

A tale of two Homers

The discovery and significance of dedications to Homer in Farsala (ancient Pharsalos), Thessaly

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ABSTRACT

Governmental reports of the late 19th century, kept in the National Archive of Monuments in Athens, contain information regarding the discovery and protection of antiquities in the region of Thessaly. Among these documents are the records detailing the fate of two inscribed statue bases, with dedications to Homer, found in the town of Farsala (ancient Pharsalos) in 1882 and 1886. Due to infrastructural challenges and episodes of military instability, the two bases were mistakenly published as a single object and have until now been treated as such. The historical sources, the two inscribed bases, and the implications of Homeric monuments in ancient Pharsalos, are presented here, together with the text of the key source documents. In an appendix, a base for a bust of Homer found 1909 in Larissa is also presented.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of the study of archival material for Greek archaeology has become more and more evident in the recent decades, much due to several important archives becoming increasingly accessible to the scholarly public. Large digitisation efforts are underway, including of the archives of several archaeologists and travellers active in Greece in the 19th and early 20th centuries, such as those of Habbo G. Lolling, Alan J.B. Wace and Heinrich Schliemann. Less well-known are the materials left by the many Greek governmental officials, who worked in obscurity to safeguard the cultural heritage of their country. These pioneers not only included educated archaeologists, but also 'amateurs' –regional governors, schoolmasters, and journalists– employed by the central authorities as local superintendents (*eforoi*) or curators (*epimelites*) of antiquities. Much of their correspondence and reports to the central authorities in Athens are preserved and curated by the Directorate for the Management of the National Archive of Monuments (ΔΔΕΑΜ) in Athens, whose archives contain innumerable documents dating from the second half of the 19th century onwards.

One collection in this archive houses the correspondence of the regional authorities and local curators of antiquities in the region of Thessaly from the period immediately after the annexation of the region in 1881 until the end of the century (Batziou 2021). Some of these documents contain information regarding the discovery of antiquities in the region, which have hitherto escaped the notice of scholars, including information as to their find-spots and eventual fate. Among these documents is a report of the discovery of a dedication to Homer in the small town of Farsala, ancient Pharsalos, in 1882/1883. This inscription was published the same year as its discovery and is known to be still preserved in the Diachronic Museum of Larissa. However, the archival

documents contain clues showing that the preserved inscription is most probably not the same as the one found in 1882/1883, but another with a near-identical text, found a few years later, in 1886. In this article, I present the evidence supporting the identification of two separate inscriptions and the probable reasons behind the confusion of the two, and discuss the possible meaning of multiple dedications to Homer in ancient Pharsalos.

THE DISCOVERY AND FATE OF INSCRIPTION A

The Convention of Constantinople of 2 July 1881 granted most of the historical region of Thessaly to the Kingdom of Greece, giving Western scholars more access to this then less-known part of the mainland. Previously, permit of access to the region had to be acquired from the Porte in Constantinople, and often required that a governmental official should accompany the scholar throughout the journey. Among the first to grasp the new opportunity of freer access following the formal incorporation of the region on 31 August [O.S.] the same year, was the French historian and epigraphist Paul Monceaux (1859–1941), who travelled through much of the area during a few months of 1882. Monceaux published his epigraphic discoveries in a catalog in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* the following year, and later also a travelogue in the illustrated popular journal *Le tour du monde* (Monceaux 1883; 1887). Despite being only 23 years old at the time, he was a thorough scholar who not only copied the texts of the inscriptions, but also their letter-shapes, which he duly reproduced in his catalog. In his 1887 account of his brief stay in the small town of Farsala –ancient Pharsalos– he outlines in romantic overtones how he in the company of some colorful locals discovered a large slab (“*une large dalle*”), which he, from an inscription on one of the sides of the stone, recognized as the base of a statue of Homer (Monceaux 1887, 422):

[Ο]μηρον Φαρσαλίων
ἡ πόλις

The base was shown to Monceaux in the overgrown garden of a mosque “next to the main square” (Monceaux 1883, 51), the latter presently known as the Plateia Laou in central Farsala. The only mosque adjacent to the square was the Kurşunlu Camii (“The lead-covered mosque”), also known to the Greek-speaking population as the Mega Tzami (“Great Mosque”, where Friedrich Stählin also claims the stone was found; Stählin 1924, 141 note 3). The Kurşunlu Camii was –together with the Fatih Camii (Greek Kato Tzami, e.g. “Lower Mosque”, demolished in 1953 and its location is the same the present church of Agia Paraskevi, see Konuk 2016, 508), the Beyzade Ali Ağa Camii, and the Yeni Camii (“New Mosque”)– one of the remaining four mosques of Farsala at the time (Fig. 1), and an important landmark in the town (Fig. 2). Its position was at 360438/4350295 [GGRS87], presently at the south-eastern corner of Odos 28 Oktovriou and Odos Patroklo. It contained spoliated material from a Doric temple (Archaic?) and served in 1910 as the garden of one Mr Papafotis (Arvanitopoulos 1911a, 181). It became derelict sometime in the early 20th century (Fig. 3) and was used as a storeroom until its eventual demolition in the 1960s.

The exact date of Monceaux’s visit to Farsala in 1882 is not known, but Lolling visited the town on 20–21 March [O.S.?] the same year and did not make any note of this inscription (Lolling 1, 30–1). Whether this indicates that the stone had not yet been found at this point, or that it had already disappeared, cannot be determined.

In the following year, the police superintendent (*astynomos*) in Farsala, one “G. Kalliaras”, submitted several reports to the Regional Government in Larissa regarding the antiquities found within his area of jurisdiction (Rönnlund and Kalogerini Samouri 2024, 85). Whether or not this action was prompted by the publication of Monceaux’s discoveries is not known, but it is evident from the communications that he had been ordered to

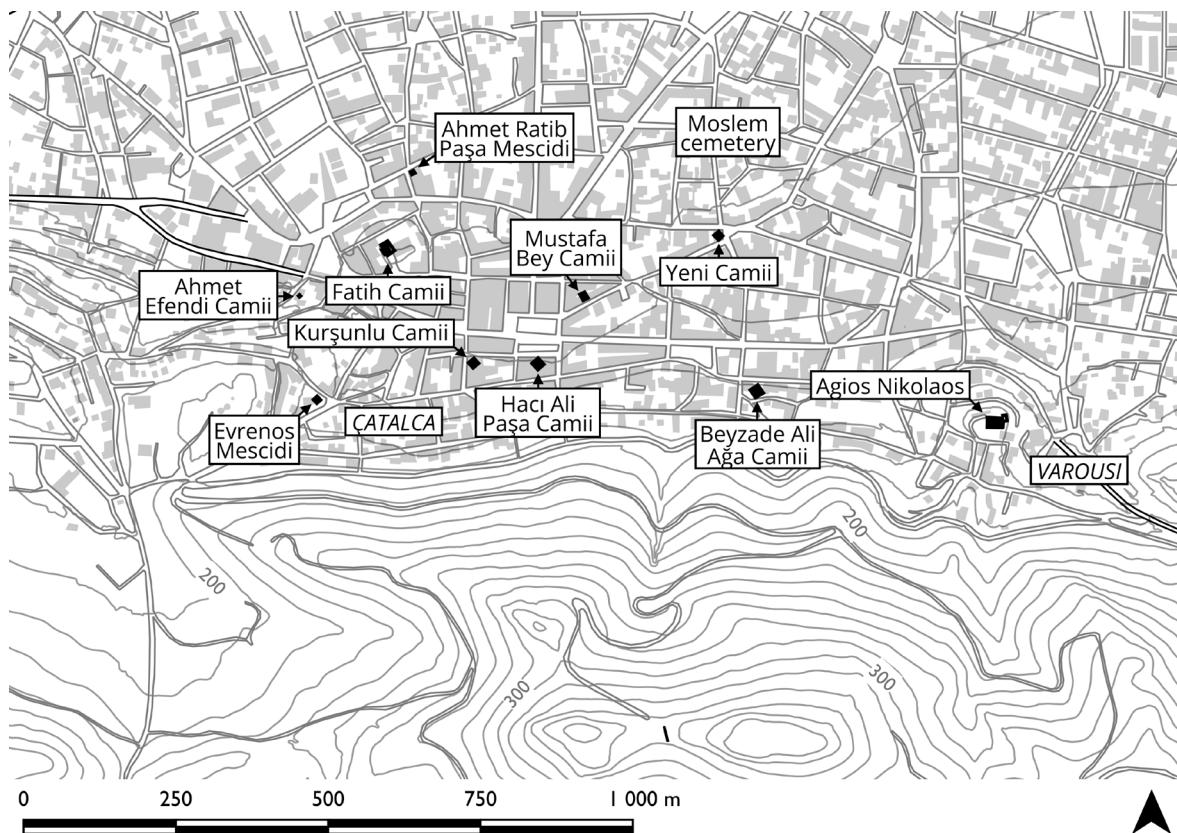


Fig. 1: Present-day Farsala with the 19th century locations of mosques, *mescitler* and churches (map by author).

report on any archaeological discoveries in the area. On 13 February [O.S.] 1883, Kalliaras sent a single-page report regarding four inscribed stones that he had found within Farsala (*Kalliaras 1*, transcription in Appendix 1.1). Kalliaras provided sketches of the four inscriptions on a separate sheet (Fig. 4), showing what would later be known as the *IG IX,2 237, 238 and 240*, as well as the same inscription as discovered by Monceaux the previous year (second from top). The former three had previously been published by Johan Louis Ussing (1847a, 269–70; 1847b, 9–10 no. 3 [recorded in 1846]) and by Léon Heuzey and Honoré Daumet (1876, 429 nos 202; 204; 205 [recorded in 1861]).

Kalliaras's sketch depicts the second stone as a long rectangular slab with three dowel holes. A margin-note states that this inscription and the one drawn above it were “slabs of one and a half meters length, maybe used as bases of statues” (“Πλάκες ἐν ἥμισυ μέτρου μῆκος χρησιμεύονται ἵσως ὡς βάθρα ἀγαλμάτων”). A transcription of the inscription is drawn on one of the short sides of the stone:

..ΜΗΡΟΝΦΑΡΣΑΛΙ

ΩΝΗΠΟΛΙΣ

The description shows that the stone, with all probability, was the same as the one seen by Monceaux some months previously. However, Kalliaras was not a trained epigraphist. The line break is differently placed in the middle of the word Φαρσαλίων, and the drawing has much the resemblance of a schematic representation than an exact likeness. That his drawings were *overall* faithful, however, can be ascertained by comparing the third stone depicted (no. 4 in the drawing, second from bottom) with the original. This is still preserved at the church of Agios Nikolaos in Farsala (mistakenly listed as lost in Decourt 1995), and has a similar appearance to Kalliaras's drawing, but again with the incorrect line breaks (see Rönnlund and Kalogerini Samouri 2024, 89).

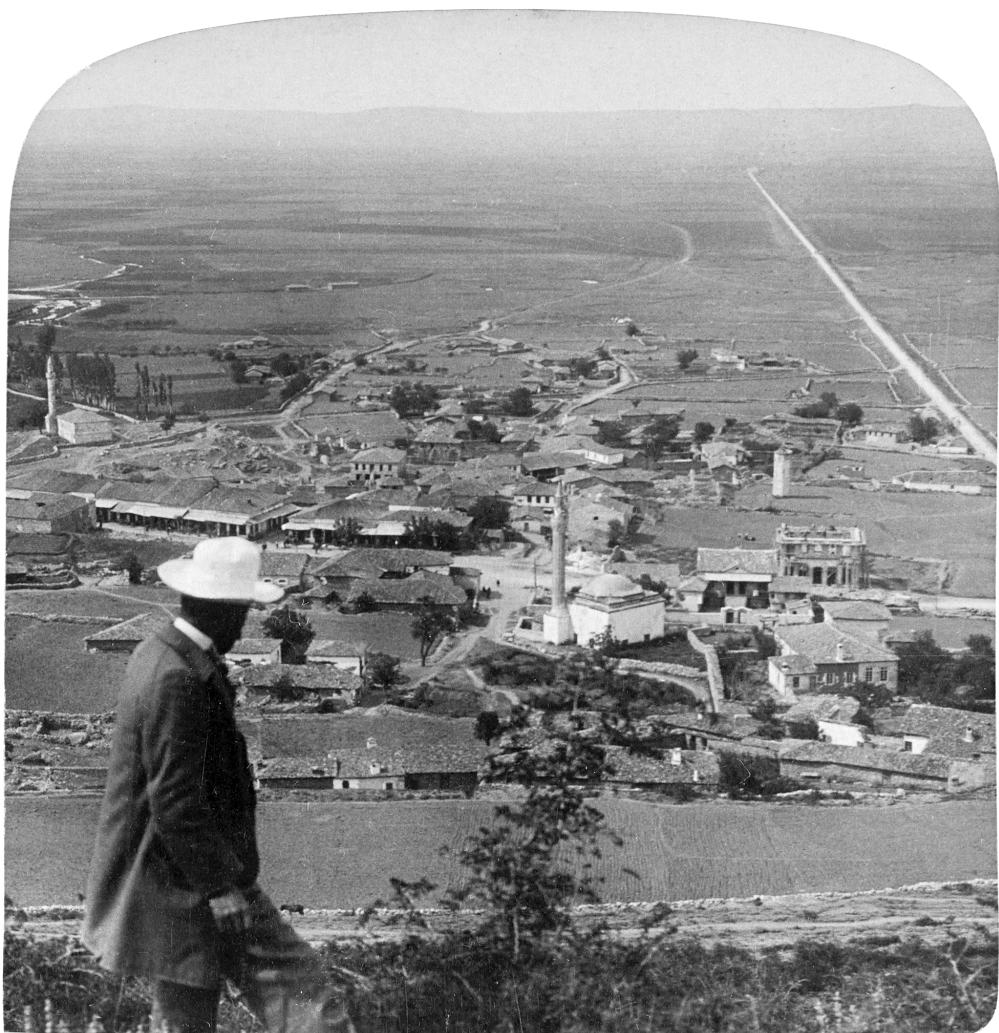


Fig. 2: Farsala. Left frame of stereoscopic photograph by Bert Underwood (1862–1943) or Elmer Underwood (1859–1947) published in 1903 (original glass plates kept in the Smithsonian Institution, Underwood & Underwood Glass Stereograph Collection, RSN 13950–13952) and probably taken at the beginning of the 1897 Turkish–Greek war. The Kurşunlu Camii at center and the Fatih Camii at left edge, both with minarets. Retrieved from the United States of America Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2020680965/> (photograph in the public domain).



