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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

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Phocis in Roman times: beyond the shadow of Delphi

Georgios A. Zachos

The cities of the Phocians, as early as Archaic times, lived in the shadow of Delphi. Except for the period of the 4th century B.C., they had never been at the forefront of history, particularly in the Roman period that until recently did not receive much attention in modern historiography. Nevertheless, ancient literature and epigraphy offer valuable information about

Roman Phocis, even if this evidence must be used with caution. Although in geographical terms Delphi belonged to Phocis, it is not included in the present study, not only for practical but also for ethnological reasons, since Delphians refused to be called Phocians¹. Leaving Delphi out also allows us to construct a picture of Phocis without its distorting lens².

Ancient sources

Strabo offers rich but, at the same time, problematic information about Phocis, which he did not visit, as is clear from his errors (cf. the borders of the cities in Mavroneri pass). All his material is a mixture of older written sources and evidence of his times. What we gain from his account is a catalogue of the cities that existed in the late 1st century B.C. and his surprising-

ly good knowledge of the strategic position of Elateia, the largest Phocian city in his times³.

In the case of Pliny, the copyists of the medieval era deprive us of the opportunity to evaluate the precision of his information by cutting his quote about Phocis in two, as John Fossey suggested⁴. They also replaced Drymaia with Mirana and added Larissa to

I wish to thank Katja Sporn and Alexandre Farnoux for inviting me to participate to the Symposium, as well as Denis Rousset who gave me the opportunity to consult his unpublished paper for this volume.

¹ Paus. 4, 34, 11.

² An account of the Roman period of Delphi is given in Zachos 2016, 131–153, s.v. Delphi.

³ Str. 9, 3, 2; 9, 3, 15–16; Sánchez-Moreno 2013b, 358 f.

⁴ Fossey 1986, 158 f. & addendum.

the Phocian cities⁵, apparently confusing the Phocian Elateia with the Thessalian one⁶.

Plutarch, who was born in neighbouring Chaeronea, offers interesting topographical details in the Life of Sulla about the area in Mavroneri pass⁷, as well as about the mountainous road along which Kaphis from Tithorea guided Murena's troops shortly before the battle of Chaeronea⁸. Also, his information about Elaphebolia preserves the memory of glorious days, or their revival, in the period of the Second Sophistic⁹.

Pausanias provides us with a glimpse of Phocis in the middle Roman period, although he devotes three times as much text to Delphi than to the rest of Phocis¹⁰. Certainly, his main interests are the sanctuaries, the cults, and the myths. However, his narrative also includes information about history, economy, and topography. Thus, we are informed that Elateia was the most important city in Phocis after Delphi in his era, that Tithorea had begun to decline, and that other cities like Panopeus and Ledon had deteriorated. He also mentions the attitude of Elateia during the events of 86 B.C.¹¹, as well as Hadrian's interest in Abae and Hyampolis. Moreover, in this book lies one of the pieces of information used to date his whole work: the raid of Costoboci on Elateia (A.D. 170 or 171)¹². He also mentions natural resources (olive

groves in Tithorea, *murex brandaris* in Boulis, and *kokkos* in Ambrossos). Even his routes provide valuable details about the minor roads in Roman Phocis: the mountainous roads Delphi–Tithorea and Delphi–Lilaia¹³, the way from Tithorea to Elateia (part of it climbing over a hilly area), and the path from Elateia to the sanctuary of Athena Kranaia¹⁴.

Plutarch and Pausanias record a considerable number of traditions and local legends, some deriving from Ephorus (?), others possibly from Phocian local history. They undoubtedly rely on oral tradition, and Plutarch uses his autoptic knowledge of the region¹⁵. He, or Timon his half-brother, is descended from the Boeotian Opheltas and the Phocian Daiphantus, the hero of the Phocian-Thessalian war¹⁶.

Ptolemy presents a completely blurred picture of the region¹⁷ in contrast to the early Byzantine sources (*Synekdemos*¹⁸ and *Notitiae Episcopatum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae*, etc.¹⁹) that mention several cities and are in accordance, in many cases, with the archaeological evidence²⁰. The existence of the bishoprics and many Early Christian churches are evidence of vigorous communities in many Phocian cities in Late Roman times. In general, 34 % of the Roman sites survived in Late Roman/Early Christian times and several new ones were founded (mostly villas or farms; *fig. 2a*).

5 Záchos 2013a, 123 f.

6 Plin. HN 4, 3 (7–8); 4, 7 (27).

7 Plu. Sul. 16, 1–7.

8 Plu. Sul. 15, 1–4.

9 Plu. Moralia 244 b–e.

10 Paus. 10, 1–3 (history); 10, 4–10, 5, 4 (Phocian cities); 10, 5, 5–10, 19, 4 (Delphi); 10, 19, 5–10, 23 (Gallic invasion); 10, 24–10, 32, 1 (Delphi); 10, 32, 2–7 (Korykeion Antron); 10, 32, 8–10, 37 (Phocian cities).

11 See below p. 71 and 74.

12 Paus. 10, 34, 5; Παπαχατζής 1981, 1 n. 1; Záchos 2013a, 128 f. On the date of Pausanias' work, Habicht 1998, 9 f. Many features described by Pausanias in Elateia were verified by the excavation of P. Paris between 1883 and 1884 in Elateia and in the sanctuary of Athena Kranaia (Paris 1892; Záchos 2021). A survey of the *asty* is in progress by DAI and the Ephorate of Phthiotis and Evrytania (Sporn – Kounouklas 2020/2021, 92–96). A detailed study of the excavation in the 19th century and of the finds is in progress by the author under the auspices of the Academy of Athens.

13 Paus. 10, 32, 8; 10, 33, 3.

14 Paus. 10, 34, 1; 10, 34, 7; Záchos 2013a, 48–50.

15 Ellinger 1993, 236 f.; Záchos 2003, *passim*; Franchi 2015, 51–54.

16 Plu. Moralia 558 a; Einarson 1952 and Einarson 1955; Ziegler 1954.

17 »Φωκίδος: Κύρρα, Κρίσσα, Ἀντίκυρρα ἢ Ἀντίκυρα« (Ptol. Geog. 3, 15, 4), »Δωρίδος: [...] Λίλαια ἢ Λίλαιον« (Ptol. Geog. 3, 15,

15); »Φωκίδος μεσόγιοι: Πυθία, Δελφοί ἢ Δελφίς, Δαυλῖς, Ἐλάτεια, Αἰγιοσθένεια, Βούλεια« (Ptol. Geog. 3, 15, 18); »Βοιωτίας μεσόγιοι [...] Ἰάμπολις [...]« (Ptol. Geog. 3, 15, 20, edition: Nobbe 1843).

