

# THE PHOKIKON

(PLATES 60–63)

## BACKGROUND

THE site called the Phokikon lies about four kilometers southeast of the modern town of Davlia and two kilometers northeast of Keresi, a locality seventeen kilometers from Levadeia on the main road from there to Delphi (Fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> The Cleft Way is six kilometers due west. The site is mentioned by Pausanias who says: "Returning from Daulis to the straight road to Delphi, and going forward, you come to a building on the left of the road called the Phocicum, where the deputies from all the Phocian cities meet. The edifice is large. In the interior are pillars running along the length of the building, and from these pillars steps rise to each wall. On these steps the Phocian deputies sit. At the end of the building there are neither pillars nor steps, but images of Zeus, Athena, and Hera. Zeus is seated on a throne, Hera is represented standing on his right, and Athena on his left. Going on from here you will come to what is called the Cleft Way."<sup>2</sup> The site of the building, which is marked by a number of large blocks and much broken stone lying in a field, is to the left (as one comes from Davlia) of a footpath which was paved by the Turks, so the farmers say. While there are several ancient blocks along the way, it would be difficult to assert that the ancient road has determined the line of the modern path. Nevertheless, the ancient road must have passed through the gap along the west side of the river just as the modern path does.

In modern times Edward Dodwell was the first to identify the site, and he reports "the ruins of some large edifice, consisting of blocks of stone which are scattered in heaps, and are half covered with the pirnos and lentiscus. These are probably the ruins of the Phocicon . . .".<sup>3</sup> Ulrichs also visited the site, and it is accurately described by Bursian.<sup>4</sup> G. Soteriades noted some massive bases of large stelai.<sup>5</sup> L. B. Tillard describes some Hellenic blocks with sinkings and T clamps.<sup>6</sup> McDonald, although he failed to find the remains, suggests two possible reconstructions of the

<sup>1</sup> This excellent and clear presentation of the area was created by G. M. K. Hight of New York City and Ghana, and follows the British Military Map for the relevant sections of Boeotia and Phokis. We are very grateful to him for his care and artistic help.

<sup>2</sup> Pausanias X, 5, 1-3, translated by J. G. Frazer.

<sup>3</sup> *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece during the years 1801, 1805, 1806*, London, 1819, I, p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> H. N. Ulrichs, *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland*, Bremen, 1840, I, p. 148; C. Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, Leipzig, 1862, I, p. 169.

<sup>5</sup> Πρακτικά, 1907, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> B.S.A., XVII, 1910-1911, p. 68.