Fig. 3: The derelict Kurşunlu Camii, Farsala, at the middle of the 20th century. Photograph by unknown photographer in the archives of A. Bakalexis, Farsala (published with permission).

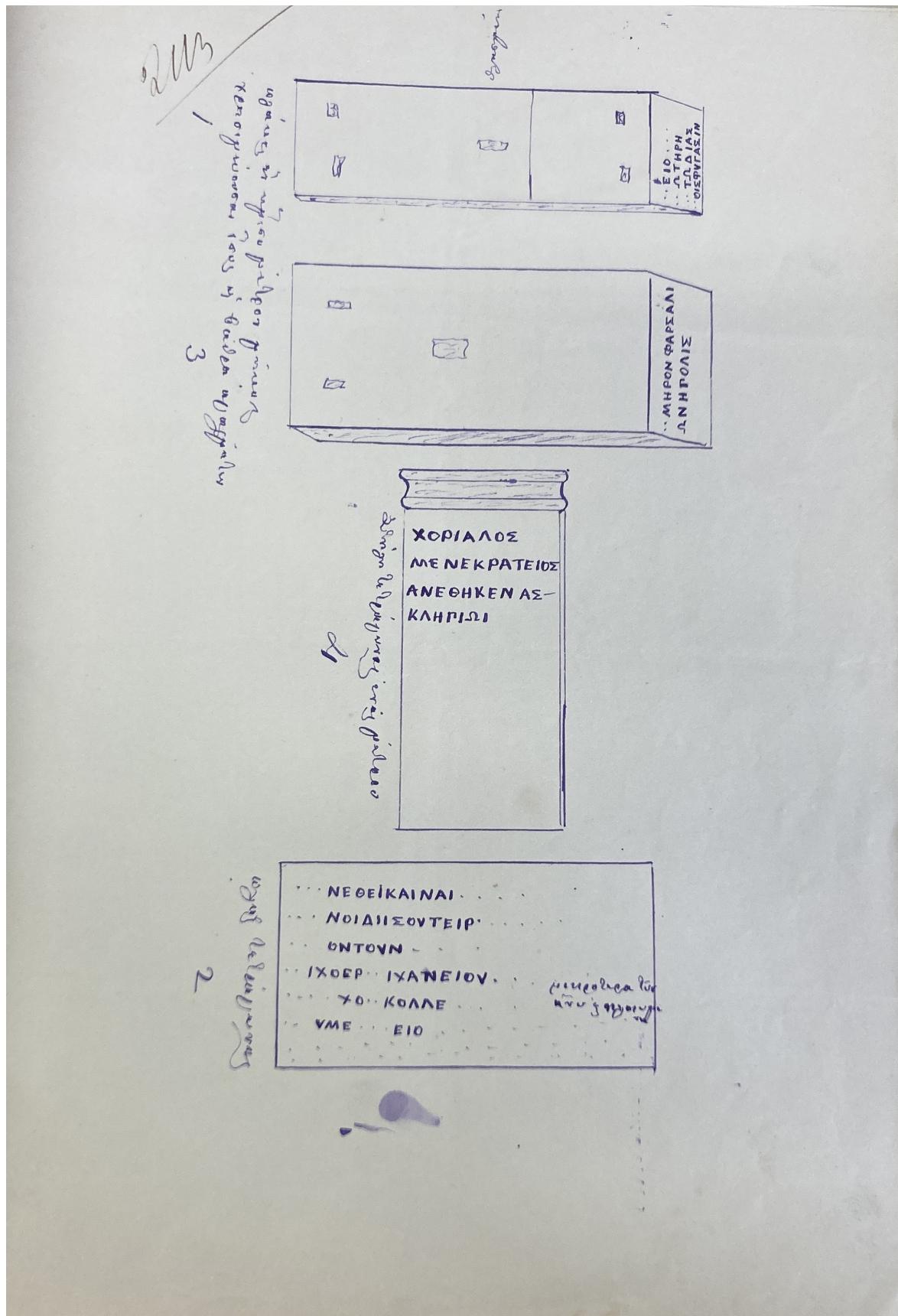


Fig. 4: Drawing of inscriptions attached to letter from the policeman G. Kalliaras in Farsala to the Regional Governor in Larissa (Kalliaras 1). From top: IG IX,2 238; Inscription A; IG IX,2 240; 237. Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture – Directorate for the Administration of the National Archive of Monuments – Department for the Administration of the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations (published with permission).

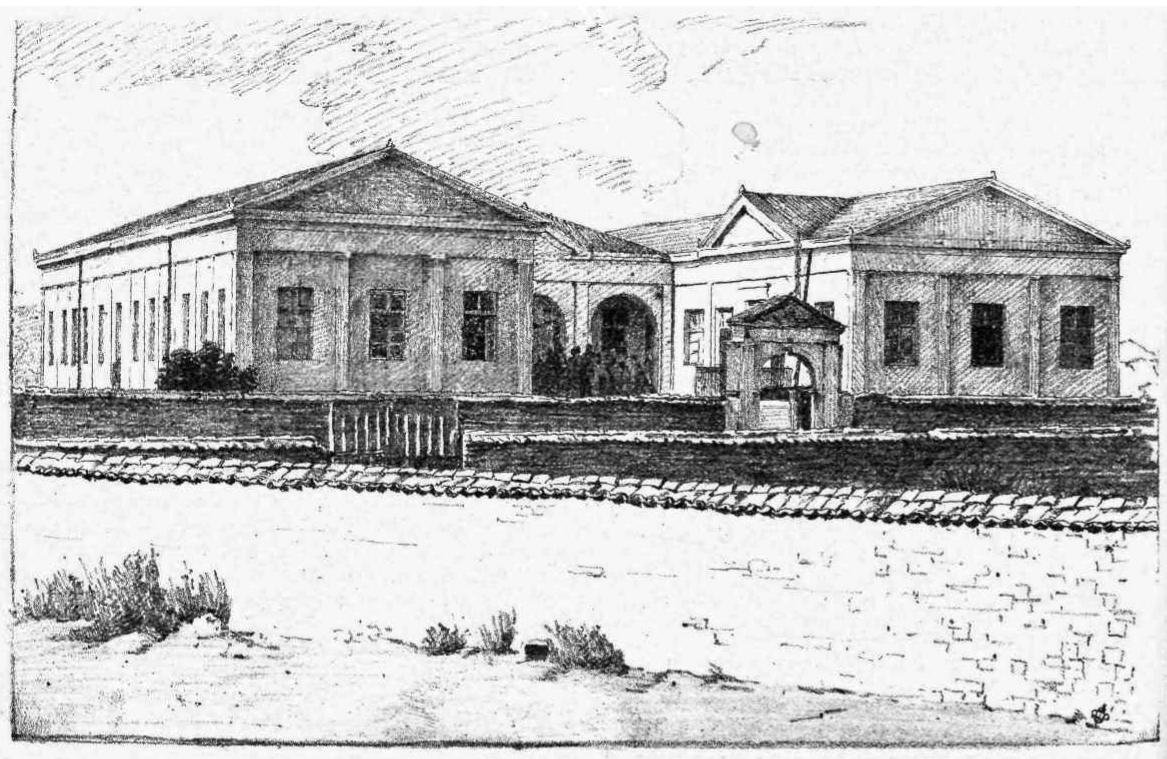


Fig. 5: The Larissa Didaskaleion, captioned as the “Military Hospital of Larissa”. Gravure from photograph published in the 22 June [O.S.] 1886 issue of *To Asty*. The view is probably of its northern (back) façade facing Odos Kouma, the original photograph taken from Leoforos Mega Alexandrou towards southwest. The “Museum” must have been located immediately to the left of the building, outside of the frame (image in the public domain).

The regional governor of Larissa at the time, Theocharis V. Theocharis, forwarded Kalliaras's report to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education in Athens on 18 February [O.S.] the same day, accompanied with a letter stating that he had ordered the policeman to seize the inscriptions and store them (temporarily?) in the townhall (Dimarcheion) of Farsala (*Theocharis 1*). Kalliaras's report suggests that in the months following Monceaux's visit, the stone had been moved from its location at the mosque to be used as a step in a private Moslem (“Ottoman”) house. This, in combination with the large size of the base, must have hampered any attempt at moving it to the townhall, and it is probable that the stone remained where it had been drawn. Similarly, the inscription at the church of Agios Nikolaos remained where it was (possibly taken out of the gate after the 1954 earthquake?), the inscription marked 1 was lost, and only the inscription marked 2 eventually ended up in Larissa (see below). Regional Governor Theocharis forwarded two more reports by the police superintendent in a similar way (*Theocharis 2, 3*), but there are no further preserved reports by Kalliaras after the spring of 1883, and it is possible that he was stationed elsewhere from that time on.

THE ANTIQUITIES COLLECTIONS IN LARISSA IN THE 1880s–1890s

It was probably the intention by the Regional Governor Theocharis that the inscriptions reported by Kalliaras were to be moved to the regional capital of Larissa, some 40 km to the north, where a central antiquities storage had been established in the years following the incorporation of Thessaly. Antiquities had already in 1882 started to amass in the front yard of the Larissa Nomarcheion (the Regional Government building) and at the nearby Didaskaleion. The Nomarcheion was a Neoclassical structure constructed in 1874 (then known in Turkish as the *Konak*), prior to the incorporation of Thessaly. It was located at the Central Square of Larissa and was destroyed in a fire in 1905 (Helly et al. 2012, 482–83). The Didaskaleion (Fig. 5) was roughly contemporary



Fig. 6: Eleftherios T. Kousis c. 1913. Photograph by unknown in Kousis 1913–1914, 83 (photograph in the public domain).

with the Nomarcheion and was destroyed in the earthquake of 1 March 1941 (Karnava 2005; Helly et al. 2012, 483). It housed the teachers' seminar of Larissa and was a larger building with two wings, situated just south of what is now the Plateia Dikastirou, facing Odos Papakyriazi (363952/4388420 [GGRS87]). The antiquities were at this time kept outdoors in its yard. This temporary storage situation was soon unmaintainable; the general secretary of the Archaeological Society in Athens, Stefanos A. Koumanoudis (1818–1899), reported in 1883 that 166 sculptures and inscriptions had been collected in the Didaskaleion yard, and that the regional governor Theocharis had consequently commissioned a separate adjacent building to house the antiquities (Koumanoudis 1882, 20–2; see also Gallis 1979, 3). The construction was apparently completed in the following year, according to a later report by Koumanoudis (1883, 17), possibly delayed by the difficult floods of October 1883. The storage building was to be known as the “Museum” (*mouseion*), and was a small shed-like structure (*oikiskos*) in the north-eastern corner of the yard of the Didaskaleion (the structure is still visible in an aerial photograph of c. 1940).

In 1885, two years after the construction of the “Museum”, the recently installed Ephor of Antiquities of Larissa, the Pontic Greek schoolmaster (*gymnasiarchis*) Eleftherios T. Kousis (1843–1921; Fig. 6) made his first inspection of the Didaskaleion premises on 15 November [O.S.]. The Didaskaleion main building had the previous days been commandeered by the army to be used as a military hospital; the 1885 unification of Bulgaria had led to political upheaval in the Balkans, and the Greek Prime Minister Theodoros Diligiannis had ordered mobilisation on 25 September [O.S.], prompting an acute need for new military infrastructure. Arriving at the Didaskaleion, Kousis discovered that all the antiquities stored in the “Museum” had been taken out of the building and thrown in the courtyard. Broken pieces of inscribed stones and other marbles lay in piles on the ground; Kousis counted at least ten destroyed inscriptions and suspected that further damaged ones would be found if a closer inspection could be done. The destruction had been caused through the order by the armed forces to convert the “Museum” into a pharmacy and anatomy theater serving the temporary hospital, and since the stones took up most of the small building, the “useless and lowly stones” had consequently been “hurled” into the courtyard by the soldiers. In his report to the Ministry lamenting the situation (*Kousis 1*, full text in Appendix 1.2), Kousis implored the central authorities to help rectify the situation by providing funds for another temporary storage location, so that he could take proper care of the artifacts and create an inventory of them.

