

THE PHOKIKON AND THE HERO ARCHEGETES

(PLATE 54)

A SHORT DISTANCE WEST of the Boiotian town of Chaironeia the Sacred Way crossed the border into Phokis. The road went past Panopeus and on toward Daulis before turning south toward the Schiste Odos and, eventually, Delphi (Fig. 1). To reach the famous crossroads where Oidipos slew his father, the Sacred Way first had to pass through the valley of the Platanias River. In this valley, on the left side of the road, was the federal meeting place of the Phokians, the Phokikon.¹ This is one of the few civic buildings from antiquity whose internal layout is described by an eyewitness.² Pausanias says,

With respect to size the building is a large one, and within it there are columns standing along its length; steps ascend from the columns to each wall, and on these steps the delegates of the Phokians sit. At the far end there are neither columns nor steps, but a statue group of Zeus, Athena, and Hera; the statue of Zeus is enthroned, flanked by the goddesses, with the statue of Athena standing on the left (10.5.2).³

Frazer suggested that the interior of the building resembled the Thersilion at Megalopolis.⁴

The location of a federal assembly hall so close to the border with Boiotia, an often hostile neighbor, seems puzzling, but given the shape of the entire territory of Phokis, the position of the Phokikon makes sense (Fig. 2). As Philippson noted, “Die antike Landschaft Phokis ist nicht natürlich begrenzt und kein geographisch einheitliches Gebiet.”⁵ Ancient Phokis was dominated by Mount Parnassos, and the Phokians inhabited two distinct

¹ An earlier draft of this paper was delivered at the 92nd Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (San Francisco 1990; abstract, *AJA* 1991, pp. 331–332). I wish to thank Ms. Rozina Kolonia, Archaeologist of the First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, Delphi, for helping me gain permission to publish the inscription found in the Appendix, pp. 205–206; thanks are also owed to the Local Council of Antiquities of Central Greece for their recommendation and to the Greek Ministry of Culture for granting a permit. Two anonymous readers offered helpful suggestions, for which I am grateful.

² The bibliography on the Phokikon is short. The observations of the early travelers can be found in Frazer 1913, pp. 230–231. The work of later writers is summarized by French and Vanderpool (1963, pp. 213–225). See also Robert 1960, pp. 70–82. More recent discussions include Petronotis 1973, p. 127; Papachatzis 1981, pp. 283–284; French 1984; Fossey 1986, pp. 57–58; Dasios 1992, p. 40; Ellinger 1993, p. 294 and p. 295, note 307.

³ Translation by the author. Pausanias describes the columns standing inside the building *κατὰ μῆκος*. This means (*pace* Peter Levi) that the columns extended along the length of the building, like the columns along the side of a peripteral temple or along the front of a stoa. Steps (*ἀναβασμοί*) go up from the columns (*ἀπὸ τῶν χιόνων*) to each wall (*ἐς ἑκάτερον τοῖχος*). Presumably, then, the columns ran down the middle of a rectangular building with steps beginning near the center of the space and climbing both sides. Levi’s Penguin translation of Pausanias reads: “inside it the pillars stand in order of height, ascending in steps to the opposite wall.” This supposes a single bank of seats ascending only one wall and divided by a line of shrinking columns.

⁴ Frazer 1913, p. 230.

⁵ Philippson 1951, p. 464.

