΑΝΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ... (Titus Flavius Kyllos)		Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Θεσσα-λῶν · Τίτον Φλάουιον Κύλλον ἄρξαντα Πα-νελλήνων καὶ ἀγω- 5 νοθετήσαντα τῶν μεγάλων Πανέλλη-νίων, ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς τε εἰς τὸ Πανελλήνι- 10 ον καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναί-ων πόλιν.	2nd CE	2nd AD	SEG 25 (1971), 211; Hesperia 1968, p.340-342, no. 48	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Macedonia	yes		
GHW03357	Atrax (site)	Atrax or unknown city?	Honorary Decree	Atrax?			mentions synedrion and Apollon Pythios		- - - - - - - -] [- -]ικράτην [- - ἀναγραφῆ δὲ καὶ] [τὰ δε]δομένα τίμια εἰς κίονα λι[θίνην] 4 [καὶ ἀ]νατεθῆ ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ [Λ]-[πόλ]λωνος τοῦ Λυκείου · καὶ τὸ γεν[ό]-[με]νον ἀνήλωμα δοῦναι τοὺς τα-[μί]ας ἀπό	1st BCE	1st BCE	SEG 33 (1983), 451; Helly, ZPE 51 (1983), p.162-163	Other	Demetrias	Demetrias			

GHW03363	Scotoussa Pharsalōn	Scotoussa	Honorary Decree	Skotoussa	polis of Skotoussa	Skiathos	politeia, enktesis and tribe for Ἀηφιλλφάτου Διοδοτείου Σκιαθίου and tribe Oilykidas	τύχα· Ἀηφιλλφάτου Διοδοτείου Σκιαθίου ἔδ- /ουκε ἁ πόλις Σκοτοεσσαί- /ουν πολιτείαν καὶ ἔνκτα- /σιν πάντουν καὶ κοινανεῖ- /μεν πάντουν τοῦνπερ καί / τὸς λοιπὸς Σκοτοεσσαῖ ος / καὶ φυλᾶς ἔμμεν ποίας κε / βέλλεται·	?	3rd BCE	4th/3rd BC	SEG 43 (1993), 310; BE 1995, 337; AD 43 (1988 [1993]), p.282	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Rome?	
GHW03364	Larissa	Peparethos	Honorary Decree	Peparethos	Πάνδο- [κ]ον Λάκδτα, Διογένην [Δ]ημητρίου, καὶ γραμματέα Ἥρα- [κ]λείδην Σωτίωνος	Larissa	προξενίαν καὶ ἔνκτησιν γῆς καὶ [οἰκίας καὶ πρόσοδον πρὸς τὴν βο]υλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον πρώτοις μετὰ [τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ Ῥωμαίους καὶ πρεσβία]ν καὶ [ἀγω]νία πολέμου καὶ [εἰρήνης καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα	Ἐπειδὴ ἀσυντελέστου γενομέν[η]ς [τ]ῆ[ς δι]κα<ιο>νομίας ἐν τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ ὁ δῆ[μος σπεύδων ὑπὲρ [τ]ῆς πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαιοδοσία ς [ἀγεῖ τε καὶ ἄγει τοὺς ἐκκε- κλ]ένους ἐκ τ[οῦ] ὑπεράνω χρόνου καὶ [τ]ῆς ἐκ τούτων	2nd BCE	end 2nd BC	SEG 49 (1999), 620; 47 (1997), 743; 26 (1976), 677; Crowther (C.), ABSA 92 (1997), p.349-354	Other	Atrax?	Atrax	
GHW03370	Larissa (cimetière turc)	Larissa	Larissa	E715	no ethnics	Decree of Larisa containing two letters of Philip V, followed by a catalog of new citizens	Lettre royale	politographie 217-214 a.C.	3rd BCE	214 BC	55 (2005), 60	IG IX 2, 0517	Proxeny or Politeia	Skotoussa	Skiathos	yes	yes		
GHW03394	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	δ]ικασ[ταῖς ἐκΚιε- [ρίου	Kierion	for judges from Kierion	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 [— — — — — — — — — — — —]ΟΣ [— — — — — — — — — — — —]ΜΑ [— — — — — — — — ταμιευόντ]ων δὲ [— — — — — — — — — — κ]αὶ Ἀσάν- 5 [δρου τοῦ — — — — —, γραμμα]τεύ	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 106	Proxeny or Politeia	Peparethos	Larissa	yes			
GHW03395	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	δικαστάς] [ἐκ Κιε]ρίου	Kierion	for judges from Kierion	judges	[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 [— — — — — — —]ΛΡΟΥ[— — γραμμα]- [τεύοντ]ος δὲ Τιμοκράτ[ους — — — —] [— — — μ]ηνὸς ὡς μὲν Π[— — — — —] [— — — —]ου, ὡς δὲ Γοννε[ῖς Διθυραμ]- 5 [βίου εἰκάδι· ἔδοξε τῇ	2nd BCE	2nd BC	Gonnoi 107	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	no ethnics	yes			
GHW03396	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi			for a religious ambassador	religious ambassador	[— — — — — — — — — — — —] 1 [— — — — — — εἰ]ς τὰς [θυ]σ[ίας —] [— — ἐπαγγέλ]λο υαν ΠΟ[— —]Η[- — —] [— — — — —]ΤΟΣκαὶ ξέ[νια — — —] [— — — — —]ΙΙ. ΙΙΟΝΝ . [— — — —] 5 [— — — — —] πέμψαι δὲ κ[αὶ τὸν]	3rd BCE	end of 3rd BC	Gonnoi 108	Other	Gonnoi	Kierion				

GHW03397	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi		Athens?	proxeny, choice of a theorodoi + Decree of Athenes		ἔδοξε τῆι πόλει τῆι Γοννέων θεω-ροδόκον ἑλέσθαι κατὰ τὸ ψήφισ-μα ὃ ἤνεγκαν οἱ θεωροὶ τῶν Ἀθηναί[ι]-ων Σωσιγένης καὶ Ἀρχεπτόλεμ ος 5 καὶ ἀναγράψαι τὸ ψήφισμα εἰστή-λην λιθίνην καὶ θεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱε-	3rd BCE	end of 3rd BC	Gonnoi 109	Other	Gonnoi	Kierion				
GHW03398	Gonnoi?	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Πραξίαν Τ. Λ. N	Athens?	Decree granting the status of proxenos and theorodokos to the Athenian (?) Praxias		ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· ἔδοξε τῆι πόλει τῆι Γοννέ-[ω]ν ἑλέσθαι πρόξενον [τ]ῆς πόλεως καὶ θεωρο- 5 [δ]ό̣κ̣ον Πραξίαν Τ. Λ. N [. . 8- 9. . . .]ν, εἶναι δ̣ὲ̣ καὶ] [αὐτῶι — — — — — — — —]	3rd BCE	3rd BC	Gonnoi 110	Other	Gonnoi	Gonnoi				
GHW03403	Gonnoi (acropolis)	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	Gonnoi	Xenarchos, son of Hipparchos, of Kondaia.	Kondaia	πολιτείαν [πολιτε ίαν]?, ἔνκτη- 10 σιν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσφάλει-αν, ἀσυλίαν		ἀγαθῆ τύχη· ἡ πόλις ἡ Γοννέων ἔδωκεν Ξενάρχωι Ἱππάρχου Κον-δαεῖ προξενίαν [εὐ] 5 εὐεργέτη ὄντι, Γον-νῆ εἶναι, καθάπερ τοῖς ἄλλοις Γοννεῦσιν, καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγόνοις, ἰσο- [. 2- 3.] πολιτεί αν	3rd BCE	2nd half 3rd BC	Gonnoi 034	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Athens?	yes			
GHW03573	Larissa (Kouma 26)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Ἀσκ[α]λαπι[ά]- δας Θεοφίλοι Περγαμεινό ς, Φιλ[ό]- [τ]ης Ἱππολόχ οι Κυζικεινός	Pergamum, Kyzikos	honorary decree	Makoun son of Omphalion	Ταγευόντου ν Κλεάρχοι Ἀρναιείοι, Κλεομένεος Σιμουνδαίοι , Ἀντιόχοι Ἀντιγονείοι, Θεαπρωπίδ α Πυθονικείοι , Παυσανία Βαικχείοι· ταμευόντο υν Ἀντιφάνεος Φιλομβρο [τ] είοι καὶ Εἰροδότοι Νικανορείοι , γυ[μ]νασιαρ χέντου ν Μ[ε]ανος Ὀμφα[λ]ιου νείοι καὶ	qui se sont trouvés à Larissa en même temps que leroi Eumène de Pergame et son frère Attale en 171 av. J.-C. À la lecture, - SEG 31 575. Republished by A.Tziafalias, J.L.García-Ramón, B.Helly, art.cit. (cf. SEG 56 636) 466-468, who compare its content	2nd BCE	171/0 BC	SEG 57 (2007), 506; 56 (2006), 634; 31 (1981), 575; Topoi 15 (2007), p.217-220; BCH 130 (2006)], p.466-468); AAA 13 (1980), p.246-249, no. 1	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Athens?	yes			
GHW03615	Larissa (basilica; excavations Dériziotis 1979)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa		Alexandria of Troad	politeia 4 Decrees of Larissa for foreigners - names lost (one comes from Alexandria of Troad - - - -] Εὐβιότου, ΟΙΝΟ - - - -ΟΥ Αἰολεὶ ἀπ' Ἀλε- [ξανδρείας)		[- - - -Ν ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣ - - - -ΣΘΕΙΝ ἔστουν ΕΙΑΝ ποιεσά- 4 [σθειν - -] πολιτείαˉ Τὸ μὰ [ψάφισμα τόνε κύριον ἔμμεν κάπαντος] χρόνοι καὶ τὸς [ταμίας ἐσδόμεν ὀνγράψειν ἐν κ[ίονα λιθίαν καὶ [καθθέμεν ἐν τὸ ἱερὸν τοῖ Ἄπλουνος τοῖ Κε]ρδίοι		2nd BCE	200-150 BC	4 decrees in one inscription	SEG 35 (1985), 594; Tziafalias (A.), ThessHim 7 (1984), p.229-230, no. 121	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Kondaia	yes	yes	yes	yes

GHW03616	Velestino	Pheres	Honorary Decree	Pheres?				ΕΠΕΙ ΒΑΧΧΙΟΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΥ [ΡΟΥ- - (mention d'Ennodia)	priest?		270/271, who identifies Eubiotos as the Athenian eponymous archon in the early 3rd cent. A.D. (IG II² 3695-3703). S.Follet, An.Ép. (2004) [2007] 1317, points out that the inscription antedates the Constitutio Antoniniana and prefers		?
GHW03691	Chavouzi Krannonos (à env. 500 m au nord-ouest de l'acropolis, pres d'une source)	Krannon	Honorary Decree	Krannon	King Phillip and Θιόδουρος ὁ στραταγὸς	Macedonia		πολιτεύαν καὶ ἔντασιν πάν- 20 τουν καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσγόνοις [κ]αττάπερ Λαριααίοις, φυλᾶς ἑλο- [μ]ἐ̣ν̣ [ο]ụ τᾶ̣ς̣for Philippe V of Macedon and his strategos Theodoros		- I ΕΙΑΙ - - - - . . . .ΝΑ. .Μ Α. . τοῦν συναντακόν τουν φιλανθρούπ ουν παρ' αὐτοῖο πὸτ τὰν πόλ- 4 λ̣ιν καὶ τοῦν πὰρ τᾶς πόλλιος πόκ κἔνον, τὸς ταμίας γράψαντας ἐν στάλλαν λιτθίαν τὸ ψάφισμα κατθέμεν ἐν·τὸν		2nd BCE	start. 2nd BC
GHW03694 B	Larissa (Kouma 26)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Ἀντίπα- τρος Ἀν̣τιπάτρου Ἱεροπολίτης τῆς Σελευκί- δος, πεπολιτογρ αφημένος [δὲ] ἐν Ὁμολίῳ ὑπάρχων Χαλδαῖος ἀστρονόμος	Hieropolis in Seleukis (Homolion citizenship as well)		Honorary decree for the astronomer Antipatros from Hieropolis in Seleukis	astronomer	τρατηγοῦντ ος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν Παυσανίου τοῦ Κρίτωνος Λαρισαίου· μηνὸς Ἰτων̣[ί]ου τρί- τη̣· ἐκκλησίας οὔσης ἐννόμου καὶ προστα- 4 τευόντων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ταγῶν Διο- δώρου τοῦ Κρατεραίου καὶ Ἀ[σ]άνδρου τοῦ Κρα-	enrolled as a citizen at Homolion	2nd BCE	120-100BC
GHW03696	Magnesia on the Menander	Magnesia on the Menander	Demetrias	Demetrias	Magnesia on the Menander			Decree of Demetrias for judges from Magnesia on the Meander	judges	[Ἡ πόλις] ή Δημ[ητρ]ιέ ων στεφαν[οΐ τον δήμον των Μαγνητών τών επί Μαι]- άν[δρω]ι στεφάνωι χρυσώ[ι και είκόνι χαλκήι επί τώι άποστεΐλαι δι]- 24 [κασταί] και μετ' αυτών γραμ[ματέα άνδρας καλούς και αγαθούς και άξιους]		2nd BCE	ca 150 BC
GHW03697	Kleitor (Arcadia)	Kleitor	Honorary Decree	Demetrias	Ἀσκληπιάδ]ην Δεινίου πόλιν τῶν [Κ]λ[ειτ]ο[ρί ω, Πατρ]έ̣ων Ἀρ̣[χίαν Π]α̣[υσιμάχ ου	Kleitor/ Patras		proxeny, ἀτέλει[αν καὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ κατὰ γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν καὶ πολέ] for a judge from Kleitor and one from Patras	judges	too long, see IG		2nd BCE	168-146 BC
GHW03730	Pythion (A. Apostoloi)	Pythion	Honorary Decree: Proxeny	koinon (?) of Pythion τῶι κοινῶι Πυ- θο̣[ια]στ[ῶν	Ξε̣ ν̣ οκλέ̣ ο̣ υ τοῦ Δικ̣ [α]ιοκρά- του Ἀσκυριέως,ι -	Askyris		proxeny, politeia, ateleia, for a citizen of Askyris - ΞΕΝΟΚΛΗΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΚΡΑΤ ΟΥ ΑΣΚΥΡΙΕΥΣ (cf. Gonnoi, GHW00382)	euergetes	Εἰ[π]άντων τῶν ταγῶν Μν[α]- /σιγένου το[ῦ] Δ̣ημοκ̣ ράτο υ, Ἀνδρ[ομά]- /χο̣υ τοῦ Σωπ̣άτρου, ἐπειδὴ ἐν οἷς /4 χ ρ̣εί[α]ν εἶχεν ἡ πόλις ἡ Πυθοιαστῶν εὐ[ερ]- /γετ̣ ήθη ὑπὸ Ξε̣ νοκλέ̣ ου τοῦ Δικ̣ [α]ιοκρά- /του Ἀσκυριέως, ἔδ̣οξε τῶι κοινῶι Πυ-		2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC

Chrysostomou, (1998), p.25-26, no. 1	Other	Larissa	Pergamum, Kyzikos		
SEG 31 (1981), 572; BE 1964, 222; 1982, 197; AD 16 (1960 [1962]), p.181-182	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Alexandria of Troad	yes	
SEG 35 (1985), 596; 33 (1983), 463; 31 (1981), 576; AD 30 (1975 [1983]), p.191-192; AAA 13 (1980), p.250-252, no. 2 (a)	Other	Pheres?	Pheres		
BCH 95 (1971), p.543-559 (p.553)	Proxeny or Politeia	Krannon	Macedonia	yes	yes
IG V 2, 367	Other	Larissa	Hieropolis in Seleukis (Homolion citizenship as well)		
SEG 36 (1986), 552; AD 43 (1988 [1993]), p.281	Other	Demetrias	Magnesia on the Menander		

GHW03733	Mavrachades Karditsis	Itonion	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin	Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos	Rome	Thessalian Koinon for Marcus Ulpius Eubiotos	Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Θεσσαλῶν ψηφισαμένων τῶν συνέδρων leaf Μ.Οὔλπιον Μ.Οὐλ πίου Λεύρου υἱὸν 4 [Εὐβ]ίοτον vv ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν ἐπιμελη[θέ]ντος Θεσαλοῦ τοῦ Λεοντ ί σκου κ[- -] ⟨ ⟩	the honorand is known from Athenian inscriptions as a consularis who deserved well of that city, ed.pr., with references and comment on his family relations (cf. also J.Larsen, CPh 48, 1953, 86-95; J.H.Oliver in his contribution	3rd CE	ca. 200-250 AD	SEG 54 (2004), 558; 37 (1987), 492; Archaiognosia 12 (2003-2004), p.274; Demetrias V (1987), p.309-311, no. 3	Proxeny or Politeia	Demetrias	Kleitor/ Patras	yes		yes
GHW03764	Makryrachi Karditsis	Ekkara	Honorary Decree	Ekkara	? [- -][ΜΕ]ΛΙΤΑΙΕΥΣ	Melitaia	προξενίαν τ[ε] κ[αὶ πο]λιτείαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας, κα[ὶ γᾶς] ἔνκτησιν καὶ οἰκίας καὶ χρήμασι καὶ ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοι[ς προ]ξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις for [- -][ΜΕ]ΛΙΤΑΙΕΥΣ (Melitaia) (politeia, asylia, asphaleia,	[— — — — —]#^{7}#^{7}#^{7}l. #^{7}#^{7} Κλεόστρατος Νικοστράτου [— — — — — — — — —] <[— ἐπειδὴ — — — — — — — —]> [— — — — Με]λιτạιε[ὺ]ς εὔνους ὢν διατελεῖ τᾶι πόλει τ{#^{7}}ᾶ {^{26}τᾶ}^{26} Μο[ψίων(?)		?	?	IG IX 2, 0223	Proxeny or Politeia	koinon (?) of Pythion τῶι κοινῶι Πυθọ[ια]στ[ῶν	Askyris	yes	yes	
GHW03839	Unknown	Demetrias	Honorary Decree	Mag. Koin	[Πολ]ε[μαῖον Ἁρ]π̣αγ[ίωνος Καλυ]δών[ιον]	Calydon	proxeny	. . . . . ἐπεὶ Πολεμαῖος Ἁρπαγίωνος Καλυδώνιος, ἀνὴρ καλὸς καὶἀγαθὸς, εὐνόως διακείμενος πρὸς πάντας Μάγνητας πειρᾶται καθ᾽ ὅσον ἐ- 16 στὶν δυνατὸς ἀεί τινος ἀγαθοῦ παραίτιος γίνεσθạι, κατὰ κοινόν τε καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν		2nd BCE	ca. 120-115 BC	SEG 32 (1982), 613; 30 (1980), 533; BE 1981, 307; PAAH 1978 (1980), p.38-39	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Rome			
GHW03863	Larissa (Phrourion)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa			[- -]ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΦΟ- - | - -ΟΥ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΚΑΘΕΣΤΑ- -	- δὲ καὶ τὴν Φο[- - - - - ΟΥ πράξεις ΚΑΘΕΣΤΑ - - ΧΩΝ ὁ δῆμος οὐκ ἠδύνα[το] 4 - ΙΝ˙ δεδόχθαι τῶι δήμωι τῶι - ΑΦΩ καί τήν ἐπί τήι προαιρέσ[ει] - - - πολλῶν κ - - - - - - - - - - - ἀν]αστροφὴν ΔΙΕΝΗΝΟΧΕ - - - 8 - - ΜΕΙ		2nd BCE	ca. 200-150 BC	SEG 35 (1985), 595; ThessHim 7 (1984), p.228, no. 115	Proxeny or Politeia	Ekkara	Melitaia	yes	yes	yes
GHW03872	Domokos	Thaumakoi?	Honorary Decree	Thaumakoi	1) Ἁγέστωι(?) Ἀγρολέωνος Καλλιεῖ, 2) Πυρρίαι Τιμαγόρου Ἡραḳλειώται	Kallia / Herakleia	1) προξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτείαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσυλίαν {ἀσυλίαν} ἀσφάλειαν, ἔνκτησιν, ἀτέλειαν for ΑΓΕΣΤΟΣ ΑΓΡΟΛΕΩΝΟΣ ΚΑΛΛΙΕΥΣ (= Kalliai?) and 2) προξενίαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἔνκτη ιν, ἀτέλειαν for ΠΥΡΡΙΑΣ ΤΙΜΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤ	γαθᾶι τύχαι˙ πόλις Θαυμακῶν / ἔδωκε Ἁγέστωι(?) Ἀγρολέωνος / Καλλιεῖ προξενίαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀσφάλειαν, ἔνκτη- 5 σιν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας ἐν τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις καὶ ὅσα		3rd BCE	early 3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0216	Proxeny or Politeia	Mag. Koin	Calydon	yes		

