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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

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Panopeus

Elena Kountouri – Ioannis Mavrommatidis – Nikolaos Petrochilos

Panopeus¹ (*fig. 1*), the easternmost city of ancient Phocis, was in geographical terms at a very advantageous location. From this site, it was possible to control the communication routes of southern Central Greece and Western Phocis, Boeotia, and Delphi². Furthermore, the surrounding area offered invaluable resources in its wide plains, which stretch to the north towards Daulis and to the south between the western elevations of Helicon. The settlement on the top of the hill, located at an elevation of 340 m, exploited the relatively flat plateau that comprises two levels, the higher eastern and the lower western

that stretch over an area of 290 × 110 m and 300 × 160 m respectively (*fig. 2*). This elongated area is easily accessible from the southern and western sides, where the fortification precinct of the classical period was reinforced with densely arranged rectangular towers. The residential area extended to the south and north slopes; at the latter, a stout precinct offered security to the population, once the conditions necessitated seeking refuge. The settlement's cemetery was situated east of the hill where rescue excavations brought to light a number of graves³.

The authors express their appreciation to Katja Sporn for the invitation to participate in the Phocis congress, as well as for kindly providing access to the unpublished manuscript of Gose and Schober, kept in the archives of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Assistance provided by Alexandra Charami, Director of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Boeotia, and the Keepers of Antiquities at the museums of Chaeronea and Distomo is greatly appreciated. In this paper the results of the survey carried out in 2005 and 2006 under the supervision of Elena Kountouri and with the collaboration of Ioannis Mavrommatidis and Nikos Liaros are presented.

¹ The place is referred to in the literary sources mainly as Πανοπεύς and Φανοτεύς, but Strabo 9, 3, 14 explains that the former is an earlier spelling. For the attestations in the literary sources, Schober 1924, 39; Schober 1941.

² For Panopeus, see Frazer 1913, 215 f.; Schober 1924, 39; Schober 1941; Kirsten 1949; Fossey 1986, 63–67; McInerney 1999, esp. 295 f.; Ντάσιος 2004, 234–239; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 163–181; Rousset et al. 2015; Gose – Schober 2016/2017; Κουντούρη – Πετρόχειλος 2019; Rousset – Petrochilos 2019.

³ Κουντούρη 2011; Κουντούρη – Πετρόχειλος forthcoming.



1 The settlement, aerial view from the south

The early occupation of the site

Scholars have reported the discovery of obsidian and pottery of the Middle Helladic⁴ and Mycenaean periods on the south slope of the hill at a small distance from the curtain of the Late Classical wall, as well as small cist graves⁵. Moreover, two stretches of a wall built in roughly hewn limestone boulders to the south, below the line of the Classical wall, as well as in the eastern part of the northern face below the line of the later wall, have been interpreted as parts of an earlier fortification wall in cyclopean masonry that ringed an area of approximately 250 × 80 m⁶. On the other hand, Gose and Schober acknowledged the dry-stone wall built on the fringes of the western, elevated plateau to be part of the earliest prehistoric fortification of the site⁷.

Even though the pottery sherds undoubtedly point to the site's Bronze Age occupation, the interpretation of the partly preserved walls constructed using sizeable limestone blocks on the northern, southern and probably the eastern fringes of the hill as parts of a Mycenaean wall, similar to the defensive circuit of Chaeroneia, as suggested by Fossey⁸, is not secure. Our recent research has come to the conclusion that the constructions on the southern side (*fig. 3*) are actually retaining walls, on top of which ran a

narrow path leading to the south-eastern gate of the Classical period. In general, the southern slope of the hill is covered with retaining walls that form restricted terraces, upon which foundations of buildings are discerned. Pausanias recorded that the inhabitants »live [...] right on a ravine«⁹, a fact that corresponds to the findings over the southern slope of the hill. This observation applies also to the dry-stone wall that crosses the interior of the settlement. Built with huge boulders, it is not reminiscent of the masonry of any other stretch of wall neither on the northern nor on the southern face. This particular structure has been interpreted in the past as the *diateichisma* or cross-wall¹⁰ that secured the upper plateau. Nevertheless, its masonry and the absence of any filling denote that this wall needs probably not be dated to the antiquity.

Besides that, ancient authors often name Panopeus as the birthplace or the residence of mythical figures¹¹, testimonies that imply the influence exercised by the settlement in the past and how these records were conceived as ancestral echoes in the Archaic period. For the inhabitant of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. the site would be teeming with structures and indications of the mythical past; such must have

4 Συριόπουλος 1994, 635 f. with references.

