

# THE EXTENT OF SPARTAN TERRITORY IN THE LATE CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC PERIODS

THIS article forms part of a study of landscape change in the late Classical and Hellenistic Peloponnese.<sup>1</sup> It arises partly from a consideration of data collected for the Laconia Survey,<sup>2</sup> and partly from work on the Lakedaimonian Perioikoi<sup>3</sup> and on the nature of the Greek city-state, notably by the Copenhagen Polis Centre.<sup>4</sup>

The development of the Spartan state in the two centuries after the defeat at Leuktra in Boiotia in 371 BC has been extensively studied.<sup>5</sup> If, however, we are to understand better the

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Special abbreviations:

CPC Acts = Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre

CPC Papers = Papers of the Copenhagen Polis Centre (in *Historia Einzelschriften*)

CS = P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (London, 1989)

*f.* = formerly

*LS* i, ii = W. Cavanagh, J. Crowel, R. W. V. Catling, and G. Shipley, *Continuity and Change in a Greek Rural Landscape: The Laconia Survey* (BSA supp. vols. 26 (forthcoming, 2001), 27 (1996))

Phaklaris<sup>2</sup> = P. V. Phaklaris, *Αρχαία Κυνουρία: ανθρωπινή δραστηριότητα και περιβάλλον* (2nd edn; Athens, 1990)

Pikoulas, *NMC* = G. A. Pikoulas, 'Η νότια μεγαλοπολιτική χώρα από τον 8ο π.Χ. ως τον 4ο μ.Χ. αιώνα' (Athens, 1988)

Pikoulas, 'Skiritis' = G. A. Pikoulas, 'Συμβολή στην τοπογραφία της Σκιρίτιδος', *Horos*, 5 (1987), 121–48

Pritchett, *SAGT* = W. K. Pritchett, *Studies in Ancient Greek Topography*, i–vi (Berkeley, 1965–89); vii (Amsterdam, 1991)

Shipley, *GWA* = G. Shipley, *The Greek World after Alexander: 323–30 BC* (London, 2000)

Shipley, *OL* = G. Shipley, "The other Lakedaimonians": the dependent perioikic poleis of Laconia and Messenia', in M. H. Hansen (ed.), *The Polis as an Urban Centre and as a Political Community* (CPC Acts, 4; Copenhagen, 1997), 189–281

Site numbers of the form AA23 refer to the catalogue in *LS* ii. 263–313 (see n. 2).

<sup>2</sup> G. Shipley, 'The survey area in the hellenistic and Roman periods', forthcoming in *LS* i; id., 'Archaeological

sites in Laconia and the Thyreatis', *LS* ii. 263–313; id. 'Site catalogue of the survey', *LS* ii. 315–438.

<sup>3</sup> G. Shipley, 'Perioikos: the discovery of classical Lakonia', in J. M. Sanders (ed.), *Φιλολάκων: Lakonian Studies in Honour of Hector Catling* (London, 1992), 211–26; Shipley, *OL*, in brief, L. Moschou-Tsiomi, 'Οίκιστικά συστήματα τών περιοικίδων και τών ελευθερολακωνικών πόλεων στην χερσόνησο του Ταϊνάρου', *Πρακτικά του XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Κλασικής Αρχαιολογίας (Αθήνα, 4–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1983)* (Athens, 1988), iv. 148–54. I am grateful to Norbert Meertens for allowing me to make use of his unpublished Berlin MA thesis, 'Die Periöken Spartas', which clarifies many issues surrounding the Classical Perioikoi.