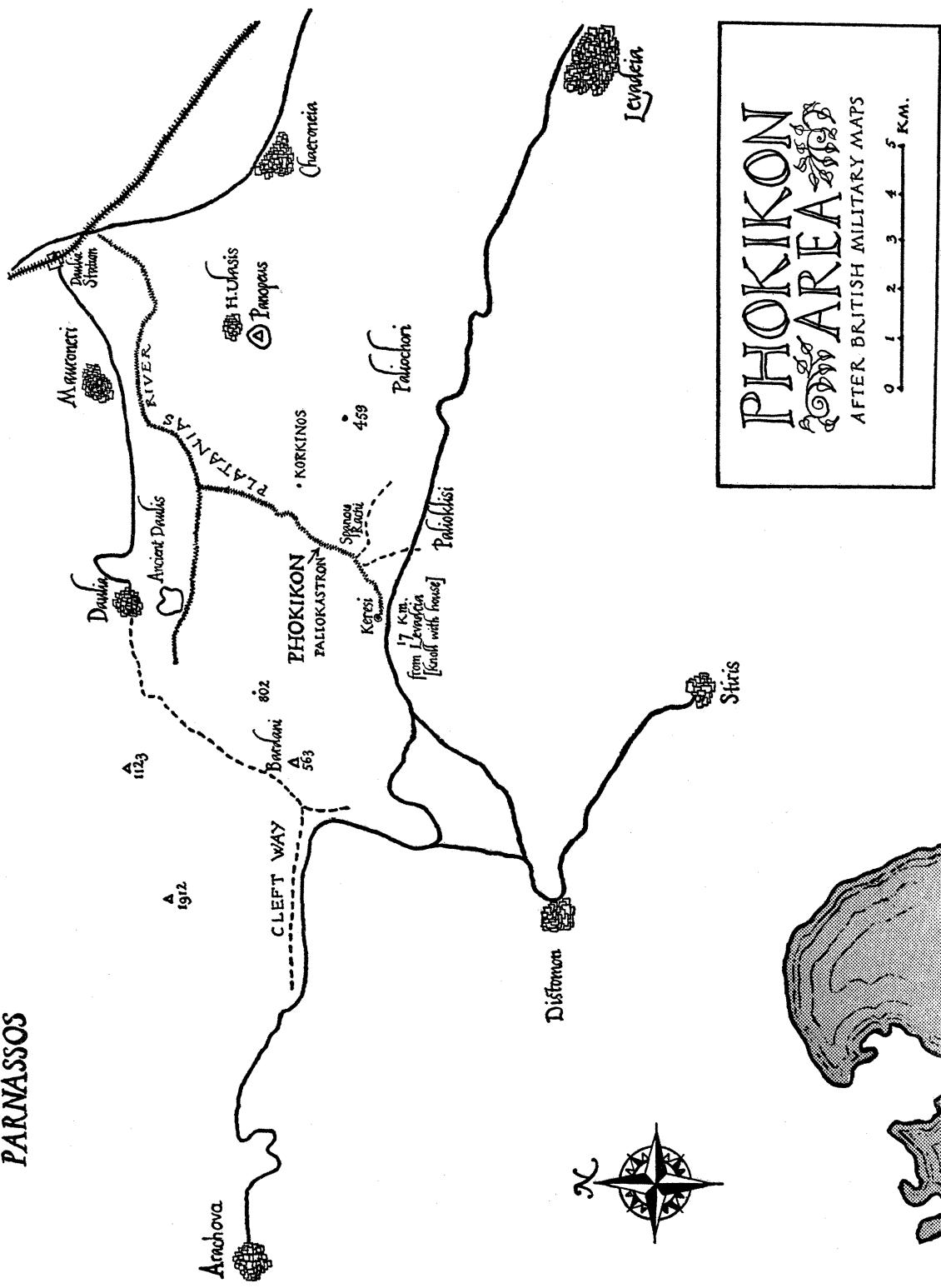


FIG. 1. Map of Phokikon Area.

building based on Pausanias' description.<sup>7</sup> The site is also noted in A. Philippson and E. Kirsten, *Die Griechischen Landschaften*.<sup>8</sup> Finally L. Robert, in an article to which we shall return, brings the Phokikon into a discussion of the location of the Phocian towns of Tronis and Patronis and of the sanctuary of the Hero Archegetes.<sup>9</sup>

Thus, although formal proof was lacking, there has been general agreement among modern writers as to the site of the Phokikon. The amount and kind of material visible on the surface makes it apparent that by excavation one might hope to find interesting epigraphical evidence bearing on the Phocian league and on Phocian history, as well as architectural evidence as to the form of the assembly hall described by Pausanias.

### EXPLORATION<sup>10</sup>

The area abounds in antiquities. There are many large building blocks, and the countless walls that separate the fields bristle with fragments of ancient blocks (Pl. 61, a). This process of transformation still goes on. At the time of our first visit there was no wall to the right in the view on Plate 60, a, and around the pile of stones and near the trees there were perhaps twenty good ancient blocks of dark gray limestone. The new wall, similar to many in the valley, is of freshly broken stones.

But although there are traces of habitation all over the valley, there is a concentration of material at two points, near the center of the valley beside the path, and on a ridge a short distance to the northwest. The first of these is the presumed site of the Phokikon, the parliament house of the Phocians, the second appears to be a sanctuary.

<sup>7</sup> W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore, 1943, esp. pp. 261-262; other references will be found in his index.

<sup>8</sup> Vol. I, Part II, pp. 431, 655.

<sup>9</sup> *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 1960, pp. 70-82.

<sup>10</sup> Most of the exploration and the topographical study discussed here was completed in 1954-1955 while Edward French was Charles Eliot Norton Fellow of Harvard University at the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. During the summer of 1960 and again in 1961 he visited the site, on the last occasion discovering two inscriptions. The study of the inscriptions is largely the work of Eugene Vanderpool, since French did not have access to a library, although both authors worked together on the inscribed stele when it was first found. Vanderpool has worked also on the topography. The text of the article as here published was put together by long distance correspondence between the two authors.

On each trip to Davlia French was the *philoxenoumenos* of Achilleus Megas, the grandson of the heroic Johannes Megas who slew a band of forty brigands in 1856, perishing in the effort, and whose monument now stands in the Cleft Way at the point where the footpaths from Levadeia, Arachova and Davlia converge. The personal debt to Achilleus Megas and his family for their kindness to a *xenos* is beyond measure; the ancient tradition of gracious hospitality lives on in them and theirs. To John Travlos we owe Figures 2 and 3. Finally, we are indebted to John Threpsiades, late Ephor of Antiquities of the district, for his interest, for his help in having the two inscriptions removed to the Chaeronea Museum and for permission to publish them.

Before writing about the remains and discoveries at these two sites, however, it will be necessary to describe the area as a whole in somewhat greater detail (Fig. 2).

