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Borders and identity in ancient Phocis: some reflections

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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

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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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Borders and identity in ancient Phocis: some reflections

Giovanna Daverio Rocchi

There are lands or countries that can be defined as border regions inasmuch as they are situated at the edge of or confined between greater powers which apply aggressive politics toward weakest neighbours. They are qualified as passage zones, key paths along routes that are used for political and military strate-

gies. In the ecosystem the wilderness is their hallmark. Demographic density is low and over time the region becomes a destination for migration displacements with people of different backgrounds arriving from various directions and fostering urbanization processes and new forms of social aggregations¹.

1. Border and identity

Concerning the interplay between population and land occupation, modern-day research focuses on the aspects of hybridity and fluidity, due to social heterogeneity, and also the precarious conditions that inhabitants of passage zones have to endure. The arrival of foreigners from multiple places of origin is the reason why the frontier, to a certain extent, is shaped by lifestyles and ways of thinking that are rooted elsewhere, so that the coexistence becomes an ongoing process of adaptation, fusion

and/or competition, through exchanges in the roles, aims and projects.

Referring to other places and ages closer to us, it has been written that the frontier is the homeland of the homeless, a place where no one ever feels at home². It tends to promote a sense of unbelonging. From another perspective, the common destiny of de-localization succeeds in channelling a wealth of stories, religious traditions and cultures from the most diverse origins, along the path of a co-existence

¹ For a summary of the main issues in the theory, see Wilson – Donnan 1998, 1–30, and the essays collected in Wilson – Donnan 2012. Regarding Ancient Greece, see Daverio Rocchi 2016, 58–79.

² Ara – Magris 1982, 193. Simons 1995 commented by Rabinowitz 1998, 142: «a place where no one ever feels at home».

stimulated by embryonic feelings of affinity and by the neighbourhood, while tending to create new opportunities for cohesion. This melting pot of attitudes and situations may foster alternative yet complementary identities and engender the passage from a condition of unbelonging to the building of a new identity.

It is the balance between local loyalties and shared identity within a marginal space, to define a border identity. On the whole, the border is a way of living and thinking because it re-writes the history of a people, re-builds the rules of co-existence and re-organizes the system of worship.

2. Phocis as a frontier region: from the denied identity to the paradigm of national unity

As a result of the passages through the country and the land occupation caused by population flows and migrations³, many of the abovementioned characteristics can be found in the Phocian region and its inhabitants and are useful for defining its profile. The area was a macrofrontier that served as a passage zone between Northern and Southern Greece, and also a network of regional boundaries separating the communities scattered throughout the territory. Immigration processes and urbanization created a differentiated system on the basis of the origin and the compositions of the population. These are implicated in the formation, articulation, management and valorisation of collective identities at two levels: multiple local identities and national identity of the ethnos.

In the quest for the Phocian identity we can follow two paths. I would like to define the first as the »identity denied«. This refers to the local identity of a number of Phocian cities which were founded by people from outside and preserve the memory of the blood ties that bound them to their homeland, to the extent that it inspired the local toponymy. It was this tradition that in the 2nd century allowed Pausanias to know and narrate the history of the origins of Panopeus, Hyampolis, Stiris, Abae and Elateia⁴. It is not misplaced, I believe, to emphasize the people's proud consciousness in preserving the memory of their own origins.

Geography and history made ancient Phocis a natural passage zone and gave the country the profile of a frontier. However, the border region was not incompatible with the processes of urbanization, and the distribution of the settlements throughout the land

shaped a system of microborders representing a network of local identities that tended towards particularism. Epigraphic evidence showing the persistence of tensions among the Phocian cities over time, however, reveals the negative side of particularism. The border disputes⁵, in particular, highlight the importance of the territorial dimension to the communities in asserting their own identities.