5 Hope Simpson 1981, 76; Fossey 1986, 63 f.

6 Hope Simpson 1981, 76; Fossey 1986, 63 f.; Ντάσιος 2004, 235.

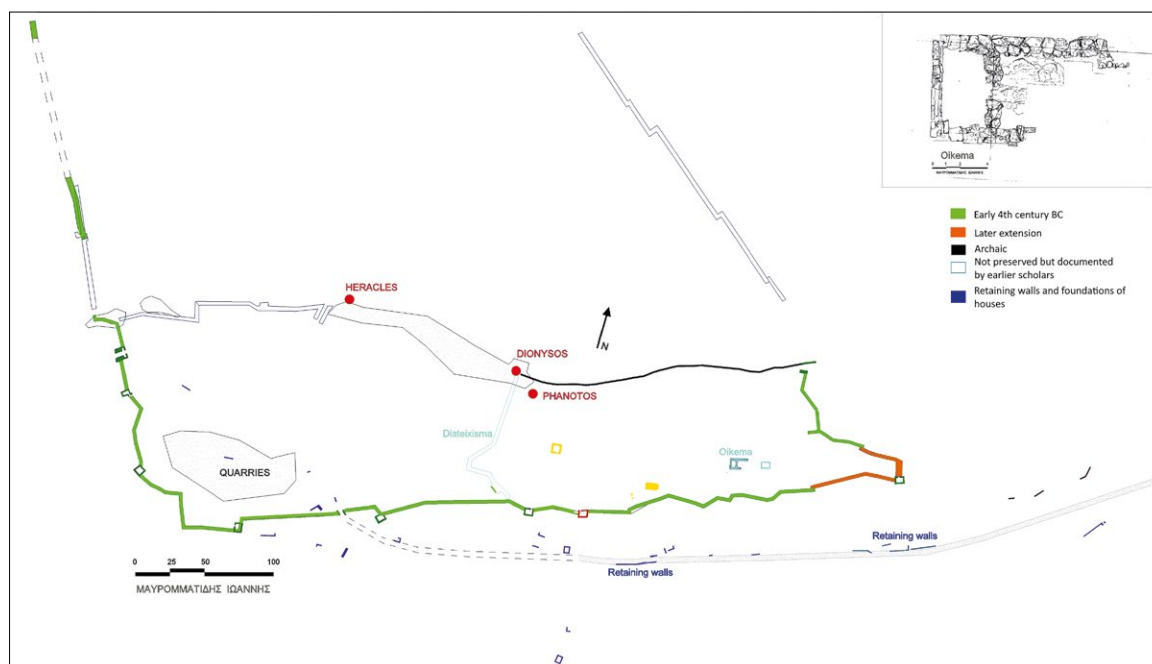
7 Gose – Schober 2016/2017.

8 Fossey 1986, 63 f. 122 pl. 46.

9 Paus. 10, 4, 1: »ἐνταῦθα οἰκοῦσιν ἐπὶ χαράδρᾳ« (edition: Jones 1935).

10 Fossey 1986; Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 178–180.

11 McInerney 1999, 128.



2 Plan of the site: the extant stretches of the wall (in green and orange), the towers (in red), the archaic wall on the northern fringe of the plateau (in black), the documented stretches of the wall by Gose and Schober (in blue outline), the retaining walls and foundations of buildings (houses?) on the southern slope (M. 1 : 5500)

been Tityos' tomb that was shown to Pausanias during his visit to the city in the middle of the 2nd century A.D. Intrigued by this tangible piece of the city's mythical past, Pausanias gave an accurate description of the monument as a tumulus one third of a stadium across¹². Interestingly enough, such a structure measuring 60–65 m, i.e. of one third of a stadium, is recognizable on top of the hill south of the acropolis (fig. 4). Today the site is fully covered with shrubs, but one may still see the junction of two sturdy walls at right angles and collect from the surface pottery of the Bronze Age. These testimonies constitute indirect references to the importance of the city during the prehistoric and early historic period.

The archaeological material on this early period is rather restricted since almost all evidence on the plateau that could attest to Panopeus' importance during the early historical period is missing. To the Geometric and early Archaic periods are dated only three graves, a late 9th century B.C. jar burial, an 8th century B.C. inhumation with a trefoil jar with parallels from Medeon and Chaeronea, and a late 7th century B.C. inhumation accompanied by Corinthian cups¹³. On the top of the hill, the later use of the site has apparently made all structures of earlier periods disappear.

The historical framework of the site since the Archaic period

In the early Archaic period Panopeus, as all the Phocian settlements, was occupied by the mighty Thesalians who descended from the fatherland through the Kephissos valley, in order to take part in the First

Sacred War against the Krissaeans¹⁴. The occupation should not have been welcomed by the Phocians, who not only lost their independence but also were forced to accept the appointment of officials and tyrants. The

¹² Paus. 10, 4, 4.

¹³ Κουντούρη – Πετρόχειλος; Πετρόχειλος forthcoming.

¹⁴ McInerney 1999, 165–173.



