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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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The fortifications of ancient Phocis

Results and prospects

Nicolas Kyriakidis

It is rather usual to present Phocis as part of Hans-Joachim Gehrke's »Third Greece«, lying in the shadow of Athens and Sparta, or, sometimes, Delphi. But interest in the fortifications of Phocis has been fairly widespread since the first travellers in the region. Pausanias himself paid tribute to these fortifications, when he compared Ambryssos' defensive system with the walls of Byzantium, Rhodes and Messene, the latter being the better according to him¹. 19th century travellers expressed the same admiration. In comparison with other regions, the fortifications of Phocis have always interested scholars and are well represented in the handbooks of Greek architecture.

The fortifications have been seen as a whole since Laurence B. Tillard's seminal article at the beginning of the 20th century which underlined the »uniform

type of masonry« and the »identical principles of design«². Tillard attributed these fortifications to a post-338 B.C. reconstruction program under the patronage of Philip II³. The capital dating criterion was the destruction of the Phocian fortifications in 346 B.C. subsequent to the capitulation at the end of the Third Sacred War (356–346 B.C.)⁴. The dismantling is thought to have been complete, so every defensive wall in the region should be dated after the Third Sacred War. This point of view proved influential, and prevailed until the 1970s. It was followed by many, including Frederic E. Winter, who decided with more caution to retain a date in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁵ Arnold W. Lawrence envisaged yet a more complex history, since he assumed that Lilaia and Tithorea present pre-346 B.C. features⁶.

I would like to thank Katja Sporn for inviting me to present some reflexions and some projects about the fortifications of Central Greece. I also wish to express my gratitude to the staff involved in the organization of this conference, both from the DAI and the EFA. Because there is no modern field archaeology without permanent institutions and long-term funding, a detail that some of our deciders sometimes forget, I want to emphasize the support of the EFA and of my own university, University Paris 8 (Vincennes-Saint Denis). I would also like to thank the head and staff of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Phocis for their continuous cooperation in difficult times for their country. The revised version of this manuscript was submitted by the author in 2019. For the development of the operations indicated in the article, please refer to the BAEFE (<https://journals.openedition.org/baeфе/>) and the AETHSE series.

¹ Paus. 4, 31, 5.

² Tillard 1910/1911, 54–75, especially 69. For the first attempts at dating, see Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 283.

³ Tillard 1910/1911, 75.

⁴ Demosth. or. 19, 61. 65. 325; Diod. 16, 60, 2; Paus. 10, 3, 2.

⁵ Winter 1971, 35 f., but see 146 n. 67: »It is true that no positive evidence in support of a post-Chaeronea date, other than general historical probability, has ever been adduced; thus »post-Chaeronea« might mean almost any period down to the Roman conquest. However, a very early Hellenistic date still seems to me as plausible as any of the others proposed.«

⁶ Lawrence 1979, 406. 423.

After the ground-breaking work of Josiah Ober on »Fortress Attica«⁷, the fortifications of Phocis enjoyed a renewed interest. This author, relying on the chrono-typology he had built solely on the basis of the artillery towers of ancient Greek fortifications, characterized the towers of Tithorea and Lilaia as »first generation artillery towers«⁸ and then proposed a dating to the Third Sacred War⁹. A new generation of scholars began to explore the region systematically, studying not only cities and sanctuaries but also territories, as John M. Fossey did for its eastern part¹⁰, or Photis Dasios for the whole of Phocis in his 1992 detailed catalogue¹¹. In the pages he devoted to »fortifications and military organisation«, Fossey suggested for example that all the fortification walls of the first half of the 4th century B.C. were polygonal, the towers of trapezoidal masonry being all post-338 B.C. additions¹². The fortification network proposed by Fossey in East Phocis, from Kyriaki to Elateia, is attributed by him to the Third Sacred War. The overall impression left by his work is the reconstruction of a very complex typo-chronology based only on the wall style but applicable to all the sites of the studied (micro)region and limited to the 4th century B.C.

