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γεγενήσθαι. μηνύεται οὖν ἀπὸ μετοίκων τέ τινων καὶ ἀκολούθων περὶ μὲν τῶν Ἐρμῶν οὐδέν, ἄλλων δὲ ἀγαλμάτων περικοπαὶ τινὲς πρότερον ὑπὸ νεωτέρων μετὰ παιδίας καὶ οἶνον γεγενημένας ποιεῖται ἐν οἰκλαῖς εἰρηνήρεσι<sup>1</sup> ΤΕΚΜΗΡΙΑ<sup>2</sup> καὶ αὐτὰ ὑπολαμβάνοντες οἱ μάλιστα τῷ Ἀλκιβιάδῃ ἀχθόμενοι ἐμποδὼν ὅντι σφίσι μὴ αὐτοῖς τοῦ δήμου βεβαίως προεστάναι, καὶ νομίσαντες, εἰ αὐτὸν ἔξελάσειαν, πρῶτοι ἀν εἶναι, ἐμεγάλυνον καὶ ἐβόωντο ἐπὶ δήμου κραταλύσει τά τε μνοτικὰ καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἐρμῶν περικοπὴ γεγενημένας εἰς αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐ μετ' ἑκείνου ἐπράχθη, ἐπιλέγοντες τεκμήρια τὴν ἄλλην αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα οὐ δημοτικὴν παρανομίαν. ὁ δ' ἔν τε τῷ παρόντι πρὸ τοῦ 17 καὶ ἔτοιμος ἵν πρὸν ἐκπλεῖν κραταλύσεις σμένος ἦν (ἡδη γὰρ καὶ τὰ τῆς παρανομίας καὶ εἰ μὲν τούτων τι εἴργαστο, δίκην δοῦναι, εἰ δ' ἀπολυθεῖη, ἄρχειν. καὶ ἐπεμαρτύρετο μὴ ἀπόντος πέρι αὐτοῦ διαβολὰς ἀποδέχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἡδη ἀποκτείνειν, εἰ ἀδειά<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὅτι σωφρονέστερον εἴη μὴ μετὰ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, πρὶν διαγνῶσι, πέμπειν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσούτῳ στρατεύματι. οἱ δὲ<sup>4</sup> δεδιότες τό τε στράτευμα μὴ εὗνον ἔχη, ἦν ἡδη ἀγωνίζηται, ὁ τε δῆμος μὴ μαλακίζηται θεραπεύων ὅτι δι' ἑκείνον οὐ τοῦ Ἀργείου ξυνεστράτευον καὶ τῶν Μαντινέων τινές, ἀπέτρεπον καὶ ἀπέσπευδον, ἄλλους ρήτορας ἐνιέντες οἱ ἔλεγον νῦν μὲν πλεῦν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ κατασχεῖν τὴν ἀναγωγήν, ἐλθόντα δὲ κρίνεσθαι ἐν ἡμέραις ρήταις, βουλόμενοι ἐκ μείζονος διαβολῆς, ἦν ἐμελλον ῥῆσον αὐτοῦ ἀπόντος πορείας, μετάπεμπτον κομισθέντα αὐτὸν ἀγωνίσασθαι. καὶ ἔδοξε πλεῦν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην.

Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα θέρους μεσοῦντος ἡδη ἡ ἀναγωγὴ ἐγίγνετο

### Herakles and Herakles Kynagidas in Magnesia and Perrhaibia

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## Herakles and Herakles Kynagidas in Magnesia and Perrhaibia\*

Increasing scholarly attention to the cults of the Macedonians over the last thirty years has revealed rich and varied evidence pertaining to the cult of Herakles, the divine progenitor of the royal dynasty, in many cities of the Macedonian kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Herakles as Kynagidas, the archetypal hunter, was venerated in Upper and Lower Macedonia, particularly in Beroia and in the royal capital of Pella.<sup>2</sup> The well-known hunting scenes from royal palaces, cities,

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1. Hdt. 8.137-139; Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 393; Arr. *Anab.* 6.3.2 (Ἡρακλεῖ Προπάτορι); *I.Kato Maked.* II 10: Ἡρακλεῖ Πατρόιων; Hatzopoulos 1996, 30; 2015, 325-326; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2011; Kottaridi 2011, 8-13, esp. 13; Iliadou 1998, 58, 78-84, 205-206; cf. Mari 2011, 455; Hatzopoulos 2006, 54; Chatzinikolaou 2011, 144-153; Tsiafis 2017, 216.

2. *I.Ano Maked.* 6, 20, 97, 115; *I.Beroia* 3, 29-34, 134; *I.Kato Maked.* II 135, 136, 442; *IG X* 2.2, 172; Allamani-Souri 1993, 87; Allamani-Souri, Voutiras 1996, 13-28; Hatzopoulos

and tombs showcase the vigorous commitment of the royal dynasty and civic elites to hunting.<sup>3</sup> Reminiscent of past heroic activity, hunting paved the way for young groups of hunters, the offspring of elite local families, to prepare for full citizenship and war through the safekeeping of royal forests and leading royal hunts, and to become companions of the king.<sup>4</sup> These young hunters accomplished the passage to adulthood under the auspices of Herakles and within the prominent context of the royal court, in an institution which run in parallel with the civic ephebate.<sup>5</sup> The strong connection developed in the Temenid and Antigonid courts between hunting, heroic attitude, threshold to adulthood and social prestige entailed a solid ritual component, the cult of Herakles Kynagidas, which served as a privileged milieu for social interaction. The earliest example comes from the fourth-century dedication to the god from Beroia, commissioned by the *polis*.<sup>6</sup> A special link was developed between the cult of Herakles and the Antigonid court, in particular in the city of Beroia, which is considered to be the Antigonids' home city.<sup>7</sup> The god was worshipped there as protector of hunting, royal hunts, and the age-class of royal hunters.<sup>8</sup> Royal letters, public and private dedications, and manumission acts prove that the sanctuary of Herakles at Beroia was of great importance to the royal court, the city, and private individuals.<sup>9</sup> It became a key cult place, where public documents were displayed and stored in its archive.<sup>10</sup> It is likely that its popularity and significance in Hellenistic times was a major contributing factor in its continued importance even after the demise of the kingdom,

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1994a, 102-111; 2006, 54; 2020, 82; Brocas-Deflassieux 1999, 66; Chatzinikolaou 2011, 147-148; Mari 2011, 461; Tsiafas 2017, 214-215, 217.

3. Diod. Sic. 14.37.5-7; Plut. Alex. 40.4-5; Saatsoglou-Paliadeli 2004; Graekos 2011, 75-92; Bessios, Athanassiadou 2019, 237-238; Hatzopoulos 2020, 157-158.

4. Ath. 1.18; Graekos 2011, 75-92.

5. Hatzopoulos 1994a, 88-111.

6. *I.Beroia* 29 (2nd half of 4th century).

7. Edson 1934, 214-246.

8. Allamani-Souri, Voutiras 1996, 21; Hatzopoulos 1994a, 102-107; 2021, 3-4; Kuzmin 2013, 28-31.

9. Allamani-Souri 1993, 77-107; Allamani-Souri, Voutiras 1996, 13-28; *I.Beroia* 3, 29-33, 134; Hatzopoulos 1994a, 102-108; 2006, 54; 2020, 82; 2021, 4.

10. Allamani-Souri 1993, 98-100; Allamani-Souri, Voutiras 1996, 20; Hatzopoulos 1996, 154 n. 6; 2020, 82; 2021, 4; *I.Beroia* 95; Tsiafas 2017, 209.

when the god appears as a prominent male guarantor of manumission acts.<sup>11</sup> The cult formed a significant example of continuity in Beroia during and after the royalty, concerning the way elite families rose to prominence in civic institutions and forged bonds with the central government.<sup>12</sup>

The presence of “hunters” of Herakles is also attested in Demetrias, the Antigonid foundation in Magnesia, in the second century (fig. 1).<sup>13</sup> Also, fourth- to second-century epigraphic finds pertaining to the cult of Herakles, occasionally in his aspect as Kynagidas, were discovered at Kastri Livadiou, in Perrhaibian Tripolis (fig. 2).<sup>14</sup> This paper aims at reviving the discussion on the cult of Herakles Kynagidas and the “hunters” of Herakles in Magnesia, in the light of additional evidence. Also, it provides new editions based on autopsy, whenever possible, of the epigraphic documents from Kastri Livadiou and of related evidence from modern Sarantaporo, Topoliani and Elassona. Finally, it will hopefully highlight particular aspects of the socio-political and cultic engagement in Magnesia and Perrhaibia with Herakles, the ancestor and protector of ruling classes in both Thessaly and Macedonia, and a most venerated deity at many social levels and contexts. These threads will follow the individual dates and parameters that led specific parts of both Thessalian perioikic regions to annexation by Macedonia, until they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Second Magnesian (168) and the Perrhaibian Koinon (197).<sup>15</sup>

### Herakles, the “hunters of Herakles”, and Herakles Kynagidas in Demetrias

Demetrias was an early third-century foundation by Demetrios Poliorketes, which was established after a synoecism of the communities located at the

11. Allamani-Souri, Voutiras 1996, 15-16, 26-28; Hatzopoulos 1994a, 110-111; Brocas-Deflassieux 1999, 68; Rizakis, Touratsoglou 1999, 954-955; *I.Beroia* 31-33; Tsiafis 2017, 210-211.

12. E. Martín González, P. Paschidis in *I.Beroia* 134 *Suppl.*

13. Intzesiloglou 2006, 67-77 (*SEG* 56, 625).

14. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2009, 663-665 (*SEG* 64, 491; 495; 496).

15. Hatzopoulos 1996, 156-157 n. 15; 2020, 41-42 (partial annexation of Magnesia and Perrhaibia); *contra*, Helly 2009, 340-341 (complete annexation); Magnesian Koinon: Intzesiloglou 1996b, 97-107; Perrhaibian Koinon: Polyb. 18.47.6; Livy 33.32.5; Plut. *Flam.* 10; cf. Lucas 1997, 218-219; Helly 1979, 178, 180.

inlet of the Pagasetic Gulf and the Magnesian peninsula (**fig. 1**).<sup>16</sup> The presence of “hunters of Herakles” in the city was evidenced by an inscribed stele which was discovered next to the *proskenion* of Demetrias’ theatre (Volos Museum, inventory number: BE 44887).<sup>17</sup> The stele bears a letter of Antipatros, possibly the *epistates* of Demetrias, summarizing a royal edict of king Philip V.<sup>18</sup>

*Editions and bibliography:* mentioned by M. Hatzopoulos;<sup>19</sup> first edition by Ch. Intzesiloglou, then in *SEG*;<sup>20</sup> remarks by M. Hatzopoulos, and A. Chaniotis;<sup>21</sup> discussed by various authors.<sup>22</sup>

*Chronology:* Ch. Intzesiloglou dated the document in 184; revised dating in 186, by M. Hatzopoulos, followed by the editors of *SEG*.<sup>23</sup>

Autopsy and photos in March 2021 (**fig. 3**).

Παρ’ Ἀντιπάτ[ρου]-  
οί κυνηγοί τοῦ Ἡρα[κλέ]-  
ους χρωματίνους  
τοὺς πετάσονς φαί-  
5 νονται φορεῖν δεῖ δὲ  
αὐτοὺς ἔχειν πελ-<sup>vv</sup>  
λοὺς ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ  
τὰς χλαμύδας κατὰ  
τὴν ἴστοριαν ἦν ὁ βα-  
10 σιλεὺς εἰσηγεῖται πε-  
ρὶ τοῦ πράγματος ἔγ-

16. Demetrias: Cohen 1995, 111-114; Intzesiloglou 1996b, 91-109 (synoecism); Batziou-Efstathiou 2002; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 343-376; Kravaritou 2011, 114-116; 2016a, 129-130; Boehm 2018, 78-84.

17. Intzesiloglou 1996a.

18. Intzesiloglou 2006, 68; M. Hatzopoulos in *BE* 2007, 695; cf. Kravaritou 2011, 113; Mili 2015, 200; Boehm 2018, 159.

19. Hatzopoulos 1994a, 102; 2006, 86; 2016, 44.

20. Intzesiloglou 1987, 254; 2006, 67-77, esp. 67-68 and pl. 6-7 (*SEG* 56, 625).

21. M. Hatzopoulos in *BE* 2007, 695; A. Chaniotis in *EBGR* 2007, 71.

22. Among others: Kravaritou 2011, 113, 120; 2016a, 142; 2018, 383-384; Mili 2015, 200-201; Boehm 2018, 159-160; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 347, 356.

23. M. Hatzopoulos in *BE* 2007, 358; *SEG* 56, 625.

δος οὐν ὅπως ἀναγρα-  
 φῇ τὸ εἶδος τοῦτο εἰς  
 λιθάριον καὶ ἀνατεθῇ  
 15 ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς. <sup>vv</sup>  
 "Ἐτους <sup>v</sup> Ζ <sup>v</sup> καὶ <sup>v</sup> Λ <sup>vv</sup>  
 [Ἀπ]ελλαίου <sup>v</sup> ΚΔ. <sup>v</sup> <sup>24</sup>

"From Antipatros. The *kynegoi* of Herakles are seen to wear colourful *petasoi*, but they ought to bear dark-grey ones, and also [have dark-grey] *chlamydes* in a similar manner, according to the account of the research introduced by the king; therefore, provide for this statement to be inscribed on a small stone stele and set up in the sanctuaries. In the 37<sup>th</sup> year, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of Apellaios".

Lines 2-3 refer to the "hunters of Herakles (οἱ κυνηγοί τοῦ Ἡρα[κλέ]ους)", thus testifying to the existence in Demetrias of the Macedonian institution of hunters. The two inscriptions from Beroia –which elucidated Polybius' passage (31.29.3-5) on the hunting activities of the Macedonian court and the adventures of young Scipio escorted by "royal hunters (βασιλικοὶ κυνηγοῖ)" – have long ago firmly established the close relation between the institution of the "royal hunters" and the "hunters" of Herakles Kynagidas among whom the local priests of the god were most probably chosen.<sup>25</sup> Members of the royal corps of ephebes charged with the safekeeping of royal forests and leading royal hunts, as well as paramilitary corps responsible for the protection of strategic points in the Macedonian kingdom, the "hunters" have been shown to be select youths chosen from the ranks of the Macedonian elite on the grounds of personal excellence; they formed an age-class corresponding to that of the civic ephebes.<sup>26</sup> The attestation of the "hunters of Herakles" in Demetrias

24. Intzesiloglou 2006, 68 (and SEG 56, 625), l. 3: χρωματίνου[ς].

25. *I.Beroia* 3 (SEG 43, 379; Beroia, 248); 134 (SEG 43, 382; Beroia, 122/1-112/1); cf. Polyb. 31.29. 3-5: ... τούς τε κυνηγοὺς συνέστησε τοὺς βασιλικοὺς τῷ Σκιπίωνι καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν περὶ τὰ κυνηγέσια παρέδωκε τούτῳ πάσαν.

26. Hatzopoulos 1994a, 87-111, esp. 103-106; cf. 2006, 54; also, Allamani-Souri 1993, 77-100; Psoma 2006, 287-288; Mari 2011, 459-461; Touratsoglou 2016, 623-638; Paschidis 2018, 151-152.

indicates that the institutional connection between the royal court and civic elites in Macedonia proper materialized at the local level in this case as well.<sup>27</sup>

Antipatros' letter transmits an extract of a *diagramma* of Philip V on the proper attire concerning “the hunters of Herakles”. The king had introduced specific testimonies on their costume after having conducted historical research, and it has been shown that he meant to reinstate an older tradition.<sup>28</sup> Philip's engagement with the past was known by Photius, who reports that the king commissioned for his own use an excerpt of Theopompos' *Phillipica*.<sup>29</sup> M. Hatzopoulos has demonstrated that the kings' research on the attire of the “hunters of Herakles” is paralleled by other pieces of legislation concerning education, which were also inspired by literary texts and emanated from the royal court, even if they were ultimately adopted by the cities, such as the gymnasiological law of Beroia and the ephebarchical law of Amphipolis.<sup>30</sup> In fact, the excerpted *diagramma* on the *chamydes* and *petasoi* of the “hunters of Herakles” reminds one of lines 32-35 of the ephebarchical law of Amphipolis, which prescribes that the civic ephebes “shall wear a tunic (χιτών), a mantle (χλαμύς), and shall be shod in boots (κρηπίδες), and they shall also have a broad-brimmed felt hat (πέτασος)”, briefly an “ephebic uniform (στολὴ ἐφηβική)”.<sup>31</sup> The references made by the texts from Demetrias and Amphipolis to this common uniform for the “hunters” and the civic ephebes, which is largely known in Greek ephebate, confirms the original suggestion that the “hunters” of Herakles or royal hunters were an elite age-class of ephebes echoing the institution of the civic ephebate.<sup>32</sup>

27. Intzesiloglou 2006, 75-76; Kravaritou 2018, 383-385; Hatzopoulos 2021, 5.

28. Ll. 8-11: κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσηγεῖται περὶ τοῦ πράγματος; see M. Hatzopoulos in *BE* 2007, 695, 358; 2016, 44; A. Chaniotis in *EBGR* 2007, 304, 71; cf. Lazaridou 2015, 44; *contra*, Intzesiloglou 2006, 74, interpreting ll. 8-11 as a royal storytelling.

