

ΤΗΡΜΙΚΑ ΑΝΔ ΠΑΝΑΙΤΟΛΙΚΑ

IN THE inscription published in *Ath. Mitt.*, LXV, 1940, pp. 47-48, line 7, the phrase *Θερμικά στάδιον, ὀπλίταν* obviously refers to an athletic festival.¹ In other instances, however, it has been assumed that "Thermika" designated one of the regular meetings of the Aetolian League. It may, therefore, be permitted to reexamine several problems connected with the meetings of the Aetolian League.

Polybius, who often calls the meetings of the Aetolian League *σύνοδος*, once speaks of a *σύνοδος τῶν Θερμικῶν* (XVIII, 48, 5), but the precise meaning of this passage is not clear. Livy, who used Polybius as a source, uses the term *Panaetolicum concilium* with reference to League meetings. The words *Θερμικά* and *Παναίτωλικά* occur also in inscriptions, but one cannot easily deduce from the context whether or not sessions of the League are meant. The question may, therefore, be asked whether the "Thermika" and "Panaitolika" were the splendid annual festivals and conventions of the Aetolians mentioned by Polybius (V, 8, 5), or whether they were the names of the regular meetings of the Aetolian League. It may also be the fact, moreover, that while the "Thermika" were festivals celebrated in honor of Apollo of Thermos, the "Panaitolika" designated League meetings.² All these possibilities have been considered by other students of the problem, and especially by Maurice Holleaux, who suggested that "Thermika" and "Panaitolika" were the official designations of the two regular annual meetings of the Aetolian League. This interpretation has found general acceptance, although it is now assumed that the two terms also applied to the official festivals of the League.³

The Greek word *Παναίτωλικά* is built like other neuter compounds containing *παν-* as first part, and it should, therefore, mean the assembly of the neighbors of a sanctuary.⁴ The meaning of *Θερμικά* can be deduced from two passages of an inscription of the third century B.C. (*F.D.*, III, 3, no. 214, lines 38 and 40). The fact

¹ Compare J. and Louis Robert, *R.E.G.*, LIV, 1941, pp. 19-20, no. 56.

² For the earlier bibliography, see Holleaux, *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 362 ff. Compare also Sokoloff, *Klio*, VII, 1907, pp. 71 ff.; Holleaux, *Klio*, VII, 1907, pp. 294 ff.; Swoboda, *Klio*, XI, 1911, pp. 456 ff.; *Sylloge*³, no. 563, note 2, and no. 598 D, note 11; Roussel, *B.C.H.*, XLVII, 1923, pp. 21 ff. (= *F.D.*, III, 3, no. 214); Wilhelm, *Sitzungsb. Ak. Wien*, 1922, II, VII, pp. 5 ff.; Busolt-Swoboda, *Griech. Staatskunde*, pp. 1521 ff.; *I.G.*, IX², 1, nos. 187 and 192; Rhomaios, *Ἐπερ. Φιλολ. Σχολ. Πανεπιστημ. Θεσσαλονίκης*, 1932, pp. 24 ff.; Kahrstedt, *R.E.*, s.v. *Συνέδριον*, col. 1339-43; Flacelière, *Les Aetoliens à Delphes*, pp. 42 ff.; Aymard, *Les assemblées de la Conf. Achaienne*, p. 59, note 4; Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 7 ff.

³ See, in addition to the bibliography quoted in note 2, Schwahn, *R.E.*, s.v. *Sympoliteia*, col. 1207.

⁴ Compare Pollux, VI, 163; E. Schwyzer, *Griech. Grammatik*, I, p. 80; H. M. Hoenigswald, *Language*, XVI, 1940, pp. 187-188.

that the "Thermika" are here mentioned side by side with the "Laphriaia" indicates that they, too, were a festival.⁵

Based on his interpretation of the "Thermika" and "Panaitolika," Holleaux assumed (see note 2) that the Aetolian League had only two regular annual assemblies, although he admitted that according to Polybius (IV, 15, 8) at least three meetings took place in one particular year. He did not consider, however, that Polybius' expression τῆς καθηκούσης ἐκκλησίας referred to a "regular" meeting.⁶ It is difficult to assume, according to Holleaux, that a regular session should have taken place during the summer, thus but a short time in advance of the regular fall meeting of the League. Yet it is known that the Achaean League had a regular meeting during the summer. In fact, the Achaean League had four regular meetings every year,⁷ and the Aetolian League may have done likewise. Finally, it seems unlikely that the meetings of the Aetolian League had each a special name, and it may be preferable to assume that the "Panaitolika" designated a convention in which all the Aetolians took part.⁸ The word Θερμικά may not have been used for meetings at all, since for this purpose words like σύνοδος, ἐκκλησία, σύγκλητος were more appropriate and were actually used both by the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues.