From a different perspective, the literary tradition lays emphasis on the representation of common ethnic belonging and political unity. Regarding the wars with the Thessalians and the Sacred Wars, Pausanias writes that the most famous exploits of the Phocian people were undertaken by the whole nation (»τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα Φωκεῦσιν ἔστιν ἐν κοινῷ«)⁶. Diodoros places great nationalistic value on Philomelos' exhortation to the Phocians to mobilize for war, explaining that he called upon people of the same ethnos (»διελέχθη τοῖς ὁμοεθνεῖσι«)⁷. While in these cases Pausanias and Diodoros stress the emergence of nationalistic consciousness, the record of the origins and the epigraphic evidence display long-standing local competition and animosity. The sense of attachment to one's city or village could involve a corresponding hostility towards neighbouring settlements. These multiple tensions pulling in opposite directions forced the people living in Phocian cities or villages to negotiate their *modus vivendi* incorporating contradictory identities. I would define this dualism between local identity and national togetherness as the Phocian paradigm of its border identity and of its constructive nature.

³ See McInerney 1999, 76–80; Daverio Rocchi 2011, 21–37; for the Phlegyans, see Franchi 2013, 450–458.

⁴ Paus. 10, 4, 1: Panopeus; 10, 35, 5: Hyampolis; 10, 35, 8 f.: Stiris; 9, 35, 1: Abae; 10, 34, 1: Elateia. In particular, the Phlegyans who settled in Panopeus preserved the image of their separatism by claiming to be the people who had pillaged Delphi; cf. Paus. 9, 36, 4.

For a discussion on these traditions, see McInerney 1999, 132 f. 169 f.; Daverio Rocchi 2011, 25. 45. 79–81; Franchi 2013, 450–458.

⁵ See Daverio Rocchi 1988, 131–142. 205–225; Ager 1996, 238–247. 461–465.

⁶ Paus. 10, 1, 3.

⁷ Diod. 16, 23, 4.

3. Phocian frontier versus gendered space

The quest for identity implies the trend of emphasizing constant dimensions; it petrifies history by placing emphasis on similarities and analogies and tends to become a myth – a myth that I see as the synthesis of a storytelling that extracts and abstracts specific connotations with an absolute and exemplary value. As well as the historical data, therefore, the selection of themes around which tales developed and the spatial and narrative codes used are also important. The channels through which Phocian identity was perpetuated carried both events and their memory, collecting in the mainstream over the centuries complementary identities focusing on specific circumstances or situations of national and local history and recording them through a storytelling based on selected issues and protagonists. While the Phocian region presents all the features of a frontier due to its overly distinctive character, the land had its boundaries with the neighbouring countries. There is evi-

dence to suggest that the Phocian borders constitute the setting for places and events that must be understood in the light of gender identity. The women, in particular, became part of stories in which the mediation of gender identity inspired female roles and spaces relating to the border.

By gender frontier I refer to a concrete space where the boundary is both a position and a condition promoting interpersonal and collective interplay on the basis of gender difference. At the same time, however, it is a narrative code that intersects different specific systems of knowledge regarding the roles of division and integration among women and men. We must look, therefore, at a second aspect of the frontier – that of a space which is culturally constructed and historically changing on the basis of male and female belonging⁸. I would like to examine three episodes showing how the role of women marks the Phocian region as a gendered frontier.

4. Border and women

4.1 Women and *aponoia*

The most famous account involving women in Phocian history is the episode of the *aponoia* or desperation, which is rightly considered to be the heart of the national legend⁹. There are three main sources of this

episode, Plutarch, Pausanias and Polyaeus¹⁰. Plutarch mentions three assemblies in which it was decided that women and children would be put to death if the Thessalians won – those of the Phocian men, of the women and of the children; and the *psephisma*, he adds, was called by the Greeks the Phocian Desperation (*Phokike Aponoia*).

⁸ The ways in which gender has intersected with other historical topics and categories of analysis have received great attention in recent historiography. For a survey on the main problems and updated bibliography on the subject, see Meade – Wiesner-Hanks 2004. Interesting considerations in Piccone-Stella – Saraceno 1996.

⁹ The attractive definition by Ellinger 1993, 295 says: »la légende du Désespoir, qui est le centre de la Légende nationale phocidienne, se révèle donc comme le mythe d'origine, le mythe fondateur de la Confédération phocidienne«. For a historical survey see McInerney 1999, 154–185; Franchi 2016, 154–167. 243–248 with full and updated bibliography.