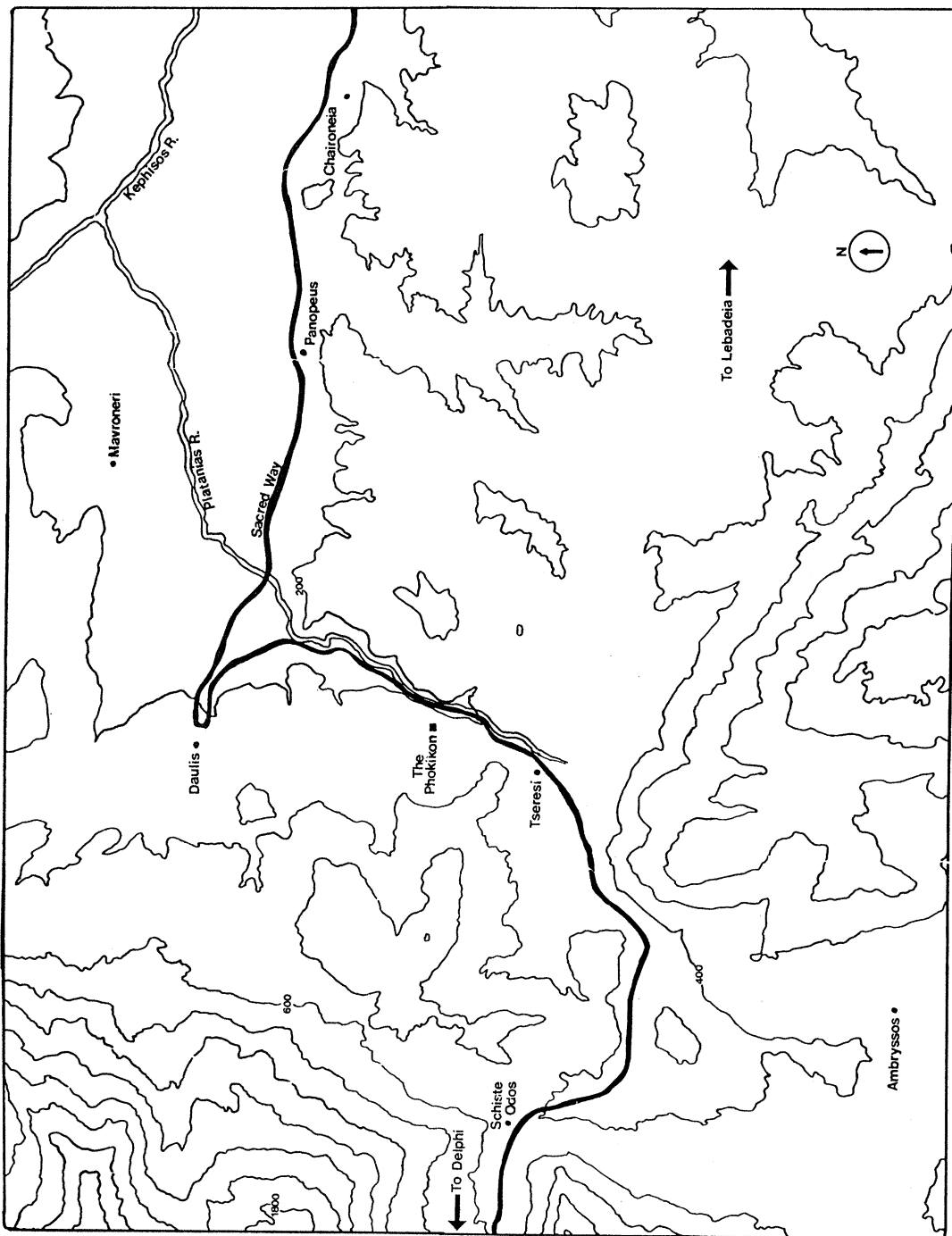


Fig. 1. The Sacred Way and the Phokikon

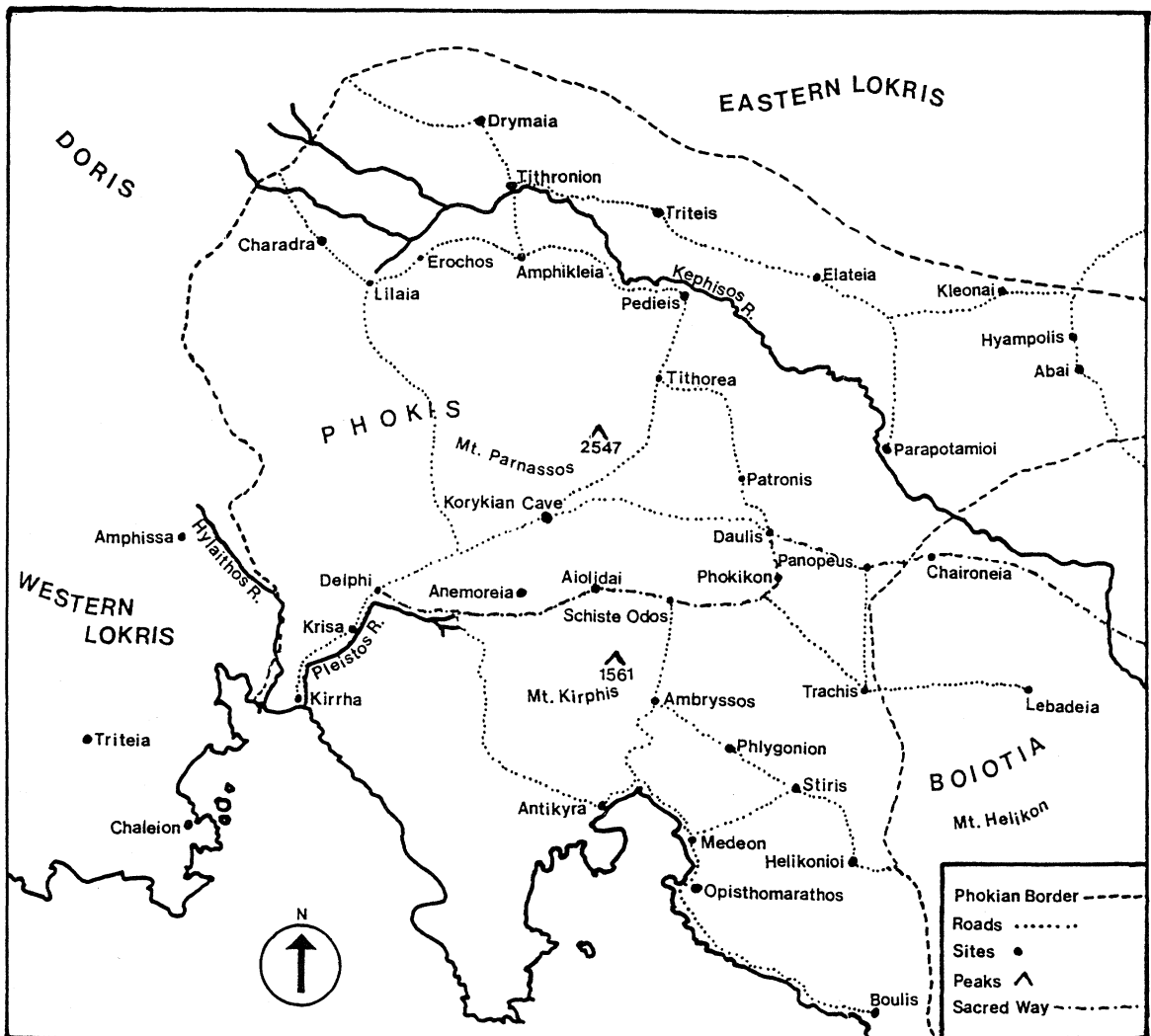


FIG. 2. Map of Phokis

districts beneath the mountain. To the north lay the valley of the upper Kephisos River, while south and east of Parnassos was an area comprised of mountains, valleys, and gorges extending from Mount Helikon as far as the Gulf of Krisa. The two most important cities were Delphi and Elateia.⁶ The Phokikon sat at the point of contact between these two districts, symbolically suggesting the unity of the Phokian *koinon*.