Three more books marked this renewed interest in Phocis. In »The Folds of Parnassos«, Jeremy McInerney devoted one appendix to the dating of the fortifications¹³. He insisted, following Tillard, on the coherence of the whole program but proposed, along with Ober, that the only historical circumstance that fits with the remains is the Third Sacred War, when the Phocians faced a large coalition of enemies: Locrians, Boeotians, Thessalians, and eventually Macedonians¹⁴. Apparently ignoring McInerney's book, Catherine Typaldou-Fakiris published her Ph.D. thesis in 2004 under the title »Villes fortifiées de Phocide et la III^e guerre sacrée 356–346 av. J.-C.«¹⁵. Typaldou-Fakiris' book is very useful, because it compiles the existing bibliography and, most of all, gives the readers access to the maps and survey drawn by Jean Blécon for Jean-Pierre Michaud between 1962 and 1966. This graphic documentation, today largely outdated, is sometimes the only one available and was still, at that time, the best published. Moreover, thanks to thorough field observations, Typaldou-Fakiris made

useful commentaries for most of the vestiges she studied. She also tried some interesting calculations about the financing of the walls, concluding that the money »lent« by the Phocians to Apollo in Delphi was enough to both support a large mercenary army for ten years and to finance a large pan-federal building program¹⁶. Relying both on historical likelihood and architectural typo-chronology, she attributed all the fortifications of trapezoidal masonry style in Phocis to the Third Sacred War¹⁷. In a short but stimulating review of her book¹⁸, Denis Rousset nevertheless pointed out the limits of her methodology: the systematic attribution of all Phocian walls with trapezoidal masonry to the Third Sacred War is largely proofless and does not take into account the fact that external similarities in style or technique do not mean identical date or attribution. He moreover confirms the doubts about the idea of a »réseau de défense« that he had already expressed earlier¹⁹.

The very same year Typaldou-Fakiris published her book, Dasios released a comprehensive study of the Phocians' settlements, devoting a large chapter to the fortifications²⁰. Against most of the previous scholarship, he refused to attribute all the fortifications of the Phocians to a single building program and expressed the idea that each fortification was to be considered as a single program, the whole of the Phocians' constructions belonging to the years 370–270 B.C.²¹

The recent publication of Erich Gose and Friedrich Schobers' observations (1926) on the fortifications of Phocis²² and its commentary by the editors of this book show that the interest in this subject is still vivid²³.

Until today, the scholarship about the fortifications of Phocis has concentrated on the characterization of the architecture (tower, gates, walls design, and masonry) and on the dating of the main architectural phase, mainly based on two dating criteria, first, historical likelihood related to »great events« (Corinthian War, Third Sacred War, Chaeronea and aftermath...), second, on the insertion of the Phocian fortification in a typo-chronology constructed according to the rhythm of artillery evolution and anchored by a few well-dated fortifications, none of

7 Ober 1985.

8 Ober 1987, 572 and n. 13.

9 Ober 1992, 163 f.

10 Fossey 1986, 121–141.

11 Ντάσιος 1992, 18–97.

12 Fossey 1986, 121–131; but see Fossey 1992, 122 f.

13 McInerney 1999, 340–354.

14 McInerney 1999, 52.

15 Typaldou-Fakiris 2004.

16 Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 289–305.

17 Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, passim, esp. 276–282.

18 Rousset 2005.

19 Rousset 2002, 56 f.

20 Ντάσιος 2004, 247–289.

21 Dasios 2004, 255 f.

22 Gose – Schober 2016/2017.

23 Sporn et al. 2016/2017, 397–408.

which is nevertheless located in Central Greece (Messene, Heraclea). Sometimes, the same feature (e.g. the number of towers of a wall) could be interpreted as an element of archaism or advancement, betraying the risk of circular reasoning²⁴. A third dating criterion, the masonry, has been rightly criticized. Trapezoidal masonry in itself is attested from the final 5th/beginning 4th century B.C. and remained in use until at least the end of the 3rd century B.C. in many parts of the Greek world, from Acarnania to the Cyclades and from Thessaly to the Peloponnese²⁵. Moreover, for the same building phase, it is common to have both trapezoidal, polygonal and even ashlar masonry, according to the habits of the team and the necessity of the topography. This phenomenon has been correctly underlined by Tillard²⁶, reaffirmed by Typaldou-Fakiris²⁷ and it is well documented outside Phocis²⁸. Thus, exterior similarities between different fortifications cannot be a proof that they belong to a common program conducted by a single power or that they date from the same conflict or decades²⁹. As a consequence, reconstructing regional building programs remains an equally exciting and highly hypothetical challenge.