¹⁰ Plu. mul. virt. 2 (= Moralia 244 B–E); Paus. 10, 1, 6 f.; Polyaeus. 8, 65. The narration of the Thessalian-Phocian war by Herodotus (8, 27 f.), the historian who is chronologically closest to the events, makes no mention of *aponoia*. Pausanias' narration is scant. The event appears among the cases mentioned in ancient literature regarding the killing of women and children in case of defeat in war, to avoid revenge being taken by the enemy. One cannot help but note Pausanias' silence about the chief element in Plutarch's

version, the decree of the women (and of the children), even though he was certainly familiar with the proverb *Phokike Aponoia*. Polyaeus, on the other hand, following his usual narrative technique, cuts Plutarch's account, omitting the *psephisma* of the men (and of the boys) and mentioning only the decree of the women. In fact the Phocian Desperation was a proverbial expression known for a long time, from Polybius (16, 32, 2) to Stephanus of Byzantium (s.v. Phokis). There is reason to believe that the tradition dates back to at least the 4th century and was apparently known to Aeschines. Hiller von Gaertringen 1901 suggested that the source may be Ephorus, whereas Ph. Stadter believes that additional material would have come to Plutarch from Phocian sources, presumably a Phocian local history, despite Jacoby's doubt (FGrHist III b 423–424) that there ever was such a work on Phocis, but also public documents, such as texts inscribed on stelae commemorating the battle and the women's bravery. First-hand accounts may also have contributed, since Plutarch was acquainted with Phocian milieus. For the sources, bibliography and commentary see Stadter 1965, 34–79, and the wide discussion in Franchi 2016, 242–252.

What, then, makes the Phocian Desperation a gender-related historical event? It is, in fact, the central theme in the official version of the birth of the Phocian Confederation and is recognized by Phocian memory and the literary tradition as far back as Plutarch as an exploit that was crucial to the outcome of the battle. The victory at Hyampolis concluded the war against the Thessalians and with the Chalk battle and the Amphorai battle shaped the trilogy of the ›myth of the Resistance‹¹¹. We must not forget that this represented a suicide announced – the Phocian victory in fact saved the women¹². The *Aponoia* can be read as a gendered story, because the role of the women was recognized as a decisive exploit for the outcome of the battle, and their behaviour displayed a deep self-consciousness. The improbable decree enacted by the women is the focus in Plutarch's version and helps to emphasize their decision¹³. To a certain extent *Aponoia* narrated by Plutarch establishes the rules of behaviour in the system of relations between men and women in the Phocian ethnos and gives to the latter a place inside the myth building a shared identity, ultimately in the official version of the birth of the Phocian Confederation.

4.2 The border and the sceptre

The victory at Hyampolis ended the Thessalian threat along the northern border. To the south, the frontier with Boeotia also went through recurring periods of difficulty. The literary and epigraphical evidence bears witness to border disputes which were resolved now peacefully, now by weapons, interweaving historical knowledge with the memory of legendary tales.

Although it is central to the national history and the political map of eastern Phocis, the city of Panopeus stands at its very edge, on the border with Boeotia. Here (between Panopeus and Chaeronea) Pausanias tells that the sceptre of Agamemnon was found, specifying that the place of its worship was at Chaeronea, and the people referred to it as the Spear¹⁴. The Periegetes develops the story of the Sceptre-Spear in three stages. Firstly, citing Homer, he presents the succession of its ownership as a true genealogy from Zeus, in the house of Atrides, to Agamemnon, after telling us that it was made by Hephaestus for Zeus¹⁵. He then explains the appearance of the sceptre at the border. The people of Chaeronea place emphasis on the idea that it was a casual discovery (»φασὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις αὐτῶν καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι εὗρεθῆναι«)¹⁶, while Pausanias' account allows that the Phocians found the sceptre together with a quantity of gold (»σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὔρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς«), but cheerfully took the sceptre instead of the gold¹⁷. Lastly, the Periegetes presents what he believes is the true story. He challenges the version of prodigious casualness supported by the people of Chaeronea and ascribes the responsibility to Agamemnon's daughter Electra, who brought the sceptre with her when she went to Phocis¹⁸. According to the tragedians she lived in Phocis after marrying Pilades, and Euripides adds that she arrived in the country with a store of wealth (»πλότου βάθους«)¹⁹. It should be noted that, this version seems to strengthen the opinion that Phocis was the original recipient. Perhaps it is excessive to speculate on two separate traditions about Electra as *skeptoukos*, i.e. sceptre-bearing, and as possessing great riches, but both suggest a link with Pausanias' account on the sceptre found with the gold and on the Phocian role in the discovery.

