



Publikationen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts

Jeremy McInerney

A transfer of sacred lands from eastern Phocis, IG IX 1, 87

in: Sporn et al. - ANCIENT PHOKIS: New approaches to its history, archaeology and topography
International conference, DAI Athens, 30 March – 1 April 2017 383-396

<https://doi.org/10.34780/fg7v-76vb>

Herausgebende Institution / Publisher:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Copyright (Digital Edition) © 2025 Deutsches Archäologisches Institut
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Zentrale, Podbielskiallee 69–71, 14195 Berlin, Tel: +49 30 187711-0
Email: info@dainst.de | Web: <https://www.dainst.org>

Nutzungsbedingungen:

Mit dem Herunterladen erkennen Sie die [Nutzungsbedingungen](#) von iDAI.publications an. Sofern in dem Dokument nichts anderes ausdrücklich vermerkt ist, gelten folgende Nutzungsbedingungen: Die Nutzung der Inhalte ist ausschließlich privaten Nutzerinnen / Nutzern für den eigenen wissenschaftlichen und sonstigen privaten Gebrauch gestattet. Sämtliche Texte, Bilder und sonstige Inhalte in diesem Dokument unterliegen dem Schutz des Urheberrechts gemäß dem Urheberrechtsgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Die Inhalte können von Ihnen nur dann genutzt und vervielfältigt werden, wenn Ihnen dies im Einzelfall durch den Rechteinhaber oder die Schrankenregelungen des Urheberrechts gestattet ist. Jede Art der Nutzung zu gewerblichen Zwecken ist untersagt. Zu den Möglichkeiten einer Lizenzierung von Nutzungsrechten wenden Sie sich bitte direkt an die verantwortlichen Herausgeber*innen der jeweiligen Publikationsorgane oder an die Online-Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (info@dainst.de). Etwaige davon abweichende Lizenzbedingungen sind im Abbildungsnachweis vermerkt.

Terms of use:

By downloading you accept the [terms of use](#) of iDAI.publications. Unless otherwise stated in the document, the following terms of use are applicable: All materials including texts, articles, images and other content contained in this document are subject to the German copyright. The contents are for personal use only and may only be reproduced or made accessible to third parties if you have gained permission from the copyright owner. Any form of commercial use is expressly prohibited. When seeking the granting of licenses of use or permission to reproduce any kind of material please contact the responsible editors of the publications or contact the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (info@dainst.de). Any deviating terms of use are indicated in the credits.

Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux |
Eric Laufer
ANCIENT PHOKIS

Athenaia 13
Études méditerranéennes 4

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Abteilung Athen

ATHENAIA 13

ÉCOLE FRANÇAISE D'ATHÈNES

**ÉTUDES
MÉDITERRANÉENNES 4**

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
Abteilung Athen

Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux | Eric Laufer (eds.)

ANCIENT PHOKIS

New approaches to its history, archaeology
and topography

International Conference, DAI Athens, 30 March – 1 April 2017

REICHERT VERLAG

Autor/Author:

Katja Sporn (ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-1845-5113>, ROR ID: <https://ror.org/05nqsnd28>)

Alexandre Farnoux (IdRef: <http://www.idref.fr/032145993/id>, ROR ID: <https://ror.org/02fzvr850>)

Eric Laufer (ORCID iD: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8758-6854>, ROR ID: <https://ror.org/05nqsnd28>)

Titel/Title: Ancient Phokis. New approaches to its history, archaeology and topography

Reihe, Band/Series, Volume: Athenaia 13

Reihenherausgeber/Series Editor: Katja Sporn, Reinhard Senff, Oliver Pilz

Reihe, Band/Series, Volume: Études méditerranéennes 4

Reihenherausgeber/Series Editor: École française d'Athènes

Herausgebende Institution/Institutional Editor: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut

Umfang/Length: X, 526 Seiten/Pages mit/with 244 Abbildungen/Illustrations

Peer Review: Dieser Band wurde einem Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen./*The volume is peer reviewed.*

Verantwortliche Redaktion/Publishing Editor: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Redaktion des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Athen, Fidiou 1, 10678 Athen, Griechenland, redaktion.athen@dainst.de

Redaktionelle Bearbeitung/Editing: Simon Hoffmann, Diana Wolf, Ulrike Schulz

Prepress: le-tex publishing services GmbH, Leipzig

Buchgestaltung und Coverkonzeption/Book Design and Cover Concept: hawemannundmosch, Berlin

Umschlagfoto/Cover Illustration: Blick von Elateia über die Kephissosebene auf den Parnassos

(D-DAI-ATH-2018-17152_2, Foto: Katja Sporn)

Nutzungsbedingungen/Terms of Use

Das Werk einschließlich aller seiner Teile ist urheberrechtlich geschützt. Eine Nutzung ohne Zustimmung des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts und/oder der jeweiligen Rechteinhaber ist nur innerhalb der engen Grenzen des Urheberrechtsgesetzes zulässig. Etwaige abweichende Nutzungsmöglichkeiten für Text und Abbildungen sind gesondert im Band vermerkt./*This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright. Any use beyond the limits of copyright law is only allowed with the permission of the German Archaeological Institute and/or the respective copyright holders. Any deviating terms of use for text and images are indicated in the credits.*

Druckausgabe/Printed Edition

Erscheinungsjahr/Year of Publication: 2024

Druck und Vertrieb/Printing and Distribution: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden • www.reichert-verlag.de

Druck und Bindung in Deutschland/Printed and Bound in Germany

ISBN: 978-3-7520-0825-8 (Athenaia), 978-2-86958-624-6 (Études méditerranéennes)

Bibliographische Metadaten/Bibliographic Metadata: <https://zenon.dainst.org/Record/003063459>

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek: Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <https://dnb.de> abrufbar./*Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek: The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available online at https://dnb.de.*

Digitale Ausgabe/Digital Edition

Erscheinungsjahr/Year of Publication: 2024

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.34780/xb69-ti55>

Bibliographische Metadaten/Bibliographic Metadata: <https://zenon.dainst.org/Record/003063459>

Inhaltsverzeichnis

Vorwort	IX
Phocis, Delphoi, and the amphictyony	1
<i>Peter Londey</i>	
Living on a rock. The cities of ancient Phocis and the importance of place	11
<i>Hans Beck</i>	
Borders and identity in ancient Phocis: some reflections	23
<i>Giovanna Daverio Rocchi</i>	
Phocis in the Aetolian League. Self-abandonment or self-assertion?	33
<i>Peter Funke</i>	
The institutions of the Phocian League	45
<i>Denis Rousset</i>	
Phocis in Roman times: beyond the shadow of Delphi	67
<i>Georgios A. Zachos</i>	
Das phokische Koinon zwischen Böotien, Delphi, Athen und Rom	85
<i>Christoph Begass</i>	
Delphes et Kalapodi au début de l'âge du fer ancien (11 ^e –9 ^e siècles av. J.-C.)	101
<i>Jean-Marc Luce</i>	
Zur Selbstdarstellung der Phoker in Delphi	121
<i>Anne Jacquemin</i>	
Athena. A gateway to Delphi	133
<i>Sandrine Huber – Anne Jacquemin – Didier Laroche</i>	