The theory that the Aetolian League had two and only two regular annual sessions is based on a passage in Livy (XXXI, 32, 3-4) in which the historian speaks of the *Panaetolicum* and *Pylaicum concilium*. Holleaux accordingly assumed that these Latin terms correspond to the Greek words Παναιωτικά and Θερμικά. He follows in this respect Nissen,⁹ who deduced from a comparison of Livy, XXXIII, 35, 8, and Polybius, XVIII, 48, 5, that the Roman historian, in using the term *Pylaicum concilium*, confused the Greek terms Θερμικῶν σύνοδος and Θερμοπύλαι. The fallacy of this argument is made apparent by the context which concerns only the Aetolians but not the Greeks in general. It is evident that Livy made a mistake when he translated Polybius' Θερμικά as if it meant Θερμοπύλαι. One may, therefore, wonder whether Livy did not make similar mistakes in two other passages (XXXI, 29, 1; XXXV, 32, 7) in which he calls the assembly of the Aetolian League *Panaetolicum concilium*.¹⁰ Holleaux assumed that Polybius' now lost text which was the source

⁵ The "Panaitolika" are not mentioned in this document because they were probably established at a later date, as has been suggested by both Roussel and Flacelière (see note 2).

⁶ Holleaux follows in this respect Klatt, *Chron. Beitr. zur Gesch. des achäischen Bundes*, p. 28.

⁷ See Aymard, *op. cit.* (see note 2), pp. 275 f.

⁸ Gilbert already observed (*Handbuch der Griech. Staatsalt.*, II, p. 30, note 2) that the meetings of the Aetolian League did not have special names.

⁹ *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen der vierten und fünften Dekade des Livius*, pp. 29 and 127.

¹⁰ In translating Polybius, XVIII, 48, 5, Livy not only read Θερμικά as if it meant Θερμοπύλαι, but he also added on his own the misleading information that a large assembly of the Greeks took place in this locality, and that this meeting was called *Pylaicum concilium*. Livy may have used this term even when he found in the Greek original expressions like κοινή τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σύνοδος or καθήκουσα ἐκκλησία.

for Livy's passage (XXXI, 32, 3) contained the Greek phrase ἐν τῇ τῶν Παναητωλικῶν καὶ τῇ τῶν Θερμικῶν συνόδῳ which the Roman historian translated in *Panaetolico et Pylaico concilio*. Yet Polybius never uses these expressions in the preserved part of his work; see, for instance, Polybius, IV, 5, 9; 15, 8; 26, 6. Nor does he ever mention the "Panaetolica," although references to meetings of the Aetolian League abound. Livy, on the other hand, refers in two other passages to meetings of the Aetolian League by calling them *Panaetolicum concilium* (XXXI, 29, 1; XXXV, 32, 7). It has been noted above that Livy misunderstood the Greek term Θερμικά, and it may now be suggested that he made another mistake when he translated Παναητωλικῶν σύνοδος (which is the League festival) with *Panaetolicum concilium* meaning a meeting of the League.¹¹ To sum up, it may be suggested that Livy found the terms Θερμικά and Παναητωλικά in a now lost portion of Polybius, misunderstood them, assuming that Θερμικά referred to Thermopylae while Παναητωλικά designated meetings of the Aetolian League. Since matters pertaining to the Aetolian League were also discussed in these passages, Livy felt free to use the Latin equivalents *Pylaicum* and *Panaetolicum concilium* in several other passages in which Polybius described meetings of the League without using the terms Θερμικά and Παναητωλικά; see especially Livy, XXXI, 29, 1; XXXV, 32, 7. On the other hand, Polybius employs the expressions σύνοδος τῶν Αἰτωλῶν, καθήκουσα ἐκκλησία, and κοινὴ τῶν Αἰτωλῶν σύνοδος in order to designate the regular meetings of the Aetolian League, without ever using Θερμικά or Παναητωλικά in this meaning. These terms seem to have occurred only in that portion of Polybius' work which is preserved to us in Livy's translation.