The Platanias river, coming from the Keresi valley, breaks through a chain of

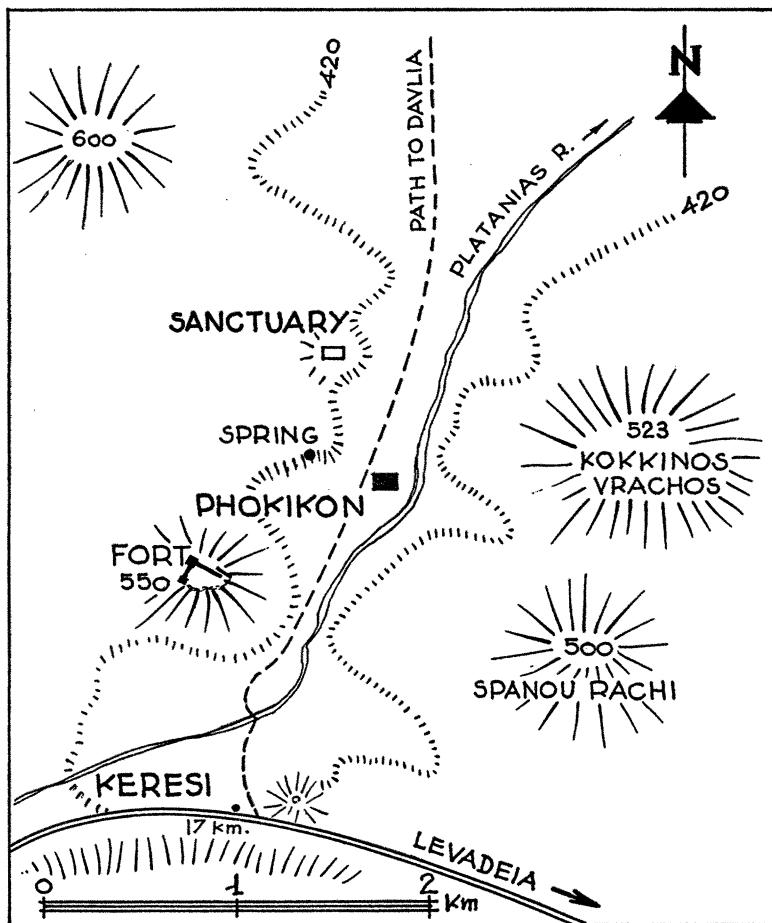


FIG. 2. Detail of Phokikon Area. Based on British-Greek Staff Map 1:100,000, Sheet I 8, Levadeia.

The floor of the valley is 400 meters above sea level at a point just north of the Phokikon and it rises gently towards the south. The 420 meter contour line has been drawn in on either side and indicates the approximate outline of the slopes that enclose the valley. The heights of the principal hills are given in figures.

steep but not very high hills which forms a link between the massifs of Parnassos and Helikon before issuing into the plain below Davlia. To its west as it enters the gap is a steep hill about 550 meters high crowned with the ruins of the ancient fort

described by Tillard.<sup>11</sup> This is the narrowest part of the pass (Pl. 60, b). Beyond, the river hugs the foot of the hills to the east while a small valley opens out to the west affording a fine view of Parnassos (Pl. 60, a). In this valley, between the stream and the path, lie the ruins identified as the Phokikon. The pass narrows, then opens again on the west side in a series of low ridges or hills into the plain below Davlia (Pl. 60, e). Beside the first of these ridges, a little above the Phokikon, is a perennial spring shaded by large trees; its water is now used by the flocks that graze on the neighboring hills, and also to water the wheat and cotton in the valley. The second ridge to the north has the remains of the sanctuary.

The photographs on Plate 60 will make the lay of the land clearer.

Plate 60, a is taken from the site of the Phokikon looking westward up the valley towards Parnassos.

Plate 60, b is taken from the first ridge looking southward through the gap into the Keresi valley. The hill with the fort rises to the right but only its lowest slopes are visible. The Phokikon site is at the extreme left and is marked by a hedge and two isolated trees.

Plate 60, c is taken from a different point on the same ridge looking southeast with the Phokikon site near the center between the hedge and the two isolated trees (now nearly in line with one another).

Plate 60, d is from the slopes of the hill with the fort, looking northeast. The Phokikon is in the center background, to the left of the whitest field. The trees at the left mark the spring beside the first ridge and beyond them is the northern part of the pass. To the far right trees trace the course of the Platanias winding its often waterless way toward the town of Mavroneri.

Plate 60, e is from the same general direction but lower down. The trees by the spring (here without leaves) are at the left. The Phokikon is at the extreme right. In the foreground among the bushes are the ruins of a small chapel.

Plate 60, f shows the gate of the fort on the hill with a view of part of the Phokikon valley below to the north.

#### FINDS FROM THE PHOKIKON AREA

The presumed site of the Phokikon is a field of twenty or thirty meters on a side which belongs to Basilius Dellios of Davlia and which lies out in the center of the little valley to the left of the path as one comes from that village. There is a small wayside shrine to the right of the path at just this point. The level of the field is noticeably higher than that of the neighboring fields on the north and east, and there is much more broken stone here than elsewhere in the vicinity. Fragments of coarse tiles are also to be found, and bits of pottery as well. In a field about 300 meters

<sup>11</sup> B.S.A., XVII, 1910-1911, pp. 66-68.

from the central area and near the church we noted a fragment from the foot of a black-glazed skyphos which Miss Barbara Philippaki assured us was of the fifth century B.C. There are also sherds of Roman times. But it is in Dellios' field that most of the large ancient blocks are to be seen, some of which had been noted by previous visitors to the site.

We publish below some of the more characteristic blocks from the site and also three inscriptions, reminding the reader that there exist many other large squared blocks in various states of preservation, and that a sharp eye might easily detect further pieces of interest.

1. Limestone block with broad shallow groove in its upper surface. Fig. 3; Pl. 61, c. Dimensions as indicated in the drawing.<sup>12</sup>

The block, although damaged at the edges and corners, is complete in all essentials. It is a corner block and once formed part of a curb that was continued in two directions at right angles to one another by a series of stretchers. These were attached to the corner block by T clamps, and the joint surfaces were carefully prepared with anathyrosis. On the upper surface of the block is a broad shallow groove, its surface rather roughly dressed.

Judging from the form of the clamps and the quality of the work, the block probably dates from the fifth century B.C.

2. Fragment of limestone block with broad shallow groove on upper surface. Pl. 61, b.

W. 0.56 m., P. H. 0.20 m., W. of channel 0.23 m. Broken at both ends.

Tillard reports some similar blocks.<sup>13</sup> "Some of the blocks have sinkings 1 m. long, .23 m. wide, and .06 deep and T clamps; others have only a sinking, .57 m. long x .19 m. wide by .087 deep." Our block 2 might be part of one of the blocks seen by Tillard, but the others have disappeared. Our corner block, No. 1, is a new discovery, evidently not seen by Tillard who would surely have noted a corner block had he seen one.