⁶ See Pausanias 10.34.1 and Strabo 9.3.2–3. Strabo emphasizes the strategic position of Elateia, commenting that “he who holds Elateia holds the passes into Phokis and Boiotia” (9.3.2–3) and that Elateia “commands the pass from Thessaly.” Undoubtedly the geographer was familiar with the famous passage in Demosthenes in which the orator describes the panic that erupted when the news reached Athens that Philip had taken Elateia (18.284).

There is little to be seen at the site. Dodwell described the area thus: “At the foot of Parnassos are the ruins of some ancient edifice, consisting of blocks of stone which are scattered in heaps, and are half covered with the pirnos and lentiscus.”⁷ The area has never been systematically excavated, although various worked blocks, grave stelai, a Hellenistic inscription, and some datable pottery were published by French and Vanderpool.⁸ To the grave stelai may now be added one more, described in the Appendix (pp. 205–206 below). The interpretation of these *membra disiecta* is complicated by the fact that there are, in fact, two buildings at the site of the Phokikon. The headstones, worked blocks, and a piece of an engaged column were found in a cotton field between the track running through the Tseresi valley and the left bank of the Platanius River. The terracotta lion-head waterspout and Classical black-glazed sherds came from a low rise less than one kilometer to the north, a spot which French and Vanderpool referred to as “Sanctuary Hill” (Pl. 54:a). Here were found lying *in situ* the foundations of a large rectangular building approximately 24 × 11.5 m. At the eastern end of the building are the remains of a monumental altar obscured by the undergrowth. No architectural or decorative elements above the euthynteria have been found except for the waterspout dated to the 5th century.

According to French and Vanderpool the first of these two areas, the cotton field close to the river, is the site of the Phokikon. There is a heavy concentration of coarse pottery sherds and broken roof tiles here, and the dramatic decrease in concentration in the adjacent fields shows that the sherds and roof tiles are an accurate pointer to the precise location of the building. French and Vanderpool also drew attention to the unusual nature of the blocks found all over the field. The grooves cut into the blocks, they argued, were designed to carry wooden beams supporting the steps or benches on which the Phokian delegates sat. This is consistent with Pausanias’ description and derives some archaeological support from blocks of a similar kind found in the Anaktoron on Samothrace.⁹

The second structure, which stood on Sanctuary Hill, was tentatively identified as a sanctuary by French and Vanderpool, who offered the suggestion that it might perhaps be the heroon of the Phokians’ federal hero, the Archegetes.¹⁰ Pausanias (10.4.10) places this heroon in a district called Tronis, which he locates somewhere in the vicinity of Daulis: ἔστι δὲ τῆς Δαυλίας χώρα καλουμένη Τρωνίς· ἐνταῦθα ἥρώιον ἦρω ἀρχηγέτου πεποιεταί.

⁷ Dodwell 1819, p. 201.

⁸ French and Vanderpool 1963: the terracotta lion head (pl. 63:D) dates to the 5th or 4th century. The black-glazed sherds are the base of a stemless cup dating to the late 5th century and the base of a 4th-century bowl with stamped decoration. See also Vanderpool 1964 and French 1984. To this material may now be added a single piece of an engaged column finished in plaster, first observed in the cotton field by the Platanius River in March 1990 (see above). The fragment has ten flutes on its columnar face, while the maximum preserved dimensions of the entire piece are 0.44 (H.) × 0.55 (L.) × 0.16 (W.) m.

⁹ On the Anaktoron and its forerunners see McCredie 1977, pp. 32–35.

¹⁰ French and Vanderpool 1963, pp. 215, 224–225. Contra see Fossey 1986, p. 58. The identification is accepted by Dasios (1992, p. 40). Ellinger (1993, p. 294 and p. 295, note 307) is wrong in asserting that Pausanias reports that the tomb and sanctuary of Phokos, the Archegetes of the Phokians, were located at the Phokikon. Pausanias does not connect the Phokikon with the heroon.

Since the Phokikon lies only three kilometers south of Daulis, it could be described as lying in a district of Daulis, and its locale might therefore correspond to Tronis. Furthermore, as Louis Robert pointed out, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the shrine of the Archegetes, to whom the Phokians offered chthonic sacrifice every day, would be close to the federal meeting place.¹¹ Heroes of particular importance were frequently worshiped in prominent places, as in the Prytaneion in Athens or at Olympia, where the grave of Pelops was located in the Altis “in the middle of the festival crowd.”¹² Other important heroes were buried next to city walls to offer protection or were worshiped on the outer edges of the state’s territory.¹³ Such hero shrines served as both a symbolic and a material claim to land. For example, the Phokian hero Schedios, killed by Hektor at Troy, was worshiped at Antikyra on the Corinthian Gulf but also at Daphnous, a port on the Euboian Gulf held by the Phokians briefly during the 6th century.¹⁴ Archegetai were among the most important heroes since subsequent generations of worshipers claimed linear descent from them.¹⁵ The worship of these heroized ancestors provided social cohesion and a focal point for the expression of a group identity: after three hundred years of subjection the newly free Messenians first celebrated their liberation by calling on Aristomenes and the other Messenian heroes to become inhabitants of the city.¹⁶ Given, then, the importance of ancestor cult to the community, a heroon close to a federal building would make sense.

In order to pinpoint Tronis and the location of the heroon of the Archegetes, Robert noted that the same toponym is mentioned in an inscription of the 2nd century B.C. (*IG IX i 61*) outlining the settlement of a land dispute between the town of Daulis and an individual named Antiochos. One of the topographical markers mentioned in the inscription is the term *Platana*, which Robert believed pointed to the *Platanias* River. This river flows through the *Tseresi* valley, in which the Phokikon is located, south of Daulis, before entering the *Chaironeian* plain. An addendum to the initial arbitration included a clause relating to the upkeep of the road to the shrine of the Archegetes, further corroborating, Robert felt, the connection between the toponym and the two buildings.