GHW03877	Trikala	Trikka	Honorary Decree	Trikka	Ὀρθοτίμωι Κελαίθου Κρητ[ὶ Τυλισσίωι]	Tylisos, Crete		προξενί[αν, πολιτείαν, ἀσυλίαν] 4 ἀσφάλειαν, ἰσομοιρί[αν τῶν τιμίων πάντων εἰς] ἅπαντα χρόνον· - ἰσομοιρία - the word has a political rather than a religious meaning (for Orthotimos	Ἀγαθῆι τύχηι· Τρικκαίων ἡ [πόλις ἔδωκεν] Ὀρθοτίμωι Κελαίθου Κρητ[ὶ Τυλισσίωι] καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενί[αν, πολιτείαν, ἀσυλίαν] 4 ἀσφάλειαν, ἰσομοιρί[αν τῶν τιμίων πάντων εἰς] ἅπαντα χρόνον· τ[αγ]ευόντω ν ἐν Τρίκκηι Ὀρθοτίμου [Πη]ποκράτο υς το[ῦ] ἱερομνήμον	LINE 2. for the honorand cf. SEG 29 502; 32 554 and 32 568; 33 448. .B. amply discusses the meaning of ἰσομοιρία (L. 4), which is new in proxeny decrees. The word has a political rather than a religious meaning, cf. ἰσοτιμία. Orthotimos (for references,	3rd BCE	ca. 230-200 BC	SEG 41 (1991), 539; 40 (1990), 504; BE 1991, 327	Other	Larissa	Larissa					
GHW03965	Krannona	Krannon	Honorary Decree	Krannon		Pharsalos		προξενίαν, ἁ (or καὶ. ἀ)]- ρφάλε[ιαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν] καὶ αὐτ[οῦ καὶ ἐγγόνοις] 8 καὶ ἐμ [πολέμου καὶ ἰράνα	Θιὸς · τύχ[αν ἀγαθάν · ἁ πόλ]- ις Κραννν[ουνίο υν ἔδουκ]- ε Μετο[υ - - - - ca. 13- - -] 4 Φαρσαλ[ίου εὐεργέται γε]- νομέν[ου προξενίαν, ἁ (or καὶ. ἀ)]- σφάλε[ιαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν] καὶ αὐτ[οῦ καὶ ἐγγόνοις] 8 καὶ ἐμ [πολέμου		2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC	SEG 35 (1985), 583; ThessHim 7 (1984), p.204, no. 55	Proxeny or Politeia	Thaumakoi	Kallia / Herakleia	yes		yes	yes		yes
GHW03970	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Decree	Gonnoi	Androsthenes son of Sôsylos of Athens	Athens	n/a	politeia, epigamia, egktesis, asphaleia Androsthenes son of Sôsylos of Athens	Μηνὸς Διθυραμ- /βίου δεκάτηι, ἔδοξ[ε] / τῆι πόλει Ἀνδρ[οσ]- /θένει Σωσύλο[υ]/ Ἀθηναίῳ δοῦ[ναι]/ αὐτῶι πολιτείᾳ[ν], [ἐπιγ]αμίαν, ἔγκτη-/ [σιν], ἀσφάλειαν κα[ὶ]/ [ἐν πολέμωι καὶ ἐν εἰρήνηι]		2nd BCE	ca. 200 BC	SEG 35 (1985), 564; ThessHim 7 (1984), p.208, no. 66; Demetrias V (1987), p.309-311	Proxeny or Politeia	Trikka	Tylisos, Crete	yes	yes				
GHW04001	Drakospilia (A. Ioannis Théologos)	Herakleia Trachinia	Honorary Dedication	Herakleia Trachinia				Fragment:for a benefactor ([- -] ΝΕΙΚΟΣΤΡΑΤ ΟΣ)	[—]ι(—)ν[— — —]θ[— — —] [Μ(ᾶρκος)] Α[ὐρ(ήλιος)] Νείκανδρος [—]ο[ν]ος [²⁷—]ο[ρ]ος (?)]²⁷ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ [πάτ]ρ<ω>ν α καὶ εὐεργέτην. τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων Κόϊντον Καικέλιον Κο- ΐντου υἱὸν Μέτελλον ἀ- ρετᾶς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί- 5 ας τᾶς εἰς αὐτούς.		2nd BCE	?	IG IX 2, 0002	Proxeny or Politeia	Krannon	Pharsalos	yes					
GHW04008 A	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication	Ain. Koin	ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΚΑΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΙΝΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΜΕΤΕΛΛΟΣ	Rome		Ain. Koinon for ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΚΑΙΚΑΛΙΟΣ ΚΟΙΝΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΜΕΤΕΛΛΟΣ (Quintus Caecilius Metellus)	[τὸ κο]ινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων Κόϊντον Καικέλιον Κο- ΐντου υἱὸν Μέτελλον ἀ- ρετᾶς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοί- 5 ας τᾶς εἰς αὐτούς.		2nd BCE	148-146 BC	IG IX 2, 0037; AE 1839, p.203, no. 205; Moretti, ISE 2 (1976), no. 92	Proxeny or Politeia	Gonnoi	Athens	yes		yes	yes		
GHW04009 A	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication	Ain. Koin	[ΛΕΥΚ]ΟΣ ΛΙΚΙΝΙΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΟΛΛΟΣ	Rome		Ain. Koinon for [ΛΕΥΚ]ΟΣ ΛΙΚΙΝΙΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΛΕΥΚΟΛΛΟΣ ταμίαν (Lucius Licinius Lucullus)	[τὸ κο]ινὸν τῶν Αἰνιάνων [Λεύκι]ον Λικίνιον Λευκίου [υἱὸν] Λεύκολλον ταμίαν εὐεργέ [ταν]		1st BCE	88-80 BC	SEG 44 (1994), 448; IG IX 2, 0038; AD 26 (1971 [1974]), p.236; AE 1839, p.198, no. 192; ZPE 104 (1994), p.199-200	Other	Herakleia Trachinia	Herakleia Trachinia						
GHW04010	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication	Hypata		Rome		Hypata for ΛΕΥΚΙΟΣ ΣΕΝΠΡΟΝΙΟΣ ΒΗΣΤΙΑ ΥΙΟΣ ΑΤΡΑΤΙΝΟΣ (Lucius Sempronius Atratinus)	ἡ πόλις Ὑπάτα Λεύκι- ον Σενπρ<ώ>νι ον Βηστί- α υἱόν Ἀτρατῖνον πρεσβευτάν καὶ ἀν- 5 τιστράτηγον , τὸν ἴδι- ον εὐεργέταν.		1st BCE	39 BC	IG IX 2, 0039	Other	Ainian Koinon	Rome						
GHW04013	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication	Hypata			ADOPTION!	Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝ ΗΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΕΝ ΟΥΣ ΦΥΣΙ ΔΕ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤ ΟΥ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΨΥ ΧΙΑΣ			1st CE	1st CE	IG IX 2, 0042; AE 1839, p.201, no. 199	Other	Ainian Koinon	Rome						

GHW04014	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication	Hypata		Aulis?	Hypata for ΔΑΜΑΤ[ΡΙ]Α ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩ ΡΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΥ[ΛΟ]Υ	aretas	ἡ πατρὶς Ὑπά- τα vac. Δαμα[ρ]ί- σταν Ἀπολλο- δώρου τοῦ Λύ- 5 κου ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν.		2nd CE	early 2nd AD	SEG 3 (1929), 459b; IG IX 2, 0043	Other	Hypata	Rome
GHW04015	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication	Hypata	Φλαούϊον Τ(ίτου) #56 Φλαουΐου Κύλ- λου υἱὸν Εὐβίοτον (Titus Flavius Eubiotos)				[ἡ] πόλις Ὑπάτα Τ(ίτον) #56 Φλαούϊον Τ(ίτου) #56 Φλαουΐου Κύλ- λου υἱὸν Εὐβίοτον 5 τὸν ἀρχιέρέα [κ]αἱ ἁγωνοθέτην τῶν Σεβαστῶν Θεῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς δύο στεφά[νοις καὶ ἁγω]γοθέτη ν τῶν μεγάλων Πυθίων καὶ ἐπιμελητὴν	The priesthood of the imperial cult may have experienced changes in the course of the 2nd cent. A.D., as the different designations of the office suggest (IG IX.2.34: ἱερεὺς τῶν Σεβαστῶν; 44: ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ἁγωνοθέτης τῶν Σεβαστῶν	Roman	Augustus	SEG 54 (2004), 556; 47 (1997), 469 et 666; 3 (1929), 460; IG IX 2, 0044	Other	Hypata	Hypata
GHW04016	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication	Hypata					[Σ]ῶσον Σου[ίδ]α [κα]τ' εἰσποίησιν [δὲ] [Σ]<ὡ>σου τοῦ Διδυμάρχου π[ο]- [λιτ]ε[υ]σ[ά] με[νον] ἐν τῇ πατ[ρί]- δ[ι] καὶ πάσας τὰς ἀρχὰς ἃ[ρ]- 5 [ἔ]αντα προθύμως καὶ ἐπ[ι]- μελῶς Πατροφίλα Πολυέ[ί]- [νου τὸ]<ν> ὑ<ὸ>ν {ἰ} ψηφισαμέν ης			?	IG IX 2, 0045; 1839, p.201, no. 198	Other	Hypata	Aulis?
GHW04017	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication	Hypata			[- -] ΕΑΥΤ[ΟΥ] Κ[ΟΡΔ]ΥΛΙΩ ΝΑ ΛΥΚΟΥ...		[— — —] ἑαυτ[οῦ] Κ[ορδ]υλίων α Λύκου [κατὰ τὸ] [γε]νόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου ψήφισμα ἐκ τ[ῶν ἰδίων].			?	IG IX 2, 0046	Other	Hypata	Hypata
GHW04018	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication				ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ - - | ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΝ ΔΗΜΑ ΤΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΝ ΑΣΤΕΙΟΣ ΒΑΣΣΟΥ ΕΚ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ				?	IG IX 2, 0047	Other	Hypata	Hypata
GHW04020	Hypati?	Hypata? Latyia?	Honorific Epigram				ΛΑΤΥΕΩΝ Α ΠΟΛΙΣ ΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟ Ν ΤΟΛΜΑΙΟΥ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΑΝ ΤΟΙΣ ΘΕΟΙΣ ...		Λατυέων ἁ πόλις Σώσανδρον Τολμαίου εὐεργέταν τοῖς θεοῖς. τὸν μέγαν ἐμ βουλαῖς τε καὶ ἤθεσι καὶ φρενὸς ἀλκῇ 5 Σώσανδρον, κλεινῶν ἔκγονον Αἰνιέων, Τολμαίου κλυτὸν υἷα πόλις Λάτυια φιλόπλου χάλκεον ἀντ' ἀρετᾶς			?	IG IX 2, 0059	Other	Hypata	Hypata
GHW04022	Lamia	Lamia	Honorary Dedication			ADOPTION	Lamia for ΜΝΑΣΙΛΑΙΔ ΑΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟ Υ ΦΥΣΕΙ ΔΕ ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΤ ΟΥ		ἡ πόλις Σεβαστήων Λαμι- έων Μνασιλαΐδα ν Παρα- μόνου φύσει δὲ Ξενο- φάντου ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν 5 καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ἰς αὐτήν.	[5-7. the ed.pr. regards the office of the heptaeteric priest of the Sebastoi and the priesthood of Zeus Karaios as two different offices (p. 272); however, the formulation ἱερέα ἑπταετηρικὸν δἰς . . . γενόμενον suggests a single priesthood and an	Rom. Imp.	Rom. Imp.	SEG 54 (2004), 556 (ap.cr.); IG IX 2, 0080	Other	Hypata	Hypata
GHW04029	Platanos Halmyrou (A. Ioannis)	Halos (IG)	Honorary Dedication; Signature						Ο ΔΑΜΟΣ [ΔΑ]ΜΟ[ΞΕ] ΝΟΝ ΣΩΤΕΛΟΥ | - - -ΟΣ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ			?	IG IX 2, 0113	Other	Hypata	Hypata

GHW04054	Pharsalos	Pharsalos	Honorary Dedication					[Ο]ΜΗΡΟΝ ΦΑΡΣΑΛΙΩΝ Η [ΠΟΛΙΣ] (Homere)		4th BCE	4th BC	IG IX 2, 0246	Other	Lamia	Lamia
GHW04143	Larissa (mosquée Omer-Bey)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	Atha. Koin	ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΒΡΑΙΤΙΟΣ	Rome?	Athamanian koinon for ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΒΡΑΙΤΙΟΣ (Quintus Bretius)	[τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Λ]θαμάνων Κόϊντον Βραίτιο[ν] [— — — — — — — υ]ἱὸν Σούραν πρεσβευτὴν [τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σωτῆρα καὶ ε]ὐεργέτην.		1st BCE	88/87 BC	IG IX 2, 0613	Other	Halos	Halos
GHW04144 B	Larissa?	Larissa	Honorary Dedication				for an unnamed victor at the Thessalian Poseidonia and Kaisareia	athlete	[— — — — — — — — — —] 1 [Θε]σσαλῶν Πο[σειδῶ]- [ν]α παῖδας στάδι[ον] δίαυλον, ἄλλα Καισάρηα ἄνδρ[ας] 5 στάδιον καὶ ἀποβατ[ικῶ].	V.Adrymi-Sismani, A.Batziou-Efstathiou, K.Vouzaxakis et al., Ἀγῶνες καὶ ἀθλήματα στὴν ἀρχαία Θεσσαλία (Athens 2004),... present an overview of sport and athletic competitions in Thessaly - the contests in the Imperial period (cf. IG IX.2.525, 528, 531,	1st CE	Start 1st AD	SEG 54 (2004), 546; IG IX 2, 0614b	Other	Pharsalos	Pharsalos
GHW04146	Larissa (pres A. Marina)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication				Ο ΔΗΜΟ[ΣΟ ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ] | ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩ[ΝΑ - - - (ΗΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΕΩΣ?)		δῆμο[ς ὁ Λαρισαίων] Ἀριστίω[να — — — —].		1st BCE	1st BC	IG IX 2, 0616	Other	Athamanian Koinon	Rome?
GHW04147	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Dedication			Kebros	Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΝΕΔΗΜΟΝ ΚΕΒΡΟΥ (ou ΚΕΒΒΟΥ) ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ				2nd BCE	mid 2nd BC?	IG IX 2, 0617	Other	Larissa	Larissa
GHW04148	Phalanni Tyrnavou	Larissa	Honorary Dedication			Rome?	Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΛΑΡΕΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΝ ΑΜΥΝΑ[ΝΔΡΟΝ] [ΑΡΙΣ?]ΤΟΝ ΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΝ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ				Rom. Imp	Rom. Imp	IG IX 2, 0618	Other	Larissa	Larissa
GHW04149	Larissa (pres Didaskalion)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication?	Krannon	Larissa?	(Crannon?)			[ἁ πόλις ἁ Κραννου]νίων [— — — — — — — —]θένειον [ἀρετᾶς ἕνε]κα.		3rd BCE	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 0619	Other	Larissa	Kebros
GHW04150	Larissa (A. Charalambos)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	neaniskoi			Neaniskoi for ΠΟΛΥΞΕΝΟΣ ΑΣΤΟΦΥΛΕΙΟΣ, gymnasiarch	gymnasiarch			2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 0620	Other	Larissa	Rome?
GHW04151	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	neaniskoi			Neaniskoi for [- -]ΚΟΣ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ, gymnasiarch	gymnasiarch				?	IG IX 2, 0621	Other	Krannon	Larissa?
GHW04152	Larissa ("in ecclesia Nicolai", IG = A. Nikolaos?)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication				[- -]ΑΝΤΑ ΔΩΡΕΑΝ ΤΟΝ ΕΝΙΑΥΤΟΝ ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΔΑΠΑΝΗΜΑΤΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΨΥΧΙΑΣ					?	IG IX 2, 0622	Other	neaniskoi	Larissa
GHW04159	Phalanni Tyrnavou	Larissa (BH); Gyrton (IG)	Decree?				[- - ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧ?]ΕΝΤΟΥΝ ΚΑΛΛΙΠΟΙ ΒΟΥΜΟΥΝΕΙΟΙ, ΦΙΛΑΓΡΟΙΟ ΜΕΝΕΣΤΑΙΟΙ - - -				3rd BCE	3rd BC	IG IX 2, 1036	Other	neaniskoi	Larissa
GHW04171	Anavra Ayias	Dotion (IG)	Honorary Dedication			Rome?	ΓΑΙΟΣ ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ ΟΥΒΑΝΙΑΝΟΣ ΕΙΡΗΝΑΡΧΗΣΑΣ ΑΝΕΣΤΗΣΑ | ΕΥΔΗΜΟΝΑ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΥ (irénarque)	irenearch			Rom. Imp.	Rom. Imp.	IG IX 2, 1077	Other	Larissa	Larissa
GHW04181	Volos (phrourion)	Demetrias	Honorary Dedication	Mag. Koin		Demetrias	Magnesians for ΣΙΜΟΣ ΝΙΚΟΜΗΔΟΥ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ		Μάγνητες Σίμον Νικομήδου Δημητριῆ ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτούς.		2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1131	Other	Larissa	Larissa