Holleaux assumed that the fall meeting of the Aetolian League was called "Thermika" while the spring session had the name "Panaitolika." In this case, any other regular meetings of the League should also have had special and different names. We know from Polybius (IV, 15, 8) that in 220¹² B.C. a meeting took place during the summer, only a short time before the regular fall session. In spite of Polybius' clear statement, Holleaux declared that this meeting was extraordinary, and if he was right, it should also be assumed that the Achaean League's summer meeting of that year was not regular; for Polybius uses the same words in describing both events (IV, 7, 1; 14, 1). A close examination of Polybius' discussion of the events of this summer will reveal, however, that the summer meeting of the Aetolian League was a regular convention and that in this year at least three regular meetings took place.

According to Polybius, IV, 5, 9, Skopas and his friends did not wait for the

¹¹ Polybius frequently uses σύνοδος for conventions other than political meetings; see, for instance, II, 39, 6; IV, 21, 3; X, 42, 4; XVIII, 9, 2. In XVIII, 9, 2 and 10, 3 σύνοδος and σύλλογος are used in the same meaning. Yet, whenever Polybius speaks of League meetings he adds the specific words Ἀχαιῶν or Αἰτωλῶν.

¹² See Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV, 1², p. 720; *I.G.*, IX², 1, preface, p. xxv, lines 1 f.; Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1541/2; Aymard, *op. cit.*, pp. 252 f.

regular meeting of the Aetolian League which had the power to decide about war and peace, but they took advantage of the inability of the League's general Ariston and invaded the Peloponnesus. They did not even inform the ἀπόκληροι of their plans. Their expedition was successful, for not only did they defeat repeatedly the armies of the Achaean League, but they returned home with an enormous booty.¹³ A meeting of the Aetolian League then took place, preceded by a session of the Achaean League which convened at the end of July (Polybius, IV, 14, 1). The Aetolians made peace with the Lacedaemonians, the Messenians, and their other allies, but war was declared against the Achaeans (Polybius, IV, 15, 8). This meeting made decisions concerning war and peace and must have had the same authority as did that meeting for which Skopas did not care to wait. It was, therefore, a regular session and the date may have been postponed on account of the military expedition.

There is, moreover, some evidence available to show that the Aetolians were very reluctant to call any extraordinary meetings. When, at a later period ambassadors from Philip V called upon the Aetolians, pointing out "that there was still time left to call a meeting and to arrive at more sensible decisions," and when the King himself went to Rhion, which was suggested as meeting place, the Aetolians contented themselves with informing him through a messenger that "they were unable to enter upon any commitments prior to the meeting of the League"; see Polybius, VI, 26, 6 f. And, indeed, no extraordinary session was called and all had to wait until the next regular meeting.

Additional information to support the view that the Aetolians had more than two regular annual meetings is provided by another passage in Polybius which shows that not only the fall meeting but also the spring session took place in Thermos and that any meetings outside of Thermos must have been in addition to these two.

According to Polybius (XXVIII, 4, 1), a convention of the Aetolian League took place at Thermos in the spring of 169 B.C. This meeting is generally considered as a regular session, but it has not been explained why a spring meeting should have taken place at Thermos. On the other hand, the account of Polybius makes it clear that the meeting took place in the spring. Yet the spring meeting should not have convened at Thermos if there were only two annual meetings, one of which was always held during the fall in Thermos while the other assembled during the spring in one of the cities of the League which took turns being the host.

It may now be suggested that the Aetolian League met at least three times in regular sessions. In fact, there may have been a fourth meeting during the winter, between September and April. On one occasion (Polybius, XXVIII, 4, 1; Livy,

¹³ Their return was probably caused by the approach of a regular meeting of the League which they could not hold in the Peloponnesus because the general responsible for convening a meeting had stayed in Aetolia. On another occasion, Polybius mentions (II, 2, 8) a meeting on foreign soil, but at that time the general was with the army.

XXXI, 29, 1 and 8), the Aetolians met in the spring just after a meeting of the Achaean League, which was held either at the end of April or at the beginning of May; see Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1557. Another regular meeting took place not before August. This date is based on the known date of the third Achaean assembly (Polyb., IV, 14, 1 and 14, 9; Busolt-Swoboda, *op. cit.*, p. 1557) and on two passages of Polybius (IV, 14, 9; 15, 8) which refer to events at the very beginning of the 140th Olympiad. The third meeting, finally, convened after the fall solstice; see Polybius, II, 2, 8; 3, 1; IV, 27, 1; 37, 2; 67, 1; Strabo (Ephorus), p. 463. This fall meeting witnessed the election of the League officers, and it probably marked the beginning of the elaborate festivals which the Aetolians celebrated at this time of the year.