While the proposition that the building on Sanctuary Hill is the heroon of the Archegetes is thus plausible, none of the arguments on which the identification rests is conclusive. In the first place, there are no specific reasons for linking the worship of the hero Archegetes to the Phokikon. The Phokians are known to have made offerings to the eponymous hero Phokos at a shrine in *Tithorea*, northwest of Daulis, and there they also worshiped Asklepios as the Archegetes, so that the two Phokian cults to an Archegetes

¹¹ Robert 1960, pp. 81–82.

¹² Rohde 1925, p. 121.

¹³ Bérard 1978 and 1982.

¹⁴ Schedios at Antikyra: Pausanias 10.36.10; Schedios at Daphnous: Strabo 9.3.17.

¹⁵ On tomb cult and hero cult see Antonaccio 1995, especially pp. 253 and 263. Antonaccio recognizes “ancestral” tomb cult in the Archaic period, such as at the Archegesion complex on Delos, but regards the phenomenon as primarily a feature of the Classical age. Calligas (1988, pp. 233–234) offers a similar view.

¹⁶ Pausanias 4.27.6; see also Rohde 1925, pp. 527–533. For a complete list of gods and heroes with the epithet Archegetes see Leschhorn 1984, pp. 346–386.

whose locations can be identified with certainty lay elsewhere.¹⁷ Moreover, the identity of the hero worshiped at Tronis was disputed; some thought that it was not Phokos at all but a famous warrior named Xanthippos.¹⁸ There is therefore no compelling reason to assume that the shrine at Tronis was in the vicinity of the Phokikon. More troubling than this, however, is Robert's belief that the ancient toponym Platana could be equated with the river known in modern times as the Platania and that any district associated with this toponym necessarily lay south of Daulis in the Tseresi valley. Robert was wrong in thinking that the Platania River only flowed on the southern side of Daulis. Irrigation has so altered water courses in recent times that it is difficult to determine their earlier routes, but in the 1840's Ulrichs described the area in some detail. His description shows that up until at least the middle of the 19th century the Platania River flowed past Daulis and north into the plain of Chaironeia (Fig. 1): "Nördlich vom Dorfe (Daulis) in dem Winkel, den die Platania mit dem Cephissus bildet, springt vom Fusse des Parnasses (*sic*) her ein ausgedehnter Hügel vor, welcher Parori (τὸ Παρόρι), der Nebenberg, genannt wird. Am östlichen Ende desselben entspringt unter einigen Platanen die sehr wasserreiche perennirende Quelle Mauronero (τὸ Μαυρονέρο), die sich in den Cephissus ergießt."¹⁹ The corner to which Ulrichs refers lies close to the modern railway station of Daulis, where up until recent times the Platania had its confluence with the Kephisos. As a topographic marker, then, the Platania River cannot be used to locate Tronis in the vicinity of the Phokikon. Tronis could just as easily have lain north of Daulis, by Parori or Mavroneri.

Furthermore, it is far from certain that the term Platana even refers to a river. Border inscriptions do frequently use rivers or torrents as topographic markers, but terms such as *potamos*, *charadra*, or even the formula ὡς ὕδωρ ῥεῖ are commonly employed to distinguish water courses from other features in the landscape, such as prominent trees, rocks, ridges, or even temples and roads.²⁰ On its own, therefore, "Platana" cannot be assumed to be equivalent to "the Platania River". In fact, the nearest cognate to Platana is πλάτανος, "plane tree". Stands of plane trees are abundant in this area to this day, and it is probably to such a grove that the Daulian inscription refers. Pausanias mentions a sacred grove of plane trees outside Pharai, and it was not uncommon for such groves to be associated with hero shrines.²¹

Another serious obstacle to the identification of the building on Sanctuary Hill with the heroon of the Archegetes is the fact that at no point in his narrative does Pausanias connect the Phokikon with Tronis or the heroon located there, even though the two buildings identified by Robert, French, and Vanderpool are less than a kilometer apart and lie on the same road. French and Vanderpool account for this oddity by arguing that the heroon falls within Pausanias' section on the cults of Daulis while the Phokikon is treated as part of the topography, but this is a false dichotomy. In his treatment of Phokis

¹⁷ Phokos in Tithorea: Pausanias 10.32.10; Asklepios Archegetes: Pausanias 10.32.12; see also Farnell 1921, pp. 247–249.

¹⁸ Pausanias 10.4.10.

¹⁹ Ulrichs 1840, p. 151.

²⁰ See Daverio Rocchi 1988, *passim*.

²¹ Pausanias 7.22.1. In the same chapter Pausanias also reports a grove of bay trees dedicated to the Dioskouroi with an altar. On trees and hero shrines see Birge 1994, pp. 234–237.

Pausanias mentions six other extramural sanctuaries. They are the sanctuaries of Asklepios (10.32.12) and Isis (10.32.13) outside Tithorea (Fig. 2), the grove of Tithronian Apollo near the road from Amphikleia to Drymaia (10.33.12), the temple of Athena Kranaia above Elateia (10.34.7), and two sanctuaries of Artemis, the first to Artemis Diktyinnaia (10.36.5) beyond Ambryssos and the second just outside Antikyra (10.37.1). In each case Pausanias records the exact distance to the sanctuary from the city with which it is associated or else locates its position in relation to fixed points such as crossroads. Pausanias saw each sanctuary either while passing from one town to the next or, in the cases of Tithorea and of Elateia, while exploring the environs of the town after he had recorded what was to be seen in the town itself. The sanctuaries of Tithorea and Elateia did not lie on the road that Pausanias took as he continued his journey, suggesting that he went out of his way to see these sacred spots.²² But the road that runs past Sanctuary Hill also passes the Phokikon, which Pausanias saw and described in detail as he made his way toward Delphi. Accordingly, if this area is to be identified as Tronis we should expect, given his usual practice, that Pausanias would have recorded the distance from Daulis to this point and that he would have mentioned the heroon of the Archegetes immediately before describing the next building on his route, the Phokikon. In fact, after discussing the heroon at Tronis, Pausanias next relates the existence of a road from Daulis to the heights of Parnassos, a road which must originate high on the western side of Daulis and cross the plateau behind the town leading up onto the massif of Parnassos (10.5.1): ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄνοδος διὰ τῆς Δαυλίδος ἐς τὰ ἄκρα τοῦ Παρνασσοῦ μακροτέρα τῆς ἐκ Δελφῶν, οὐ μέντοι καὶ κατὰ ταῦτὰ χαλεπή. Only after describing the road up onto the mountain does he begin his description of the route to the Schiste Odos: ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ Δελφῶν εὐθειᾶν ἀναστρέψαντι ἐς Δαυλίδος καὶ ἰόντι ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσω, ἔστιν οἰκοδόμημα . . . καλούμενον Φωκικόν. There is a significant break, then, between Pausanias' description of the heroon at Tronis and his discussion of what he saw on the road to Delphi. Pausanias' narrative style would suggest that the locality of Tronis and the Phokikon were found in separate places.