GHW04182	Volos (phrourion)	Demetrias	Honorary Dedication	Mag. Koin		Demetrias	Magnesians for ΚΡΙΤΩΝ ΚΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΥΣ (strategos of the Magnesians)	strategos	τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μαγνή[των] Κρίτωνα Κρίτωνος Δημη[τριῆ] στρατηγήσαντα τῶν Μαγνή[των] [ἀ]ρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς ἐς [ἑαυτούς].	2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1132	Other	Unknown	Rome?
GHW04183	Volos (phrourion)	Demetrias	Honorary Dedication				ΚΡΙΤΩΝ ΚΡΙΤΩΝΟΣ (priest of Sarapis)	priest		2nd BCE	2nd BC	IG IX 2, 1133	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias
GHW04184	Makrinitsa (Panayia)	Demetrias	Honorary Dedication		Rome		for [ΓΝΑΙ]ΟΝ ΠΟΜΠΗΙΟΝ ΓΝΑΙΟ[Υ ΥΙΟΝ] ΤΟ ΤΡΙΤΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ[ΤΟΡΑ] (Pompey)	Pompey	[ὁ δῆμος(?)] 1 [Γναῖ]ον Πομπήϊον Γναΐο[υ υἱόν] τὸ τρίτον αὐτοκράτ[ορα] τὸν ἑαυτοῦ εὐεργ[έτην].	1st BCE	66-62 BC	IG IX 2, 1134	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Demetrias
GHW04198	Tyrnavo (IG)	Larissa (BH); Phalanna (IG)	Honorary Dedication	neaniskoi	Metropolis		Neaniskoi for ΠΕΤΡΑΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΙΔΟΥ ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ (Petraios son of Philoxenides of Metropolis), gymnasiarch (cf. GHW04523)	gymnasiarch	see IG for text	2nd BCE	ca 130 BC - dated by another inscription : SEG 39-504	SEG 48 (1988), 655; 39 (1989), 504;IG IX 2, 1238	Other	Demetrias	Demetrias
GHW04199	Tyrnavos (fountain devant A. Nikolaos Douma)	Larissa (BH); Phalanna (IG)	Honorary Dedication	Larissa	Lucius Kokkeius Iustus, consul	Rome	Ο ΔΗ[ΜΟΣ - -]ΣΙΑΝ - - Α[Ν Λ]ΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΚΟΚΚΗΙΟ[Υ Ι]ΟΥΣΤΟΥ ΑΝΘΥ[Π]ΑΤΟΥ ΣΩΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΑ (Lucius Kokkeius Iustus, consul)	consul	βύβλον λαΐνέην Ἀδαής θέτο σῆ- μα γυναικὸς #ᴮᴱ(?) ἀνθούσης ἐπὶ γῆς, οὔνομα Παρδάλεως, εὐχόμενος ζωῆς πλείω 5 χρόνον· εἰ δὲ κάμοιεν, [ἐ]ξεὶν ἐν [θ]νητοῖς ἀένα- ον θάλαμον. #ᴰᴱᴱ	Rom. Imp.	Roman?	IG IX 2, 1239	Other	Demetrias	Rome
GHW04212	Ambélônas Tyrnavou?	Phalanna (IG)	Honorary Dedication				the city of Phalanna for ΔΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΜΕΓΑ- -, its benefactor for ΝΕΩΝ, vainqueur du diaulodromos à Delphi				?	IG IX 2, 1356	Other	neaniskoi	Metropolis
GHW04218	Raches (A. Charalambos)	Echinos? Antron?	Honorary Dedication					athlete		1st BCE	1st BCE	Woodward, Liverpool Annals 3 (1910), p.146-147, no. 2	Other	Larissa	Rome
GHW04248 A	Scotoussa Pharsalôn	Scotoussa	Honorary Dedication			Rome	Statue base of Flamininus = dedicated by Praÿlos son ofvPhoxinos, (ΠΡΑΥΛΟΣ ΦΟΞΙΝΟΥ)for Titus Quintus, son of Titus (recolle avec GHW05393) cf. ΠΡΑΥΛΛΟΣ ΦΟΧΙΝΟΥ honoured at Delphi		ἡ Φαλαννα[ίων πόλις] Διόδωρον Μεγα[— τὸν ἑαυ]- τῆς εὐεργέτ[ην].	AD 26 (1971) 236; L'Année Épigraphique (1974) no. 603. G.Schütz, ZPE 104 (1994) 199/200, points out that the texts of AD and L'Année Épigraphique, published as inedita, are seriously corrupted versions of Syll³ 743; IG IX 2 38. The corrupt text gave rise to	2nd BCE	189/188 BC	SEG 23 (1968), 412; Moretti, ISE 2 (1976), 98	Other	Phalanna	Phalanna
GHW04285	Larissa (A. Achilleios)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin	Marcus Caecilius Métellus son of Leukios	Rome	Thessalian koinon for Marcus Caecilius Métellus son of Leukios (ΜΑΑΡΚΟΝ ΚΑΙΚΕΛΙΟΝ...)		τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν Μάαρκον Καικέλιον Λευκίου Μέτελλον	Rom. Imp.	Roman period	AE 1910, col.374-375, no. 22; Moretti, ISE 2 (1976), 101	Other	Echinos	Echinos
GHW04286	Larissa (Hevdomadiaia Agora, phrourion)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication			ADOPTED	(for Eubiotea daughter of Eubiotos...) priestess	priestess	Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΕΥΒΙΟΤΗΝ Ε[ΥΒΙΟ]ΤΟΥ, ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΔΕ ΙΠΠΟΛΟΧΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΚΕ[ΦΑ]ΛΟΥ, ΦΥΣΙ ΔΕ ΑΛΕΞΙΠΠΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΙΠΠΟΥ ΙΕΡΗΤΕΥΣΑΣΑΝ	2nd BCE	2nd BC	AD 11 (1927-28 [1930]), p.55-56, no. 1; Helly 2000, p.154-155	Other	Scotoussa	Rome
GHW04288	Larissa (Néa Agora)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication			Rome	Honorary inscription for Ulpius Valerius Marcianus.		Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λαρισαίων Οὐλπιον Οὐαλέριον Μαρκιανὸν ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα.	2nd CE	2nd AD?	SEG 17 (1960), 290; Polemon F [6] (1956-1957), p.22, no. 3	Other	Thess. Koin	Rome

GHW04292	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Dedication					[Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η] ΓΟΝΝΕΩΝ ΕΥΦΡΟΝΙΟΝ ΠΑ- - -ΟΥΣ ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΗΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ		1st CE	1st AD	IG IX 2, 1041a	Other	Larissa	Larissa		
GHW04383	Mavrachades Kardítsis	Itonion; Itonos	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin	Marcus Ulpius Domitius Leuros of Skarpea (?_	Skarphea	[κ]αὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν καὶ ἰσοτέλειαν ὧν ὁ δῆμος πράσσει καὶ ἀσ[φάλειαν] 5 καὶ πολέμου ὄντος καὶ εἰρήνης, εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ	Τὸ κοινὸν [τῶν Θεσσα]λῶν καὶ ο[ἱ] σύνεδροι Μ [Οὔ]λπιον Δομίτ[ι]- ον Λεύρου υἱ[ὸ]ν Λεῦρον Σκαρφῆ		3rd CE	ca. 200-250 AD	SEG 37 (1987), 493; AD 11 (1927-28 [1930]), p.218-220	Other	Larissa	Rome		
GHW04402	Demetrias (Bourboulithrai) (= Alykes Volou?)	Demetrias	Honorary Dedication? Honorary Decree?				mentions ΕΥΝΟΙΑ et ΦΙΛΟΔΟΞΙΑ	priest?		Rom. Imp.	Roman?	AE 1932, p.26-27, no. 11	Other	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		
GHW04405	Volos (A. Theodoroi, Palaia)	Demetrias	Honorary Dedication; Manumission Declaration	Mag. Koin	ΠΑΠΠΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ		a) ΤΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ [- -] ΤΟΥ ΠΑΠΠΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ (koinon of the Magnesians) - b) ΣΤΡΑΤ(ΗΓΟΥ ΝΤΟΣ) ΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΟΥ ΗΛΕΥΘΕΡΩ Θ(Η - - - - + ΛΥΤΡΟΝ (to bind to the manumissions, not the dedication)	Τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μαγνήτων [- - - - -] τοῦ πάππου αὐτοῦ λύτρον	Marble base carrying a bronze statue.The marble base was re-used for manumission records, but this has no bearing upon the interpretation of the original text, H. 1. ed.pr. restored [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ἀνέθηκεν] and supposed that a devoted		?	SEG 44 (1994), 446; R.Phil. 35 (1911), no. 47-47a	Proxeny or Politeia	Thess. Koin	Skarphea	yes	yes
GHW04406	Volos (A. Theodoroi, Palaia)	Demetrias?; Iolkos?	Honorary Dedication				[Οἱ ΕΚ ΤΟΥ ΓΥΜΝ]ΑΣΙΟΥ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΑ [- - Γ]ΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑ (gymnasiarch)	gymnasiarch		1st BCE	ca. 50-1 BC	R.Phil. 35 (1911), no. 48	Other	Demetrias	Demetrias		
GHW04414	Kokkinoyio (A. Antonios)	Doliche	Honorary Dedication				for un (ou des) mort(s) (ΨΗΦΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΥ)			1st BCE	ca 50 BC	AE 1923, no. 368; Rev. Ep. 1915, p.230, no. 286	Other	Magnesian Koinon	Rome		
GHW04427 Aa	Domeniko (fountain)	Chyretiai	Honorary Dedication?' - - -ΑΚΠ- - | - - - O vacat? | - - ΜΕΝΟΥΤΟ- - | - -ΕΝΚΑΙΕ- -							1st BCE	1st BCE	AE 1917, no. 341α (A)	Other	Demetrias	Demetrias		
GHW04429	Damasi	Chyretiai	Honorary Decree				Family of Habrias and Mnésimachos at Chyretiai (ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΑ ΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥ...)		G.Lucas, in Τὸ Ἔργο- - στὴ Θεσσαλία (cf. SEG 53 507) 173-187, collects and reprints the numerous epigraphic attestations of Μνησίμαχος Ἄβρίου, Ἀβρίας Μνησιμάχου, Μνησίμαχος Φιλώτου, and Μνησίμαχος in Chyretiai (almost all of them published	2nd CE	131/132 AD	SEG 53 (2003), 520; Ath.Mitt. 52 (1927), p.88-89, no. 4	Other	Doliche	Doliche		
GHW04432	Larissa (Konak Nakep = ?)	Larissa	Honorary Decree			Rome	Mentions diverses fonctions (stratégie, amphictions, ambassade, agonothesia ...); ΕΠΙ ΓΑΛ- - (I.4) = empereur Gallien? Mention des Pythia et des Hadrianeia?	stratégie, amphictions, ambassade, agonothesia.		Rom. Imp	Rom. Imp	BE 1951, 124; AE 1945-47, p.106;	Other	Chyretiai	Chyretiai		
GHW04433	Sykourio Larissis	Gyrton (BH); Mopsion? (Arv.)	Honorary Dedication			Rome	[Η] ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΛΑΡ[ΙΣ]ΑΙΩΝ ΠΟΠΛΙΟΝ ΜΕΜΜΙΟΝ ΛΕΟΝΤΑ ΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΣ (for Publius Memmius Léōn, agoranome)	agoronomos		1st CE	1st CE	R.Phil. 35 (1911), no. 35	Other	Chyretiai	Chyretiai		

GHW04476	Achinos? Lamia?	Echinos	Honorary Dedication			Rome	Cité d'Echinos for praetor Gnaius Octavius, son s de Gnaius	praetor	Πόλις Ἐχιναίων Γναῖον Ὀκτάϊον Γναί-ου στρατηγὸν ναυτικοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἀρε-τᾶς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς πρὸς αὐτάν.		2nd BCE	168/167 BC	SEG 25: 642; BE 1969, 329; AD 22 (1967 [1967]), p.247; Moretti (L.), ISE 2 (1976), no. 93	Other	Larissa	Rome
GHW04479	Larissa (excavations Papastavrou 4)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication - statue base				ΟΙ ΝΕΟΙ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ε[ΔΗΜΟΝ] | ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤ ΟΥΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡ Χ[Η] | ΣΑΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΙΔΟΝΟΜ ΗΣΑΝΤΑ (neoifor a gymnasiarch	gymnasiarch			1st BCE	1st BCE	AD 29 (1973-74 [1979]), p.562	Other		Rome
GHW04523	Larissa (anc. coll.)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication			Metropolis	[- -]ΛΟΞΕΝΙΔΟ Υ [ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ] ΛΙΤΗΝ ΤΟΝ [- - ΕΥ]ΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ (for ΠΕΤΡΑΙΟΣ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΙΔ ΟΥ ΜΕΤΡΟΠΟΛΙ ΤΗΣ [Petraios son of Philoxenides of Metropolis] benefactor) (cf. GHW04198)				2nd BCE	ca 130 BC - dated by another inscription : SEG 39-504	GHW04523	Other	Echinos	Rome
GHW04648	Larissa (excavations ΟΤΕ)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication				Ο ΔΑΜΟΣ Ο [ΛΑΡΙ]ΣΑΙΟΥ Ν ΑΙΣΧΥΛΙΔΑ ΣΑΤΥΡΟΙ ΚΟΡΑΝ ΦΙΛΟΞΕΝΙΔ Α ΑΜΟΥΜΕΙΤ ΕΙΟΙ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ (Larissans for ΑΙΣΧΥΛΙΣ ΣΑΤΥΡΟΥ)				1st BCE	1st BC	AD 20 (1965 [1967]), p.316-317	Other	Larissa	Larissa
GHW04649	Larissa (versant Nord acropolis)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication				Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΗΓΗΣΙΠΟΛΙΝ ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ				1st BCE	1st BC	AD 20 (1965 [1967]), p.318,	Other	Larissa	Metropolis
GHW04778	Phalanni Tyrnavou (puis Phrourion Larissa)	Larissa? Phalanna?	Dedication honorifique?			Rome? Priest	ΜΑΡΚ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟ Σ | Ο ΙΕΡΕΥΣ	Μάρ(κος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀλέξανδρος | ὁ ἱερεύς	G.Lucas, in Τὸ Ἔργο- - στὴ Θεσσαλία (cf. SEG 53 507) 173-187, collects and reprints the numerous epigraphic attestations of Μνησίμαχος Ἀβρίου, Ἀβρίας Μνησιμάχου, Μνησίμαχος Φιλώτου, and Μνησίμαχος in Chyretiai (almost all of them published	2nd CE	ca. 200 AD	SEG 35 (1985), 618; AE 10 (1926 [1929]), p.51, no. 3; ThessHim 7 (1984), p.213, no. 88	Other	Larissa	Larissa
GHW04789	Phalanni Tyrnavou	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin	ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΑΚΟΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΣ	Rome	Thess. Koin. for ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΑΚΟΥΤΙΟΣ ΦΛΑΚΚΟΣ (Quintus Acutius Flaccus)	τὸ κοινὸν Θεσσαλῶν Κόϊντον Ακ[ού]τιον Φλάκκον, ἀνθύπατον, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πάτρω- να καὶ εὐεργέτην.		1st CE	ca. 1-50 AD	AD 10 (1926 [1929]), p.51, no. 2	Other	Larissa	Larissa
GHW04803	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin?	Pelopidas		ΣΠΑΡΤΗΜ ΜΕΝ - - - - (dedication by the Thessalians to Pelopidas)	Σπάρτημ μὲν χήρ[ωσας — — — —] εὐλογίαι πιστ— — — — — — — — — [πλε]ιστάκι ΔΗ— — — — — — — — — [στῆ]σαι Βαω[τ— — — — — — — —] 5 Πελοπίδαν Ἠ[πόκλου Θηβαῖον] Θεσσαλοὶ ἀνέ[θηκαν Ἀπόλλωνι Πυθίωι]· Λύσιππος		3rd BCE	3rd BCE	BE 1988, 638; 1964, 208; 1950, 122; 1942, 88	Other	Larissa?	Rome? Priest