29. Phot. *Bibl.* 176 P 121 a 35 (= *FGrHist* 115 T 31); cf. Hatzopoulos 2016, 44.

30. Hatzopoulos 2016, 42-45; 2017.

31. SEG 65, 420, ll. 32-35 (Amphipolis, 24/3): Οἱ δὲ ἀποδειχθέντες ἔφηβοι (...) φορείτωσαν δὲ | χιτῶνα, χλαμύδα· ὑποδήματα δὲ ἐχέτωσαν κρηπεῖδας· ἐχέτωσαν | καὶ πέτασον; ll. 131-132: Οἱ ἔφηβοι πομπευέτωσαν ... ἐν τῇ στολῇ | τῇ ἐφηβικῇ (translation: Hatzopoulos 2016, 26-27); see also, Hatzopoulos 2016, 20, 25, Side B, ll. 1-4 (Amphipolis, first third of 2nd century); cf. Lazaridou 2015, 23.

32. Hatzopoulos 1994a, 99-103; Henderson 2020, 104-108.

Although the available evidence on royal hunters at Demetrias dates to the early second century, the emergence of this institution should probably be sought earlier, in the course of the third century, immediately after the city's foundation by Demetrios Poliorketes (294) and the dynamic development of local institutions during the reign of Antigonos Gonatas.<sup>33</sup> The early-third-century synoecism of the communities located around the Pagasetic Gulf and in the mountainous peninsula of Mounts Pelion and Ossa had provided Demetrias with a territory rich in mountains and forests;<sup>34</sup> also, the existence of royal land (βασιλικὴ χώρα) in Magnesia, would surely have created an ideal landscape for the performance of royal hunts involving participation of Demetrias' "hunters".<sup>35</sup>

As regards the identity of the local "hunters", it has been proposed that the painted tombstones of Demetrias include representations of them.<sup>36</sup> B. Helly argued that Antigenes son of Sotimos, a citizen of Demetrias who died in the battle against the Aetolians at Phthiotic Thebes in 217, is such a case.<sup>37</sup> The deceased is dressed in a short chiton and *chlamys* and bears a *petasos* or *kausia*. According to the epigram, Antigenes fell in the battle "rescuing" a "corps of ephebes".<sup>38</sup> Hellenistic corps of ephebes took part in battles, and on such occasions royal hunters may well have been appointed their leaders.<sup>39</sup>

33. Cf. Kravaritou 2018, 384; Cohen 1995, 111 (date); Boehm 2018, 78.

34. Stählin, Meyer, Heidner 1934, 181-182; Bakhuizen 1987, 319-336; 1994, 21-24; Intzesiloglou 1996b, 91-109; 2006, 76; Kravaritou 2011, 114-116; Boehm 2018, 78-84, map 6; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 343-347, map 1.

35. Intzesiloglou 2006, 76; Kravaritou 2018, 383-384; Helly forthcoming; Batziou-Efstathiou, Pikoulas 2006, 79-89 (*basilike chora*); Hatzopoulos 2020, 42.

36. Helly forthcoming, no. 397 (stele of Antigenes, 217); Sekunda 2012, 38-89, 41, pl. C1; 2013, 61-63 (stele of Stratonikos, 3rd century); Sekunda, McBride 1984, 8; cf. B. Helly, in *BE* 2015, 416; Kravaritou 2018, 384.

37. Helly forthcoming, no. 397; cf. Arvanitopoulos 1909, 128-133, 10; Boehm 2015; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 364-365, fig. 14.

38. Arvanitopoulos 1909, 128-133, 10, l. 10: τὸν ἡβητὴν σώιζων λόχον; B. Helly in *BE* 2016, 298.

39. Kennell 2006, 70 n. 107; Chankowski 2010, 366-382; Henderson 2020, 27-30 (ephebes on battlefield); Hatzopoulos 1994a, 107-108 (royal *kynegoi* and simple members of paramilitary corps).

If Antigenes was indeed a royal hunter, he could well have been the head of an ephebic body, an offspring of the local social elite and a worshipper of Herakles Kynagidas, who fell in the battle defending the institutions of Demetrias and its *basileion*.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, the reference to the “corps of ephebes” (l. 10) suggests the presence of a civic ephebate in Demetrias, in the last quarter of the third century. There is evidence, albeit of a later date, for a local gymnasium, at a time when similar institutions (ephebate, “hunters”) were still functioning in Macedonia.<sup>41</sup> In sum, two parallel institutions were in place in Demetrias for the education of the young: a civic ephebate where a wide range of local youths could be enrolled, and a more specialized institutional training reserved to young males from local elite families.<sup>42</sup>

As regards the origin of the local “hunters”, it was a common practice for the Macedonians kings to include among their *philoī*, and eventually among the “hunters”, members of the socio-political elite of their conquered lands.<sup>43</sup> Members of the Thessalian elite, and thus their offspring, were admitted to the Macedonian courts of Philip II and Alexander the Great.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, the fact that royal hunters in the Antigonid court could include descendants of distinguished members of local communities offers some clues for the composition of the “hunters” in Demetrias.<sup>45</sup> Antipatros’ letter adds to the evidence that showcases the direct relation between Demetrias and Antigonid Macedonia, but any attempt to discern the local social elite and its offspring should also take under consideration the rest of the evidence on the character of the city, the local institutions, and the varied social texture. Besides

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40. Kravaritou 2018, 384; cf. B. Helly in BE 2016, 298; contra, Boehm 2015, who emphasizes the epichoric identitarian language of the epigram, which is devoid of any reference to the Antigonids.

41. Arvanitopoulos 1929a, l. 1 (Demetrias, 2nd-1st century): οἱ ἐκ τοῦ γυμνασίου Φίλωνα Ἀλεξάνδρου Ἀμφαναῖ, γυμνασιαρχήσαντα (...).

42. Kravaritou 2018, 384-385.

43. Hatzopoulos 1996, 333; O’Neil 2003, 510-522; Savalli-Lestrade 2003, 51-64; Paschidis 2006, 251-267, esp. 256-266; Kravaritou 2018, 384.

44. Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 224.23-25 = Athen. 167b; cf. Sprawski 2005, 46-48; Kravaritou 2018, 384.

45. Billows 1990, 265 and Appendix 3; O’Neil 2003, 510-22; Paschidis 2006, 251-267, esp. 256-266; Intzesiloglou 2006, 75-76; Mili 2015, 205; Boehm 2018, 160.

the direct relation with Macedonia, Demetrias also had a strong relation with institutions of a local background predating the synoecism, and with contemporary ones proper to the Hellenistic world, already in the third century.<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, as I have argued elsewhere, these features reflect negotiation patterns and interactions beyond ethnic and cultural boundaries, leading to the amalgamation of local, Macedonian and foreign identities, and to the acculturation processes which developed within the socio-political and economic context of the largest natural harbour of the Pagasetic gulf.<sup>47</sup> In this respect, any attempt to describe the social elite of Demetrias would necessitate an approach based on parallels from other Hellenistic multiethnic and multicultural cities, major ports, and court culture.

Lines 14-15 of Antipatros' letter call for the publication of the king's instructions "in the sanctuaries (ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς)", obviously indicating all the civic sanctuaries of Herakles where the god was worshipped in his quality of Kynagidas.<sup>48</sup> The discovery of the stone at Demetrias is proof that the city hosted one of those sanctuaries, where Antipatros' letter had been published. Although the exact location of this sanctuary remains unknown, circumstantial evidence suggests a possible placement in the northern sector of Demetrias, where the stone was found.<sup>49</sup>

The trial excavations conducted by A. Arvanitopoulos in the northern sector of the city, in the so-called stadium, which is located in the immediate

46. Palace in the centre of the city: Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 19-29; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 352-355; *boule* and civic officials: Arvanitopoulos 1929b, 32-34 no. 420; *basilike chora*: Batziou-Efstathiou, Pikoulas 2006, 79-89; high-ranking officers, foreign mercenaries, in Antigonid army: Stamatopoulou 2018b, 395, 399; calendar of royal foundations: Hatzopoulos 1996, 163-164; cult of "archegetai and *ktistai*", i.e. joint cult of old local heroes and the Antigonid founders' royal cult: Kravaritou 2013; cf. Mari 2021, 111-113, 118-127, 133 nos. 5-6; old poliadic Artemis Iolkia in the sacred agora, next to the palace; depiction of old Thessalian Hermes Chthonios on tombstones, irrespective of ethnic and cultural background: Kravaritou 2011, 117-119 and 2016a, 134-136, 141; cf. Stamatopoulou 2018a, 355-356; Isiac and Semitic cults, foreign priests, communities of foreigners, individuals from all over the Mediterranean and Asia Minor: Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 15-53; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 361; Kravaritou 2016a, 142-144; 2016b.

47. Kravaritou 2016a, 128-151, esp. 150-151.

48. Hatzopoulos 1994a, 107; Intzesiloglou 2006, 75; Boehm 2018, 159.

49. Batziou 2002, 16, fig. 15; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 350, fig. 6(4) (theatre).

vicinity of the theatre, revealed architectural and portable finds dating to the fourth and third centuries: part of a stone wall, tiles, a poros capital, fourth-to third-century pottery, and terracotta figurines. The excavator tentatively attributed them to a small shrine of Herakles, “due to their close proximity to the stadium”.<sup>50</sup> While the publication of this excavation is still pending and such an identification remains tentative, another relevant find was discovered in the same sector of Demetrias, ca. 400m from the theatre.

It is a large rectangular block of grey marble bearing inscriptions on the three lateral sides (Volos Museum, inventory number: BE 694). Dimensions: height: 0.58m; width: 0.65m; thickness: 0.58m. The lateral sides have been worked with flat chisel and smoothened by rasp; the upper side is roughly worked in the centre. Parts of the upper corners are broken away diagonally and small pieces have flaked away. Side A bears the earlier inscription: one line of text quoting the name of Herakles in the genitive case, aligned to the centre (letter height: 0.02–0.03m). Side B and C record manumissions.

*Editions and bibliography:* preliminary edition of Side A in Kern and *IG*; Intzesiloglou, with description;<sup>51</sup> edition of Sides B and C in *IG*,<sup>52</sup> mentioned by Zelnick-Abramovitz.<sup>53</sup>

*Palaeography-Chronology.* Side A: the letters have small *apices*; *alpha* with slightly curved cross-bar; *epsilon* with shorter central bar; *heta* with shorter vertical strokes; *omicron* slightly smaller and placed on the central part of the

50. Arvanitopoulos 1915, 161–162; cf. Kravaritou 2016a, 131, fig. 8.2(2).

51. Kern 1902, 627; *IG* IX 2, 359a; Intzesiloglou 2006, 70.

52. *IG* IX 2, 359b (fig. 4b-c): στρατηγοῦντος Λύκου | τοῦ Λύκου λοιπῶν δύο μηνὸς Ἀφροδισειῶνος, Νεικίας Νεικείου ἀπηλευθέρωσεν Μεγειστείωνα; 359c: I. στρατηγοῦντος Ζωῦλου τοῦ Σείμου μηνὸς Ἀρήου, Πρωταγόρας Πυθᾶ ἡλευθέρωσεν Σύνφορον. II. στρατηγοῦντος Μενάνδρου τοῦ Θείτου (?), ἡλευθέρωσεν Πολεμαῖος Ἀντειόχου | Ἐλπίδα καὶ τὸ ἔξι αὐτῆς τέκνον Καικελίαν. III. στρατηγοῦντος Ἀριστοφύλιδου τοῦ Τηλέφου μηνὸς Ἐρμαιῶνος λοιπῶν δέκα, ἡλευθέρωσε Δαμαρὸς καὶ Βίοτος καὶ Κλειτόμαχος Είταλίαν (corrections after autopsy in March 2021: 359c, l. 1: Σείμου; l. 4: ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΥΤΕΣ = στρατηγοῦντος; l. 4: Θείτου; l. 5: the -ος- in Πολεμαῖος in the interlinear space between ll. 4–5; l. 6: ΕΛΠΕΔΑ = Ἐλπίδα; l. 6: the final α in Καικελία in the interlinear space between ll. 5–6).

53. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013, 30 n. 8, 71 n. 3, 153.

letter-space; *kappa* with smaller slanting bars; symmetrical *rho*. Kern has dated the inscription in the third century;<sup>54</sup> *IG* and Intzesiloglou dated it broadly in the third or second century.<sup>55</sup> The letterforms suggest a date in the second half of the third century. They find exact parallels in Demetrias: in the funerary stelai of Ouaphres of the second half of the third century, and that of Antigenes (217);<sup>56</sup> the resolutions of the Iolkians with reference to Antigonos Gonatas, dated in the third quarter of the third century;<sup>57</sup> finally, the lettering looks much earlier than the one on Antipatros' letter (186).<sup>58</sup>

Side B-C: The roughly incised lettering, especially the lunar and angular *sigma*, *epsilon* and *omega*, suggests a date in the Roman Imperial period. Differences in letterforms suggest three cuttings: one for Side B, and two for Side C (ll. 1-6 and 7-10). The editors of *LGPN IIIB* dated the *strategoi* Lykos (first-second century AD), Zoilos and Menadros (second century AD), Aristophylidas (second-third century AD) to the Imperial period;<sup>59</sup> these dates are compatible with the letterforms of the three different cuttings in Sides B-C (fig. 4b-c).

Autopsy and photos in March 2021 (fig. 4a).

Ἡρακλέου[ς]<sup>60</sup>

The earlier dedication to Herakles indicates that this block was originally related to the cult of the god. Kern identified the stone as an altar for Herakles.<sup>61</sup> The roughly worked center of the upper surface finds parallels in Hellenistic and Roman votive altars from Demetrias.<sup>62</sup> Marble blocks of similar size bearing the names of various gods in the genitive had a widespread use in Hellenistic and Roman Greece and Asia Minor, and they have been traditionally

54. Kern 1902, 627.

55. *IG* IX 2, 359a; Intzesiloglou 2006, 70.

56. Stamatopoulou 2008, 250; Helly forthcoming, no. 397 (Ouaphres); Arvanitopoulos 1909, 128-133 no. 10; Stamatopoulou 2018a, 364-365, fig. 14 (Antigenes).

57. Kravaritou 2013, 267-274, esp. 273 (= Meyer 1936); Mari 2021, 111-112, 133.

58. M. Hatzopoulos, in *BE* 2007, 358; A. Chaniotis, in *EBGR* 2007, 71.

59. *LGPN IIIB*, 176, 264, 277; cf. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2013, 30 n. 8, 71 n. 3, 153.

60. Only the lower part of *yspsilon*'s vertical stroke is visible.

61. Kern 1902, 627 ("Heraklesaltar").

62. Habicht 1987, 290, pl. XXVII(1); Stamatopoulou 2014, 214, 253, fig. 22.

interpreted as altars for these gods.<sup>63</sup> The altar from Demetrias is proof of a third-century cult bestowed upon Herakles; the find spot in the northern sector of the city indicates the possible placement of his sanctuary.<sup>64</sup>

The presence of the later manumissions is due to the second-use of the monument in the Roman Imperial era. Assuming that all three sides were visible in Roman times, the interrelation of the three inscribed faces probably testifies to a cult of Herakles in the Roman period, thus reflecting continuity between the royal period and the one after the establishment of the Second Magnesian Koinon in Demetrias in 168.<sup>65</sup> Although any further suggestion would remain tentative in the absence of corroborating evidence, one might allude to the capacity of Herakles, also as Kynagidas, as both cult recipient and guarantor of manumission acts in Macedonia, both during and after the royal period.<sup>66</sup> Future investigation in the northern sector of Demetrias will hopefully highlight the precise location and the evolution of the cult of Herakles, as well as possible continuity from Hellenistic to Roman times, as was the case in the sanctuary of the god in Beroia.<sup>67</sup> Lately, a salvage excavation conducted in the same area yielded a new temple of a presently unknown deity; a marble statuette of Herakles is listed among the finds.<sup>68</sup>

The concentration of the evidence in the northern sector of the city increases the probability that the civic sanctuary of Herakles after the foundation of Demetrias was located there.<sup>69</sup> The close proximity between the find

63. E.g. *IPriene* 197 (3rd century): Πλαύος; Akdoğan Arca 2005, 52-57; Mylonopoulos 2003, 57-58; 2018, 235; also, Guarducci 1978, 46; Mc Lean 2002, 248; Mylonopoulos 2018, 264.

64. Cf. Intzesiloglou 2006, 70.

65. Cf. *IG IX* 2, 1217 (votive to Herakles, Olizon, Imperial period); Intzesiloglou 1996b, 101-107 (Koinon).

66. E.g. *I.Ano Maked.* 20; Hatzopoulos 1994a, 110-111; Rizakis, Touratsoglou 1999, 954-955; Brocas-Deflassieux 1999, 68; Chatzinikolaou 2011, 148; cf. Tziafalias, Darmezin 2016 (3rd- to 2nd-century dedications by liberated slaves from the 2nd-century theatre of Larisa, proposed to have originated from a sanctuary of Herakles).

67. *IBeroia* 134 (+ *IBeroia Suppl.*); cf. Kravaritou 2016b, 203-233 (similar development in Demetrias' Serapieion).

68. According to a preliminary presentation by the excavator, Pelagia Triantafyllopoulou, in the conference “Demetrias: the archaeology of a multi-ethnic royal port city in the Hellenistic Aegean”, Oxford 29.10.2022.

69. Kravaritou 2016a, 142, fig. 8.2; also, Intzesiloglou 2006, 70.

spots of Herakles' altar and Antipatros' letter suggests that the sanctuary of Herakles in question may have also hosted his cult as Kynagidas, protector of the local “hunters”. Furthermore, the future study of the third- but also fourth-century finds from the stadium may highlight the origins of Herakles' cult in the area of the harbour, and a possible continuity before and after the foundation of the city.