In fact, Tronis lay to the north of Daulis in the opposite direction from the Phokikon. Tronis, as Leake recognized, is probably a variant or corruption of the toponym Patronis, a town whose position can be fixed from a passage in Plutarch.²³ In his description of the rendezvous between Sulla, marching north from Attica, and Hortensius' reinforcements,

²² Pausanias did not proceed from Tithorea into the plain of the Kephisos River. Instead he seems to have returned to Delphi, since the next chapter has him going from Delphi to Lilaia on the northwestern side of Parnassos. From Elateia he traveled on to Abai and Hyampolis. The Temple of Athena Kranaia is located east of Elateia, on a road which goes nowhere, and required then, as now, a special trip. See Paris 1892.

²³ For the modern discussion of the toponymy and topography of Patronis and Philoboiotos, see Leake 1835, pp. 104, 194; Kromayer 1903, pp. 358–363; Schober 1924, p. 38; Robert 1960, pp. 70–82; Lawrence 1979, pp. 237, 392; Fossey 1986, pp. 50–53. The corruption of Patronis into Tronis is paralleled by other changes in Phokian toponyms. Panopeus appears in epigraphic texts as Phanoteus, Tithorea as Tithora, Ambryssos as Ambrossos, Amphikeia as Amphikleia. A comparison of the lists of Phokian towns in Herodotos, Pausanias, and Strabo reveals that names were constantly changing. Recently, shepherds in the neighborhood of ancient Tithronion, when asked the name of the ruins nearby, referred to the town as Kallithronion.

on their way south from Thessaly, Plutarch (*Sulla* 15–16) recounts the route taken by Hortensius. After encamping at Tithorea and repulsing the enemy during the day, Hortensius that night descended by difficult paths to Patronis (νύκτωρ δ' ἐπὶ Πατρωνίδα ταῖς δυσχωρίαις καταβάς), where he met Sulla. The combined army took up a position on Philoboiotos, a hill described as rising out of the middle of the Elateian plain (βουνὸν ἐκ μέσων ἐστῶτα τῶν Ἑλατικῶν πεδίων) and as well wooded, with water at its base. The location of Tithorea is known (Fig. 2), and Philoboiotos corresponds to Koukoule, the hill that rises behind the village of Basiliki, and so we can pinpoint the two extremities between which lay Patronis.²⁴ This allows us to identify with some confidence the ruined acropolis and town located behind the village of Agia Marina halfway between Philoboiotos and Tithorea as Patronis.²⁵

If Patronis, identified with Agia Marina, does correspond to Tronis a further note of explanation is called for, since Pausanias describes Tronis as part of the territory of Daulis, while Patronis lies at the edge of the upper Kephisos valley. In order to determine whether or not Patronis/Agia Marina could have been part of the *chora* of Daulis in antiquity, I walked north from Daulis by the most direct route possible to Patronis, a distance of about five kilometers as the crow flies. The walk takes less than two hours and is never difficult. One leaves Daulis by the road going north toward the town cemetery. Beyond this there is an easy track that heads northwest through the foothills. It stays west of the saddle separating Parori from Mount Parnassos and passes between an outrunner to the east called Makryrachi and the steep side of the mountain proper, known hereabouts as Matsota and Ampouria. The track begins at Daulis at 400 m above sea level and reaches 480 m at Trabala, midway along the route. After this the path stays between 460 m and 440 m all the way to the small upland plain below the kastro at Patronis, at 480 m. For traffic going on foot or by mule this route is far shorter and easier than the circuitous route taken by the modern road, which stays in the plain wherever possible. In topographic terms, there is no reason to exclude Patronis from the territory of Daulis, since the two are connected by easily traversed paths in the foothills.

One further difficulty with identifying the building on Sanctuary Hill as the heroon of the Archegetes arises from Pausanias' description of the cult practised here. Chthonic sacrifices could take place in a variety of settings, ranging from pits, such as the one at Lebadeia (where a ram was sacrificed to Agamedes on the night when a visitor was about to consult the oracle of Trophonios) or the offering trench attached to the Marathon tumulus, to temples.²⁶ But Pausanias speaks only of the Phokians pouring blood through a hole

²⁴ Maps of the Hellenic Army Geographic Service (scale 1:50,000) incorrectly identify the modern hilltop of Parori as Philoboiotos. Parori is the spur that runs out from Parnassos almost as far as Mount Hedyllion, separated from it only by The Narrows, through which flows the Assos River and through which now pass both the railroad tracks and the modern highway. The military cartographers appear to have followed Schober, who in this instance was mistaken. Parori does not lie in the Elateian plain. Kromayer was correct in locating Philoboiotos farther northwest.

²⁵ See most recently Fossey 1986, p. 50. On the fortifications see Tillard 1910/1911, pp. 64–66; Tillard accepts Leake's identification of Tronis with Patronis.