The grooves in these blocks probably served to hold in place wooden beams that supported seats or benches, also of wood.

Similar blocks were found *in situ* around the walls of the Anaktoron or Hall of

<sup>12</sup> The drawing was made by Mr. John Travlos, not from the block itself but from the photograph and some over-all dimensions that were supplied him, and so cannot be considered completely accurate. Its purpose is simply to show the block and certain of its details more clearly than they appear in the photograph. We are grateful to Mr. Travlos for this assistance and also for calling our attention to similar blocks from the Anaktoron at Samothrace.

<sup>13</sup> B.S.A., XVII, 1910-1911, p. 68.

Initiation in Samothrace, where it is clear that they supported wooden benches.<sup>14</sup> These blocks thus provide architectural evidence for a hall with seating arrangements for a large group of people and give for the first time tangible support to the view

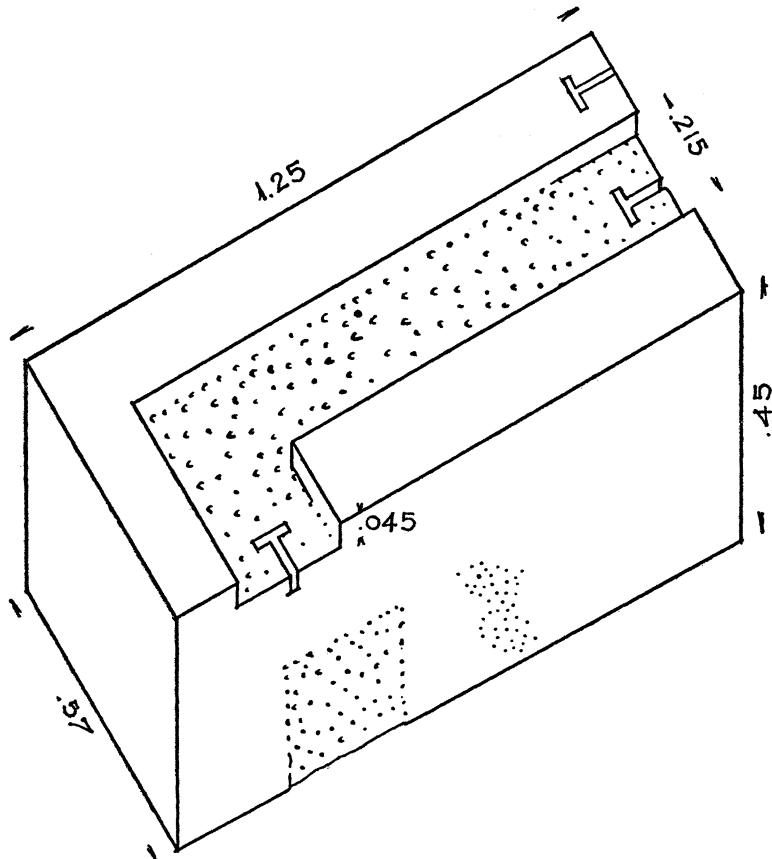


FIG. 3. Corner Limestone Block with Groove.

that the site on which they were found is indeed that of the Phokikon or parliament house of the Phocian deputies.

### 3. Stele base with cuttings for two stelai. Pl. 61, e and f.

L. 0.92 m., W. 0.64 m., Th. 0.37 m. As it lay in the field, a bedding for a stele (0.485 m. x 0.22 m. x 0.07 m. deep) was visible in the top of this block (Pl. 61, f). Turning it over with the aid of a shepherd to examine it more carefully, we found a

<sup>14</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 138; XLIV, 1940, p. 334. *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pl. 1. Karl Lehmann, *Samothrace, a Guide to the Excavations and the Museum*, 1955 and 1960, p. 47, figs. 25 (plan) and 18 (reconstruction of the interior).

second cutting (0.385 m. x 0.115 m. x 0.07 m. deep) on an adjacent face (Pl. 61, e). The end surface opposite the second cutting is irregular, but not broken. Never finished, it was not meant to show and so was the one edge originally intended to be completely underground. The other five sides are surfaced. As the large face opposite the "first" cutting was surfaced we may conclude that that back was once exposed. The first stele would then have been placed in the smaller cutting. When the base was re-used, apparently no attempt was made to change the surface of the end which had been below ground and the larger cutting was rather carelessly centered closer to the right edge.

**4. Stele base with cutting.** Pl. 61, d.

L. 0.945 m., W. 0.54 m., Th. 0.42 m. Dimensions of stele cutting 0.42 m. x 0.18 m. x 0.10 m. deep.

It will be recalled that Soteriades reported bases for stelai at the site, perhaps one or both of those recorded here.<sup>15</sup>

**5. Inscribed stele. Pl. 62, a and b.**

Basilios Dellios of Davlia reports that the stele was protruding from his cotton field. As it interfered with his cultivation, he pulled it out and rolled it over to the wall at the edge of the field. Some six months later (May 27, 1961) when we were re-examining the site we noticed the slab and saw that it had letters on it. It was taken to the Chaeronea Museum four days later (Inv. No. 268).

P. H. 0.585 m., P. W. 0.595 m., Th. above 0.175 m., below 0.18 m., Letter H.  
0.008 m.

The lower part of a large stele of blue-gray limestone. Right edge preserved, and probably some of lower edge towards right. Broken above and at left. Back smooth. The inscribed surface is badly worn and scratched.