An early cult of Herakles in the area of the harbour, before the synoecism of Demetrias, when the local communities and the port of Pagasai were under the control of the Thessalians and the tyrants of the neighbouring Thessalian city of Pherai (from at least the sixth century to the Classical period and the arrival of the Macedonians),<sup>70</sup> would not be surprising (fig. 1). Herakles, the legendary forefather of the Thessalians and the Larisaean ruling *oikos* of the Aleuads, had a predominant role in the legendary traditions related to the royal *oikos* of Pherai and the area under its control.<sup>71</sup> Hesiod presents Herakles as safeguarding Thessalian roads, when he defeated in the precinct of Apollo Pagasaios Kyknos, the archon of Amphanai, who obstructed the coastal passage to Delphi.<sup>72</sup> Later, Euripides staged Herakles' remarkable deed in favour of the Pheraian royal court, when he reclaimed from the dead Alkestis, the bride of the Pheraian king Admetos.<sup>73</sup> Alkestis originated in the royal *oikos* of Iolkos –a city located in the vicinity of the port (fig. 1)–, and thus Herakles' protection was shown to encompass the entire territory under Pheraian control. Finally, the legend of the Argonautic expedition narrates the departure of Jason –the lawful royal heir of Iolkos– and his young companions, including Herakles and Admetos of Pherai, for a heroic adventure at the outskirts of the Greek world.<sup>74</sup>

Herakles' prominence in the fifth-century foundation myth of Pherai and the legendary traditions of the harbour corroborate local cult evidence

70. Hdt. 5.94 (Thessalians offer Iolkos to Hippias); Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 F 53 (Pagasai, port of Pherai); Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.56; Polyaenus, *Strat.* 6.1.6, 6.2.1; cf. Bakhuisen 1987, 321; Di Salvatore 1994, 115-116; Helly 2006, 146-149; Liampi 2005, 24, 28-30; Kravaritou 2016a, 131.

71. Herakles - Thessalos: Pherec. *FGrHist* 3 F 78; Polyaenus, *Strat.* 8.44; Herakles - Thessalians - Aleuads: Pind. *Pyth.* 10.1-4.

72. Hes. [Sc.] 55-74; Decourt et al. 2004, 691, 699-700 (Pagasai, Amphanai).

73. Eur. *Alc.*; cf. Kravaritou, Stamatopoulou 2018, 129-130.

74. Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.49, 122, 197, 312, 571-572; cf. Liampi 2005, 23-30.

dating from at least three centuries before the foundation of Demetrias. At Pherai, where the god's sanctuary is possibly located close to the church of Agios Charalambos,<sup>75</sup> the evidence pertaining to the cult of Herakles dates from the sixth century to the Hellenistic period. The labours of Herakles were a favourite theme in Classical and Hellenistic pottery from the city and its cemetery.<sup>76</sup> Furthermore, two inscribed collective dedications of the late third and the first half of the second century by the *hylouroi* and their head, an *archylouros*, suggest that the cult of Herakles at Pherai was related to the protection of the countryside.<sup>77</sup> Following Aristotle' passage on the officials called *hyloroi* or *agronomoi*, the Pheraian *hylouroi* have been interpreted as magistrates responsible for maintaining order in the *chora*, and wardens of the forests.<sup>78</sup> Aristotle reports their duty to patrol (πρὸς φυλακήν) the countryside and its sanctuaries. *Phylake* was part of many Hellenistic civic decrees pertaining to “guarding of the territory (φυλακὴ τῆς χώρας)”, since the protection of the countryside with its rich resources was of primary and permanent concern for the Hellenistic *poleis*.<sup>79</sup> More importantly for present purposes, Aristotle's famous passage on the assignment of ephesbes to the patrol of the Athenian territory and sanctuaries during their service in the institution of *ephebeia* is corroborated by firm epigraphic evidence from the entire Greek world.<sup>80</sup> Herakles had an intimate and continuous relation with the youth. R. Parker has shown this to emerge from their reception to the phratries, after they became ephesbes in the gymnasias, and in their oath,

75. Arvanitopoulos 1907, 158-160; Chrysostomou 1998, 29, fig. 2(5), 255-256; Stamelou, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 168; Stamelou 2019, 87; cf. Mili 2015, 123-124, 339.

76. Stamelou 2019, 88-89, 91.

77. SEG 34, 564, ll. 1-2 (Pherai, 200-190): Είρακλεῖ | ύλουρείσαντες; SEG 34, 565, ll. 1-2 (Pherai, 200-150): [Είρακλε]σι ύλουρείσαντες· | [άρχυ]λουρός; cf. Kakavogiannis 1978, 320-321; Mili 2015, 124, 300-301; Chaniotis 2008, 103-153.

78. Arist. *Pol.* 7.1331b: ... καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν χώραν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν οὓς καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν ὑλωροὺς οἱ δὲ ἀγρονόμους καὶ φυλακτήρια καὶ συσσίτια πρὸς φυλακὴν ἀναγκαῖον ὑπάρχειν· ἔτι δὲ ιερὰ κατὰ τὴν χώραν εἰναι νενεμημένα, τὰ μὲν θεοῖς τὰ δὲ ἥρωσιν. See Kakavogiannis 1978, 320; Chrysostomou 1998, 123-124; Mili 2015, 123-124.

79. Chaniotis 2008, 103-106.

80. [Arist.] *Ath. Pol.* 42.1-5. See Chankowski 2004; 2010, 319-382; Friend 2019; Henderson 2020, 25-109; Helly, *Gonnoi* I, 145-146, Hatzopoulos 1994a, 108-109; Kravaritou 2018, 383.

before carrying on as the god of the grown men.<sup>81</sup> The proposed young age for Aristotle's *hyloroi* or *agronomoi* is confirmed by Plato, who defines the patrolling *agronomoi* as young men after they have come of age (ἡβῶντες); they were also engaged in hunting (κυνηγέσια), a pleasant passtime while keeping their city safe.<sup>82</sup> In sum, the dedications of the Thessalian *hyloroi* suggest a connection between the civic cult of Herakles, the countryside of Pherai, and the local youth responsible for patrolling and safeguarding the city's territory, and possibly engaging in hunting; the relief of a shield in one of these votives may strengthen this interpretation.<sup>83</sup>

Herakles was also worshipped in the Pheraian countryside, in an important extra-urban sanctuary situated on the slopes of Spartias hill, halfway along the road leading to the harbour and ensuring communication between the Thessalian hinterland and the coastline (fig. 1).<sup>84</sup> Remains of a prehistoric settlement and pottery testify to the continuous occupation of the site since the Neolithic period.<sup>85</sup> The investigations carried out in the sanctuary have yielded numerous important finds of the Archaic, Classical and Hellenistic period, highlighting its history since the end of the seventh century.<sup>86</sup> An Archaic bronze omphalos phiale bears a sixth-century dedicatory boustrophedon inscription in Thessalian script to Herakles, by Telephilos.<sup>87</sup> Other finds – rich

81. Parker 2005, 437–438, and fig. 31 with a 5th-century Attic votive relief depicting the presentation of a young man to Herakles (National Museum of Athens 2723); Henderson 2020, 150–152, esp. 151; Friend 2019, 18–22.

82. Pl. *Leg.* 6.763b-c: οὐδὲν δὴ χάριν κυνηγέσια καὶ τὴν ἄλλην θύραν οὐχ ἦττον ἐπιτηδεύειν δεῖ τὸν ἡβῶντα ἢ τῆς ἄλλης ἡδονῆς ἄμα καὶ ὠφελίας τῆς περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα γιγνομένης πάσιν· τούτους οὖν, αὐτούς τε καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα, εἴτε τις κρυπτούς εἴτε ὄγρονόμους εἴθε ὅτι καλῶν χαίρει, [763c] τούτο προσαγορεύων, προθύμως πᾶς ἀνὴρ εἰς δύναμιν ἐπιτηδεύετω, ὅσοι μέλλουσι τὴν αὐτῶν πόλιν ἰκανῶς σώζειν. On ἡβη and physical strength, see also Eur. *Herakl.* 1270; cf. Henderson 2020, 9–17.

83. Kakavogiannis 1978, 319 (shield).

84. Stamelou, Intzesiloglou 2010, 161–164, figs. 1–2; Stamelou et al. 2018, 2, fig. 1; Pikoulas 2002; Schiza 2002.

85. Arvanitopoulos 1911, 301–302; Stamelou, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 162.

86. Stamelou, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 161–179, esp. 166–167.

87. Stamelou, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 166, figs. 16–17: Τελέφιλος μ' ἀνέθεκεν τῷις ἡρακλῖ; Stamelou et al. 2018, 2, fig. 2.

architectural material, such as glazed yellow clay metopai and black-glazed tiles, figurines, bronze and iron objects, fragments of marble *kouroi* and a *kore*, and Archaic and Classical pottery – testify to the dense activity at the sanctuary when the Thessalians and the Pheraians controlled the harbour.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, a rare sixth-century clay Corinthian votive plaque from Spartias depicts a mounded horseman surrounded by wild animals – bull, lion and boar. The figure has been identified with Herakles and the scene with his eighth labour.<sup>89</sup> The iconographic theme indicates a preference on the part of the dedicatory(s) for the countryside, wild animals, and hunting scenes, which match the thickly wooded and cultivated country setting of the sanctuary, and the remarkable endeavours of the venerated deity.<sup>90</sup> Representations of animals, such as clay vases in the shape of rams and birds, are also included among the votives of the sanctuary.<sup>91</sup> Finally, the foundation layer of a second-century altar was lying on top of stone heaps covering Archaic deposits, mostly weapons – iron spearheads, arrows, and daggers – and various armours – parts of shields and foot protectors, as well as seventh to fifth-century pottery.<sup>92</sup> These finds testify to the presence, in the Archaic period, of men carrying arms. The altar coincides chronologically with the presence of the *hylouroi*, most probably responsible for the protection of the countryside and its sanctuaries under the auspices of Herakles. This was obviously part of a reinvestment in the cult, which took place after the foundation of Demetrias and the delimitation of the territory between Pherai and Demetrias by Demetrios Poliorcetes in 291. The fragmentary royal letter of Demetrios defines the boundaries of Iolkia – probably the western extremity of the original territory belonging to the synoecised Iolkos – and of the unknown Eulyka.<sup>93</sup> Since the publication of this letter is still pending, the exact location of these boundaries, and thus the positioning of Spartias with respect to the territories of both cities, remain unclear.

Likewise, the area of the harbour may have hosted a cult for Herakles prior to Demetrias' synoecism. Although the successive habitation layers and the

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88. Arvanitopoulos 2011, 300-301; Stamelou, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010.

89. Stamelou 2019, 86.

90. Polyb. 18.20.1: τοῖς περὶ τὰς Φερὰς τόποις διὰ τὸ καταφύτους εἶναι καὶ πλήρεις αίμαστῶν καὶ κηπίων.

91. Stamelou, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, 165-166, fig. 13.

92. Stamelou, Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2010, fig. 5-6, 8-10; Stamelou et al. 2018, 3, fig. 3.

93. Hatzopoulos 2006, 88-89, pl. XIVa; Kravaritou 2011, 114-115; 2016a, 133.

absence of systematic investigation have not allowed the discovery of public buildings of the pre-Hellenistic topography of the site, we already know that the urban outline of Demetrias developed along the southeast coastline of the inlet over two earlier sites of the Classical period.<sup>94</sup> Furthermore, as I have argued elsewhere, the reassessment of the geopolitical, urban and sacred landscapes due to the synoecism entailed the continuity of preexisting Thessalian cults in the new royal foundation.<sup>95</sup> Future evidence will hopefully show whether the cult of Herakles in the harbour also predated the synoecism.

To conclude, it is evident that an important Archaic and Classical cult bestowed upon Herakles, reflecting traditions of Thessalian legendary forefathers and royal ancestors and possibly linked to the self-representation of Thessalian elites, was deeply rooted in the sacred space of the Thessalian city of Pherai and in the area under its control. The multiple cult places for Herakles in Pherai were possibly part of a major investment of the Pheraians to commemorate the exemplary deeds of Herakles in their legendary royal *oikos* and “in as much land as the Pheraians rule”.<sup>96</sup> The emergence of this interest coincides chronologically with the earlier sixth-century dedications to Herakles, the legendary ancestor of the Thessalians, from other Thessalian sites.<sup>97</sup> The country setting of the sanctuary at Spartias along with its rich and significant Archaic and Classical votive record indicate that the cult of Herakles at Pherai was firmly connected to the countryside, its fauna and young men, possibly responsible for its protection. Later on, the late third- to second-century dedications to Herakles’ at Pherai by the *hylouroi* –most probably young men responsible for patrolling and maintaining the city’s territory and the extra-urban sanctuaries and possibly engaging with hunting– coincide with the second-century phase of Spartias. The Macedonian institution of the “hunters” of Herakles –the royal corps of ephesbes charged with the safekeeping of royal forests and leading royal hunts in civic territory under the protection of Herakles Kynagidas– was overlaid at Demetrias on a parallel Thessalian longstanding tradition of associating young men with the safekeeping of civic

94. Stählin, Meyer, Heidner 1934; Batziou-Efstathiou 2002, 9.

95. Kravaritou 2011, 117-120, esp. 119-120; 2016a, 134-141; cf. Boehm 2018, 151-161, 216-219.

96. SEG 23, 418, ll. 6-7: καὶ ὅσσ[ας γάτας] Φεροῖοι ἄρχοντι (Pherai, 4th century); Graninger 2011b.

97. E.g. SEG 25, 661 (Skotoussa); SEG 2, 356a-c (Oite).

territories and possibly with hunting under the protection of Herakles, the ancestor of Thessalian rulers and progenitor of the Thessalian people. It is likely that this affinity became a major contributing factor in the continuity and dynamic development of the cult of Herakles in Demetrias and in the entire Magnesian Peninsula during the Late Hellenistic and Roman period, when the god received lavish private votive monuments by local citizens and foreigners.<sup>98</sup>

### Herakles and Herakles Kynagidas in Perrhaibia

Additional evidence for the cult of Herakles Kynagidas among the Thessalian *perioikoi* has been discovered in Perrhaibian Tripolis (Pythoion, Doliche and Azoros) (fig. 2).<sup>99</sup> Excavations conducted between 2002-2007 by the former 7th Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities at Kastri Livadiou (fig. 2) yielded important new finds: inscribed bases and manumission records, fragments of sculpture, small-scale altars, funerary monuments and inscribed votives reused as building material in three Christian basilicas or found scattered all over the hill.<sup>100</sup> A series of four inscribed marble stelai, found reused as building material in the Basilica Γ', offers important information on the cults and on the socio-political context of late Classical and Hellenistic Perrhaibia. Three of these inscriptions were first presented in 2012 with majuscule transcriptions, by the excavators of the Byzantine monument, L. Deriziotis and S. Kougioumtzoglou;<sup>101</sup> a preliminary edition is offered by the editors of *SEG*, providing minuscule texts based on the initial majuscule transcriptions.<sup>102</sup>

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98. Heinz 1998, 242 (Demetrias, 2nd century); *IG IX* 2, 1210 (Spalauthra, 2nd century); 1217 (Olizon, Imperial period).

99. Decourt et al. 2004, 721-722, 426-427.

100. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2006, 389-401; 2009, 475-487; 2012, 663-670; also, *SEG* 56, 629-630 (117-138 AD); 62, 368 (Imperial period); 64, 492 (167) and 493 (Hellenistic?). Most finds remain unpublished; some of them were presented by the excavators on local festivals, and then online by the cultural Association “Tripolitis” of modern Doliche, in the municipality of Elassona: see *Festival* 1-2, 5. Letters of Lucius Aemilius Paulus to Gonnoi: Bouchon 2014, 483-513; Thornton 2016, 217-252; *SEG* 64, 492; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 281-302.

101. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 663-665.

102. *SEG* 64, 491, 495-496.

### Votive stele to Herakles Kynagidas from Kastri Livadiou (Inscription I)

Grey marble shaft stele culminating in a thick moulded cornice. The stele is broken horizontally into two joining pieces. The upper part is kept in the storerooms of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa (Inventory number: BE 2033). The lower part is still at the archaeological site at Kastri Livadiou. Some small fragments of the bottom of the upper part and of the corners of the cornice have flaked away. Dimensions of the upper part: height: 0.50m; width: 0.285m (upper part) - 0.295m (lower part); thickness: 0.14-0.16m. The lateral and front sides have been worked with tooth and flat chisel, while the upper surface of the cornice has been treated only roughly with a point chisel and bears no traces of cavities for the insertion of a sculpted votive. The zone below the cornice, which bears the inscription, has been polished with a rasp. The inscription preserves four lines of text of good lettering, aligned to the left (letter height: 0.006-0.010m; interlinear space: 0.003-0.010m).

*Editions and bibliography:* majuscule transcription and photograph of the upper part by L. Deriziotis and S. Kougioumtzoglou, without description;<sup>103</sup> preliminary edition by the editors of *SEG* based on the aforementioned majuscule transcription;<sup>104</sup> mentioned by M. Stamatopoulou with photograph of the two joining fragments;<sup>105</sup> also, references in R. Bouchon, A. Chaniotis and M. Hatzopoulos.<sup>106</sup>

*Palaeography-Chronology:* *alpha* with horizontal cross-bar; *epsilon* with shorter central bar; *omicron* slightly small when compared to the other letters and placed on the upper part of the letter-space; *sigma* with slightly slanting bars; *kappa* with lower slanting bar not reaching the base of the letter; *mu* with slanting outer strokes; *upsilon* with straight slanting bars that comprise less than half the height of the letter. The lettering suggests a date in the fourth century. The letterforms look similar to those of the votive to Apollo by the Perrhaibian cities (first half of the fourth century), the votive to Athena Patroa from Gonnoi (late fourth century), and a votive to Apollo from Northern Pelasgiotis (second half of the fourth century); earlier than those in

103. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 665, fig. 9.