Terres cuites figurées du dépôt votif de Kirrha: de l'établissement du matériel à son exploitation	147
<i>Stéphanie Huysecom-Haxhi</i>	
The sanctuary of Athena in Phocian Antikyra	165
<i>Athanasios Sideris</i>	
The fortifications of ancient Phocis	
Results and prospects	185
<i>Nicolas Kyriakidis</i>	
Δρόμος με παρελθόν	195
<i>Φανούρια Δακορώνια (†) – Πέτρος Κουνούκλας</i>	
Παναγίτσα Ελάτειας 1979–1981	
Κτερίσματα και ταφικά έθιμα σε κλασσικό νεκροταφείο της Ελατείας	209
<i>Πάντος Α. Πάντος</i>	
Spanning two oracles. The sanctuary of Demeter at Erochos, between Delphi and Abae	219
<i>Elena Partida – Anthoula Tsaroucha</i>	
The rediscovery of a manuscript by Erich Gose and Friedrich Schober on the Kephissos valley from 1926	237
<i>Katja Sporn</i>	
Ο κρίσιμος 4ος αιώνας π.Χ.: παλαιές και νέες οχυρώσεις, παλαιοί και νέοι οικισμοί στην κοιλάδα του φωκικού Κηφισού	249
<i>Φώτης Ντάσιος</i>	
Panopeus	271
<i>Elena Kountouri – Ioannis Mavrommatidis – Nikolaos Petrochilos</i>	
New research on the fortification of Tithorea. A preliminary report of fieldwork 2016–2017	287
<i>Petros Kounouklas – Eric Laufer</i>	
Surveying the caves above Tithorea in 2016	307
<i>Stella Katsarou – Lina Kormazopoulou – Eric Laufer – Sabine Neumann – Katja Sporn – Ioanna Zygouri</i>	

Doric capitals and column drums from Modi in Phocis	339
<i>Nils Hellner – David Scahill</i>	
Ταφές των Πρώιμων Αυτοκρατορικών Χρόνων από την Υάμπολη στην ανατολική Φωκίδα	349
<i>Μαρία Παπαγεωργίου – Δημήτρης Γρηγορόπουλος</i>	
Sites of memory in ancient Phocis	
The Thessalian-Phocian battles, the Persian Wars, and the changing religious landscape	371
<i>Elena Franchi</i>	
A transfer of sacred lands from eastern Phocis, IG IX1, 87	383
<i>Jeremy McInerney</i>	
Kalapodi 2014–2016: Investigating the surroundings, limits and infrastructure of the sanctuary	397
<i>Katja Sporn</i>	
Ritual burials of temples and ritual depositions accompanying building activities in the oracle sanctuary of Apollon at Abai/ Kalapodi	409
<i>Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier</i>	
The bronze finds from the Late Geometric ›South Temple 6‹ at Kalapodi	
Cult practices and local craft traditions in eastern Phocis	421
<i>Gudrun Klebinder-Gauß</i>	
The significance of the sanctuary of Kalapodi during the Archaic period based on the pottery finds	439
<i>Michaela Stark</i>	
A palette of bronze and silver: the monetary perspective of the archaeological site at Kalapodi	455
<i>Hristina Ivanova-Anaplioti</i>	
New iron finds from the 2016 campaign in Kalapodi – Contexts and compositions	469
<i>Sandra Zipprich</i>	

A bronze foundry of Classical times in the sanctuary at Kalapodi	479
<i>Johanna Fuchs</i>	

Pagan twilight at Kalapodi: Two pottery assemblages of the third and fourth centuries A.D.	491
<i>Dimitris Grigoropoulos</i>	

A transfer of sacred lands from eastern Phocis, IG IX 1, 87

Jeremy McInerney

This inscription deals with land allotments associated with a large tract of sacred land in eastern Phocis. Despite the fact that the inscription sheds valuable light on important issues such as the definition and exploitation of sacred land it does not figure a great deal in recent discussions of these topics¹. Closer examination may shed light on this critical contact zone at the intersection of Boeotia, Locris and Phocis². We begin with the inscription itself, discovered by Pierre Paris in the summer of 1884, when he was excavating the temple of Athena Kranaia³. Approximately 20 km southeast of the Kranaia temple in the Exarchos valley lay an abandoned Middle Byzantine village,

known variously as Smixi or Mixis (*fig. 1*)⁴. The churches were in a state of ruin when Paris encountered them. One of these had a stone in the wall with an inscription visible on its outer face. Prizing the stone out of the wall, Paris was able to record both side A and side B. The opening nineteen lines, although regrettably lacunose and difficult to read, contain enough to show that the inscription concerns a formal transfer of two estates and that the process involves an individual named Herostratos.

I supply a tentative English translation of the most recent edition of the text, beginning with the first nineteen lines⁵.

¹ For example, Papazarkadas 2011 makes no reference to it in his comprehensive treatment of sacred and public land in Attica. The most recent discussions are Pritchett 1996, 142, Zachos 2003/2004, 209 f. and McInerney 2010, 158–161. Rousset 2013, 125, describes the inscription as »documenting a gift of land to Apollo and Artemis of the second century BC, whose context cannot be reconstructed from the fragmentary text«.

² For this area as a contact zone see McInerney 2011 and McInerney 2013.

³ Paris 1894, 53: »J'ai profité de mon séjour à Élatée pour faire quelques excursions dans les villages voisins«.

⁴ For descriptions of Smixi, see Armstrong 1989 and Pritchett 1996. The location's exact coordinates are 38°34'41.0"N 22°53'28.4"E.

⁵ IG IX 1, 87 presents the text of Dittenberger. A new text is currently being prepared for publication by D. Rousset, who generously shared the preliminary text with me. This will appear shortly in IG IX 1², 6. Rousset's readings are more cautious than Dittenberger, who was somewhat bolder in his restorations. It would be inappropriate of me to pre-empt M. Rousset by printing his text before the publication of IG IX 1², 6, so instead I offer a tentative translation and indicate where the two editions agree or diverge on significant points. The line numbering followed here is that of Rousset's text.

- ... of the letter⁶
 ... the tran[s]fer to the two estates⁷...
 5 common... Herostra[τος]
 ... to the city Hero[stratos]
 ... of the ambassadors⁸ ... -ing, just as ...
 ... Ar[te]mis plots...
 ... over by tower and the estates...
 10 ... to Apollo and Artemis⁹ ...
 ... the revenues [which] belong to Apollo¹⁰ ...
 ... and ... to the ...
 ... [Arche]getes(?)¹¹
 ... -ing other ... of brother ...
 15 ... of... letter and whatever you yourselves
 ... refer to the sanctuaries (?).¹² The priest ...
 ... m]arket
 ... silver from the city¹³. ...
 ... the holy and public [land ?]¹⁴

A comparison of the two editions shows that the opening section, while far from yielding an entirely comprehensible text, allows for some plausible deductions. Not only does there seem to be a transfer taking place (παράδοσις, line 4), but it seems certain that this involves both sacred and public land (line 19). Dittenberger characterized the subject-matter as the *leges et condiciones donationis*. The reference to ambassadors (line 7) and a letter (lines 3. 15) calls to mind the correspondence between Hellenistic kings and the Greek states, and suggests that the inscription preserves the details of a legal arrangement authorized by a Macedonian king. Similarly, IG IX 2, 517 preserves in great detail Philip V's correspondence with Larissa ca. 214 B.C., a single inscription that serves as a dossier in which the Macedonian ruler refers to an exchange of letters and decrees between himself and the Larissans. After naming the various ambassadors Philip continues rather ominously (lines 26 f.):