The situation was apparently not resolved soon, possibly due to the poor national economic situation caused by the hasty mobilisation and subsequent international blockade of Greek ports. The Didaskaleion was still in the hands of the military in the summer of 1886, and featured as a military hospital in a Greek journal in June (*To Asty*, 22 June [O.S.] 1886). Later in the summer, Kousis was informed by the recently appointed General Ephor of Antiquities Panagiotis Kavvadias (1850–1928) that –following the resignation of Prime Minister Diligiannis, the ensuing demobilisation, and the end of blockade– the Ministry of Defense had decommissioned the building. He was now instructed to re-organize the antiquities collection (*Kavvadias 1*). Kousis wrote back, informing the General Ephorate that the work would require substantial funds, as the “Museum” needed to be refurbished and finds needed to be moved and cleaned (*Kousis 3*). The state of the Didaskaleion building was apparently not good after its use by the Army, as Kousis urgently telegraphed Athens a few days later that the municipal planning agency had been forced to tear down a wall in the building, and that there was a risk of collapse and danger for the antiquities (*Kousis 4*). On 2 September [O.S.], the General Ephor of Antiquities Kavvadias sent a reply by telegram, asking Kousis for an estimation of the expenses to sort the situation (*Kavvadias 2*). Kousis responded two days later that he had in vain tried to get offers from several contractors, but would continue his enquiries (*Kousis 5*). Finally, on 9 September [O.S.], the General Ephorate responded that they would grant him 80 drachmas for the purpose of solving the situation (*Kavvadias 3*). This was not enough, as Kousis wrote again to the General Ephorate on 14 September [O.S.] informing them of the problems moving the large and bulky items (including a sarcophagus) in the collection, which would bring additional costs (*Kousis 6*). The final outcome of this ordeal is not known, but on 9 October [O.S.] of the same year, the new Regional Governor, Ioannis Kondakis, sent a request to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education for further funds for Kousis to re-arrange the antiquities collection in the Didaskaleion (*Kondakis 3*). No reply is preserved in the archives. On 17–18 November [N.S.] (= 5–6 November [O.S.]), the Swedish traveller Julius Centerwall (1844–1923) visited his friend Kousis in Larissa, who showed him the antiquities collections in the city (Centerwall 1888, 310–12, excerpt with translation in Appendix 1.5). At this time, some antiquities were still stored at the Nomarcheion, and several reliefs were in the yard of the Gymnasium (= Didaskaleion). The Nomarcheion antiquities were only to be moved in the following year (see below), and Kousis was to take up positions as *kathigitis* and *gymnasiarchis* in other cities in Thessaly and beyond before moving back to Asia Minor and finally die in Constantinople (Kaïsidis 1992, 140).

Several years later, in April of 1892, the new Ephor of Antiquities Nikolaos Chatzigogidis wrote to the General Ephorate deplored the ongoing difficult situation for antiquities in Larissa. The *oikiskos* at the Didaskaleion was not suitable for the protection of the antiquities, as exemplified by a “German archaeologist” breaking into it, making an unauthorized copy of an inscription, which he had subsequently published (*Chatzigogidis 1*; cited in Batziou 2021, 180. The archaeologist was most probably Lolling, who had published the inscription in question, see Rönnlund 2024, 10–3).

When the Italian and Russian scholars Gaetano de Sanctis and Yevgeny Pridik visited Larissa in September of 1895 (Pridik 1896; De Sanctis 1898, 14–5), they were under the impression that the Didaskaleion was being renovated, as the inscriptions of the collection were kept in heaps in the yard together with the construction rubble. It is probable that this was just the same situation as previous years, and not the result of a restoration. De Sanctis lamented much the state of the collection and that a museum inventory catalog compiled by the (former) Ephor Kousis was no longer to be found. That improvement work was continuously slow was to be expected, however, due to the financial situation. Greece had been declared bankrupt two years earlier and public finances probably did not allow much spending on regional archaeological infrastructure.

The 1897 Turkish-Greek War (known in Greece as “The Unfortunate War” or “Black ‘97”) brought the next destructive event. Chasing the fleeing Greek army after the Battle of Tyrnavos, Ottoman troops took Larissa without resistance on 13 April [O.S.] 1897. The Greek population of the city had fled, and only the Jewish and Turkish inhabitants remained in their houses. The inmates of the Larissa prison had been released as the final act of the evacuating Greek officials, and the convicts were, according to a French journalist, thoroughly looting the empty houses and vandalising property (Mille 1897, 627–28). Newspaper reports later that same year stated



Fig. 7: The antiquities storage at the Larissa Bezesteni in 1910. Photograph in Anonymous 1911, 38 (photograph in the public domain).

that not only had the Didaskaleion collection been vandalized (Karnava 2005, 237, 252 citing the newspaper *Olympos* of 5 July [O.S.] 1898), but the Turkish army had also looted archaeological storerooms in the region, taking antiquities as war booty to Constantinople, prompting protests from foreign dignitaries stationed in the region (*Paliggenesia*, 7 December [O.S.] 1897, 3). The Greek population of Constantinople also voiced protests to the Porte at the arrival of the antiquities to the city, which in turn prompted protests from the Greek government (*Paliggenesia*, 12 December [O.S.] 1897, 4). Of the Thessalian objects taken to Constantinople, at least one ended up in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (a bust of Ga Pantareta from ancient Atrax; Mendel 1914, 349 no. 609 [inv. no. 898]). The fate of the other objects –and their number– is unknown.

The German epigraphist Otto Kern (1863–1942) visited Larissa in 1898 and 1899 (*To Asty*, 15 August [O.S.] 1899; *Akropolis*, 15 August [O.S.] 1899) to record inscriptions for the upcoming issue of *Inscriptiones Graecae*. The vast majority (over 330) of the inscriptions that he recorded in the city were stored in the “Museum” (“in museo”), with only 15 kept inside the actual Didaskaleion building. Kern noted that three inscriptions kept in the Museum had suffered damages from the tumult of the 1897 war, but did not note any other damaged items nor other destructive events (Kern 1908, 122: “Quod damnum inscriptiones in tumultu a. 1897 ceperint tituli n. 506. 507. 515 docent, quorum textum e Dürrbachii Pridikii aliorum exemplaribus constituere malui quam ex ectypis et apographis meis.”).

Around 10 years later, the new Ephor of Antiquities Apostolos S. Arvanitopoulos (1874–1942; Stamatopoulou 2010, 2012) initiated a radical and long-awaited improvement of the situation by moving all antiquities to roofed spaces around the perimeter wall of the Ottoman-period Market or Bezesteni (Fig. 7) on the acropolis (*Frourio*) of the city (Anonymous 1911). The location is still in use as a lapidarium more than a hundred years later, with more delicate objects kept in the Diachronic Museum.

<p>(1) ΑΡΓΕΙΑ ΜΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ ΥΠΕΡΤΠΑΙΔΟΣ ΤΟ ΔΑΓΑΛΜΑ ΕΥΧΑΤΟ ΔΑΓΕΤΟΡ <u>ΛΑΣΤΙΚΑ Ι ΕΝΟΔΙΑ Ι</u></p>	<p>(3) <u>ΜΗΡΩΝ ΦΑΡΣΑΛΙΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ</u></p>
	<p>(4) <u>ΓΟΡΓΩΝ---Α ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ</u></p>
	<p>(5) <u>ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ</u> <u>ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ</u> <u>ΗΡΩΣ</u></p>
<p>(2) <u>ΑΝΕΘΕΙΚΑΙΝ</u> <u>ΝΟΙΔΗΣΟΥΤΕΙΡΙ</u> <u>ΥΟΝ ΤΟΥΝ</u> <u>ΝΑΟΣ ΚΛΙΧΑΝΕΙΟΥ</u> <u>ΜΑΧΟΥ ΣΚΟΛΑΕΙΟΥ</u> <u>ΕΔΟΣΑΣ ΤΟΝΘΕΙΟΥ</u> <u>ΟΥΜΕΙΝΕΙΟΥ</u> <u>ΟΧΟΥ Α ΚΛΟΝΙΚΕΙΟΥ</u></p>	<p>(7) <u>ΑΝΙΣΚΟΙ</u> <u>ΚΟΝΤΑΥΣΑΝΙΩΝ</u> <u>ΑΣΙΑΡΧΗΣΑΝΤΑ</u></p>
	<p>(6) <u>ΛΑΜΙΑΤΕΙΜΩΝΑ</u> <u>ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ</u> <u>ΝΕΑΥΤΗΣ Α</u> <u>ΝΔΡΑ ΗΡΩΣ</u> <u>ΧΑΙΡΕ</u></p>

Fig. 8: Transcription of seven inscriptions stored in the Larissa Nomarcheion, attached to a letter (*Kondakis 2*) by Regional Governor Ioannis Kondakis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities. 1: *IG IX,2 757*. 2: *IG IX,2 237*. 3: *IG IX,2 246*. 4: *IG IX,2 593*. 5: *IG IX,2 808*. 6: *IG IX,2 908*. 7: *IG IX,2 621*. Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture – Directorate for the Administration of the National Archive of Monuments – Department for the Administration of the Historical Archive of Antiquities and Restorations (published with permission).

THE DISCOVERY AND FATE OF INSCRIPTION B

With the history of the antiquities collection in Larissa in mind, we now turn to the second inscription discussed in this article. Towards the end of September 1886 and following the demobilisation, the aforementioned Regional Governor of Larissa Kondakis travelled to Farsala to personally collect an ancient marble head, which had been found in the town. Similarly to his predecessor Theocharis, Kondakis had a long career of moving between posts of regional authority. He acted as regional governor and regional secretary for short durations in several regions in the last decades of the 19th and the first of the 20th century. As Koumanoudis (1883, 17–8) described him, he was “known [to the Archaeological Society] for his love of antiquities” (my translation) and had assisted in excavations in the Argolid and in Phocis (Zachos 2021, 373, note 81). In a telegram of 28 September [O.S.] to the Ministry, he states that he had brought the marble head (which he interpreted as belonging to a herm) from Farsala to Larissa together with two “uninscribed” (sic! = inscribed) stones, which had been kept in Farsala (*Kondakis 1*, full transcription in Appendix 1.3). Some days later, he sent a longer report by mail to the General Ephorate (*Kondakis 2*, full transcription in Appendix 1.4), in which he presented the finds together with other artifacts from various parts of Larissa, which he had been forced to keep in the Nomarcheion waiting for the Didaskaleion to be available for storage again. Accompanying the report was a drawing of the seven inscriptions that Kondakis referred to in his text (Fig. 8), all but one known from previous or contemporaneous publications. Kondakis stated that two of the inscriptions (nos. 2 and 3) were brought from Farsala, the first of which clearly the inscribed base labelled no. 2 in Kalliaras’s 1883 report (bottommost in Fig. 4; Heuzey and Daumet 1876, 428 no. 202; later published as the *IG IX,2 237* and Decourt 1995, 77–8 no. 60).

The second inscription from Farsala (no. 3 in Kondakis’s report) –the Inscription B of this article– is described as “a base made of grey stone, length 0.85, width 0.60 and height 0.32” (my translation). According to the drawing, it carried the inscription:



Fig. 9: Otto Kern's (1908) schematic drawing of the *IG IX,2 246* (image in public domain).

.....ΜΗΡΟΝ ΦΑΡΣΑΛΙΩΝ Η ΠΟΛΙΣ

This inscription would have been identical with that of Monceaux and Kalliaras had it not been for it being distinctly drawn on *one* line. Kondakis's transcriptions of the inscriptions (judging from a comparison with their respective published texts and photographs) are faithful when it comes to line breaks (even if he inserted his own word divisions), and he remarks in his letter that he had “[copied] the inscriptions with as much accuracy as [his] lack of expertise in such matters would allow” (Kondakis 2, my translation). There is consequently no overt reason to question the overall accuracy of the transcription. Kondakis's measurements of the stone brought to the Larissa Nomarcheion also differ substantially from Kalliaras's estimation of the length of the stone used as a step in Farsala (1.5 m). Whereas the latter was –in the words of Monceaux and depiction by Kalliaras– a large, long slab with an inscription on *two* lines, the stone brought to Larissa by Kondakis was a much smaller near-square base with an inscription on *one* line. These facts strongly suggest that the statue base brought to Larissa in 1886 (Inscription B) was different to that found in Farsala in 1882 (Inscription A).

On 28 February [O.S.] 1887, Kondakis informed the General Ephorate that the inscriptions that had been stored temporarily in the forecourt of the Nomarcheion had now been moved to the archaeological museum of the Municipality of Larissa (Kondakis 4). Whether this was the same as the *oikiskos* in the Didaskaleion back yard is unknown, as is the fate of the artifacts thrown into the yard. However, Wilhelm Larfeld (1858–1929), visiting in the same year, states that the municipal collection of antiquities in Larissa was still kept in the court-yard of the building “known as either the *gymnasion* or Didaskaleion” (my translation), indicating that the “Museum” had yet not been fully re-employed for this purpose (Larfeld 1887, 512).

When Kern came to Larissa after the 1897 war, most inscriptions were stored in the Museum, as outlined above. However, the two stones brought from Farsala by Kondakis were among the 15 inscriptions kept *inside* the Didaskaleion building, indicating that they had been moved there at a separate point in time. Among these was a relatively small stone, according to Kern a base of light-blue marble measuring 25 cm in height and 46.5 cm in width, bearing the inscription (Kern 1908, 71 no. 246 = *IG IX,2 246*):

[–]ΜΗΡΟΝΦΑΡΣΑΛΙΩΝΗ[–]

Kern identifies it –albeit erroneously, as I argue here– as the same inscription as the one found in Farsala by Monceaux (“inventa in horto templi Turcici ad forum magnum”), and he dates it to the 4th century B.C. A schematic drawing of the stone is given (Fig. 9), showing that it had an epistyle upon which the inscription was carved. The storage location and the *one-lined* inscription strongly indicate that the stone was the same as that transported from Farsala in 1886 (Inscription B).

The stone was apparently still in the Larissa storerooms in 1910, when it is mentioned in an article by the Ephor of Antiquities Arvanitopoulos (1911b, 127). Some 80 years later, Jean-Claude Decourt revisited Inscription B, which had been thought lost by intermediate researchers (Biesantz 1965, 104), and published

a new edition of it in his corpus of Thessalian inscriptions (Decourt 1995, 73 no. 56 = *I.Thess* I 56). Decourt's photograph shows only the front of the stone, which corresponds relatively well with Kern's schematic drawing. He provides more complete dimensions of the stone, stating that it is a large [sic.] base of greyish blue marble measuring 47 cm by 25.5 cm by 28.5 cm. These dimensions fit poorly with those provided by Kondakis a hundred years earlier, and it is quite probable that the stone had suffered damages after its incorporation in the Didaskaleion collection in 1887. The many deep cracks in the stone show that it was prone to split. Decourt observed that Monceaux's publication "lets us suppose that the inscription was carved on two lines, which is impossible" (my translation), and argued that the inscription originally continued on a now-lost second stone.