18 Synekdemosis 643, 6–644, 8 (Ἐλατῖνα, Δρυμύα, Δαύλια, Δελφοί, Τιθώρα, Ἀμβροσσός, Ἀντίκυρα, Στίρρις).

19 The earlier bishopric in Phocis must be Elateia, if the emendation of Blatea to Elatea in the list of Sardica's Council (A.D. 343) is correct (Mansi 1960–1962, III, 42B; Záchos 2013a, 132 n. 544). The bishop of the city is mentioned again in a letter to Emperor Leo I (Mansi 1960–1962, VII, 612B). A full list of the bishoprics of Phocis is included in a manuscript of the 13th/14th cent. A.D. and is dated between A.D. 787 and 869: »ὁ Ἐλατίας, ὁ Ἀβαίας [...] ὁ Δρυμίας [...] ὁ Ἀμβροσίας, ὁ Ἀμπισύρας [Ἀντίκυρας], ὁ Στίρρης [Στίρρις]« (Darrouzès 1981, 20–33, Notitia III, 699–722). Darrouzès' emendation Ἀβαίας to Βοέ (city of Doris) in *apparatus criticus* is based on the text of Hierocles. For the significance of these lists, Záchos 2020, 351. 354.

20 Elateia (Záchos 2020; Záchos 2021, 364), Drymaia (Koder – Hild 1976, 150), Daulis (Koder – Hild 1976, 142 f.), Tithorea (Γιαλούρη 2004), Ambrossos (Παπαδοπούλου 1988), Antikyra (Κουρέντα – Ραπτάκη 2004; Dafi 2014); apart from these cities and in most cases episcopal centres, Early Christian churches were found in Erochos (Μπάργα 1967/1968), Charadra (Λαζαρίδης 1963; Λαζαρίδης 1964), Kirrha (Σκορδά 2008, 381).



LEGEND / LEGENDE

○ Modern village - town	⊗ Coins Nummi	≡ Road Via	○ Enclosure wall Saepimentum	⊕ Tower, castle, fortified village Turris, castellum	⊗ Olive press Trapetum/Torculum
— Modern road	○ Well Puteus	▲ Port Portus	✕ Fortified Remains Castellum	△ Traces of habitation Ruinae dubiae interpretationis	⊕ Architectural members Lapis, glæba
▲ Pottery Figlinae	⌒ Baths Aquae	▢ Cistern Cisterna	● Village, settlement Vicus	◆ Kiln, Workshop Fornax, Officina	▲ Farmhouse, farm site Villa rustica
▼ Sculpture, relief Sigilla	⌒ Fountain Fons	○ Cave Caverna	⊕ Fortification wall Moenia, murus	□ Architectural remains Aedificium, structura	● Important city Urbs colonia, municipium
⌒ Theatre Theatrum	⌒ Quarry Quadraria	▢ Gymnasium	⌒ Inscription, altar Inscriptio, ara	⌒ Water supply system Aqueductus	⊕ Necropolis, grave, grave stele or relief, sarcophagus, heroön Sepulcretum, sepulcrum, sarcophagus, heroön/monumentum
▢ Mosaic Pavimentum	⌒ Basilica Basilica	▢ Portable finds Inventum mobile	▢ Temple, sanctuary Templum, sanctuarium		
⌒ Stadium					

1 Map of Phocis in Roman Times (M. 1:380 000)

Historiography – ancient topography

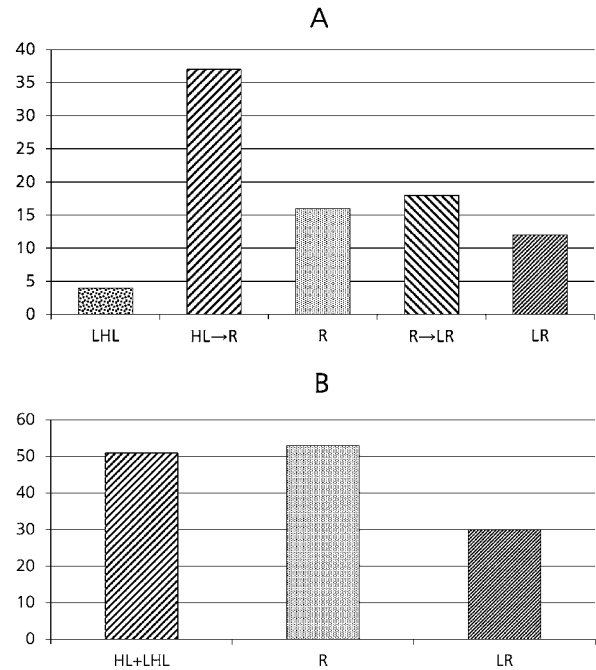
Nevertheless, as already stated, the Roman period of Phocis has not received the same scientific attention as other periods in its history.

It is characteristic that Friedrich Schober devoted only ten lines to Roman Phocis in the 23 columns of his lemma in RE²¹ and Jakob Larsen only a few more in Roman Greece²². Silvio Accame offers five pages for the period from the Achaean war to the Augustan Era²³ and David Martin gives a significant account of the League after 146 B.C.²⁴

As far as the topography is concerned, Fossey offers considerable evidence, but he left unexplored all the upper part of the Kephissos basin (Elateia, Tithorea, Amphikleia, Tithronion, Drymaia, Lilaia, and Erochos) and maintained there was a reduction there in Roman settlement numbers that is related to the concentration of populations in a small number of towns²⁵. But is this so?

The record of the Roman sites in the *Tabula Imperii Romani*, with 130 place-names, 73 sites, and among them 20 cities, offers a quite different picture (fig. 1)²⁶.

Compared with the Hellenistic period, the number of sites did not drop but may have even increased in the Roman period, even if we leave out the so-called Late Hellenistic sites. Also, new sites appear in the Roman period. Consequently, we cannot talk about a reduction in number (fig. 2b).



2 a. b Hellenistic (HL), Late Hellenistic (LHL), Roman (R) and Late Roman (LR) sites in Phocis

What changes is the characteristics of the sites, the settlement hierarchy, and the settlement pattern. It is worth noting that all these are quite different to other regions, such as Opountian Locris or Aenis with significant core centres like Opous and Hypata²⁷.

Settlement hierarchy – settlement pattern: cities, sanctuaries & villas/farms

Old and new centres

In Phocis, the cities of the Hellenistic period survived in Roman times, except for Medeon and some small sites on the route from Lebadeia to Delphi, which were probably forts that became useless in the new

era. But this does not imply that all of them continued to flourish as much as before. Ledon, the native city of Philomelos, was abandoned and 70 inhabitants were moved to Kephissos River, while in Pausanias' time Panopeus with its strong walls looks like a village²⁸. The latter has been used ad nauseam as an example

²¹ Schober 1941.

