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Elena Franchi

## Sites of memory in ancient Phocis. The Thessalian-Phocian battles, the Persian Wars, and the changing religious landscape

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Katja Sporn | Alexandre Farnoux |  
Eric Laufer  
ANCIENT PHOKIS

Athenaia 13  
Études méditerranéennes 4

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT  
Abteilung Athen

**ATHENAIA 13**

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**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

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# Sites of memory in ancient Phocis

## The Thessalian-Phocian battles, the Persian Wars, and the changing religious landscape

*Elena Franchi*

### 1. Abae, Hyampolis and the challenge of regional memories

According to Herodotus and Pausanias after having strenuously struggled against the Thessalians and having finally defeated them, the Phocians dedicated offerings at the sanctuary of Delphi and at Abae and according to Plutarch founded a festival to commemorate their victory at the sanctuary of Hyampolis. While our earliest source, Herodotus, on this war does not mention the festival of the Elaphebolia and does not recognize a key role for Hyampolis, our latest sources completely neglect the role of Abae in the story.

In two previous studies<sup>1</sup>, I argued that this shift affected the role of Abae and Hyampolis as sites of

memory and depended on the changes in the religious landscape; that is on the changing relevance of the sanctuary of Abae and of the sanctuary of Hyampolis in the time of Herodotus and in later times respectively. In this paper I will further explore this issue by analysing two related issues that appear relevant in this regard: 1) the Persian Wars and their memorialization in sanctuaries located in Phocis; and 2) identifying which sanctuary might have been considered the true Phocian sanctuary, i.e. a sanctuary capable of conveying (among other kinds of memories) regional war memories.

### 2. The battles between Thessalians and Phocians and the dedications and rituals commemorating them

The most famous war between the Phocians and the Thessalians was fought at the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century or at the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>2</sup>, before the Per-

sian wars, and consisted in different battles described by Herodotus, Plutarch, and Pausanias. Henceforth, I will refer to these events simply as the

<sup>1</sup> Franchi 2016a; Franchi 2016b.

<sup>2</sup> Sordi 1953, 253–258; Ellinger 1993, 38 f. 269 f.; McInerney 1999, 173–179; Bultrighini – Torelli 2017, 238 with further references.

›Archaic War‹. According to the ancient sources, the enmity between Phocians and Thessalians also deeply affected the ›Third‹ Sacred War, where the role played by the Thebans in the amphictyony was prominent. However, even though the Third Sacred War and what happened in the following decades acted as a catalyst for a reshaping activity on the Archaic War<sup>3</sup>, only the memory of the latter will be our focus in the present paper.

Herodotus records two battles between Phocians and Thessalians<sup>4</sup>. The first was won by the Phocians through a ruse: the divine seer of Elis, Tellias, advised six hundred of their best men to cover their bodies and armours with chalk, enabling them to mount a night attack and kill any soldier not marked by chalk. Herodotus also adds that the victory was commemorated by offerings at Delphi and at Abae, along with some statues representing the struggle for the tripod. In the second battle, which occurred on the mountain pass near Hyampolis, the Phocians defeated the Thessalian cavalry with the ruse of the concealed amphorae: the Phocians set traps by burying empty jars in trenches where the horses of the Thessalians fell, breaking their legs. Herodotus does not mention offerings, rites or festivals commemorating the victory in Hyampolis.

Polyaenus narrates the two Phocian stratagems in the same order as Herodotus and without adding any details<sup>5</sup>, whereas Pausanias first reports the battle at Hyampolis and the destruction of the Thessalian cavalry caused by the concealed amphorae, and then the ›chalk battle‹<sup>6</sup>. In addition, he records two other episodes that Herodotus does not mention: the massacre of three hundred Phocians led by the general Gelon during a night reconnaissance mission; and a battle in which the Phocian generals Rhoeus of Ambrossus and Daiphantus of Hyampolis and the mantis Tellias of Elis played a major role. The disaster of the Three Hundred led to a desperate resolve by the Phocians, who were determined to conquer or, in case of loss, to die, after surrendering their wives, children, and all their properties to a huge fire; this is, according to Pausanias, the »Φωκική Ἀπόνοια«<sup>7</sup>. After their subsequent victory, the Phocians dedicated the statues of Apollo, of the heroes, and of Tellias the seer, as well as of the other generals of the battle, Rhoeus of Ambros-

us and Daiphantus of Hyampolis<sup>8</sup>. Further in the text, when Pausanias describes all the offerings seen in Delphi, he records the same Phocian offering reported by Herodotus: namely, the statues representing the struggle for the tripod. To sum up, then, Pausanias quotes two different Phocian dedications following the same archaic conflict against the Thessalians. On the one hand, the statues representing the struggle for the tripod, connected with the victory on Parnassos and offered both in Delphi and in Abae; secondly, the offerings and the statues of Apollo and of the Phocian generals and heroes of the victory of Hyampolis. Besides, Pausanias presents the latter as the result of a desperate decision: the renowned ›desperation of the Phocians‹, an aspect that is given particular prominence also in Plutarch's account of the event.