104. *SEG* 64, 496.

105. Stamatopoulou 2013, 50 figs. 74-75.

106. Bouchon 2014, 485; A. Chaniotis, in *EBGR* 2015, 56; Hatzopoulos 2021, 5 n. 21.

the consecration of land to Asklepios from Pythoion (fourth century);<sup>107</sup> with exact parallels in the fourth-century epitaph of a certain Alex[- -] from Atrax, a fourth-century decree from Pherai, and the dedication of Tolemaios, from Larisa (350-300).<sup>108</sup> L. Deriziotis and S. Kougoumtzoglou also proposed a date in the fourth century, followed by *SEG*.<sup>109</sup>

Autopsy, squeeze and photos in April 2019 (figs. 5a-b).

Ἄλεξανδρος  
Εὐδήμου  
Ἡρακλεῖ  
Κυναγίδαι.

“Alexandros son of Eudemos (dedicated) to Herakles Kynagidas”

The stele bears the inscribed dedication of Alexandros son of Eudemos to Herakles Kynagidas. The absence of an ethnic indicates that Alexandros was a local citizen of the city which hosted the cult of Herakles Kynagidas. The inscription does not offer additional motivation for this dedication. The absence of the aorist participle *ἱερητεύσας* decreases the possibility of a dedication after the tenure of a priestly office by Alexandros. The Hellenistic dedications to the god from Macedonia come from public bodies and preeminent members of local society, such as a city, priests to the cult, and the Macedonian kings.<sup>110</sup> However, the votive of Alexandros, despite its fine quality and meticulously engraved inscription, consists of a simple stele and does not provide further information on the social status of the dedicatory.

Furthermore, the names Alexandros and Eudemos cannot, on their own, offer secure information about the origin of the dedicatory's family. Alexandros

107. Helly 1979, 2 (votive of Perrhaibian cities); cf. Heinz 1998, 70 (4th century, 2nd half); Rakatsanis, Tzafalias 2004, 22, pl. 4 (Gonnoi); Heinz 1998, no. 74, fig. 29 (North Pelasgiotis); Decourt, Tzafalias 2016, fig. 5 (Pythoion); cf. D. Rousset in *BE* 2017, 299, with reference to *BE* 2016, 438 (date in the 4th century, possibly 323-313); also, Hatzopoulos 1996, 373 n. 8.

108. *I.Atrax* 182, pl. XXXVI; Béquignon 1964, 404-405, fig. 4 (*SEG* 23, 418) (Pherai); *IG IX 2*, 598 (*SEG* 35, 590); cf. Kontogiannis 1985, 131, pl. 2(2) (Larisa).

109. Deriziotis, Kougoumtzoglou 2012, 665; *SEG* 64, 496; cf. Stamatopoulou 2013, 50.

110. *I.Beroia* 29 (Beroia, 350-300); Hatzopoulos 1996 II, no. 27 (votive of King Philip, Pella, 221-179).

was widely used as a personal name, especially after Alexander the Great, while Eudemos has a Thessalian colouration; both names are attested in Hellenistic Thessaly and the *perioikoi*, and Macedonia.<sup>111</sup> As regards Perrhaibia, an Eudamos was a citizen of Phalanna in the second quarter of the fourth century,<sup>112</sup> and two Macedonians named Alexandros are known in third-century Gonnoi.<sup>113</sup>

The dating of the stele makes it the second reference to a fourth-century cult paid to Herakles Kynagidas, along with the dedication from Beroia which dates from the second half of the fourth century.<sup>114</sup> They both confirm the presence of the cult in Upper and Lower Macedonia from the time of the Temenids and/or the early Antigonids, when Perrhaibian Tripolis was attached to Elimeia. It has been long ago proposed that a well-known inscription from Sarantaporos of the Imperial era, which refers to the settlement of a territorial dispute between Elimeia and Doliche by Amyntas III, indicates the possible annexation of the Perrhaibian Tripolis to Elimeia before 370/69.<sup>115</sup> Moreover, the list of Perrhaibian cities from Elassona (375-350) does not include Tripolis, obviously already annexed to Elimeia (fig. 2).<sup>116</sup> This is equally pointed out by the reference to two Pythoiai in the Macedonian section of the fourth-century catalogue of the *theorodokoi* of Epidauros, as well as by the later presence of a “Macedonian Elimiote from Pythoion” as *proxenos* of Delphi (c. 254-253).<sup>117</sup> Furthermore, the royal letters addressed by king Antigonos Doson to Megalokles and the “Koinon of the Tripolitai” (222) indicate that the Tripolitai

111. Macedonia: *LGPN* IV, 14-16 (Αλέξανδρος), 130 (Εύδημος); Thessaly: *LGPN* IIIB, 22 (Αλέξανδρος), 152 (Εύδημος); Tataki 1988, 97-101; 1998, 549, 554.

112. Helly 1979, 166, l. 11 (*SEG* 29, 546).

113. Helly, Gonnoi II 12 and 93; cf. Tataki 1988, 344, 354; Habicht 2006, 63-67.

114. *BE* 1970, 354; *I.Beroia* 29; see also Tataki 1988, 1394; Hatzopoulos 1996, 90-91, 73; Brocas-Deflassieux 1999, 66; Tsiafis 2017, 209.

115. Wace, Thompson 1910-1911, 193-204, esp. 203-204; Arvanitopoulos 1923, 161 (location)-162, no. 3860; Rosenberg 1916, 499-509; Helly 1979, 179-180 and 2018, 137; Hatzopoulos 1996, 399 and 2020, 42; Lucas 1997, 101-108, 212-219; Tziafalias, Lucas 2012, 491.

116. Helly 1979, 165-200, esp. 179-180, 186; 2018, 137, 145 (*SEG* 29, 546); *SEG* 41, 531; Hatzopoulos 1996, 156-157 n. 15, 373 n. 8; 2020, 42; Lucas 1997, 80-81, 83, 212-219; Tziafalias, Helly 2010, 75; Karamitrou-Mentessidi 2011, 93.

117. *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 94 fr. b, col. II, 39-40; *FD* III 4, 417III, ll. 13-14; cf. Lucas 1997, 82-83, 33 and 35; Hatzopoulos 2020, 41.

formed a Koinon while still integrated into Elimeia.<sup>118</sup> This fact, along with the absence of Tripolis from the fourth-century list of Perrhaibian cities, possibly hint at the existence of this Koinon already in this period; this would corroborate the similar conclusion drawn from fourth-century bronze coins bearing the legend Τριπολιτῶν.<sup>119</sup> The Tripolitai were obviously firmly attached to Macedonia, until their Koinon was incorporated in the new Perrhaibian Koinon after 197.<sup>120</sup>

**Votive stele to Herakles by a former priest and *neokoroi* from Kastri Livadiou (Inscription II)**

Small-size flat-topped grey marble stele bearing a cornice above a horizontal zone framed by two incised lines. Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa (inventory number: BE 2032). The upper right and the lower left corners are broken away diagonally. Several small pieces have flaked away from the front and lateral sides, as well as the cornice. The tenon preserved at the lower part indicates that the stele was originally set in a stone base. Dimensions: height: 0.265 m (0.345 m including tenon); width: 0.31m (upper part) - 0.32m (lower part); thickness: 0.055m upper part. The front surface was smoothed by flat chisel and rasp before the cutting of the dedicatory inscription. The text preserves four lines of small size letters cut on the face of the stele below the cornice and the horizontal zone (letter height of the first two lines: 0.007-0.008 m; interlinear space: 0.003-0.004m. Letter height of lines 3-4: 0.006-0.010m; interlinear space: 0.008m).

*Editions and bibliography:* majuscule transcription by L. Deriziotis and S. Kougioumtzoglou, without description or photograph;<sup>121</sup> preliminary edition by SEG based on the above majuscule transcription;<sup>122</sup> mentioned by M. Stamatopoulou with photograph;<sup>123</sup> mentioned by R. Bouchon, A. Chaniotis and M. Hatzopoulos.<sup>124</sup>

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118. Tzafalias, Helly 2010, 104-117, esp. 117 (SEG 60, 586); Hatzopoulos 2020, 42.

119. Tzafalias 2000, 89; Liampi 1990 (coins).

120. Polyb. 18.47.6; Livy 33.32.5; Plut. *Flam.* 10; cf. Lucas 1997, 218-219.

121. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 665.

122. SEG 64, 495.

123. Stamatopoulou 2013, 50 fig. 73.

124. Bouchon 2014, 485; A. Chaniotis, in *EBGR* 2015, 56; Hatzopoulos 2021, 5 n. 21.

*Palaeography-Chronology:* the letters of the first one and a half lines (up to Ὡρακλεῖ) are slightly smaller, more carefully carved and cover the entire width of the available surface in l. 1, while those of ll. 2 (from καὶ οἱ νεοκόποι) to 4 are of relatively rough lettering and aligned to the left. Also, the interlinear space between ll. 1-2 is smaller than that between 3-4. Most letters in ll. 1-2 (up to Ὡρακλεῖ) have small apices. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar; *epsilon* with shorter central bar; *kappa* varies in form, sometimes with slanting strokes smaller than the vertical stroke and occasionally reaching the same height; *mu* with perpendicular outer bars and inner bars smaller than the height of the letter; *nu* with perpendicular outer bars; *omicron* varies in size being most of the time the same height as the other letters and occasionally smaller and placed in the upper part of the letter-space; *sigma* with parallel horizontal bars; *upsilon* with a V that comprises more than half the height of the letter. The letterforms of ll. 2 (from καὶ οἱ νεοκόποι) to 4 have: *alpha* with broken cross-bar; *epsilon* with slightly shorter central bar; *kappa* with slanting strokes smaller of the vertical bar; *nu* with perpendicular outer bars; *omicron* smaller than the other letters and placed in the centre of the letter-space; *pi* with equal vertical bars; *sigma* with parallel horizontal bars; *upsilon* with a V that measures less than half the height of the letter. The palaeographic differences between ll. 1-2 and 2-4 suggest that two different cutters were involved. *Epsilon* and *upsilon* of ll. 2 (from καὶ οἱ νεοκόποι) to 4 indicate an addition, although an almost contemporary one, made by a different cutter; the absence of a *rasura* underneath those lines suggests that they did not replace other names cut earlier in the stone. The motivation behind the addition of these lines cannot be surmised.

L. Deriziotis and S. Kougioumtzoglou offer no dating,<sup>125</sup> the editors of SEG assigned an erroneous date in the fourth century, perhaps due to the excavators' discussion of Inscription II and the fourth-century Inscription I within a single phrase.<sup>126</sup> Letterforms suggest a date in the second century, probably within the first half. They are later than those of the royal letters of Antigonos Doson "to Megalokles and to the Koinon of the Tripolitai" (222), and the decrees of Gonnoi and Athens for the theorodochoi, dated to the end of the third century.<sup>127</sup> They look close to those of two dedications to Artemis Eilithyia

125. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 665.

126. SEG 64, 495 after Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 665; A. Chaniotis, in *EBGR* 2015, 56.

127. Tzafalias, Helly 2010, 104-105, fig. 8 (SEG 60, 586); Helly, *Gonnoi* II 109, pl. XVIII.

from Gonnoi of the first half of the second century BC, and the letter of Aemilius Paullus to Gonnoi (167).<sup>128</sup>

Autopsy, squeeze and photos in April 2019 (fig. 6).

Ἄδμητος Ἀμύντου ἱερητεύ-  
σας Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ οἱ νεοκόροι  
Ἀντιγένης Ἀριστέρου  
Σέλευκος Ἐπιγένου.

“Admetos, son of Amyntas, after serving as priest (dedicated) to Herakles; and the *neokoroi* Antigenes son of Aristeros, and Seleukos son of Epigenes”.

The stele bears the original dedication of Admetos son of Amyntas, former priest of Herakles, supplemented by two more dedicators, the *neokoroi* Antigenes son of Aristeros and Seleukos son of Epigenes.<sup>129</sup> The absence of ethnics implies that all dedicators were local citizens. The reference to cult officials hints at the presence of an important cult. The text mentions the cult of Herakles, but without reference to his aspect as Kynagidas.

The name Amyntas is known in Thessaly and its *perioikoi* in general but particularly in Perrhaibia; also, two of the four known Thessalian references on Admetos come from Pythoion. Both names are also well-known and early attested in Macedonia.<sup>130</sup> Antigenes and the less common Epigenes are both attested in Hellenistic Thessaly and the *perioikoi* including Perrhaibia, and in Macedonia; Seleukos is known in Malis, in Thessalian Larisa and Macedonia, while Aristeros is a *unicum* for mainland Greece and is only attested in Caria.<sup>131</sup>

128. Helly, *Gonnoi* II 179-180, pl. XXVIII; cf. Heinz 1998, 140-141, pls. 231, 223; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, figs. 1-4 (SEG 64, 492).

129. *Contra*, Weiss 2016, 274-276 (use of *ἱερητεύσας* in the beginning of the term in office).

130. Perrhaibia: *LGPN* IIIB, 12 (Ἄδμητος), 29-30 (Ἀμύντας); Macedonia: *LGPN* IV, 7 (Ἄδμητος), 22 (Ἀμύντας); Tataki 1988, 85, 105-106, 361; 1998, 513, 549, 550; Hatzopoulos 1996, 191 n. 5, 212; Decourt 2010, 323 (Thessalian colouration of Admetos).

131. Thessaly, Perrhaibia: *LGPN* IIIB, 39 (Ἀντιγένης), 136 (Ἐπιγένης), 376 (Σέλευκος); Macedonia: *LGPN* IV, 28 (Ἀντιγένης), 119 (Ἐπιγένης), 307 (Σέλευκος); Tataki 1988, 109, 150; 1998, 125, 149-151, 214, 244, 307; *I.Mylasa* 832 (Ἀρίστερος).

The *neokoroi*, in l. 2, are the temple wardens known in the epigraphic records of Greek sanctuaries and the literary sources, who were elected or appointed to the status of priests' assistants and were charged with the maintenance and daily running of the sanctuaries.<sup>132</sup> They had the means to support this costly liturgy, and became keen administrators of temples' daily affairs, including financial matters, especially in the Hellenistic and Roman period.<sup>133</sup> In Thessaly and the *perioikoi*, the office of *neokoros* is only evidenced in late-second century Demetrias, in a prominent sanctuary attested from the Archaic to the Roman period: the extra-urban oracle of Apollo Koropaios, one of the three tutelary deities of the Magnesian Koinon. A late-second-century public decree regulating the logistics of the oracle indicates that the *neokoros* was appointed by Demetrias.<sup>134</sup> *Neokoroi* (and *archineokoroi*) are attested in the important sanctuary of the Egyptian gods in Thessaloniki from the first century onwards, in Beroia, and in the sanctuary of Parthenos in Neapolis in the second century.<sup>135</sup> The two examples from Demetrias and Thessaloniki make clear that this is an office held in prominent civic sanctuaries. Inscription II from Kastri bears the earliest of the rare references to the office of *neokoroi* in Thessaly and Macedonia, and offers a unique testimony to a *neokoreia* in the second-century cult of Herakles in Perrhaibian Tripolis. As regards the presence of two *neokoroi*, two or more *neokoroi* and their head, an *archineokoros*, are attested only in important cult places in the Roman period.<sup>136</sup> The fact that

132. Pl. *Resp.* 574d; *Leg.* 759a-b, 953a; Eur. *Ion* 112-20; Suda, s.v. νεωκόρος; Price 1984, 64-65; Georgoudi 2005, 57-60; Ricl 2011, 7-26.

133. Ricl 2011, 12-21.

134. *IG IX* 2, 1109 II, fr. b, ll. 77-78 (ca. 100): δε|δόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δῆμῳ τὸν καθεσταμένον νεωκορεῖν; Kravaritou 2011, 118, 120, 123, 125, 128; 2016a, 144-146; Mili 2015, 330-331.

135. Thessaloniki: *IG X* 2.1, 109, ll. 4-12 (RICIS 113/0520): τὸ Ὀσιρίην καὶ τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ περίστυλον (...) πολιταρχούντων (...), νεοκοροῦντος Διοδόρου τοῦ Κραμβαί(ου); cf. Christodoulou 2021, 451-472, esp. 461 n. 58, 467; for *archineokoroi* at the sanctuary of the Egyptian Gods, see *IG X* 2.1, 37, l. 8; 60, fr. C; 114, l. 9; 115; 118, l. 6; 220, ll. 4-5 and 6; 244, l. 7; 272; cf. also *IG X* 2.1, 65, where the term is mentioned in the context of an associative cult; see also Georgoudi 2005, 57 (νεωκόρος and the variant νεοκόρος); Beroia: *I.Beroia* 125; Neapolis: Lazaridis 1969, 89, pl. 26a.