<sup>4</sup> On the Classical polis see CPC Acts, CPC Papers, and notably among studies therein M. H. Hansen, 'The "autonomous" city-state: ancient fact or modern fiction?', in id. and K. Raaflaub (eds), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (CPC Papers, 2/*Historia Einzelschriften*, 95; Stuttgart, 1995), 21–43; M. H. Hansen, 'Kome: a study in how the Greeks designated and classified settlements which were not poleis', *ibid.* 45–81. I have learned much from T. H. Nielsen, 'Πολλῶν ἐκ πολλίων: the polis structure of Arkadia in the archaic and classical periods', Ph.D. diss. (Copenhagen, 1996); and from id. and J. Roy (eds), *Defining Arkadia* (CPC Acts, 6; Copenhagen, 2000). On the Hellenistic polis see esp. P. Gauthier, *Les Cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (*BCH* Supp. 12; Athens, 1985); id., 'Les cités hellénistiques', in M. H. Hansen (ed.), *The Ancient Greek City-state* (CPC Acts, 1; Copenhagen, 1993), 211–31; also Shipley, *GWA*, chs 3–4.

<sup>5</sup> Of many discussions I can mention here only the most important in English, by Cartledge and Spawforth (see n. 1). Note also N. M. Kennell, 'From perioikoi to poleis: the Laconian cities in the late hellenistic period', in S. Hodkinson and A. Powell (eds), *Sparta: New Perspectives* (London, 1999), 189–210. See also Shipley, *GWA* 140–8, with additional references at 416. Current knowledge of the archaeology of Roman Sparta, with many references to Hellenistic monuments, is summarized by CS 216–25 (map, 214–15); many Hellenistic data are reviewed by S. Raftopoulou, 'New finds from Sparta', in W. G. Cavanagh and S. E. C. Walker (eds), *Sparta in Laconia: Proceedings of the 19th British Museum Classical Colloquium held with the British School at Athens and King's and University Colleges, London (6–8 December, 1995)* (BSA Studies, 4; London, 1998), 125–40.

relationship between an evolving political and urban centre and the landscape it dominated, we must not only take account of literary and epigraphic sources but also attempt to make sense of the archaeological data that have been recovered from the landscape.<sup>6</sup> Logically, we must first attempt to define what exactly constituted Spartan territory at any given date, and what happened to the system of dependent perioikic poleis that was once a mainstay of Spartan power. Study of the dependent cities of Laconia has tended to take particularist forms; one aim of the present investigation is to arrive at an overall synthesis in which the conclusions about each area take account of the evidence for Laconia as a whole.

In Lakonike (the usual ancient name of the region)<sup>7</sup> there is the added complexity that after Leuktra a binary landscape and citizenship structure became, in effect, ternary. In the Classical period the dominant polis of Sparta and its dependent perioikic poleis had constituted a single state of ‘the Lakedaimonians’.<sup>8</sup> Now the perioikic sector was gradually eroded and a third sector came into being, that of poleis organized (perhaps in 195 BC) into a *koinon* (league, community) ‘of the Lakedaimonians’ under Achaean protection.<sup>9</sup> This in turn was reorganized (perhaps under Augustus) into the *koinon* of the *Eleutherolakones* (Free Laconians).<sup>10</sup>

Our knowledge of fluctuations in the extent of Spartan territory between *c.* 370 BC and the late Hellenistic or early Roman period depends for the most part upon incidental mentions, often in fragmentary sources and documents. When alterations are attested, it is usually in literary sources whose main concerns are particular military campaigns involving Sparta and its enemies, or the results of those campaigns. However, it is precisely as a result of military activities that changes are likely to have taken place, and for the periods covered by the surviving passages of Polybios and Livy it is likely that all, or most, major campaigns are attested. Lack of other testimony, therefore, may not be a serious problem.

The evidence is here reviewed region by region, starting in the north-west and proceeding clockwise. This corresponds broadly to the temporal sequence in which the perioikic territories were lost. Only sites that are likely to have been settlements are included. (Full references, and detailed evidence and arguments about whether or when a settlement was a polis, will be given in my Laconia section of the *Inventory of Greek Poleis* being prepared under the auspices of the Copenhagen Polis Centre.)

<sup>6</sup> Notable among these are the works of G. A. (I. A.) Pikoulas on the southern territory of Megalopolis and the north-western borderlands of Laconia, and the sustained efforts of L. Moschou to elucidate the settlements of the Tainaron region. Several of these studies are cited below.