Indeed, in the second chapter of his *Mulierum virtutes*, Plutarch gives an account of the origin of the conflict, which is found neither in Herodotus nor in Pausanias<sup>9</sup>. According to this account, the Phocians slew all the Thessalian archons and tyrants in Phocis in a single day. This event entailed the retaliatory killing of two hundred and fifty Phocian hostages and the invasion of Phocis through Locris, resulting in the execution of all the men and in the enslavement of all the women and children. Under such circumstances, Daiphantus, one of the three Phocian archons, proposed the desperate course of action described by Pausanias. However, Plutarch adds that the women – in a separate assembly – approved Daiphantus' proposal and voted him a crown, applauding him as the man who best managed the affairs of Phocis<sup>10</sup>. Even the children agreed with the men's decision. The Phocians eventually defeated the Thessalians at Cleonae near Hyampolis, and the courageous resolution was called Φωκέων Ἀπόνοια. Plutarch also adds that the Phocian victory was still celebrated in his time with the festival of the Elaphebolia at Hyampolis.

As far as commemoration rites and offerings are concerned, then, the sources differ: Herodotus mentions offerings at Abae (and Delphi), whereas Pausanias and Plutarch mention offerings and festivals connected with Hyampolis. This ›shift‹ deserves closer attention. An analysis of other sources on Abae and Hyampolis may help us shed some light on it.

3 Franchi 2016a, chapter 4.

4 Hdt. 8, 27–28.

5 Polyain. 6, 18.

6 Paus. 10, 1, 3–11.

7 Paus. 10, 1, 7.

8 Paus. 10, 1, 8–10.

9 Plut. mor. 244.

10 Plut. mor. 244D: »ὥς τὰ ἀριστα τῇ Φωκίδι βεβουλευμένον«.

### 3. A continuously changing religious landscape

Abae is not mentioned in Homer's Catalogue of Ships<sup>11</sup>, but appears repeatedly in Herodotus regarding its role in the Persian Wars. This is meaningful, since Herodotus' audience is Panhellenic. Herodotus reports that Croesus, being in fear of the threatening Persian Empire, seeks the advice of the oracles of Delphi, Abae, Dodona, Amphiaraus in Thebes, Tropho-nius in Lebadaea, and the one of the Branchides; this appears to be a kind of list of the best oracles<sup>12</sup>: Abae is referred to as »ἐς Ἀβας τὰς Φωκέων«, the oracle in Phocis or of the Phocians. Herodotus further states that Mardonius sends Mys of Europos to visit the oracles of Lebadaea, Amphiaraus in Thebes, of Apollo Ismenius, of Apollo Ptous and of Abae, again referred to as »τὰς Φωκέων«<sup>13</sup>. This denomination does not indicate a political status but the location of the sanctuary<sup>14</sup>. At the same time, the very fact that the location was indicated not only by the name of what would later be known as a city<sup>15</sup>, as with other sanctuaries, but also by the name of – the inhabitants of – the region where the sanctuary was located, does not necessarily indicate, as is sometimes alleged, either that this sanctuary was relatively insignificant and it was necessary to add some additional information or that there were other, more famous, cities called Abae. Instead, it indirectly hints at the regional relevance of the sanctuary, which also fits in with its more Greek and international (global) dimension: indeed, Herodotus also reports that, after the victory at the Thermopylae, the Persians set fire to different cities and places, among them Abae »where there was a richly endowed temple of Apollo, provided with a wealth of treasure and offerings. There was also then as now a place of divination there. This temple, too, they

plundered and burnt«<sup>16</sup>. Parke and Wormell used this excerpt in order to stress that the oracle of Abae played a role which was similar to that of Delphi at the times of the Persian Wars and at the times when Herodotus wrote<sup>17</sup>: this is perhaps exaggerated. Without falling into the same exaggeration, we can nevertheless state that Abae's role was relevant in archaic and early classical times.

Yet, while Herodotus informs us that the oracle was still in operation in his times, Pausanias reports instead that, after the Persian fire, the temple of Abae was never rebuilt and indeed, was burnt down by the Thebans during the Third Sacred War too<sup>18</sup>. It seems legitimate to wonder whether this contradiction is simply due to the fact that, in Pausanias' time, the religious landscape had changed and the oracle of Abae, which he describes as the »the frailest of buildings ever damaged by fire«<sup>19</sup>, had a different role. Classical sources, and especially early classical sources, point, instead, to its prominence. For the Athenian audience of Sophocles' »Oedipus tyrannus«, first staged in the twenties of the 5<sup>th</sup> century<sup>20</sup>, Abae is put on an equal footing with Delphi and Olympia: Jocasta quietens Oedipus by telling him that the oracle had predicted that Laius would be killed by his son and that therefore the prophecy could never come true since Laius's son had died when he was still a baby; thus, she declares, she will never have confidence in oracles again. The chorus, however, replies: »No longer will I go reverently to the earth's central and inviolate shrine, no more to Abae's temple or to Olympia, if these oracles do not fit the outcome, so that all mortals shall point at them with their fingers«<sup>21</sup>. It is extremely noteworthy that