By comparison with this formal dating criterion, we have very little decisive evidence that can be procured only by thorough excavations of building and occupation contexts.

In southern Phocis, sections of urban fortification walls have been excavated in Kirrha (4th century B.C. according to the ceramics)³⁰, Ambryssos (late 4th to 3rd century B.C.)³¹ and Antikyra (Hellenistic)³². The defensive wall of Antikyra presents an interesting peculiarity. In an area where the trapezoidal masonry in hard grey limestone prevails, the wall of that city is built of quadrangular stones of soft reddish limestone. Obviously, the material dictated the masonry and was chosen because of its proximity. There is probably no need to seek an explanation in a hasty defence program or in the chronology: economic con-

siderations sufficiently explain this choice. The pottery found in the *emplekton* dates to the Hellenistic period³³. The final publication of Dasios' excavations in Ambryssos (present-day Distomo) will be of greatest interest³⁴, since the fortification seems to be well dated if the stratigraphic results confirm the testimony of Pausanias about a pre-Chaeronean fortification program promoted by the Boeotians³⁵. If a post-Third Sacred War date was confirmed in the final study, it would be of great interest for the question of the spread and continuity of design and building techniques in the region. In Kirrha, excavators have attributed the 4th century B.C. defensive wall to the Amphissean program mentioned in 339 B.C. by Aeschines³⁶. In her eagerness to date every fortification to the Third Sacred War, Typaldou-Fakiris argues that in the expression *πάλιν ἐτείχισαν* (i.e. the Amphisseans) in Aeschines' speech, the word *πάλιν* refers to a previous Phocian building activity during that conflict³⁷. But, in the context of that speech, it seems obvious that *πάλιν* refers to the First Sacred War, the Amphisseans in 339 B.C. (and their ally Demosthenes) being presented by Aeschines as the followers of the Kirrhaioi enageis of old.

For those three sites, the published results seem to indicate post-Third Sacred War programs, partially or totally³⁸. It is necessary in those cases to wait for the final publications. An excavation led in Tithorea by the Greek-German team who presents in this volume the first results of an architectural survey will also be of the greatest interest to the study of the fortifications of Phocis³⁹.

These reflexions lead me to develop, within the frame of the next five-year program of the French archaeological school (2017–2021) and with the collaboration of architect Stéphanie Zugmeyer, a program called »From technique to politics. Fortifications, frontiers and territories in Phocis and western Locris« which will include some field operations on the territories west and south of Parnassus, along the val-

²⁴ See Tillard 1910/1911, 69, followed by Garlan 1974, 245, whilst Fossey 1986, 128 f. considers that a meaner construction, for example without or with less towers, betrays an older design.

²⁵ Fachard 2012, 258–260.

²⁶ Tillard 1910/1911, 69.

²⁷ Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 277 f.

²⁸ For example, compare the masonry styles in Siphai: Schwandner 1977, 513–551 (figs. 15. 17. 19. 22. 23. 26. 28); Ober 1987, 577–582 figs. 9–14. 30C. The walls of Messene or Aetolian Chalcis also offer good examples of the phenomenon; see for instance Giese 2010, figs. 2–5 with commentary. The variety in masonry at Oeniadae is striking; see Lawrence 1979, pls. 33. 39. For an overall picture, see Brasse – Müth 2016.

²⁹ Milán 2013, 274 f. is a good example of keen but unconvincing examination.

³⁰ Petrocheilos 2011, 503; Skorda 2009, 536 f. fig. 3; Skorda 2008, 624 f.; Skorda 2007, 647; Skorda 2006, 557–559; Skorda 1996, 327 f.; Skorda 1995, 351; Kolonia – Skorda 1994, 317 f.

³¹ Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1982, 205 f. The ceramics were found »close to« the foundations of the wall.

³² For a useful synthesis: Σίδερης 2014, 81–86 figs. 80. 81.

³³ Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1982, 205 f.

³⁴ Dasios 2001–2004, 407–411.

³⁵ Paus. 10, 36, 3.