<sup>7</sup> For ‘Lakonike’, and for the use of ‘Laconia’ rather than ‘Lakonia’ (which is not used in Greek sources), see Shipley, *OL* 272–3 n. 3 ad fin.

<sup>8</sup> Shipley, *OL* 206–11; J. M. Hall, ‘Sparta, Lakedaimon and the nature of perioikic dependency’, in P. Flensted-Jensen (ed.), *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (CPC Papers, 5/*Historia Einzelschriften*, 138; Stuttgart, 2000), 73–89.

<sup>9</sup> *IG* v. 1. 1226–7, both = *SEG* xi. 938 (1st or 2nd c., Kolbe; mid-2nd c. implied at *SEG* xi. 894; Cartledge, in *CS* 77, suggests the 70s BC). A. Gitti, ‘I perieci di Sparta e le

origini del κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων’, *Rendiconti dell’Accademia dei Lincei*, 715 (1939), 189–203, argues convincingly for a date of 195, when the cities deserted Sparta (Livy, xxxiv. 35. 10; cf. 36. 2, xxxviii. 30. 6), rather than 146. The adoption of the *koinon* form of association was due to the small size and vulnerability of (most of) the poleis (ibid. 197), while the Achaean protectorate (Livy, xxxv. 13. 2; xxxviii. 31. 2) does not imply the enrolment of each individual polis into the Achaean league (ibid. 199). On Hellenistic leagues generally, see Shipley, *GWA* 133–40. Diod. xxix. 17. 1 testifies to the Achaean league ordering fortifications in Lakedaimon to be demolished when Sparta was taken into the league.

<sup>10</sup> Strabo, viii. 5. 5 (366); Paus. iii. 21. 7; *CS* 110; Gitti (n. 9), 196, 201.

## THE NORTH-WEST AND NORTH

The most complicated issues surround that part of Sparta's territory before 370/369 which embraced the southern part of the western Arkadian plain (FIG. 1).<sup>11</sup> This area comprised:

- (i) the land known as the Aigytis, containing the probable poleis of Aigys, Kromnos (Kromnon, Kromoi), and Leuktra<sup>12</sup> and the obscure settlement of Karystos (attested only for the Archaic period);<sup>13</sup>
- (ii) the Maleatis, with the possible polis of Malea;
- (iii) the Belbinatis (Bel(e)minatis), with the possible polis of Belbina (Bel(e)mina);
- (iv) the non-perioikic area of Skiritis (whose inhabitants, the Skiritai, formed an important light-armed contingent in the Lakedaimonian army) and the probable polis of Oios (Oion);
- (v) the nearby settlement of Karyai, probably neither a polis nor perioikic; and
- (vi) the area of woodland known as Skotitas, now extending east from the modern village of Karyés (f. Aráchova).<sup>14</sup>

It is reasonable to assume that any Classical polis that existed in this area was perioikic, though (as for much of Laconia) there is no explicit testimony to prove it.

Polybios, looking back two centuries later, does not explicitly describe the events of 371–369 in terms of the confiscation of any Laconian territory; he says rather that 'the Spartiates . . . were confined within the boundaries of Lakonike'.<sup>15</sup> It is useful to consider the loss of the north-western territory, incorporated into Megalopolis, in this light rather than as an encroachment upon Sparta's territory proper. Pausanias, enumerating the communities taken into Megalopolis, says *παρὰ δὲ †Αἰγυπτίων* (i.e. *Αἰγυτῶν*) *καὶ †Σκιρτώνιον* (i.e. *Σκιριτῶν Οἶον*?) *καὶ Μαλέα καὶ Κρῶμοι καὶ Βλένινα καὶ Λευκτρον*. We may translate this as 'from the Aigyrians . . . and Skirtonion' (or 'from the Aigyrians and Skiritans Oion [*sic*]'), 'Malea, Kromoi, Belbina, and Leuktron'.<sup>16</sup> Probably these places were removed from Spartan control at the time of Epameinondas' first invasion of Laconia (winter 370/69)<sup>17</sup> or his second invasion