11 Hom. Il. 2, 494–759; »Phocian« cities: 517–520.

12 Hdt. 1, 46; Funke 2005, 2.

13 Hdt. 8, 134.

14 Oulhen 2004, 408.

15 It has recently been suggested that the city of Abae is rather recent and that the toponym (for which see Hdt. 8, 27, 4. 5; 8, 33; Diod. 16, 58, 4; Paus. 10, 35, 1), which clearly indicates a city only from Strabo onward (Strab. 10, 1, 3) and is accompanied by the noun »polis« only in some inscriptions of the Imperial Age (Prignitz 2014, 141–143 no. 5–7) and in Stephanus of Byzantium (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀβαί), denotes the sanctuary itself: cf. Sporn 2020, esp. 127 f.

16 Hdt. 8, 33: »ἐνθα ἦν ἱρὸν Ἀπόλλωνος πλούσιον, θησαυροῖσι τε καὶ ἀναθήμασι πολλοῖσι κατεσκευασμένον: ἦν δὲ καὶ τότε καὶ νῦν ἐτι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι. καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρηναν. καὶ τινὰς διώκοντες εἶλον τῶν Φωκέων πρὸς τοῖσι ὄρεσι, καὶ γυναικὰς τινὰς διέφθειραν μισγόμενοι ὑπὸ πλήθεος« (edition and translation: Godley 1925).

17 Parke – Wormell 1956, 369. I argued elsewhere (Franchi 2016b) that these passages do not (and were not aimed to) provide an exhaustive geography of oracular sanctuaries, neither of the time of the Persian Wars (cf. Crahay 1956, 196), nor in Herodotus' time (see also Asheri 1989, ad loc. (1, 46) (p. 291); Asheri et al. 2007, ad loc. (8, 33) (p. 233); Thonemann 2016).

18 Hdt. 10, 35, 2. 3; cf. Diod. 16, 58.

19 Paus. 10, 35, 3 (translation Jones 1935).

20 Knox 1956; Dawe 2006, ad loc. (who compares Aristoph. Ach. 27 with Soph. Oid. T. 629); Segal 2001, p. 14 n. 3 (who recalls Aristoph. Equ. 1017–1019); Mitchell-Boyask 2008, chapter 5; Osborne 2012, 275 (who is sceptical).

21 Soph. Oid. T. 897–900: »οὐκέτι τὸν ἄθικτον εἶμι γὰς ἐπ' ὀμφαλὸν σέβων, οὐδ' ἐς τὸν Ἀβαΐσι ναὸν οὐδὲ τὰν Ὀλυμπίαν, εἰ μὴ τάδε χειρόδεικτα πᾶσιν ἀρμόσει βροτοῖς« (edition and translation: Jebb 1887); cf. Sidwell 1992, 113; Kyriakou 2011, 458 f.

Sophocles does not add any information here, for example as to the geographical location of the sanctuary of Abae. Therefore, if we take the embeddedness of Athenian drama for granted<sup>22</sup>, this allegedly implies that his audience was already familiar with the sanctuary of Abae and with its location. Additionally, if we examine the text's syntax, the three oracles – Delphi, Abae and Olympia – are placed on the same level. Finally, the very fact that the chorus affirms that it will no longer trust either Abae or other oracular shrines, implies that these were usually trusted in Sophocles' times. On this account, we can infer that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century the oracular shrine of Abae was well-known and consulted.

The 4<sup>th</sup> century sources show a similar framework. Callisthenes, who is interested in the history of Phocis and wrote the *Pythionikai*, the list of the victors in Delphi<sup>23</sup>, and a monograph on the Third Sacred War<sup>24</sup>, mentions Abae together with the oracles of Ismenius in Thebes, Trophonius in Lebadea and Delphi<sup>25</sup>. This leads us to suggest that the oracle still played a relevant role, despite being burnt down by the Persians, and again by the Thebans in the Third Sacred War<sup>26</sup>. Later, in the 3<sup>rd</sup> or in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century<sup>27</sup>, Lycophron mentions Abae along with Crisa, Lilaia, Anemoreia and Amphissa<sup>28</sup> and defines Abae as »κλεινάς«. Since this catalogue partly evokes the Phocian cities reported in the Catalogue of the Ships<sup>29</sup>, one can infer that Lycophron's quotation of Abae either reveals its prestige in Lycophron's times, or the shrine's archaic prestige, which was still vividly remembered in Lycophron's times. Certainly, the oracle was still active at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, given that Philip V granted that the sacred land at Abae should remain free of tribute<sup>30</sup>. In Roman times, Pausanias provides evidence both for the Classical and early Hellenistic prestige of the sanctuary of Abae, which

was consulted by the Thebans before Leuctra, and for the awareness of its ancient prestige: he writes that the Romans showed their devotion to the shrine by building a little temenos nearby under Hadrian<sup>31</sup>: a point on which I will comment more fully below.