It has been stated above that both the spring and fall meetings took place at Thermos. Little is known of any meetings which convened in other cities. The sessions in Naupaktos (Polybius, V, 103, 2; XVI, 27, 4; Livy, XXXV, 12, 3), Herakleia (Livy, XXXIII, 3, 7), Lamia (Livy, XXXV, 43, 7; 49, 9), Hypata (Livy, XXXVI, 26, 1; 28, 9; Polybius, XX, 10, 14) may not have been regular meetings; at any rate, they took place in the course of military expeditions. Yet we know that even electoral conventions could meet on foreign soil provided the entire League army under the command of the general happened to be on an expedition; compare Flacelière, *op. cit.*, pp. 43 f.

The preceding account should make it clear that the Aetolian League had more than two regular sessions, and that none of them was called "Thermika" or "Panaitolika." These terms referred, however, to League festivals as indicated by Polybius (V, 8, 5), by some inscriptions, and by the names themselves. The excavations at Thermos have revealed the history of the cult of Apollo Thermios from the second millennium to the end of the second century B.C.¹⁴ The "Thermika" were one of the oldest festivals; they were originally local in character but became later the official festival of the Aetolian League. Thermos seems to have been the cult center of the Aetolians (at least of the cities around *Τριχωνίς*); see Flacelière, *op. cit.*, p. 41. The Aetolian tribes formed in early times a kind of *ἀμφικτυονία* which later received a political significance. The exact date of this change is unknown, but it cannot be deduced from the recently found Athenian inscription (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 5 ff.).

The "Panaitolika" presuppose the existence of the Aetolian League; see Flacelière, *op. cit.*, p. 43. They were celebrated in the spring, at the end of February or at the beginning of March, as has been deduced by Pomtow from *I.G.*, IX², 1, no. 192.¹⁵ It seems likely that the "Panaitolika," as well as the "Thermika," were

¹⁴ See Rhomaios, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, I, 1915, pp. 225 ff.; II, 1916, pp. 179 ff.; *Πρακτικά*, 1931, pp. 61 ff.; 1932, pp. 55 ff.; Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 43 ff.; Béquignon, *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, pp. 484 ff.; Weickert, *Typhen arch. Arch.*, pp. 7 ff. For the history of the cult, see *I.G.*, IX², 1, nos. 31-36 and 46-48; Rhomaios, *Ἀρχ. Δελτ.*, IX, 1924/5, *Παράρτ.*, p. 4.

¹⁵ See Pomtow, *R.E.*, s. v. *Delphoi*, cols. 2631 and 2690; Holleaux, *loc. cit.*, pp. 370 f.; *Sylloge*⁸, no. 563; *F.D.*, III, 2, no. 134a.

held at Thermos. This is indicated not only by the excavations but also by a passage of Polybius which describes the devastation of the sanctuary in 218 B.C. (V, 9, 2-3). At that time, Philip V and his allies repaid the Aetolians for their devastations of Dion and Dodona by destroying not only the buildings of Thermos but also not less than two thousand statues. Since divine images were spared, most of these statues must have been dedications of victorious athletes, although some may have been set up by League officers. Since the "Thermika" were not a panhellenic festival, one may assume that also the "Panaitolika" were celebrated in Thermos and that most of the statues were set up by victors in these games. Additional evidence is provided by the custom of the Aetolians to set up copies of every decree both in Delphi and in Thermos. Had there been any "Panaetolian" sanctuary aside from Thermos, copies of the decrees would have been set up there.

Finally may be mentioned the epigraphical evidence, part of which has already been discussed at the beginning of this paper. The names *Θερμικά* and *Παναιτωλικά* occur in several inscriptions. In one instance (*F.D.*, III, 3, no. 214, lines 37 and 40), *Θερμικά* refers undoubtedly to a festival since they are mentioned side by side with the *Δαφρίεια*. For the occurrence of the forms *Θερμικοῦς* and *Παναιτωλικοῦς* in *I.G.*, IX², 1, nos. 187 and 192, reference may be made to the usage of the words *Πυθίους* in Amphictyonic decrees and of *Βουβαστίους* at the beginning of a decree from Hyampolis (*Sylloge*², no. 843).

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