<sup>11</sup> Fundamental studies are now Pikoulas, 'Skiritis'; Pikoulas, *NMC*; and G. A. Pikoulas, 'Τοπογραφικά Αἴγυος καὶ Αἰγυπτιδος, Πρακτικά τοῦ Α' Τοπικοῦ Συνεδρίου Λακωνικῶν Μελετῶν (Μολάοι 5–7 Ἰουνίου 1982) (Πελοποννησιακά, suppl. 9; Athens, 1983), 257–67. References to earlier studies will be found in those places.

<sup>12</sup> Not to be confused with Boiotian Leuktra; for the similar names, cf. Plutarch, *Pelop.* 20. 4, 7. For the attribution of Leuktra and perhaps Kromoi to the Aigytis, see Pikoulas, *NMC* 143.

<sup>13</sup> Strabo, x. 1. 6 (446), = Alkman *PMG* 92 (cf. Ath. i. 31 d); Steph. Byz. 363. 2–4 s.v. Possibly in the area of Dyrráchi or the upper Xerifas valley (Pikoulas, *NMC* 239, no. II).

<sup>14</sup> See n. 64 below.

<sup>15</sup> Polyb. xxxviii. 2. 9: *Σπαρτιάται . . . συνεκλείσθησαν εἰς τοὺς τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὄρους*.

<sup>16</sup> Paus. viii. 27.4. The text is corrupt; I follow the proposal by Pikoulas ('Skiritis', 137, 148; *NMC* 142–3, 145 n. 445, 239), following B. Niese ('Beiträge zur Geschichte Arkadiens', *Hermes*, 34 (1899), 520–52, at 540 n. 1) to read *Αἰγυτῶν καὶ Σκιριτῶν Οἶον* for *Αἰγυτῶν Σκιρτώνιον*; cf. the suggestion

of Andrewes in A. W. Gomme, A. Andrewes, and K. J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides*, iv (Oxford, 1970), 34; P. Cartledge, *Sparta and Lakonia: A Regional History 1300–362 BC* (London, 1979), 300; Nielsen (n. 4), 45. For the probable origin of Pausanias' list (viii. 27. 1–8) in epichoric sources, see *ibid.* 130–1, 285; for the probable incorporation of 'synoikized' communities as *dependent* communities (second-order settlements), rather than their complete abandonment, see *ibid.* 298–300, citing J. Roy, 'Studies in the history of Arcadia in the classical and hellenistic periods', Ph.D. diss. (Cambridge, 1968). Diod. xv. 94. 1–3 states that the synoikism was not complete before 361. Megalopolis' foundation followed closely upon the battle of Leuktra in 371, but its construction will certainly have taken a number of years; see S. Hornblower, *The Greek World: 479–323 BC?* (London and New York, 1991), 225; *id.*, 'When was Megalopolis founded?', *BSA* 85 (1990), 71–7, at 73–5, showing the Diodoran date of 368 to be an error.

<sup>17</sup> For the date see D. R. Shipley, *A Commentary on Plutarch's Life of Agesilaos: Response to Sources in the Presentation of Character* (Oxford, 1997), 349.