4 The tumulus on top of the hill to the south of the acropolis, view from the interior of the southern gate

Phocian uprising against the Thessalians that probably forged the local identity must have occurred not many years later¹⁵; a date post quem is offered by the defeat of the Thessalians' army by the Boeotians at the battle of Kerrisos in 571 B.C.¹⁶ and an ante quem the reorganization of the Kalapodi sanctuary in the 560s B.C. The latter is attributed to the favourite conditions that followed when the Thessalians withdrew. Panopeus is recorded by Herodotus among the Phocian poleis destroyed by the Persian army that swept through Central Greece in 480¹⁷. In the early 4th century Panopeus incurred the negative consequences of sharing a border with Boeotia and being the first polis to be encountered by any military intruder heading towards the west. Such threatening conditions developed in 395 B.C., when the Thebans took advantage of one of the numerous skirmishes between the states bordering Apollo's land and rallied to support their Locrian allies against the Phocians¹⁸. Xenophon's account that the justification for the Theban intervention was offered by the dispute between Opuntian Locrians and Phocians on the ground that the former imposed taxes on a disputed piece of land, would shift the threatened point fur-

ther to the north, where Phocis bordered with Opuntian Locris. In any case, the Thebans invaded Phocian territory and plundered several border poleis, among which was Panopeus' lower suburb (κάτω πόλιν)¹⁹.

Panopeus turns up on the political scene in 346 B.C., when by the end of the Third Sacred War²⁰ and in compliance with the amphictyonic resolution the Phocian cities had to be abandoned, the walls dismantled, and the Phocians settled in villages of no more than fifty houses each, whereas the distance between them should not be less than one stadium²¹. This was the devastating result of the policy to put the Delphi sanctuary under Phocian control at a time when the political fermentations between Thebes, Athens, and Sparta were inflamed, causing after all the intrusion of the emerging Macedonian factor on the pretext of securing the Delphic interests. In any case, the Third Sacred War was concluded with Philip's assigning the amphictyony to punish the sacrilegious Phocians. The resolution to raze the Phocian cities and disperse the population into small villages has offered a firm date for the history of Phocis²². These events mark the settlement's downfall. Panopeus in the Hellenistic period was reduced to a small community.

¹⁵ Larsen 1968, 113; Ellinger 1993; McInerney 1999, 173–181; McInerney 2015, 207–210.

¹⁶ Plu. Cam. 19, refers to the battle of Kerissos as having occurred »more than 200 years before Leuctra«, thus the date 571 B.C. or earlier; cf. Paus. 9, 14, 3–4.

¹⁷ Hdt. 8, 33–35.

¹⁸ Hell. Oxy. 13, 5.

¹⁹ McInerney 1999, 195.

²⁰ On the Third Sacred War, see Diod. 16, 56–60; McInerney 1999, 202–223; Buckler 2003, 397–423; Buckler – Beck 2008, 213–232; Franchi 2016, 102–138.

²¹ Diod. 16, 60, 2; Paus. 10, 3, 1–2.

²² McInerney 1999, 204 f.; Buckler 2003, 449 f.

The religious places

Inscriptions that have been noticed since 1993 attest to the performance of a religious activity in open air places, mainly to the north of the inhabited area. The latter was accessible through the gates on the northern side; one, which is no longer preserved but is shown on the Gose and Schober plan and affirmed by others, led to a small open air sanctuary, where one can still see small votive niches and an entranceway carved into the rock. In one of these niches, a dedication to Heracles by Dexios the Athenian was engraved in the middle of the 4th century B.C. (*fig. 2*)²³. Another possible gateway was probably located in the middle of the northern face (and in fact it is noted by Gose and Schober), and it was connected to one more open air sanctuary, of Dionysus²⁴. Finally, there was another gate on the northeast edge of the plateau, through which there was access to another open air sanctuary with niches. This latter was not noticed before. Finally, one more epigraphic testimony, the Phanotos inscription that will be commented upon in reference to the late Archaic wall, denotes the exercise of a cult at an area next to the platform leading to the upper plateau.

In the interior of the settlement, no religious buildings have been recorded thus far. When Pausanias visited Panopeus in the middle of the 2nd century A.D., there was standing a small edifice of unburnt brick that he described as *oikema*, where a statue of Pentelic marble was housed, representing either Asclepius or Prometheus. Pausanias should be referring to a structure located within the fortification wall since his next reference distinguishes the aforementioned structure from a structure located in the ravine²⁵. Indeed, in the middle of the upper plateau a structure is located of which two architectural members, a fragment of a slender porous column (*fig. 5*) and a fragment of a capital with very flat echinus, were immured in the foundation of a later building (*fig. 6*), most probably of religious character. These two members can be dated to the first half of the 6th century B.C., as can be deduced by the comparison to capitals with similar profiles. The fragmentary porous shaft has a diameter of 0,48 m²⁶ and twenty scalloped flutes with almost flat facets.