²⁶ On the settings appropriate to heroic cult see Abramson 1978, pp. 88–180.

into the grave of the hero: οἱ Φωκεῖς τὸ μὲν αἷμα δι' ὀπῆς ἐσχέουσιν ἐς τὸν τάφον.²⁷ Frazer asserted that this description is unique, although it does fit the practice attested at the tumulus located near the Belevi monument outside Ephesos.²⁸ There a passage into the great tumulus admitted the worshiper to an inner sanctum, but it was also possible to perform sacrifices from the outside by pouring libations down a terracotta channel running from the top of the mound down into its heart. We cannot say with certainty what architectural form, if any, best corresponds to the cult described by Pausanias, but a tumulus or tholos seems preferable to the building that once stood on the flat top of Sanctuary Hill.²⁹ The foundations clearly visible at the northeast edge of the terrace form a right angle: they are the corner of a rectangular building (Pl. 54:b, c). Similarly, altars to heroes were usually low to the ground and hollow, unlike the monumental altar that stood outside the building on Sanctuary Hill.³⁰

The question then arises, if not the shrine of the Hero Archegetes, what was the building on Sanctuary Hill? The answer lies in a matter ignored by French and Vanderpool: the chronology of the Phokikon. The building that Pausanias saw stood in the Roman period, while the scanty evidence available for the building on Sanctuary Hill dates to the Classical period. The simplest solution is that the building on Sanctuary Hill, with its Archaic proportions, wood or mud-brick superstructure, and Classical fixtures, had been abandoned, and perhaps forgotten, when Pausanias passed by in the 2nd century after Christ.³¹ That is why Pausanias has nothing to say about the building on Sanctuary Hill. If this building predated the Phokikon of the Roman age, then what we have on Sanctuary Hill is not a heroon but the original Phokikon, the federal meeting place of the Phokians in the Classical period.

The building on Sanctuary Hill is on a terrace, marked off from the land around it by a low wall that surrounds the entire hilltop. The site thus has the appearance of a temenos with temple and altar. This might appear to contradict the secular function of the Phokikon, but the boundaries between sacred and secular architecture were perhaps less firmly fixed than we assume, if only because so few civic buildings are known in comparison to the number of Greek temples. In fact, it is likely that the building on Sanctuary Hill was not a sanctuary at all but a type of bouleuterion. Dinsmoor

²⁷ Pausanias 10.4.10.

²⁸ See Kaspar 1976/1977, esp. pp. 148–150 and Taf. 2:h, i.

²⁹ On chthonic cult and the architectural forms associated with it see Robert 1939 and, more recently, Seiler 1986. Seiler's study of the tholos has emphasized the suitability of round buildings, which evoke the funeral barrow, as sites for hero worship.

³⁰ Pollux 1.8; Harpokration, *s.v.* ἐσχάρα; Schol. Euripides, *Phoen.* 284; see Abramson 1978, p. 103. Because the Phokikon altar is obscured by a good deal of *pournaria* and has not been excavated, it is not possible to describe it with accuracy, but in general appearance it resembles the low monumental altars described by Yavis (1949, pp. 107–115). A more recent typology is found in Rupp 1991, pp. 303–305. The altar on Sanctuary Hill may correspond to Rupp's Type II C (large, ashlar, monolithic, with a rectangular plan) or possibly VII B. The lack of a *catalogue raisonné* in Rupp's study makes it impossible to compare the Phokikon with examples illustrating his typology.

³¹ Local men with whom I spoke in March of 1990 were working in the fields around the Phokikon site and were quite unaware of the existence of other *archaia* in the neighborhood, despite the fact that a bushfire had cleared much of the scrub between the fields and Sanctuary Hill.

distinguished between two styles of council chamber. The later bouleuteria, such as those at Mantinea and at Kalauria, were often Π-shaped, possibly having evolved from the winged stoa.³² The bouleuterion at Kalauria stood immediately outside the propylon to the temenos of Poseidon. Measuring 48.4 m long and 8.2 m wide at its wings, with a central colonade of five columns, it resembled the Royal Stoa in Athens, a building which was used on occasion as the meeting place of the council of the Areopagus. It was also common for later bouleuteria to be square. The earliest example of this is the Old Bouleuterion from Athens. The design quickly spread, to Argos, Sikyon, Thasos, Assos, and Messene.³³ Earlier bouleuteria, however, were different. Dinsmoor described the earlier style as “an elongated temple-like structure with a central line of columns.”³⁴ Examples include the Olympia bouleuterion, north hall and south hall; the bouleuterion at Arkadian Orchomenos; and the building on Delos known as Edifice D.

At Olympia two buildings dated respectively to the 6th and 5th centuries B.C. were eventually linked by a façade on the eastern side so that they were integrated into a single administrative space.³⁵ Originally, however, they were separate buildings, each 30.65 × 13.18 m with an apsidal western end. Neither building served primarily a religious function, although connecting them was an altar of Zeus Horkios. Rather they were secular buildings, the north hall serving as the original council chamber of the Eleans and the southern chamber housing the Hellanodikai after the administration of the Olympic games was reorganized in the 75th Olympiad.³⁶ The two buildings shared the same internal layout, with the apsidal end partitioned into smaller rooms and the main chamber divided by a row of seven columns along the central axis. This feature, which recalls Pausanias’ description of the Phokikon and which may have been a characteristic of the building on Sanctuary Hill, is typical of Archaic buildings such as the early temples at Thermon.