136. Ricl 2011, 13 n. 46.

Inscription II from Kastri records a set of two *neokoroi* highlights the importance of the sanctuary of Herakles in question, and the development of public institutions in Late Hellenistic Perrhaibian Tripolis. Moreover, the fact that the names of the *neokoroi* were added during their term of office to join the original dedication of a former priest may indicate the capacity of the local cult of Herakles to provide valuable opportunities for social networking to members of the wealthy elite, such as priests and *neokoroi*, after the turbulent period which brought the demise of royalty and the ‘Koinon of the Tripolitai’, and the emergence of the second-century Koinon of the Perrhaibians which incorporated Tripolis.<sup>137</sup>

**Votive stele to Herakles by a former priest from Kastri Livadiou  
(Inscription III)**

Fragmentary and very worn *naiskos* stele with a smooth recessed panel, which was most probably intended to accommodate a painted scene. The monument is known only from a photograph made available online by “Tripolitis”, a cultural association of modern Doliche, in the municipality of Elassona.<sup>138</sup> A two-line inscription has been cut in relatively careless lettering on the field of the stele. The lettering –the moderate apices and especially the simultaneous presence of *alphas* with curved and broken cross-bar– suggests a date towards the end of the third century or the beginning of the second, as it looks somewhat earlier to that in Inscription II from Kastri. I proceed below to a transcription of the text based on the above-mentioned source (fig. 7).

Μελέαγρος Ἀρνάγου  
ἱερητεύσας Ἡρακλεῖ.

“Meleagros, son of Arnagos, after serving as priest, (dedicated) to Herakles”.

The text bears the inscribed dedication made by a priest of Herakles, Meleagros, son of Arnagos, following the accomplishment of his service. Meleagros

137. On a similar development in Herakles’ sanctuary in Beroia, see *I.Beroia Suppl.* on *I.Beroia* 134; cf. *SEG* 60, 586, ll. 4–5 (‘Koinon of the Tripolitai’); Polyb. 18.47.6; Livy 33.32.5; Plut. *Flam.* 10; Lucas 1997, 218–219; Helly 1979, 178, 180 (Perrhaibian Koinon).

138. *Festival* 2, 19.

is a quite common Greek name which is also evidenced in Perrhaibia and in Macedonia;<sup>139</sup> on the contrary, Arnagos is a rare name and is only known twice, both times in Perrhaibia.<sup>140</sup> The absence of an ethnic indicates that Meleagros was a member of local society and the local patronymic strengthens this identification.

In sum, Inscriptions II and III from Kastri mentioning three priests and a set of two *neokoroi* are proof of an important cult of Herakles. The fact that Inscription I from the same find spot addresses Herakles as Kynagidas begs the question whether all 3 stelai belong to the same cultic context. The occasional omission of the epithet Kynagidas in both the list of “hunters” of Herakles Kynagidas and the letters of regent Demetrios (II) to Harpalos from the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia suggest that the omission of the epithet in Inscriptions II and III from Kastri should not necessarily be taken to imply that they refer to a cultic context distinct to the one of Inscription I, where the epithet Kynagidas is attested.<sup>141</sup> Similarly, the consecration of a small phiale to Herakles from Elimeia refers beyond doubt to Herakles Kynagidas, as is shown by the dedication of phialai by manumitted slaves to the sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia.<sup>142</sup> By analogy, the votives to Herakles and Herakles Kynagidas from Kastri may originate from the same sanctuary of Herakles and refer to the same cultic context. The fact that they all share the same find spot strengthens this hypothesis.

**Stele preserving traces of royal correspondence and a proxeny decree from Kastri Livadiou (Inscriptions IVa-b)**

Fragmentary grey marble stele bearing a proxeny decree granting privileges

139. LGPN IIIB, 275 (Μελέαγρος); LGPN IV, 227.

140. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 173, 407; SEG 23, 462 (Pythoion, Late Hellenistic).

141. List of “hunters” of Herakles Kynagidas (122/1-112/1): Hatzopoulos 1994a, 105-106, figs. XXVI-XXIX (SEG 43, 382; *I.Beroia* 134 [with *I.Beroia Suppl.*]), reporting “hunters”, “after serving as priests (dedicated) to Herakles Kynagidas” and “after serving as priests (dedicated) to Herakles”; letters of regent Demetrios (II) to Harpalos, 248: Woodward 1911-1912, 133-139, no. 1; Hatzopoulos 1994a, 103 (SEG 43, 379); *I.Beroia* 3, reporting “hunters” and “priests of Herakles” without mentioning Kynagidas; cf. Kuzmin 2019, 64 and fig. 1; Brocas-Deflassieux 1999, 66-69; Hatzopoulos 2021, 4 (cult context).

142. Hatzopoulos 1994a, 104 n. 4, on *I.Ano Maked.* 30; also, *I.Beroia* 30, with *I.Beroia Suppl.*

to a citizen of Larisa. Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa (inventory number: BE 2031). The stone is broken almost horizontally on the top and consists of two joining fragments. The lower part is intact and preserves the tenon to set it in a stone base. Dimensions: height: 0.47m (0.53m including tenon); width: 0.28m (lower part) - 0.30 m (upper part); thickness: 0.04 m. The stele preserves traces of an older, very worn and fragmentary inscription (Inscription IVa) and a later, equally fragmentary inscription (Inscription IVb). Inscription IVa preserves traces of 23 lines of text. Inscription IVb preserves ten lines of text of good lettering, cut on the upper part of the stele over a *rasura*, in replacement of the earlier inscription IVa which has been partially hewn away. The *rasura* has been made by a tooth chisel and the surface of the stone was eventually smoothed by flat chisel and rasp to receive inscription IVb. That process left visible the outline of many small-size letters which compose 23 fragmentary lines of text belonging to the earlier inscription IVa (letter height: 0.005 m; interlinear space: 0.002 m) – the last six lines are visible below the last line of inscription IVb.

*Editions and bibliography:* majuscule transcription of Inscription IVb and photograph by L. Deriziotis and S. Kougioumtzoglou, without description;<sup>143</sup> minuscule text by Bouchon who mentions the presence of traces of the Inscription IVa;<sup>144</sup> minuscule text by SEG based on the majuscule transcription of L. Deriziotis and S. Kougioumtzoglou, indicating the presence of three erased lines of Inscription IVa following the tenth and last line of Inscription IVb;<sup>145</sup> mentioned by M. Stamatopoulou with photograph; also, by A. Chaniotis and M. Hatzopoulos.<sup>146</sup>

*Palaeography-Chronology of Inscription IVb:* most of the letters have small apices. *Alpha* with curved cross-bar; *epsilon* with shorter central bar; *theta* with central dot; both *omicron* and *theta* smaller than the other letters; *pi* with a slightly shorter right vertical stroke, while the horizontal stroke does not exceed the vertical strokes; *sigma* with parallel horizontal bars. L. Deriziotis and S. Kougioumtzoglou, and the editors of SEG, proposed a date at the end of the third

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143. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 663, fig. 2.

144. Bouchon 2014, 485 n. 4.

145. SEG 64, 491.

146. Stamatopoulou 2013, 50, fig. 72; A. Chaniotis, in EBGR 2015, 56; Hatzopoulos 2021, 5 n. 21.

and the beginning of the second century.<sup>147</sup> The letterforms corroborate this suggestion. Many of them –*alpha, omega, gama, mu, pi, epsilon, kappa*– look similar to those of the letters of Antigonos Doson “to Megalokles and to the Koinon of the Tripolitai” from Pythoion (222); on the contrary, *omicron* is bigger than in that text.<sup>148</sup> Finally, all letterforms look very similar to the decrees of Gonnoi and Athens for the *theorodochoi* dated to the end of the third century.<sup>149</sup> In sum, the combination of the *alpha, omicron, and pi* suggests a date towards the end of the third and the beginning of the second century. This date corroborates the identification made by R. Bouchon of Eunomos son of Polykleitos (ll. 1-2) with the *strategos* of the early Post-Flamininian Thessalian League (193/2- 192/1, 189/8).<sup>150</sup> Inscription IVa most probably dates to the third century.

Autopsy, squeeze and photographs in April and November 2019.

Inscription IVa will not be discussed in this paper as the text will be the subject of a separate publication. It most probably falls under the category of Macedonian royal correspondence, as made clear by the characteristic greeting and dating formulas (ll. 23-24).<sup>151</sup> The text refers (ll. 18-19) to a “sanctuary of Herakles”. A text of royal correspondence could very well have been displayed in a sanctuary of Herakles, as was the case with the documents of the Macedonian chancellery in the major sanctuary of Herakles Kynagidas in Beroia.<sup>152</sup>

Inscription IVb preserves the following fragmentary text (fig. 8):

[ - - - - - ]  
 [- -ca. 7- -] Εὐνόμωι Πολυ-  
 κλείτου Λαρισαίωι δε-  
 δόσθαι προξενίαν <sup>vac.</sup>  
 καὶ τὰ λοιπά τίμια ὑ- <sup>vac.</sup>  
 5 πάρχειν αὐτῷ πάντα  
 δσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις

147. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 663; SEG 64, 491.

148. Tzafalias, Helly 2010, 104-105, fig. 8 (SEG 60, 586).

149. Helly, Gonnoi II 109, pl. XVIII.

150. Bouchon 2014, 485 n. 4.

151. Hatzopoulos 2006, 82-92; Mari 2018, 130-133 (royal epistolary style).

152. E.g. *I.Beroia* (+*I.Beroia Suppl.*) 3.

εὐεργέταις ὑπάρ-  
 χει· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ  
 ψήφισμα τοῦτο ἐν τῷ  
 10 ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους.<sup>153</sup>

There follow eight erased lines of a prior Inscription (Inscription IVa).

“[...] Eunomos son of Polykleitos, citizen of Larisa, shall be granted *proxenia*; and he shall be honoured with all the other honours commonly assigned to the other benefactors; and this decree shall be inscribed (and shall be set up) in the sanctuary of Herakles.”

Inscription IVb publishes a public resolution granting Eunomos the son of Polykleitos, a citizen of Larisa, the status of *proxenos* and other related honours appropriate to civic benefactors. Eunomos was a prominent member of the social elite in Larisa. He held twice the office of *strategos* –the supreme magistrate and eponymous for federal decrees– in the Post-Flamininian Thessalian Koinon established in 197, and received a letter from Flamininus on the alliance between the Thessalians and the Romans.<sup>154</sup> Furthermore, he has been identified as the dedicator of an early-second-century large-scale base to the Kabiroi in Larisa.<sup>155</sup> D. Graninger has noticed the interest in the Kabiroi or Samothracian Gods on the part of early-second-century Thessalian political elites, while A. Arvanitopoulos has connected Eunomos’ dedication to the longstanding attachment of the Macedonian kings to the cult.<sup>156</sup> If there was such a continuity in this cult before and after the royal period, this would suggest that Eunomos, and possibly other members of the second-century political elite of the Koinon, had a political career which was not affected by regime change and were able to maintain networking with various types of central power. Larisa being the capital of the Late Hellenistic Thessalian Koinon, Eunomos’ distinguished career would have surely qualified him with a

153. L. 5: only the upper angle of the last *alpha* is visible; l. 9. ψήφισμα: the -σ- in the interlinear space between ll. 8 and 9.

154. Bouchon 2014, 485 n. 4, referring to Kramolich 1978, 47-49; Livy, *Epit.* 35.39; cf. Graninger 2011a, 31-32; Bouchon, Helly 2015, 240-249 (Thessalian Koinon, after 197), esp. 240-241 (*strategos*).

155. Arvanitopoulos 1910, 375-377 no. 23: Καβίροις | Εύνομος | Πολυκλείτειος.

156. Graninger 2011a, 147; Arvanitopoulos 1910, 376-377.

preeminent status in his own city and a solid reputation abroad.<sup>157</sup> The city of Perrhaibian Tripolis which issued the *proxenia* obviously envisaged to acknowledge Eunomos' privileged status and possibly secure a good relation with the capital of the nascent Thessalian federal state.

Lines 8-10 stipulate that the decree was to be published “in the sanctuary of Herakles”. The surviving text provides no information on the issuing authority, the name of which was obviously written in the preamble, in the missing upper part of the stele. The publication of civic decrees in this sanctuary of Herakles adds to the evidence pointing to an important civic shrine. The type of the decree supports this suggestion. The granting of *proxenia* was an important public resolution, a key feature of Greek *polis*-networking, which was predominantly used by Hellenistic *poleis* to promote inter-*polis* cooperation through the mediation of commonly respected and reliable individuals.<sup>158</sup> The publication of the proxeny decree in the sanctuary of Herakles hints at the quality of the latter as an *epiphanestatos topos* for the issuing authority.

The rest of the epigraphic evidence from Kastri provides evidence on the identity of that city. A marble statue base, which was also found in Basilica Γ', bears manumission records of the Imperial period and an honorary resolution of Hellenistic date issued by the “city of the Dolichaians”.<sup>159</sup> The discovery of the base at Kastri led the excavators to identify the site with ancient Doliche.<sup>160</sup> One could easily endorse that tentative identification, especially since Demophilos of Doliche is the main person mentioned on the stele bearing the letters of Aemilius Paullus to the city and archons of Gonnoi, which was also found in Basilica Γ' at Kastri.<sup>161</sup> However, the issue of the identification of ancient Doliche appears more complex. On the one hand, several scholars have pointed out that the investigations at Kastri have mostly yielded architectural finds of Late Roman and Byzantine habitation, indicating the existence of a small Late Roman and Early Byzantine community which made extensive use of ancient stone material; the stratigraphy at Kastri had provided no trace

157. Graninger 2011a, 44; Bouchon, Helly 2015, 248 (Larisa).

158. Mack 2015, 90-122, 201-206, 282-285.

159. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 665; SEG 64, 493, l. 1: [‘H] πόλις ἡ Δολιχαι-  
[έων - - -]; Nikolaou 2012, 224.

160. Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 665; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 295-299,  
esp. 297-299; cf. Arvanitopoulos 1914, 205; Stählin 1967, 20-21.

161. Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 281-302, esp. 284-294 (SEG 64, 492, ll. 9, 21, 29).

of Hellenistic habitation, pottery and other deposits.<sup>162</sup> Consequently, it has been proposed that Kastri Livadiou was the site of Late Roman and Byzantine Doliche.<sup>163</sup> For Hellenistic Doliche, a tentative identification proposed long ago by A. Tzafalias places it at an important site located south-southeast of the modern village of Sarantaporos (formerly Glikovo) (fig. 2).<sup>164</sup> The site at Sarantaporos is a fortified city with third-century walls 3m thick, which enclose an area of ca. 500 hectares hosting an agora, a stoa, and temples;<sup>165</sup> the presence of Classical, Hellenistic and Roman pottery suggests the occupation of the site over a long period of time.<sup>166</sup> The city was built in a strategic location that controlled the passage of Porta/Volustana towards Upper Macedonia and was placed opposite the pass of Petra that led to Lower Macedonia (fig. 2).<sup>167</sup> Given the above, R. Bouchon, A. Batziou and G. Pikoulas proposed that this ancient site could be the source of the Hellenistic stelai discovered at Kastri, since the distance between the two sites is only 3km and the ancient ruins might have been accessed and transported for use during the construction of the Early Byzantine city at Kastri. The same authors also emphasized the dearth of Hellenistic and Roman architectural remains, epigraphic finds and marble sculpture from the site at Sarantaporos which, they believe, indicates that they had been moved, presumably to Kastri, as well as to other locations in the entire region.<sup>168</sup> On the other hand, recent investigations including surveys at Kastri and its close vicinity by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa have yielded some important finds. M. Tsiaaka presented a series of Hellenistic funerary stelai and fragments of Hellenistic and Roman sculpture, along with portable

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162. Lucas 1997, 173-180; Deriziotis, Kougioumtzoglou 2012, 664; Bouchon 2014, 484; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 298.

163. Bouchon 2014, 486; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 297-299.

164. Tzafalias 1985, 140-144 and 2000, 89-90; also, Lucas 1992a, 105-109; 1994, 207-208; 1997, 176-178; Rakatsanis, Tzafalias 2004, 90-101; Tzafalias, Lucas 2012, 492 (SEG 62, 367); Pikoulas 2014, 105-106, 116; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 296.

165. Tzafalias 2000, 89-90; Lucas 1992a, 105-109; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 296-297.

166. Tzafalias 1987, 281; Rakatsanis, Tzafalias 2004, 91.

167. Livy, *Epit.* 44. 2.10 (Volustana); Lucas 1992a, 105-109; 1997, 31 n. 41, 173; Tzafalias 2000, 89; Rakatsanis, Tzafalias 2004, 91; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 296-297; Pikoulas 2022, 7-9.

168. Bouchon 2014, 485-486; Batziou, Pikoulas 2014-2019, 299.

finds dating from Prehistory to the Roman era, and argued for the presence of a continual habitation at Kastri that included a Hellenistic community –presumably the Hellenistic Doliche.<sup>169</sup>

Given that Inscriptions I-IV were discovered at the same find spot at Kastri and thus most probably share the same place of origin, they may have originated from an important Hellenistic site such as the one at nearby modern Sarantaporo. Further investigations in Perrhaibian Tripolis will hopefully provide supplementary evidence to firmly establish the identification of local communities and cult places. For the moment, there is no reason to doubt the presence of an important public cult of Herakles from at least the fourth to the second century, which incorporated also his aspect as Kynagidas. In sum, the presence of priests and a set of *neokoroi* in the second-century cult of Herakles, the references to the “sanctuary of Herakles” where third-century documents of the royal chancery and late-third to early second-century important public decrees could be set up, and the votives to Herakles and Herakles Kynagidas, all testify to the long-lasting presence of an important civic cult. Such a cult may very well be associated to the impressive ruins and the strategic location of the site at Sarantaporo –presumably ancient Doliche. One of the few inscribed finds to be collected from this site bears additional evidence to strengthen the hypothesis of a local cult of Herakles.<sup>170</sup>

#### **Votive stele to Herakles by a former priest from Sarantaporo**

Small naiskos stele (Elassona Collection of Antiquities; inventory number E 158). It is almost intact and preserves the tenon, while several small pieces have flaked away from the top and lateral sides. Dimensions: height: 0.465m; width: 0.31m (lower part) - 0.29m (upper part); thickness: 0.12m; tenon height: 0.15m; tenon width: 0.13m. The fact that the stele is dotted with a smooth recessed panel, probably to accommodate a painted scene, and the presence of a few traces of letter strokes cut on the architrave –especially a barely discernible *omega* and a *iota* (apparently of a votive dative) inscribed above the right pilaster, suggest that its original use was possibly votive too.<sup>171</sup> The stele also preserves four lines of a later dedicatory inscription cut on the field. The

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169. Tsiaka 2012 and forthcoming.