³⁶ Aeschin. Ctes. 113.

³⁷ Typaldou-Fakiris 2004, 268.

³⁸ For Panopeus, see Petrocheilos – Rousset 2019, 801 f.

³⁹ See here p. 287–305.

leys of the Hylaithos and Pleistos rivers⁴⁰. This project is still a ›work in progress‹ and I want to share here some preliminary remarks that will guide our research and to draw attention to its first results⁴¹.

- The study of politico-military programs must be made at the appropriate scale by combining the historical study of the policies and military operations with the archaeological studies of the technology used. It was for example not appropriate to study the alleged Phocian fortification policy without considering the parts of eastern Locris and Boeotia occupied by the Phocians. It is also necessary to rely upon a broad up-to-date military history deeply rooted in its technical and mental context, which takes into account ancient representations of space but also the necessity of logistics, without yielding to anachronism⁴². The Hellenistic confrontations, Aetolians vs. the kings of Macedonia and Romans vs. Greek States, have been largely neglected in comparison to the Third Sacred War. However, the current state of the ancient fortifications we can study today is the result of the conflicts they went through. The insertion of Panopeus in the architectural typo-chronology does not have the same meaning if we consider that it was a front-line fortification occupied by a Macedonian garrison during the reign of Philip V⁴³. If most of the Central Greece fortifications are indeed to be dated to the 4th century B.C., how are we to understand the fact there are so few traces of their modernization during the Hellenistic period? Was it unnecessary because of the steep topography? Because of the practical circumstances of war? Or for economic reasons? The focus on the building phase has left aside the question of the way these defensive structures were repaired and maintained.
- It is necessary to study the technical practices at the appropriate scale to reconstruct technical networks, their specific chronology and spread: a technological frontier may be radically different from a political one and the chronological implications must not be overstated. According to Jean-Claude Bessac, a masonry style is first of all

a way of building a wall linked to a peculiar material⁴⁴. Every fortification in trapezoidal masonry in the same region does not necessarily date to the same period. The fact that we are, provisionally, led to endorse the traditional dating of the Philomelos fortifications in Delphi *cannot* serve to date all the similar fortifications of the region to the same period.

- If in the last twenty years, major global regional studies have modified our understanding of the Phocians' fortifications, the revitalization of research on those key topics will go ahead thanks to the intensive study of local fortifications of all kinds (city walls indeed, but also *phrouria* and towers, the two latter being crucial to complete our knowledge), especially in their local context in sub-regions where the frontiers of varied kind, civic, federal, hegemonic are well known, as in the Hylaithos and Pleistos valleys. The characterization of a site: fortified settlement or fortress, watchtower or farm-tower must be demonstrated by a precise review of the landscape and, if possible, by excavation, and cannot be postulated on map⁴⁵. The recent book by Sylvian Fachard on the Eretrian chora is now exemplary of what can be written on territories, and there are many towers and more complex fortifications to be studied in our region⁴⁶. Our excavations in Delphi demonstrate, if needed, that this final stage of field activities is not a luxury: the results led us to completely change the accepted reconstruction of the design of the fortifications (not a long narrow fortress, but a small square one and a surrounding wall around the whole site)⁴⁷.

It is now necessary to realize systematically appropriate architectural surveys with new technical means: we cannot continue to rely only on fifty-year-old incomplete surveys – when they exist – that are largely schematic due to the scale selected, as it is the case for most of the sites in Phocis and Locris. Most of the fortifications lack their urban context. The use of electro-magnetic detection has proved of great value, not only to prepare excavation but also to study city-planning, and LIDAR-technology will increase the avail-

⁴⁰ For a presentation of this program, see Faucherre et al. 2019.

⁴¹ For the first results of this program, see Kyriakidis – Zugmeyer 2019; Psalti et al. 2019; Kyriakidis et al. 2020; Kyriakidis et al. forthcoming.

⁴² The idea of regional defence networks, so influential in the 90s and 2000s, is now in dispute: Fachard 2012, 130–133. 263–292; Fachard 2016a and Fachard 2016b.

⁴³ Pol. 5, 96.

⁴⁴ Bessac 2016. Case-study in Eretria: Fachard 2012, 254 f.; 257–259.