3 The retaining wall



5 Fragmentary porous column built in the foundation of the later edifice



6 Fragmentary capital built in the foundation of the later edifice

²³ Camp et al. 1997, 262, 267 f.

²⁴ Rousset et al. 2015, 456 no. 3.

²⁵ Paus. 10, 4, 4.

²⁶ Since it is embedded in the foundations of the subsequent structure, it is not possible to say which part of the shaft is visible.



7 Plan of the Classical religious edifice



8 Bronze crest found in the foundation of the Classical edifice

The capital has a very low, strongly curved echinus, with an almost flat underside and the three annulets near the transition to the shaft. Unfortunately both these members, being embedded in the later building, were not fully accessible and therefore not fully documented. This constraint is grave for their evaluation since neither the meiosis nor the proportions of the echinus to the abacus can be estimated. To the extent of their documentation, the two members find parallels in the ancient Tholos at Delphi, dated to 580–570 B.C.²⁷, the first temple at the Athena Pronaia sanctuary, which is now dated to the 2nd quarter of the 6th century B.C.²⁸, the temple of Aphaia on Aegina²⁹ and at Tegea³⁰. The circumstances under which this early building was destroyed elude us; could this be an act of impiety and attributed to the Persians' invasion in Central Greece in 480 B.C. as was also the case with the sanctuary at Abae? Herodotus' description³¹ justifies the ascription of the destruction to the Persians.

Contrary to this early Archaic building, the ground plan of the subsequent one has been recovered (*fig. 7*). It is preserved solely up to the foundation level made of rectangular blocks with limestone inserts and fragments of the pre-existing building,

among them the two aforementioned members. The foundations are 0.80 m thick on the west side, 1.40 m on the north, 1.05 m on the south, and 1.25 m of the interior that separated the two parts. On the upper surface of the blocks, the shift holes are preserved. The edifice is 13 m long and 7.70 m wide and consists of two parts, the western pronaos, being 3.22 m long and the cella that is preserved to 7.70 m. Judging solely from the plan of the foundation, this edifice recalls the *prodomos oikos* buildings dated in the Archaic period, like the temple of Apollo on the hill at Asine (7th century B.C.), the 6th century B.C. Temple B at Kotilon, the early Archaic temple at Palaeopyrgos and most evidently the second temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta dated to the 2nd quarter of the 6th century B.C.³² From the pits in the bedrock a handful of bronze objects (rings, attachments on wooden furniture, etc.) were collected, among which stands out the bronze helmet crest from a votive offering (*fig. 8*). The general shape of the crest and its technical features, especially the socket for its placement on the vertical stem of the helmet, resemble those of the *Promachos* figurine found on the Athenian Acropolis, which is dated a little after 480 B.C.³³

27 Seiler 1986, 40–54.

28 de La Coste-Messelière 1963; Østby 2000, 253–255, with extended discussion of the Doric order in Delphi and the influences from the Peloponnese.

29 Schwandner 1985, 29–32 and 113–117 figs. 1516 pl. 8.

30 Østby 1990/1991, 205 f. fig. 176, 4. On the early Doric column, see Jones 2014, 81, with previous references.

31 Cf. n. 17.

32 Kotilon: Holmes 1995, 72 f.; Asine: Holmes 1995, 43–45; Palaeopyrgos: Holmes 1995, 75; Sparta: Holmes 1995, 104 f., with previous references.

33 Niemeyer 1964, 21 f. pl. 11.

The fortification of the site

Panopeus' fortification system, preserved to a relatively exceptional degree, since at several points the walls are preserved to their full height, attracted the attention of travellers since Pausanias' time. Being one of the most distinctive examples of late Classical defence systems, Panopeus' wall has been described in detail by several scholars since the 19th century³⁴ and repetition is unnecessary here.

The wall, surrounding the western, southern, and eastern sides of the plateau along with the suburb extending on the northern slope of the hill, seems to have been constructed within a unified defence plan that dictated its equal width, measuring 2,75 m. This remark is not disproved by the blatant differences in the size of the blocks used on the faces. Thus, on the western part of the south face, as well as on the west face, the wall is constructed with sets of squared or trapezoidal blocks laid in horizontal courses, predominantly roughly isodomic or polygonal. Behind the revetments, inferior material at hand, soil, large and medium-sized blocks, chippings, tiles, and gravel, was employed. This construction technique contrasts with the eastern half of the south wall, which is constructed in a Cyclopean masonry. Uniform is the final dressing of the blocks with rough quarry faces, lightly pointed and drafts at the corners. These differences in the masonry have been attributed either to distinct building phases and amendments or to particular workshops that employed their individual techniques³⁵. Even though such an interpretation need not be excluded, it would probably be more appropriate to correlate the size of the blocks and the building techniques with the adjacent environment. The eastern part of the southern face, mainly built in megalithic masonry, actually functioned as a retaining wall for the interior level (*fig. 9*)³⁶, whereas that in the western part as a free standing wall with internal compartments 3 m long (*fig. 10*). The fact that the Cyclopean masonry in the eastern part of the southern face is attributed to functional reasons is corroborated by the construction of the corresponding and adjoining towers in a less massive style with trapezoi-