170. Rakatsanis, Tzafalias 2004, 91-96.

171. Cf. Heinz 1998, 130, figs. 262-263.

text is in good lettering, aligned to the left (letter height: 0.013-0.015m; interlinear space: 0.005m). The field also bears five horizontal zones framed by parallel incised lines, each accommodating one line of text, with parallels in Perrhaibia.<sup>172</sup>

*Editions and bibliography:* K. Rakatsanis and A. Tziafalias, with photograph;<sup>173</sup> first edition with minuscule text by the editors of *SEG*;<sup>174</sup> also, mentioned by M. Hatzopoulos.<sup>175</sup>

*Palaeography-Chronology:* most of the letters have small apices. *Alpha* with broken cross-bar; *epsilon* with shorter central bar; *omicron* smaller than the other letters; *pi* with vertical strokes of almost identical height; *sigma* with parallel horizontal bars. K. Rakatsanis and A. Tziafalias provide no date, while the editors of *SEG* date the inscription to the third century.<sup>176</sup> Excepting *alpha* and *pi*, most of the letterforms look similar to those of Inscription IVb; also, besides *omicron*, they look similar to those of Inscription II. In sum, lettering suggests a date in the first half of the second century. Autopsy, squeeze and photographs in March 2019 (fig. 9).

Πασιχάρης  
Δρεβελάου  
ιερητεύσας  
Ἡρακλεῖ.

“Pasichares son of Drebelaos, after serving as priest, (dedicated) to Herakles”

The text records a dedication made by a priest of Herakles, Pasichares son of Drebelaos, following the accomplishment of his service in the cult of the god. The name Pasichares –a quite common Greek name– was attested in Thessaly only at Phthiotic Thebes in Achaia Phthiotis.<sup>177</sup> The name Drebelaos is known in the entire Thessalian region only in Perrhaibian Tripolis (once in Azoros

172. E.g. Helly, *Gonoi* II 94, pl. XVI (undated).

173. Rakatsanis, Tziafalias 2004, 96 and 178 fig. 62.

174. *SEG* 55, 600.

175. Hatzopoulos 2021, 5 n. 21.

176. Rakatsanis, Tziafalias 2004, 96; *SEG* 55, 600.

177. *LGPN* IIIB 338 (Πασιχάρης).

and four times at Pythoion), and it has been shown to be a dialectic form of Trepheleos.<sup>178</sup>

If the stelai bearing Inscriptions I-IV from Kastri originate from the site of ancient Doliche near Sarantaporo (see above), then the dedication of Pasi-chares may belong to the same cultic context. To this we could possibly add a third-century votive stele to Krateraios from the same site, which possibly refers to Herakles, since Herakles Kraterofroun is known from a fifth-century votive stele from Skotoussa.<sup>179</sup> These testimonies would therefore confirm the local presence of a public cult of Herakles, encompassing for a presently unidentified period of time in the royal period his aspect as Kynagidas. The first-century statue base from Kaisareia in neighbouring Elimeia, which mentions a priest of Herakles Kynagidas originating from Doliche, has provided supplementary evidence for the popularity of the god's cult in the wider area.<sup>180</sup> It has been argued that the presence of a citizen of Perrhaibian Tripolis in Kaisareia, not far from the Sarantaporo pass, is not surprising, and that his qualification as a "Dolichaian from Thessaly" may be intended to differentiate this Doliche from the Doliche in Eordaia.<sup>181</sup> This inscription is proof of the interactions still materialized between Doliche and Elimeia through the cult of Herakles Kynagidas, towards the end of the Late Hellenistic period.<sup>182</sup>

Additional evidence pertaining to the long and widespread tradition of the cult of Herakles in the area of Perrhaibian Tripolis comes from two inscribed stelai discovered in second use in the church of Zoodochos Pigi at Topoliani.

178. LGPN IIIB 127 (Δρεβέλαος); Δρεβέλαος ~ Τρεφέλεως; Kalléris 1976, 438 n. 1; Tatakis 1998, 518; Hatzopoulos 2006, 48-49.

179. SEG 55, 599 (Sarantaporo): Δημόφιλος | Λυσίου εὐξάμενος Κρατεραίων; SEG 25, 661, l. 1 (Skotoussa): ταῦτ' Ἐρακλεῖ κρατεροφ[ρον - <sup>3-4-</sup> -].

180. *I.Anō Maked.* 6 (Kaisareia): [- -ca. 13- -] <ω>τας | [- -ca. 6- -] ἀμουν Δολιχαῖος | [ἀπὸ] Θεσσαλίας καὶ Πορ[ίω]ν Ἰολάου ιερητεύσαν|[τε]ς Ἡρακλεῖ Κυναγίδαι | [χαρ]ιστήρια; Lucas 1997, 97-98, no. 45; Chatzinikolaou 2011, 147, 325-326, 192.

181. M. González, P. Paschidis in *I.Anō Maked.* 6 *Suppl.*; Lucas 1997, 8, for Perrhaibia then belonging to Thessaly; *contra*, M. Hatzopoulos in *BE* 1997, 364.

182. Hatzopoulos 1994a, 107 n. 3 noticing the common in Beroia and Elimeia feature of the double priesthood of Herakles Kynagidas; also, Chatzinikolaou 2011, 147-148 (Kynagidas in Elimeia).

### Collective dedication to Herakles by a former priest and at least 14 men from Topoliani (Inscription I)

The stele was discovered by A. Arvanitopoulos in the church of Zoodochos Pigi at Topoliani (fig. 2).<sup>183</sup> It is currently unlocated.<sup>184</sup> Arvanitopoulos reports that the stele is topped with a cornice and is broken on the bottom and left side. Its dimensions are reported as: height: 0.53m; width: 0.42m; thickness: 0.115m.<sup>185</sup> The right half of the text is preserved, consisting of 16 fragmentary lines of small letters, cut below the cornice (letter height after A. Arvanitopoulos: 0.01–0.02m; interlinear space: 0.012m).

*Editions and bibliography:* minuscule transcription by A. Arvanitopoulos, with photograph of squeeze;<sup>186</sup> mentioned by J.-Cl. Decourt and A. Tziafalias, and Hatzopoulos.<sup>187</sup>

*Palaeography-Chronology, based on the photograph of the squeeze provided by A. Arvanitopoulos:*<sup>188</sup> *alpha* with straight cross-bar; *epsilon* with shorter central bar; *omicron* smaller than the other letters; *pi* with vertical strokes of almost identical height, sometimes with shorter right bar; *sigma* and *mu* with slanting horizontal and vertical bars respectively, sometimes with straight ones; *kappa* with lower slanting bar not reaching the base of the letter. Lines 1–8 bear larger and more square letters, whereas the letters in ll. 9–18 are smaller with more curvilinear strokes. This indicates different stages to the cutting of the list of names, but not a significant difference in dating.<sup>189</sup> A. Arvanitopoulos dates the text “just before the beginning of the third century”; M. Heinz provides a date towards the beginning of the third century.<sup>190</sup> The letterforms –*alpha*, *heta*, *mu*, *nu*, *tau*– look similar to those in the Inscription I from Kastri, while *omicron* and *upsilon* look later; they suggest a date in the second half the fourth or the beginning of the third century (fig. 10).

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183. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 149, 392 (ME 51 in his inventory).

184. Tziafalias 1987, 282 reports that part of the Elassona Archaeological collection was placed in the basement of the local gymnasium during World War II, and was not retrieved afterwards.

185. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 149.

186. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 149 fig. 5.

187. Decourt, Tziafalias 2016, 297 n. 41; Hatzopoulos 2021, 5 n. 22.

188. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 149 fig. 5.

189. Cf. the list of names in SEG 29, 552 and SEG 34, 565.

190. Heinz 1998, 301, 233.

[- - ca. 5 - -]ος Εύρείου  
 [ίερ]ητεύσας Ἡρακλεῖ·  
 [Ἀνδ]ρόνικος Λ[υ]σίου  
 [Κα]ρκίνος Βουπλάγου  
 5 [Ἀνδ]ρόνικος Καρκίνου  
 [- - ca. 3 - -]έλαος Παυσανίου  
 [Παν]σανίας Φιλίππου  
 [- - ca. 4 - -]ας Ἀντιπάτρου  
 [- - ca. 5 - -]ς Ἀρνάγου  
 10 [- - ca. 5 - -]ς Εύδήμου  
 [- - ca. 7 - -]ς Ἀπολλοφάνου  
 [- - ca. 7-8 - -]ς Ἀριστονίκου  
 [- - ca. 8-9 - -] Σωσιφίλου  
 [- - ca. 10-11 - -]λέους  
 15 [- - ca. 10-11 - -]αίου  
 [- - ca. 11-12 - -]ίου.<sup>191</sup>

'---]os son of Eureias, after serving as priest, (dedicated) to Herakles, Andronikos son of Lysias, Karkinos son of Bouplagos, Andronikos son of Karkinos, [---]elaos son of Pausanias, Pausanias son of Philippos, [---]as son of Antipatros, [---]s son of Arnagos, [---]s son of Eudemos, [---]s son of Apollophanes, [---] son of Aristonikos, [---] son of Sosiphilos, [---] son of [---]leas, [---] son of [---]aios, [---], [---] son of [---]ios.

The text lists the name and patronymic of a priest (ll. 1-2) following the completion of his service as priest in the cult of Herakles, along with a series of 14 individuals (ll. 3-16), one in each line, with names and patronymics (not all of which are preserved), and bearing no further qualification. The absence of ethnics indicates that these persons were local citizens. As regards the *onomastikon*, some of the very common Greek names –such as Andronikos, Apollophanes, Aristonikos, Lysias, Sosiphilos– and the rare name Karkinos (which is attested in Lokris, the Black Sea, and in Asia Minor)<sup>192</sup> are otherwise

191. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 149, 392: l. 3: [- - -]όνικος; l. 4: [Καρκί]νος; l. 5: [Ἀνδρ]όνικος; l. 10: [- - -]ς Εύδήμ[ο]ν; [- - -]ς Ἀ[ρι]στονίκου; l. 14: [- - -]λέους; l. 16: [- - -]ιο[ν]; l. 17: [- - -]ιο[ν]; l. 18: [- - -]ο[ν].

192. *LGPN* IIIB, 226 (Lokris); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 10112 (Prokonessos, 3rd century); *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 8219 (Antiochia, 3rd century).

unattested in Perrhaibia, unlike the rest of the names. Eureias (l. 1) is attested in Pythoion and Phalanna.<sup>193</sup> Bouplagos (l. 4), a dialectic name known in Thessaly and Macedonia, is attested two more times in fourth-century Pythoion: once as the father of Derdas –a typical Macedonian name–, and once as a *theorodokos* in the catalogue from Epidauros; moreover, a Macedonian named Bouplagos is known from Phthiotic Thebes.<sup>194</sup> Philippos –a name very popular in Macedonia– is also very common in Thessaly and the *perioikoi* including Tripolis, especially at Pythoion.<sup>195</sup> Arnagos, as we saw earlier, is a local name, attested only in Perrhaibian Pythoion.<sup>196</sup>

Topoliani, the findspot of the stele, is located next to the site of ancient Pythoion on the hill of the Agioi Apostoloi, south of the modern village of Pythion (formerly Selos).<sup>197</sup> The ancient city of Pythoion was built on a strategic location that controlled the passage of Petra towards Lower Macedonia (fig. 2).<sup>198</sup> The close proximity of Topoliani to ancient Pythoion strongly suggests that the latter was the place of origin of the stele.<sup>199</sup>

It has been argued that this might be a joint dedication of ephebes in the gymnasium of Pythoion, along with the former priest of Herakles,<sup>200</sup> given the popularity of the god in Greek gymnasias;<sup>201</sup> according to an alternative interpretation, this could be a collective dedication of some corporate group on a private initiative.<sup>202</sup>

Furthermore, a second list of names has been also discovered by A. Arvanitopoulos in the same church of Zoodochos Pigi at Topoliani.<sup>203</sup>

193. LGPN IIIB 164.

194. SEG 35, 662, l. 1 (Pythoion); IG IX 2, 174, ll. 1-2 (Phthiotic Thebes); IG IV<sup>2</sup> 1, 94, l. 39 (Epidauros); LGPN IIIB, 88; cf. Hatzopoulos 2018, 300-301.

195. LGPN IIIB, 423-424.

196. See n. 140, above.

197. On the toponym Πύθοιον (the variant Πύθιον only in late literary sources) and the city-ethnic Πυθοιάστας, see Decourt et al. 2004, 726.

198. Lucas 1997, 147-148, 181-190; Decourt et al. 2004, 726.

199. Decourt, Tziafalias 2016, 297; cf. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 142.

200. Decourt, Tziafalias 2016, 297, on Arvanitopoulos 1924, 155, 402-403 (Pythoion, gymnasiarchs, 2nd century); 1924, 150, 393 (here, Inscription II, Topoliani).

201. Herakles in gymnasias: SEG 48, 719; IG XII 9, 234; IG XII Suppl. 554 (Eretria); IG XII 9, 952 (Chalcis); *IArykanda* 162; MAMA VI 173 (Apameia); see Kazakidi 2015, 61-64, 79-86.

202. E.g. Mili 2015, 124 n. 139.

203. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 150, 393 (ME 45 in his inventory).

### Collective dedication to Herakles by twelve men from Topoliani (Inscription II)

Marble base. The monument is currently unlocated.<sup>204</sup> According to A. Arvanitopoulos, the base is broken at the bottom and topped with a cornice, while a cavity carved into the upper surface served for the insertion of Herakles' statue (reported dimensions: height: 0.50m; width: 0.235m; thickness: 0.09m).<sup>205</sup> The text preserves seventeen worn lines, cut below the cornice (reported letter height: 0.011-0.019m; interlinear space: 0.004m).<sup>206</sup>

*Editions and bibliography:* minuscule text by A. Arvanitopoulos, with photograph of the squeeze;<sup>207</sup> mentioned by J.-Cl. Decourt and A. Tziafalias, and M. Hatzopoulos.<sup>208</sup>

*Palaeography-Chronology, based on the photograph of the squeeze provided by A. Arvanitopoulos:*<sup>209</sup> *alpha* with straight cross-bar; *epsilon* with shorter central bar; *omicron* sometimes slightly smaller than the other letters; *pi* with vertical strokes of almost identical height but sometimes with shorter right bar; *sigma* and *mu* with slightly slanting horizontal and vertical bars; *kappa* with lower slanting bar not reaching the base of the letter. The letterforms look earlier than those in Inscription I from Topoliani (end of the fourth - beginning of the third century), and most of them look closer to those in Inscription I from Kastri (fourth century); they suggest a date in the second half of the fourth century (fig. 11).<sup>210</sup>

Παυσανίας, Δι-  
ονουσόπατρ-  
ος Μελανθίου·  
Πολύξενος Μ-  
5 γασάρχου· Παρ-  
μενίων Ἀφθονή-  
τον· Λυσικλῆς

204. As with Inscription I, it may still remain at the local school.

205. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 150.

206. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 150.

207. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 150, 393 fig. 6.

208. Decourt, Tziafalias 2016, 297 n. 41; Hatzopoulos 2021, 5 n. 22.

209. Arvanitopoulos 1924, 150, 393 fig. 6.

210. Heinz 1998, 425, A100.

Ἄφθονήτου· Πα-  
νσανίας, Φιλό-  
10 τας, Εὐκρατίδ-  
ας Ἀγελόχου·  
Κλεόδημος, Μ-  
νασιγένης, Φι-  
λώτας Σωπάτ-  
15 ρού· Δημόφιλος  
Θυμίλου ἀνέθ-  
ηκαν Ἡρακλεῖ·<sup>211</sup>

“Pausanias, Dionousopatros, sons of Melanthios, Polyxenos son of Mnarchos, Parmenion son of Aphthonetos, Lysikles son of Aphthonetos, Pausanias, Philotas, Eukratidas, sons of Agelochos, Kleodemos, Mnasigenes, Philotas, sons of Sopatros, Demophilos son of Thymilos, dedicated to Herakles”.

The text records a dedication made by 12 men to Herakles. Besides the common Greek names, the name Dionysopatros is a *hapax*,<sup>212</sup> while Mnasigenes is only known in Boiotia, Thessaly and the *perioikoi*, and in Macedonia.<sup>213</sup> The text does not provide any motivation for the dedication. Some of these men from Topoliani were obviously connected with blood ties and the presence of brothers has been taken to demonstrate the attachment of local families to the cult of Herakles.<sup>214</sup> Inscriptions I-II from Topoliani may be proof of a corporate body of private character and/or a catalogue of one or more age-classes or of soldiers.<sup>215</sup> One might allude to the dedications to various divinities made by the *phrouroi* and *archiphrouroi* from Gonnoi and Mikro Keserli (third - first century), and the *skopoi* and *archeskopoi* from Phthiotic Thebes (fourth / third century), who have been identified as young ephebes-members of the *polis*

211. The underlined letters were read by Arvanitopoulos, but cannot be confirmed on his squeeze; at the end of l. 12, <M>- Arvanitopoulos, but a slanted line is visible on the squeeze.