⁴⁵ Rousset 2002, 51–57.

⁴⁶ Fachard 2012.

⁴⁷ Detailed presentation in Kyriakidis – Zugmeyer 2019; Kyriakidis et al. 2020; Kyriakidis et al. forthcoming.

able documentation, in particular in vegetation-covered areas⁴⁸. This will allow us to study the interaction between urbanization, fortification and polis dynamics, as we intend to do in Amphissa in cooperation with our colleagues from the Ephorate of Phocis⁴⁹. It is possible to make the same statement about the citadels: in the ›fortification‹ of Philomelos at Delphi, we consider that the buildings *inside* the defensive walls are equally important to our understanding of the monument and they will be given the same attention during our future excavation. Finally, it is necessary to carry out new excavations in order to precisely date site by site and reconstruct all the phases of particular structures up to the modern ones before re-shaping our discourses on that matter. This could

be done by re-examining older excavations, both foreign and Greek, as we intend to do in cooperation with our colleagues from the Ephorate on the fortification of Kirrha, or by conducting new excavations respectful of all the phases, from the older, as is usual, to the more recent ones, which could be late antique, medieval, modern, or even from the civil war, like in Delphi or Amphissa, because archaeology can also be contemporary.

The global canvas of our knowledge on the fortifications of Phocis must now be tested knot by knot by intensive exploration of the observable features, both urban and rural.

Ternay – Delphi

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⁴⁸ For an example of an electro-magnetic survey on urban fortifications in Central Greece, see Boyd 2013.

⁴⁹ See Psalti et al. 2019.

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Die Befestigungsanlagen des antiken Phokis. Ergebnisse und Ausblick

Zusammenfassung Diese Arbeit zielt darauf ab, einige Überlegungen zu den Befestigungsanlagen Mittelgriechenlands und insbesondere des antiken Phokis zu präsentieren, indem ich meine persönlichen Erfahrungen bei der Untersuchung der sogenannten Philomelos-Befestigungen in Delphi mit der derzeit verfügbaren Bibliographie zu diesem Thema kombiniere. Nach einer kritischen Überprüfung, welche die Vorteile und Grenzen dieser Arbeiten bewertet, skizziere ich die neuen Wege, die eingeschlagen werden könnten, insbesondere durch die Präsentation laufender und weiterer Feldarbeit in Delphi und dessen Region.

Schlagwörter Befestigungsanlagen, Militärgeschichte (klassische und hellenistische Zeit), Delphi, Amphissa, Kyrrha

The fortifications of Ancient Phocis. Results and prospects

Abstract This paper aims at presenting some reflexions about the fortifications of Central Greece and especially of ancient Phocis by combining my personal experience in the study of the so-called fortifications of Philomelos in Delphi with the currently available bibliography on this subject. After a critical review that assesses the gains and limitations of these works, I outline the new tracks which could be taken, especially by the presentation of ongoing and further field operations in Delphi and its region.

Keywords fortifications, military history (Classical and Hellenistic times), Delphi, Amphissa, Kyrrha

Οι οχυρώσεις της Αρχαίας Φωκίδας. Αποτελέσματα και προοπτικές

Περίληψη Αυτή η εργασία στοχεύει στο να παρουσιάσει ορισμένες σκέψεις σε σχέση με τις οχυρώσεις της Κεντρικής Ελλάδας και ειδικότερα της αρχαίας Φωκίδας, συνδυάζοντας την προσωπική μου εμπειρία στην έρευνα των επονομαζόμενων οχυρώσεων του Φιλόμηλου στους Δελφούς με τη διαθέσιμη βιβλιογραφία πάνω στο ζήτημα. Μετά από μία κριτική ανασκόπηση που αξιολογεί τα οφέλη και τους περιορισμούς αυτών των έργων, περιγράφω συνοπτικά τις νέες κατευθύνσεις που θα μπορούσαν να ακολουθηθούν, ειδικά μέσω της παρουσίας των τρεχόντων και περαιτέρω εργασιών πεδίου στους Δελφούς και στη γύρω περιοχή τους.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά οχυρώσεις, στρατιωτική ιστορία (Κλασική και Ελληνιστική Εποχή), Δελφοί, Άμφισσα, Κίρρα