dal blocks laid in horizontal, uneven courses. In any case, the entire wall should have been constructed at once by teams working simultaneously. This technique is documented in various parts, where the towers and the curtain join and particularly on the eastern side, where a stretch of the wall (in orange in *fig. 2*) and the adjacent northern and southern stretches (in green in *fig. 2*) do not interlock.

The question of dating the walls of Panopeus, as generally with Phocian acropoleis, has been the object of much speculation that still has not reached a consensus. One needs to make allowances for the absence of documentation based on excavations as well as for the compelling importance given to military events that have marked the history of the region. Nevertheless, a brief survey of the assumptions on the dating of the Phocian walls might demonstrate how feeble the arguments employed so far have been. Early scholars, having noticed the similarities in the masonry and the common principles of design shared by the fortresses of Phocis, were led to date their erection to the aftermath of the battle of Chaeronea in 338 B.C., when Phocis was restored after the destruction by Philip II at the end of the Third Sacred War³⁷. According to an alternative suggestion, the fortification system of Phocis was ascribed to the period before the battle of Chaeronea as a result of the Athenian and Theban eagerness to erect stout obstacles on Philip's descent towards Southern Greece, a view held among others by Rotroff and Camp³⁸. According to another approach, based mainly on the interpretation of historical events, the fortifications of Phocis were constructed between the years 357–346 B.C.³⁹ The most elaborate but also farfetched among the historical reconstructions was the one formulated by Typaldou-Fakiris, who suggested that this program was carried out by means of the riches pillaged from the Delphi sanctuary. However, this theory was heavily criticized for failing to demonstrate how the fortifications' masonry, considered homogenous, appeared solely or at least mainly in Phocis during the period when the building program was launched⁴⁰.

³⁴ Frazer 1913, 216 f. (first published in 1898); Scranton 1941, 169, 172; Winter 1971, 146, 173, 220 f. 248; Fossey 1986; Müller 1987, 530–534; Rotroff – Camp 1996, 272–275; Ντάσιος 2004, 235–238; Gose – Schober 2016/2017, 351–360.

³⁵ Ντάσιος 2004, 236.

³⁶ As is already pointed out by Rotroff – Camp 1996, 272 who have also interpreted the choice to construct the wall in mega-

lithic masonry with interlocking courses of trapezoid masonry as a means to strengthen the retaining wall.

³⁷ Summary of the views, McInerney 1999, 340–349.

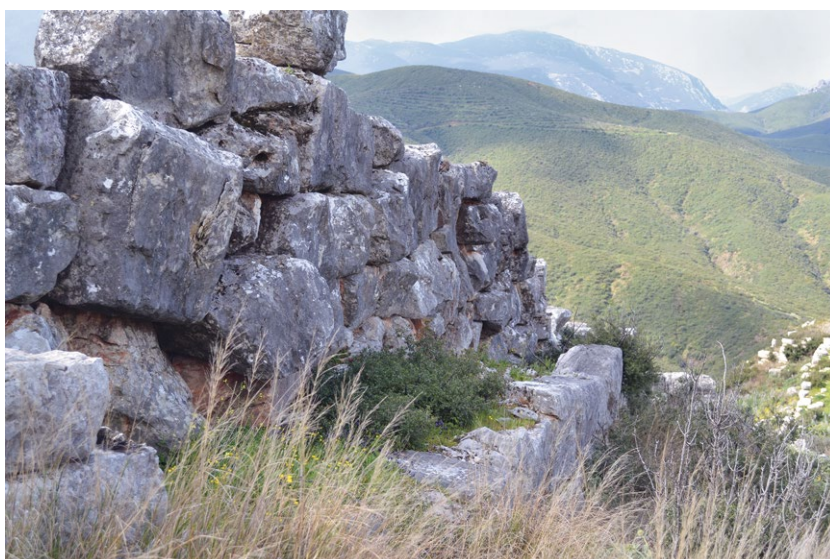
³⁸ Rotroff – Camp 1996, 274 f.

³⁹ McInerney 1999, 349–351.

⁴⁰ Rousset 2005.