»πυνθάνομαι τοὺς πολιτογραφηθέντας κατὰ τὴν παρ' ἐμοῦ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ τὸ ψήφισμα τὸ ὑμέτερον καὶ ἀναγραφέντας εἰς τὰς στήλας ἐκκεκολάφθαι«

»It has come to my attention that those who were entered on the citizen roles in accordance with my letter and your decree, and who subsequently had their names inscribed on the stelae have had their names excised.«

Or, to take an example closer to Smixi, consider the inscription found in the church of Agios Georgos near Kalapodi (IG IX 1, 78) in which Philip V writes to the *koinon* of the Abaeans and guarantees the *ateleia* of the sacred estate (singular). In that correspondence Philip couches his decision in terms of goodwill and friendliness. For the god's sake and wanting to please the Abaeans, says Philip, he has written to tell Herakleides not to trouble them. There is a hint of this language in the Smixi inscription in line 15 where it appears that the outside party is suggesting that the local party act in accordance with »whatever you yourselves...« decide (?). In other words IG IX 1, 87 should be classified formally as a royal affirmation of a local arrangement. More than that cannot be said with certainty, although the existence of two similar documents originating from Philip's chancellery raises the possibility that the same king was affirming yet another set of local decisions originating in an area eager to retain his goodwill.

Beginning at line 20 of side A and continuing to line 36 of side B, where the inscription breaks off, the text then offers a detailed account of land allotments. Before discussing the details of the document it is worth presenting as full a translation as possible:

Side A: »-on son of [M]ynnion, Timagora the wife of Ischylos, Nik... above the rest, as much as for the (plot) which has been sold ... six, Thrason son of Aristokrates being neighbour to the east ... to the plots, one by the spring ... Thrason son of Aristokrates neighbour to the east, to the west Thrason, son of Aristokrates. Towards the Anakeion¹⁵, Amyntas, son of ... Philon son of Kleippos neighbour to the east, to the west ... 13 plethra, neighbour to the east ... to the west Onymokles, son of Pasion ... 40 plethra, neighbour to the east ... to the west Andron son of Diomedon (l. 30) ... Philomelos son Leothetes ... 13 plethra, neighbour to the east Onymokles son of Pasion, to the west ... of uncultivated land. Another plot, 30 plethra, neighbour to the east ... of uncultivated land, to the west Polyxenos son of ... the Hylleic estate, its neighbour to the east being the plot ... Another plot, two plethra, another one three plethra, neighbour on the east

6 »τὰς ἐπιστολὰς« in both editions; see also line 15.

7 »τὰς παρ[α]δ[ό]σεις δυοῖν χωρί[ο]ιν« Dittenberger, »α.ο.σιος« Rousset.

8 »πρ[ε]σβευτῶν« in both editions.

9 »τῶι Από[λ]λωνι καὶ τῇ Αρ[τ]έ[μ]ιτι« in both editions.

10 »Απόλ[λωνι καὶ τῇ Αρτέμιτι« Dittenberger, »Απόλ[λωνι« Rousset.

11 »Απ[ό] <ό>[λλ]ω[ν]ος ΓΕΤη« Dittenberger, »X.Ω.ΟΞΓΕΤΗ.« Rousset.

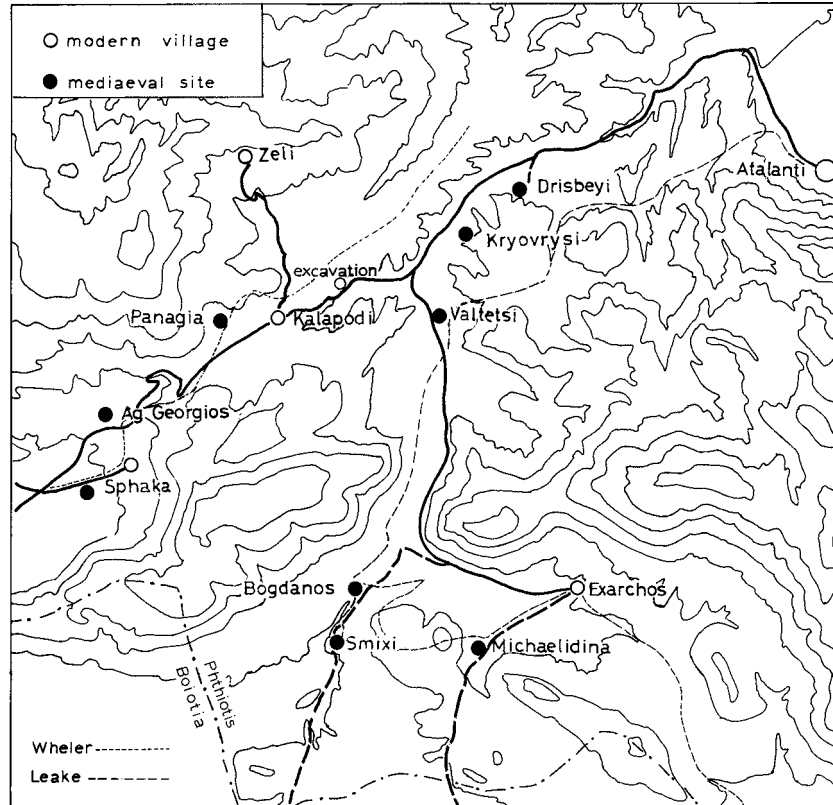
12 »ἀνάθετε εἰς τὰ να[ύ]κά(?)« Dittenberger, »ἀνάθετε ΕΙΣΤΑΝΑ. ΚΑ« Rousset.

13 »ἀργύριον παρὰ τῆς πόλεως« in both editions.

14 »τὰν [ι]ε[ρ]ὰν καὶ δαμοσίαν [χώραν« Dittenberger, »τὰν [ι]ε[ρ]ὰν καὶ δαμοσίαν [χώραν?« Rousset.

15 »ποτὶ τῶι Ἀ<νακε>ίω[ι]« Dittenberger, »ποτὶ τῶι ΑΛΧΡΙΩ« Rousset.

1 The location of Smixi and other sites in eastern Phocis with Byzantine remains.
Note: Bogdanos is usually identified with ancient Hyampolis; Abae is traditionally located on the spurs between Michaelidina and Smixi.



side... on the west side Timandros son of Mynnion. Another plot ... plethra ... on the east side the neighbour being Philon son of Kleippos, to the west ... Another, 96 plethra with ... as neighbour on the east, (l. 40) on the west ... , son of ... -istos De-... o...»

Side B: »plethra ... with as neighbour on the east Theainetos son of Kallikrates, and to the west Theainetos son of Kallikrates. A plethron of wild pear¹⁶, (l. 5) with ... -ostratos, son of Lys-... neighbour to the east, to the west Theo[propos], son of Simmichos, the [plots by] those of Polyphoitas ... (l. 10) 90 plethra ... of Aristo, wife of Theartitis¹⁷, with ...-das son of Archedamos neighbour to the east, and to the west Aristokrates ... (l. 15) ... 300 plethra, with as neighbour to the east [Pho]kion son of Theodoros, and to the west along the road Philon, (l. 20) son of Philon. Kleon At- ... -mon 6 and the sown(?)¹⁸ 110 plethra, with as neighbour

to the east ... -ikles, son of Amphidamos, (l. 25) to the west Kallikrates, son of Theainetos. Towards ... plethra, with other [holy] lands¹⁹ neighbouring to the east, (l. 30) to the west Pythodoros son of Agidip[os]. Towards Piaieia²⁰ the plot by the Hekatomblon, [1]2 plethra, with as neighbour to the east the Hekatomblon, to the west Xenokrates son of Kallimachos.«

A number of features deserve comment. Having discussed the opening lines, Dittenberger characterized the main text as follows: »reliquam partem tituli enumeratio fundorum occupet quorum unicuique vicini ab oriente et ab occidente adduntur, non item a septentrionibus et a meridie, ut appareat hos omnes agros uno tractu ab oriente ad occidentem se excepisse unamque et continuam agri Hyampolitani regionem efficisse.« In Dittenberger's view, therefore, the enumeration of the pieces of land con-

16 »ἀχρά[δος]« Dittenberger, »AXPA« Rousset.