At Arkadian Orchomenos the identification of the bouleuterion rests on the concentration of bronze repoussé proxeny decrees found within the long rectangular structure that lies on the eastern side of the agora.³⁷ Inside are traces of the twelve aligned columns that carried the roof. Thirty meters to the south lies an altar set obliquely between council house and temple, suggesting once again that the same architectural space could encompass sacred and secular structures. The same link is to be found on Delos, where the building tentatively identified as the bouleuterion, Edifice D, has at its northeast corner an Archaic dedication: . . . ος παῖδης τῷ Δηλίῳ ἀνήθησαν Ἀθηναίει Πολιάδι.³⁸

Civic function and religious practice are integrated in or around each of these buildings, where an association with a tutelary deity is made explicit by the presence of altars or dedications. They show that the foundations of a long rectangular building and an altar at the site of the Phokikon are consistent with a Late Archaic or Early

³² For Mantinea see Fourgère 1890; for Kalauria see Wide and Kjellburg 1895.

³³ Shear 1995, pp. 169–170.

³⁴ Dinsmoor 1949, p. 206.

³⁵ Mallwitz 1972, pp. 235–240.

³⁶ Dyer 1908.

³⁷ Blum and Plassart 1914.

³⁸ Bruneau and Ducat 1983, pp. 134–135.

Classical bouleuterion and need not be explained as a hero shrine. The interrelationship between the secular and religious is most clearly illustrated by the consistent association of bouleuteria with a counseling deity. At Mantinea, for example, an inscription naming Zeus Euboulos was found in the bouleuterion.³⁹ Zeus was the god most frequently honored in council settings, but he is often found in the company of one or two goddesses. Inscriptions from the Athenian bouleuterion show that honors were paid to Zeus Boulaios and Hestia Boulaia.⁴⁰ The Athenian bouleuterion also had within it an altar to Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaia.⁴¹ Other goddesses called upon to counsel men include Demeter and Kore on Mykonos, Amorgos, and Delos and Hera on Paros and at the Panionion.⁴² Pausanias' description of the statues of Zeus, Hera, and Athena inside the Phokikon of the Roman period makes it very likely that sacrifices were made at the earlier Phokikon to these deities as counseling gods and helps further to explain the presence of an altar outside the Classical Phokikon on Sanctuary Hill.

We can go further. An examination of the political leagues of the Classical and Hellenistic periods shows that religious sanctuaries regularly served as federal meeting places. For example, Herodotos (1.170) relates that when Bias of Priene addressed the assembly of the Ionians during the Ionian revolt, he did so at the Panionion at Mykale, a federal meeting place and the site, according to Herodotos 1.148, of a sanctuary of Poseidon. According to Polybios (2.54.3) the political assembly of the Achaian League met at Aigion, but League members, he says later (8.7.5), also met at the sanctuary of Poseidon Helikonios and at the Amaron, the sanctuary of Zeus Amarios, "to deliberate on affairs of common interest." When the Italian cities of Kroton, Sybaris, and Kaulonia formed a league, they adopted the Achaian model and decided to found, in Polybios' words (2.39.6), "a common temple (κοινὸν ἱερόν) and place in which they would hold their meetings and conduct their deliberations." The same combination of political and religious concerns prompted the Karian League to convene at the temple of Zeus Khrysaoreus in Stratonikaia, according to Strabo (14.2.25), "both to offer sacrifice and to deliberate on their common interests." The Hellenistic *koinon* of the Cretans met at the sanctuary of Apollo Bilkonios.⁴³ It was normal for federal bodies to meet at places which dignified their political business with an aura of religious sanctity, and it is no surprise if the architectural expression of an ethnic confederacy such as the Phokians should be a building that combined both civic and religious functions.⁴⁴ It seems a reasonable conclusion, therefore, that the building whose foundations are to be seen on Sanctuary Hill was not a hero shrine but the meeting place of the Phokian *koinon* during the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.

³⁹ Fourgère 1896, pp. 133–134.

⁴⁰ Raubitschek 1943, pp. 63–66.

⁴¹ Antiphon 6.45.

⁴² Cook 1925, pp. 258–261.

⁴³ Kern, *RE* III, i, col. 472, *s.v.* Bilkon.

⁴⁴ Taken together, these instances make it difficult to accept the view proposed by Burkert (1988, p. 36) that "the Greeks did not even use existing temples for meetings of executive boards or delegates. . . ." Within the separate *poleis* civic meetings were often held adjacent to or near temples and sanctuaries rather than in them, but clearly many federal bodies *did* use sacred precincts, including temples.

The ruins visible at the site of the Phokikon help to clarify the history of the Phokian *koinon*.⁴⁵ The earliest evidence from the site suggests that in the Archaic period there was a graveyard close to the river. In the Classical period, as the Phokians emerged from the Persian (and Thessalian) wars with a stronger sense of ethnic identity, they erected a federal building on a low hill a short distance north of the Archaic graveyard. From the meager remains we can conclude that the first Phokikon was built of timber or mud brick on a stone foundation. This building was probably abandoned after the defeat of Phokis at the end of the Third Sacred War, and the archaeological record from the site is blank during the Early Hellenistic period. The *koinon*, however, continued to exist, as is demonstrated by inscriptions from Delphi recording semestral payments of 30 talents, part of the 10,000 talent indemnity imposed on Phokis after the Sacred War: Ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπήνεγκαν οἱ Φωκεῖς πυλαίας ἡρινᾶς τάλαντα τριάκοντα.⁴⁶ The Phokian *koinon* of this early Hellenistic period met at Elateia and used the temple of Athena Kranaia as the federal sanctuary.⁴⁷ This is revealed by a number of inscriptions from Elateia, including *IG IX i 97*, recognizing the *asyleia* of the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitryte on Tinos and granting the people of Tinos *isopoliteia*. The body that authorized these dealings was the *koinon* of the Phokians, and the official rescript of the *koinon*'s decision included the following clause: ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ ἐν στάλας τρεῖς τὸ ψάφισμα, καὶ ἀναθέμεν τὰν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τὰς Ἀθάνας, ἐν Κράναις, τὰν δ' ἐν τῷ ἀγορᾷ ἐν Ἐλατεῖα, τὰν δὲ ἐν Δελφοῖς. The omission of any mention of the Phokikon is telling.