²² Larsen 1938, 307. 476–478.

²³ Accame 1972, 201–206.

²⁴ Martin 1975, 144–168.

²⁵ Fossey 1986, 99.

²⁶ Zachos 2016, 101–129 map 5.

²⁷ Zachos 2018.

²⁸ Paus. 10, 4, 1; 10, 33, 1.

of the fate of many cities in Roman times and especially in Phocis²⁹, overlooking the fact that Panopeus may be a city symbol for pre-Hellenistic Phocis³⁰, whereas in Hellenistic times it has no role on the stage, and above all, the city was pillaged by the army of Mithridates³¹.

As far as the settlement hierarchy is concerned, it must be noted that two new centers (Tithorea and Antikyra) were added to the old one of Elateia.

Elateia is the most important city in Phocis from the early Imperial period, according to Strabo³², to the middle times at least, according to Pausanias. Pausanias describes a flourishing city, strong enough to defend itself alone against the barbarian raid of Costoboci, with Mnasiboulos, victor in the Olympic games of A.D. 161, leading its military force³³. Apart from its large and fertile territory, a significant factor in its self-sufficiency, another important issue was its strategy in the events of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. Its Roman-friendly or neutral attitude in the events of 147 B.C. probably protected it against ugly consequences. Its resistance against the troops of Mithridates in 86 B.C. was crucial for the victory of Sulla in Chaeronea, who rewarded the city with the privileges of *libertas et immunitas*³⁴. Elateia is the only Phocian city that issued coins after the federal mint had closed in the middle of the 2nd century B.C., which is good evidence of the economic capacity of the city. In the early 2nd century A.D., T. Fl. Teimoxenos and T. Fl. Aristoteimos, *quaestor* and *quaestor calendarii* in Elateia, dedicated a statue to Hadrian on behalf of the city. Aristoteimos was a priest of the Pythian Apollo and member of a family that is related to the imperial house³⁵. It is not without importance that the *legatus Augusti pro praetore*, Avidius Nigrinus, issued his decision concerning the land dispute between Delphi,

Amphissa, and Myania from Elateia³⁶. Finally, Elateia is the only Phocian city where the Diocletian Edictum was found³⁷.

Tithorea may have been in decline in the times of Pausanias but it nevertheless has a sanctuary with Panhellenic reputation, the sanctuary of Isis, located in Paliophiva alongside the Kephissos river³⁸. Also, at the turn of the 1st century A.D., a powerful family, that of Soklaros, enjoyed a close relationship with Plutarch and Boeotia and held important offices in Delphi in A.D. 100/101 or 101/102. T. F. Soklaros and his sons (T. F. Agias and T. F. Pollianos) dedicated the statue of Nerva in Tithorea in A.D. 98. Pollianos and his son, T. F. Kaphis, both held the office of archon in Tithorea and are mentioned along with other members of the family in the manumissions of the early 2nd century A.D.³⁹ Tithorea also produced olive oil of high quality, better in colour and taste than the oil from Iberia and the island of Istria. It was used to produce unguents and even sent to the emperor⁴⁰.

Antikyra was the port of Phocis, depicted in *Itinerarium Antonini* and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, and a branch of the main route leading from Thermopylae to Attica ended there⁴¹. Plutarch mentions that the grain that was confiscated from the region was shipped from Antikyra to Mark Antony's forces in Akarnania in 31 B.C.⁴² However, apart from a commercial harbour, Antikyra was also a resort for the Roman elite or, more importantly, a healing centre because of the curative plant, hellebore, found there. Marcus Livius Drusus, a tribune of the plebeians in 91 B.C., was cured of epilepsy in Antikyra⁴³ and Caligula ordered a praetorian, who had been to Antikyra several times and asked to prolong his absence, to be put to death, since he could not be cured⁴⁴. Antikyra's reputation as a place for the treatment of

29 Alcock 1993, 126. 131. 145. 213.

30 Ζάχος 2003, 290 n. 11. 298 f. 305–307; Zachos 2013b; Rousset et. al. 2015, 456–461, see Kountouri – Mavrommatidis – Petrochilos in this volume on Panopeus 271–284.

31 Plu. Sull. 16, 4.

32 Str. 9, 3, 2.

33 Paus. 10, 34, 1–6. N. Papachatzis (1981, 1 n. 1) argues that Elateia was plundered by Costoboci, since Mnasiboulos was killed and the barbarians moved to Attica. However, Pausanias says nothing about the fate of the city, and the marsh of Costoboci to the south does not presuppose the seizure of the city, as we will see in the events of 86 B.C. Also, Pausanias' description does not imply the city was plundered a few years earlier.

34 Paus. 10, 34, 4; Ζάχος 2013a, 118–120. It is suggested that a bronze coin of Elateia (Obv. bull's head and EAA above. Rev. Nike advancing left, holding palm branch and wreath) is a commemorative issue of this victory, Κραβατόγιαννος 1995/1996, 4349. 4354 no. 3; BCD 2010 no. 434. On coins minted in Greece during the first Mithridatic war, Zoumbaki 2017, 363–365.

35 CID IV 152bis. 153.

36 Jacquemin et. al. 2012, 430–432 no. 246.

37 IG IX 1, 118.

38 Paus. 10, 32, 8–16; on the location, Παπαδημητρίου 1978, 136–143; on the importance of the water in Isis' cult, Chandezon 2011, 173 f.

39 Rousset – Zachos 2012, 484. Flavia Klea to whom Plutarch devoted 'Isis et Osiris' maybe has some relation to the sanctuary of Tithorea (Chandezon 2011, 180 f.).

40 Paus. 10, 32, 9. Chaeronea distilled unguents from flowers and Schachter (2016, 142) suggests that the two industries were connected and controlled by the same persons, among them the family of Fl. Laneika, priestess of the Boeotian and the Phocian Leagues (below p. 74).

41 Αξιώτη 1980, 204 f. fig. 2; Dafi 2014, 740.

42 Plu. Ant. 68.

43 Plin. HN 25, 21.

44 Suet. Cal. 29.

mental illness was so wide spread in Roman literature that the phrases »Αντίκυρας σοί δεῖ«⁴⁵ and »Naviget Antikyram«⁴⁶ came to mean »you are insane«, and the »tribus Antikyris« (triple dose of Antikyra) mentioned by Horace⁴⁷ became synonymous for the cure using hellebore. Also, an inscription of the 3rd century A.D. mentioned a *dekaprotos* who held important offices in the city, that of *gymnasiarch*, eponymous *archon* and *tamias*. This is the only evidence for the body of *Dekaprotos* in continental central Greece⁴⁸. In addition, evidence of the mobility of the elite in Roman Phocis is given by the example of M. Ulpus Gratus' positions of *protos* and high priest in Antikyra, as well as that of *archon* in Tithronion in A.D. 197⁴⁹.