GHW04830	Larissa (excavations 1978 [8 rue Roosevelt])	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	Larissa	|ΑΙ[. .]Λ[.]Ε [. .]Σ Ὑπαταίωι	Hypata	προξε[νίαν κατὰ τὸν νό]- 4 μον ΟΙ ΑΛΙΦΟΜΕΝΟΙ...for the gymnasiarch - -ΠΟΣ ΤΙΜΑΣΙΘΕΟΥ	gymnasiarch	[Γ]ραμματεύοντ[ος τ]ῶν ἀρχόντων [- - ca. 8 - -] μηνὸς Προκυκλίου, Καλλιπολῖται ἔ[δωκαν - ca. 5 -] |ΑΙ[. .]Λ[.]Ε [. .]Σ Ὑπαταίωι προξε[νίαν κατὰ τὸν νό]- 4 μον· ἔγγυοι τᾶς προξενίας Τιμ[- - - - ca. 13 - - - -] ΛΑΜΕΝΕ[. .] ΠΛ, Ἅγεμος vacat	Ταγευούντων Κρίτουνος Παυσανιαίοι, Κρατεισίπποι Θερσανδρείοι, Θρασυμάχοι Ἀριστιουνεί- οι, Φιλοφείροι Ἀσανδρείοι, Θερσάνδροι Πολυξεινε[ί]- 4 οι, ταμιευόντουν Λυκίνοι Ἀλ[ε]ξανδρείοι καὶ	1st BCE	ca. 100 BC	SEG 56 (2006), 638bis; 35 (1985), 598; AD 34 (1979 [1987]), p.219, no. 6; ThessHim 7 (1984), p.220-221, no. 99; Chiron 36 (2006), p.190	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Rome	
GHW04832	Larissa (excavations 1978 [4 rue Megalou Alexandrou])	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin	Caninius -	Rome?	[ΤΟ] ΚΟΙΝ[ΟΝ] ΤΩΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ - - | - - ΟΝΚΑΝΙΝ- - (for a Caninius - not the one identified by Habicht, RB)		[Τὸ] κοιν[ὸν] τῶν Θεσσαλῶν [καὶ οἱ σύνεδροι] [ἀνέθηκαν Μάρκ]ον κανίν[ιον Ῥέβιλον Ῥωμαῖον] [ἀρετῆς ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς ἑαυτούς]	Limestone stele broken on the bottom; broken into two joining pieces after its discovery; now in the Museum of Larisa. Ed.pr. Y.Bequignon, BCH 59 (1935) 55-64 no. 2 (ph.); A.Chaniotis, Historie und Historiker in den griechischen Inschriften (Stuttgart 1988) 310	1st BCE	1st BC	SEG 37 (1987), 483; 35 (1985), 597; Tyche 2 (1987), p.26-28, no. 5; ThessHim 7 (1984), p.222, no. 101	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Larissa	
GHW04834	Larissa (135 rue Venizelou)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication				ΤΟΝ ΕΝ ΠΑΣΙΝ ΕΥ|ΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ		τὸν ἐν πᾶσιν εὐ|εργέτην ἡ πόλις		1st BCE	late 1st BC	SEG 35 (1985), 601; AD 34 (1979 [1987]), p.220, no. 1; ThessHim 7 (1984), p.223, no. 104	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Hypata	yes
GHW04936	Demetrias	Demetrias	Honorary Decree			Kierion	Honorific decree for Bukines, son of Kephalon, of Kierion.		[Ἱ]ερέως Μενά[ν]δρου[τοῦ Ἀμ]ύ ν τ ρ υ, μ[ηνὸς. . . . . .] Εὐχειρίδης Σιμί[ο]υ, Σωκρά[της] Λύσωνος Δημητριεῖς οἱ νομοφύλακες [εἶπαν · ἐπεὶ Βυ]κίνης Κεφά[λ]ων[ο]ς Κιεριεὺ [ς] [ἀ]νὴρ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς εὐνόως διακείμεν [ος ἀεὶ πρὸς τ]ὴν πόλιν		2nd BCE	ca. 150 BC	SEG 34 (1984), 553; AD 32 (1977 [1984]), p.132	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Rome?	
GHW05056 A	Hypéreia Pharsalôn	Euhydrion (JCD); Pharsalos (IG)	Honorary Dedication				ΛΥΣΙΠΟΝΟΣ ΛΥΣΙΠΟΝΟΥ ΑΓΙΑΝ ΤΟ[- -] ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑ		Λυσίπονος Λυσιπόνου Ἁγίαν Το[λμαίου(?)] κατὰ τὸ τῆς πόλεως ψήφισμα.		2nd CE	ca. 130 AD	IG IX 2, 0256a; I.Thess. 035	Other	Larissa	Larissa	
GHW05163 A	Domeniko (A. Yorgios)	Chyretiai	Honorary Dedication		ΜΝΗΣΑ[ΡΧΗ]) and his father (Μ[ΝΗΣΙ]Μ[ΑΧΟΣ		ΑΥΤΟΒΟΥΛΑ for his sister (ΜΝΗΣΑ[ΡΧΗ]) and his father (Μ[ΝΗΣΙ]Μ[ΑΧΟΣ]) by decree of the demos (family of Mnesimachos at Chyretiai)		[— — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — — ταμιεύοντος] [— — — — — — — — — — —] τῆς π<ό>(λεως) <κατ>ὰ ψήφισμα [— — — — — — — — —] <στ>ρ(ατηγοῦντος) Κοκκηΐου Λύκου <μη>(νὸς) Λεσχα- [νορίου· — — — — — ἡ	G.Lucas, in Τὸ Ἔργο- - στὴ Θεσσαλία (cf. SEG 53 507) 173-187, collects and reprints the numerous epigraphic attestations of Μνησίμαχος Ἀβρίου, Ἀβρίας Μνησιμάχου, Μνησίμαχος Φιλώτου, and Μνησίμαχος in Chyretiai (almost all of them published	2nd CE	131/132 AD	SEG 53 (2003), 520; IG IX 2, 0341; AE 1917, no. 328	Other	Demetrias	Kierion	
GHW05166 A	Domeniko (A. Yorgios)	Chyretiai	Honorary Dedication				by a citizen for his mother by the decree of the demos				1st BCE	ca 50 BC	AE 1917, no. 343	Other	Euhydrion?	Euhydrion	
GHW05168 A	Domeniko (A. Yorgios)	Chyretiai	Honorary Dedication				for a benefactor		[ἡ πόλις ἡ Χυρετιέων — — — —]λο[. . .] [δεῖνος, τὸν ἑαυτ]ῆς εὐεργέτ[ην].		2nd BCE	200-150 BC	AE 1917, no. 337	Other	Chyretiai	Chyretiai	
GHW05175 A	Unknown	Chyretiai	Honorary Decree	Chyretiai	ΕΠΙΝΟΣ ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΟΛΟΣΣΟΝΙΟΣ	Olooson	proxeny of Chyretia ifor ΕΠΙΝΟΣ ΣΩΠΑΤΡΟΥ ΟΛΟΣΣΟΝΙΟΣ (Epinos son of Sôpatros of Oloosson)				2nd BCE	2nd BC (190 BCE)	AE 1917, no. 304	Other	Chyretiai	Chyretiai	

GHW05320 A	Unknown	Unknown	Honorary Dedication?			ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΣ [- -]ΙΝΟΥ for his wife ΤΥΡΑΝΝΙΣ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΟΥ			1st CE	1st CE	BCH 99 (1975), p.127-133, no. 2	Other	Chyretiai	Chyretiai			
GHW05533	Atrax (site)	Atrax	Honorary Dedication			Fragment: - -ΟΝ ΛΥΚΟΥ [- - ΕΥ]ΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ (benefactor)	[- - - - - - -]ον Λύκου | [- - - - εὐ]εργέτην		3rd BCE	3rd BC	IAtrax, 152; SEG 45 (1995), 552; AD 45 (1990 [1995]), p.220, no. 21	Proxeny or Politeia	Chyretiai	Olooson	yes		
GHW05690 A	Amourion Elassonas	Chyretiai?	Dedication; Manumission			ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΣ (ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣ ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΟΥ) + ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΑ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ for their son ΕΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ, + treasurer = Eutropos son of Flavios + "sur Decree du peuple"	A: Παράμονος] ὁ κ[αλούμενος] καὶ Δίκαιος Παραμόνου καὶ Εὐκρατία Εὐκράτους Εὐκράτην τῶν ἑαυτῶν υἱὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, ψηφισαμένου 4 τοῦ δήμου B: Ταμιεύοντος τῆς πόλεως Εὐτρόπου τοῦ ΦΛΑΒΙΟΔΙΟΥ,	Fragment of a pyramidal statue base from Amouri Elassonas; a manumission record was written under the honorary inscription 1 Ed.pr. A.Tziaphalias, AD 49 B1 (1994) [1999] 341 no. 26.	1st CE	50/51 AD	SEG 47 (1997), 721; BE 2000, 418; AD 49 (1994 [1999]), p.341, no. 26	Other	Unknown	Thessalian			
GHW05739	Atrax (site)	Atrax	Honorary Decree	Etolian city	Atrax	Etolian city for Atrax (wheat supply)	Grain Supply	Ἀτρ(ά)γιοι περὶ τῶν πρεσβευομένων [κ]αί ἔδωκ[αν, ἀ]ξια [πρ]άσσοντες τάς αὐτῶν ἀρετάς καὶ καλοκαγαθίας καὶ τ[άς] προς τάν πόλιν ἀμ-μέων συγγενείας τε καὶ φιλίας καὶ εὐνοιας, πυρώγ κοφίνους ἀν-4 αποδότοις χιλίοις κατά πόλιν καίπερ θλιβόμενοι	1-6 (expected) the Atragiens (responded favorably, vel sim) about what has been summoned by embassy and they delivered their acting in a manner worthy of their value and their excellence and their relatives, their friendship and dedication to our city,	2nd BCE	2nd half 2nd BC	53 (2003), 516	Other	Atrax	Atrax			
GHW05746 A	Atrax (site)	Atrax	Honorary Dedication			[- -] ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ - -			3rd BCE	3rd BC	IAtrax, 015	Other	Chyretiai	Chyretiai?			
GHW05764	Unknown	Mopsion	Honorary Decree	Mopsion	Τάλ[ου]-/νι Ἀμφιλοχείου, Γλ[αύ]-/κου Ἀμφιδαμαντε[ιο]-/υ, Σίμου Ἰσχυριδαίο [υ],καί τοῦ γραμματε[ῖ] / Πολυαίνου Ἐλανδρ-/είου	Atrax	politeia, isotimia, asylia, epinomi for 3 judges from Atrax and 1 secretary	judges	Θεός, Τύχ α ν ἀγαθά[ν] ·/ ἔδοὐ πόλις Μ[ομ]-/είουν τοῖς τῶν δικαο[τα]-/ῖς Ἀτραγίοις, Τάλ[ου]-/νι Ἀμφιλοχείου, Γλ[αύ]-/κου Ἀμφιδαμαντε[ιο]-/υ, Σίμου Ἰσχυριδαίο [υ],/ καί τοῦ γραμματε[ῖ] / Πολυαίνου Ἐλανδρ-/είου, πολιτείαν	God. Good Fortune. The city of the Mopsians has granted to the judges of Atrax, Taloun son of Amphilochus, Glaucus, son of Amphidamas, Simos son of Ischyridas and their secretary Polyainos son of Elandros the right of citizenship and equal	3rd BCE	late 3rd BC	SEG 57 (2007), 515; 48-660; Helly, Tziafalias and Garcia-Ramon 2007, p.65-66, no. 2	Other	Etolian city	Atrax			
GHW05794	Larissa (acropolis)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Βάκχιος ὁ Καΐκειος	Mytilene	politeia for Bacchios (Bancchios/ Banchios) of Mytilene		Ψάφισμα Λασαίουν · / Ταγευόντου ν Ἀγαθοκλείδα Ἀγαθουνείου, Ἱππονόοι Παναγ[α]- / θεῖοι, Πάνθειρος Πετθαλείοι, Ἀρ[χ]ελάοι Τιμοσθενείου, Θούρακος Πτολ[ε]-/μαιείοι vvvv Ἱτουνίοι τᾶ ἑσκαιδεκότα, ἀγορανόμενος Ἱππονό-/[ο]ι.	2nd BCE	ca. 196 BC	SEG 55 (2005), 608; BCH 128-129 (2004-2005), p.407-417, no. II	Other	Atrax	Atrax			
GHW05795	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Thessalians?	for Zôbios and Dionysios, sons of Zôbios, of Chalkis	Chalkis	politeia for Zôbios and Dionysios, sons of Zôbios, of Chalkis	euergetes,	Προγραφῆς γενομένης πρὸς τὴν ἐκλ/ήσιαν τὴν ἐν τῶι Ἱπποδρομίωι μηνί, στρατη-/γοῦντος Ἡρακλείδου, περὶ τοῦ δοθῆναι πο-4 λιτείαν Ζωβίῳ Ζωβίου, προξένῳ Θεσσα-λῶν, καὶ Διονυσίῳ Ζωβίου Χαλκιδεῦσιν τοῦ καὶ ἐπαχθέντος ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκλησίαν	Given the fact that a draft decree was presented to ASSEMBLY held in the month of Hippodromios, being Herakleides strategist, on the granting of citizenship has Zobios son of Zobios, Proxene Thessalians, and Dionysios son of Zobios (both) of	1st BCE	ca. 70 BC	SEG 57 (2007), 510; BCH 131 (2007), p.421-474	Proxeny or Politeia	Mopsion	Atrax	yes		yes

GHW05861a	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀλεξάνδρειος Ἀθαναῖος,	Athens	proxeny, isopolitéia, enktesis,asylia for the philosopher Alexandros of Athenes (scholarque)	philosopher	[Ἀγαθᾶ τύχα· ταγευόντου ν τᾶς η]ὁ[λ]ιος Διοτίμοι Ἑρμ[ι]- αίοι, Ἀρκτοκρ[ά]τεος Πολυκλειτεί οι, Κλεονίκοι Μεν- νειαίοι, Διονυσίοι Κρατινείοι, Εὐρυκλέα Πεισιαίοι, γυνν- 4 μνασιαρχέν τουν μὲς μὲν τᾶς πετράδος τοῖ	Line 1/2. Diotimos, member of a prominent family, served as stratégos of the Thessalians (F.Delphes III.4 355) and is known from an honoray inscription (SEG 34 558 LL. 56-68) and an unpublished manumission record; his two brothers, Ταμασίθεος and	2nd BCE	140-130 BC	SEG 57 (2007), 510; BCH 131 (2007), p.421-474	Proxeny or Politeia	Thessalians?	Chalkis		yes	
GHW05861b	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Καλλιπίδαν Καλλιπίδαιο ν, Αἰσχύλον Ἀδοκείτοι, Διονκλέα Ξενοτίμοι Κούος	Kos	proxeny, isopolitéia, enktasis, asylia, καὶ φιλάνθρουπ α πάντ[α] 52 [δ]σσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις ὑπάρχονθι·f or 3 citizens of Kos		III 36 ἐπειδεὶ Καλλιπίδας Καλλιπίδαιο ς καὶ Αἰσχύλος Ἀδοκείτοι καὶ Δ[ι]- οκλέας Ξενοτίμοι Κοῦοι διετελένθι εὐνόους διακείμενοι τοῦ δάμ[ου] τοῦ Λασσαίου ν τοῖς τε κατά κοινὸν ἑ[ξ]αποστελ λομένοις ὑτ τᾶς πόλι- ος καὶ τοῖς καθ᾽ ἰδίαν ἐνδαμέντεσ σι τοῦ <ν>	2nd BCE	140-130 BC	SEG 57 (2007), 510; BCH 131 (2007), p.421-474	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Athens	yes	yes	yes
GHW05861c	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Koinon of Mollosoi	Larissan judges Πύρωνι Γ<λ>αυκέτ[α], Λλκίππωι Αἰσχρίωνος, Κρατίνωι Μειδία Λαρισσαίοις	Larissa	proxeny and title of euergetes for all time, enktesis, asphalia, and asylia for 3 Larissan judges	judges	IV τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Μολοσσῶν στεφανοῖ τὸν δᾶμον τὸν Λαρισσαίων καὶ τοὺς δ[ι]- /καστὰς ἑν Δωδώνα·- Εὐκλείου τετράδι ἐπὶ δέκα, προστάτας Μενέδαμος·- /[π]ροξενία δικασταῖς·- διαλεγέντος Ἀνδρομάχο υ τοῦ Ἀντιβόλου Δωδωναίο [υ] /60 περὶ	2nd BCE	140-130 BC	SEG 57 (2007), 506; 56 (2006), 636; BCH 130 (2006), p.436-466	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Kos	yes	yes	yes
GHW05862a	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa		Athens	politeia for Satyros of Athenes,	n/a	I Ταγευόντου ν Τιμοσθένεος Ἀλεξιαίοι, Ἰπ-/πολόχοι Ἀλεξ;ιππείοι, Πολεμάρχοι Πολεμαρ- /χιδαίοι, Λυκούρτοι Εὐστρατιδαί οι, Δικαίοι / Εὐφορβείοι, ταμιευόντο υν ἰθουνος Αἰ- vacat σχυλείοι καὶ Πολεμαίοι Ἀμφιαίοι, γυμνασι- αρχέντουν	2nd BCE	ca. 170-168 BC.	SEG 57 (2007), 506; 56 (2006), 636; BCH 130 (2006), p.436-466	Proxeny or Politeia	Koinon of Mollosoi	Larissa	yes		yes
GHW05862b	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Decree	Larissa	Novius Ovii Latinus, Mamertinus	Mamertine (Sicily?)	proxeny?	freeing Larissan slave in Sicily	vacat Ὁμολουίοι δευτέρα, ἀγορᾶς ἐόνσας, ἀγορανομέν τος Πολεμάρ- 40 χοι Πολεμαρχιδ αίοι, Πολεμάρχοι Πολεμαρχιδ αίοι λέξαν- τος· ὁπειδεὶ Νούιος Λατῖνος Οὐίοι Μαμερτῖνος παγενώμε - νος καὶ ἐπελθοὺν ἐτ τὰν παρελθόνσα ν ἀγόραν	"In the month of Homolõios the two, in meeting, chaired by Polémarchos son of Polémarchidas, Polémarchos son of Polémarchidas who made the proposal, since Novius Latinus son of Ovius, Mamertinus having come and being presented	2nd BCE	ca. 170-168 BC.	GHW06114	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Athens		yes	
GHW06114	Kastri Tyrnavou?	Unknown	Honorary Dedication				for un vainqueur des Scordisques	athlete				?	GHW06151	Proxeny or Politeia	Larissa	Mamertine (Sicily?)			
GHW06151	Kastri Livadiou	Doliche	Honorary Dedication?				[- -]ΥΤΗΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝ (strange writting)					?	GHW06172	Other	Unknown	Thessalian			

GHW06172	Pythion (sans autre précision)	Pythion	Dedication honorifique			for a benefactor ΛΥΚΟΣ ΛΥΚΟΥ? (2 lines difficult to read)				Rom. Imp.	Roman	Bouchon Mémoire EFA R. , no. 1	Other	Doliche	Doliche			
GHW06214 a	Delphi	Erythrea of Thermopylai	Honorary Dedication		Aitolian	Aitolia	for an Etolian general	Aitolian general	Α πόλις τῶν Ἐρυθ[ραίων ------]/ Αἰτωλὸν τῶι Ἀπόλλ[ω]νι ά[νέθηκεν ἀρετᾶς ἕνεκεν] / καὶ εὐνοίας τᾶς εἰς αὐτούς, β[αρβάρους νικάσαντα καὶ] / σώισαντα τὰν πόλιν - the city of the Erythreians consecrated to Apollo (a statue of) ? Aitolian, for his valor and	for his valor and benevolence , he conquered the barbarians and saved the city	3rd BCE	3rd BC	Bouchon 2004, no. 1	Other	Pythion	Pythion			
GHW06214 b	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	[Ξενόφαντο ν] Ξενάρμο	Erythrea	proxeny, primanteia, prodikia, ateleia, proedria in all of the games in the city, egktesis(gas and oikias) for Xenophanto s son of Zenarmos of Erythreia	euergetes?	Ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Κλευδάμου τοῦ Κλ[έωνος, βουλευόντω ν τὰν πρώταν ἑξάμηνον Αμώντα] / Θεοφράστο υ, Πρα[ξί]α, ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλει τῶ[ν Δελφῶν ἐν ἀγορᾶι τελείωι σύμ ψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις] / ἐ[πρει]δ[ὴ] Ξενόφαντος Ξενάρμου Ἐρ[υθραῖος τὰν ἐπιδαμίαν	reuse of a base (GHW06214 a) for an Aitolian general by the Erythreans in the sanctuary of Apool	1st BCE	1st BC	SEG 54 (2004), 556; Archaiognosía 12 (2003-2004), p.265-275	Proxeny or Politeia	Erythreia	Aitolia	yes		
GHW06218	Hypati	Hypata	Honorary Dedication			for ΛΥΚΟΣ ΕΡΜΟΛΑΟΥ. .. (mention Zeus Karaios)			Ἀμφικτυόνω ν δόγμ[ατι] / Σεβαστήων Θεσσαλ[ῶν] /οἱ σύνεδροι καὶ πατρὶς Ὑπά[τα] / 4 Λύκον Ἑρμολάου Σεβαστῆον / ἱερέα ἑπταετηρικὸ ν δὶς τῶν / Σεβαστῶν καὶ Διὸς Καραιο [ῦ] / γενόμενον καὶ ἱερέα τῶν / 8 Σεβαστῶν καὶ Διὸς Σωτῆ-/	5. ἑπταετηρικό ς refers to the heptaeteric contest in honor of the emperors, ed.pr. "Line 2: the attribute Σεβαστῆος was awarded by Augustus to Thessalian cities to compensate them for the loss of votes in the council of the Delphic amphiktyon y (cf. IG	2nd CE	early 2nd AD	GHW06242	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Erythrea	yes		yes
GHW06242	Claros	Colophon	Honorary Decree			Thessalos from Larissa	for ΑΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΙΜΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ ΕΓ ΛΑΡΙΣΗΣ					?	SEG 40 (1990), 440; BCH 114 (1990), p.445-472, no. 1	Other	Hypata	Hypata			
GHW06243	Paliochori (Doride) (A. Yorgios)	Kytenion (Doride)	Honorary Decree	Kytenion	Κλεοσθένει Ἀγρομένεος Λαμιεῖ	Lamia	προξενίαν, ἰσοπολιτεί[α]ν, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς		Ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι· ἄρχοντος Πολύτα τοῦ Πολυξένο[υ] , ἔδωκε ἁ πόλις τῶν Κυτενιέων Κλεοσθένει Ἀγρομένεος Λαμιεῖ αὐτῶν καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξε- 4 νίαν, ἰσοπολιτεί[α]ν, ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰράνας καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν	2nd BCE	ca 150 BC	GHW06246; Bouchon, Topoi 15 [2007], p.271	Other	Colophon	Thessalos from Larissa			
GHW06246	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	Italians of Larissa		Rome	Statue base of Sylla, honored by the Italians of Larissa: ΛΕΥΚΙΟΝ ΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΟΝ ΛΕΥΚΙΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ ΙΜΠΕΡΑΤΟΡ Α ΙΤΑΛΙΚΟΙ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΛΑΡΙΣΗ				1st BCE	86/5 BC	GHW06301B	Proxeny or Politeia	Kytenion	Lamia	yes	yes	yes
GHW06301 B	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Decree			Rome?	Statue base of Seia Catulla, wife of L. Cassius Longinus right part)				1st BCE	1st BC	SEG 57 (2007), 521; Helly, Tsiafalias and Garcia-Ramon 2007, p.70, no. 8	Other	Italians of Larissa	Rome			