Judging from the letter forms, the inscription may be dated in the late third or early second century B.C.

— — — — — Σ — — — — —  
ἀναγράψ] αι δὲ τὰ ὄνόμα [τα — — —  
] ιτειαι υ· Ἕγησιππ[ος  
Μνασίππου Τιμοκλῆ[ς  
5 Θρα] σ[ύ] λλου Ἡράκλειτος Γε  
Ἐπιγένης Γοργώπα Ἐπιξέ  
Νικόδρομος Ἰα{α}τά  
[δα] — — — — — ] σιππος Νικοστράτου Σιμο

<sup>15</sup> *Практика*, 1907, p. 110.

10 ----- Σπρομβ[ί]χου Δαμοίτας Σι  
 ----- Μ]ητρόδωρος Ἐπικράτουν Πολυ  
 ----- οτος..ΣΥΡ-----]τος Πολυ[κ]ράτους Ἀργεάδης --  
 ----- Τ----- Πιστοκλῆς Παρμενι[--  
 ----- νμος----- IE----- ΛΙΟ----- ΩΤ--  
 15 ----- Σ-----  
 ----- ΟΣ-----  
 ----- ΟΜ----- ΩΡΟ-----  
 ----- ]νίδον Ἀριστόμαχος.ν....ον Φιλόλαος -----  
 ----- ]ιμον Ἐπίνικος Μένωνος....ος Αἰσχίνον -----  
 20 -----  
 ----- Σώνι[κ]ος Κλέωνος...ν.ος-----  
 ----- ]ον Πολύστρατος Γ.λλινον-----  
 ----- ΟΣΝΑ----- ΟΛΟΥ-----  
 ----- Κ]λεαίνετος...ον Ἀρχαγ[-----  
 25 ----- Σάτυρος Λυκομ[-----  
 ----- Τ-----  
 -----  
 -----  
 30 -----  
 ----- ΤΟΥΣΥΛ-----  
 ----- Δεπτίνης Τιμο-----  
 ----- vacat.

The inscription is very difficult to read. In the text above we have not tried to record all the isolated letters that can be seen, either certainly or doubtfully, here and there on the stone. We have generally transcribed only those parts of the text where a name, or a substantial part of one, can be read. Further work would probably yield more.

Line 7. ΙΑΛΤΑ : the name Iatadas which we restore here is not uncommon at Delphi.

The inscription consisted of a decree followed by a list of names. Only a few words from the last two lines of the decree are preserved containing provisions for inscribing it. The names are given with patronymics but without ethnics as far as can be determined. They occupy thirty lines of text, and if, without knowing the full width of the stele, we estimate four names to a line, we see that about 120 persons will have been listed. The last 0.18 m. of the stone are blank.

The names have been looked up in Schober's Phocian prosopography,<sup>16</sup> in the indices of the epigraphical volumes of the *Fouilles de Delphes*,<sup>17</sup> and the indices of the volumes of *Inscriptiones Graecae* for the neighboring provinces of Boeotia, Thessaly and Aetolia. We have also consulted various other general books and special articles, but as far as we have been able to discover none of the persons mentioned in our inscription is otherwise known.

The decree on the lost upper part of the stele no doubt made it clear who these people were and why their names were being inscribed. In the present mutilated condition of the stone it is only from line 3 that we may hope for a clue. We read here —] **I**TEIAI which must be either a dative singular with iota adscript or a nominative plural. There follows an uninscribed area of one letter space, then proper names begin. We have, therefore, either the end of the decree or part of a heading for the list of names. If it is a heading, it would most likely be an ethnic defining the nationality of the persons whose names follow, or a title giving their position or rank. No restorations in this sense suggest themselves, and the fact that no other headings appear among the names below, as far as one can tell, also weighs against this interpretation. If it is the end of the decree, we might expect some reference to the place where the stele, or a copy of it, was to be set up, the name of some town or sanctuary, some building or locality. Again, however, no convincing restoration suggests itself.<sup>18</sup> A word that fits most easily the letters preserved on the stone and at the same time yields satisfactory sense is [*πολ]* *ιτείαι*, *citizenship*.<sup>19</sup> If this interpretation is correct, we find the Phocians conferring citizenship on a group of about 120 people. Such large grants of citizenship are not unknown. The people of Dyme in Achaea granted citizenship to 52 people who helped them in time of war.<sup>20</sup> The people of Larisa admitted over two hundred new citizens when their population had been decimated by war.<sup>21</sup> Our decree, since it was found on what is almost certainly the site of the

<sup>16</sup> Friedrich Schober, *Phokis*, Jena dissertation, Crossen on the Oder, 1924, pp. 86-114.

<sup>17</sup> Prof. Georges Daux was kind enough to check on our behalf the French School's working index of names occurring on Delphian inscriptions.

<sup>18</sup> Meliteia, the name of a Thessalian town, might be restored; so also might Triteia, a name applied to several towns; see *R.E.*, s.v. Trataia and Triteia. Without further evidence, however, one could hardly support these or other similar suggestions.

<sup>19</sup> The form might be either dative singular or nominative plural. For the former, cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1236, line 3, [ἐτίμη]σεν ὁ δῆμος πολιτέαι αὐτόν (Athens, mid-second century B.C.); for the latter cf. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 353, lines 8-10, ἀναγράψαι δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν πολιτείαν εἰς τὸ ιερὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, οὐ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ πολιτείαι ἀναγεγραμμέναι εἰσίν· ἐπικληρώσαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ εἰς φυλήν — —. (Ephesus, 302/1 B.C.).