¹¹ Hdt. 8, 27–28; see McInerney 1999, 173–178; Franchi 2016, 239–267.

¹² Regarding the interpretation of the collective suicide, there are a number of different opinions, ranging from total negation to acceptance of its historical actuality or of its value as a literary theme and a subject of the Greek-Roman theatre tradition. Although narration risks being used as a mask behind which reality is destined to hide from us, it does not mean that none of it happened. See Ellinger 1993, 287–289.

¹³ The lexicon and the procedure suggest the context of the official decision-making process, and its application to a female meeting is suspect. We cannot avoid thinking of the assembly of women in the comedy of Aristophanes and seeing a literary reminiscence. In this regard I would like to stress Pausanias' silence (see above n. 10). According to Stadter the unusual decree must be considered the contribution of Plutarch himself to the story of *Aponoia*. See Stadter 1965, 34–79. Full analysis in Ellinger 1993, 286–289; Franchi 2016, 242–252.

¹⁴ Paus. 9, 40, 11–12. The image of Zeus and Agamemnon holding the sceptre-spear is a well-known subject of the literary and

iconographic tradition. The genealogy of the sceptre through its passage from Zeus to Agamemnon indicates the transmission of the power and the legitimacy of the kingship. On this subject, see Melotti 2003, 20 f.

¹⁵ Hom. Il. 2, 100–109; Paus. 9, 40, 10.

¹⁶ Paus. 9, 40, 12.

¹⁷ Paus. 9, 40, 12. It has been suggested that the origin of the cult dates back to the discovery of a Mycenaean grave and its valuable gold objects. See Melotti 2003, 27 f. This author, on the other hand, points to the link between the alternative name of Panopeus, Phanoteus (Thuc. 4, 89, 1) and the root of the adjective *phanòs*, i.e. brilliant, shining, and associates the etymology of the city (»town of glitter«) with the glittering of the gold found at the Phocian boundary. Contra, the link between the adjective and the toponym is rejected by D. Rousset. Cf. Melotti, 2003, 27 f., Rousset 2015, 456–460.

¹⁸ Paus. 9, 40, 1

¹⁹ E. El. 1284–1289.

It cannot be excluded that the story of the sceptre-spear belongs to the narrative of the Phocian-Boeotian frontier²⁰. The object was manifestly a boundary marker and its epiphania on the borderland between Chaeronea and Panopeus over time became the chief theme of the mythical version regarding a border dispute at the Phocian-Boeotian frontier, or even the memory of the creation of the boundary. Thus, possession of the sceptre gave its holder the right to claim the land on which it had been discovered²¹. However, Electra *skeptoukos* as mentioned in Pausanias' version seems to belong to a tradition that is all-Phocian. The role of Agamemnon's daughter qualifies it as a gender story because of her key role in the events concerning the transmission of power. The legend of the sceptre at the border overshadows a struggle for the primacy over Phocis, and Electra bearing the sceptre is the heiress of the kingship of the Atrides, of their royal insignia and of their right to rule. It is part of the wider tradition that J. McInerney²² rightly connects with the entry of the Phlegyans of Panopeus into the Phocian ethnos and with the construction of a heroic genealogy. Yet, I would add, this is a genealogy to which the mediation of Agamemnon's daughter confers legitimacy in order to claim the rule over the city, and the kinship ties with the Atrides give a mark of hellenicity.

4.3 The dance at the border

Panopeus is involved in another border story. Pausanias writes that from ancient times this city enjoyed the epicleris of καλλιχορος, or with fair dancing