However, the image of Phocis, in general, is not one of decline. Of course, apart from the flourishing or declining cities, Pausanias offers a rather neutral and brief description of the rest. Nevertheless, there is some minor, but characteristic, evidence showing that these second-tier cities managed to cope with the new situation. Drymaia, which in the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. asked for a loan from the sanctuary of Heracles in Oita⁵⁰, in Roman times had the means to repair its walls⁵¹. M. Ulpus Damasippos is an important figure in Tithronion and Amphikleia in the Severan Era⁵². Ambryssos, where Pausanias found only broken statues in the small agora⁵³, erected statues to Trajan, Commodus, Alexander Severus and Gallienus. From this same city came a catalogue of winners in the local games for Athena, dating after A.D. 212, which provides evidence for the far-reaching reputation of the games and for the status of the city in Late Antiquity⁵⁴, a view supplemented by archaeological finds⁵⁵.

Sanctuaries

Yet it seems that, as with the cities, the picture of decline does not truly reflect the sanctuaries either. Pausanias mentions 24 temples, and nine more are known from the epigraphy of the Roman period. The numbers do not mean much, since it would be rather surprising if the sanctuaries had not survived when the cities to which they belonged did survive, but some of them had a special place in Roman Phocis.

These particular sanctuaries include the sanctuary of Asklepios Archagetas, which »receives divine honours from the Tithoreans, and no less from the other Phocians«⁵⁶, the sanctuary of Isis in Tithorea, »the holiest of all those made by the Greeks for the Egyptian goddess«⁵⁷, the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos in Hyampolis and Abae, whose oracle benefited from Nero and Hadrian⁵⁸. Also, even Pausanias' brief description of Athena Kranaia does not correspond to a sanctuary in decline. It is noteworthy that an inscription from the sanctuary verified his reference to boy-priests. Another significant text from the sanctuary of the Roman period, dating to the late 2nd and early 3rd century A.D., mentions an Aitolarch. It is the first evidence of the existence of the Aetolian League after the 1st century B.C., and sheds new light on the bizarre story of Hieron from Alexandria conveyed by Phlegon from Tralles⁵⁹.

The most important festival in Roman times was the Great Elaphebolia, which commemorated the victory of the Phocians against the Thessalians⁶⁰. Amongst the elite of Phocis and Boeotia who participated in the festival were Philo, a local physician, Plutarch himself, and Philinos from a leading family

45 Jul. Or. 7, 223 (edition: Wright 1913).

46 Hor. sat. 2, 3, 166 (edition: Fairclough 1926).

47 Hor. ars 300; cf. Porph. Hor. comm. ad loc.

48 Sideris 2013; Rousset 2012, 1673 f. no. 3. For the history of Antikyra, cf. Σίδερης 2014.

49 IG IX 1 8.

50 IG IX 1 226–230; Migeotte 1984, 103–109 no. 29; Giovannini 2003.

51 Zachos 2016, 114 s.v. Drymaia.

52 Gengler 2015.

53 Paus. 10, 36, 4.

54 IG IX 1 12.

55 Zachos 2016, 106 f. s.v. Ambrys(s)os.

56 Παπαδημητρίου 1978, 143 f. For the meaning of Archagetas and the importance of the Asclepius cult in Phocis, Ζάχος 2003, 294 f. 299–303.

57 Paus. 10, 32, 13–18 (edition: Jones 1935); Παπαδημητρίου 1978, 136–143; Pritchett 1999, 303–305; Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2005; Bommas 2005, 105–108; Bommas 2011, 89–94. It is worth noticing

the spread of the Egyptian cult (Isis, Serapis, Anoubis) in East Phocis in Hellenistic and Roman times. Ambryssos (IG IX 1 16), Daulis (IG IX 1 66), Tithorea (IG IX 1 187–199; Rousset – Zachos 2012, 461–485), Hyampolis (IG IX 1 86. 89. 92), Bricault 1997; Chandezon 2011; Schachter 2016, 289–314. The Egyptian deities replace Asclepius as the deity of the manumitted slaves in Elateia in the second half of the 2nd cent. B.C. (Paris 1892, 43. 215–220 nos. 16 a–b. 18; Zachos 2007, 121 f.).

58 Paus. 10, 35, 4; 10, 35, 6; Philostr. VS 4, 24; Grigoropoulos 2015.

59 Ζάχος 2013a, appendix, nos 1. 2; D. Rousset and J.-Y. Strasser (2017) restored the two persons mentioned in the text as T. Fl. Eurydikos and M. Aur. Euagathos who held important offices in Delphi and in the Amphictyony in the late 2nd cent. A.D.

60 Plu. Moralia 244 b–e. Ellinger 1993, 13–22; in Plutarch's times (Moralia 1099 e–f), Phocis is filled with sacrifices and public honours commemorating the victory of Daiphantos. See also Franchi in this volume p. 371–381.

of Thespiiai, possibly a kinsman of Plutarch's wife, who came to the sanctuary with his family⁶¹. An inscription found in Hyampolis mentioning Great Kaisareia, Great Elaphebolia, and Laphria leaves open the possibility of a reorganization of the festival in the Roman period⁶². Some scholars suggest that Elaphebolia and Laphria constituted one feast, and others argue for two distinct festivals, the first for Artemis and the second for Apollo. It has also been proposed that both lapsed for some decades after Kalapodi was destroyed by Sulla and reinstated in the late 1st century B.C. when Great Kaisareia was added to the calendar of the city⁶³. The reorganization of the two festivals, or the double old Phocian one (or probably the addition of the Games⁶⁴), cannot be excluded from the syntax of the inscription, but the identification of Kalapodi with the sanctuary of Artemis Elaphebolos has been seriously questioned⁶⁵. As for the destruction of the sanctuary in 86 B.C., the archaeological campaign of 1978–1982 excavated a layer that was dated to the early 1st century B.C. and connected to the events of the first Mithridatic war⁶⁶, but such destruction has not yet been verified by the succeeding campaigns⁶⁷. Equally interesting, but without sufficient evidence, is the case of the Herulian raid on the sanctuary⁶⁸.

Albert Schachter argues for cult connections between Phocis and Boeotia in the time of Pausanias, giving as examples the Tithorean-Theban ritual on the tomb of Zethos and Amphion, a recollection of the old hostility between Phocians and Boeotians, and the relation between the Boeotian Daidala and the holocaust in the sanctuary of Isis in Tithorea⁶⁹.