The fame of Hyampolis, of its shrine, and especially of the festival of the Elaphebolia which was celebrated there, follows a different pattern. Hyampolis is mentioned in the Homeric Catalogue of Ships<sup>32</sup>. Its settlement lies along the route leading from the Thermopylae into Phocis; Pausanias reports that, like other Phocian cities, Hyampolis was burnt by Xerxes<sup>33</sup>. According to Xenophon, the tyrant Iason followed this route after Leuctra, in 371, and besieged Hyampolis<sup>34</sup>. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century, it seems that Hyampolis was a well-fortified city: in the Hellenica Oxyrhynchia the city is said to have resisted a raid by the Thebans in 395<sup>35</sup>. In 349, during the Third Sacred War, the Phocians defeated the Thebans there<sup>36</sup>.

According to Pausanias, Philip razed the city to the ground and only ruins survived in Roman times<sup>37</sup>. However, this may not apply to its sanctuary and to the Elaphebolia, i.e., the festival celebrated there. The first source that mentions the sanctuary of Hyampolis is Pausanias<sup>38</sup>. It is remarkable that this sanctuary is not even mentioned by Herodotus when he lists the cities burnt down by the Persians in Phocis. When referring to Abae, he adds a note about its sanctuary, when referring to Hyampolis, he does not. Maybe this is because this sanctuary did not exist yet or because it played a (decidedly) minor role?

Elaphebolos is an epithet of Artemis mentioned already in the Homeric Hymns and later in Anacreon and Sophocles<sup>39</sup>. Yet, it is only in the already mentioned excerpt of Plutarch and in an inscription dating back to Roman times that the Phocian Elaphebolia are mentioned for the first time<sup>40</sup>. The inscription was

22 Mitchell-Boyask 2007.

23 Syll.<sup>3</sup> 275 = Greek Historical Inscriptions 80; Plut. Solon 11, 1. See Robertson 1978, 52 f.; Mari 2002, 165 f. 169; Mari 2013, 131.

24 Cic. fam. 5, 12. Robertson 1978, 51; Prandi 1985, 66–68; Spoerri 1988; Mari 2002, 169; Mari 2013, 131.

25 FGrHist 124 F 11 (= Steph. Byz. s.v. Τεγύρα); cf. Prandi 1985, 16 f. 67.

26 Diod. 16, 58; Paus. 10, 35, 3; see above.

27 3<sup>rd</sup> cent. B.C.: Momigliano 1942; Momigliano 1945; Hurst 1976; West 1983 and West 1984; 2<sup>nd</sup> cent. B.C.: Gigante Lanzara 1998; Gigante Lanzara 2000; Kosmetatou 2000; Musti 2001; Stirpe 2002; see Sens 2009; Sens 2010, 303 with references and discussion.

28 Lyc. Alexandra 1037 f. On the presence of Amphissa listed among Phocian cities, cf. Strab. 9, 3, 2–17 with comment by Franchi 2016b, 67.

29 Holzinger 2007, 322.

30 Dittenberger IG IX, 1, 78. The inscription was built into the church of Agios Georgios in the village of Kalapodi and was found by Bilco in 1882; the church collapsed because of an earthquake at some point before 1933, and the inscription was impossible to locate thereafter; cf. Bilco 1882; Darnezin 1999, n. 153; Paschidis 2008, 326 f.; Prignitz 2014, 141–143 n. 5.

31 Paus. 4, 32, 5 and 10, 35, 2–3; Bultrighini – Torelli 2017, 490 f.

32 Hom. Il. 2, 521.

33 Paus. 10, 35, 6.

34 Xen. hell. 6, 4, 27.

35 Hell. Oxyrh. 21, 5.

36 Demosth. or. 1, 25, 3, 8; Diod. 16, 56, 1; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 122.

37 Paus. 10, 35, 5–6.

38 Paus. 10, 35, 7.

39 Hom. h. 27, 2; Anacr. fr. 3, 1; cf. Soph. Trach. 214.

40 IG IX, 1, 90.

found on the Kastro Bogdanou, which is commonly considered the acropolis of Hyampolis<sup>41</sup>, and mentions three festivals: the Kaisarea, the Elaphebolia and the Laphria; most scholars maintain that the syntax would point to only two festivals, the Elaphebolia and the Laphria being one and the same festival<sup>42</sup>. Anyway, the link between the Phocian Elaphebolia-Laphria and the Laphria of Patrae<sup>43</sup>, which was used to infer that the Phocian Elaphebolia were already celebrated in Archaic Times, is very weak: the ritual of the Laphria of Patrae, where live animals were thrown upon an altar and burnt, does not seem to be connected to the Phocian desperation, and the

use of *epichorios* sacrifice by Pausanias with reference to the Laphria of Patrae does not necessarily point to an archaic ritual action<sup>44</sup>. Thus, nothing allows us to infer that the Elaphebolia were founded in Archaic times.