GHW06302	Gyrtoni	Mopsion	Decree honorifique	Mopsion	Ἀστοκράτει Δικαιείου, Ἀστο- 4 κλέα Παυσανιαίου, Πολυχάρμου Εὐφορ-βείου Ἀτραγίοις	Atrax	ateleia, asphaléia, enrollement in tribe of their choice	Θεός· Τύχαν Ἀγαθάν· ἁ πόλις Μο-/ψείουν ἔδουκε, ἀγορᾶς νομίμας ἐ-όνσας, Ἀστοκράτει Δικαιείου, Ἀστο- 4 κλέα Παυσανιαίου, Πολυχάρμου Εὐφορ-βείου Ἀτραγίοις ἐόντεσσι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ γενεᾶ εὐεργέταις ἐόντεσσι	God, good fortune. The city of Mopséens granted, the meeting being convened in legal session, to Astokratês son of Dikaios, Astokléas son of Pausanias, Polucharmos son of Euphorbus, of Atrax, to them and their offspring because they are benefactors,	2nd BCE	early 2nd BC	SEG 57 (2007), 522; Helly, Tziafalias and Garcia-Ramon 2007,p.65-66, no. 2	Other	Larissa	Rome?	
GHW06318	Gyrtoni	Mopsion	Decree honorifique	Mopsion	Εὐνό-/μωι Ἀριστόνου Λαρισαί-/ωι	Larissa	proxénie, epinomia, asylia, ateléia	εὐεργέτη	Θεός· Ἀγαθὴ Τύχη· Εὐνό-/μωι Ἀριστόνου Λαρισαί-/ωι Μοψειατῶν τὸ κοινὸ-/ν εὐεργέτη ὅντι ἔδωκε-ν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις πρ[ο]-ξενίαν καὶ ἐπινομία[ν] [κ]αὶ ἀσυλίαν καὶ ἐμ πολ-/8 [ἐμω]ι καὶ ἐν εἰρ[ήνη καὶ ἀ]-/[τέλει]αν πάντ[ων - - - - -]/[- - - - - -	in koine. Eunomos f. d'Aristonous, est d'une famille connue à Larissa : un Aristonous f. d'Eunomos, figure parmi les tages de Larissa dans le décret pour la politographie de 215/4 av., IG IX 2, 517, l. 1(ÆAristonoi Eu	nomeivoi) et déjà comme envoyé de	2nd BCE	late 2nd BC	GHW06321	Proxeny or Politeia	Mopsion	Atrax	yes
GHW06321	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Dedication				[- -] ΠΕΛΑΣΓΙΚΟΣ ...					?	GHW06328	Proxeny or Politeia	Mopsion	Larissa		yes
GHW06328	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication?				Fragment: - -ΤΙΜΟ- - | - - /ΛΙΟΣ- -					?	GHW06329	Other	Larissa	Larissa		
GHW06329	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication?			rome	ΚΟΙΝΤΟΝ ΠΛΑΥΤΙΟΝ ΥΨΑΙΟΝ - - (martelage, derniere ligne)				Rom. Imp.	Roman	GHW06338A	Other	Larissa	Larissa		
GHW06338A	Kastri Livadiou	Doliche	Honorary Dedication; Affranchissement				Η ΠΟΛΙΣ Η ΔΟΛΙΧΑΙ[ΩΝ]for [- -]ΟΛΙΣ ΦΟΞΙΝΟΥ (- -olis daughter of Phoxinos)					?	GHW06374	Other	Larissa	rome		
GHW06374	Kastri Livadiou	Doliche	Honorary Dedication? Funéraire?				ΦΟΞΙΝΟΣ (Phoxinos [son of Pausanias?])					?	IG V 1, 1428	Other	Doliche	Doliche		
GHW06381	Messene?	Larissa	Honorary Decree			Messene	for judges from Messene	judges	[— — —]ς ο ἀγ ῶν α δ ῥύ τ εἷρον —]. [— — — — — — — — — — — — — — —] . . . ἐντῶι ἀγῶνι τῶι γυμνικῶι ἀ[νακηρῦξα ι, ὅτι ὁ δῆμος στεφανοῖ εὖ]-[δ]αμον τὸν Μεσσήνιον καὶ Εὐνομ[— — — — τὸν — — — — — τοὺς αἱρε]-[θ]έντας δικαστὰς καὶ τὸν		1st BCE	1st BCE	FD III 4, no. 50; SGDI 2, 2963; McDevitt 0333	Other	Doliche	Doliche		
GHW06451	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Dedication			Hypata?	for Lucius Cassius Petraios		Λ. Κάσσιον Πετραῖον, τὸν ἀρχιερέα ἐπὶ τοῖς δυσὶν στεφάνοις καὶ δὶς ἀγωνοθέ-την τῶν μεγά- 5 λων Πυθίων καὶ σύνδι-[κ]ον τοῦ Πυθίου ὁ ἱεροσ-. . ς Γν. Βάββιος Μάξ-[μο]ς, Μάγνου υἱός, Ἀπόλ-[λω]νι Πυθίω ἐκ τῶν ἰδί-		1st BCE	ca 100 BC	IG II^{2}, 545	Other	Larissa	Messene		

GHW06461	Athenes	Athenes	Honorary Decree	Athens	Θετταλοὶ φίλοι	Thessalians	Θετταλοὶ φίλοι δ[ν]- [τες τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων φ]εύγουσιν ἐκ Θετταλ[ί]- 10 [ας καὶ	κ[α]τέλθω[σ]- [ιν, οἰκοῦσιν Ἀθήνησιν ἀτελέ]σ[ιν] τοῦ μετοικίου κα- [ὶ οἰκίας ἐγκτησιν ὡς τοῖς με]τοίκ[ο]ις. for Thessalian exiles	[. . . . . 25. . . . . Λ]αμπτρ[εύς ἐγραμμ]- [άτευεν . . . . . 15. . . . . . . τῆ]ς πρυτανείαι[ς · τῶν προ]- [έδρων ἐπεψήφιζεν . . . . Κύπ]ρειος καὶ οἱ συμπρόεδ- [ροι . . . . 10. . . . ?Ἀριστοκρά]τους Πόριος εἶπεν· περ- 5 [ὶ ὧν λέγει . . . 7. . .	4th BCE	(post 318/7)	GHW06501	Other	Delphi	Hypata?		
GHW06501	Kastri Livadiou	Doliche	Honorary Dedication					Statue in honour of Aur. Hipponike set up by his parents Aur. Euphorbos et Aur. Barbara		Rom. Imp.	Roman?	GHW06503	Proxeny or Politeia	Athens	Thessalians		yes
GHW06503	Kastri Livadiou (basilica Γ, mur proche conque Sud)	Doliche	Honorary Dedication					Fragment (statue base): - - ΤΗ]Ν ΕΑΥΤΗΣ- -			?	AD 26 (1971 [1974]), p.237,	Other	Doliche	Doliche		
GHW06589	Domokos	Thaumakoi	Honorary Decree	Thaumakoi?	Thaumakoi?	Amphipolis	n/a	Proxeny, isopoliteia, prodikia, ateleia for an Amphipolitai n (mention politeia and prodikia)	[— —(?)— —] ἀγαθῆι τ[ύχηι] /[— — — —]ΦΙΟΙΣ. ΙΟΥ! vac. / [— — — Ἀμ]φιπολειτ ηι vac. [— — — —]ντι Θαυμακω vac. 5 [— — — —] ἔδωκεν προ[ξενίαν] [— — — — ἰσ]οπολιτείαν Α vac. [— — — — ἐ]γγόνοις προδικ[ίαν] [— — ἀτέλε(?)]ιαν πάντων	4th BCE	4th BC	FD III 4, 460	Other	Doliche	Doliche		
GHW06663	Delphi	Delphi	Honorific Epigram	Thess. Koin	for ΔΑΟΧΟΣ (posthumus)	Achaian (Achaia Phthiotis?)		for ΔΑΟΧΟΣ (posthumus) (monument of the Thessaliens from Pharsalos)	Ἀκνόνιος Ἀπάρου τέτραρχος Θεσσαλῶν. 2.1 πρῶτος Ὀλύμπια παγκράτιον, Φαρσάλιε, νικᾶις, Ἁγία Ἀκνονίου, γῆς ἀπὸ Θεσσαλίας, πεντάκις ἐν Νεμέαι, τρὶς Πύθια, πεντάκις Ἰσθμοῖ καὶ σῶν οὐδεὶς πω στῆσε τροπαῖα χερῶν. 5	4th BCE	337/6-333/2 BC	GHW06679	Proxeny or Politeia	Thaumakoi?	Amphipolis	yes	yes
GHW06679	Gonnoi	Gonnoi	Honorary Dedication?					anépigraphe (crown, base of a statue)		1st CE	1st AD	AD 22 (1967), p.295-296 (+ photo, 195α)	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Achaian (Achaia Phthiotis?)		
GHW06694	Philia Karditsis (excavations Itonion)	Itonion	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin		Rome?		thessalian federation for (a roman?) (contains ΥΙΟΝ)		Rom. Imp.	Rom. Imp.	SEG 44 (1994), 469; BE 1995, 290; Topoi 15 (2007), p.251-284	Other	Gonnoi	Gonnoi		
GHW06695	Nikopolis (Epirus) (excavations du gymnase	Nikopolis (Epirus)	Honorary Dedication	Nikopolis	ΝΕΙΚΑΝΟΡΑ ΤΙΤΟΥ	?	athlete	πολι[τ]είαμ ἀσυλεῖ καὶ ἀσπονδεῖ [Η Π]ΟΛΙΣ Η Ν[ΕΙΚ]ΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΝΕΙΚΑΝΟΡΑ ΤΙΤΟΥ ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΕΝ ΛΑΡΙΣΣΗ ΠΑ[Ἰ]ΔΩΝ ΣΤΑΔΙΟΝ (for an athlete from Nikopolis, victor at Larissa [Eleutheria?])	[Η π]όλις ἡ Ν[ει]κ[ο]πολειτῶν | Νεικάνορα | Τίτου νεική σαντα ἐν | Λαρίσσῃ πα[ἰ]|δων στά|νδιον vacat	1st CE		CID IV, no. 106	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Rome?		

GHW06700	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree		Νικόστρατος Ἀναξίτι- 5 που Θεσσαλὸς ἐγ Λαρίσσης,	Larissa	Decree of the'Amphictyony for Nikostratos of Larissa, victor at the Pythia + Eleutheria	athlete	[ἄρ]χοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Κράτωνος, γραμματεύοντος δὲ / τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων Μνασιδάμου Κορινθίου, ἔδοξ[εν τᾶι] / κ[οι]νῶι τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν αὐτονόμων ἐθνῶν / καὶ δημοκρατουμένων πόλεων· ἐπειδὴ Νικόστρατος	2nd BCE	184/3 BC.	FD III 3, 118	Proxeny or Politeia	Nikopolis	?	yes
GHW06701	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἰσαγόρ[α]ς Φ[ερεκ]ράτεος Λαρισαῖος	Larissa	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, [ἀτέλ]ειαν, προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶνοις οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι, καὶ τἆλλα τίμια ὅσα for Isagoras of Larissa, victor at the Pythia, Sôteria + Eleutheria of Larissa		[στραταγέοντος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν . . . . . , ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ Ξενοκράτε]ος [τοῦ Ἀγησιλάου ἄρχοντος, βουλευόντων] / Ἄρχωνος τοῦ Καλλικράτεος, Νικοδάμου τοῦ Στράτωνος, Τιμολέων]ος τοῦ Ἐμμεν[ίδα]· ἔδ[οξε] τᾶι π[όλει τῶν Δελφῶν], / [ἐν ἀγορᾶι	2nd BCE	106 BC	FD III 4, 174	Other	Delphi	Larissa	
GHW06702	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Μενεκράτης Φερεκράτεος Λαρισαῖ]ος	Larissa	προξ[ε]νίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικ[ία]ν, ἀσυ[λία]ν, ἀτέλει[αν, πρ]οεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶνοις οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι, καὶ τὰ ἄλ[λ]α τίμια ὅσα for Menekrates of Larissa, victor in the Pythia, Sôteria + Eleutheria of Larissa		[στραταγέοντος τῶν Θεσσαλῶν . . . . . , ἐν Δελφοῖς δὲ Ξενοκράτεος τοῦ] [Ἀγησι]λάου ἄρ[χοντος, βουλευόντων δὲ Ἄρχωνος τοῦ Καλλικράτεος, Νικοδάμου τοῦ] [Στράτωνος], Τιμολέωνος τοῦ [Ἐ]μμενί[δα· ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλει τῶν	2nd BCE	106BC	RevArch. (1918), p.235, no. XIX; Année epigraphique (1919), no. 83	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Larissa	yes
GHW06714	Larissa	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	Thess. Koin	ΤΙΤ[ΟΝ - - -]ΟΝ ΤΙΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ Σ[ΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝ] ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΡΩΜ[ΑΙΩΝ]	Rome	[ΤΟ ΚΟΙ]ΝΟΝ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ ΤΙΤ[ΟΝ - - -]ΟΝ ΤΙΤΟΥ ΥΙΟΝ Σ[ΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝ] ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΝ ΡΩΜ[ΑΙΩΝ] (Flamininus?)			Rom. Imp.	Roman	FD III 4, 377	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Larissa	yes
GHW06716	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	[.]ελλείδαι Πύρρου Ἐχιναίωι	Echinos	proxeny, promanteia, ateleia, asylia, prodikian, for a citizen of Echinos ([- -]ΕΛΛΕΙΔΑΣ ΠΥΡΡΟΥ ΕΧΙΝΑΙΟΣ)		[.]ελλείδαι Πύρρου Ἐχιναίωι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις [— — —] [— — — — — — — — — — — —] [Δε]λφοὶ ἔ[δ]ωκαν προξενίαν, 5 [π]ρομαντείαν, ἀτέλειαν, ἀ-συλίαν καὶ πολέμου καὶ εἰρ-[ά]νας καὶ κατὰ γᾶν καὶ κατὰ [θά]λασσαν καὶ α[ὐτῶ]ι	4th BCE	4th BCE (346/5 BC)	FD III 4, 378	Other	Thessalian Koinon	Rome	
GHW06717	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἀριστο-φιλίδαι Ἀριστοφίλου Θεσ-σαλῶι ἐγ Λαρίσας	Larissa	προξενίαν, πολιτείαν ἴσαν καὶ ὁμοίαν, καὶ ἔμπασιν πάντων, καὶ προμαντείαν, καὶ προ-εδρίαν, καὶ προδικίαν, καὶ ἀσυλίαν, καὶ ἀτέλειαν πάντων, καὶ ἐπιτιμὰν κα-θάπερ Δελφοῖς καὶ πο-λέμου καὶ εἰρήνας·)		θεοὶ· τύχαν ἀγαθάν· Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ἀριστο-φιλίδαι Ἀριστοφίλου Θεσ-σαλῶι ἐγ Λαρίσας αὐτῶι 5 καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, πολιτείαν ἴσαν καὶ ὁμοί-αν, καὶ ἔμπασιν πάντων, καὶ προμαντείαν, καὶ προ-εδρίαν, καὶ προδικίαν,	4th BCE	343/2 BC	BCH 88 (1964), p.446-452	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Echinos	yes