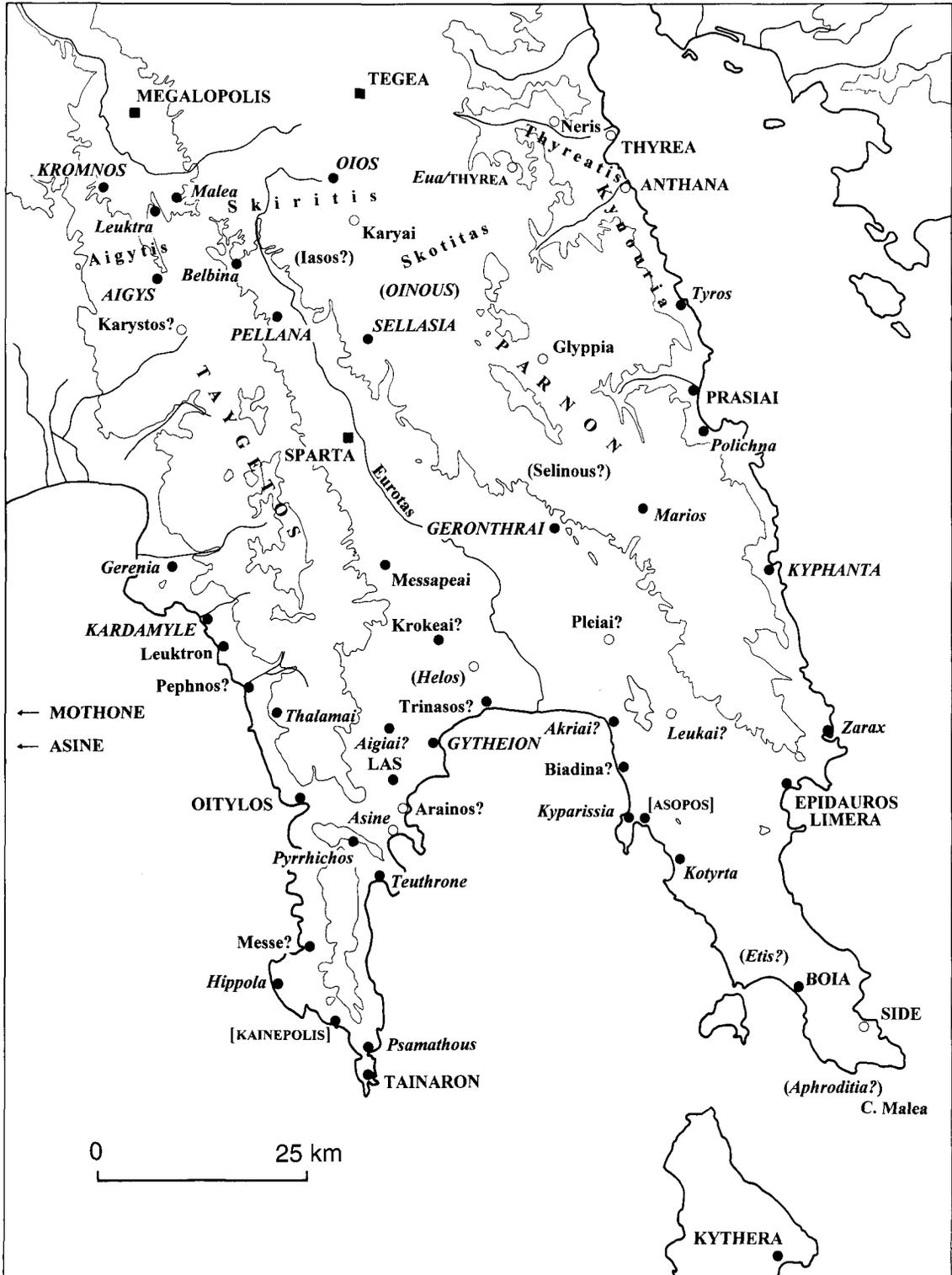


FIG. 1. Sites mentioned in the text. For the significance of capitals and italics, see TABLE 1 (p. 388). *Kēp.* ? May not be a settlement. O Definite or probable site, name uncertain. ( ) Name not reliably linked to a known site. [ ] Roman site. (Map by A. Sackett, legend by D. Taylor)

of the Peloponnese (369), though their incorporation into the newly synoikized city need not have taken effect immediately. (None of these places reappears as a functioning polis within the Megalopolitans' sphere of interest.)<sup>18</sup>