He also believes that the upper class of the Roman period reconstructed rites and rituals of the past based on elements that survived thanks to antiquarians like Plutarch, and then adapted them to festivals

of currently popular deities, as in the case of the sanctuary of Isis in Tithorea. Following Martin P. Nilsson's view, Schachter asserts that the holocaust in Tithorea was based on the festivals of Artemis Laphria/Elaphebolos, organized by the pastoral semi-nomadic people in the past, and the »pseudo-mummification« of victims was probably a conscious attempt to give an Egyptian flavor to the business⁷⁰. Nonetheless, the rite in Tithorea looks more like a »panegyris« for tradesmen, who sacrifice anything in addition to pigs, sheep or goats, than a relic of a semi-pastoral population's festival⁷¹.

Another feast of the Egyptian deities in Roman Phocis was Boubastia, mentioned in a record of manumission from the time of Trajan and celebrated in honour of the Boubastis (also equated with Isis). It took place in the sanctuary of Isis and Sarapis in Hyampolis⁷².

Villas or farms

A significant change in the settlement pattern of the countryside is also detected. Several villae rusticae, or farms, make their appearance mostly in the Kephissos basin (Kalogeroporos, Kifisochori, Giannakopoulos-Piperis, Agia Paraskevi, Lefkochori, Modi-Agios Athanasios), as well as in the western part (Medeon, Pesine, Aspra Spitia, Agia Varvara)⁷³. Unfortunately, in most cases only small parts of these buildings have been excavated. Nevertheless, it seems that some of them are large complexes with mosaics and baths. Their location on the plain close to water resources (Kephissos river, Pleistos river) leaves no doubt about their use (*fig. 1*).

61 Plu. *Moralia* 660 d; Jones 1970, 230–233; Diller 1941.

62 IG IX 1 90: »ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν καὶ τῇ πόλει, ἀγωνοθε|τήσας αὐτοῦ τῶν μεγάλων Καισαρήων καὶ τῶν μεγάλων Ἐλαφροβόλων τε καὶ Λαφρίων δίδ, οὗς ἀγῶνας | μόνος καὶ πρῶτος εἰσηγήσατο καὶ ἐτέλεσεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων«.

63 Yorke 1896, 309 no. 5; Nilsson 1906, 221–225; Ellinger 1993, 243 f.; M. Sève, Note sur l'inscription d'Hyampolis IG IX 1, 70 in: Ellinger 1993, 345 f.; Petropoulou 1993, 321; Pritchett 1996, 105–108; Pirenne-Delforge 2006, 25–28; Franchi – Proietti 2015, 237–243; Franchi 2016, 289–291.

64 Nilsson 1906, 221.

65 Niemeier 2016; Zachos 2016, 118 f. s.v. Kalapodi – Agioi Apostoloi; Sporn et. al. 2017, 194 f.

66 Felsch et al. 1987, 26. 52. 82; Felsch 2007, 23, cf. also Felsch 2013, 65 fig. 18 for an offering to the deity, which came from the same layer. It is a lance deliberately bent.

67 Communication with K. Sporn, D. Grigoropoulos and Th. Hintermann. We should add that the sanctuary of Asclepius in

ancient Daphnous (Agios Konstantinos) a few kilometres to the north had been destroyed in the early 1st cent. B.C. (Papakonstantinou – Zachos 2013, 215 f.). This destruction and the abandonment of the settlements in Opountian Locris are indeed attributed to Mithridates' troops rather than Sulla's army, Zachos 2018, 40–42.

68 Fossey 1986, 143; Βλαχογιάννη 2007/2008, 133.

69 Schachter 2016, 143; McInerney 1999, 152 n. 90 offers another reasonable explanation for this hostility.

70 Schachter 2016, 309 f. Chandezon 2011, 168–170 associates Isis with Artemis Elaphebolos/Laphria based on archaeozoological analysis of Kalapodi finds. However, the attribution of the sanctuary to Artemis Elaphebolos is far from certain.

71 For a detailed analysis of the victims offered to Isis in Tithorea, Chandezon 2011, 174–180.

72 IG IX 1, 86; On the sanctuary IG IX 1 89; Pritchett 1999, 303–305; Chandezon 2011, 171; Schachter 2016, 310 n. 67.

73 Ζάχος 2013d; Zachos 2016, 105. 111. 117. 119–124.

These villas are an indication of the existence of large estates, like the land of Memmios Antiochos in Daulis in the early 2nd century A.D.⁷⁴ We have no dating evidence for their construction, but they were in use in Late Roman times. These Late Roman estates (and possibly an intensification/reorganization of the agricultural exploitation) could be associated with the emergence of Skarpheia as one of the two greatest

granaries of southern Greece and as a significant administrative centre of the region in the early 5th century A.D., as we know from the Megara inscription⁷⁵. Also, the tetrapyrgia in Generali, in the plain of Lilaia, whether belonging to a latifundium or not, certainly protected the agricultural production of the whole region, or at least the production of the area of Lilaia⁷⁶.

Ways to survive

But how did the Phocian cities manage to survive in the turbulent years of Mummius' and Sulla's settlements, the period of civil wars, and in Imperial times? Several reasons are discussed in detail below: A. the politics of the Phocian cities in the Achaean war and in the first Mithridatic war, B. the benefaction of Roman consuls and emperors, C. the Boeotian-Phocian elite, D. the natural resources, and E. the location of Phocis on the main communication axis of Macedonia, Thessaly, Attica, and the Peloponnese.

- A. Polybius includes Phocians among the people (or regions) who suffered in the war and Pausanias mentions their Koinon among the leagues that dissolved, but neither passage is decisive evidence for their engagement in the Achaean war⁷⁷. Also, the fine imposed on the Boeotians by Metellus for armed passage through Phocis in 148 or 147/146 B.C. has been considered both as evidence for the pro-Roman stance of the Phocians and as the reason they were forced to participate on the Achaean-Boeotian side⁷⁸. On the contrary, there is evidence against their participation on either side, or at least that there was not a unified attitude of the cities⁷⁹, a phenomenon well known in Phocian his-

tory. Elateians, for example, show a neutral or even a pro-Roman attitude after their return from Stymphalos. Quite characteristically, when the Elateians were informed of the defeat of Kritolaos in Skarpheia, they asked an Arcadian contingent camping in their city to leave so as to avoid any consequences, whereas the Arcadians had offered refuge to the Elateians expelled from their homeland just a generation before. Metellus met the Arcadians and crushed them in Orchomenos⁸⁰. Abae, or Hyampolis, honoured Metellus as saviour and benefactor⁸¹.