Given this framework, I wonder whether the role played by the sanctuary of Hyampolis was actually a minor one in Archaic times, when the battle narrated by Herodotus was fought, and whether it came to be regarded more over the centuries, thus starting to play a key role in the stories told about these archaic battles. In the following sections I am going to explore this hypothesis.

## 4. A global perspective on Phocian sanctuaries

In two previous studies<sup>45</sup> I suggested that in Archaic times and in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, as Herodotus wrote his Histories, the shrine of Abae was more famous than the one in Hyampolis, and therefore Abae is mentioned by Herodotus, whereas Hyampolis is not. Later on, the stories told about this battle were shaped and adapted to a new, changing religious landscape, where the shrine of Hyampolis and the Elaphebolia started to play an increasingly important role. It is for this reason that Hyampolis plays a more relevant role in Pausanias and in Plutarch. This role became relevant to the point that Hyampolis was connected to the episode of the Phocian desperation, a core point in the ›Phocian National Saga‹ having an ethno-poietic function: the emergence of the Phocians was represented as a heroic survival after the desperate decision, a decision taken at Hyampolis, which, at this point, was the very site of memories of the Thessalian-Phocian battles<sup>46</sup>.

It is exactly this connection of Hyampolis with the episode of the Phocian desperation that sheds light on the chronology of this shift of relevance of the sanctuary as a site of memory of the Phocian-Thessalian battles. Indeed, the earliest evidence of the episode is in Pausanias and Plutarch, but the pattern of the desperate Phocians spread mostly from the 4<sup>th</sup> century, in the deliberative and forensic arena<sup>47</sup>.

From a methodological point of view, however, it is not enough to assume that Hyampolis replaced Abae as a site of memory of these regional wars only because the sanctuary of Hyampolis gained more relevance through time. Indeed, we should accordingly assume that the sanctuary of Abae simultaneously lost its relevance, thus somehow facilitating the ›handover‹. The scanty literary evidence seems to concur in conveying the idea of a progressive loss of relevance of the sanctuary of Abae, but then Philip V's grant contradicts this pattern<sup>48</sup>. The issue, then, needs further investigation.

41 The site of ancient Hyampolis is usually identified with Kastro and from the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. on, maybe also with Kastro Bogdanou: Yorke 1896, n. 2. 6a; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 15. 111; Sporn et al. 2016/2017b, 396 n. 118; Kopanias, without year. Torelli (in Bultrighini – Torelli 2017, 493) maintains that Hyampolis is difficult (nearly impossible) to identify given the current state of research.

42 »ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἀγωνοθ[ε] | τήσας αὐτοῦ τῶν μεγάλων Καισαρέων καὶ τῶν μεγά | λων Ἐλαφηβολίων τε καὶ Λαφρίων δῖς, οὗς ἀγῶνας | μόνος καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο καὶ ἐτέλεσεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.« – »[X, son of X...] has consecrated at his own expense to [...] and to the city, having been twice agonothetes of the Great Kaisareia and of the Great Elaphebolia and Laphria, games of which the one and the first he introduced and celebrated at his own expense« (transl. by Pirenne-Delforge 2006); cf. Nilsson 1906, 224; Deubner 1932, 205; Ellinger 1993, 240–246; Pritchett 1996, 105 f.; Boulogne 2002, 28; Pirenne-Delforge 2006, 117.

43 Paus. 7, 18, 9.

44 Paus. 7, 18, 11. Pirenne-Delforge 2006, 115 f. (versus Nilsson 1906, 221 f.; Petropoulou 1993). On the use of ›epichorios‹, see Burkert 1981, 287.

45 Franchi 2016a and Franchi 2016b.

46 In contrast to ›ethno-genesis‹, which refers to the real emergence of a people, ›ethno-poiesis‹ refers to the construction of the image of a people and mostly to the (partly fictional) reconstruction of its origin: Sønnesyn 2013, 201 f. That sanctuaries may have a binding force and function both as catalyst in the ethno-genesis/ethno-poiesis and as sites of memory is not new; see e.g. Jung 2011; Funke 2013a; Funke 2013b, 451. On the Phocian national saga, see Burn 1960 and Ellinger 1993.