GHW06718	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟ Σ ΕΥΑ[- -] + ΠΟΛΕΜΟΚΛ ΕΙΣ ΑΣΤΟΛΑΟΥ*	Pharsalos	προξενίαν, ἀ (or καὶ. ἀ)]- σφάλε[ιαν καὶ ἀσυλίαν] καὶ αὐτ[οῦ καὶ ἐγγόνοις] 8 καὶ ἐμ [πολέμου καὶ ἱρὰν for 2 citizens of Pharsalos (ΝΙΚΟΜΑΧΟ Σ ΕΥΑ[- -] + ΠΟΛΕΜΟΚΛ ΕΙΣ ΑΣΤΟΛΑΟΥ*		4th BCE	340/39 BC	FD III 4, 385 (BCH 101 1977, p.460)	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Larissa	yes	yes
GHW06719	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	[ΑΜΥΝΤΩΡ ΣΙΜΜΙΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ] ΕΚ Φ[ΕΡΩΝ]	Pheres	π]ροξενί- 5 [αν, εὐεργ]εσία[ν], θε- [αροδοκί]αν , [π]ρο- [μαντεία]ν, ἀτέλει- [αν, ἀσυλί]αν, ἐπιτι- [μὰν for a citizen of Pheres ([ΑΜΥΝΤΩΡ ΣΙΜΜΙΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ] ΕΚ Φ[ΕΡΩΝ])	[— — — —] ἐκ Φ[— —] [— — Δελφο]ὶ ἔδω- [καν αὐτῶ]ι καὶ ἐκ- [γόνοις π]ροξενί- 5 [αν, εὐεργ]εσία[ν], θε- [αροδοκί]αν , [π]ρο- [μαντεία]ν, ἀτέλει- [αν, ἀσυλί]αν, ἐπιτι- [μὰν καθά]περ Δελ- 10 [φοῖς· ἄρχ]οντος	4th BCE	335/4? BC	FD III 1, 401	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Pharsalos	yes	
GHW06720	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	ηιδόλα[ι Ἐ]- πικρατίδα Θεσσαλὸι ἐγ [Λα]- ρίσας	Larissa	προξενίαν, προμαντ[εί α]- ν, προδικίαν, [ἀσ]υλίαν, [προε]- δρίαν, ἀτέλε[ιαν] πάν[των κα]- θάπερ Δελφο[ῖς,	[θε]ὸς. τύχη. [Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Φηιδόλα[ι Ἐ]- πικρατίδα Θεσσαλῶι ἐγ [Λα]- ρίσας καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐγγό[νο]- 5 ις προξενίαν, προμαντ[εί α]- ν, προδικίαν, [ἀσ]υλίαν, [προε]- δρίαν, ἀτέλε[ιαν] πάν[των κα]- θάπερ	4th BCE	329/8 BC	BCH 80 (1956), p.547-550	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Pheres	yes	
GHW06721	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	[- -] ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡ ΟΥ ΦΑΡΣΑΛΙΟΣ	Pharsalos	honours for a proxene of Pharsalos ([- -] ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡ ΟΥ ΦΑΡΣΑΛΙΟΣ)		4th BCE	350-330 BC	BCH 82 (1958), p.62	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Larissa	yes	
GHW06722	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	(ΦΙΛΙΝΟΣ ΡΙΝΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ ΕΞ ΣΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΗ Σ	Skotoussa	[προξεν]ίαν, προμ[αντεί αν], [προεδρίαν] , προδ[ικίαν], [ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέ]λει[αν πάντων], 8 [καὶ τάλλα Οσα καὶ τ]οῖς ἄλλο ι [ς] [προξένοις κα]ὶ εὐεργέταις	Φιλίνωι Ῥίνωνος Θ[εσσαλῶι] [ἐξ] Σκοτούσσης Δ[ελφοὶ] 4 [ἔδωκ]αν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐ[κγόνοις] [προξεν]ίαν, προμ[αντεί αν], [προεδρίαν] , προδ[ικίαν], [ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέ]λει[αν πάντων], 8 [καὶ τάλλα Οσα καὶ τ]οῖς ἄλλο ι [ς] [προξένοις κα]ὶ εὐεργέταις.	4th BCE	321/0 BC	BCH 23 (1899), p.490-491, no. 4	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Pharsalos	yes	
GHW06723	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἀνδρονίκωι Ὀρέ-/στα Θεσσαλῶι Κραν- /νωνίωι,	Krannon	προξενίαν, προμαντεία ν, ἀτέ- /λει]αν	Ἀνδρονίκωι Ὀρέ-/στα Θεσσαλῶι Κραν- /νωνίωι, αὐτῶι καὶ / ἐκγόνοις, Δελφοὶ /5 ἔδωκαν προξενίαν, προμαντεία ν, ἀτέ- /λει]αν ἐν Δελφοις, / [ως πάτριο]ν [ἐ]στι.....	4th BCE	350-300 BC	FD III 4, 402 I, BCH 101 1977, p.460	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Skotoussa	yes	

GHW06725	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	?	Achaian (Achaia Phthiotis?)	proxeny, prodikia, promanteia, ateleia pantwn for for un Achaean (Thessalie?)	προεδρ[ίαν], [προξενίαν, προ]δικίαν, προμαντείαν, [ἀτέλειαν πάν]των καθάπερ Δελφοῖ[ς], [καὶ τ]ἄλλα ὅσα κ[αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξέ]- 5 [νοις]· ἄρχοντος Ξε[ν]αγάρεος vac. [βουλε]υόντων Κλ[εομ]άντιος [— — —]σίου, Διοκλέος.	2nd BCE	2nd BC	FD III 1, 164	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Krannon	yes
GHW06726	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	]ΦΑΝΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ [ΕΚ - - -])	Thessalian from ?	προξενίαν, [προμαντείαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέ]λειαν, προδικίαν]ΦΑΝΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ [ΕΚ - - -])	[ἔδωκαν] — — . . . . φάν[ου Θεσ]σαλῶι [ἐκ — — αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγό]νοις προξενίαν, [προμαντείαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέ]λειαν, προδικίαν [ποτὶ Δ]ελφοὺς καὶ τ[ὰ]λλ[α ὁ]σα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις 5 [προξ]ένοις κ[αὶ] εὐερ[γέτ]αις. ἄρ]χοντος	4th BCE	4th BC	FD III 2, 182	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Achaian (Achaia Phthiotis?)	yes
GHW06727	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Εὐφραίωι Γόργου, Σμ[ι]- [λ]αι Πασιξένου Ἀχαιοῖς ἐξ Ἅλου	Achaians from Halos	proxeny, promanteia for 2 Achaeans from Halos (ὑφραίωι Γόργου, Σμ[ι]- [λ]αι Πασιξένου Ἀχαιοῖς ἐξ Ἅλου)	euergetes	ἔδωκαν Εὐφραίωι Γόργου, Σμ[ι]- [λ]αι Πασιξένου Ἀχαιοῖς ἐξ Ἅλου, αὐ- [τ]οῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προξενίαν, προμαν- [τεί]αν, καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις 5 [προ]ξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις. ἄρχον- [τος] Ἴερου, βουλευόντων Πραόχου, [Τιμ]ογένεος, Δείνωνος.	3rd BCE	3rd BCE (ca. 293 BC)	FD III 4, 412	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Thessalian from ?	yes
GHW06728	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Πολεμα[ι]- νέτωι Εὐπολέμου Ἀχαι- ῶι ἐγ Λαρίσας,	Achaian from Larissa	proxeny, promanteia, proedria, prodikia, asylia, ateleia for an Achaean of Larissa (Πολεμα[ι]- νέτωι Εὐπολέμου Ἀχαι- ῶι ἐγ Λαρίσας)	n/a	Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Πολεμα[ι]- νέτωι Εὐπολέμου Ἀχαι- ῶι ἐγ Λαρίσας, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκ- γόνοις προξενίαν, προμαν- 5 τείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικί- αν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν [π]άντων καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις·	3rd BCE	3rd BCE (290-280 BC)	FD III 3, 207	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Achaians from Halos	yes
GHW06729	Delphi	Delphi	List of Proxenies	Delphi	Ἀντιγόνωι Ἀσάνδρου Ἰχναίωι, Πολ[ι]τάρχωι [. c.6. .] Μελιβοιεῖ	Ichnai / Meliboia	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, προεδρίαν, ἀσυλίαν, θεαροδοκίαν, ἀτέλειαν	Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Σοφοκλεῖ Ἀριστοβούλου Φωκεῖ ἐν Κασ[σ]ανδρείαι οἰκοῦντι, Φίλωνι [. c.6. .] Πελλαίωι, Ἀλεξάνδρωι Λ[. . .]ου Ἐδ<ε>σσαίωι, Ἀντιγόνωι Ἀσάνδρου Ἰχναίωι, Πολ[ι]τάρχωι [. c.6. .] Μελιβοιεῖ, Ματρικέτηι Παντέα Περινθίωι, Μελεσικράτει	3rd BCE	ca. 260 BC	FD III 4, 413 I	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Achaian from Larissa	yes

GHW06730	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Χ]αρίτωνι Χαύρου Λαμ[εῖ	Lamia	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν], [προεδρίαν, προδικία]ν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν π[άντων καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα	θε[οὶ· [Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Χ]αρίτωνι Χαύρου Λαμ[εῖ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προξενίαν, προμαντείαν], [προεδρίαν, προδικία]ν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν π[άντων καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] [προξένοις καὶ εὐ]εργέταις· ἄρχοντος Χαρι[ξένου, βουλευόντω	3rd BCE	ca. 275 - 260 BC	FD III 2, 187	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Ichnai / Meliboia	yes
GHW06731	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	ΑΝΤΙΣΘΕΝΗΣ ΣΑΒΥΤΤΑ(ΣΣΟΥ?) ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΕΥΣ	Melitaia	προξε[νὶ]- /αν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικία[ν], ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων,	Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν [Αν]τισθένει Σαβύττ[α] / Μελιταιεῖ, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προξε[νὶ]- /αν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικία[ν], / ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, καὶ τἀλ-/[λ]α ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις. / ἄρχοντος Στράτωνος, βουλευόντων / [Ἵ]ππία, Ἀθανίωνος, Δείνωνος.	3rd BCE	271-269 BC	FD III 4, 415	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Lamia	yes
GHW06732	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Διόμων· Μαλιέων Λακράτης [Λα]μεύς·	Lamia	ſπροξενίαν, προμαντείαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἐπιτιμὰν καθάπερ Δ[ελφοῖς, π]ροεδρίαν ἐν πάντεσσι τοῖς ἀγῶνεσσι οὓς ἁ πόλις ἄγει καὶ τἆλλα πάντ[α ὅσ]α or a citizen of Lamia hieromnemon of the Malians (ΛΑΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΛΑΜΙΕΥΣ)	ἐπὶ Ἀθάμβου ἄρχοντος, βου[λευόντω]ν Ἀρισταγόρα, Δάμωνος, Πλείστωνος, Κλε[ο]- ξένου, Νικοδάμου· ἔδοξε τᾶι [πόλει τῶν Δε]λφῶν ἐν ἀγορᾶι τελείωι· ἐπειδή τοὶ ἱερο- μνάμονες, εὐεργέται ἐγένο[ντο τοῦ τε ἱε]ροῦ καὶ τᾶς πόλιος, τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὰ δί-	3rd BCE	270-268 BC	FD III 3, 182	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Melitaia	yes
GHW06733	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	οιωτῶι Δαμαλίωνος καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Δαμαλί[ωνι] Πατηι(?) Μαλιεῖσ[ι(?	Malis	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀ[συ]λίαν, ἀτέλει[αν πάντων καὶ] τἆλλα ὅσα for citizens of Malis	θεοί. Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Βοιωτῶι Δαμαλίωνος καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς Δαμαλί[ωνι] Πατηι(?) Μαλιεῖσ[ι(?) — — —] [αὐτο]ῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀ[συ]λίαν, ἀτέλει[αν πάντων καὶ] τἆλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ	3rd BCE	269-267 BC	SEG 14 (1957), 403	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Lamia	yes
GHW06734	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Πυθ[- - - -, patronymicum, ethnicum] / ἐξ Ἐρυθρᾶ ν	Erythrea	proxeny, promanteia, proedria, pridikia, asylia, ateleia for a citizen of Erythrea (ΠΥΟ[- - -] ΕΞ ΕΡΥΘΡΑΝ)	ελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Πυ θ[- - - -, patronymicum, ethnicum] / ἐξ Ἐρυθρᾶ ν αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις [προξενίαν], / προμαν τ εία ν, [προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν], / ἀτέλεια[ν πάν]των [καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] /5 προξένοις [κ]αὶ εὐεργέταις, ἄρχοντος	3rd BCE	3rd BCE (269-267 BC)	SGDI 2599	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Malis	yes

GHW06735	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἀμφιλόχωι Πολυΐδου Θεσσαλῶι ἐκ Γυρτῶνος	Gyrton	προ[ξενίαν, προ)- /μαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν,ἀτέλειαν for a citizen of Gyrton (ΑΜΦΙΛΟΧΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΙΔΟΥ ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ ΕΚ ΓΥΡΤΩΝΟΣ)	θεοί. / Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ἀμφιλόχωι Πολυΐδου Θεσσαλῶι ἐκ Γυρτῶνος αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις προ[ξενίαν, προ)- /μαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα κ[αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις] προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις· ἄρχοντος Εὐκλέος,	3rd BCE	3rd BCE (269-260 BC)	FD III 3, 189	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Erythrea	yes
GHW06736	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Πρωτολάωι vac. Μαλιεῖ ἐξ Ἐχίνου	Echinos	proxeny. Promanteia, proedria, prodikia, asylia, ateleia, for a citizen of Echinos (ΠΡΩΤΟΛΑΟΣ ΜΑΛΙΕΥΣ ΕΞ ΕΧΙΝΟΥ)	θεοί. Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Πρωτολάωι vac. Μαλιεῖ ἐξ Ἐχίνου αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμαντεί- 3 αν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξέ- νοις καὶ εὐεργέταις. ἄρχοντος Εὐκλέους, βουλευόντω	3rd BCE	3rd BCE (269-260 BC)	FD III 3, 180	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Gyrton	yes
GHW06737	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Μολύκκωι Ἀμενέα Θεσσα- λῶι ἐγ Λαρίσας	Larissa	προξενί- 5 αν, προμαντείαν, προεδ<ρ>ίαν, προδικίαν ποτὶ Δελ- φούς, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ τἆ[λλα] ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργ(έται] for a citizen of Larissa (ΜΟΛΥΚΚΟΣ (ΑΜΕΝΕΟΥΣ) ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΣ	θεοί. Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Μολύκκωι Ἀμενέα Θεσσα- λῶι ἐγ Λαρίσας καὶ τοῖς ὑοῖς Ἀμενέαι, Ἀδάμαν- τι, Ἀσάνδρωι καὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενί- 5 αν, προμαντείαν, προεδ<ρ>ίαν, προδικίαν ποτὶ Δελ-	3rd BCE	262/1 BC	FD III 3, 198	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Echinos	yes
GHW06738	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Κλεοσθένει Ἀνδρονίκου Αἰτωλῶι	Aitolian from Heraklea	proxeny, promanteia, proedria, prodikia, asylia, for an Etolien from Heraklea (ΚΛΕΟΣΘΕΝΕΙΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΑΙΤΩΛΟΣ ΕΞ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΣ)	Κλεοσθένει Ἀνδρονίκου Αἰτωλῶι ἐξ Ἡρα- κλείας Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν προξενίαν, αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδι- κίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, εἶμεν δὲ 5 αὐτῶι καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔμπασιν καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα	3rd BCE	3rd BCE (ca. 260 BC)	FD III 4, 174	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Larissa	yes
GHW06739	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Πολυκράτεος καὶ Μενέστα τῶν Στα]σιμένεος Ἡρακ[λ]εωτᾶν	Herakleia	π]ρο[ξενίαν, προμαντείαν], προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλ[ε]ιαν, προεδρίαν ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγώ- [νοις for citizens of Heraklea (ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑΤΗΣ et ΜΕΝΕΣΤΑΣ (ΟΙ) ΣΤΑΣΙΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΑΙ)	[θεός. τύχ]αν ἀγα[θάν]. [ἐπεὶ Ξενέας Βαβύλου, Εὐάγγελος Πάτρωνο]ς, Δε[ξί]νδας Δάμωνος οἱ ἐξαποσταλέ ντες πρ[εσ]βευτα ὶ ὑπὸ τ[ᾶ]ς [πόλιος ἐν Ἡράκλειαν περὶ ὧν χρείαν εἴχομ]εν, παρα[γ]εν[ό μεν]οι κα[ὶ ἐ]πελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰν ἐ[κκ]λη[σί]αν διελέγη[σαν	2 people	2nd BCE	2nd BCE (142-140 BC)	FD III 3, 147	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Aitolian from Heraklea

GHW06740	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Λαίσταν Ἀντάνορος Ἡρακλεώτα ν	Herakleia	προξενίαν, προμαντεία [ν], προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶνοις οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι καὶ γᾶς [κ]αὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν for a citizen of Heraklea (ΛΑΙΣΤΑΣ ΑΝΤΑΝΩΡΟΣ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΑΣ)	[θεὸς] τύχαν ἀγαθάν. [ἄρχοντ]ος Σωσιπάτρου τοῦ Αἰακ[ί]δα, [βο]υ-[λευόντ]ων τὰν πρώταν ἑξάμην[ο]ν Ἀντιγέ-νεο[ς το]ῦ Διοδώρου, Ἀγίωνος τοῦ Κ[λ]εοδάμ[ο υ], 5 γραμ[μα]τε ὑοντος δὲ Ὑβρία τοῦ Ξέν(ω)νος, [ἐ]πε[ὶ] Ἀγίων Κ[λ]ε[ο]δάμ	2nd BCE	2nd BCE (139/8 BC)	FD III 3, 118	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Herakleia	yes	
GHW06741	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἀντιγένην Καλλιστράτ ου Κιεριῆ	Kierion	προξενίαν, προμαντεία ν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλί-αν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, προεδρίαν	θεὸς τύχαν ἀγαθάν. ἄρχοντος Σωσιπάτρου τοῦ Αἰακίδα, βουλευόντω ν τὰν πρώταν ἑξάμηνον Ἀντι[ι]γένεος τοῦ Διοδώρου, Ἀγίωνος τοῦ Κλευδάμου, γραμματεύο ντος δὲ Ὑβρί-α το[ῦ] Ξένωνος ἐπ<ε>ὶ Ἀντιγένης καὶ Μνασίθεος οἱ	2nd BCE	139/8BC	FD III 1, 261; BCH 83 1959, p.477-478, no. 9	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Herakleia	yes	yes
GHW06742	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Πυλάδαν Σωσαμενοῦ Ὑπαταῖον]	Hypata	ροξενίαν, προμαντε]ί αν, προδ[ικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν, προεδρίαν for a citizen of Hypata (ΠΥΛΑΔΑΣ ΣΩΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΥΠΑΤΑΙΟΣ)	Θεός · τύχαν ἀγα[θάν]. Ἐπεὶ Ξενέας Βαβύλου, Εὐάγγελος Πάτρωνος, Δεξώνδας Δάμωνος, [οἱ ἐξαποσταλέ ντες] πρεσβευταὶ ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιας ἐν Ὑπάταν περὶ ὧν χρείαν εἴχομεν, πα[ραγενόμ ενοι καὶ ἐπελ]-θόν[τ]ες ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν διελέγ[ησ]α	2nd BCE	137/6 BC?	SEG 02 (1925), 274	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Kierion	yes	
GHW06743	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	([- - - -], [- -] ΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΛΑΛΛΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΛΑ[ΡΙΣΑΙΟΙ]	Larissa	προξενίαν, προμαντ[εί α]-ν, προδικίαν, [ἀσ]υλίαν, [προε]-δρίαν, ἀτέλε[ιαν] πάν[των κα]-θάπερ Δελφοῖς, for 3 judges from Larissa ([- - - -], [- -] ΔΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΙΚΟΣ ΚΛΑΛΛΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΛΑ[ΡΙΣΑΙΟΙ] ou ΛΑ[ΜΙΕΙΣ]?)	judges	[Ἀγαθᾶ] τύχα. | Ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐν ἀγ]ορᾶι τελείωι σὺμ ψάφοις ταῖς ἐν[νό]μοις· ἐπειδὴ οἱ ἐξαποσταλέ ντες δ]ικασταὶ ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος τῶν Λα[ρ]σαίω ν ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος, ὁ δεῖνα 5 Δ]ιοκλέος, Ἀριστόνικος Καλλικ[λέ ο ς καὶ μετ’	2nd BCE	155-135 BC	SEG 02 (1925), 345;FD III 1, 284	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata	yes	
GHW06744	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Πετραῖον Ἀγά]θωνος Λαρισαῖον (— — — —]θωνος Λαρισαῖον)	Larissa	προξενί-5 αν, προμαντεία ν, προεδ<ρ>ία ν, προδικίαν ποτὶ Δελ-φούς, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ τᾶ[λλα] ὅσα	. . . . . Οἱ χ[ρεία]ν ἐχ[όντ]ων ἐπισκ[ευ]-[ῆς? καὶ πᾶσαν] σπουδὰν ἐναποδειεν ὑμε-[νος, ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλει τῶν Δελφῶν ἐπαινέσαι — — — —]θωνος Λαρισαῖον ἐφ’ ἃι ἔχει [εὐνοίαι ποτὶ τὰν πόλιν ἁμῶν, ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ	2nd BCE	121-108 BC	FD III 1, 461	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Larissa	yes	