From this time on, Sparta rarely had a presence in the western Arkadian plain. The dispute about the 'north-west passage' persisted, however, and successive regimes clearly placed great importance upon it. In the 230s Kleomenes III captured places in the Aigytis and built forts (e.g. the Athenaion in Belbina);<sup>19</sup> these were later given to Megalopolis by Antigonos Doseon.<sup>20</sup> The Aigytis still belonged to Megalopolis in c. 164–146, by which time the peoples of Aigytis and Skiritis could be described as having been Arkadians since the return of the Herakleidai.<sup>21</sup> (Indeed, they may have been incorporated as Arkadians by Sparta in the Archaic period.)<sup>22</sup> The Belbinatis changed hands several times, until in 188 it was finally assigned to Megalopolis for good.<sup>23</sup> While the loss of Messenia with its fertile agricultural land had both economic and military impacts upon Sparta, the loss of the Aigytis and the Belbinatis was probably of military significance above all.

In 338 Philip II gave Spartan cities and land to Argos, Tegea, Megalopolis, and Messene.<sup>24</sup> His aim was obviously not to annihilate Sparta but to weaken it. Since land was also given to Messene and Argos, the range of possibilities for which lands were given to Megalopolis and Tegea is closely demarcated. They must have been in the north-western and northern borderlands. Strictly speaking, the episode need not entail that the Spartans had recaptured territory from Megalopolis by 338: they may have simply made a claim that need answering. However, Polybios' term 'excising' (*ἀποτεμόμενος*) suggests an active decision to change the ownership of an area rather than the confirmation of existing possession. Since the Aigytis is so close to Megalopolis that it would have been hard for the Spartans to hold it, the territory given to Megalopolis is likely to have been the Belbinatis. A decision of the 'Achaean under Philip (II) son of Amyntas', presumably this same decision, was cited in 189 to justify the reallocation of the *ager Belbinatis* to Megalopolis.<sup>25</sup>

The land which Philip assigned to Tegea was presumably the Skiritis.<sup>26</sup> This had perhaps been recaptured by Sparta, or (if the earlier incorporation of Oios into Megalopolis is accepted as a fact) was perhaps taken away from Megalopolis on the grounds that Tegea was a more appropriate guardian.

Looking at the individual settlements in turn, we see that a site's incorporation into Megalopolis did not necessarily lead to its abandonment.

In the AIGYTIS (Paus. viii. 34. 5) there are three relevant settlements.

The probable or possible Classical polis of *Aigyis* (e.g. Ephoros (*FGrH* 70), fr. 117; Theopompos (*FGrH* 115), fr. 361),<sup>27</sup> if correctly identified by Pikoulas with Tsámaina Kamáras,<sup>28</sup> appears from the

<sup>18</sup> Nielsen (n. 4), 323–34.

<sup>19</sup> Plut. *Kleom.* 4 (25). 1–2.

<sup>20</sup> Polyb. ii. 54. 3.

<sup>21</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 665 = *IO* 47, lines 34–6.

<sup>22</sup> Nielsen (n. 4), 10, 45.

<sup>23</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 34. 8.

<sup>24</sup> Polyb. ix. 28. 7, xviii. 14. 7. On the manner of the decision, apparently taking into account the views of the Greeks generally, see Polyb. ix. 33. 10. On Philip's settlement of the Peloponnese see C. Roebuck, 'The settlements of Philip II with the Greek states in 338 BC', *CP*, 43: 73–92, repr. in id., *Economy and Society in the Early Greek World: Collected Essays* (Chicago, 1979), 131–50.

<sup>25</sup> Livy, xxxviii. 34. 8, where Belbinatis, the reading of the MSS, may represent an assimilation of Greek *atis* to the Latin ethnic ending *atis/as* (I am grateful to Dr L. A. Holford-Strevens for this observation).

<sup>26</sup> B. Niese ('Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte und Landeskunde Lakedämons', *Göttingische gelehrte Nachrichten*, 1906, 101–42, at 120) thought in terms of the Skiritis and the Karyatis; but 'Karyatis' is not an ancient name and Karyai itself may have remained Spartan (see nn. 60, 63).