212. Decourt 2010, 322.

213. LGPN IIIB, 288; Tataki 1998, 123 no. 3 (Μνασιγένης).

214. Decourt, Tzafalias 2016, 297; Mili 2015, 347-390 (“social and religious” groups).

215. I thank Angelos Chaniotis for drawing my attention to the latter possibility; cf. Baker 2001, 191-201.

guard, aged just under twenty and engaged in the patrol and defense of the civic territory during their ephebic service.<sup>216</sup> However, these dedications –as well as those of the Pheraian *hylouroi*– provide the motive of the dedication by referring to the dedicators as *phrouroi* or *skopoi*, and they make no reference to priests, as does Inscription I from Topoliani.<sup>217</sup>

The discovery of Inscriptions I-II from Topoliani in the same location strongly suggests that they were originally set up in the same cult place dedicated to Herakles possibly somewhere within the territory of ancient Pythoion. They were most probably transported from there to the church of Zoodochos Pigi at Topoliani, which is situated near the site of Pythoion (on the hill of the Agioi Apostoloi, **fig. 2**).

Furthermore, although the provenance of the next votive stele to Herakles to be considered is unknown, G. Lucas has argued that it should be also sought in the area of ancient Pythoion.<sup>218</sup>

#### **Votive stele to Herakles by a former priest, of unknown provenance**

Tall and narrow, almost intact, grey marble pedimental stele (Elassona Collection of Antiquities; inventory number E71). Several small pieces have flaked away from the right lateral side. Dimensions: height: 1.4m; width: 0.31m (lower part) - 0.29m (upper part); thickness: 0.55m. The text is in relatively good lettering but roughly incised (letter height: 0.015m; interlinear space: 0,010-0.015m).

*Editions and bibliography:* K. Rakatsanis and A. Tziafalias, with photograph;<sup>219</sup> minuscule text copied from the photograph in Rakatsanis and Tziafalias by the editors of SEG.<sup>220</sup> The inscription is also mentioned by M. Hatzopoulos.<sup>221</sup>

216. Helly, *Gonoi* I 145-146; Arvanitopoulos 1911, 333: Εἰρακ[λεῖ] (Mikro Keserli); Hatzopoulos 1994a, 108-109; cf. Baker 2001, 200-204; Mili 2015, 106-108, 342; Kravaritou 2018, 383.

217. *Hylouroi*: SEG 34, 564-565 (Pherai, 3rd-2nd century); Mili 2015, 124; Chaniotis 2008, 103-153.

218. See LGPN IIIb, s.v. Λυσίας no. 42; Lucas 1992b, 31; SEG 55, 618; *contra*, Rakatsanis, Tziafalias 2004, 66, 70, placing Oloosson at modern Elassona (**fig. 2**); Decourt et al. 2004, 725; on the tentative identification of Thessalian sites, Decourt et al. 2004, 676-731; Pikoulas 2012, 81-100; 2015, 92-95.

219. Rakatsanis, Tziafalias 2004, 70, fig. 40.

220. SEG 55, 618.

221. Hatzopoulos 2021, 5 n. 21.

*Palaeography-Chronology:* *alpha* with curved crossbar; *epsilon* with slightly shorter central bar; *omicron* smaller than the other letters; *pi* with shorter right vertical stroke; *sigma* with slanting horizontal bars. K. Rakatsanis and A. Tzafalias provide no date, while the editors of *SEG* date it in the third century.<sup>222</sup> The letterforms suggest a date in the second half of the third century; they look quite similar to those of the royal letter of Antigonos Doson concerning Asklepiades from Azoros (222), and the decrees of Gonnoi and Athens for the *theorodochoi* from Gonnoi dated to the end of the third century.<sup>223</sup>

Autopsy, squeeze and photographs in March 2019 (fig. 12).

Λυσίας Πιαυσανίο[ν]  
ιερητεύσας <sup>vac.</sup>  
Ἡρακλεῖ.

“Lysias son of Pausanias, after serving as priest, (dedicated) to Herakles”

The text records a dedication made by a priest of Herakles, Lysias son of Pausanias, following the accomplishment of his service in the cult of the god. The name Lysias and the patronymic Pausanias are common Greek names, attested, *inter alia*, in Thessaly, Demetrias, and Macedonia.<sup>224</sup> The absence of an ethnic indicates that Lysias was a local citizen.

To conclude, the third-century votive from Elassona and the collective fourth-to early third-century votives from Topoliani indicate the presence of another important cluster of cult activity for Herakles in Tripolis, connected to ancient Pythoion. The form and content of these collective dedications suggest that the dedicants may either relate to some age-classes of the local gymnasium or they represent private initiatives of corporate groups attached to a local sanctuary of Herakles; in any case, they add to the evidence from Kastri demonstrating the deep rooting and the wide appeal of Herakles’ cult in local civic contexts.

Moreover, the fourth-century votive to Herakles in his hypostasis as Kynagidas from Kastri is hardly surprising. On the one hand, the cult of Kynagidas

222. Rakatsanis, Tzafalias 2004, 96; *SEG* 55, 600.

223. Tzafalias, Helly 2010, 94-95, figs. 6-7 (*SEG* 60, 585); Helly, Gonnoi II 109, pl. XVIII.

224. Thessaly: *LGPN* IIIB, 265-266 (Λυσίας), 340-341 (Πιαυσανίας); Macedonia: Tataki 1998, 358-359 (Λυσίας), 399-401 (Πιαυσανίας).

was deeply rooted in the royal context which, as we saw, was in close interaction with this area. Tripolis being annexed to Elimeia already from the fourth century, the local fourth- and third-century epigraphic record evidences the continuous interactions between local *poleis* and their civic authorities with the royal court. Argead and later Antigonid Kings arbitrated in territorial disputes, and coordinated local issues with the Koinon of the Tripolitai and local civic authorities respectively;<sup>225</sup> local society incorporated members of the elite groups of the Macedonian army (*hetairoi*) who enjoyed fiscal immunity by the king;<sup>226</sup> finally, the existence of royal land (βασιλικόν) in Tripolis, an area known for its mountainous terrain and forests, would suitably host “hunters” of Herakles in a landscape ideal for a possible performance of royal hunting.<sup>227</sup> This would be consistent with the presence of Herakles Kynagidas, which would have been perfectly assimilated to the local cult of Herakles.

Furthermore, it should be added that the epigraphic record from areas adjacent to southern Perrhaibia conveys signifiers related to hunting and hunters. They come from the city of Atrax, located in Hellenistic north Pelasgiots bordering Perrhaibia.<sup>228</sup> An early-third-century funerary altar describes a certain Polycharmos as κυναγός (“hunter”).<sup>229</sup> Also, the proper name Kynagos is attested twice in Atrax: in the mid-third-century collective dedication of the *poliphylakes* to the hero Poliphylax, and in a funerary stele of the first half of the second century.<sup>230</sup> In addition, the name Kynagia is attested in an inscribed

225. Arvanitopoulos 1923, 161-162 no. 3860; Rosenberg 1916, 499-509; Tzafalias, Lucas 2012, 491 (territorial dispute); cf. Tzafalias, Helly 2010, 85 (SEG 60, 605), 104-105 (SEG 60, 586).

226. Tzafalias, Helly 2010, 114-117 (SEG 60, 586); Hatzopoulos 2001, 32-54, 67, 117 (*hetairoi* in the Antigonid army); cf. M. Hatzopoulos, in BE 2011, 399; 2020, 42.

227. Royal land: Tzafalias, Helly 2010, 85-93, esp. 91-92, l. 56 (SEG 60, 605); geomorphology: Lucas 1992a, 93-98, map 1, 122-126; 1997, 19-44, 97; mountains, Herakles Kynagidas: Hatzopoulos 1994b, 249; Rizakis, Touratsoglou in *I.Ano Maked.* 23-24; royal *kynegoi*, hunting: Edson 1934, 228; Hatzopoulos 1994a, 92-93, 99-110; 2006, 54; Brocas-Deflassieux 1999, 66; Psoma 2006, 287-288; Touratsoglou 2016, 629; Intzesiloglou 2006, 76.

228. Decourt et al. 2004, 692 (Atrax).

229. SEG 47, 686: Πολύ[χ]αρμος κυναγός; contra, *I.Atrax* 123, pl. XXVII: Πολύ[χ]αρμος, Κύναγος | [- - -], as a votive altar.

230. *I.Atrax* 84, pl. XIX (SEG 27, 205) and 475, pl. LXXXI; cf. Heinz 1998, 247, 311.

votive in Thessalian dialect, which was discovered in the chapel of Agios Niko-laos at Koutsohero, along with other inscriptions from Atrax.<sup>231</sup> The stele has been variously dated, but seems to belong to the late fifth or the early fourth century.<sup>232</sup> In sum, there seems to be a concentration of the personal names Kynagos and Kynagia in the area of Atrax. Kynagos is also known in Thessaly and Achaia Phthiotis from the third century onwards, and is also attested in the third century for Macedonians.<sup>233</sup> However, the early date of the *hapax* Kynagia adds significantly to the local evidence that showcases a longstanding tradition related to hunting which is reflected in the local onomastics from at least the early Classical period. These proper names display close etymological affinities with the epithet Kynagidas.

Moreover, the presence in Atrax of the collective third-century dedication to the hero Poliphylax (“the ‘City Warden”’) testifies to the ritualized aspect of the protection of the civic territory; this votive corroborates evidence from Thessalian Pherai, and suggests the presence of similar institutions in Atrax.<sup>234</sup> Another contemporary collective votive from Atrax, which was dedicated to Herakles by a corporate group of ten men labelled as Ἡρακλειδεῖς and presided by a former priest of the god, corroborates Inscription I from Topolian and adds to the evidence that showcases the popularity of Herakles’ cult in Perrhaibia.<sup>235</sup> Atrax, along with Argissa, Gyrthone, Elone and Olossen, which were attributed by Homer to the territory of the Lapith Polypoites,

231. Heuzey 1860, 488, 55; Lolling 1883, 111-112 (*IG IX* 2, 477): Κυναγία | ὄνεθεικε (Atrax; Koutochero, BC date); *LGPN IIIB*, 251 (Κυναγία).

232. Heinz 1998, 336, fig. 19, based on the lettering: *alpha* with straight crossbar; *epsilon* with slightly shortened central branch; *omicron* and *theta* of the same size as the other letters. The letterforms look also similar to those of an early 5th- to 4th-century dedication to Athena Agoraia (*I.Atrax* 71, pl. XVII; cf. Doulgeri-Intzesiloglou 2000, 34-36, pl. 17 (mid-5th century), the 4th-century dedications of “the archons Menekrates and Nikonidas” (*I.Atrax* 103, pl. XXIII), and the contemporary epitaph of Chalakioun (*I.Atrax*, 212, pl. XLI), all from Atrax; *contra*, the editors of *I.Atrax* 133 (pl. XXIX), who date Kynagia’s votive in the 2nd century.

233. *LGPN IIIB*, 251; Tataki 1998, 317, 351; *LGPN IV*, 204.

234. *I.Atrax* 83; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 7.1331b; Chaniotis 2008, 103-106 (*phylake*); Parker 2017, 4 (hero Poliphylax); Helly 1977 (*poliphylakes* and *politophylakes*).

235. *I.Atrax* 78, ll. 1-3: Ἡρακλεῖ | τὸ κοινὸν τοῦν Ἡρακλειδάουν, | λειτορεύσαντος (...) (*SEG* 34, 487: l.3: Ἡρακλει<ο>δάουν).

was considered as being originally Perrhaibian territory.<sup>236</sup> As the editors of *I.Atrax* remark, there is no doubt that Atrax had been Perrhaibian in the past, and that Atrax lies on the confines of Perrhaibia.<sup>237</sup> Herakles' intimate connection with these *poleis* of Perrhaibian origin seems also to be rooted in the early history of this area, as was also the case in Thessalian Pherai. Traditions preserved in ancient authors highlight Herakles as protector and founder of Perrhaibian cities in the remote legendary past of the Homeric Lapiths inhabiting the area. For example, a gloss in the *Etymologicum Magnum* attests that the Homeric Elone –later renamed Leimone–, which was ruined by the time of Strabo's source, had been founded by Herakles in the period of the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs.<sup>238</sup>

In sum, the aforementioned evidence from both northern and southern Perrhaibia –sanctuaries, cult personnel, private and collective votives, cultic and sociopolitical interactions, legendary traditions, onomastics– is indicative of a long-standing engagement with Herakles, similar to that evidenced in Thessaly and Macedonia.

Finally, as regards the identity of the dedicators from Kastri, Sarantaporo, Topoliani and Elassona, we saw that the absence of ethnics in the dedicatory inscriptions indicate that they were local citizens of Perrhaibian Tripolis. In addition, many of their names are evidenced in Perrhaibia, Macedonia, and Thessaly. It is evident that an attempt to distinguish a particular origin of these

236. Hom. *Il.* 2.738, 744, 751; Strabo 9.5.19: συνεχεῖς δὲ τῇ μερίδι ταύτη λέγονται οἱ ὑπὸ τῷ Πολυποίτῃ «οἵ δ' Ἀργισσαν ἔχον καὶ Γυρτώνην ἐνέμοντο, Ὁρθην Ἡλώνην τε πόλιν τ' Ὀλοοσσόνα λευκήν». Ταύτην τὴν χώραν πρότερον μὲν ὕκουν Περραιβοί, τὸ πρὸς θαλάττη μέρος νεμόμενοι καὶ τῷ Πηνειῷ μέχρι τῆς ἐκβολῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ Γυρτώνος πόλεως Περραιβίδος. (...) ή μὲν οὖν Ἀργισσα, ή νῦν Ἀργοναρα, ἐπὶ τῷ Πηνειῷ κεῖται ὑπέρκειται δ' αὐτῆς Ἀτραξ ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις, τῷ ποταμῷ πλησιάζουσα καὶ αὕτη· τὴν δ' ἀνά μέσον ποταμίαν εἶχον Περραιβοί. (...) καὶ Ὀλοσσὼν δὲ λευκὴ προσαγορευθεῖσα ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκάργιλος εἶναι, καὶ Ἡλώνη Περραιβικαὶ πόλεις, καὶ Γόννος· ή δ' Ἡλώνη μετέβαλε τούνομα Λειμώνη μετονομασθεῖσα· κατέσκαπται δὲ νῦν ἄμφω δ' ὑπὸ τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ κείνται οὐ πολὺ ἄπωθεν τοῦ Εὐρώπου ποταμοῦ, ὃν ὁ ποιητὴς Τιταρήσιον καλεῖ; Livy, *Epit.* 32.15.8: *Inde Atragem est profectus. Decem ferme milia ab Larisa abest; ex Perrhaibia oriundi sunt; cf.* Stählin 1967, 101-102; 66-67; Helly 1979, 180-181; Decourt et al. 2004, 692.

237. *I.Atrax* 20, T9.

238. *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἡλώνη: πόλις· Ὅμηρος· ὅτι ἐκεῖθεν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἐάλωσαν οἱ Κένταυροι, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἥρως ἐκτίσθη ἡ πόλις.

dedicators and their families through the onomastics of Perrhaibia would in most cases not be fruitful. On the one hand, inscriptions attest to the presence of Macedonians in the region in the Late Classical and Hellenistic period, due to its close interactions with Macedonia.<sup>239</sup> On the other hand, however, it is largely known that the transhumant past of the Macedonian and Thessalian people had transformed the mountainous areas bordering the two regions into passages and meeting points of people in constant movement from time immemorial, a fact which enabled the development of cultural affinities between them from at least the Archaic period.<sup>240</sup> The fact that Makedon and Magnes –the eponymous ancestors of the respective peoples– are portrayed as brothers in the Hesiodic Catalogue, the narrative of the “wondering Perrhaibians” preserved in Strabo, the memory of a specific movement from Macedonian Balla to Perrhaibian Pythoion, are all indicative of the continued interaction between neighbouring peoples in this area, and of the preserved memory of that interaction.<sup>241</sup> This prolonged networking of people cutting across the impressive massif of Mount Olympos is reflected in the linguistic and onomastic affinities between Macedonia and Perrhaibia which are attested in the epigraphic record.<sup>242</sup> These affinities discourage clear-cut distinctions between names belonging exclusively to one area and marking a particular ethnic origin –in our case, for the dedicators of the votives to Herakles from Perrhaibian Tripolis. Furthermore, such affinities run in parallel with cults (e.g. Ennodia, Pasikrata, Asklepios) and eventually functions related to socio-political institutions (e.g. terms and cult recipients related to age-classes and rites of passage) that have long ago been demonstrated to be common in Thessaly and

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239. Habicht 1970, 265-279; 2006, 59-73, esp. 63-67; Helly, *Gonnoi* II 12, 93; Hatzopoulos 1996, 109 n. 8; Lucas 1997, 82-84; Tataki 1998, 28, 31 n. 49, 76, 518 n. 58; Rakatsanis, Tziafalias 2004, 18; Tziafalias, Helly 2010, 75, 84; Bouchon 2014, 499, 499-504; Decourt, Tziafalias 2016, 295-297.