17 »ΠΙΕΤΩΣΘΕΑΡΤΙΟΣ« Rousset. Citing the Lexicon of Greek Personal Names (Fraser – Matthews 2000), Rousset notes Ἀριστῶ is attested as a woman's name and Θεάρτις as a man's name but resists printing the names as intelligible Greek: »attamen nullum alium nomen muliebre habet titulus«. The position, however, of Timagoras (line 20) makes it unlikely that it is the masculine

genitive form of Timagoras, and more likely that it is a feminine name in the nominative.

18 »μῶν ἐξ καὶ τὰ σπα.../μένα πλέθρα ἑκατ[όν]« Dittenberger.

19 »ποτ' ἂν ἄλλ[α ἱερὰ] χώρα Dittenberger, ποτ' ἂν ἈΛΛ . . . χώρα« Rousset.

20 »πο<τ>ι Πιαλείαι τὸ [παρὰ τῷ] ἑκατον<β>ίωι« Dittenberger, »ΠΟΣΗΠΙΑΛΕΙΑΙΤΟ ἑκατον<β>ίωι« Rousset.



2 Satellite image of the Exarchos valley, showing contemporary land divisions. The labels of ancient sites correspond to maps of the Hellenic Army Service and do not reflect Niemeier's claim that Kalapodi is to be identified as Abae. Note the narrow neck of land north and east of Hyampolis and the more open valley south and east of Hyampolis.

tained in the inscription followed a pattern, according to which each one of the neighbouring plots was added from the east and from the west, but not from the south or north. Accordingly, for Dittenberger, all of these plots taken together constituted a single tract of land running from east to west, and comprise one continuous area within the territory of Hyampolis.

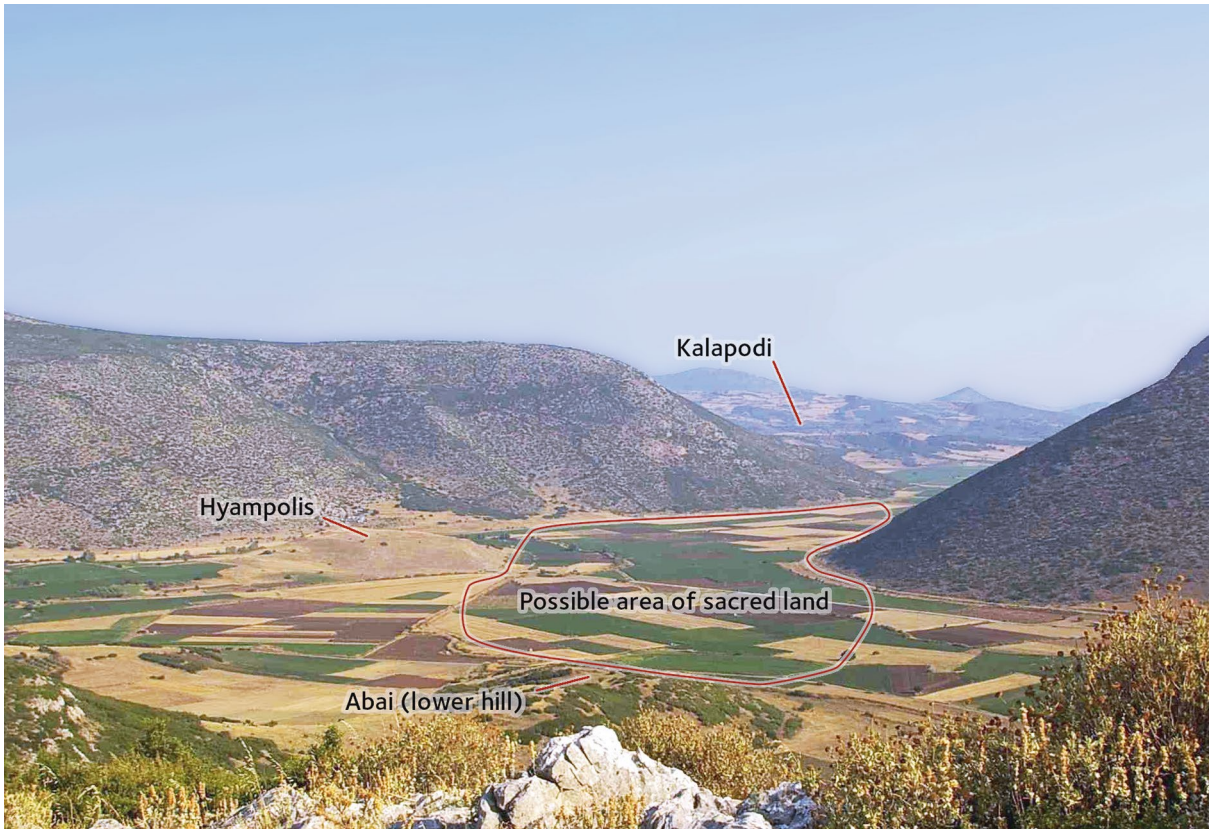
The plots of land vary enormously in size. The same document refers to plots of land 1, 2, or 3 plethra in area, others of 30, 90 plethra, or even 300. Given the *lacunae* in the text, the total number of plethra in the preserved portion must correspond to a minimum area covered by the sacred land in the lease. This total is 720 plethra. How much larger the total area was cannot be known and to hazard a guess would be foolish. The maximum extent of the sacred land therefore eludes us, but it must have been larger than 720 plethra. The plethron is both a linear measurement and a measure of area, but to imagine the plots being listed according to a linear measurement of 21.6 km makes no sense. The plethra must be square measurements. As a square measure, the plethron corresponds to approximately 900 m². The total area recorded in the inscription as preserved therefore corresponds to 648,000 m², or 65 ha.

So far we have seen that the entire piece of land in question is of a considerable size, and that the individual plots vary from very small to enormous. Before exploring the significance of these features, however, it is necessary to correct a misconception that goes back to the original editions of Paris and Dittenberger. Both used the lack of north/south markers and the repetition of east/west markers to suggest

that we are dealing with a single strip of land which runs continuously from east to west. Closer inspection of the inscription suggests this is wrong. While the inscription records a series of plots each with an eastern and a western neighbour, the overall plan could only be a continuous east-west sequence if any given plot were listed as both the western neighbour of one plot and the eastern neighbour of another. Instead, although each entry has an eastern and western neighbour, the entire sequence proceeds north to south (or south to north). These cardinal points, north and south, are not given, because each prior entry is to the north (or south) of each subsequent entry. Consider this section from side A (lines 25-34):

Towards the Anakeion, Amyntas, son of ... Philon son of Kleippos neighbour to the east, to the west ... 13 plethra, neighbour to the east ... to the west Onymokles, son of Pasion ... 40 plethra, neighbour to the east ... to the west Andron son of Diomedon (l. 30) ... Philomelos son Leothetes ... 13 plethra, neighbour to the east Onymokles son of Pasion, to the west ... of uncultivated land.