GHW06745	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ξεν[ὀκ]λητος Ξενάρμου Erythrea Ἐρ[υθραῖος		proxeny, promanteia, prodikia, ateleia, proedria for a citizen of Erythrea	ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς Κλευδάμου τοῦ Κλ[έωνος, βουλευόντων τὰν πρώταν ἑξάμηνον Αἰμώντα], [Θεοφράστου, Πρᾶξ]ία, ἔδοξε τᾶι πόλει τᾶ[ν Δελφῶν ἐν ἀγορᾶι τελείωι σύμψάφοις ταῖς ἐννόμοις· ἐ[πει]δ[ὴ] Ξεν[ὀκ]λητος Ξενάρμου Ἐρ[υθραῖος τὰν ἐπιδαμίαν ἀ[γαθᾷ τύχᾳ. ἄρχοντος Ἥρυος τοῦ Κλέωνος, βουλευόντων Ξενοκρίτου τοῦ Μέ]νητος, Χαρ[ιξένου τ]οῦ Σωτύλ[ου, Ταραντίνου τοῦ Δρομοκλείδα, Ἀρχελάου] τοῦ Εὐδώρου· ἐπεὶ Αἰακίδας Βαβύλου, ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰν [ἐκκλησίαν, [ἀγαθᾷ τύχᾳ. ἄρχοντος Ἥρυος τοῦ Κλέωνος, βουλευ]-[όντων Ξενοκρίτου τοῦ Μένητος, Χαριξέν]ου [τοῦ] Σω-[τύλου, Ταραντίν]ου τοῦ Δρο[μοκλείδα], Ἀρχελάου [τοῦ Εὐ]δώρου· ἐπεὶ Αἰακίδας Β[αβύλου, ἐπ]ελθὼν ἐπ[ὶ] θεός. {ι} τύχαι ἀγαθᾶ[ι]. ἐν προσκλή[τ]ψ[ι] ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἔδοξε τῇ π[όλει τῶν] Δελφιῶν· ἐπ<ε>ι[δή] Σώσανδρος Πλειστάρχου Ὑπ[ataῖος] Σ<ε>βαστῆος, ἀ[νὴρ] εὐσεβέστατος μὲν πρὸς τὸ[ν θεόν] εὐνοϊκώτ]ατος δὲ πρὸς τὴν [πόλιν ἡμῶν, ἐν τοῖς ἔμπρο]-. να ἐπετέλεσεν ε . ν ..... καὶ...../.....ν διετέθη ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ μεγαλοψύχ[ως]...../.... αὐτῷ καὶ γυναικὶ καὶ τέκνοι<κοι>ς κα[ὶ ...../.....εαν, γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνχτησιν καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα τ[οῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδρά-/σ]ιν στεγανῶσαί τε αὐτὸν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ	2nd BCE	2nd BCE (102/1 BC)		FD III 4, 57	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Larissa	yes	
GHW06746 a	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἀριστόνουν Σωάνδρου Hypata Ὑπαταῖον		προξενία<ν>, προμαντεία<ν>, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, 15 [ἀ]τέλειαν πάντων, προεδρίαν [ἐν] πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶνοις οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθη-σι, καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν		1st BCE	91-68 BC		FD III 4, 57	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Erythrea	yes	
GHW06746 b	Delphi	Delphi		Delphi	Ἀριστόνουν Σωάνδρου Ὑπαταῖον	Hypata	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγῶνοις οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι, καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν		1st BCE	91-68 BC		FD III 4, 63	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata	yes	
GHW06747	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Σώσανδρος Πλειστάρχου Ὑπ[ataῖος] Σ<ε>βαστῆος	Hypata	προμαν[τείαν], προεδρί<α>ν, <ἀ>τέλ<ε>ιαν, ἀσυλίαν, γᾶς τε καὶ οἰκίας ἔνκτησιν for citizen of Hypata that was epimelete and agonoteta of the Pythia + Sebasteos) (ΣΟΣΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΟΣ ΥΠΑΤΑΙΟΣ)	epimelete and agonoteta	1st CE	end 1st AD	SEBASTEIOS !!!	BCH 23 (1899), p.555, no. 41a	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata	yes	
GHW06748 a	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	([- - - -] ΥΠΑΤΑΙΟΣ) a citizen of Hypata (agonothete of the Pythia ?)	Hypata	proxeny κα[ί...../....εαν, γῆς καὶ οἰκίας ἔνχτησιν καὶ τἄλλα ὅσα τ[οῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἀνδρά-/σ]ιν στεγανῶσαί		2nd CE	2nd AD?		Syll.3, 405 n.2, p.641	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata	yes	yes
GHW06749 A	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Dedication	Delphi	[ΦΙΛ]ΑΓΡΟΝ ΦΕΙΔΩΝΟΣ	Dolopia	proxeny? (Dolope)		3rd BCE	3rd BCE (ca. 265-255 BC?)		Syll.3, 405 n.2, p.641	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata	yes	yes
GHW06749 B	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	([ΕΥΠΟ]Α[ΕΜΟΣ] ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ	Dolopia	proxeny for a Dolopian ([ΕΥΠΟ]Α[ΕΜΟΣ] ΕΥΠΟΛΕΜΟΥ ΔΟΛΟΨ)		3rd BCE	3rd BCE (ca. 265-255 BC?)		FD III 3, 197	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Dolopia	yes	

GHW06750	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἀμύντορι, Ξενάρει, Πύρρωι Ξενοδόκου Λαμεῦ σσι	Lamia	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα [γ for 3 brothers, citizens of Lamia	οἱ. Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ἀμύντορι, Ξενάρει, Πύρρωι Ξενοδόκου Λαμεῦ σσι αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα [κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐερ- 5 γέταις.	3rd BCE	ca. 265-255 BC	FD III 4, 417 I	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Dolopia	yes
GHW06751	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	ΦΙΛΑΡΧΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΝΙΩΝΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ ΕΛΕΙΜΕΙΩΤΗΣ ΕΚ ΠΥΘΕΙΟΥ	Pythion	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν for an Elimiote of Pythion	Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Μνασέαι Μενάνδρου Παριανῶι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάν- των καὶ τἆλλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις 5 καὶ εὐεργέταις· ἄρχοντος Ἀρισταγόρα, βουλευόν-	3rd BCE	254/3 BC	SEG 01 (1923), 207; REA 1918, p.22	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Lamia	yes
GHW06752	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἀπολλοδώρωι Δημώνακτος, Ἀπολλοδότωι Δη- μάδος (σ)τρατηγῶ[ι], | Ἀπολλωνίωι Ἀντιπάτρου, Μενεκλεῖ Ἀρι- στοδήμου Ἐρυθραίοις,	Erythrea	proxeny, proedria, prodikia, promanteia, asylia, ateleia, for 4 citizens of Erythrea (?) (not necessarily from the Ainian city)	Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ἀπολλοδώρωι Δημώνακτος, Ἀπολλοδότωι Δη- μάδος (σ)τρατηγῶ[ι], | Ἀπολλωνίωι Ἀντιπάτρου, Μενεκλεῖ Ἀρι- στοδήμου Ἐρυθραίοις, | αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προξενίαν, προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, προμαντείαν, |	3rd BCE	3rd BCE (ca. 250 BC)	BCH 49 (1925), p.91, no. 20	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Pythion	yes
GHW06753	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	(? Αἰνιανι ? εξ) Ὑπ]άτα	Hypata	προξενίαν,] θεωροδοκίαν, προαντείαν, π]ροεδρίαν, ποο- [δικίαν, ἀσυλίαν], ἀτέλειαν for a Hypatan - - ΑΙΤΩΛΟΣ (more likely ΑΙΝΙΑΝ) ΕΞ ΥΠ]ΑΤΑΣ	(Α)[Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν τῶι οεῦνι του δεῖνος (? Αἰνιανι ? εξ) Ὑπ]άτα< αὐτακ. καῖ / [εκγόνοις προξενίαν,] θεωροδοκίαν, προαντείαν, π]ροεδρίαν, ποο- [δικίαν, ἀσυλίαν], ἀτέλειαν πάντων [/. αἱ τα ἄλλα οσ]α καῖ τοις ἄλλοις [προξένους] καῖ	3rd BCE	after 239 BC	FD III 2, 84	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Erythrea	yes
GHW06754	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Βίωνι Δημητριεῖ	Demetrias	proxeny, promanteia, proedria, prodikia, asylia, ateleia for a citizen of Demetrias (ΒΙΩΝ ΔΕΜΕΤΡΙΕΥΣ)	θεοί. [Δ]ελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Βίωνι Δημητριεῖ, αὐ[τῶι] [κ]αὶ ἐγγόνοις, προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προε[δρί]- [αν], προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, καί[ι] 5 [τὰ]λλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐερ[γέ]-	3rd BCE	3rd BC (after 220 BC)	SGDI 2651 (BCH 63 1939, p.257)	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata	yes

GHW06755	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	(ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΔΩΡΟΣ ΦΡΥΝΙΣΚΟΥ ΣΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΑΙΟΣ)	Skotoussa	προξενίαν, προ[μαντείαν, προ]εδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν,		Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Ὀλυμπιοδ[ώρωι — — — —]κου Σκοτουσσαί[ω]ι αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προ[μαντείαν, προ]εδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν, πάντων καὶ τἆ[λλα ὅσα καὶ τοῖς] ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐερ-[γέταις]· ἄρχοντος Εὐ[δώρου, βουλευ]όντ		3rd BCE	after 220 BC	SGDI 2692	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Demetrias	yes
GHW06756	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	. . . . .]ρωι Ἀπολλωνίου [Λαρισαίωι	Larissa	προξενίαν, π]ρομαντείαν, θεωροδοκίαν, 5 [προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυ]λίαν, ατέλειαν πάντων, [καὶ τἆλλα τίμια ὅσα		[— — — π]αρὰ τοῦ Λαρισαίων [δάμου. — — — θε]οί. [Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν . . . . .]ρωι Ἀπολλωνίου [Λαρισαίωι προξενίαν, π]ρομαντείαν, θεωροδοκίαν, 5 [προεδρίαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυ]λίαν, ατέλειαν πάντων, [καὶ τἆλλα τίμια ὅσα καὶ] τοῖς ἄλλοις		3rd BCE	206/5? BC	BCH 50 (1926), p.124-125, no. 1	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Skotoussa	yes
GHW06757	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Ἀρίσταρχος Αἰτωλίονος Κυφαιρεύς	Kypaira	proxeny, promanteia, asylia, ateleia, proedra kai talla hosa for a citizen of Kypaira (epimelete of the Etolians) (ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΣ ΑΙΤΩΛΙΩΝΟΣ ΚΥΦΑΙΡΕΥΣ)	epimelete	see BCH		3rd BCE	205/4 BC	SGDI 2586	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Larissa	yes
GHW06758	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	ΠΟΛΥΜΑΙΝΕΤΗΣ ΠΟΛΥΜΑΙΝΕΤΟΥ ΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΕΥΣ	Melitaia	προξενίαν...		Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Πολεμαινέτ-ωι Πολε-/μαινέτου Μελιταιεῖ αὐτῶι καὶ ἐκγόνοις / προξενίαν [— — —] /		3rd BCE	3rd BC?	Syll.3, 585	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Kypaira	yes
GHW06759 C	Delphi	Delphi	List of Proxenies	Delphi	ΠΡΑΥΛΛΟΣ ΦΟΞΙΝΟΥ	Skotoussa	ΠΡΑΥΛΛΟΣ ΦΟΞΙΝΟΥ ΣΚΟΤΟΥΣΣΑΙΟΣ (Scotoussa, cf. GHW04248 A), proxeny of Delphi		List of proxenies		2nd BCE	189/8 BC	Syll.3, 585	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Melitaia	yes
GHW06759 D	Delphi	Delphi	List of Proxenies	Delphi	Θρασύλοχος Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀτράγιο%ºς, Κλεοδάμου, Παρνασσίου, Σωκράτης Ἐπικράτεος, Λύκων Σωσάνδρου, Βόηθος Ἀμεινοκλέος, Λαμιεῖς Ἵππαρχος Γλαυκίππου Δη-μητριεύς. Ἄγρων Θεοφίλου Ἡρακλειώτας,Ἀλεξίς Ἀριστέα Ἡρακλειώτας, Πραῦλος	Atrax, Lamia, Demetrias, Herakleia, Skotoussa	list of proxenies of Delphi		too long, see PHI	multiple people	2nd BCE	2nd BC (187/6 BC)	SGDI 2678	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Skotoussa	yes
GHW06760	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Μενεδάμωι Δαμαρέτου Ὑπαταίω	Hypata	προξενίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τίμια ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος·		Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Μενεδάμωι Δαμαρέτου Ὑπαταίω <αὐτῶι> καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τίμια ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξένοις καὶ εὐεργέταις τᾶς πόλιος· βουλευόντων τὰν πρώταν ἑξάμηνον 5 Ἀθάμβου, Ἀθάμβου, Πεισιθέου.		2nd BCE	158/7 BC	FD III 4, 168	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Atrax, Lamia, Demetrias, Herakleia, Skotoussa	yes

GHW06761	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Λεον]τίχωι Λέωνος Λαμιέ?	Lamia	προξενίαν, προμαν-[τείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικία]ν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέ[λειαν πάντω]ν καὶ τἆλλα τίμα ὅσα for a citizen ofLamia		[ἄρχοντος Πατρέα, βουλευόντ]ων τὰν δευ[τέραν ἑξάμην]ον Δρομοκλείδα, Πασίωνος, Πολυ-[κράτεος· Δελφοὶ ἔδωκαν Λεον]τίχωι Λέωνος [Λαμιεῖ? αὐτῶι] καὶ ἐκγόνοις προξενίαν, προμαν-[τείαν, προεδρίαν, προδικία]ν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέ[λειαν πάντω]ν	2nd BCE	157/6 BC	FD III 1, 260 (BCH 112 1988, p.384)	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata		
GHW06762	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Δαμ[. . . . Ἀρ]ιστέα, Σπερχίδαν Ἀγεμάχου, Τελέαν Τεισαμενοῦ τῶν Ὑπαταίων	Hypata	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, προεδρί-αν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγώνοις οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι, καὶ γ[ᾶς] καὶ οἰκίας ἔγκτησιν, for 3 juges from Hypata	judges	[. . . . .] . . . . . δεδόχθαι τᾶ]ι πόλει [τῶ]ν Δε-[λφῶν ἐν ἀγορᾶι τε]λείωι [ἑπαι]νέσαι Δαμ[. . . . Ἀρ]ιστέα, Σπερχίδαν Ἀγεμάχου, Τελέαν Τεισαμενοῦ, ἐπί τε τ[ᾶι κρ]ίσει ἃι πεποίηνται τῶ[ν] δ[ικ]ῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τᾶι ἐπιδαμίαι καὶ ἀναστροφᾶι· [ὑπ]άρχειν	2nd BCE	151-146 BC	FD III 4, 171	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Lamia	yes	
GHW06763	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Λύκον Καλλικράτεος Ὑπαταῖον	Hypata	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, πρ[οδικίαν], ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν πάντων, προεδρίαν ἐμ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀγώνοις οἷς ἁ πόλις τίθητι καὶ γᾶς καὶ οἰκίας [ἔγκ]τη[σ]ιν		θεός. τύχαν ἀγαθάν. ἄρχοντος Δάμωνος, βουλευόντων τὰν δευτέραν ἑξάμηνον Ἀγίωνος τοῦ Ἐκεφύλου, Ἀναξανδρίδα τοῦ Αἰακίδα, Εὐκλέος τοῦ Καλλιστράτου· ἐπεὶ Ἀγίων Πολυκλείτου ἐπελθὼν ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν διελέγη ὑπὲρ Λύκου	2nd BCE	142-140 BC	FD III 4, 428 II	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata		yes
GHW06764	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	Εὔξενον Κλέονος Ὑπαταῖον	Hypata	προξενίαν, προμαντείαν, προδικίαν, ἀσυλίαν, ἀτέλειαν, προεδρίαν		[θεός]· τύχαν· [ἐπεὶ Ξενέας] Βαβύλου, Εὐάγγελος Πάτρωνος, Δεξώνδας Δάμωνος οἱ ἐξαποστα-λέντες πρεσβευταὶ ὑπὸ τᾶς πόλιος ἐν Ὑπάταν περὶ ὧν χρείαν εἴχομες, παραγε-νόμενοι καὶ ἐπελθόντες ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκκλησίαν διελέγησαν ὑπὲρ Εὔξένου	2nd BCE	142-140 BC	GGA 1913, p. 154; BCH 1977, p. 466	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata		yes
GHW06766	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	ΛΑΜΕΝΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΟΙΤΑΙΟΣ	Oitaios	proxeny for an Oitaian (ΛΑΜΕΝΗΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΟΙΤΑΙΟΣ)			3rd BCE	263/2 BC	SEG 02 (1925), 329;Pomtow, Klio 15 (1918), p. 24 no 47	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Hypata		
GHW06767	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Decree	Delphi	ΦΕΡΙΛΣΣ? ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝΟΣ ΦΕΡΑΙΟΣ)	Pheres	(seems to have belonged to a statue near that of his brother Diokleas)			2nd CE	130-133 AD	Delphica II (1909), p.49-50; MDAIA 67 (1942), p.261-262, no. 8	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Oitaios	yes	
GHW06768	Delphi	Delphi	Honorary Dedication	Delphi	[- -] ΘΕΟΓΕΙΤΟΝΟΣ	Phthiotic Thebes	Larissa (Kremaste?) honours [- -] ΘΕΟΓΕΙΤΟΝΟΣ (of Phthiotic Thebes?)			3rd BCE	3rd BC	SEG 56 (2006), 596; BCH 130 (2006), p.405, no. 16	Other	Delphi	Pheres		