240. Hammond 1989, 1-4; Hatzopoulos 1994a, 25-40, 121-122; 1994b, 249-250; 1998, 1196-1198; 2018, 315; 2020, 62-63.

241. Hes. *Cat.* (fr. 7 M-W); Strabo 9.5.12; Steph. *Byz.*, s.v. Βάλλα; Hatzopoulos 1996, 109 n. 8.

242. Kalléris 1976, 436-448, 454-455, 460-461; Hatzopoulos 1994b, 249-250; 2006, 46-51, 61-62; 2018, 300-301, 312-313; cf. Trümpy 1997, 218-220.

Macedonia.<sup>243</sup> In addition, archaeological investigations and recent studies of finds related to cults in Thessaly, Perrhaibia and Macedonia have contributed to better understanding of the presence of shared cults. For example, besides Thessaly and Macedonia, Ennodia, including her aspects as Ilias and Patroa, has been shown to have received cults from the fourth century onwards in Perrhaibia.<sup>244</sup> Also, Apollo Pythios, whose cult in Thessaly was a privileged milieu of interaction with Southern Greece through the Daphnephoreia rite, was also worshipped in many Perrhaibian cities, including an important cluster of cult activity in Pythoion, and in Upper Macedonia;<sup>245</sup> the god was depicted in the Archaic type of Kitharodos in all three regions.<sup>246</sup> Furthermore, it is I hope evident that the ritualized education of the youth on how to explore and prevail over the wild nature of the countryside under the protection of Herakles and their involvement in the safeguarding of civic territories were also a shared concern. The sixth-century votive plaque depicting a mounted horseman (possibly Herakles) surrounded by wild animals from the sanctuary of Herakles at Thessalian Pherai, the sixth-century monumental stone frieze depicting lions hunting a boar from Dendra in southern Perrhaibia, and the fifth-century mounted warrior-hunter on the coins issued by Alexander I illustrate that these affinities were also cutting across social status and were deeply rooted in both civic and royal contexts.<sup>247</sup> It is perhaps due to this common background that civic cults of Herakles, which eventually hosted his aspect of Kynagidas, displayed important continuity during and after royalty in Beroia, and most probably in Demetrias and Doliche.

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243. Hatzopoulos 1994a; 1994b, 249; 2006, 46-51, 61-62; also, Chatzinikolaou 2010, 210-215 (Ennodia); Kravaritou 2018 (cults and rites of passage).

244. Rakatsanis, Tziafalas 2004, 43-44, 60, 81-82, 81, 88.

245. Rakatsanis, Tziafalas 2004, 26-28, 57, 67-68, 72-75; Heinz 1998, 70, 102-105, A48-A50; Chatzinikolaou 2010, 205-206, fig. 19.

246. Heinz 1998, 69-71; Chatzinikolaou 2010, 205, fig. 19.

247. Stamelou 2019, 86 (plaque); Biesantz 1965, pl. 46 (frieze); Kremydi 2011, 207 (coins).

### **Summary**

Herakles was jointly perceived in Thessaly and Macedonia as the legendary progenitor and patron deity of the Macedonian royal *oikos* and Thessalian elite ruling families, while he was worshipped at many social levels and contexts. This paper discusses the nature and role of Herakles' cult, also in his capacity as Kynagidas, in the sacred landscape and socio-political milieu of the east and north Thessalian *perioikoi* from the fourth to the second century, when significant parts of both *perioikic* regions became officially annexed to Macedonia and eventually passed under the jurisdiction of the local *Koina*. Documents of the royal chancery, public resolutions, private and collective dedications corroborate literary and archaeological evidence, and showcase a prominent cult which was deeply rooted in both civic and royal contexts.

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Fig. 1. Map showing the sites in the area of the harbour in the Pagasetic gulf discussed in this paper (source: author, adapted from Google Earth).



Fig. 2. Map showing the sites in Perrhaibian Tripolis discussed in this paper (source: author, adapted from Google Earth).



Fig. 3. Letter of Antipatros referring to the royal *diagramma* of Philip V from the theatre of Demetrias. (Volos Museum, inventory number: BE 44887) (photo: author).



Fig. 4a. Inscribed altar from Demetrias. Side A. Dedicatory inscription to Herakles (Volos Museum, inventory number: BE 694) (photo: author).

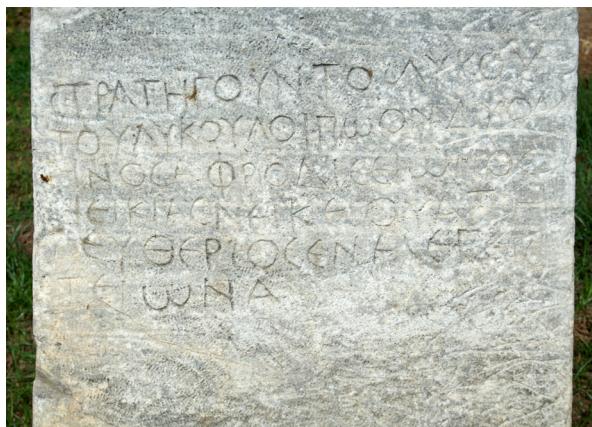


Fig. 4b. Inscribed altar from Demetrias. Side B. Manumission acts (Volos Museum, inventory number: BE 694). Imperial period (photo: author).

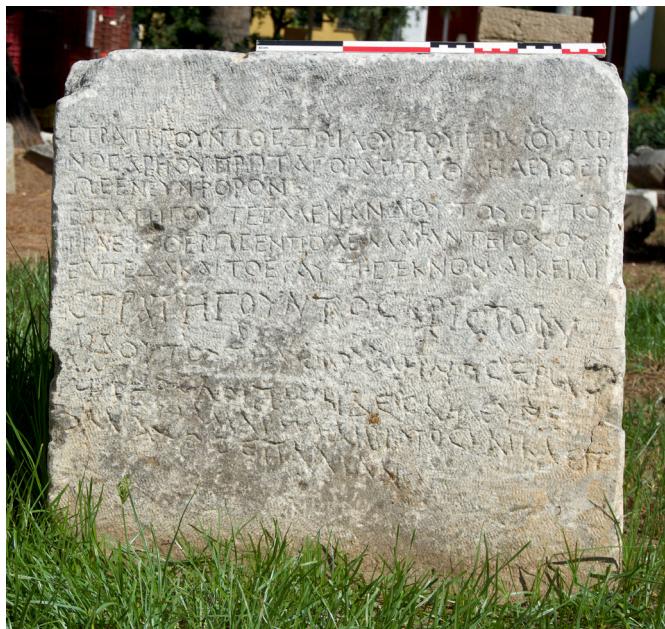


Fig. 4c. Inscribed altar from Demetrias. Side C. Manumission acts. (Volos Museum, inventory number: BE 694) Manumission acts. Imperial period (photo: author).

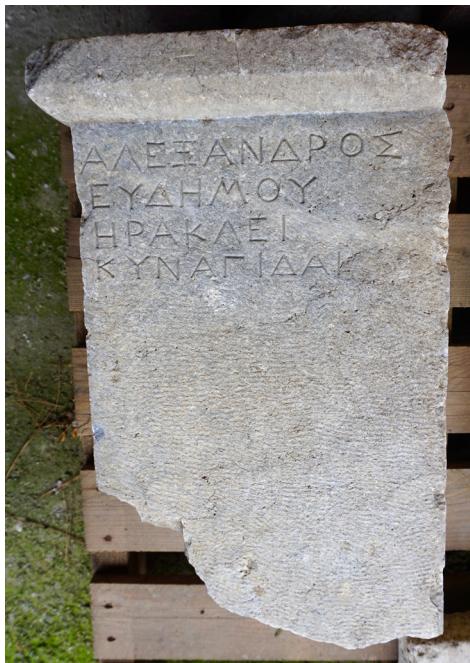


Fig. 5a. Inscription I from Kastri Livadiou (Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa, inventory number: BE 2033) (photo: author).



Fig. 5b. Inscription I from Kastri Livadiou (Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa, inventory number: BE 2033) (photo: Stamatopoulou 2013, fig. 74).



Fig. 6. Inscription II from Kastri Livadiou (Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa, inventory number: BE 2032) (photo: author).



Fig. 7. Inscription III from Kastri Livadiou (photo: Festival 2, 19).

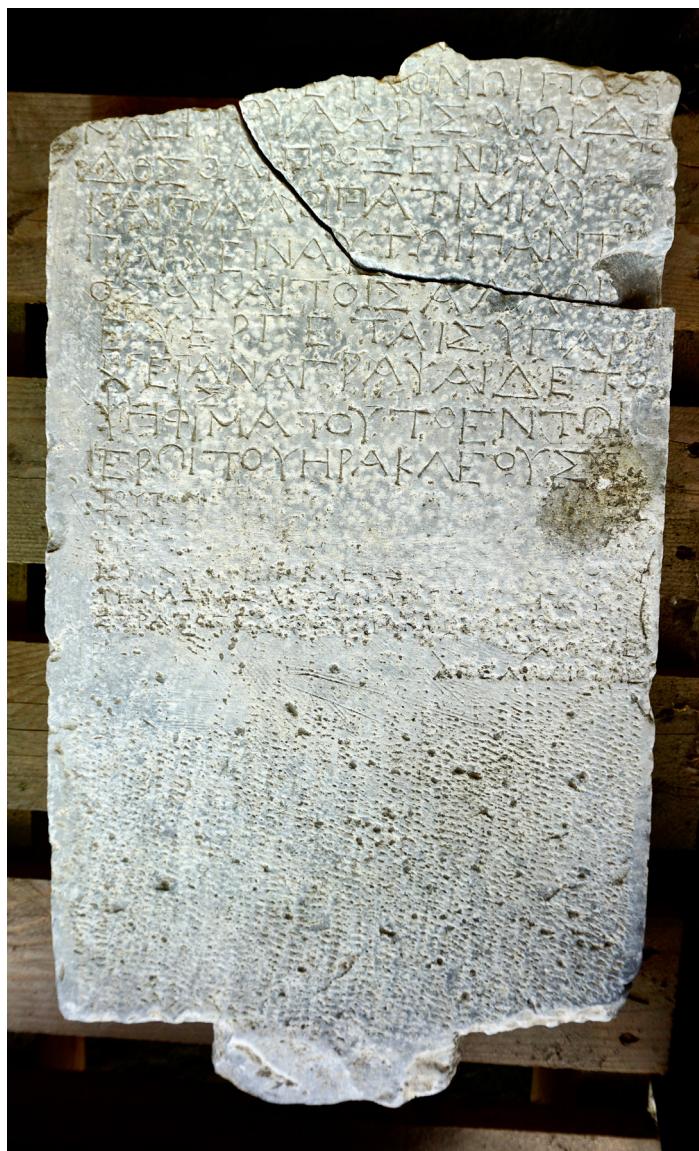


Fig. 8. Inscription IVb from Kastri Livadiou (Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa, inventory number: BE 2031) (photo: author).



Fig. 9. Inscription from Sarantaporo (Elassona Collection of Antiquities; inventory number E 158) (photo: author).

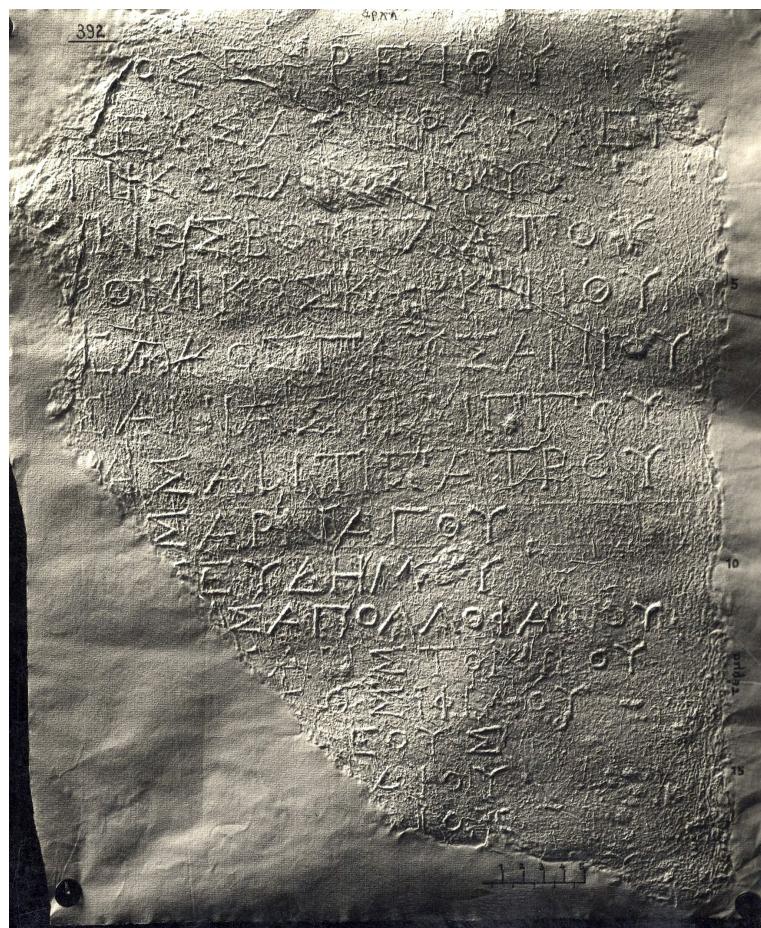


Fig. 10. Inscription I from Topolani (photo: Arvanitopoulos 1924, 149, fig. 5).

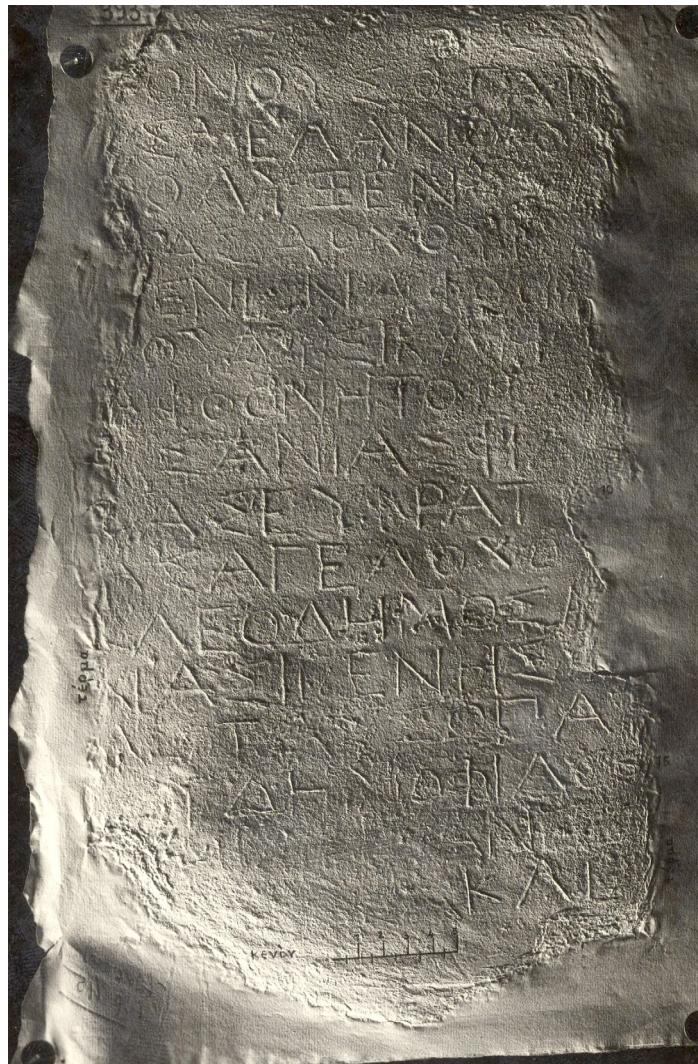


Fig. 11. Inscription II from Topoliani (photo: Arvanitopoulos 1924, 150, fig. 6).

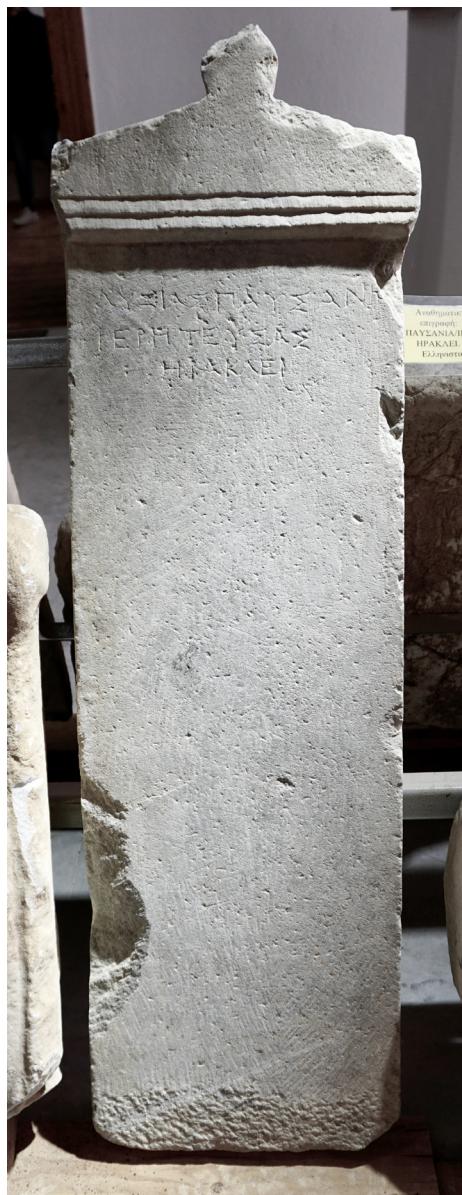


Fig. 12. Inscription of unknown provenance (Elassona Collection of Antiquities, inventory number E71) (photo: author).