If this were a single continuous sequence of contiguous plots then at least one of the landholders – Philon, Onymokles, Andron or Philomelos – would have to be described as the neighbour to the east of X and then as the neighbour to the west of Y. But the only instance of such double labelling involves Onymokles, whose two entries are separated by at least one entry naming Andron and Philomelos as neighbours. The two references to Onymokles therefore involve two separate holdings. It seems, then, that the sacred land



3 Possible location of the sacred estates described in IG IX 1, 87

being delineated is essentially a corridor running north-south, with clusters of properties listed from top to bottom (or vice versa).

Curiously, in every instance where a named individual occurs, these neighbours are owners of their own estates, not the owners or lessees of the sacred land. And in every instance where an estate is listed according to its total area, i.e. where its size measured in plethra is recorded, the reference is to the property alone, without naming an individual who has bought, sold, dedicated, transferred or leased the land. We must conclude that the clauses of the inscription are solely concerned with defining a series of properties which collectively were being clearly demarcated as sacred and public land (line 19). Because of the repetition of naming neighbours to the east and west, the entire piece of sacred and public land being defined must be imagined as a large piece of land running in a corridor north and south between various pieces of privately held land.

We can cautiously go a little further and offer a general description of the newly demarcated sacred estate. It was broadly trapezoidal in shape. The various entries recording the size of the individual plots by plethra show a tendency first to fluctuate or, more

accurately, to concertina (13, 40, 13, 30) and then, after the mention of the Hylleic estate, to increase dramatically: 96, 90, 300, 110. On the ground this must mean that towards one end (possibly the north) the plots were small to medium, but that at the other end they were between four and ten times larger. It is possible that the existence of private holdings played a role in determining the size and shape of the plots now being transferred to the gods, but it is also possible that natural conditions in the area around Smixi and the Exarchos valley were responsible for this, with the smaller plots situated in a narrow neck of fertile land and the larger estates in a much more open area. Contemporary land divisions in the Exarchos valley and its environs demonstrate that the position of the low, dry hills in the area funnels cultivation into easily defined spaces corresponding to the fertile valley floor (*fig. 2*).

To whom was this newly defined tract donated? Tantalizing references to Artemis and Apollo occur in the opening section, where we find Artemis (in the unusual accusative [τ]ἄν [Α]ρ[τέ]μιτα) along with χωρ[ί]α (line 8), τῶν χωρίω[ν] (line 9), τῶι Ἀπό[λλ]ωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρ[τέ]μιτι (line 10), and a reference to revenues (προσόδους line 11) either to Apollo or to both

Artemis and her brother ([ἀδ]ελφοῦ line 14), as well as the original reference to the transfer (τᾷς παρ[α]δ[ό]σιος either *of* or *to* the two estates: δυοῖν χωρίο[ι]ν, line 4). Other references are less secure. Dittenberger believed that line 25 contained a reference to the Anakeion which has been seen as a reference to the Dioskouroi, whose festival in Athens was known as the Anakeia. At the same time, Anakeion may also refer to a shrine simply of the Anax, an epithet frequently applied to Apollo. Or, if as Rousset suggests, the reading is not secure, the toponym may refer to something altogether different. More secure are the references to the Hekatombion (line 33. 34 f.). This is evidently a location, and since it is an epithet of Apollo it again points to that god's presence in this inscription. There may be a final possible reference to Apollo if the ΓΕΤΗ of line 13 derives from the god's common epithet, Archagetes. Despite the *lacunae* and doubtful readings, the overall context seems clear: a strip of land was being carved out and designated as sacred land, the revenues of which, presumably from leasing, would accrue to Apollo and Artemis.

The repeated references to Artemis and Apollo inevitably raise other questions: were Artemis and Apollo worshipped together in one sanctuary, so that the revenue sharing was little more than a matter of book-keeping? Or should we imagine two sanctuaries, located at opposite ends of the corridor of sacred land? In such a scenario the sanctuaries may have been proxies for two political communities, most likely Hyampolis and Abae. In this interpretation, the designation of sacred land allowed for an orderly sharing of revenue and was a matter of substance. Given the recent claim by Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier that the sanctuary at Kalapodi should be identified as the oracle of Apollo at Abae, the topography that underlies IG IX 1, 87 takes on extra significance²¹. The purpose of this paper is not to reply in detail to Niemeier's claim, but in any discussion of the topography of IG IX 1, 87 the cults at Kalapodi cannot be ignored. Since the 1970s the excavations of the DAI have brought to light a sanctuary in which there are two adjacent temple complexes which were in operation during many of the sanctuary's phases²². Artemis and Apollo are a natural pairing, but prior to Niemeier's assertion that Kalapodi was Abae, the widely held

view was that Kalapodi should be identified as the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos, the site of the festival, the Elaphebolia, that celebrated the liberation of the Phocians from the Thessalians. The Elaphebolia and another Artemis festival, the Laphria are mentioned together in IG IX 1, 90 (SEG 43.226). If these are placed at Kalapodi, then it would follow that Kalapodi was, first and foremost, the sanctuary of Artemis and under the control of Hyampolis. It would also follow that Abae would not be identical with Kalapodi, in which case we would return Abae to its traditional location south and east of Hyampolis, an identification that goes back at least to Yorke's excavations in 1894²³.

If the traditional identification of the sites is upheld, the geography of the region, the topography of the Smixi inscription, and the revenue sharing by Artemis and Apollo all make sense. It would put the estates being designated as sacred land in a broad sweep running from the narrow pass connecting Hyampolis with Kalapodi (Valtetsi on Armstrong's map, see *fig. 1*) and then fanning out into the Exarchos valley, where the width of the valley permits much larger plots of land (*fig. 2*). The Archagetes and Hekatombios are both epithets of Apollo, the god best known from Abae, although we do not know under which name he was worshipped there. Similarly, Elaphebolos, Sotera, Laphria are all epithets of the Artemis attested in the same region, but again, we cannot say that Artemis was worshipped under any of these names at Abae. Nevertheless, the recurrence of these epithets in the inscriptions of the region demonstrates that both deities were prominent. In such a scenario, Hyampolis (Artemis) and Abae (Apollo) shared revenues and shared the resources of a notably rich piece of land, thereby avoiding the potential internecine rivalry of competing sanctuaries or communities. How better to avoid conflict than by turning over much of the land between them to both gods, who shared the revenue?

Kalapodi's position beyond this strip of land put it on the northern side of Hyampolis, and so makes the question of Abae control of Kalapodi much less likely. Instead Kalapodi bestrode the road from Elateia to the coast, from where it served as a neutral meeting place for Boeotians, Locrians and Pho-

21 Niemeier 2016. See also Prignitz 2014 and Kopanias, forthcoming. Space here does not allow me to respond fully to Niemeier's claim, which I hope to do in another essay shortly. For the moment let two difficulties with the Kalapodi/Abae identification be noted: it is impossible to make sense of Pausanias 10, 35, 1, which places Abae *before* Hyampolis on the route from Orchemonos to Opous if one identifies Kalapodi with Abae. Furthermore,

this makes the identification of the ruins in the Exarchos valley (traditionally identified as Abae and Hyampolis) not one but two conundrums. Simply put, where is Hyampolis?