Equally, the privileges of *libertas et immunitas* granted only to Elateia for its involvement in the events of 86 B.C. indicate that the other cities possibly remained neutral and for this reason avoided at least the fate of Boeotian Halai and Larymna⁸². At any rate, the decree of Daulis for Hermias from Stratonikeia is indicative of their stance during the events of the first Mithridatic war⁸³. Therefore, unlike neighbouring Boeotia, Phocis possibly became a battlefield and armies marched through its territory, but it did not suffer any catastrophic consequences in either case. On the other hand, the privileges of Elateia are evidence that

74 IG IX 1, 61; Grenet 2011. Memmios Antiochos bought the land (or part of it) from the heirs of Klea. E. Kapetanopoulos (1966, 128–130 n. 5) identified her with Flavia Klea, *archeis* in Delphi to whom Plutarch devoted »Isis et Osiris«, but his identification is rather hypothetical (Grenet 2011, 118 f. n. 37). Cf. also n. 39.

75 SIG 908; Zachos 2013c, 545.

76 Ντάσιος 2008, 356 f.

77 Plb. 38, 3, 8; Paus. 7, 16, 9.

78 Paus. 7, 14, 7; Larsen 1968, 495 no. 3; Schober 1924, 82; Schober 1941, 495 s.v. Phokis; Martin 1975, 144–147.

79 Gruen 1976, 68; Kallet-Marx 1995, 77; McInerney 1999, 255.

80 Paus. 7, 15, 5–6; Ζάχος 2013a, 113 f.

81 Παππαδάκης 1920/1921; SEG 3, 414; Accame 1972, 202.

82 Plu. Sull. 26, 3, 4; Zachos 2018, 40–42.

83 Jacquemin et. al. 2012, 388–390 no. 207; Letzner 2000, 182 n. 143; Zoumbaki 2017, 360 f.

Phocis probably did not avoid the taxes imposed in the aftermath of the Mithridatic war⁸⁴.

- B. Sulla, and probably his son Faustus, pro quaestor and son-in-law of Pompey, benefited Elateia⁸⁵, Metellus Hyampolis or Abae, and Hadrian showed favour to both cities⁸⁶. Also, the imperial statues erected by the cities (26 in 10 cities⁸⁷), although not absolute evidence, are another indication in the same direction.
- C. The Boeotian-Phocian elite (T. F. Teimoxenos and T. F. Aristoteimos in Elateia, Soklaros' family in Tithorea, and the Ulpia in various Phocian cities⁸⁸) have a close relationship to Boeotia, the sanctuary of Delphi, and the imperial house, and share important offices in the cities and in the Koinon in the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D.
- D. The fertile middle basin of the Kephissos river as well as the farms provide enough evidence for the importance of agriculture to the Phocian economy. Ancient sources support this view by mentioning olives and olive oil in Tithorea⁸⁹ and Elateia⁹⁰, grain in Elateia⁹¹, and wine in Ambrosos⁹². Yet specialized industries are not absent either; the Ambrosians produced a dye for wool from the blood of a small creature, bred inside the fruit of a small bush the κόκκος, (possibly the bush ὄσυν that produced the red colour ὄσυνον)⁹³, and in Boulis more than half of the population were engaged in fishing for murex brandaris, a sea snail used to produce purple

dye⁹⁴. On the other hand, there is no indication that the agricultural products from the Kephissos basin were part of large scale trade, but they certainly contributed to the self-sufficiency of the cities. Imported commercial amphorae and fine pottery are rare in East Phocis, as we know from the excavations in Elateia⁹⁵ and Kalapodi⁹⁶, contrary to the situation in the port of Antikyra⁹⁷. Luxury goods reached Antikyra but did not easily find their way inland; glass products, possibly from Demetrias imported to Elateia⁹⁸. As far as the local pottery is concerned, every city certainly had a local workshop but, according to the evidence so far, only Elateia exported in Middle and Late Roman times to the neighbouring cities, Hyampolis, Kalapodi, Tithorea, Modi, and possibly to Opous⁹⁹.

- E. East Phocis is situated on the main route connecting northern Greece to the south in Roman times and is depicted on the Tabula Peutingeriana¹⁰⁰. A milliarium from Tithorea, dating from the reign of Probus, was probably placed by this road¹⁰¹. Also, other secondary roads remained active in the time of Pausanias: the route leading from East Phocis to Delphi through the valley of Platanias (part of the Sacred Way) that met the famous Schiste Odos¹⁰²; the route from Lebadeia to Delphi (and Chaeronea to Steiris) via Karakolithos¹⁰³; the road that connected the port of Antikyra to the inland; the pilgrim road from the port of Kirrha to the sanctuary

⁸⁴ Kallet-Marx 1995, 272. 279; Zoumbaki 2017, 367. 370. Colin (1905, 645 f.) argues that the exemption was not from regular tribute but from levies imposed by Sulla. Some scholars claim that these taxes were imposed after 146 B.C., Accame 1972, 203; cf. Martin 1975, 159. Hill (1946, 36 f.) offers two different interpretations of Elateian immunity: (a) the «prospective» immunity, and (b) the exemption of the land from any lease or minor taxes. However, it seems rather bizarre that the Elateians informed Pausanias two and a half centuries after the war about an «empty» immunity or an exemption from minor taxes.

⁸⁵ IG IX 1, 143. Pompey controlled Central Greece in the first civil war for a short period of time, but probably Phocis changed camp after the mission of Q. F. Calenus (Caes. civ. 3, 55–56). Záchos 2013a, 118–122.

⁸⁶ Paus. 10, 35, 4; 10, 35, 6.

⁸⁷ The epigraphical dossier of Roman Phocis is rather poor, but this failure is related to the epigraphical tradition of the Phocians rather than to the status of the region, as we can assume by the small number of texts coming from every period of its history. Of course, the erection of Imperial statues is a different matter.

⁸⁸ Schachter 2016, 142 f. n. 29; 290.

⁸⁹ Paus. 10, 32, 19.

⁹⁰ Michaud 1974, 222–278.

⁹¹ Thphr. HP 8, 8, 2; Záchos 2003/2004, 201 f.

⁹² Paus. 10, 36, 1. A Late Roman winery was found some years ago in Verva or Kastri in Distomo, Λουκίδου 2007, 614–616.

⁹³ Paus. 10, 36, 1–2.

⁹⁴ Paus. 10, 37, 3. The purple dye production was put under imperial administration. A freedman named Theoprepes was procurator of this kind of industry during the reign of Severus Alexander in Achaia, Epirus and Thessalia (CIL III 536), Camia–Rizakis 2013, 80 n. 25.

⁹⁵ Záchos 2013a, 213–262.

⁹⁶ Common pottery and cooking pots imported to Kalapodi from the nearby Opountian Locris, as well as Late Roman lamps from various regions (studies of D. Grigoropoulos and G. Zachos in progress).

⁹⁷ Σίδερης 2014, 109. 139 figs. 131. 156–160; Dafi 2014.

⁹⁸ Záchos 2013a, 269–274.