In conclusion, the two inscriptions –Inscription A and Inscription B– have since the publication of the *Inscriptiones Graecae* IX,2 been regarded as the same object, which the archival material and publication history show to be highly improbable if not impossible. The large base published by Monceaux and drawn by the policeman Kalliaras represents the same object (Inscription A), which –having first been seen in the yard of the Kurşunlu Camii– was later re-used in a private residence. It is probable that this latter fact, in combination with the large size of the stone, made it impossible for the policeman to confiscate the inscription, and that it thus remained in Farsala. Some three years later, the regional governor Kondakis brought two inscribed stones from Farsala to Larissa. One of these (*IG* IX,2 237) was most definitively one reported by the policeman, while the other –even if with near-identical text– was *another* inscribed base of much smaller size than the one seen by Monceaux and Kalliaras. This latter stone (Inscription B) was temporarily stored in the Nomarcheion before being moved to the Museum in February 1887. It thus did not suffer from the soldiers' treatment in 1885, but must have been damaged at some point before 1898 when Kern recorded it in its present state in the Didaskaleion. Whether the damage was caused by the poor state of the antiquities collection in 1895 (as reported by de Sanctis) or the occupation by the Ottoman Turks in 1897 cannot be determined from the records.

TWO STATUES TO HOMER?

The two inscriptions apparently contained the identical dedication: "Ομηρον Φαρσαλίων ή πόλις, "the *polis* of the Pharsalians (dedicated) Homer". The language of the inscriptions follows the common 4th and 3rd century B.C. convention of putting the honoring community in the nominative and the person being honored in the accusative. The use of the accusative (Ομηρον) shows that the Pharsalians regarded Homer as a person to be honored, and not a deity to receive the statue offering. Indeed, the inscriptions lack a divine recipient, which is otherwise common. This would have been put in the dative case (Ομήρῳ), as is common elsewhere (Ma 2013, 23–5).

It is highly improbable that the dedications were set up to someone else other than the legendary poet, as the name is given without any patronymic. The name Homeros/Homeiros is furthermore rare in Thessalian inscriptions, and only features in Roman-period inscriptions from Larissa. One Homeiros son of Hermaios was *tagos* of the Larissaians in 130s B.C. (*SEG* XXXI 577), and Timasitheos son of Hermaios son of Homeros from Larissa listed as a victor in the Eleutheria games in c. 80–70 B.C. was possibly his grandson (*SEG* LIV 560). Another athlete, Epigenes son of Homeros, is listed as a victor in the boys' *pankraion* contest in a 1st century B.C. or 1st century A.D. inscription (*IG* IX,2 527), and a contemporaneous inscription from the same city lists one Empedion son of Homeros as the victor of the boys' boxing (*IG* IX,2 531). It is worth adding that a base for a bust depicting Homer (with the name in the nominative) has been found in Larissa, but of a considerably later (Roman) date (see Appendix 2).

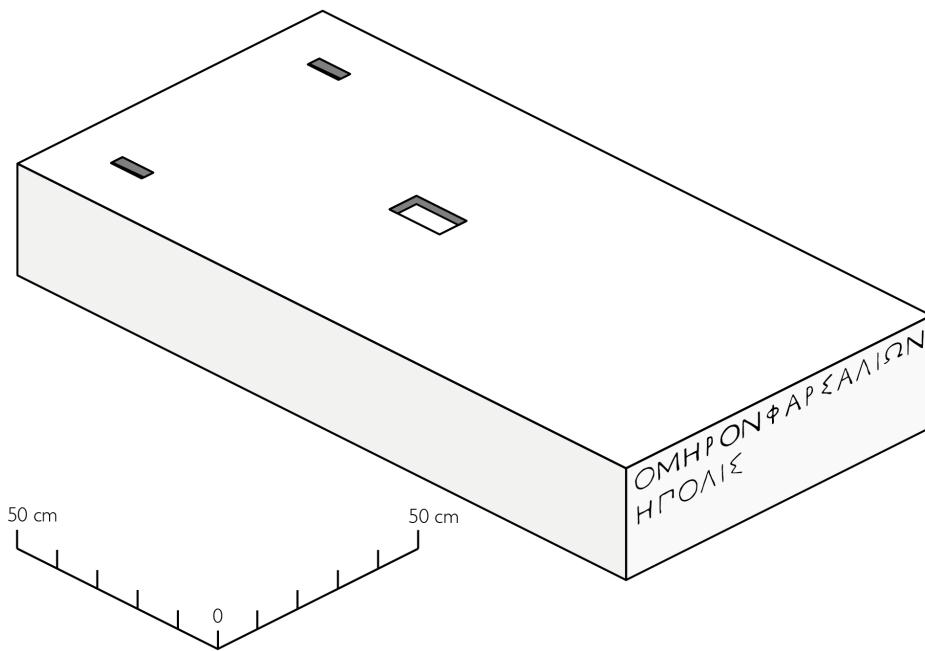


Fig. 10: Schematic isometric reconstruction of the base with Inscription A (drawing by author).

INSCRIPTION A (MONCEAUX 1883, 51-2 NO. 7)

Judging from the available descriptions, depictions, and approximate measurements, Inscription A was a larger statue base, c. 1.5 m in length and over half a meter wide. Unfortunately, Kalliaras did not specify the width of the stone, but judging from his drawing, it was c. 0.75 m wide. As the drawing is not to scale, this measurement should be seen as highly approximate. Monceaux writes that “all the dowel holes are perfectly visible” (my translation), and Kalliaras’s sketch shows three rectangles on the top of the stone that probably represent these. The descriptions and drawing indicate that the base probably had supported a bronze statue of a horse with or without rider. Other types of statues, such as one depicting a seated or standing anthropomorphic figure, are unlikely to have fitted this base. Kalliaras’s drawing shows that two of the dowel holes were placed at the back corners of the base, with a single, larger one at the center (Fig. 10). The back holes probably attached the hind hoofs of the bronze statue to the stone; the lack of holes for the front hoofs indicates that the depicted figure was rearing. The single central hole was possibly for an extra support of the horse body, but whether this was original or added later as a repair cannot presently be ascertained. The other large base in the same drawing (uppermost in Fig. 4), which is also lost, had dowel holes at each corner of the stone with a larger one at center, indicating a non-rearing horse.

Similar bases to the ones from Farsala have been found in Thessaly and beyond, the closest example being an early 2nd century B.C. dedication to Apollo Lykeios from Atrax (Tzafalias et al. 2015, 114, 152 no. 55 = *I.Atrax* 55). The Atragian base has the positions of the dowel holes (which are circular rather than rectangular) inverted compared to the example from Farsala, giving the impression that the dedicatory inscription is on the back of the base. The most interesting comparandum, however, is the base for a bronze horse found in two fragments at the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi. Probably dating to the mid-4th century B.C., its inscription states that it was set up by the Pharsalians to Pythian Apollo (Vatin 1964). The use of the nominative plural of the ethnic and the dative of the recipient (“Φαρσάλιοι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Πυθίῳ ἀνέθηκαν”) is notably different to the formula in the inscriptions from Farsala. Interestingly enough, the base is signed by two Thessalian sculptors, Herakleidas and Hippokrates of Atrax. The Delphi base has two preserved round dowel holes further to the center of the stone compared with the Pharsalian base, without a central dowel hole, but belongs otherwise to the same type of base.



Fig. 11: Inscribed statue base (Inscription B) in the Diachronic Museum of Larissa (inv. no. 660), top. Photograph by Danai Kalogerini Samouri. Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture – The Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa – The Organisation for the Management and Development of Cultural Resources (published with permission).

INSCRIPTION B (*IG IX,2 246 = I.Thess I 56*)

The stone is kept in the storerooms of the Diachronic Museum of Larissa (inv. no. 660), and is a fragment of a statue base (Figs. 11, 12, 13), with the inscription on the upper part of the most well-preserved vertical side of the epistyle:

『Ο]μηρον Φαρσαλίων ἡ [πόλις].

The text is restored from the (near) complete inscription as reported by Kondakis (*Kondakis 2*, Appendix 1.4). As observed by Decourt, the mu (which was dotted by Kern) is completely legible, and only the lambda must be restored (but not dotted by Decourt). Judging from the letter-shapes, the inscription is probably of the 4th century B.C., with well-cut and uniform letters. The letter spacing is somewhat narrower in the left part of the inscription than in the right. Among the letter shapes we may note two narrow rho, two nu with vertical hastae, a slightly spade-shaped phi, a sigma with non-parallel bars, a slightly raised omega with horizontal feet and a wide eta.

The single dowel hole on the top is nearly rectangular, 4.0 × 2.7 cm in size and cut parallel with the inscribed front of the stone. The surface surrounding the hole is slightly concave, which could be due to the shape of the bronze element attached to the stone here. What kind of statue was erected on top of the base cannot be determined from the single dowel hole, but its small size and shallow depth speaks of it not supporting a full foot or similarly sized sculptural elements.

Judging from the preserved surfaces, the stone was that of a pillar base, with a narrower main body and a wider upper epistyle separated by a cavetto moulding. The latter is preserved on the front and left side of the stone. The type of base is not overly typical for late 4th century B.C. Thessaly and could potentially represent an archaism. Similar bases came again into fashion in the Roman period, but the abandonment of the city of Pharsalos combined with the letter-shapes suggest that this is not the case here. The original height of the base cannot be ascertained, but could have been considerable, as inferred from similar but better-preserved examples (cf. *I.Thess I 2* from Vlochos, early 4th century B.C.). The length of the reconstructed text suggests an original width of the upper part of c. 60 cm, which is indeed the size given by Kondakis. The latter states that



Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa

Fig. 12: Inscribed statue base (Inscription B) in the Diachronic Museum of Larissa (inv. no. 660), bottom. Photograph by Danai Kalogerini Samouri. Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture – The Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa – The Organisation for the Management and Development of Cultural Resources (published with permission).

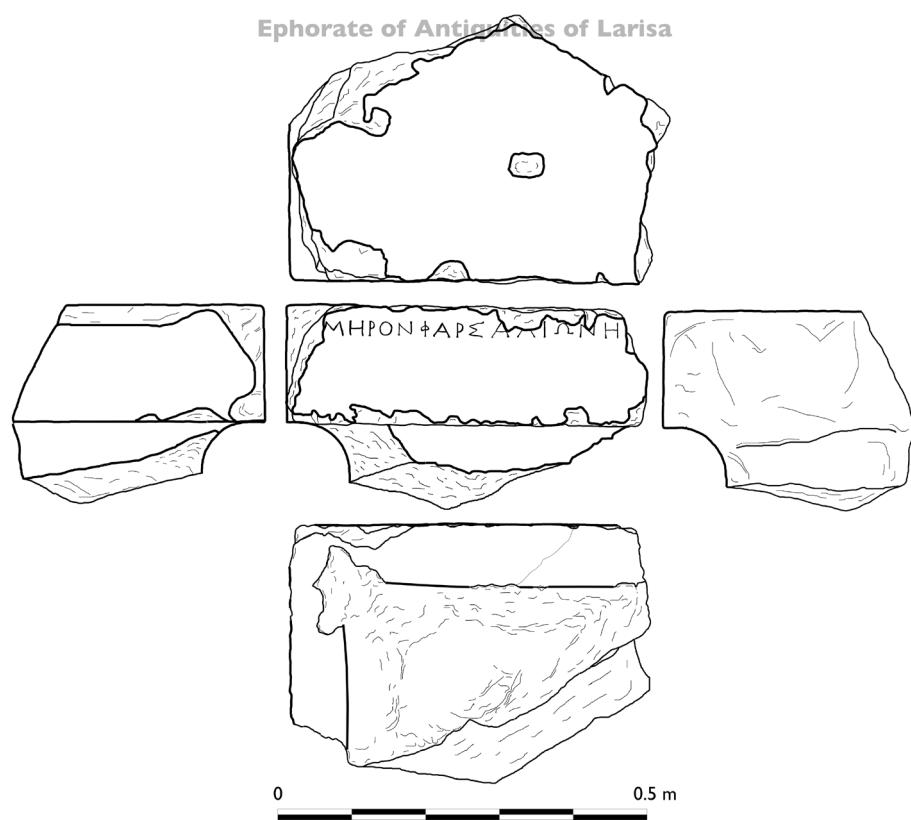


Fig. 13: Drawing of inscribed statue base (Inscription B) in the Diachronic Museum of Larissa (inv. no. 660). Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture – The Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa – The Organisation for the Management and Development of Cultural Resources (published with permission, drawing by author).

the depth of the stone prior to its further damage was 80 cm, making it slightly deeper than it was wide. There is nothing to suggest that the inscription continued on another block as suggested by Decourt; the base was most certainly monolithic as are similar examples (tentative reconstruction in Fig. 14). As mentioned above, a deep crack running from the front all through the stone show that the material is prone to splitting, which might have caused the post-discovery damage.

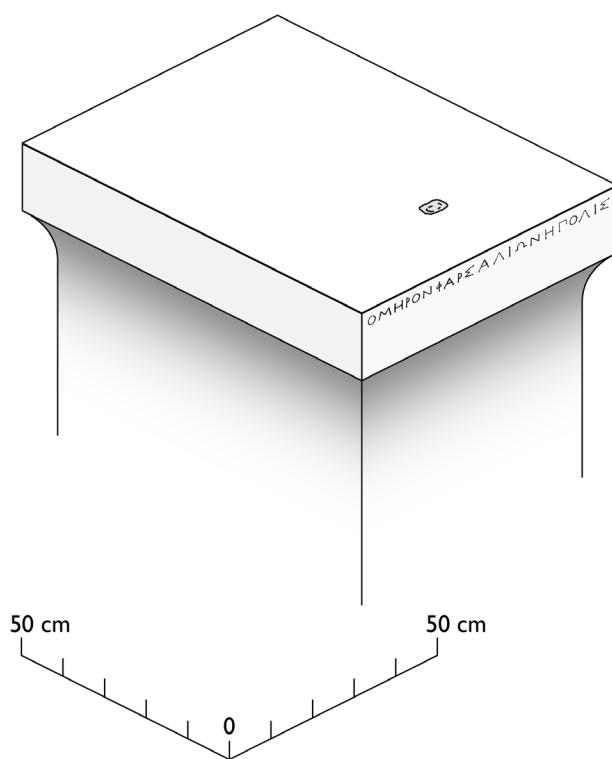


Fig. 14: Schematic isometric reconstruction of base with Inscription B (drawing by author).