22 See, inter alia, Felsch 1987, Jacob-Felsch 1996, Felsch 2007, Niemeier 2013, Niemeier 2014 and Niemeier 2016.

23 Yorke 1896.

cians, a regional if not Panhellenic centre²⁴. Rather than being identified with Abae, the identification of Kalapodi should revert to the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos.

Support for this reconstruction comes from two sources. The first is a manumission inscription from Central Greece published in 1999²⁵. The manumission records the sale of a slave, Eukrateia, to both Artemis and Apollo. The inscription was found between Kalapodi and Hyampolis and surely goes towards confirming that both deities were worshipped at Kalapodi. The inscription stipulates that the sale of Eukrateia was to take place «ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἐλαφηβόλου» («in the temple of Artemis Elaphebolos»), showing that both deities were worshipped here. If Eukrateia's dedication to the sibling gods derives from Kalapodi, it would follow that Apollo and Artemis were the two deities worshipped at the north and south temples at Kalapodi. No references to the oracular shrine of Abae mention Artemis, and on balance it would seem that a sanctuary with twin temples is more likely to correspond to Artemis and Apollo rather than Apollo alone.

The second supporting datum is one of the topographic markers found in IG IX 1, 87. Most toponyms in the inscription are either dubious, such as «τὰ ναϊκά» («sanctuaries») (line 16) or possibly «τὰ νάκα» («The Fleeces»), or too general, such as the spring («κράνα») of line 23 or a road («ὁδός») (B. line 20), to be of much help in fixing the topography of the inscription. In the first section of the inscription, however, in which the royal correspondence is summarized, there is mention of a tower («πύργος», line 9), which may help locate the land under consideration. Zachos has suggested that this is a reference to a tower, the remains of which were identified near Sphaka in 1994 and which he sees as marking the boundary between Elateia and Hyampolis²⁶. Whether or not this is correct, it is still not certain that the *pyrgos* in the Smixi inscription is to be identified as the Sphaka tower. Nevertheless the language of the Smixi inscription is suggestive. Both Dittenberger and Rousset read the lines in which the tower is mentioned as follows:

τὴν πρὸς πύργου καὶ τῶν χωρίων — — —
τῷ Ἀπό[λλ]ωνι καὶ τῇ Ἀρ[τέ]μιτι — — —

Just as it is not certain that the tower in our inscription is the Sphaka tower, it is equally uncertain that the estates belonging to Artemis and Apollo have to be identified with the area around Kalapodi. Yet caution may have its limits: unless we are happy to replace an actual tower with a hypothetical one and to invent more sanctuaries, it is not unreasonable to see the naming of Apollo and Artemis in line 10 as a reference to the double sanctuary at Kalapodi²⁷. Although the exact location of the sacred lands from the Smixi inscription cannot be fixed with certainty, there is a high probability that the following geographic reconstruction is accurate: Hyampolis and Abae are in the places where Yorke located them over one hundred years ago, and Kalapodi is the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos, where Apollo was also honoured and which was under the control of Hyampolis. Accordingly, the sacred land was probably located where the Exarchos valley fans out, near both Hyampolis and Abae (*fig. 3*).

If we leave aside for the moment the question of where this sacred land was physically located, it is worth examining what the inscription can tell us about the role of sacred land in the local economy and society of Hellenistic Phocis. At the outset, it should be said that the question of sacred land not only has a long and fruitful history as a subject of discussion, but that the recent studies by Horster, Papazarkadas and Rousset have demonstrated that the topic is far from being exhausted²⁸. In what follows I only wish to suggest that the Smixi inscription may shed some light on the broader issues raised in these recent studies.

A first notable feature of the inscription is that the precise delineation of spatial areas is not complemented by the recording of any prices. Unlike, for example, a roughly contemporary inscription from the Black Sea (IOSPE I² 403) recording the sale of land plots and specifying prices as well as areas, IG IX 1, 87 records no prices paid for any of the land. The transactions, then, are a *paradosis*, or transfer of proper-

²⁴ de Polignac 1995, 23. McInerney 2011.

²⁵ Darmezin 1999, 117 f. no. 153.

²⁶ Zachos 2003/2004, 208 f. The coordinates of the tower, which lay to the right (east) of the road running to Kalapodi, are 38.617179 N / 22.848201 E, opposite the church of Agios Georgios Sphakas.

²⁷ If the sanctuary of Artemis and Apollo in the Smixi inscription is not at Kalapodi but somewhere in the Exarchos valley, such as at Bogdanos (Hyampolis), the easy 6 km walk from the Sphaka tower instead becomes a ten kilometer walk through the hills. This does not compel us to identify the Artemis and Apollo sanctuary with Kalapodi, but it is surely preferable to avoid multiplying hypotheses.

²⁸ Horster 2004, Papazarkadas 2011 and Rousset 2013.

ties to the gods without, as far as we can tell, compensation. Nevertheless, since the inscription makes reference to revenues (line 11) it would seem that the plots being transferred to the control of the gods were intended for leasing. It is difficult to imagine how otherwise the land could be made productive. The revenues would go to the gods as the owners of the land. Yet no leases are explicitly mentioned and there is no hint of how such a contract might have been structured. What was the duration of such contracts? When and where were payments made, and what conditions were imposed on the lessors? Were there stipulations about manuring the smaller plots? All of these conditions are spelled out in IG II² 2493, a lease from the deme of Rhamnous. In the case of the *hiera syngraphe* from Delos, drafted ca. 300 B.C., we can follow fluctuations in lease payments over the following decades, but the east Phocian inscription seems to offer only the first stage, a kind of verbal cadastration, that anticipates further use of the land without spelling this out in detail.

A likely explanation for the omission of any details regarding leasing arrangements is that the land was returned to the original landowners as lessors in perpetuity: as such, the transfer was a token arrangement. Such ›transfers‹ are attested elsewhere. In Karia, for example, an individual named Polyneikes sold his estate, with all the vines and trees on it to Apollo and Artemis for 6500 drachmai, paid over approximately thirty years. Yet at the same time he received a permanent lease (»εἰς τὸν αἰὲν χρόνον«)²⁹. Other examples or leases in perpetuity are also known from Herakleia (Lucania) and Athens³⁰. There were pressing reasons for arranging a fictive transfer to the gods: fear of the confiscation of land³¹. The pressure could come from authorities or reformers wishing to maximize the amount of land available for division into small holdings capable of sustaining farmer-hoplites, or simply to alleviate the poverty of those who had lost their land in the turbulent conditions of the 3rd and 2nd centuries. Such calls for the redistribution of land were regarded as acts of sedition and throughout the Classical period there were attempts to suppress them. Finley notes the denunciation of such programmes in Pseudo-Demosthenes, as well as the oath taken by the citizens of Itanos »not to bring about the redistribution of land« and the curse

at Delphi called down upon anyone who proposed such a measure³². In a wide-ranging study of the socio-economic upheavals of the early Hellenistic age, Alexander Fuchs counted seventy instances of conflict and revolution from the 370s and 150 B.C., a phenomenon that he linked to »the decline of small scale and medium farming and the concentration of landed property [...]«³³ Under these conditions the threat of land seizure was real. Polybius has a famous description of the dreadful social and economic conditions in Boeotia at the end of the 3rd century³⁴ and his description of stasis in the Arcadian city of Kynaitha during the reign of Philip V demonstrates that land redistribution was an ever-present threat in times of crisis:

»συνέβαινε δὲ τοὺς Κυναιθεῖς, ὄντας Ἀρκάδας, ἐκ πολλῶν χρόνων ἐν ἀκαταπαύστοις καὶ μεγάλαις συνεσχῆσθαι στάσεσι, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν κατ' ἀλλήλων πεποιῆσθαι σφαγὰς καὶ φυγὰς, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις ἀρπαγὰς ὑπαρχόντων, ἔτι δὲ γῆς ἀναδασμούς [...]« (Polyb. 4, 17)

»It so happened that the Kynaithians, who were Arkadians, had for a long while been in the grip of terrible and unending civil conflicts, and had perpetrated against each other a great many assaults, by turns forcing the other side into exile, seizing their property, and even going so far as to redistribute land.«

In such a volatile climate, with the threat of land confiscations ever more pressing, the decision to donate the land to the gods in return for a permanent lease was a prudent decision. In the face of calls for land redistribution, elite property owners could validly reply that their landholdings were only modest, and that their largest holdings were actually in the hands of the gods.

If this scenario lies behind the transfer of land to Artemis and Apollo, it would suggest that the donors were from the same economic milieu as the individuals who held many of the neighbouring estates. Common sense would suggest the same. It is notable that names among the landholders recur frequently and reveal tight family connections. Thrason, son of Aristokrates, owns three estates and his father owns an-

29 Blümel 1995, 46 f.

30 Dionysos at Herakleia: Tabula Heracleensis (= I.jur. gr. XII); Hypodektes at Athens: IG II² 2501.

31 On confiscation see Horster 2004, 80–87 and Davies 2007, 350 n. 84.

32 [Demosthenes], On the Treaty with Alexander 17, 15; Finley 1953, 239.

33 Fuchs 1974, 55. For a recent treatment of the same issues, see Mackil 2017.

34 Polyb. 20, 4–7.

other. Philon, son of Kleippos is listed twice, and his son once. The father and son combination of Theainetos and Kallikrates both possess plots, as do two sons of Mynnion. What we are seeing is a small number of families who own a large number of plots of land securing their holdings by means of a fictive transfer of title to Artemis and Apollo.

This helps to explain another oddity of the inscription: the extraordinary fluctuation in the size of the plots. A plot of a single plethron, 30 × 30 m, is scarcely big enough to hold a single cow, while an estate of 300 plethra (27 ha or 66 ac) would take at least a month to plough with an ox-led plough. It was an estate that was used for grazing rather than cultivation. If each of these was a piece of land that the former owner was only nominally transferring to the god, then the land could continue to be used as before: small lots for grain cultivation, oleoculture, viticulture and other labour-intense farming activities, larger estates for grazing cattle. This was the most productive land, as the local landowners knew only too well. Pausanias reports:

»ὅποσα δ' ἂν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἱερὰ ἐπονομάσωσιν εἶναι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, ἄνευ νόσου ταῦτα καὶ πióτερα τῶν ἄλλων ἐκτρέφεσθαι λέγουσιν.« (Paus. 10, 35, 7)

»They claim that such cattle as they designate as sacred to Artemis grow up without disease and fatter than the rest.«

If at Hyampolis land owners transferred part of their land to the gods but maintained the usufruct of the land, an easy and convenient way of distinguish-

ing such sacred land would be to designate the animals that grazed on that land as *hiera* (possibly by means of brands). That way one could easily identify the animals destined for the altar. Ideally such beasts were hale and hearty, and like animals destined for market today they may have been fattened shortly before slaughter. It is worth noting that one of the places in the Smixi inscription is a spot that seems to be called »Πιαλεία« (»The Fat Lands«, B. line 32). It is located next to the Hekatombion. While some of the sacred animals ended up on the altar of Artemis Elaphebolos, others were destined for sacrifice to her brother.

The arrangements spelled out (and sometimes not spelled out) in IG IX 1, 87 give us a glimpse of local responses to the troubles of the Hellenistic period in Central Greece, and point to elite land holders protecting their property with the help of the gods. It is striking that at precisely the same time slave owners were also working out a way of protecting other pieces of their property, by writing *paramone* clauses into the sale of their slaves to the god. Such clauses allowed the slave owners to continue exacting the services of their slaves even as their transfer to the god was spelled out contractually³⁵. This became commonplace at Delphi, where, beginning around 200 B.C., the polygonal wall below Apollo's temple was inscribed with hundreds of such sales. Eukrateia, sold to Artemis and Apollo, had her manumission in the temple of Artemis Elaphebolos, witnessed (among others) by Kleon and Theodoros, names which also appear among the land owners listed in IG IX 1, 87³⁶.

Philadelphia

Jeremy McInerney

Address

Prof. Jeremy McInerney
University of Pennsylvania
249 S 36th St
Philadelphia, PA 19104–6304
United States of America
jmcinern@sas.upenn.edu

³⁵ See Sosin 2015 for the most recent treatment and extensive bibliography.

³⁶ Darmezine 1999, n. 153.

Sources of illustrations: Fig. 1: P. Armstrong, Some Byzantine and Later Settlements in Eastern Phokis, *ABSA* 84, 1989, 2. – Fig. 2: Landsat-8 image courtesy of the U.S. Geological Survey (<https://doi.org/10.5066/P975CC9B>). – Fig. 3: J. McInerney.