<sup>27</sup> Shipley, *OL* 232–3 no. 12.

<sup>28</sup> Pikoulas (n. 11), 264; Pikoulas, *NMC* 139–47, no. 95 (late 4th-c. BC–2nd-c. AD pottery, esp. 2nd-c. BC–2nd-c. AD; cf. *LS* ii. 283, CC258, also CC40).

archaeological evidence to have been first founded, or refounded, in the late 4th c., which may explain why it is not listed by Pausanias among the Aigyitian places subsumed by Megalopolis (though the text of viii. 27. 4 is damaged and Αἴγυς is actually restored by some editors). Alternatively, if this was a refoundation its predecessor was subsumed into Megalopolis. Either way, Megalopolitan control of the area after c. 369 did not preclude the setting up or relocation of a substantial settlement. Whether or not it was a Spartan foundation, Aigys' afterlife until the 2nd c. AD had nothing to do with Sparta.

The probable Classical polis of *Kromnos*,<sup>29</sup> if correctly assigned to the Aigytis<sup>30</sup> and if correctly identified as Martiákos Paradision,<sup>31</sup> was absorbed by Megalopolis (Paus. viii. 27. 4) but temporarily recaptured from the Eleians by Archidamos III in 365 (Xen. *Hell.* vii. 4. 20–7);<sup>32</sup> clearly it had not ceased to exist as a result of the foundation of Megalopolis, though it may have disappeared soon afterwards. Its ethnic is attested in a late 4th–early 3rd-c. inscription from Corinth,<sup>33</sup> but the latest archaeological material is 4th-c.,<sup>34</sup> i.e. c. 300 or earlier. It was probably abandoned either as a result of the violent events of 365 or within a generation or two. Of all these north-western sites it is the most remote, and there is no further evidence of Spartan involvement unless it was one of Kleomenes' captures. By Pausanias' time it was, by his lights, in ruins, though they were 'not wholly evanescent' (viii. 34. 6: οὐ παντάπασι . . . ἐξίτηλα).

*Leuktra* (e.g. Thuc. v. 54. 1),<sup>35</sup> likewise assigned to the Aigytis by Pikoulas<sup>36</sup> and absorbed by Megalopolis according to Pausanias (viii. 27. 4), is the only one of the six settlements in Sparta's NW and N borderlands that has clear archaeological continuity between the Classical period and later centuries: the finds suggest occupation from Archaic to Hellenistic, with a Hellenistic maximum. The traces of fortifications at Leondári may be late 3rd-c.<sup>37</sup> Strategically located to control the main route in and out of north-west Laconia, it was perhaps a late Archaic foundation of the Lakedaimonians resulting from their capture of this area. Synoikism with Megalopolis, clearly, did not entail its disappearance as a nucleated settlement, though its survival presumably has nothing to do with Sparta. It is Megalopolitan when it is captured by Kleomenes at Plut. *Kleom.* 6 (27). 3.

Close to Leuktra on the other side of the main route from Sparta, the MALEATIS (or Μηλεῶτις, e.g. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 24), with the possible Classical polis of *Malea* (or Mēlea, Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 28),<sup>38</sup> was incorporated into Megalopolis according to Pausanias (viii. 27. 4). Xenophon (*Hell.* i. 2. 18) writes of helots deserting from Malea, confirming its status as a Spartan possession.<sup>39</sup> If correctly identified by Pikoulas as Máli (or Maliókambos) at Voutsarás (f. Zaïmi), a site with pottery ranging from 6th- to 5th- or 4th-c. but no later,<sup>40</sup> it was perhaps, like Leuktra, a late Archaic Lakedaimonian settlement but, unlike Leuktra, was abandoned some time after its synoikism with Megalopolis.