47 See Demosth. or. 19. 30. 56. 58. 61. 63. 64. 76. 125. 179. 317 with a comment by Franchi 2015.

48 IG IX, 1, 78.



Indeed, if we take for granted the identification of the sanctuary of Abae with the one of Kalapodi<sup>49</sup>, we cannot completely exclude that Abae was still an important landmark in late Classical and Hellenistic times. First of all, because there are traces of a rectangular installation of the 4<sup>th</sup> century B.C. inserted into the ruins of the south temple and painted wall plaster fragments in the foundation trenches of the Roman temple, revealing of the existence of not better identified buildings of Late Hellenistic/Early Imperial times<sup>50</sup>. Secondly, because the excavations of these post-classical strata and the publication of the results are still in progress<sup>51</sup>. Thus, material evidence does not allow us to infer an alleged loss of relevance of the Abae sanctuary. It is therefore necessary to seek for other possible explanations accounting for the replacement of the sanctuary of Abae with the sanctuary of Hyampolis as a site of memory of the Phocian-Thessalian battles. The memory and the memorialization of the Persian Wars come into play.

Indeed, Herodotus informs us about the destruction of Abae (along with other cities) by the Persians, and Pausanias adds that, after the Persian fire, Abae was never rebuilt<sup>52</sup>. This fits with the habit of leaving the ruins of the sanctuaries burnt by the Persians as they were, in order to remember their destruction, as pointed out by Pausanias, but already noted by Isocrates and in the oath of Plataea as reported by Lycurgus<sup>53</sup>. The traces of the Persian fire are documented in both temples in Kalapodi. In particular, the area of the south temple remained largely unbuilt (with the

exception of an installation dating back to late Classical times) until the Imperial period. In a recent study, Dimitris Grigoropoulos stresses how the foundations of the new temple constructed in Imperial times on the southern part of the sanctuary were aligned to the *toichobate* blocks of the Archaic cella<sup>54</sup>. He therefore suggests that »the placement of this temple over these ruins was deliberate« and analyses further material details suggesting »that there was an explicit attempt to exploit the fabric of the pre-existing ruins in planning the new project«<sup>55</sup>. The fact that the sanctuary was monumentalized in the Roman Imperial period and that it enhanced the memory of the Persian War seems in line with Pausanias' statement about the construction of a small temple near the large one by Hadrian<sup>56</sup>; in contrast to the Persians, the Romans paid honour to Apollo in Abae: »θεῶ δὲ τῷ ἐν Ἀβαίς οὐχ ὁμοίως Ῥωμαῖοι τε ἀπένειμαν τὰ ἐς τιμὴν καὶ ὁ Πέρσης· ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν εὐσεβεῖα τῇ ἐς τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα Ἀβαίοις δεδώκασιν αὐτονόμους σφῶς εἶναι, στρατιὰ δὲ ἡ μετὰ Ξέρξου κατέπρησε καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀβαίς ἱερὸν«<sup>57</sup>. Thus, Hadrian's temple (and/or any Imperial building project exploiting the pre-existing ruins) became a site of memory of the Persian Wars<sup>58</sup>.

This kind of memorialization eventually affected the »spatial« reference of the sanctuary as a whole: Abae became a landmark on a more global level, whereas the regional level lost relevance<sup>59</sup>. This, however, had not always been the case. As we have seen above, Abae was a repository of both global and regional memories in Classical times. As global and re-

49 This identification seems plausible, mostly because there are traces of a violent destruction in the early 5<sup>th</sup> cent. B.C. which is very likely the one carried out by the Persians in 480, as documented by literary sources, and because, more generally, the excavated material record is strikingly in line with Pausanias' description of Abae: see Niemeier 2009, 107 f.; Niemeier 2016; Franchi 2016b; Sporn et al. 2016/2017a, esp. 196 f. (Sporn), 223 (Sporn – Laufer); Kopanias, without year. Contra, Torelli (in Bultrighini – Torelli 2017, 493); McNerney in this volume (p. 388 and n. 21).

50 Sossau 2008, 7 f.; Grigoropoulos 2015, 80 f.; Niemeier 2016, 23.

51 See Sporn et al. 2016/2017a, esp. 218 f. 222 f. (Sporn – Laufer, on two Hellenistic ovens), 224–226 (Czys, »Ofenareal«), 230–233 (Hintermann, on Hellenistic pottery), 270 (Sporn, summary and comment).

52 Hdt. 8, 33; Paus. 10, 35, 2.

53 Paus. 10, 35, 2; Isokr. 4, 155–156; Lykurg. 1, 80–81; cf. Diod. 11, 29, 3. Later also in Cic. rep. 3, 15; cf. Sporn et al. 2016/2017a, 206 f. See also Miles 2014 and Rung 2016, esp. 171–173 (on Pausanias' passage concerning Abae's burning and more generally on burnt temples as memorials), with previous bibliography; Funke 2007, 27 f. on the Greek propaganda concerning the Persian destructions; and Hornblower 2013, 9. Modern scepticism about the oath of Plataea or restricted to this clause (Rung 2016, 173 f. with previous references) is irrelevant to our argument: the issue here is that already (and maybe at the latest) in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. the convic-

tion spread that it was not permitted to rebuild the temples burnt down by the Persians because it was important that the ruins »remain for future generations as a memorial of the barbarians' impiety« (Lykurg. 1, 81). Cfr. anche Proietti 2021, 242–248.