THE CONTEXT, DEPICTIONS AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MONUMENTS

Reviews of the numerous archaeological discoveries done at the site of ancient Pharsalos over the course of the last 50 years indicate that the urban settlement was established in the 4th century B.C. (Stamatopoulou 2007, 213), probably through an urbanisation of an already existent political entity, that of the Pharsalians (Rönnlund 2023, 84–9). Likewise, there is next to no archaeological evidence for continued habitation at the site after the 2nd century B.C. (Stamatopoulou 2007, 226), indicating that the city was abandoned after the turbulent conflicts of the Macedonian Wars, as were so many cities of Western Thessaly. Scattered remains of monumental spaces and buildings have been excavated within the ancient city, all chance discoveries produced by decades of construction work in the modern town. The area of the present Plateia Laou and Plateia Dimarcheioi appears to have housed several public buildings, including *stoai*, partially excavated by the Ephorate of Larissa (Rönnlund 2023, 86). At least one of the two Homeric dedications discussed here was first noted in this area (Inscription A), and it is possible that it originally was displayed there. Several dedications to various deities have been found all over the modern town, as well as honorific decrees (see corpus in Decourt 1995), indicating public spaces for the display of such documents.

As stated by Decourt some 30 years ago, the significance of the dedication(s) to Homer from ancient Pharsalos has yet not been appreciated in scholarship (Decourt 1995, 73). The Pharsalian reverence to the poet is not mentioned in general discussions on Homeric cult (cf. Zanker 1995, 159–62; Clay 2004, 136–43; Kimmel-Clauzet 2013, 285–318), and mainly figure in passing in scholarship on Thessaly or Pharsalos specifically (Biesantz 1965, 104; Béquignon 1970, 1044). There are no clear parallels of dedications to Homer by a community from elsewhere in the Greek world, even if one such statue has been inferred from the inscription of a c. A.D. 100 dedication to the (personified) Iliad from the Athenian Agora (Thompson 1954, 62–5; Seaman 2005, 177). Another possible exception is in the Roman-period *Contest of Homer and Hesiod*, which states that the Argives had set up a bronze statue of Homer, to which daily sacrifices were made (*Cert. Hom. et Hes.* 325: [...] εἰκόνα δὲ χαλκῆν ἀναστήσαντες ἐψηφίσαντο θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν Ομήρων καθ' ήμέραν καὶ κατὰ μῆνα καὶ κατ' ἐνιαυτόν [...]]).

Pausanias mentions a bronze statue depicting Homer at Olympia as part of a larger monument, but this was set up by the 5th century B.C. Sicilian tyrant Mikythos, and not by a community (Paus. 5.26.2: παρὰ δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου τὴν ἐν ἀριστερᾷ πλευρᾷ ἀνέθηκεν ἄλλα [...] ποιητῶν δὲ Ὄμηρον καὶ Ἡσίοδον [...]). Pausanias also noted a bronze statue of the poet at Delphi, the base of which recorded the claims by various *poleis* of being his place of birth (Paus. 10.24.2: θεάσαι δ' ἄν καὶ εἰκόνα Ὄμηρου χαλικῆν ἐπὶ στήλῃ), which is quite similar to the large late Hellenistic base found at Pergamon, which has three epigrams regarding this unresolved question (IvP I 203; Fränkel 1890, 119–21 no. 203).

The fact that two statues were dedicated to Homer at the same location by the same community with the same text is suggestive and cannot be due to chance. To identify a possible “Homereion” in Pharsalos (Wagman 2015, 88 note 47), as known from Alexandria and Smyrna (Ael. VH 13.22; Str. 14.1.37) might be too fantastical, and it is more probable to imagine an elaborate group of statues with a common theme at a prominent spot in the city, all dedicated to the poet and possibly also to the “local heroes” of the *Iliad*. The main question is what the statues of the two bases depicted, and what their connection with Homer was.

That the base of Inscription B supported a standing anthropomorphic figure cannot be completely determined, but it appears likely, as suggested by the almost square shape of its top. The remaining dowel hole possibly supported just a heel or a toe of a striding figure, but this cannot be ascertained. The nature of the statue of the base of Inscription A is less nebulous – it most definitively depicted a rearing horse with or without a rider. It still presents a conundrum, however, as it would be relatively natural to dedicate a statue to Homer depicting Homer himself, but the reasons why the Pharsalians would dedicate an equestrian statue to the poet are less direct. Similarly, why the Pharsalians would have erected *two* statues of Homer with the same inscription cannot be directly resolved. The resolution could be found in the suggestion that we are not dealing with mere *depictions* of Homer –marked “Ὀμηρος”, as in the case of the aforementioned bust base found at Larissa (Appendix 2)– but with *dedications* to the poet. The figures depicted thus do not have to be of the poet himself, but probably of one or several figures associated with him.

The ancient (and indeed modern) interest in the characters of Homeric myth in Pharsalos has previously been noted in scholarship. The *chōra* of Pharsalos –also known as the Pharsalia– was (and is still) commonly identified with Homeric Phthia, the homeland of Achilles and his Myrmidons, an identification which was (and still is) not uncontested. It has been argued that the local aristocracy began to claim Achilles as their ancestor in the Classical period, probably to boost their prestige in Panhellenic circles (Karapanou and Noula 2019; Aston 2024, 393). The arguably most prominent aristocratic family, in scholarship known as the Daochids, strived from the middle of the 4th century B.C. to become visible on the Panhellenic stage through monumental investment in the sanctuary of Delphi (see below). In this context, it is notable that the text of the two Pharsalian inscriptions discussed here is in Koine and not in the local Thessalian dialect (which would have been rendered “Ὀμειρον Φαρσαλίουν ἢ πόλις” *vel sim.*). Adding to this, the use of the word *polis* is highly unusual in a contemporaneous Thessalian context. There are only two-three other examples of the use of the word prior to the Hellenistic period, all used in more Panhellenic contexts; – there is evidence suggesting that the word *koinon* was more commonly used for a similar community (Rönnlund 2023, 33). The word, however, would make more sense for a Koine-speaker visiting the city. The Panhellenic importance of Homer and the Homeric epics possibly explains this choice of language and words; the monuments were not solely addressing the local community, but also ‘international’ visitors to Pharsalos, and had to make sense to these.

We now enter the realm of speculation. As Homer had no known direct association with Pharsalos, I find it most plausible that the statues of the bases depicted Homeric figures with a strong connection to the *polis*. The most obvious such figure would be Achilles, especially as the Pharsalians are known to have dedicated an *anathema* with “Achilles on horseback, with Patroclus running beside his horse” in the sanctuary at Delphi (Paus. 10.13.5: “Φαρσάλιοι δὲ Ἀχιλλέα τε ἐπὶ ὕπω καὶ ὁ Πάτροκλος συμπαραθεῖν οἱ καὶ τῷ ὕπω”). The nature and historiography of the monument described by Pausanias has been discussed in detail by Lorenzo Campagna (2019), who suggests that its erection was prompted by the wish “to express civic pride and identity”



Fig. 15: Reverses of 3rd century B.C. coins of the Pharsalians depicting warrior on horse with other figures. a) Lavva 2001 no. 263 var. b) Lavva 2001 no. 347. c) Lavva 2001 no. 312 (digital tracings of photographs by author).

relating to the success of the Thessalian contingent in the wars of Alexander in Asia Minor. As also outlined by Campagna, previous scholarship has long tried to connect this statue group with the imagery found on the reverse of a number of 4th century B.C. Pharsalian coin issues (Fig. 15) (Pomtow 1921, 195; Lavva 2001, 19). These (Trihemiobols Lavva 2001 no. 263; BCD Thessaly I no. 1293, and tetrachalcons, Rogers 1932 no. 500–1; Lavva 2001 no. 348–49; BCD Thessaly I no. 1297; Lavva 2001 no. 288; BCD Thessaly I no. 1294) depict a warrior on a rearing horse facing right, yielding above his head what looks to be a flail (sometimes with two balls at the end of the chain). Several of the issues (including dichalcons, Rogers 1932 no. 508; Lavva 2001 no. 347; BCD Thessaly I no. 1295 (early 4th century B.C.) and tetrachalcons, Lavva 2001 no. 325; BCD Thessaly I no. 1299 (4th century B.C.)) have another figure carrying a flail placed running behind the horse, and at least one (tetrachalcon, Rogers 1932 no. 502; Lavva 2001 no. 312; BCD Thessaly I no. 1298 (4th century B.C.)) has also a third figure standing in front of the horse (an enemy?). The pose and armor of the rider on the rearing horse is near-identical over the issues, as is that of the companion (when this figures), which further suggests that it is a depiction of a statue or statue group rather than a generic scene.

The Pharsalians probably took much pride in the monument in Delphi, and for this reason perhaps chose to depict it on their coin reverses, but a monument placed in the home city would –I argue– have been a more obvious choice, as it provided a stronger link with the main settlement of the community. This might still have been the case. The Achilles and Patroclus *anathema* seen by Pausanias in Delphi could possibly have been a copy of an original statue group in Pharsalos –or vice versa– as indicated by the fact that the statue of Hagias from the imposing Daochid *ex voto* in Delphi was but a stone copy of a bronze original by Lysippos set up in Pharsalos, the latter possibly accompanied by the other statues of the group (Biesantz 1965, 104; Aston 2012, 48). This situation was made evident by the discovery of the base of the bronze original in several fragments in Farsala in the 19th century (*I. Thess* I 57, now lost), including the same epigram as was inscribed on the base in Delphi. This, in combination with the coin motif, in itself at least suggests the possibility that the Achilles with Patroclus group in Delphi had its mate on display in Pharsalos, a possibility which, at least to my knowledge, has not been suggested before. The existence of two statue bases from ancient Pharsalos with dedications to Homer –one definitively supporting a bronze horse and the other at least possibly a standing human figure– lends more weight to the hypothesis.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The documents preserved in the National Archive of Monuments in Athens show both the great importance of archival studies when it comes to understanding the archaeology of Greece, as well as the enormous effort and courage of the early archaeological pioneers of the country. Underpaid schoolmasters, ardent policemen and

meticulous governmental officials strived to save threatened antiquities out of their love for the past, but also out of love for their nation. A region full of remains of the painful Ottoman centuries, Thessaly was in the late 19th century to be made Greek anew through the discoveries of Hellenic monuments of the distant past. It is fascinating to see how the whole state apparatus was involved in this project from the earliest days of Thessaly in the Kingdom of Greece. The success of this endeavor is evident; finds and sites of Classical antiquity were preserved and protected, while not a single mosque or *mescit* in Farsala survived the 20th century.

There is much more to be learned by the systematic study of the thousands of preserved reports by the *epimelites* and *eforoi*, and I foresee many unexpected discoveries in the future. The implications of the schematic drawings by the local policeman Kalliaras further show the gravity in treating inscribed stones not as just carriers of text, but as material objects worthy of study. The nature of similar lost inscribed bases –what kind of statues they supported– has the potential to tell us much more of the monumental landscapes of Classical-Hellenistic cities. The existence of a statue group depicting Achilles on horseback with accompanying Patroclus in Pharsalos will remain but a hypothesis until more substantial material evidence has been found. The bases from Farsala do, however, speak for a special reverence for Homer in Ancient Pharsalos, a reverence which appears unique in the wider Greek world. It would be exciting if further remains of these monuments or the setting in which they put up would be found in the modern town, to better understand the context of their display. The reverence of Achilles in modern-day Farsala is a striking mirror of that in Antiquity, as a statue of the hero adorns the central square in town in front of the town hall. Perhaps certain things never change.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The rights to all the depicted monuments belong to the Hellenic Ministry of Culture (law no. 4858/2021). The antiquities from the archaeological site of Farsala (ancient Pharsalos) are under the jurisdiction of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Larissa. I want to express my gratitude to said Ephorate for granting me the publication rights to depictions of the inscriptions in their collections, and to the Directorate for the Management of the National Archive of Monuments for granting the study and publication rights to the extensive collection of reports to the central archaeological authorities in Athens in the late 19th century (permit request no. 183456/22-04-2022). Stella Katakouta of the Ephorate and Athina Chatzidimitriou and Sofia Frangouloupolou of the Directorate have been more than helpful in providing me with additional information and orientation. I would not have been able to penetrate the difficult *kalligrafia* of the hand-written records in Katharevousa without the assistance of Danai Kalogerini Samouri, who also graciously helped me in acquiring additional photographs. Görkem Çimen provided invaluable help correcting my re-transliteration of Ottoman names from the Greek alphabet to the modern Turkish orthography. Local historians Achilleas Bakalexis of Farsala and Nikolaos Papatheodorou of Larissa have most graciously provided me with much valuable information regarding historical places and individuals in their areas. I am also indebted to Viktoria Dymenou Wallén, Ditte Kvist Johnson and Vaso Noula for reading and commenting upon an advanced draft of this article. Finally, I would like to acknowledge the strong arguments for the identification of the figures of the reverse of the Pharsalian coins with a statue group as presented by Rosanagh Mack in 2023 at the Celtic Conference in Classics in Coimbra. The research was funded by the Wenner-Gren Foundations.

APPENDIX 1: TRANSCRIPTION AND TRANSLATION OF MANUSCRIPTS

All transcriptions follow the orthographic conventions, variations and spelling mistakes of the original documents. The transcriptions were made by Danai Kalogerini Samouri and the author, with all translations by the author.