The trials of the Phokians continued during the years of Roman expansion. Polybios observed that Phokis met with disaster at the hands of Rome (38.3.8), and Pausanias (7.16.9–10) reports that in 146 B.C. Rome suppressed the Achaian, Boiotian, and Phokian Leagues. Pausanias goes on to say that not long after Mummius banned the old federal bodies the Romans took pity on the Greeks, annulling Mummius' penalties and permitting them once again to exercise their ancient privileges. Sometime after the restoration of their status the Phokians erected the building that Pausanias saw. It is worth noting that the Anaktoron on Samothrace, used as a comparandum for the blocks found at the site of the Phokikon, has in recent years been downdated considerably. Foundation trenches have yielded material that, according to the excavator, "leaves no doubt that the Anaktoron was constructed early in the Imperial Age."⁴⁸ The nearest architectural parallel for the Phokikon that Pausanias saw is from the early Roman Empire. This building was constructed on the site of an Archaic graveyard, and by the time of its construction its predecessor on Sanctuary Hill had disappeared.

⁴⁵ Details of the original Phokian League are hard to come by. Most commentators have argued that its existence may go back to the 8th or 7th century but that it assumed its Classical form sometime around 510 B.C., after the defeat of the Thessalians. See Schober 1924, p. 57; Larsen 1968, p. 40; Giovannini 1971, p. 51; Martin 1975, p. 138.

⁴⁶ On the Phokian restitution of monies to Delphi see, most recently, Bousquet 1988. At a rate of 30 talents per *pylaia*, twice per year, it would have taken 167 years to pay off the indemnity of 10,000 talents.

⁴⁷ For the temple of Athena Kranaia see Paris 1892.

⁴⁸ McCredie 1977, p. 34.

APPENDIX

Inscribed limestone block, unworked, with a smoothly undulating surface, probably taken originally from the nearby riverbed, now housed in the Archaeological Collection at Distomo. Dimensions: 0.95 (L.) × 0.37 (H.) × 0.28 (W.) m. Found on the western side of the Phokikon field. Recent fractures on the right edge. All letters completely preserved and easily visible, except for the final iota, of which the lower half is missing. The inscription reads:

Ε Π Ι Φ Ο Ι Κ Ο Ν Ι

Ἐπι φοίκωνι

Letter height: 0.06 m. The letters show a tendency toward regularity. The legs of the pi are of the same length, as are the horizontal bars of the digamma and the obliques of the kappa. The nu slopes to the right. Spacing between the letters is uniform. The kappa is most distinctive. The oblique strokes do not connect with the upright at the same point. In all these respects the hand that cut this inscription bears a strong resemblance to the one that cut the headstone inscribed to Dorkilos, published in 1963 by Vanderpool and French (Chaeronea Museum 269).

The name φοίκων is not attested in any standard *Namenbuch*, although Pape-Benseler does record one instance of the name Οἴκων.⁴⁹ Names beginning with digamma are rare in Greek, but the letter remained a feature of the Phokian dialect, as is shown by the *lex sacra* found near Elateia containing the injunction ἐν τοι φανακεῖοι θύοντα σκάνεν.⁵⁰ Not much more common are those compounds beginning with the prefix Οἴκ-.⁵¹ Even though the name is unusual, however, the corpus of known Phokian names is so small and so many are attested only once that this is not a serious problem. The only alternative is that ἐπι- is part of the name. Though ἐπι- is used as the prefix in some Phokian names, it occurs more frequently as part of the simple formula of ἐπί + dative, which is regularly employed in sepulchral inscriptions of the Doric and Aiolic dialects. Schwyzer cites a typical example from nearby Abai, ἐπὶ Διοφείδει, and notes the use of “ἐπί c. dat. in titt. sepulcr. apud Phocenses, Locros, Boeotos, Aeolos.”⁵² It is safer to conclude that this inscription is a headstone set up in honor of an individual named Woikon. The presence of fourteen other headstones in the same vicinity confirms that Woikon’s burial was not isolated. Similar burial grounds rich in inscribed headstones of the Archaic period have been excavated at Tanagra in neighboring Boiotia. Hondius collected a number of the Tanagran funerary inscriptions to illustrate features of the Boiotian dialect, and they are reminiscent of the Phokikon finds.⁵³ In

⁴⁹ Pape-Benseler, *s.v.* Οἴκων. This individual is named in an inscription from Thera, first recorded by Ross. It was subsequently edited by Boeckh as *CIG* IV 8656 and reedited by Hiller von Gaetringen as *IG* XII iii 343. The name appears in a list that seems to give details of tenant farms, including the size of each holding, the name of the landlord (or landlady), and itemized details of the tithes. The inscription is tentatively dated to the 5th or 6th century after Christ.

⁵⁰ In addition to Pape-Benseler, which does not list entries with initial digamma, see F. Praesigke, *Namenbuch* and the indices of successive numbers of *SEG*. A welcome addition to the field of Greek onomastics is the series *Greek Personal Names*, but φοίκων does not appear in the first volume; see *LGPV* I. Also useful for Phokian names is Schober 1924, where the reader will find a prosopography.

⁵¹ Examples include an Oikis, attested from 315 B.C. in a list of fines from Argos, and there are two similar names in *SEG* XXIX 78, Oikopheles and Oikophles, while Oikonomia appears as a woman’s name in the Hellenistic period.

⁵² Schwyzer 1923, p. 182, note 348.

⁵³ Hondius 1950, p. 29.

particular one notes ἐπὶ φηκαδάμοε ἐμὶ. Like the Phokian *tituli*, the Boiotian inscriptions are simple, carrying either the name alone or the formula of ἐπὶ + dative.

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PLATE 54



a. Sanctuary Hill from south



b. Archaic Phokikon from east



c. Archaic Phokikon, northeast corner