GHW06773	Kallipolis (Etolíe)	Kallipolis (Etolíe)	Honorary Decree	Kallipolis	Νικο-βούλωι Πολυστράτου Ὑπαταί-ωι	Hypata		προξενίαν νν κατὰ τὸν ν[όμ]ον·	Ἀγαθᾶι τύχαι· γραμματεύον-τος τῶν ἀρχόντων Εὐφρονίου τοῦ Ξενοκρίτου, μηνὸς Προκυκλίου, 4 Καλλιπολῖται ἔδωκαν Νικο-βούλωι Πολυστράτου Ὑπαταί-ωι προξενίαν νν κατὰ τὸν ν[όμ]ον· ἔγγυοι Εὐφρόνιος Ξενοκρίτου ,		2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 56 (2006), 598; BCH 130 (2006), p.406, no. 18	Proxeny or Politeia	Delphi	Phthiotic Thebes	
GHW06774	Kallipolis (Etolíe)	Kallipolis (Etolíe)	Honorary Decree	Kallipolis	|Αἰ[. .]Α[.]Ε [. .]Ξ Ὑπαταίωι	Hypata		προξε[νίαν κατὰ τὸν νό]- 4 μον·	[Γ]ραμματε ύοντ[ος τῶν ἀρχόντων [- - - ca. 8 - -] μηνὸς Προκυκλίου , Καλλιπολῖται ἔ[δωκαν - ca. 5 -] |Αἰ[. .]Α[.]Ε [. .]Ξ Ὑπαταίωι προξε[νίαν κατὰ τὸν νό]- 4 μον· ἔγγυοι τᾶς προξενίας Τιμ[- - - - ca. 13 - - - -] ΛΑΜΕΝΕ[. .] ΠΛ Ἄγεμος vacat {- - - - - -}- Ω[. .]Ει[- -] . . .ἐν τῶι ἀγῶνι τῶι γυμνικῶι ἀν[αγορεῦσ αι ὅτι «ὁ δᾶμος στεφανοῖ τόν τε] [δ]ᾶμον τὸν Μεσσηνίων καὶ Εὔνομ[ον δεῖνος καὶ τὸν δεῖνα δεῖνος τοὺς ἀποστα]- 4 [λ]έντας δικαστὰς καὶ τὸν γραμμ[τέα		2nd BCE	2nd BC	SEG 57 (2007), 368	Proxeny or Politeia	Kallipolis	Hypata	yes
GHW06798	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Decree		Areton son of Nikasias as a citizen of Larisa	Messene		for judges from Messene	judges	Helly finds compelling onomastical and prosopographical evidence to 1st BCE identify the ambassador Areton son of Nikasias as a citizen of Larisa,	1st BCE	1st BCE	GHW06820	Proxeny or Politeia	Kallipolis	Hypata	yes
GHW06820	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication	neaniskoi				ΟΙ ΝΕΑ[- - -] | ΘΕΩΝΑ - - - | ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑ- - (neaniskoifor un gymnasiarch)	gymnasiarch			?	GHW06831	Other	Larissa	Messene	
GHW06831	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication					[- - ΠΕ]ΝΤΑΜΗ ΝΟΝ ΜΗΤΡΟΤΕΙ ΜΟΣ ΑΠ- - - (magistrate for 5 months?)	magistrate			?	GHW06838	Other	neaniskoi	Larissa	
GHW06838	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication					Ο ΔΗΜ[- - -] | ΠΑΡΜΕΝΙΣΚ - - - | - - ΕΥΑΞΑΝΤΑ- - | - - ΠΡΟΣΟΔΩ[Ν - -)				?	GHW06843	Other	Larissa	Larissa	
GHW06843	Larissa (theatre excavations)	Larissa	Honorary Dedication?					ΑΓΕΙΣΑΓΟΡΑ III ΑΝΤ- - -				?	BE 2011, 508; REA 112 (2010), p.275-294, no. 2	Other	Larissa	Larissa	
GHW06894	Colophon-sur-mer	Colophon on the Sea	Honorary Decree	Colophon on the Sea	Mnaseas	Lamia		politeia for Mnaseas de Lamia			3rd BCE	3rd BCE (250-220 BC)	SEG 19 (1963), 102; IG II2, 933; Habicht, ZPE 20 (1976), p.193-199	Other	Larissa	Larissa	
GHW07973	Athens	Athens	Honorary Decree	Athens	- - - - - -]δην Κρατίνου Λα	Larissa			[Ἐπὶ Διοκλέους(?) ἄρχοντος, ἐπὶ τ]ῆς Ἱπποθωντίδ ος ἑνάτ[ης] / [πρυτανείας, ἧι - - - - - . .c. 13. . . . . / κλέους Θριάσιος ἐγ[ραμ]- /[μάτευεν· Ἐλαφηβολι ῶνος ἑνά]τηι ἱσταμένου. . . . 6-7. . ./ [τῆς πρυτανείας· / ἐκκλησία ἐν τ]ῶι θεάτρωι· τῶν		2nd BCE	after 196?	IvO, 464	Proxeny or Politeia	Colophon on the Sea	Lamia	yes

GHW07977	Olympia	Olympie	Honorary Dedication?		Φλάβιος Φύλαξ 5 Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσσαλὸς	Hypata?	honours to thessalian Sophist	sophist	ἀγαθῆι τύχ[η]. lower face.2 ἔδοξε τῆ βουλῆ τῆ Ὀλυμπικῆι Φλάβιος Φύλαξ 5 Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσσαλὸς σοφιστής, Θεσσαλῶν σύνεδρος, Ἀθηναίων 10 Ἀρεοπαγείτ ης.	2nd CE	2nd CE			IG II.2 484, 558	Other	Athens	Larissa	
N/A	Athens	Athens		Athens	Oxythemis son of Hippostratos of Larissa	Larissa	politeia		Φερεκλέους [ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς] Ἀντιγονίδος ὀ[γδόης πρυτανείας], [ἧι] Ἐπιχαρῖνος [Δημοχάρου ς Γαργή]- [τ]τιος ἐγραμμά[τευε· Ἀνθεστηριῶ ν]- 5 [ος δεκ]άτ[ηι — — — — — — — — —] "- . . . . . 25. . . . . ου . . . . . [— — — — — — — — — — —]λω[— — — — —] / [— — — — — — — — —]λίου [— — — — —] / [— — — — — — — — στρ]αταγέον τ[ος δὲ τῶν] / [Θεσσαλῶν — — — — τοῦ] Ἀρετοκλέ[ους — — —] /5 / [— — — — — — — — — — — —]κλέους,	archon Pherekles, while the tribe was exercising the eighth Antigonis prytany why was secretary Epicharinos son of Demochares, of the deme Gargettos . The (?) Day Anthesterion .... enemies. A Good Fortune. Please the people of the accroder	3rd BCE	303 BC		belongs to the Aleuadai. Multiple members of his family served the macedonian kings. His uncle Medeios, son of Oxythemis served under Alexander the Great, Antigonos one-eye, Demetrios Poliorcetes, and was honoured by Athens (see IG II.2. 498). Also a		Proxeny or Politeia	Athens	Larissa	yes
GHW03058	Zarkos (A. Nikolaos)	Phayttos	Honorary Decree	Phayttos	Gorgias	Gyrton	ἀτέλειαν, ἐπινομίαν, ἀσυλί[αν, ἀσφά]- /[λε]ιαν for Gorgias of Gyrton			2nd BCE	2nd BC			SEG 50 (2000), 522	Proxeny or Politeia			yes	yes

Lyon Inv No.	Find Spot	Turkish Topo	Ancient Place		Document Type	Emperor	Contents	Notes	Century/Period	DATE	SEG	IG	BULLETINeP IGRAPHIQU	ARCHAIOLOGIKON	ARCHAIOLOGIKI	ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ (ΡΑΑΗ)	PUBLICATION 1	PUBLICATION 2	Gonnoi	I. Enipeus	Unpublished Works	HEINZ	MC DEVITT	Thessalika Mnimeia	PEEK, GVI	PEEK, GVI Thess.	CEG
							[C						1988, p.				Tziafalias										
GHW03952	Atrax (site)		Atrax	(...) son of Arnoxena	Imperial Dedication	?	Χάβροξένας		1st CE	1st AD			416, no.				(A.),				IAtrax, 157						
GHW05527	Atrax (site)		Atrax		Imperial Dedication	?			1st CE	66-68 AD			1997, 312	45 (1990 [1995]), 52B2 (1997							IAtrax, 158						
GHW05725	Atrax (site)		Atrax		Imperial Dedication	?			1st CE	10-14 AD				[2003],							IAtrax, 155						
GHW06709	Demetrias (Basilika)		Demetrias		Imperial Dedication	?	Fragment: ΑΥΤΟ[ΚΡΑΤ- [- -		Roman	Roman							Habicht (Chr.),										
GHW04684	Demetrias (inv.)		Demetrias?	[-os son of Arnophilos	Imperial Dedication	?	ΚΑ]ΙΣΑΡΙ- - — — — — — — —	soter	Roman	Roman																	
GHW04005	Hypati		Hypata			?	ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟ		1st BCE	70 BC		55 (2005), 608 (ap.cr.)	IX 2, 0034														
GHW06693	Philia Karditsis		Itonion		Imperial Dedication	?	ΡΑ [— —		Roman	Rom. Imp.				18 (1963 [1965]),													
GHW02016	Larissa (ancient		Larissa	Thess. Koin and Polis of	Imperial Dedication	?	Κ]αίσαρα [— — —		Roman	Rom. Imp. Period		IX 2, 0612															
GHW04140	Larissa		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	?	κ]αὶ		Roman	Rom. Imp. period		IX 2, 0610															
GHW06802	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	?	altar - [- - -		Roman	Rom. Imp. Period																	
GHW05843	Larissa (cour de la		Larissa?		Imperial Dedication?	?	ΑΥΤΟΚ]ΡΑΤ [- -]ΟΥ ΜΕΜΜΙΟΥ	Sebastos	Roman	Rom. Imp. Period				42 (1987 [1992]),				unpublished ?									
GHW06459	Larissa		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Agrippa	ΜΑΡΚΩ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ soter, theos	1st BC		17/6-13 BC; end							Kalfoglou-Kaloteraki										
GHW04809	Larissa (ancient		Larissa?		Imperial Dedication	Agrippa	ΜΑΡΚΩ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ	soter, theos	1st BC	17/6-13 BC; end							Habicht (Chr.),	Kalfoglou-Kaloteraki									
GHW05395 A	Unknown		Demetrias?		Imperial Dedication	Antoninus Plus +			2nd CE	138-161 AD																	
GHW05435	Atrax (site)		Atrax		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	ΘΕΟΥ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΥ	sebastos, soter, theos	1st BC	10-14 AD			1995, 351	43 (1988 [1993]),							IAtrax, 154						
GHW03734	Atrax (site)		Atrax		Imperial Dedication	Augustus?	[Γ]αιωμέτρ(η)ς τω Θεω	Sebastos, soter, theos	1st CE	1st CE]10-14 AD			1988, p. 416, no.	35 (1980 [1988]),			Tziafalias (A.),				IAtrax, 156						
GHW04024	Achinos		Echinos		Imperial Dedication	Augustus?	ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ	Sebastos, soter, theos	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD		IX 2, 0093															
GHW04011	Hypati		Hypata	Hypata	Imperial Dedication	Augustus and his	Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα	sebastos, euergetes,	1st BC	17 BC-2 AD		IX 2, 0040															
GHW04835	Larissa (rue Olympou)		Larissa	Larissa	Imperial Dedication	Augustus	altar - O ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο	theos, sebastos	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD				39 (1984 [1989]),			Tziafalias (A.),										
GHW06791 A	Larissa (theatre		Larissa	Larissa	Dedication (imperial?	Augustus	Statue base of Auguste	sebastos, kitistarl	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW04134	Larissa ("in fundo		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	[θεοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ	Sebastos, soter, theos	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD		IX 2, 0604															
GHW04795	Larissa (excavation		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	dedication to Augustus altar -		Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD				51 (1996 [2001]),													
GHW05979	Larissa (rue Apollonou)		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	ΘΕΟΥ Σ- -	theos	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW06249 A+B	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		List of names;	Augustus	List of foreign [- -	sebastos, theos	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD							unpublished										
GHW06812	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	ΑΥΤΟ]ΚΡΑΤ [- -]	theos, sebastos	Roman	Rom. Imp. Period				34 (1979 [1987]),			Tziafalias (A.),									
GHW04829	Larissa (excavation		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Augustus and the	ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙΣ Latin inscription	sebastos	1st BC	1st BC																	
GHW05566	Larissa		Larissa		Dedication (imperial?)	Augustus?		Latin, Augustus theos,	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD ?					1907, p.61-64											
GHW04280	Larissa (Didaskalion		Larissa	Freedman Gaius Julius	Imperial Dedication	Augustus? several	Αὐτ]οκρ(άτ	sebastos,	Roman	Roman imperial				52B2 (1997 [2003]),	1910, col.354-												
GHW06335	Larissa?		Larissa?		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	Altar to Augustus		Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW04088	Velestino		Pheres		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	θεῷ Σε]βα-στῷ Καίσα-	Sebastos, soter, theos	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD		IX 2, 0424															
GHW04089	Velestino		Pheres		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	θεοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ	Sebastos, soter, theos	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD		IX 2, 0425															
GHW04232	Néa Anchialos		Phthiotic Thebes		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	Γάϊον Ἰουλίου?	sebastos, theos, uios	1st BC	1st BC					1929, p.142, n°8							0057				
GHW04204 A	Pythion (maison	Sélos	Pythion		Imperial Dedication	Augustus	θεο[ῦ Σε]-βασ[τοῦ	soter, sebastos,	Augustus	Augustus		IX 2, 1288			1924, n°418δ						Pyth. n°42						
none			Trikka		Dedication	Augustus		sebastos, theos	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD				(1997) 526, no. 60				(2000) 1294 —									
GHW04070	Trikala?		Trikka		Imperial Dedication?	Augustus?	[Αὐτοκράτο ρα	uois theou	Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD		IX 2, 0306															
GHW04187	Volos (A. Nikolaos)		Demetrias	Mag. Koin and	Imperial Dedication	Caracalla	ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ	euergetes, sebastos,	3rd CE	193-211 AD		IX 2, 1137															
GHW04186	Volos (phrourion)		Demetrias		Imperial Dedication	Caracalla	[—]Cᾳ[ᾳ]— — — —	soter, sebastos	3rd CE	212-217 AD		IX 2, 1136					Daux (G.) &										
GHW04234	Melitaia	Avaritsa (Ἀβαρίτσα)	Melitaia	Mag. Koin and	Imperial Dedication	Caracalla and Julia	ΠΟΛΙΣ ΙΗΒΑΣΤΗΩ	sebastos	3rd CE	199-217 AD							La Coste-						0149				
GHW04188	Volos?		Demetrias		Imperial Dedication	Carus (Imp. Caesar M.	ΤΟΝ ΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΝ [Τιβέριο]ν	sebastos, theiotatos	3rd CE	282 AD		IX 2, 1138															
GHW04023	Lamia ("in gymnasio",		Lamia	Lamia	Imperial Dedication	Claudius	Κλαύδιον ΘΕΟΝ	sebastos	1st CE	41-54 AD		IX 2, 0081			1945-47,												
GHW04135	Larissa	Hadji-Moustaphal	Larissa	Larissa	Imperial Dedication	Claudius	ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ	theos	1st CE	41-54 AD		IX 2, 0605			p.106 (=												
GHW04136	Larissa		Larissa	Thess. Koin	Imperial Dedication	Claudius/Vespasian	a) [- - ΚΛΑΥ]ΔΙΟΝ	sebastos, theos	1st CE	A) 41-54 AD B) 69-		IX 2, 0606															
GHW04842	Demetrias (baptistere		Demetrias		Imperial Dedication	Commodus (Damnatio	for Commodus ΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟ		2nd CE	185-192							Habicht (Chr.),										
GHW04137	Larissa		Larissa	Thessalians	Imperial Dedication	Domitian	Ν ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ	sebastos	1st CE	81-96 AD		IX 2, 0607															
GHW06793	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Dedication (imperial?	Germanicus	Statue base of		1st CE	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW06794	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Dedication (imperial?	Germanicus	Statue base of		1st CE	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW06224	Hypati (porche A.		Hypata		Imperial Dedication	Hadrian	for Hadrian		2nd CE	117-138 AD																	
GHW04141	Larissa?	Glafki	Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Hadrian	ΑΥ]ΤΟΚΡΑΤ ΟΡΑ		2nd CE	117-138 AD		IX 2, 0611															
GHW04155	Larissis (A.	Sartzilar/Salsilar	Larissa?		Imperial Dedication	Hadrian	Αὐτοκράτορ	sebastos, Ariston	2nd CE	117-138 AD		IX 2, 1028															
GHW04400	Demetrias (site)		Demetrias		Imperial Dedication	Julius Caesar and	For Gaius Iulius	theos	1st BC	52/51 BC?							Arvanitopoulos (A.S.),										
GHW06795	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Dedication (imperial?	Livia	Statue base of Livia (2)		Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW06796	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Dedication (imperial?	Livia	Statue base of Livia		Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW06797	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Dedication (imperial?	Livia	statue base Livia (3) on		Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW06822	Larissa (theatre		Larissa	Larissa	Imperial Dedication	Nero	[- - ΣΕΒΑΣ]ΤΟ	soter, sebastos	1st CE	54-68 AD																	
GHW05078 A	Kalambaka (A.		Alginion		Imperial Dedication	Probus	[ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ ΟΡΑ [Λούκ]ιον		3rd CE	276-282 AD		IX 2, 0327a					Zachou-Kontogianni										
GHW04075 A	Domeniko (A. Yorgios)		Chyretiai	Chyretiai	Imperial Dedication;	Septimus Severus	Σεπτίμιον		3rd CE	193-211 AD		IX 2, 0349a			1917, n°333						I.Chyretiai n°25						
GHW04596	Demetrias (site)		Demetrias		Imperial Dedication	Septimus Severus	ΘΕΟΙΣ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΙΣ	soter	2nd CE	end 2nd AD				21 (1966 [1967]),			Habicht (Chr.),					A128					
GHW04071	Larissa (A. Demetrias	Kalambaka	Alginion	Alginion	Imperial Dedication	Septimus-Severus	Αὐτοκράτορ ας	Sebastos	3rd CE	199-210 AD		IX 2, 0329					Zachou-Kontogianni Théocharis										
GHW06860	Larissa (theatre		Demetrias		Imperial Dedication	Tiberius	[ΣΕΒΑΣ]ΤΟ ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟ	sebastos 1st CE	1st AD						1839,		(D.),										
GHW04012	Hypati (A. Yorgios)		Hypata	Pleistarchos son of	Imperial Dedication	Germanicus	Γερμανικόν [- - -]Α		Augustus	14-37 AD - Reign of		IX 2, 0041			p.198,												
GHW04524	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Tiberius	TIBEPION Statue base	uois theou	1st BC	14-37 AD							Habicht (Chr.),										
GHW06792	Larissa (theatre		Larissa		Dedication (imperial?	Tiberius	of Tiberius		Augustus	ca. 27 BC-14 AD																	
GHW04399	Larissa (theatre)		Demetrias	Magnetes	Imperial Dedication	Titus	ΜΑΓΝΕΤΕΣ ΘΕΟΝ	theos euergetes,	1st CE	79-81 AD			1965, 221 (p.120)				Théocharis (D.),										
GHW04138	Larissa		Larissa		Imperial Dedication	Trajan	[— — — Γερμαν]ικόν		2nd CE	98 to 117 CE		IX 2, 0608															
GHW04139	Parapotamo	Baxilar	Larissa		Imperial	Trajan	a [— — —		3rd CE	193-211 AD		IX 2, 0609		42 (1987													
None			Larissa		Imperial Ded	Diocletian a	Διοκλητιαν		3rd CE/4th	293-305 AD							Woodward, "Greek Inscriptions from Thessaly" in Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology, III, 1910, 145-6, no.										1