<sup>20</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 529 (219 B.C.)

<sup>21</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 543 = *I.G.*, IX, 2, 517 (214 B.C.). There is an illuminating discussion of decrees of this type by M. Feyel, *Polybe et l' histoire de Béotie*, pp. 285-300. He dates all five known to him in the late third century B.C. and connects them with the policy of Philip V. For the heading of what appears to be another similar list, see Θ. Δ. Ἀξενίδου, Ἡ Πελασγίς Λάρισα καὶ ἡ Ἀρχαί Θεσσαλία, Athens, 1949, Vol. II, pp. 48-53; for text and brief comment, see J. and L. Robert, *R.E.G.*, LXV, 1952, p. 152, No. 68.

Phokikon, is probably a decree of the Phocian league rather than a decree of the town that also seems to have occupied the site. Whether Phocian citizenship (actual, not honorary) could exist as such, apart from citizenship in one of the member towns, is doubtful, but this matter could easily have been regulated in the decree by a clause providing that the newly admitted citizens be allotted to, or allowed to choose, the city with which they wished to be affiliated.<sup>22</sup>

#### 6. Archaic Headstone, Pl. 62, c and d.

Noted in May 1961 lying at the edge of a field belonging to Basilius Dellios about one hundred meters north of the Phokikon site. Transported to the Chaeronea Museum, November 20, 1961 (Inv. No. 269).

H. 0.93 m., W. 0.47 m., Th. 0.15 m., Letter H. 0.04-0.06 m.

An unworked piece of limestone of fairly regular shape, its edges all rounded and smooth and its surfaces undulating; probably taken from the river bed and used in its natural state. The inscription is written across the mid-point of the stone:

Δ ο ρ κ ι λ ο σ

Late sixth century B.C. On archaic Phocian inscriptions see L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, pp. 99-104.

#### 7. Archaic Headstone. Pl. 62, e and f.

Noted in 1955 lying in a heap of stones in the field of Basilius Dellios on the site of the Phokikon. It was still there in 1961 and has been left on the site, being too large and awkward to move.

P. L. 1.02 m., W. 0.44 m., Th. 0.25 m., Letter H. 0.05 m.

An unworked limestone block similar to the last but less regularly shaped. Broken at one end. The inscription runs lengthwise to the block, but only its start is preserved:

Ἐ π ι - -

Late sixth or early fifth century B.C. The right leg of the pi is distinctly shorter than the left, though this is not apparent in the photograph.

These two grave stones are the earliest datable objects so far found on the site and suggest that there was a town or settlement in the area as early as the sixth century B.C.

<sup>22</sup> In the Ephesian decree cited above, note 19, the citizen was allotted to his tribe. In the decree of Larisa, above note 21, he chose his tribe. In Athens it was usual to allow the new citizen to choose his tribe, deme and phratriy. In Akarnania we find a situation more nearly comparable to ours, as we have imagined it: *καὶ πολιτείαν εἴ[ναι αὐτῷ τῆς Ἀ]καρνανίας ἐν ὄποιᾳ[ι ἀν βούληται π]όλει* (*I.G.*, IX, I, 445 = *I.G.*, IX, I<sup>2</sup>, fasc. 2, 393).

### THE SANCTUARY HILL

Climbing up the ridge above the spring and looking northward, the shepherd Eustathios Alexakis pointed out to us a low hill whose flat top is cultivated and whose sides are covered with brush (Pl. 63, a). In and around the field on the top of the hill are many ancient squared blocks. Some of them may be *in situ* (Pl. 63, c); others have clearly been pulled out of the ground and lined up on the surface so as to interfere as little as possible with cultivation (Pl. 63, b and e). Some of the blocks show anathyrosis or pry holes, and all evidently once formed part of a substantial building of classical times. A clue to the date of occupation of the site is given by a fragment of a lion head spout from a terracotta sima and two black-glazed sherds picked up in the field. These are now in the Chaeronea Museum and are described below.

**8. Fragment of Terracotta Lion Head. Pl. 63, d.**

Inv. No. 830. P. H. 0.11 m.

Broken all around. Part of mane and cheek of proper right side preserved; also part of hole for spout. Buff clay with some orange grits.

Fifth or fourth century B.C.

**9. Base of Black-glazed Stemless Cup with Stamped Decoration. Pl. 63, f, right.**

Inv. No. 831. Diam. of base 0.048 m.

The complete circle of the base is preserved, but the body is missing. Stamped decoration on the floor: a circle of ovules surrounded by seven palmettes. Very low foot and nicely moulded under side, glazed except for a small reserved circle at center.

Late fifth century B.C.

**10. Base of Black-Glazed Bowl with Stamped Decoration. Pl. 63, f, left.**

Inv. No. 832. Diam. of base 0.06 m.

About half the circle of the base and part of the floor preserved. On floor an incised groove surrounded by stamped palmettes, two of which are preserved. High ring foot. Resting surface and under side within foot reserved. Clay buff at surface, orange at core.

Fourth century B.C.

The remains, as we have seen, are confined to the top of the hill, and from their isolated situation we may assume them to be those of a sanctuary.<sup>28</sup> We found no clue,

<sup>28</sup> These are probably the ruins which Soteriades took for a fort in his description of the Phokikon area (*Πρακτικά*, 1907, p. 110); he writes that the valley "is fortified at its entrance and at its exit by ancient forts, of which the latter is almost completely preserved." He is moving up-stream and the well preserved fort is clearly the one on peak 550; the other may be the ruins on our hill.