⁹⁹ Kouzeli–Zachos 2000. Hyampolis: Papageorgiou – Grigoropoulos in this volume p. 349–369; Kalapodi: Sporn 2017, 233–245 (D. Grigoropoulos); Tithorea, Modi, Opous: Zachos (identified by the author among the unpublished material in the Museum of Atalanti).

¹⁰⁰ Miller 1888, parts IX–X; Pritchett 1980, 227–232; Sánchez-Moreno 2013a, 311; Sánchez-Moreno 2013b, 353–358.

¹⁰¹ Rousset 2012, 1682–1684 no. 6 fig. 15.

¹⁰² Paus. 10, 37, 8; McInerney 1999, 298.

¹⁰³ Paus 10, 37, 8; McInerney 1999, 300.

in Delphi¹⁰⁴; the *leophoros* Orchomenos – Opous¹⁰⁵; and the Elateia – Kalapodi – Opountian Locris way via the Sphaka pass. This last route was guarded by

the tower in Sphaka, near the church of Agios Georgios, that was probably destroyed by the Mithridatic forces in 86 B.C.¹⁰⁶.

The Phokikon case

Pausanias' reference¹⁰⁷ to the Phocians as having assembled in the Phokikon, a building in the territory of Daulis, has been a matter of debate in modern literature since the times of Pierre Paris¹⁰⁸. The debate centres around Pausanias' contradiction of the League's epigraphical record indicating Elateia as its centre and Athena Kranaia as the federal sanctuary in the Hellenistic period¹⁰⁹.

D. Rousset is sceptical on the generally accepted view in literature that the center of the Phokian League in the Hellenistic period was located in Elateia¹¹⁰. However, the inscriptions of the League, which were erected both in the sanctuary of Athena Kranaia as well as in the Agora of the Elateia, leave no doubt as to this matter. In a decree of the Phokian League found in Elateia¹¹¹, the interpretation of the phrase »ἀναθέμεν ἐν τῷ κοινῷ ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ εἰκ[όνα --]« as »in the Agora of Elateia«, proposed by P. Paris in 1891 has not been followed by modern scholarship. Besides, in other cases where the League intended »Agora«, the term was explicitly engraved on the stone: »ἀναθέμεν τὰν μὲν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τᾷς [Α]θῆνας ἐν Κράναις, τὰν δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐν Ἐλατείᾳ[αι]«¹¹². Unfortunately, the list of names from Kato Tseresi is so badly mutilated that it prevents us from drawing a safe conclusion as to its nature – an official document on citizenship? Possibly, but not necessarily. Who published it? The League? Possibly, but not necessarily. Besides, a recent excavation attributes the architectural remains at Kato Tseresi not to a public building of the Hellenistic period (i.e. the Phokikon) but to a private building of imperial date with stones in sec-

ondary use¹¹³. Anyway, the occurrence of this fragment in Kato Tseresi cannot counterbalance the number of inscriptions found in Elateia. Furthermore, the list is dated no earlier than the 2nd century B.C., and if it is indeed a document of the League it could be used as supporting evidence for the shift of the center of the League from Elateia to the Phokikon in that period.

Jeremy McInerney gave an outline of the events before and after the Achaean war that ended with the erection of »a new federal building on the Sacred Way to Delphi, close to the site of its Archaic predecessors«. He explains: »In their very powerlessness lay the origins of the strong archaizing trend that featured so prominently in Greek culture under the Romans«¹¹⁴. Although this is good reasoning for the choice of the new gathering place, it does not answer the question of why the League left Elateia and the sanctuary of Athena Kranaia that had recently been renovated¹¹⁵.

Martin assumes that Elateia left the League at some point after 146 B.C.¹¹⁶ The absence of even a single Elateian general in the League in the second half of the 2nd century and in the 1st century B.C. may not be an absolute criterion for assuming this, but it can not be overlooked. But the question of why Elateia withdrew from the League remains open.

A possible explanation is the heterogeneous attitude of the Phocians during the events of 147/146 B.C. Some cities sided with the anti-Roman element but the Elateians did not¹¹⁷. The League dissolved, or pathetically folded according to Robert Kallet-Marx¹¹⁸,

¹⁰⁴ Dillon 1997, 37.

¹⁰⁵ Paus. 10, 35, 1; Pritchett 1985, 109–115; Fossey 1986, 81.

¹⁰⁶ Paus. 10, 35, 1; Ζάχος 2003/2004, 208–210; on the tower, cf. Dakoronia – Kounouklas 2019, 270–278; Dakoronia – Kounouklas (in this volume p. 195–208)

¹⁰⁷ Paus. 10, 5, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Paris 1892, 63 argued that Elateia was a kind of capital for the Phocians, but they assembled in Phokikon. Cf. French – Vanderpool 1963; McInerney 1997.

¹⁰⁹ Ζάχος – Δημάκη 2006; Ζάχος 2013a (passim).

¹¹⁰ Rousset (in this volume p. 45–66)

¹¹¹ IG IX 1, 101.

¹¹² IG IX 1, 97.

¹¹³ Καλλιγιά 2010.

¹¹⁴ McInerney 1999, 255 f.

¹¹⁵ Ζάχος – Δημάκη 2006; Ζάχος 2013a, 114 f. n. 424.

¹¹⁶ Martin 1975, 159 f.

¹¹⁷ Ζάχος 2013a, 113–116.

¹¹⁸ Kallet-Marx 1995, 77–82.

and shortly after was restored¹¹⁹, but the trauma among the Phocians possibly was not resolved. This differentiation may be depicted on the coins of the city. In the first autonomous minting, Elateia retains the national symbol of the Phocians on the obverse, the head of the bull with the EA between the horns, exactly the same as the last issue of the league produced by the national mint in Elateia in the period 189–146 B.C.¹²⁰ But on the reverse, instead of the head of Apollo, they proudly represent the new cult statue of Athena Kranaia¹²¹, sculpted by the Athenians Timokles and Timarchides, sons of Polykles, in the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C.¹²² In the subsequent issues of coinage, the bull's head will be replaced by the head of Athena, Asclepius, or Poseidon¹²³ (deities of special significance for the city¹²⁴).