1.1: LETTER (KALLIARAS 1) FROM POLICEMAN G. KALLIARAS TO THE REGIONAL GOVERNOR IN LARISSA, T.V. THEOCHARIS, 13 FEBRUARY [O.S.] 1883. ΔΔΕΑΜ BOX 836, AP. ΠΡ. 80.

Περί ἀρχαιοτήτων

Regarding antiquities

Ἐπιστρέφων τὴν ἀπαντημένην διατάγη τῆς Νομαρχίας¹ ἐγκλείω καὶ δεύτερον, ἀντίτυπον τῆς ὑποβληθείσης σημειώσεως περὶ τῶν εὑρεθεισῶν ἐπιγραφῶν καὶ ἡ μέν ὑπὸ τὸν ἀριθ. 1 πλάξ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ἐν τῇ πόλει ταύτῃ ὁδῷ. νεκροταφείῳ, ἡ δευτέρᾳ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ νεκροταφείῳ χρησιμεύουσα ὡς βαθμός κλίμακας,² ἡ τρίτη ὡς βαθμὸς κλίμακας ἐν τίνι ὁδῷ μανικῇ οἰκίᾳ (σημειοτέον ὅτι ἐν τῇ ὀλύῃ ταύτης γενωμένης ἐπιπολαίου ἀνασκαφῆς πρὸ ἐτῶν εὑρέθη καὶ ὑπάρχει ἀγαλμάτιον τι ἄνευ κεφαλῆς καὶ ποδῶν ἄτινα προσηρμόζοντο διὰ σιδηρῶν ύλῶν) περὶ τούτου δὴ θέλω ἐκθέσειν δι’ ἴδιας ἀναφορᾶς μου. Καὶ ἡ στήλη χρησιμεύει ὡς κίων ἔξωθεν τῆς θύρας τοῦ ιεροῦ ναοῦ τῆς πόλεως, ὁ Ἀγιος Νικόλαος. Ἐπληροφορήθην δὴ ὅτι καὶ εἰς το χωρίον Ρίζι [sic.] ὑπάρχει πλάξ φέρουσα ἀρχαῖον ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ ἐκείσει ιερῷ ναῷ, χρησιμεύουσα ὡς ἐπίπεδον τῆς ιερᾶς τραπέζης³ καὶ θά μεταβῶ προς ἀντιγραφήν τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης καὶ οἵας ἄλλης ἀνακαλύψω τόσον ἐκείσε ώς καὶ ἐν ἄλλω τίνι χωρίῳ.

Εὐπειθέστατος

Ο Άστυνόμος Φαρσάλων

Γ Καλλιάρας

Responding to the already answered order issued by the Regional Government,¹ I also enclose a second copy of the submitted note regarding the discovered inscriptions. So, accordingly, no. 1 is a slab which is found in the Ottoman [= Moslem] cemetery of the city; the second is in the same cemetery used as a step;² the third [is used] as a step in an Ottoman [= Moslem] house (it is to be noted that in its yard, during illicit excavation some years ago, a statuette was found without head and legs/feet, which had been joined [to the body] with pieces of iron), which I would like to disclose in another of my reports. The stele is used as a pillar on the outside of the gate to the church of the city, Agios Nikolaos. I have also been informed that in the village of Rysi there is a slab containing an ancient decree in the yonder church, used as the top of the holy table,³ and I will strive to make a copy of its inscription as well as of the many others which I might discover there as well as in other villages.

Most obediently,

The policeman of Farsala

G. Kalliaras

1. No such order is preserved among the documents in the archive.

2. Stählin (1924, 141) claims this was found at the Ahmet Ratib Paşa *mascid*.

3. This (*I. Thess* I 50) had already been published by Heuzey and Daumet (1876, 425–28).

1.2: LETTER FROM THE EPHOR OF ANTIQUITIES ELEFOTHERIOS T. KOUSIS TO THE MINISTER OF ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION, 17 NOVEMBER [O.S.] 1885. ΔΔΕΑΜ BOX 836, AP. ΠΡ. 16558.

Κύριε Υπουργέ

Τὴν παρελθοῦσαν ἐβδομάδα λαβών τὸν διορισμόν μου ἐξ ἐφόρου τῶν ἐν Λαρίσῃ ἀρχαιοτήτων ἐπελήφθην τῶν ἐμῶν καθηκόντων καὶ ἔσπενσα προχθές (τοῦ καιροῦ μόλις ἐπιτρέψαντος) πρός επίσκεψιν τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἀρχαιοτήτων. αὗται ἐφυλάττοντο ἐν τινι κτιρίῳ, μουσείῳ καλούμενῳ, οἰκοδομηθέντι πρὸ τριῶν (νομίζω) ἐτῶν ἐν τῇ πρός τὴν ἀνατολικήν πτέρυγα τοῦ Διδασκαλείου αὐλῇ. Τό οἰκοδόμημα τοῦτο, ὅγντετράπλευρον ἐπίμηκες, οὕτε διαιρέσιν κατάλληλον εἶχεν, οὕτε χωρητικότητα ἀρκοῦσαν ταῖς ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπισεσωρευμέναις ἀρχαιότησι. τοῦτο μόνον τὸ πλεονέκτημα εἶχεν, ὅτι ἐστέγαζε τὰ κειμήλια τῆς ἀρχαιότητος καὶ προεφύλαττεν ἀπό τῶν ἐπηρειῶν τῆς ἀτμοσφαίρας, περιέκλειεν αὐτά ἐντός τεσσάρων τοίχων κ[αί] ἀσφαλίζον διά θύρας κλειομένης διέσφαζεν ἀπό χειρῶν ιεροσύλων. Οὕτως ἐφυλάττοντο αἱ τῆς Λαρίσης ἀρχαιότητες μέχριθές καὶ προχθές. Ἀλλά κατά τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας διετάχθη ὑπό τῆς ἐνταῦθα στρατιωτικῆς ἀρχῆς νά ἐκβληθῶσιν ἐκ τοῦ οἰκίσκου, ἔνθα ἐφυλάττοντο, καὶ νά ριφθῶσιν εἰς τὴν αὐλήν τοῦ διδασκαλείου· διότι μετά τὴν μετατροπήν τοῦ Διδασκαλείου εἰς στρατιωτικόν νοσοκομεῖον ἐγένετο χρεία καὶ τό οἰκοδόμημα τό παρακείμενον, τό μουσείον, νά μεταποιηθῇ εἰς φαρμακεῖον καὶ εὐθύς στρατιῶται μετά ζήλου καὶ προθυμίας ἔσπενσαν οὐχί νά ἐκβάλωσιν ἐν τάξει καὶ προσοχῇ καὶ εὐλάβειᾳ, ἀλλά νά καταρρίπτωσι, νά κατακυλίωσι, νά ἐκσφενδονίζωσι τὰς ἀχρήστους ἐκείνας καὶ λόγου ἀναξίας καὶ εὐτελεῖς πέτρας καὶ νῦν βλέπει τίς ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ ὅγκους λίθων εἰκῇ καὶ ως ἔτυχεν ἐπεριμένους, ἐπισεσωρευμένους, ἐπικειμένους, ἐπεστοιβασμένους ἀποτέλεσμα δέ τῆς πράξεως ταύτης ὑπήρξε να θραυσθῶσιν εἰς δύο καὶ πλείονα τεμάχια καὶ στῆλαι νεκρικαὶ μετ' ἀναγλύφων καὶ πλάκες μετ' ἐπιγραφῶν δέκα τοιαύτας ἡδυνήθην νά ἀριθμήσω μετ' ἄλγους ψυχῆ[ς] τίς οἶδε πόσαι ἔταιραι κεῖνται ἀδιόρατοι ὑπό τὸν ἐπικείμενον ὅγκον τῶν λίθων· δύο ἔτι στήλας, τὴν μέν νεκρικήν, τὴν δέ ψήφισμα ἔχουσαν γεγραμμένον εἶδον βεβλαμμένας ἐκατέρωθεν κατά τά ἄκρα· ἔνεκα δέ τῆς βλάβης ταύτης ἄλλα μέν τῶν γραμμάτων τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ καὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τῶν σειρῶν ἐφθάρησαν καὶ δέν ἀναγιγνώσκονται, ἄλλα δ' ἔξηλειφθησαν· ἄλλας βλάβας δέν ἡδυνήθην νά ἀνακαλύψω, ἄλλ' ὑποθέτω ὅτι καὶ μείζονες θά ύπαρχουν εἴθε νά ψευσθῶσιν αἱ ἀπαίσιοι προρρήσεις μου.

Mr. Minister,

Last week, I accepted my appointment as ephor of antiquities in Larissa. I assumed my duties and hastened the day before yesterday (as soon as the weather permitted) to visit the local antiquities. These were stored in a small building, called the "Museum", built three (I think) years ago in the courtyard of the Didaskaleion eastern wing. This edifice, which is four-sided, had neither proper internal divisions, nor sufficient capacity for the ancient treasures accumulated in it. It had only one advantage, that it housed the relics of antiquity and protected them from the impact of the atmosphere, keeping them within four walls and making sure by a locked door that they were away from the hands of desecrators. This is how the antiquities of Larissa were preserved until yesterday and the day before yesterday. But during those days, it was ordered by the local military authority to evict [the antiquities] from the shed where they were being kept, and to throw them in the courtyard of the Didaskaleion. [This] as, after the conversion of the Didaskaleion into a military hospital, it became necessary for the adjacent building, the "Museum", to be refurbished into a pharmacy. Staunch soldiers, with zeal and eagerness, hastened without order and attention and reverence to knock down, to overturn, to hurl those useless and worthless and lowly stones [onto the ground], and now we see the masses of stones in the yard here and there wherever they happened to be piled, heaped or stacked. The result of this was that [the stones] were broken into two or more pieces, including funerary stelai with reliefs and plaques with inscriptions; ten such that I was able to count. With pains in my soul, I saw several pillars laying covered under the impending masses of stones; two of these stelai, one funerary and one with a decree, had been defaced with a written notice on their sides; and due to this damage, the letters at the beginning and at the end of the lines are damaged and not legible, while others were obliterated. I was not able to discover further damages, but I assume that there will be major ones as well, as my

Ἐκ τούτων καταφανές γίνεται ὅτι ἀμέσως μέν οἱ στρατιῶται ἐπήγεικον τὴν φθοράν ταῖς ἀρχαιότησιν, ἐμμέσως δέ τὸ ἀρχηγεῖον διατάξαν τοῖς στρατιώταις τὴν ἐκκένωσιν τοῦ μουσείου· δέν μέμφομαι τούς στρατιώτας, διότι προξένησαν τὴν ζημίαν, οὐδεμίαν βεβαίως τοῦ μεγέθους αὐτῆς ἔχοντες συνείδησιν· δέν μέμφομαι τὸ ἀρχηγεῖον ὅτι ἐζήτησε νά κατάλαβῃ τὸ μουσεῖον καὶ νά διατάξῃ τὴν ἐκκένωσιν αὐτοῦ· ἔνεκα βεβαίως τῶν σημερινῶν περιστάσεων πάντα πρέπει νά ὑπείκωσι ταῖς στρατιωτικαῖς ἀνάγκαις· μέμφομαι μόνον τὴν ταχύτητα καὶ τὴν βίαν παρά τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τὴν μή καταβολήν τῆς προσηκούσης φροντίδος παρ' ἄλλων, οἵ ἄν διώριζόν τινα ἐπιστατήσοντα εἰς τὴν ἔξαγωγήν, καὶ τὴν φθοράν θά προελάμβανον καὶ τὴν πλήρωσιν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν ἀναγκῶν οὐδόλως θά παρεκώλυνον. Καί τοιαύτη μέν οἰκτρά ἡ νῦν τῶν μνημείων τούτων τῆς Λαρίσης κατάστασις· ἔσει δέ θά νομίσητε τις ὅτι [sic] ὅτι [sic] ἔπαθον μέχρι τοῦδε ἔπαθον, πλείονα δέν εἶνε [sic] δυνατόν νά πάθωσι· δυσπιστῶ φοβοῦμαι πλείονα καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀτμοσφαιρικῶν μεταβολῶν καὶ ἐπηρειῶν καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ποδῶν καὶ χειρῶν· φοβοῦμαι καὶ τούς ἔχθρούς τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων, ἀλλά φοβοῦμαι καὶ πολλούς φίλους, οἵ εἰσίν ἐπικινδυνότεροι πολλάκις καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἔχθρων· διά τοῦτο προτείνω νά διαταχθῇ ἡ εὔρεσις ὅτι τάχιστα οἰκοδομήματος καταλλήλου, εἰς δ' νά ἐναποτεθῶσιν αἱ ἀρχαιότητες προσωρινῶς μέχρις ἀποδόσεως τοῦ καταληφθέντος μουσείου, ὃ νῦν οὔτε πρόσφορον ὅν, οὔτε εὐρύχωρον πρέπει νά εὐρυνθῇ καὶ διαιρεθῇ ἐπιτηδείως· αἱ ὑπάρχουσαι ἀρχαιότητες εἰσίν οὐκ ὀλίγαι, 180 καὶ ἐπέκεινα λίθοι, οἱ πλεῖστοι ὄγκωδέστατοι, ἐλπίς δ' ὑπάρχει νά εὐρεθῶσι καὶ πολλαὶ ἄλλαι. Καλόν θά ἡτο λοιπόν νά χορηγηθῇ ταχέως πίστωσις καὶ διά τὴν ἐνοικίασιν κτιρίου τινός καὶ διά τὴν τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων ἐκ τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ Διδασκαλείου εἰς αὐτό μεταφοράν, ἡ μόνη θ' ἀπαιτήσῃ δαπάνην ἵσως οὐχὶ ἐλάττονα τῶν 200 δραχμῶν.