9 The eastern part of the southern wall, view from the east



10 The western part of the southern wall, view from the northeast

Probably the suggestion that corresponds more logically to the available documentation is that of Fossey. He interpreted the fortification of the settlements in the Kephissos basin as a response to the Boeotian strategy to develop a large scale defence system on the south and west side of Phocian territory. This strategy, probably conceived and realized by the prominent leader Onomarchos, would have been realized in the first half of the 4th century B.C., in the period following Mantinea and prior to 353 B.C.⁴¹

As often stated, dating a fortification solely by means of the masonry without taking into consider-

ation the stratigraphy does not always lead to safe conclusions. Not having excavated a trial trench ourselves, and with the clearing of the walls not yielding any significant results, we will only proceed to clearly document the building phases we observed. Initially one needs to review the suggestion that all the fortifications in Phocis were erected simultaneously. The similarities in the masonry of the Phocian fortifications, to the extent that such similarities are confirmed, since in various cases this view does not hold, are not necessarily ascribable to a unified building program. The trapezoidal isodomic masonry is a com-

⁴¹ Fossey 1986, 132–142; Fossey 1992, 122 f.

mon technique employed over an extended time-span, not only in a restricted area like Phocis but rather over wide regions of southern and insular Greece. Furthermore, one needs to establish the motives for launching such a building plan. Philip, who spared no effort to prevail over Phocis, is hardly expected to have given his consent to such a program from which mainly his opponents, the Phocians, would benefit. After all, in the terms of the penalty imposed after their defeat, they were obliged to live dispersed in villages and not to carry on living at their former centers. The same observation applies regarding the hypothesis that the Athenians and the Thebans assisting the Phocians had their native cities fortified. Such a policy would, however, have been recorded more explicitly by the ancient historians, who are silent. Pausanias mentions that the Athenians and the Thebans brought the dispersed Phocians back to their cities⁴² but does not mention the restoration of the wall at Athenian or Theban expense. Each Phocian settlement had a distinctive historical course and the erection of the wall should be placed when either the weakness of the settlement pattern became clear, as McNerney has suggested⁴³, or when each settlement had amassed the means to proceed in such an expensive program. The combination of the aforementioned contingencies should also not be excluded.

A distinctive part, possibly the most ancient section of the fortification due to its construction technique, must have been that on the northern fringe of the plateau, where there are still some stretches of a wall 2,5 m wide. Apart from having been documented by early⁴⁴ and recent⁴⁵ scholars, there are still some roughly hewn boulders preserved especially towards the western part, where it abuts on a line of perpendicular rocks, which differs utterly from the walls constructed later on the other faces. The masonry of this wall is not observed in any other side and therefore should have been either demolished before the erection of the later wall or covered behind it in the fill between the wall and the bedrock. The dating of this structure is a vexing problem and since there is no input of new archaeological material, one needs to rely on some indisputable historical facts that allude to its early dating.

In 395 B.C. the Thebans launched a military campaign against Phocis probably not wishing to impose

on Phocian territory a long-lasting occupation since not long after the invasion they withdrew. If they had encountered any stout resistance or if they were obliged to lay siege to a fortified city, this operation could not have been as brief as Xenophon and the writer of the Oxyrrhynchian history describe, but rather a protracted event since the wall would have discouraged further attack. Plundering the lower city of Panopeus during a raid requires the absence of a wall; thus the conclusion that the lower city (ἡ κάτω πόλις) was not fortified in the opening decade of the 4th century B.C. may be safely reached. The fact that the Thebans occupied only a part and not the entire site implies that to some extent the settlement was surrounded by a wall. The partly preserved wall on the northern fringe could be attributed to this early phase. This stretch of wall was neither demolished nor reinforced in later periods; when the fortification of the lower city was decided on, the wall was extended northwards down the slope to include this part of the city as well, making the north wall at the crest of the plateau unnecessary.

Furthermore, dating the stretch of wall on the northern fringe of the plateau is hardly possible since in almost its entire length the soil has been washed away and there are hardly any parts of the courses preserved. Nevertheless, the sources insist upon the importance of the settlement's Archaic phase, whereas the graves dating from the 9th to the 6th centuries B.C.⁴⁶ indicate that the site in the late 6th century B.C. would have been an important centre of the region. A wall protecting at least the acropolis would have been expected as a feature enhancing the feeling of security. Indeed, there is an indirect testimony to a late Archaic wall, offered by the cippus of the Labryadai that was found during the extended excavation of the Delphi sanctuary by the French School at Athens. This inscribed rectangular cippus, which is considered to be one of the hallmarks of Greek epigraphy, is covered on all four sides with decrees that regulate the religious activities of a clan or a population group⁴⁷. What connects the cippus with Panopeus is the fact that the former quotes an ordinance previously inscribed on a rock at the latter site (face D, lines 29–31): »τοιᾶδε κῆμ | Φανατεῖ γέγραπται ἐν τῷ πέτραι ἔνδω« (this is what is written at Phanateus, on the rock, which is inside)⁴⁸. Since the discovery of the cippus in the late 19th century, Panopeus has been ac-

42 Paus. 10, 3, 3.

43 McNerney 1999, 110.

44 Frazer 1913, 217; Gose – Schober 2016/2017, 354 f.

45 Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 171.