These ruins are probably also those noted by Dodwell (see above, note 3) after leaving the Phokikon: "Some way farther on, the road passes near a large tumulus, flat at the top, with some fragments of tiles and pottery about it, and twelve small ever-green oaks on its summit. Pausanias

however, as to the divinity worshipped there. Nevertheless, we may perhaps be permitted to speculate and to pick up a thread at the point where it was dropped by L. Robert in an article already mentioned.<sup>24</sup> Robert discusses the Phocian towns of Tronis and Patronis, but in the end confesses himself unable to decide on the basis of the existing evidence whether Tronis and Patronis are one and the same place, located at Hagia Marina north of Daulis, or whether they are separate, Patronis being at Hagia Marina and Tronis somewhere south of Daulis. One of the lines of argument that leads to the latter conclusion<sup>25</sup> is of especial interest in view of the discoveries reported above. This argument depends on Pausanias' reference to Tronis which occurs in his description of Daulis and which reads as follows:

"In the land of Daulis there is a place called Tronis where there is a shrine of the hero-founder. Some say this hero is Xanthippus, a famous warrior; but others say that he is Phocus, son of Ornition, son of Sisyphus. However that may be, he is worshipped every day, and the Phocians bring victims, and the blood they pour through a hole into the grave, but the flesh it is their custom to consume on the spot."<sup>26</sup>

In this passage of Pausanias, Robert argues, the sacrifice of "the Phocians" at the heroön of the Hero Archegetes (hero-founder) would be most readily intelligible if this heroön were near the "Phokikon," the meeting place of the Phocians. "Not that I want to identify the Phokikon and the cult place of the Archegetes," he continues, "but there will have been a fairly close topographical relationship." This sounds quite reasonable, and we may ask if the sanctuary we have described is not perhaps that of the Hero Archegetes.<sup>27</sup>

In sum, then, our investigations have brought fresh evidence for the identification of the Phokikon, some blocks that suggest the date of the building and the type of seating it contained, and several bases for inscribed stelai that stood near the building as well as a fragment of one of the actual stelai; two archaic tombstones suggest a town or settlement in the valley as early as the sixth century B.C.; and finally we have located remains of a sanctuary which may be that of the Hero Archegetes. Clearly, further investigations in this interesting area would be rewarding.

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mentions the heroic monument of Xanthippos, in a district of the Dauliad called Tronis; and this may be the monument in question. Twenty minutes beyond this place we crossed the small river called Alaphantino, which turns a corn mill, and arrived at Daulis in the evening." Our hill, when seen from the path to Davlia, looks very like a large tumulus.

<sup>24</sup> *Hellenica*, XI-XII, 1960, pp. 70-82.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 81-82.

<sup>26</sup> Pausanias X, 4, 10, translated by J. G. Frazer.

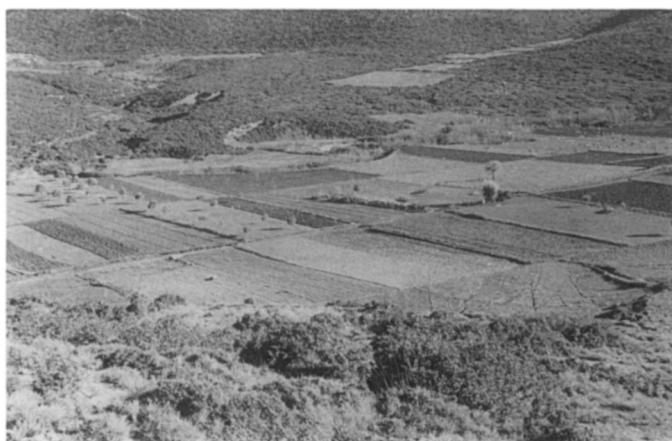
<sup>27</sup> Dodwell appears to have had the same idea if not for the same reasons. The fact that Pausanias does not mention the Hero Archegetes in the same passage as the Phokikon need not trouble us. The Hero is brought in as part of the discussion of the myths and cults of Daulis; the Phokikon is noted in topographical sequence.



a. Phokikon Area looking towards Parnassos.



b. Phokikon Area looking towards Keresi Valley.



c. Phokikon Area looking towards Southeast.



d. Phokikon Area looking Northeast.



e. Phokikon Area looking Northeast.



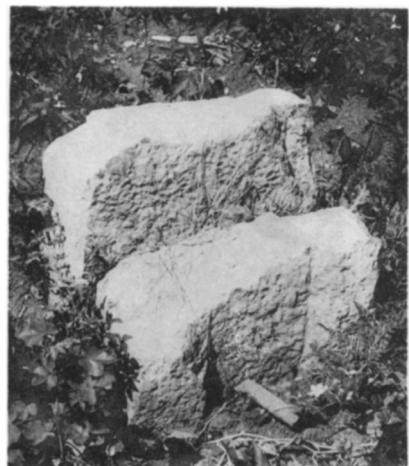
f. Phokikon, Gate of Fort on Hill.

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PLATE 61



a. Phokikon Area. Wall of Broken Blocks.