Τότε δέ, ἀφ' οὐ καταλλήλως τοποθετηθῶσι, θά δυνηθῶ νά λάβω τὴν βαρείαν μέν καὶ δυσχερῆ ἀναγκαίαν δέ ἐργασίαν τῆς περιγραφῆς, καταμετρήσεως, τῆς ἔξακριβώσεως κατά τὸ δυνατόν τῶν τε παραστάσεων καὶ τῶν ἐπιγεγραμμένων, τῆς διαιρέσεως καὶ τῆς εἰς βιβλίον καταγραφῆς, ὃ ἀποτελέσει ἀκριβή αὐτῶν κατάλογον· ώς εἶνε [sic] δ' αὖται νῦν παρερριμμέναι καὶ ώς κείνται ἐπεστοιβασμέναι, ἡ ἐργασία αὐτῇ εἶνε [sic] ἀδύνατος· ἀλλά πλήν τούτου καὶ φθοράν μείζονα φοβοῦμαι καὶ σύλησιν· ἀνάγκη ταχείας ἐνεργείας πρός διάσωσιν τῶν ὑπολειφθεισῶν τούλάχιστον.

Εὐπειθέστατος

instinct sadly tells me.

From this, it is clear that the soldiers are directly responsible for the damage of the antiquities, while the Army HQ is indirectly so, ordering the soldiers to evacuate the “Museum”. I do not blame the soldiers for causing the damage, because they were certainly not aware of its magnitude. I do not blame the Military HQ for the request to commandeer the “Museum” and to order its evacuation; of course, due to the current circumstances, military needs must always be obeyed. I only blame the speed and violence on the part of the Military and the lack of due care on the part of others. If they only had appointed someone to supervise the evacuation, they could have avoided wear and tear, and this would in no way have hindered the fulfilment of military needs. The present state of these monuments of Larissa is bitter to me; I cannot bear to think of what they have suffered until now. I more distrust and fear the atmospheric changes and impact [on the antiquities] than [I fear] human feet and hands. I fear the enemies of antiquities, but I also fear many of their friends, who are many times more dangerous than their enemies. For this reason, I propose that a suitable building should be found as soon as possible, in which the antiquities can be temporarily deposited until the commandeered “Museum” is returned. The present [building] is neither convenient nor spacious [enough] and must be deliberately widened and divided. The extant antiquities are not few – 180 stones – most of them large. There is hope that many others will be found. It would therefore be good to grant a quick loan both for the rental of a building and for the transfer of the antiquities from the courtyard of the Didaskaleion to it. This would perhaps not require more than 200 drachmas. Then – once I am properly positioned – I will be able to take on the heavy and difficult but necessary work of describing, counting, and verifying as much as possible the representations and inscriptions, dividing them and recording them in a book, making an accurate catalog. As these [objects] are now rejected and in heaps, this work is impossible. Apart from that, I also fear major wear and tear [of the objects]. There is need for quick action to at least save the those [objects] remaining.

ό ἔφορος τῶν ἐν Λαρίσῃ ἀρχαιοτήτων
Ἐλευθ. Τριαντ. Κούσης.

Most obediently,
The Ephor of Antiquities of Larissa
Eleftherios T. Kousis.

1.3: TELEGRAM (KONDAKIS 1) FROM THE REGIONAL GOVERNOR OF LARISSA IOANNIS KONDAKIS TO THE GENERAL EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES AND THE MINISTRY OF ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION, 28 SEPTEMBER [O.S.] 1886. ΔΔΕΑΜ BOX 836, AP. ΠΡ. 12605.

Εἰς Φάρσαλα ἐντός Ἀγροῦ παρά λείψανα Πύλης Φρουρίου ἀνευρέθη μικρά Μαρμαρίνη κεφαλή μετά τραχήλου ἔργον ἀρίστης Ἑλληνικῆς τέχνης. Ταύτην καὶ δύο ἀνεπιγράφους [sic] λίθους ἐκομίσαμεν ἐνταῦθα καὶ τούτους μέν ἐπίθεσαν εἰς Νομαρχεῖον ἔνθα καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπάρχουσι συλληγέντες ἐκ διαφόρων μικρῶν πόλεων Λαρίσης πρό ἡμερῶν τήν δέ κεφαλήν πέμψω δι' ἀσφαλοῦς μέσου εἰς Ὑπουργεῖον. Κεφαλή φαίνεται Ἐρμοῦ [sic] δέν εἶναι δέ ἀγάλματος ἀλλ' ἀνάγλυφον ἔξεχουσα ὅλως του [sic] λίθου ή ἕδια τό ἐπι τετραγώνου μικράς διπλής εἰ [sic] Ἐρμοῦ [sic]

Νομάρχης Λαρίσης
Κονδάκης

In Farsala, in a field next to the remains of the fortress gate, a small marble head [cut off] at the neck was found, a work of excellent Greek art. This and two uninscribed [= inscribed] stones we transported [to Larissa] and they were placed in the Nomarcheion, where there are other [objects] collected from various small towns of Larissa. In the coming days, I will transport the head by safe means to the Ministry. The head appears to be of a herm, but is not of a statue, but a high relief using the entirety of the stone, similarly to a small rectangular double herm.

The Regional Governor of Larissa
Kondakis

1.4: LETTER (KONDAKIS 2) FROM THE REGIONAL GOVERNOR OF LARISSA IOANNIS KONDAKIS TO THE GENERAL EPHORATE OF ANTIQUITIES AND THE MINISTRY OF ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS AND PUBLIC EDUCATION, 9 OCTOBER [O.S.] 1886. ΔΔΕΑΜ BOX 836, AP. ΠΡ. 7458.

Περὶ συλλογῆς ἀρχαιοτήτων.

Regarding a collection of antiquities.

Εἰς διάφορα μέρη τῆς πόλεως Λαρίσης ἔκειντο ἀντικείμενα τινα ἀρχαίας τέχνης, τινάδ' ἀνεκαλύφθησαν ἡδη, ἐπειδή δέ τὸ κατάστημα τοῦ Διδασκαλείου ἔχρησίμευεν ως στρατιωτικόν νοσοκομεῖον, δέν ἡδυνάμην συλλέγων τά ἀντικείμενα ταῦτα, νά τά τοποθετήσω μετά τῆς ἄλλης συλλογῆς, δι' ὅ συλλέξας ὅσα εύρον ἐξ αὐτῶν, τρία δέ κομισάμενος ἐκ Φαρσάλων ἐτοποθέτησα εἰς τὸ Νομαρχεῖον, ἀντιγράψας δέ τάς ἐπιγραφάς μέ σην ἥτο δυνατὸν νά μοί ἐπιτρέπῃ ἀκρίβειαν ἡ Ἑλλειψις τῆς περὶ τά τοιαῦτα εἰδικότητος, ἐγκλείω ὡδε σημείωσιν περὶ τούτων.

Τά ἐκ Φαρσάλων κομισθέντα εἶναι 1) τμῆμα βάθρου

Objects of ancient art have been found in various parts of the city of Larissa, some of which have already been discovered. As the Didaskaleion building has been used as a military hospital, I have not been able to amass the artifacts there to be placed in the other [regular] collection. Having gathered as many as possible of these [objects] (I had also placed three [objects] from Farsala in the Nomarcheion), I have made copies of the inscriptions with as much accuracy as my lack of expertise in such matters would allow. I attach a note with them.

The ones collected from Farsala are 1) a part of a

ἀγάλματος ἐκ λίθου φαιοῦ, ἐφ' οὐδὲ ἡ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 2. ἐν τῇ σημειώσει ἀναγεγραμμένη ἐπιγραφή. Τό βάθρον ἰδῶν κατὰ χώραν, καίτοι τεθραυσμένον, ἐπείσθην ὅτι ἡτο ἀγάλματος ἐπί ἔδρας καθημένου.¹ 2) βάθρον ἐκ φαιοῦ λίθου μήκους 0,85 πλάτους 0,60 καὶ ὕψους 0,32 ἐφ' οὐδὲ ἡ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 3 ἐπιγραφή. 3) μικρά μαρμάρινη κεφαλή ἀρίστης τέχνης, περὶ ἣς ἀνέφερον καὶ πρότερον εἰς τό ὑπουργεῖον, καὶ ἣν ταχέως θα πέμψω αὐτῷ, ἀναμένων τῶν δι' Ἀθήνας ἀναχώρησιν καταλλήλου προσώπου.

Τά ἐν τῇ πόλει Λαρίσσης συλλεχθέντα εἰσί 1) βάθρον ἀγάλματος μικροῦ ἀναστήματος, ἐφ' οὐδὲ ἡ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 7. ἐπιγραφὴ, ἣς εἰσὶ δυσανάγνωστα τα δύο τελευταῖα γράμματα τοῦ δευτέρου στίχου.² 2) μικρός εὐτελούς τέχνης ἐπιτύμβιος λίθος, ἐφ' οὐδὲ ἡ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 5. ἐπιγραφὴ.³ 3) Ἐπιτύμβιος λίθος φέρων ἀνάγλυφον ἀνδρὸς περιβεβλημένου χειτῶνα, γεγλυμμένον εἰς τό ἄνω μέρος τοῦ λίθου, εἰς φυσικόν μέγεθος, καὶ ἔχων κατεστραμμένην τήν κεφαλήν, ἐπί τούτου γέγραπται ἡ ὑπ' ἀριθ. 6 ἐπιγραφὴ.⁴ 4) ἀνάγλυφον φέρον τρεῖς μορφὰς καὶ τήν ὑπ' ἀριθ. 4 ἐπιγραφὴν, οὐδὲ τίνος περιγραφὴν νομίζω ὅτι ἐπεμψεν εἰς τό ὑπουργεῖον ὁ κ. ἔφορος τῶν ἀρχαιοτήτων.⁵ 5) λίθος ὕψους 1,23, πλάτους ἄνω μὲν 0,32, κάτω δέ 0,29 καὶ πάχους ἄνω μὲν 0,16 καὶ κάτω 0,14. Εἰς τό πλάγιον φέρει κατά μῆκος ἐκ τῶν κάτω πρός τά ἄνω γεγραμμένην τήν ὑπ' ἀριθ. 1 ἐπιγραφὴν, ἐπί δέ τῆς ἄνω ἐπιφανείας ἔξεχει ὁ λίθος, δεικνύων ὅτι ἔκει ἣν τεθεμένη κεφαλή ἡ προτομὴ.⁶ 6) ἀνάγλυφον ὕψους 1,30, πλάτους 0,52 καὶ πάχους 0,13 παριστόν γυναικά τήν μέν δεξιὰν ἔχουσαν ὑψωμένην τήν δέ ἀριστερὰν ὑπό γωνίαν σχεδόν ὁρθήν, ἐφ' ἣς κάθεται ζῶν, ἵσως λαγός, διά τῶν δακτύλων δέ κρατεῖ καρπὸν. Τό ἀνάγλυφον είναι τεθραυσμένον ἄνωθεν ἀπό τοῦ τραχήλου, φέρει δέ χειτῶνα ποδήρη. Αἱ γραμμαὶ ἐν γένει τοῦ ἀναγλύφου καὶ τῶν πτυχῶν ἡ διάταξις δεικνύουσι τό ἔργον ἀρχαιοτάτης τέχνης.⁷

“Ηδη καταγίνομαι εἰς ἀνακάλυψιν καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων ἀντικειμένων καὶ συλλογὴν αὐτῶν, θέλω δέ προσπαθήσει ὅπως μετακομίσω ἐνταῦθα καὶ λίθους τινας ἐνεπιγράφους, συλλεχθέντας πρό τριετίας καὶ κατατεθειμένους ἐντός αὐλῆς οἰκίας τίνος ἐν Βελεστίνῳ.

Ἐν τέλει πληροφορῶ τό ὑπουργεῖον ὅτι, καθ' ἄ μανθάνω, ἀξιωματικός τις τοῦ πεζικοῦ ἀνακαλύψας ἐπί τοῦ Ολύμπου λέοντα λίθινον,⁸ μετεκόμισε διά στρατιωτῶν πρό ίκανοῦ χρόνου καὶ κατέθεικε τοῦτον εἰς Δερελί τοῦ Δήμου Γόννων.⁹ Ἄν τοῦτο ἦναι ἀληθὲς θέλω φροντίσει νά μετακομίσω τόν λέοντα τοῦτον ἐνταῦθα.

statue base in pale stone, with the inscription no. 2 in the [attached] note. Judging from its size, even if broken, the base originally supported a seated statue.¹ 2) A base of light stone, 0.85 m long, 0.60 m wide, and 0.32 m high, with the inscription no. 3. 3) A small marble head of highest workmanship. I have communicated about this previously to the Ministry, and I will transfer it presently pending the departure of a suitable person to Athens.

The [objects] collected in the city of Larissa are the following: 1) a base for a statue of small stature with the inscription no. 7. The last two letters of the second line are illegible.² 2) A small tombstone of humble workmanship with the inscription no. 5.³ 3) Tombstone with a life-size relief of a man wrapped in a chiton with a damaged head carved in the upper part of the stone, on which is the inscription no. 6.⁴ 4) Relief containing three figures and the inscription no. 4, the description of which I think was sent to the ministry by the Ephor of Antiquities.⁵ 5) A stone of 1.23 m height, largest length 0.32 and smallest 0.29, largest depth 0.16 and smallest 0.14. The inscription no. 1 runs lengthwise on the side from bottom to the top. The stone has a protrusion at the upper surface, indicating that a head or a bust was placed there.⁶ 6) Relief, height 1.30 m, length 0.52 m and depth 0.13 m presenting a woman with her right hand raised and her left at almost a right angle in which sits an animal, perhaps a hare, and she holds a fruit in her fingers. The relief is broken at the neck. [The figure] wears a foot-long chiton. The writing generally of the relief as well as the folds and arrangement [of the depicted garments] indicate an ancient work of art.⁷

I am already in the process of discovering and collecting other similar artifacts. I will endeavor to move [to Larissa] some inscribed stones recovered three years ago and deposited in the courtyard of a house in Velestino.