Bibliography

- Armstrong 1989** P. Armstrong, Some Byzantine and Later Settlements in Eastern Phokis, BSA 84, 1989, 1–47
- Blümel 1995** W. Blümel, Inschriften aus Karien 1, EA 29, 1995, 135–142
- Darmezin 1999** L. Darmezin, Les affranchissements par consécration en Béotie et dans le monde grec hellénistique (Paris 1999)
- Davies 2007** J. K. Davies, Classical Greece: Production, in: W. Scheidel – I. Morris – R. Saller (eds.), The Cambridge Economic History of the Graeco-Roman World (Cambridge 2007) 333–361
- de Polignac 1995** F. de Polignac, Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State (Chicago 1995)
- Felsch 1987** R. C. S. Felsch mit Beiträgen von K. Braun – M. Jacob-Felsch – G. Hübner – A. Nitsche – M. Salta, Kalapodi. Bericht über die Grabungen im Heiligtum der Artemis Elaphebolos und des Apollon von Hyampolis 1978–1982, AA 42, 1987, 1–100
- Felsch 2007** R. C. S. Felsch, Zur Stratigraphie des Heiligtums, Kalapodi 2 (Mainz 2007)
- Finley 1953** M. I. Finley, Land, Debt and the Man of Property in Classical Athens, Political Science Quarterly 68, 1953, 249–268
- Fraser – Matthews 2000** P. M. Fraser – E. Matthews (eds.), A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names III B. Central Greece from the Megarid to Thessaly (Oxford 2000)
- Fuchs 1974** A. Fuchs, Patterns and Types of Social-economic Revolution in Greece from the Fourth to the Second Century B.C., AncSoc 5, 1974, 51–81
- Horster 2004** M. Horster, Landbesitz griechischer Heiligtümer in archaischer und klassischer Zeit (Berlin 2004)
- Jacob-Felsch 1996** M. Jacob-Felsch, Die spätmykenische bis frühprotogeometrische Keramik, Kalapodi 1 (Mainz 1996)
- Kopaniias, forthcoming** K. Kopaniias, Das Straßennetz der Ostphokis und die Frage nach der Lokalisierung von Abai, planned for W.-D. Niemeier (ed.), Kalapodi-Vorberichte, copy at <https://www.academia.edu/4580471/Das_Straßennetz_der_Ostphokis_und_die_Frage_nach_der_Lokalisierung_von_Abai> (13.03.2023)
- Mackil 2017** E. Mackil, Propiedad, deuda y revolución en la Grecia Antigua, in: M. Campagno – J. Gallego – C. G. MacGaw (eds.) Capital, deuda y desigualdad: distribuciones de la riqueza en el mediterráneo antiguo (Buenos Aires 2017) 27–54
- McInerney 2010** J. McInerney, The Cattle of the Sun. Cows and Culture in the World of the Ancient Greeks (Princeton 2010)
- McInerney 2011** J. McInerney, Delphi and Phokis: a Network Theory Approach, Pallas 87, 2011, 95–106
- McInerney 2013** J. McInerney, Making Phokian Space: Sanctuary and Community in the Definition of Phokis, in: P. Funke – M. Haake (eds.), Greek Federal States and their Sanctuaries (Stuttgart 2013) 185–204
- Niemeier 2013** W.-D. Niemeier, Kalapodi (Abai) 2011, in: Jahresbericht des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts 2011, AA 2012 Beih. 1 (Munich 2013) 94–96
- Niemeier 2014** W.-D. Niemeier, Kultkontinuität von der Bronzezeit bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit im Orakel-Heiligtum des Apollon von Abai, in: I. Gerlach – D. Raue (eds.), Sanktuar und Ritual. Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund, MKT 10, Forschungscluster 4: Heiligtümer: Gestalt und Ritual, Kontinuität und Veränderung (Rahden 2013) 33–42
- Niemeier 2016** W.-D. Niemeier, Das Orakelheiligtum des Apollo von Abai/Kalapodi. Eines der bedeutendsten griechischen Heiligtümer nach den Ergebnissen der neuen Ausgrabungen (Wiesbaden 2016)
- Papazarkadas 2011** N. Papazarkadas, Sacred and Public Land in Ancient Athens (Oxford 2011)
- Paris 1894** P. Paris, Inscriptions de Phocide et de Locride, BCH 18, 1894, 53–63

- de Polignac 1995** F. de Polignac, *Cults, Territory, and the Origins of the Greek City-State*, transl. by Janet Lloyd (Chicago 1995)
- Prignitz 2014** S. Prignitz, *Zur Identifizierung des Heiligtums von Kalapodi*, ZPE 189, 2014, 133–146
- Pritchett 1996** W. K. Pritchett, *Greek Archives, Cults and Topography, Archaia Hellas 2* (Amsterdam 1996)
- Rousset 2013** D. Rousset, *Sacred Property and Public Property in the Greek City*, JHS 133, 2013, 113–133
- Sosin 2015** J. Sosin, *Manumission with Paramone: Conditional Freedom?*, TAPA 145 fasc. 2, 2015, 325–381
- Yorke 1896** V. W. Yorke, *Excavations at Abae and Hyampolis in Phocis*, JHS 16, 1896, 292–312
- Zachos 2003/2004** G. Zachos, *Η χώρα της αρχαίας Ελάτειας*, Αρχαιογνωσία 12, 2003/2004, 197–221.

Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Die Übertragung von heiligem Land im östlichen Phokis, IG IX 1, 87

Zusammenfassung Dieser Aufsatz präsentiert eine lange Inschrift aus dem östlichen Phokis, die Einzelheiten über die Übertragung von Grundstücken auf die heiligen Güter von Artemis und Apollo enthält. Das beschriebene Gebiet erstreckt sich über mindestens 720 Plethra, umfasst jedoch Parzellen, die von nur einer oder zwei Plethra bis zu 300 Plethra variieren. Eintragungen listen das übertragene Land auf, indem sie die Nachbargüter im Osten und Westen erfassen. Daher bildet das heilige Anwesen einen Korridor, der in etwa nach Norden und Süden verläuft. Sowohl archäologische als auch epigraphische Hinweise deuten darauf hin, dass das heilige Anwesen am westlichen Ende des Exarchos-Tals lag, und stimmen mit der traditionellen Identifizierung von Abai, Hyampolis und Kalapodi als Heiligtum von Artemis Elaphebolos überein. Es wird vermutet, dass das Land den Göttern im Austausch für eine dauerhafte Pacht übertragen wurde und eine elitäre Strategie zum Schutz des Eigentums während der turbulenten frühhellenistischen Zeit darstellt.

Schlagwörter Phokis, heiliges Land, heilige Tiere, Landteilungen, Mietverträge

A transfer of sacred lands from eastern Phocis, IG IX 1, 87

Abstract This paper presents a lengthy inscription from eastern Phocis containing details of the transfer of plots of land to the sacred estates of Artemis and Apollo. The area described extends over a minimum of 720 plethra but includes plots varying from only one or two plethra up to 300 plethra. Entries list the transferred land by recording the neighbouring estates to the east and west. Therefore, the sacred estate constitutes a corridor running broadly north and south. Indicators both archaeological and epigraphic suggest that the sacred estate lay at the western end of the Exarchos valley, and are consistent with the traditional identification of Abae, Hyampolis and Kalapodi as the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos. The land, it is suggested, was transferred to the gods in exchange for a permanent lease, and represents an élite strategy for protecting property during the tumultuous early Hellenistic period.

Keywords Phocis, sacred land, sacred animals, land allotments, leases

Μία μεταβίβαση ιερής γης από την ανατολική Φωκίδα, IG IX 1, 87

Περίληψη Η παρούσα εργασία παρουσιάζει μία μακροσκελή επιγραφή από την ανατολική Φωκίδα που περιέχει λεπτομέρειες για τη μεταβίβαση οικοπέδων στα ιερά κτήματα της Άρτεμης και του Απόλλωνα. Η περιγραφόμενη περιοχή εκτείνεται σε τουλάχιστον 720 πλέθρα, αλλά περιλαμβάνει οικοπέδα που κυμαίνονται από μόνο ένα ή δύο πλέθρα έως 300 πλέθρα. Οι εγγραφές απαριθμούν τη μεταβιβαζόμενη γη καταγράφοντας τα γειτονικά κτήματα στα ανατολικά και δυτικά. Ως εκ τούτου, το ιερό κτήμα αποτελεί έναν διάδρομο που εκτείνεται σε γενικές γραμμές προς τα βόρεια και τα νότια. Αρχαιολογικές και επιγραφικές ενδείξεις υποδηλώνουν ότι το ιερό κτήμα βρισκόταν στο δυτικό άκρο της κοιλάδας του Εξάρχου και συνάδουν με την παραδοσιακή ταύτιση των Αβών, της Υαμπόλεως και του Καλαποδίου ως του ιερού της Αρτέμιδος Ελαφηβόλου. Υποθέτουμε ότι η γη μεταβιβάστηκε στους θεούς με αντάλλαγμα μια μόνιμη μίσθωση και αυτό αντιπροσωπεύει μια στρατηγική των ελίτ για την προστασία της ιδιοκτησίας κατά την ταραχώδη πρόωμη ελληνιστική περίοδο.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Φωκίδα, ιερή γη, ιερά ζώα, αναδασμός, μισθώσεις