floors. This name was known also by Homer²³, who explains its aetiology by linking it to the dances of the Athenian Thyiades, the maenads who periodically went in procession to Delphi. They entered the Phocian region at Panopeus and there they stopped and danced in honour of Dionysos. The procession of the Athenian women concerns the relations of Athens and Delphi²⁴, but when the Thyiades crossed the frontier at Panopeus, they entered the world of Delphic religiosity. In actual fact, the name of Thyiades referred to the Delphic maenads, with whom Athenian women gathered at the end of their journey and raved together in honour of Dionysos, and Apollo also, on the top of Parnassos, indulging in night performances, known as *oreibasia*²⁵. The available evidence is scant, but it covers a long period from the classical age to the 3rd century A.D., and some of the most interesting accounts come from Plutarch, who, as a Delphic priest, represents a direct and authoritative source. We understand that the Thyiades were something more than women practising maenadism. J. McInerney stresses that their maenadism, which was complemented by other cult activities, was important to the ritual calendar that ruled the life of the sanctuary²⁶. The Thyiades had exclusive knowledge concerning worship rituals, ceremonies and sacrifices relating both to Apollo and Dionysos and formed a structured corporation with a leader called *archeis* or *archegos*²⁷. Plutarch dedicated his *Mulierum Virtutes* to Klea, the *archeis* of the Thyiades of his day, and it seems clear that she was an educated member of the local elite and that all the Thyiades belonged to the upper class of the society²⁸. Their madness (*mania*) had a divine nature and this may be what prompted Plutarch to dedicate a second chapter to the bravery

²⁰ Memory of claims over contested borderlands was preserved through the creation of frontier myths. The frontier as the privileged place where mythical struggles for the possession of the land took place is a well-known topic. See Daverio Rocchi 1988, 230–232; Daverio Rocchi 2016, 75–77.

²¹ The sceptre-spear defines a real and symbolic process of contention, conquest and pacification. On this subject see Melotti 2003, 19–39 with bibliography.

²² McInerney 1999, 170–172.

²³ Paus. 10, 4, 3; Hom. Od. 11, 580–581 f.

²⁴ See Daverio Rocchi 2011, 71–84. The Athenian Thyiades journey concerned the relations between Athens and the Delphic oracle and it must be read in the light of the tradition preserved by Ephorus (FGrHist 70 F 31 B, regarding Apollo's stay in Athens during his journey from Delos to Delphi, which is a variation of the official version of the Hymn of Apollo, in which Athens is not included, probably in order to emphasize the construction of the *hiera hodos*. For the tradition of friendship between Phocis and Athens see Daverio Rocchi 2011, 25. 45. As regards Panopeus, Plutarch writes that Theseus fell in love with Aigle, the daughter of Panopeus, the mythical lord and eponym of the city, and ac-

cording to Athenaeus Hesiod maintained that Theseus and Aigle were married. See Plu. Thes. 20, 1, 29, 2; Ath. 13, 4, 557A.

²⁵ For the Delphian Thyiades see: Plu. Moralia 242 E, 249 E-F, 293 D-E, 364 E, 365 A. For their history see McInerney 1997, 269–275, Daverio Rocchi 2011, 78–80 (with bibliography). A rupestral inscription from Panopeus published by Rousset, Camp and Miron is a dedication to Dionysos. The editors associate it with the stage of the Athenian Thyiades suggesting a cult of Dionysos at Panopeus. See Rousset 2015, no. 3, 456. For the cults on mountain tops, see Sporn 2013, 465–475 (esp. 468 f. the Parnassos); Sporn 2015, 339–378.

²⁶ See McInerney 1997, 263–283.

²⁷ They knew the mystery ritual (μυστικός λόγος) connected with the *Herois*, performed a secret sacrifice relating to Dionysos Liknites and preserved the oral memory of sacred sacrificial formulas which were inaccessible to others (θυσιάν ἀπόρρητον). Plu. Moralia 293 D–E, 365 A; Paus. 10, 4, 3.

²⁸ Plu. Moralia 242 E. Two inscriptions of the 3rd century A.D. testify to the prestige of the *archeis* Memmia Loupa; see Jacquemin et al. 2012, nos. 226. 227.

of Phocian women, but also of the Lokrian women of Amphissa who saved the Thyiades from a critical situation²⁹.

Through the processions of the Thyiades on the border and at the centre, a ritual topography is drawn firmly rooted in the Delphic religious space, along a boundary-core axis with poles at Panopeus and Delphi, and the dance at the border should be included in the network of Delphic rituals. It is to be seen, in fact, as a rite of passage gendered on the basis of the semantic codes of madness and rage that the Delphic cults allowed to the women. Gender difference, therefore, expresses the levels of transgression that the society was willing to accept and manage, and defines the spaces, the border and the mountains, within which the Thyiades rituals were acceptable.