46 Κουντούρη – Πετρόχειλος forthcoming.

47 Jacquemin et al. 2012, no. 30 with previous bibliography.

48 Cf. also Rousset et al. 2015, 443.

knowledge as a place that had close religious and ritual ties with the Panhellenic sanctuary. Leaving aside the elusive underlying connection between the two places, Delphi and Panopeus, one needs to focus on the location of the rock at Panopeus that by a stroke of luck was found in 1993⁴⁹. Besides that, the adverb ἐνδω can be interpreted in various ways; Rougemont in his thorough publication of the Labyadai cippus discussed two options for the interpretation of the adverb; »on the rock which is inside« and »on the rock, within« but he preferred the latter interpretation. This view was shared also by Rousset, Camp, and Minon and thus their translation »This is what is inscribed also at Phanateus, on the rock, inside«. They did not exclude the possibility that the adverb related either to the sinistral carving of the inscription or to the surface on which it was inscribed⁵⁰.

One option that has not been suggested thus far is the interpretation of the adverb literally, referring to the location of the rock in relation to the fortification of the site. As already mentioned, the rock is located towards the northern slope in proximity to the area where Gose and Schober marked the course of the northern wall. It is also noted that the rupestral inscriptions on the niches already mentioned, which are interpreted as hypaethral sanctuaries, are located outside the city walls and this observation is secure. Since these latter hypaethral religious sites were outside the city wall, the adverb ἐνδω could probably be interpreted with reference to the wall that defined the

area within. Therefore, the proposed translation of lines 29–31 of the Labyadai cippus needs to take into consideration the course of the wall and its correlation with the location of the inscribed rock with the Labyadai regulation. If this interpretation stands, then by the end of the 6th century B.C.⁵¹, when the regulation was inscribed on the rock at Panopeus, the settlement was fortified and the poorly preserved stretches of the wall on that face of the plateau should be ascribed to this date. This part of the wall was neither demolished subsequently nor reinforced; when the lower city was built simultaneously with the other faces on top of the plateau, the wall was extended northwards down the slope to include this part of the city as well, making the north wall at the crest of the plateau an interior part. Nevertheless, this wall was the impediment that averted capture of the settlement when the Thebans launched an unanticipated raid in 395 B.C. The assumption that the site was fortified as early as the late Archaic period is not weakened by the fact that Panopeus is recorded among the settlements that were desolated and plundered by Xerxes' army⁵². The fear aroused by the advance of the awe-inspiring Persian army was much more compelling in view of the security offered by a rather thin and low defensive circuit. Therefore, the abandonment of the site needs not be interpreted as an indication of a settlement lacking a wall⁵³. Besides, similar cases of abandoning fortified settlements in the face of the Persian threat are recorded in other regions and the most distinctive among them is Athens.

The cemetery

The survey at the cemetery⁵⁴ corroborates the view that the settlement's most prosperous phase was the late Archaic and Classical periods, from the late 6th down to the middle of the 4th century B.C. During the 6th century B.C. and in the first quarter of the 5th century B.C., the tombs were constructed with diligence. The deceased were inhumed in gabled tile graves or in pits covered with tiles, while the floor of the grave was covered with tiles, gravel or even plaster. The graves contained a large number of offerings, vases, figurines, and bronzes such as libation bowls, mainly

undecorated. Apart from two black-figure vases, imported from Attica and Boeotia, the rest are black glazed and, less frequently, plain. The closest parallels were found in burials in Phocis and, to a lesser extent, in Boeotia and Locris. Following the middle of the 4th century, there was a drastic change in the funeral practices and also in the quality and number of grave goods. Burials were given a small number of gifts, mostly Locrian unglazed jugs, to a lesser extent Macedonian amphorae or black-glazed kothones, and occasionally other types of vessels.

⁴⁹ Camp et al. 1997, 262, 267 f.; Rousset et al. 2015.

⁵⁰ Rousset et al. 2015, 443 esp. n. 10.

⁵¹ Rousset et al. 2015, 446.

⁵² Cf. n. 17.

⁵³ McInerney 1999, 109.

⁵⁴ See n. 3 and fig. 2.