Finally, I inform the ministry that, according to my understanding, an infantry officer has discovered a stone lion on Mount Olympus.⁸ This was moved by soldiers some time ago and was deposited in [the village of] Dereli [= present day Gonnoi] of the Municipality of Gonnoi.⁹ If this is true, I will make sure to move this lion here.

Εὐπειθέστατος
 'Ο Νομάρχης Λαρίσσης
 I Κονδάκης

Most obediently,
 The Regional Governor of Larissa
 I. Kondakis

1. *IG IX,2 237*. Seen by Otto Kern in Larissa in 1899, but apparently lost by the 1920s, see Decourt 1995 (= *I.Thess I*), 77–8 no. 60.
2. *IG IX,2 621*. Present location unknown, but it was still in Larissa in 1895, see De Sanctis 1898, 60 no. 72.
3. *IG IX,2 808*. Current location unknown.
4. *IG IX,2 908*. Diachronic Museum of Larissa, inv. no. E360. Depicted in its present state (only inscription partially preserved) in Avagianou 2002, 73.
5. *IG IX,2 593*; *I.Thess I* 64; Heinz 1998, 208–9 no. 69. This was indeed submitted in a letter to the Ministry by the Ephor E. Kousis on 16 August [O.S.] 1886 (*Kousis 2*). Decourt (1995, 81–2 no. 64) cites Ioannis Svoronos (1903, 326–27 no. 77), who claimed that the relief was originally from Farsala. This potentially appears to be a mistake, as Kousis states that the relief was found in a village of the region of Larissa, and having been confiscated by the police inspector Georgios Simopoulos, was kept in the yard of the Nomarcheion. There is a chance that Svoronos (who also erroneously states that the stone was discovered in 1887) made a mistake, as the stone is mentioned in Kondakis's report together with inscriptions from Farsala.
6. Later known as *IG IX,2 575*. It was in the Didaskaleion in the 1880s according to Lolling 1887, 450. Currently in the Volos Museum, inv. no. E786.
7. Judging from the description, this is certainly the relief currently in the National Museum in Athens (inv. no. 740), found in a well northeast of Larissa in 1883, and in 1885 and 1886 kept in the Didaskaleion, see Wolters 1887; Centerwall 1888, 311–2; Biesantz 1965, 18 no. 29.
8. I am not aware of this having been published. The lion appears to have been of symbolic importance to the Gonneans, as outlined by Bruno Helly (1968).
9. The issues relating to the transport of this statue are outlined in a dossier in the same box.

1.5: EXCERPT FROM CENTERWALL 1888, 310–2 (17–18 NOVEMBER [N.S.] 1886).

Af fornlemningar har Larisa ej många. Hvad som fans visades mig af mina vänner, främst bland dem doktor Kúsis, *kathigitís* (professor) vid gymnasiet och antiqvitsintendent, som under två hela dagar åt mig offrade all den tid han ej måste egna gymnasiet. Jag besökte honom ock i hans hem och fick en ganska sorglig inblick i en grekisk lärares förhållanden, mot hvilka den svenska skolkarlens nästan anses som välstånd. Och Kusis hade det visst ej sämre än hans likar i Hellas, snarare tvärtom. Han bodde i den lägre, för Salamvrias' öfversvämningar utsatta stadsdelen i trånga rum, jag vet ej hur många; jag fick endast se två, det ena en liten ytterst tarfligt möblerad salong, det andra en ännu enklare studerkammare. Hans hustru, en grekinna från Trapezunt,¹ såg sjelf ut som ett barn; hon hade legat i feber flera månader. Vid handen hade hon en fyraårs flicka och på armen en

Larissa has few antiquities. What was [left] was shown to me by my friends, the foremost of which is Dr. Kousis, *kathigitis* (Professor) of the Gymnasium and Curator of Antiquities, who during two whole days sacrificed all the time he could spare from the Gymnasium to [show] me [around]. I also visited him in his home and received a rather sad picture of the life conditions of a Greek teacher, to which the Swedish schoolmaster's [situation] almost appears as prosperous in comparison. And Kousis did not have a worse time than his Hellenic compatriots, rather the opposite. He lived in the lower part of town which is often flooded by the Salamvrias [= Pineios] in [an abode of] small rooms, I do not know how many; I only got to see two, the first a very sparsely furnished parlor, the other an even more modest study. His wife, a Greek woman from Trapezounta,¹ looked like

liten gosse, som ännu ej kunde gå. Hennes uppassning bestod af en åttaårig flicka. Kusis nämnde under samtalet att han lagt bort att röka, emedan han ej hade råd till denna utgift, som dock före tobaksmonopolets införande knapt kunde bestiga sig till mera än 18 à 20 drachmer om året. Att han ej lefde fett i hvardagslag visade de översvinnerliga ordalag i hvilka han prisaade den efter våra begrepp mycket enkla och billiga måltid i mitt hotell, hvarmed jag ville visa honom min tacksamhet för all den möda han gjort sig.

Larisas fornlemningar äro dock ej många. På stadens gamla Akropolis ligger nu ett citadell, öfver hvilken den blåhvita flaggan svajar. På sydvestra slutningen fans en teater, af hvilken nu endast återstår obetydliga qvarlefvor. Antagligen har denna varit omgivne af en stor omfattningsmur. Vid grundgräfningen till den nya bazaren har man funnit en tretton meter lång bit af en tre meter hög mur af oregelbundna, hackade, ej sågade stenar.

På gården till den hyggliga nomarkens vackra bostad finns åtskilliga på senare tiden uppgräfda fornlemningar. Bland annat ser man der en godt arbetad marmorstod, föreställande en qvinna med en hare på venstra armen. Maken dertill är en man, också af marmor, utan hufvud, men af godt arbete; äfven den bär en hare på venstra armen. Det vill synas som här föreläge ett exempel på ett slags hos fornhellenerna ej så sällsynta «talande vapen» och att bilderna föreställa medlemmar af en slägt som kallat sig *lagider* eller något dyligt.² Denna senare stod förvaras på gymnasiets gård. Der funnes för öfrigt flera grafvårdar, några, märkvärdigt nog, med reliefer, afbildande grafvårdar. Andra reliefer föreställa ryttare. På en ses en afskedsscen af samma slag som de hvilka beskrifvits på tal om Athens grafgata i Kerameikos. Särdeles vackert är på en stele ett randornament af vinlöf.

a child; she had suffered several months from fever. She held by the hand a four-year-old girl and on the arm a little boy, who could not yet walk. Her maid was an eight-year-old girl. Kousis mentioned during the conversation that he had quit smoking, as he could not afford this expense, which before the introduction of the tobacco monopoly could barely reach more than 18 to 20 drachmas per year. That he did not enjoy a prosperous everyday life was indicated by the lavish words by which he praised the, in our view, very simple and cheap hotel meal by which I wanted to show him my gratitude for all his efforts.

However, the antiquities of Larissa are not many. On the old acropolis of the city is now a citadel, above which the blue-and-white flag is waving. On the southwestern slope was a theater, of which only unsubstantial remains are left. [The theater] was probably enclosed by a large circuit wall. During foundation excavations for the new bazaar, a thirteen-meter-long section of a three-meter-high wall of irregularly cut—not sawed—stones has been found.

In the yard of the abode of the friendly Nomarch [= Ioannis Kondakis] are several recently unearthed antiquities. Among others is there a well-made marble stele, with the image of a woman carrying a hare on her left arm. Its mate is [that of] a man, also in marble, without head; also he carrying a hare on the left arm. It seems as if we here see an example of a kind of “coat of arms”, which were not so rare among the Old Hellenes, and that the images depict members of a family known as the *lagidai* or something similar.² This latter stele is kept in the yard of the Gymnasium [= Didaskaleion]. Further tomb markers are kept there, some, curiously enough, with reliefs depicting tomb markers [= herms?]. Other reliefs depict horsemen. On one [tomb marker] a scene of departure can be seen, of the same kind as those described from the Athenian funerary road in Kerameikos. Especially pretty is an edge decoration on a stele depicting wine leaves.

1. Kousis was himself from Trapezouna.

2. From λαγός, “hare”. This conjectural family is unattested in epigraphy and other ancient textual sources. Centerwall here makes a footnote mentioning that he is aware of a publication by Paul Wolters (1887) presenting these finds, but that he has no direct access to it at the point of writing.



Fig. 16: Statue base from Larissa. Photograph by the Ephorate of Antiquities of Larissa. Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture – The Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa – The Organisation for the Management and Development of Cultural Resources (published with permission).

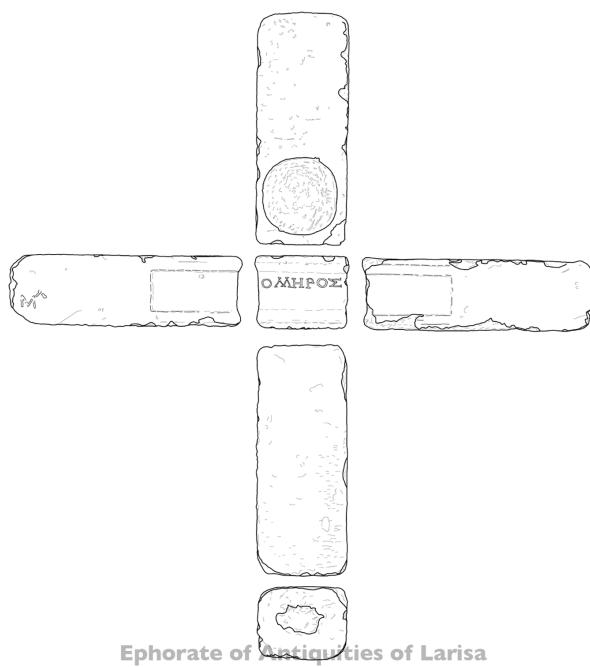


Fig. 17: Inscribed statue base from Larissa. Drawing by author. Courtesy of the Hellenic Ministry of Culture – The Ephorate of Antiquities of Larisa – The Organisation for the Management and Development of Cultural Resources (published with permission).

APPENDIX 2: A BASE FOR A BUST DEPICTING HOMER FROM LARISSA, THESSALY

Even if relatively unrelated to the overall evidence and argument of this article, I here present a small, Roman-period base discovered in 1909 in Larissa (Figs. 16, 17). The stone was discovered at a depth of 3.5 m at the Plateia Vissariona (previously Plateia Anaktoron), which is adjacent to the former Archaeological Museum of Larissa in the Yeni Camii (Arvanitopoulos 1911b, 127 no. 28). The front of the stone has an inscription in heavily serifed letters:

‘Ομηρος

Judging from its shape, the base was probably attached to a wall, which in combination with the use of the nominative suggests a gallery-like installation rather than a dedication. Among the letter-shapes, we may note slightly smaller omicron, a mu with non-parallel hastae, a wide eta, a rho with a small protruding serif below the bend, and a sigma with parallel cross-bars. The letters vary in height from 1.9 cm (omicron) to 2.2 cm (mu). The letter shapes and the heavy serifing are indicative of the Roman period, possibly the 1st century A.D. To my knowledge, the base has previously never been published with a photograph or a drawing.

UNPUBLISHED ARCHIVAL MATERIAL

Chatzigogidis 1 Letter from N. Chatzigogidis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities (29 April [O.S.] 1892). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 395, Αρ. Πρωτ. 9675.

Kalliaras 1 Letter from G. Kalliaras to the Regional Governor in Larissa (13 February [O.S.] 1883). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρωτ. 80.

Kavvadias 1 Copy of telegram from P. Kavvadias to E.T. Kousis (26 August [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρ. 4223.

Kavvadias 2 Copy of telegram from P. Kavvadias to E.T. Kousis (2 September [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρ. 4234.

Kavvadias 3 Copy of letter from P. Kavvadias to E.T. Kousis (9 September [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρ. 12145.

Kondakis 1 Telegram from I. Kondakis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities in Athens (28 September [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρ. 12605. Full text in Appendix 1.3.

Kondakis 2 Letter from I. Kondakis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities in Athens (9 October [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρωτ. 7458. Full text in Appendix 1.4.

Kondakis 3 Letter from I. Kondakis to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (9 October [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρωτ. 7455.

Kondakis 4 Letter from I. Kondakis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities in Athens (28 February [O.S.] 1887). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836 no. 1700.

Kousis 1 Letter from E.T. Kousis to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (17 November [O.S.] 1885). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρωτ. 16558. Full text in Appendix 1.2.

Kousis 2 Letter from E.T. Kousis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities in Athens (16 August [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, Αρ. Πρωτ. 4216.

Kousis 3 Letter from E.T. Kousis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities in Athens (29 August [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 395, Αρ. Πρωτ. 11636.

Kousis 4 Telegram from E.T. Kousis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities (1 September [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 395, Αρ. Πρωτ. 1492.

Kousis 5 Letter from E.T. Kousis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities in Athens (4 September [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 395, Αρ. Πρωτ. 14145.

Kousis 6 Letter from E.T. Kousis to the General Ephorate of Antiquities in Athens (14 September [O.S.] 1886). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 395, Αρ. Πρωτ. 4287.

Lolling 1 H.G. Lolling. *Reisenotizen Ostthessalien* 1882. Notebook kept in the Athenian branch of the German Archaeological Institute.

Theocharis 1 Letter from Th.V. Theocharis to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (18 February [O.S.] 1883). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, no. 984.

Theocharis 2 Letter from Th.V. Theocharis to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (22 February [O.S.] 1883). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, no. 1137.

Theocharis 3 Letter from Th.V. Theocharis to the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Education (5 March [O.S.] 1883). ΔΔΕΑΜ Box 836, no. 1331.

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