54 Grigoropoulos 2015.

55 See also Niemeier 2016, 23. Compare on Athens' acropolis the construction of the statue of Athena Promachos close to the ruins of the Archaic temple of Athena Polias (Monaco 2009).

56 Paus. 10, 35, 4.

57 Paus. 10, 35, 2 (edition: Jones 1935).

58 Most probably, in the sense of Pierre Nora's notion of *lieu de mémoire*: while elsewhere a break with the past of the Persian Wars had occurred, here a sense of historical continuity with these Panhellenic-global wars, opposing Greeks and Barbarians, was enhanced and persisted. Indeed, in Nora's theory (Nora 1984), *lieux de mémoire* are sites where memory crystallizes and secretes itself by constructing a sense of historical continuity otherwise broken: in other words, there are *lieux de mémoire* because there are no longer *milieux de mémoire*, i.e., real environments of memory.

59 Even if we were to agree with Rop (2019) who argues that the Phocians, especially the Delphians, betrayed the Greeks at Thermopylae (in my view a highly problematic hypothesis, but I cannot discuss the details here), this would not have prevented them later from adhering to the common trend to memorialize the Persian Wars as if they had not betrayed the Greeks.



gional memories co-existed there at the same time, a mutual influence should be expected (i.e. the global level affecting the regional one and the other way round). By associating the sanctuary of Abae with the Archaic wars against the Thessalians, and perhaps by still seeing (or, more likely, remembering the sight of) the shields and/or the statues dedicated after these wars in contrast with the ruins of the Persian burning, the Phocians were led to universalize their regional memory of the regional war which these shields and/or the statues recalled – contextually, by leaving the ruins intact and visible in a sanctuary that was the site of memory of a regional war commemorated there by dedications, the Phocians were possibly led to particularize a global memory of a global war. In other words, Abae functioned as a glocal site of memories that, as a consequence, became glocalized as well<sup>60</sup>.

At this point, the question arises of when the global memories became more relevant and confined the regional memories to the point that the latter were transferred to another sanctuary, Hyampolis. It is questionable as to whether it happened in Imperial times (and not earlier). One wonders whether the decision not to rebuild on the ruins of the sanctuary destroyed by the Persian fire could shift with time the focus from regional wars onto the memory of the Persian Wars, as if Abae were no longer the sanctuary of both Phocian and Greek memories, but first and foremost the sanctuary of the Greeks, whose deeds in the conflict against the Persians were memorialized by the still visible ruins. This shift might not have occurred in Herodotus' time, as his description of Abae proves, but some decades later. In fact, Abae sets itself apart from the other Phocians in the Third Sacred War if Pausanias is right in stating that, unlike other Phocian cities, Abae was not punished by Philip because it participated neither in the occupation of Delphi nor in the war<sup>61</sup>; and actually, the Phocians taking refuge in the temple of Abae which was burnt by the Thebans<sup>62</sup> are not likely to have been Phocians from Abae. This does not imply that Abae

was not (or had ceased to be) a member of the Phocian *koinon*, but it might nonetheless have undermined its fame as ›sanctuary of the Phocians‹<sup>63</sup> and, thus, its eligibility as the best possible site of regional, Phocian memories. It may not be a coincidence that it is exactly during and after the Third Sacred War that the memory of the Archaic Phocian-Thessalian battles was profoundly reshaped, as the development of the pattern of the desperate Phocians by Demosthenes demonstrates: in this general shift in perspective, the setting of the deeds of the desperate Phocians became Hyampolis.

In the light of all this, I argue that it is in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps after the Peace of Philocrates, that the Phocians started to associate their memory of the battles against the Thessalians with the sanctuary of Hyampolis, which became the most important site of memory<sup>64</sup> of the Phocian regional wars, whereas Abae became more and more the repository of memories of the Persian Wars. Consequently, the Elaphebolia were founded (or moved to this sanctuary) and the role of Hyampolis gained a more significant relevance in the stories on the archaic regional wars. Pausanias' and Plutarch's accounts on the Phocian-Thessalian battles, which depended strongly on regional Phocian sources, mirror exactly this phase: one in which a changing religious landscape tipped the balance of more or less glocalizing memories.

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<sup>60</sup> On glocalism: Robertson 1995, who introduced the concept; Khondker 2004; Roudometof 2016 with further bibliography. For the application of the concept to ancient Greek history: Malkin 2011, 14 f.; Gehrke 2015. On sanctuaries as a location of local and regional memories in Hellenistic times, see Melfi 2016. On the intertwining between localism and regionalism in Phocis, see Beck in this volume and more generally, Beck 2017, esp. 38 f.

<sup>61</sup> Paus. 10, 3, 2.

<sup>62</sup> Diod. 16, 58; Paus. 10, 35, 3; see above.