Concluding remarks

If we could extract a conclusion from this presentation, it would be the validity of the literary sources regarding the historical evolution of Panopeus. The echo of its importance in the early Archaic period was not only documented by ancient authors but is also confirmed by the findings. The Archaic and early Classical periods were the city's heyday that did not outlive the turbulent 4th century conflicts. The harsh punishment of the Phocians by the amphictyony, who imposed 60 talents and later 30 talents indemnity to be paid per year, led to a rapid decline, a situation that the city could not escape. The unimpressive state

of the site in contrast to its glorious past was vividly described by Pausanias⁵⁵ in the 2nd century A.D., who even states that the city despite its insignificance still had boundaries and thus sent delegates to the federal assembly, implying that the city owed its political status to its past. Pausanias' passage on Panopeus is the most eloquent description of the site judging by the archaeological findings.

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⁵⁵ Paus. 10, 4, 1.

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Panopeus

Zusammenfassung Panopeus oder Phanoteus, eine Siedlung, die sich zu einer bedeutenden phokischen Stadt an der Grenze zu Böötien entwickelte, wurde im 2. Jahrhundert n. Chr. von Pausanias besucht. Diesem verdanken wir eine recht gute Beschreibung des Ortes mit den verschiedenen Überresten früherer Perioden, die zu seiner Zeit noch vorhanden waren. In diesem Beitrag werden die Ergebnisse der 2003 durchgeführten Feldarbeiten vorgestellt, die sich auf die Dokumentation der Befestigungsmauer, der architektonischen Überreste außerhalb der Zitadelle sowie des Gebäudes für religiöse Zwecke auf dem oberen Plateau konzentrierten. Von letzterem wurde die Fundamentschicht freigelegt, in der zwei fragmentarische Teile des Vorgängerbaus, ein Kapitell und ein Teil einer Säule, verbaut waren. Es kann nur gemutmaßt werden, ob dieses Bauwerk 480 v. Chr. von den Persern zerstört wurde. Was die Datierung der Mauer betrifft, so waren die Ergebnisse nicht schlüssig; es wird angenommen, dass ein früherer Mauerring im 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. durch eine gut ausgearbeitete Struktur ersetzt wurde, die im selben Jahrhundert weiter ausgebaut wurde.

Schlagwörter Panopeus, Phokis, Festungsmauer, archaischer Tempel, Helmzier aus Bronze

Panopeus

Abstract Panopeus or Phanoteus, a settlement that evolved into a significant city of Phocis at the border with Boeotia, was visited by Pausanias in the 2nd century A.D. The latter furnished a fairly good description of the site including the various remains of earlier periods that were still extant in his day. This paper presents the results of the fieldwork conducted in 2003 that was focussed on the documentation of the fortification wall, the architectural remains outside the citadel as well as the religious edifice on the upper plateau. The foundation course of the latter was unearthed revealing two embedded fragmentary parts of the preceding structure: a capital and a part of a column. It can only be speculated as to whether this edifice had been destroyed by the Persians in 480 B.C. With regard to the wall's dating, the results were inconclusive; it is suggested that an earlier circuit was replaced in the 4th century B.C. by a well-built structure that was further expanded in the same century.

Keywords Panopeus, Phocis, fortification wall, Archaic temple, bronze helmet crest

Πανοπεύς

Περίληψη Τον Πανοπέα ή Φανοτέα, έναν οικισμό που εξελίχθηκε σε σημαντική πόλη της Φωκίδας στα σύνορα με τη Βοιωτία, επισκέφθηκε τον 2ο αιώνα μ.Χ. ο Πausanías. Στον τελευταίο οφείλουμε μια αρκετά καλή περιγραφή του τόπου με τα κατάλοιπα παλαιότερων περιόδων που σώζονταν ακόμη στην εποχή του. Στην παρούσα εργασία παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα των εργασιών πεδίου που πραγματοποιήθηκαν το 2003 και επικεντρώθηκαν στην τεκμηρίωση του οχυρωματικού τείχους, των αρχιτεκτονικών καταλοίπων εκτός της ακρόπολης, καθώς και του θρησκευτικού οικοδομήματος στο ανώτερο πλάτωμα. Στο τελευταίο αποκαλύφθηκε η θεμελίωση, στην οποία είχαν ενσωματωθεί δύο αποσπασματικά μέλη της προηγούμενης κατασκευής, ένα κιονόκρανο και το τμήμα ενός κίονα. Αποτελεί αντικείμενο εικασιών αν αυτό το οικοδόμημα καταστράφηκε από τους Πέρσες το 480 π.Χ. Όσον αφορά τη χρονολόγηση του τείχους, τα στοιχεία δεν οδήγησαν σε ασφαλή συμπεράσματα – προτείνεται ότι μία παλαιότερη οχύρωση αντικαταστάθηκε τον 4ο αιώνα π.Χ. από μία ισχυρή κατασκευή που επεκτάθηκε περαιτέρω κατά τον ίδιο αιώνα.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Πανοπεύς, Φωκίς, οχύρωση, αρχαϊκός ναός, χάλκινο λοφίο κράνους