Panopeus is embedded in the history of Apollo and his arrival at Delphi. Ephorus says that before reaching Delphi Apollo stayed at Panopeus, where he destroyed the violent and lawless ruler of the country, Tityos³⁰. Homer reminds us that here Tityos had raped Leto, the mother of Apollo, as she was travelling to Pytho³¹. So the god purifies the land by the violence of the murder and of the sacrilege perpetrated against the goddess, his mother. Panopeus is the key place in the god's journey to Delphi, marking both the boundary to cross, and also the place where Apollo had to face out the border struggle by asserting his primacy over the region. Moreover, the killing of Tityos makes Panopeus the first step on a path of liberation that is finally accomplished through the death of Python in Delphi, thus freeing the country from the violent local lords. It is difficult to believe that the dance of the Thyiades had nothing to do with the memory of the male outrage committed against Apollo's mother and the victory of the god in the struggle for control over the region.

All the circumstances involving the Thyiades point to a gender frontier which is rooted in Delphic religiosity.

A famous Delphic inscription, the Cippus of the Labyadai, and the rupestral inscription at Panopeus, which is considered as its original, provide further evidence of the female mediation in a cultic context which linked Panopeus and Delphi since the late 6th century and was reiterated in Delphi in the 1st half of the 4th century³². The inscription refers to gifts from Phanotos – the legendary eponym of the city – to his daughter Boupyga³³. As it is part of the dispositions, regulations and competences regarding the Labyadai, which are inscribed on the other three faces of the block, despite the questionable interpretation of the purposes of the gifts, it is impossible to ignore their ritual value in Panopeus and Delphi. I would like to stress the central figure of the recipient of the gifts, who is the daughter of eponymous Phanotos.

The dance of Thyiades at the border preserves the memory of the location and of the role of Panopeus as the boundary of a religious space connecting the Delphic sanctuary with the border of eastern Phocis, and also as the complementarity between border and core. Panopeus was the place where women raved in honour of Dionysos, and also solemnized the entry into Apollo's world, transforming into a rite of passage the end of an unlawful rule, and the transition from a place marked by male violence to the female space of the Thyiades under the order and harmony of the Delphic sanctuary. Boupyga offers additional proof of the bond between the sacred place and the border city through a female figure.

Cultic traditions, therefore, provide us with an insight into a religious Phocis whose frontiers do not symmetrically overlap with political boundaries, marked by the separatism of Panopeus. Panopeus and Delphi reflect the margin and the core of a space where life and death, violence and order, injustice and justice find their real and symbolic meaning through a bipolar and complementary unity.

²⁹ Plu. *Moralia* 249 E–F = *Mul. Virt.* 13.

³⁰ Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 31 B.

³¹ Hom. *Od.* 11, 580 f.

³² The Delphian text is inscribed on face D of the Cippus, ca. 400–350 B.C., and includes (lines 29–38) reference to a text inscribed on a rock on the acropolis at Panopeus (probably the original of the Delphian text according to D. Rousset). See CID I, no. 9; Osborne – Rhodes 2003, no. 1; Jacquemin et al. 2012, no. 30. The inscription from Panopeus is carved on the northwest face of the rock and dates back to the end of the 6th century B.C. See Rousset, 2015, 453–461. According to this author it is evident that »there

existed as of the late 6th century B.C. a cultic connection that the rupestral inscription makes manifest even if not entirely clear to us«. See also Petrocheilos – Rousset 2019, 795–815.

³³ It is likely that the gift in question concerns the distribution of parts of sacrificial animals. Phanotos provides an occasion to discuss the name of the city, which is mentioned in the ancient sources also as Phanoteus. So Phanotos seems to suggest the eponym of the city. For a useful survey of the question I refer to Rousset 2015, 446–453. For a different reading see McInerney 1999, 106–108.

Conclusions

The border was a structural condition in the Phocian region, which concerned the land, the history of the people, the political and military events, and the cult, and it played an important part in the negotiation of the Phocian identity paradigm. The city of Panopeus became the key place where the story stratified myths and events regarding the rule over the region, the transmission of the kingship, and the tensions created by different ethnic backgrounds. The women, in particular, became part of stories where the mediation of gender identity inspired fe-

male roles and spaces involving the border. This represents exemplary evidence of the fusion between real events and their record, past and present, involving the narration of gendered spaces in the task of interpreting fragments of history concerning the origin of the Phocian Confederation, the ancient rule of Panopeus and its cultic links with Delphi pointing to a gender frontier rooted in Delphic religiousness.