<sup>63</sup> One might observe that in the 4<sup>th</sup> cent. Callisthenes (FGrHist 124 F 11 [= Steph. Byz. s.v. Τεγύρα]) – referring to Abae – uses an expression similar to that by Herodotus (›ἐν Φωκεῦσι‹). However, it is quite clear that Callisthenes' passage depends on the one by Herodotus, as Prandi observed (Prandi 1985, 16 f. 67).

<sup>64</sup> Maybe, in the sense of Nora's *milieu de mémoire* (see above, n. 58).

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# Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

## Orte der Erinnerung im antiken Phokis. Die thessalisch-phokischen Schlachten, die Perserkriege und die sich wandelnde religiöse Landschaft

**Zusammenfassung** Nachdem sie die Thessalier besiegt hatten, weihten die Phoker Opfergaben im Heiligtum von Delphi und in Abai und gründeten das Fest der Elaphebolia zum Gedenken an diesen Sieg im Heiligtum von Hyampolis. Während unsere früheste Quelle zu diesem Krieg die Elaphebolia nicht erwähnt und keine Schlüsselrolle für Hyampolis anerkennt, vernachlässigen unsere neuesten Quellen die Rolle von Abai in der Geschichte völlig. Diese Verschiebung wurde durch die Veränderungen in der religiösen Landschaft vorangetrieben (und wirkte sich vielleicht sogar auf die Rolle von Abai und Hyampolis als Orte der Erinnerung aus). In der Tat begannen die Phoker in der 2. Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts, ihre Erinnerung an die Schlachten gegen die Thessalier mit dem Heiligtum von Hyampolis in Verbindung zu bringen, das mit der Zeit zum wichtigsten Ort der Erinnerung an die phokischen Regionalkriege wurde und deshalb als regionales Heiligtum fungierte, während Abai immer mehr zum Aufbewahrungsort für lokale Erinnerungen an die Perserkriege wurde.

**Schlagwörter** Abai, Hyampolis, Elaphebolia, thessalisch-phokische Schlachten, Perserkriege

## Sites of memory in Ancient Phocis. The Thessalian-Phocian battles, the Persian wars, and the changing religious landscape

**Abstract** After having defeated the Thessalians, the Phocians dedicated offerings at the sanctuary of Delphi and at Abae and founded the festival of the Elaphebolia to commemorate this victory at the sanctuary of Hyampolis. Whereas our earliest source on this war fails to mention the Elaphebolia and to recognise a key role for Hyampolis, the latest sources completely neglect the role of Abae in the story. This shift was driven by the changes in the religious landscape (and, in turn, maybe even affected the roles of Abae and Hyampolis as sites of memory). Indeed, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, the Phocians started to associate their memory of the battles against the Thessalians with the sanctuary of Hyampolis, which over time became the most important site of memory of the Phocian regional wars and thus functioned as a regional sanctuary, while Abae gradually turned into the repository of local memories relating to the Persian Wars.

**Keywords** Abae, Hyampolis, Elaphebolia, Thessalian-Phocian battles, Persian Wars

## Τόποι μνήμης στην αρχαία Φωκίδα. Οι Θεσσαλικοί-Φωκικοί Πόλεμοι, οι Περσικοί Πόλεμοι και το μεταβαλλόμενο θρησκευτικό τοπίο

**Περίληψη** Μετά την επικράτησή τους επί των Θεσσαλών, οι Φωκείς αφιέρωσαν προσφορές στο ιερό των Δελφών και στις Άβες και ίδρυσαν την εορτή Ελαφηβόλια, για να τιμήσουν αυτή τη νίκη, στο ιερό της Υάμπολης. Ενώ η παλαιότερη πηγή μας για αυτό τον πόλεμο δεν αναφέρει τα Ελαφηβόλια και δεν αναγνωρίζει τον ρόλο-κλειδί της Υάμπολης, οι νεότερες πηγές αγνοούν εντελώς το ρόλο των Αβών στην ιστορία. Αυτή η αλλαγή προέκυψε από τις αλλαγές στο θρησκευτικό τοπίο (και, με τη σειρά της, ίσως επηρέασε ακόμη και τους ρόλους των Αβών και της Υάμπολης ως τόπων μνήμης). Πράγματι, στο δεύτερο μισό του 4ου αιώνα, οι Φωκείς άρχισαν να συσχετίζουν τη μνήμη τους από τις μάχες εναντίον των Θεσσαλών με το ιερό της Υάμπολης, το οποίο με τα χρόνια έγινε ο πιο σημαντικός τόπος μνήμης για τους Φωκικούς περιφερειακούς πολέμους, κι έτσι λειτουργούσε ως περιφερειακό ιερό, ενώ οι Άβες σταδιακά έγιναν τόπος φύλαξης των παγκόσμιων μνημών που σχετίζονταν με τους Περσικούς πολέμους.

**Λέξεις-κλειδιά** Άβες, Υάμπολη, Ελαφηβόλια, Θεσσαλικοί-Φωκικοί Πόλεμοι, Περσικοί Πόλεμοι