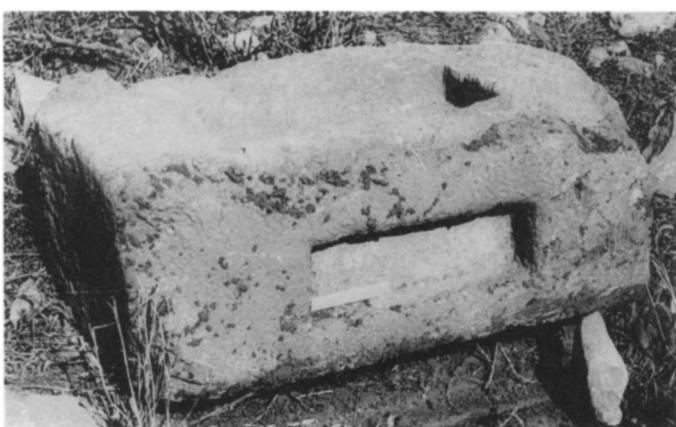
b. No. 2. Limestone Block with Groove.



c. No. 1. Corner Limestone Block with Groove.



d. No. 4. Stele Base.



e. No. 3. Stele Base, Second Cutting.



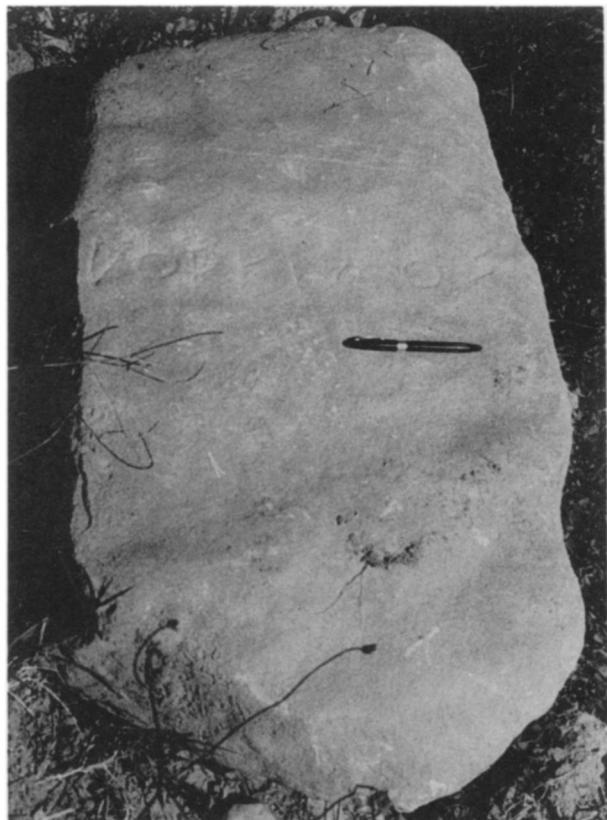
f. No. 3. Stele Base, First Cutting.



a. No. 5. Inscribed Stele.



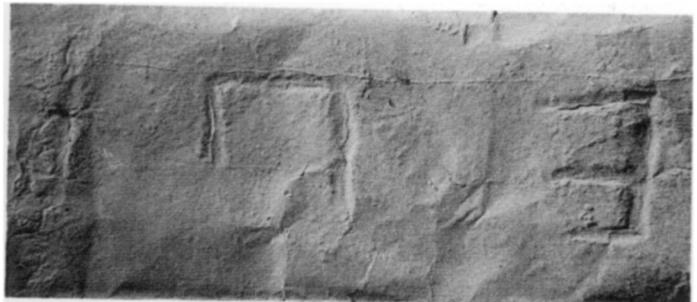
b. No. 5. Inscribed Stele. Detail of Upper Right Part (Photograph of Latex Squeeze).



c. No. 6. Headstone of Dorkilos.



e. No. 7. Archaic Headstone.



f. No. 7. Archaic Headstone. Detail of Inscription (from Back of Squeeze).



d. No. 6. Headstone of Dorkilos. Detail.

PLATE 63



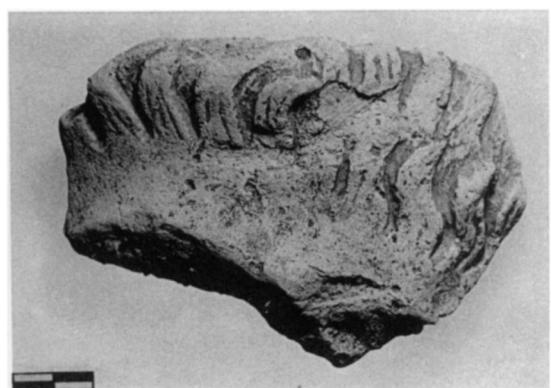
a. View of Sanctuary Hill, Looking North.



b. Sanctuary Hill. Blocks in Field.



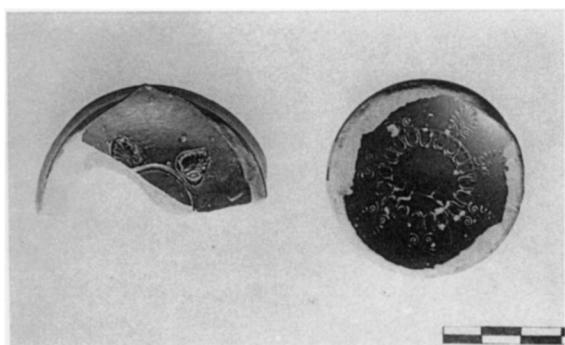
c. Sanctuary Hill. Blocks, some perhaps *in situ*.



d. No. 8. Sanctuary Hill. Lion Head Spout.



e. Sanctuary Hill. Detail of Blocks in Field.



f. Nos. 10, 9. Sanctuary Hill. Sherds.

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