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Zusammenfassung – Abstract – Περίληψη

Grenzen und Identität im antiken Phokis: einige Überlegungen

Zusammenfassung Im antiken Phokis war das Konzept der Grenze an der Bildung, Artikulation und Aufwertung kollektiver Identitäten sowohl auf lokaler als auch nationaler Ebene beteiligt. Es handelte sich um eine strukturelle Bedingung, die das Land, die Geschichte des Volkes, die politischen und militärischen Ereignisse und den Kult betraf und die wichtigen Funktionen bei der Aushandlung des phokischen Identitätsparadigmas erfüllte. Grenzen und Grenzland wurden auf praktischer und symbolischer Ebene konzipiert. Es gibt Hinweise darauf, dass die phokische Grenze den Schauplatz von Orten und Ereignissen bildet, die im Lichte der Geschlechtsidentität verstanden werden müssen. Die mythistorische Tradition von Frauen, die individuell und kollektiv ihr Leben an besondere Situationen und Rituale banden, prägte Räume, in denen die Vermittlung weiblicher Rollen die phokische Region als Geschlechtergrenze qualifizierte, was Einblick in ein religiöses Phokis gab, dessen Grenzen nicht völlig mit den politischen Grenzen übereinstimmten.

Schlagwörter Grenzland, Geschlechtsidentität, Phokis, Delphi, Panopeus

Borders and identity in ancient Phocis: some reflections

Abstract In ancient Phocis, the notion of the border contributed to the formation, articulation, and valorisation of collective identities, both local and national. It was a structural condition which concerned the land, the history of the people, the political and military events, and the cult, and it performed significant functions in the negotiation of the Phocian identity paradigm. Borderlines and borderlands were forged at practical and symbolic levels. There is evidence to suggest that the Phocian border constitutes the setting for places and events that must be understood in the light of gender identity. The mythistorical tradition of women who, individually and collectively, bound their lives to special situations and rituals, shaped spaces where the mediation of female roles qualified the Phocian region as a gender frontier, giving insight into a religious Phocis whose borders did not match the political boundaries exactly.

Keywords borderland, gender identity, Phocis, Delphi, Panopeus

Σύνορα και ταυτότητα στην αρχαία Φωκίδα: Μερικές απόψεις

Περίληψη Στην αρχαία Φωκίδα τα σύνορα συμμετείχαν στον σχηματισμό, στην άρθρωση και στην αξιοποίηση των συλλογικών ταυτοτήτων, τοπικών και εθνικών. Ήταν μια δομική συνθήκη που αφορούσε τη γη, την ιστορία των ανθρώπων, τα πολιτικά και στρατιωτικά γεγονότα και τη λατρεία και επιτελούσε σημαντικές λειτουργίες στη διαπραγμάτευση του παραδείγματος της φωκικής ταυτότητας. Οι συνοριακές γραμμές και οι παραμεθόριες περιοχές σχηματίστηκαν σε πρακτικά και συμβολικά επίπεδα. Υπάρχουν στοιχεία που υποδεικνύουν ότι το φωκικό σύνορο αποτελεί το σκηνικό για τοποθεσίες και γεγονότα που πρέπει να γίνουν κατανοητά υπό το πρίσμα της ταυτότητας φύλου. Η μυθιστορηματική παράδοση γυναικών οι οποίες, ατομικά και συλλογικά, συνέδεσαν τις ζωές τους με ιδιαίτερες καταστάσεις και ιεροτελεστίες σχημάτισε χώρους όπου η μεσολάβηση των γυναικείων ρόλων προσδιόρισε τη φωκική περιοχή ως ένα όριο φύλου, και παρείχε εικόνα μιας θρησκευτικής Φωκίδας της οποίας τα όρια δεν ταίριαζαν ακριβώς με τα πολιτικά σύνορα.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά παραμεθόριος περιοχή, ταυτότητα φύλου, Φωκίδα, Δελφοί, Πανοπεύς