Conclusions

The numbers do not show a dramatic decrease of sites in Roman Phocis in comparison to the Hellenistic period. Given the absence of intensive surveys in the area, a decrease cannot be assumed. The evidence of the ancient literature and the epigraphy, as well as of the archaeological excavations and extensive surveys, indicate that the settlement system does not change substantially. What changes is its characteristics, the settlement hierarchy, and the settlement pattern. A handful of small settlements/forts may have been abandoned and minor settlements became run down (Ledon, Panopeus), but the old Phocian major city-centre (Elateia) and significant sanctuaries retained their importance, even in the sphere of ethnic memory (Athena Kranaia, Artemis Elaphebolos); some other cities flourished, even for a short period of time (Tithorea with the sanctu-

ary of Isis), or they acquired a new role in the new era (Antikyra), and minor cities survived even after the visit of Pausanias. The reasons for the sustainability of the settlement system, as well as for the changes in its defining features, can be related to the geopolitical situation of the last two centuries B.C. (with which the subject of Phokikon may be related), the natural resources, the geographical position of Phocis and the location of specific cities (Elateia, Antikyra), without however underestimating the importance of the presence of the Phocian-Boeotian elite (Elateia, Tithorea, etc.), as well as the role of the Roman consuls and emperors (i.e. Sulla in Elateia, Metellus, Nero and Hadrian in Hyampolis and Abae, etc.).

Even if that happened at the end of the Hellenistic era, no one can be sure whether Elateia remained outside the League in the middle Roman times when the city honoured Flavia Laneika, priestess of the Boeotian and the Phocian Koinon¹²⁵. It seems rather strange for the rivalries of the turbulent 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. to continue during a period in which everything had changed.

Looking back to the glorious days of the 4th century B.C., a *Boeotarch*, who can also be elected as *Phokarch*¹²⁶ and vice versa during Roman times, appears as an irony of history. But it also proves that, though the cities found various ways to survive, nothing remained the same in Roman Phocis.

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¹¹⁹ The restoration of the League is associated with two honorific dedications by the Phocians to Roman ambassadors in Delphi, SEG 1, 149, 151; Schober 1924, 83; Schober 1941, 496; Accame 1972, 202; Kallet-Marx 1995, 80 f.; on dating and prosopography problems, see Martin 1975, 154–158.

¹²⁰ Ζάχος 2004, 522–524. A very rare type (Obv.: facing head of Demeter, wreathed in wheat, EA above. Rev.: Athena standing right with shield and spear, ΦΩΚΕΩ[N] on the left), issued possibly during the same period, early 2nd century B.C. It has been proposed that the Palladion style posture on the reverse must be the wooden *xoanon* of Athena Kranaia (BCD 2010, nos. 427, 428).

¹²¹ SNG Copenhagen 165. It is not without importance that some of them have been overstruck on the bull / Apollo issue (BCD 2010, no. 431).

¹²² Paus. 10, 34, 8; Despinis 1995, 349–363; Damaskos 1999, 12–14; Stewart 2012.

¹²³ BCD 2010 nos. 432, 436 f. The cult statue of Asclepius was also sculpted by the sons of Polykles (Paus. 10, 34, 6).

¹²⁴ Ζάχος 2003, 299–304; Zachos 2007.

¹²⁵ IG IX 1, 147; VII 3426; Flavia may have come from Elateia and resided in Levadia: Schachter 2016, 133.

¹²⁶ IG IX 1, 218; Σωτηριάδης 1909, 129 f.; Martin 1975, 167; Gengler 2015; Begass (in this volume p. 85–98).

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Phokis in römischer Zeit: Jenseits des Schattens von Delphi

Zusammenfassung Die römische Geschichte und Topographie von Phokis stehen eindeutig im Schatten Delphis, sowohl im zehnten Buch von Pausanias als auch in der modernen Fachliteratur. Abgesehen von einigen Zeilen in allgemeinen Studien über das römische Griechenland hat die historische Forschung diese Gegend und die wertvollen Zeugnisse von Pausanias weitgehend vernachlässigt. Auf der anderen Seite haben archäologische Funde der letzten Jahrzehnte unser Wissen über die Städte und das Land erheblich erweitert. Die Kombination dieser Ergebnisse mit den Zeugnissen der antiken Literatur und Epigraphik ergibt ein in einigen Bereichen noch fragmentarisches, aber dennoch insgesamt nützliches Bild aller Fragen, die mit phokischen Städten zu tun haben: Siedlungsmuster und -hierarchie, Wirtschaft, Kommunikationswege, Kulte, lokale Eliten, die Politik der Städte im Achäischen Krieg und in der Späten Republik, die Haltung römischer Konsuln und Kaiser.

Schlagwörter Phokis, Phokische Liga, Pausanias, Elateiaische Numismatik, Phokikon

Phocis in Roman times: beyond the shadow of Delphi

Abstract In Pausanias' tenth book, as well as in modern bibliography, the Roman history and topography of Phocis lie in the shadow of Delphi. Apart from a few lines in general studies on Roman Greece, historical research has largely ignored this area and the valuable information on it offered by Pausanias. On the other hand, archaeological discoveries of the last decades have considerably increased our knowledge about the cities and the countryside. The combination of these results with the evidence provided by ancient literature and epigraphy reveals a picture that, though fragmentary in certain areas, is generally useful for all matters related to Phocian cities: settlement patterns and hierarchies, economy, communication routes, cults, local elites, city politics in the Achaean War and the Late Republic, the attitudes of Roman consuls and emperors.

Keywords Phocis, Phocian League, Pausanias, Elateian coinage, Phokikon

Η Φωκίδα στους Ρωμαϊκούς Χρόνους: Πέρα από τη σκιά των Δελφών

Περίληψη Στο δέκατο βιβλίο του Πασανία, όπως επίσης και στη σύγχρονη βιβλιογραφία, η Ρωμαϊκή ιστορία και η τοπογραφία της Φωκίδας βρίσκονται στη σκιά των Δελφών. Εκτός από λίγες γραμμές στις γενικές μελέτες για τη Ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα, η ιστορική έρευνα έχει παραμελήσει αυτή την περιοχή και τις πολύτιμες πληροφορίες που μας προσφέρει ο Πασανίας. Από την άλλη πλευρά, οι αρχαιολογικές ανακαλύψεις των τελευταίων δεκαετιών έχουν αυξήσει σημαντικά τις γνώσεις μας για τις πόλεις και την ύπαιθρο. Ο συνδυασμός αυτών των αποτελεσμάτων με τα στοιχεία που μας προσφέρει η αρχαία λογοτεχνία και η επιγραφική, αποκαλύπτουν μία εικόνα, αν και αποσπασματική σε κάποιες περιοχές, ωστόσο αρκετά βοηθητική για όλα τα ζητήματα σχετικά με τις φωκικές πόλεις: μοτίβο κατοίκησης και ιεραρχία οικισμών, οικονομία, δίοδοι επικοινωνίας, λατρείες, τοπικές ελίτ, πολιτική των πόλεων στον Αχαικό πόλεμο και την Ύστερη Δημοκρατία, στάση των Ρωμαίων υπάτων και αυτοκρατόρων.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά Φωκίδα, Φωκική Συμπολιτεία, Πασανίας, νομισματοκοπία Ελάτειας, Φωκικόν