In the BELBINATIS (ager *Belbinatis*, Livy, xxxviii. 34. 8) the only named settlement is the eponymous *Belbina*,<sup>41</sup> possibly a polis in the Classical period. Pausanias includes it among the 'Aigyitians and Skiritans' incorporated into Megalopolis (viii. 27. 4), but it was certainly not part of the Skiritis and is, indeed, better regarded as separate from the Aigytis. In an odd remark, Pausanias (viii. 35. 4) reports a claim by the

<sup>29</sup> Shipley, *OL* 239 no. 25.

<sup>30</sup> Pikoulas, *NMC* 143.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.* 161 4 no. 121, at pp. 162, 164; 'Classical–Early Hellenistic' pottery, i.e. mid-5th-c. and 4th-c.; no trace of fortifications or cemetery, though the site has natural defences.

<sup>32</sup> For the date cf. D. R. Shipley (n. 17), 360.

<sup>33</sup> Κρωμνίτης *SEG* xxii. 219 (325–280 BC); cf. perhaps Steph. Byz. 388. 4 5, though referring only to Paphlagonian Kromna.

<sup>34</sup> Pikoulas, *NMC* 161 4 no. 121; see also *AR* 29 (1982–3), 28–9; *BCH* 107 (1983), 764–7.

<sup>35</sup> Shipley, *OL* 239 no. 26; or 'Leuktron'.

<sup>36</sup> Pikoulas, *NMC* 143.

<sup>37</sup> *Id.*, 'Skiritis', 145 6.

<sup>38</sup> Shipley, *OL* 239 no. 27.

<sup>39</sup> Pikoulas, *NMC* 144 and n. 440 (where the reference to Xen. *Hell.* i. 28 is presumably to i. 2. 18).

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* 129 31 no. 91.

<sup>41</sup> Shipley, *OL* 237 no. 22; first known references *PGC* Adesp. 1043 K.-A., Phylarchos (*FGH* 81), fr. 4 b. In Paus. alone the name is Belminina, applied to an area of land by Paus. iii. 21. 3, viii. 35. 4, but at viii. 27. 4 Belnina. Its *chora* is Belminatis at Polyb. ii. 54. 3. (The ethnic Βελβινίτης at Hdt. viii. 125 refers to the islet of Belbina E of the Peloponnese.)

Arkadians that it was theirs 'in olden times' (τὸ ἀρχαῖον) and that the Lakedaimonians seized it (ἀποτεμεῖσθαι). He doubts the Arkadians' claim on the grounds that the Thebans would not have allowed this to happen; evidently the Spartan aggression was alleged to have taken place at the time of Theban hegemony after the battle of Leuktra. But why should the Arkadians invent such an occurrence? All they needed to do was to claim, with great plausibility, that the area was theirs before Sparta originally extended its power to the NW in the mid-6th c. We may set aside Pausanias' doubts; the Theban hegemony was short-lived, and there is a period of 31 years (369–338) during which the Spartans could have seized the Belbinatis, such as in 365 when Archidamos seized Kromnos (temporarily), or in 351 when he attacked Megalopolis.<sup>42</sup> This would be consistent with (though admittedly not entailed by) its reassignment to Megalopolis by Philip II, whose decision was cited in 189 (Livy, xxxviii. 34. 8). By the 230s Belbina could be described as an entry point into Laconia but subject to Megalopolis (Plut. *Kleom.* 4 (25). 1).

The fort on Mt. Chelmos, the *Athenaion*, has finds of three periods: Mycenaean, Hellenistic, and medieval. The place was seized from Megalopolis by Kleomenes early in his reign (Polyb. ii. 46. 5; Plut. *Kleom.* 4 (25). 1), and he began to fortify it (or renovate its fortifications). It was captured by Antigonos even before Sparta's defeat at Sellasia in 222/1 (Polyb. ii. 54. 2), recaptured by Lykourgos in 219 by a siege (iv. 37. 6, 60. 3), but soon demolished and abandoned to Philip V (iv. 81. 11).

The *ager Belbinatis* was restored to Megalopolis in 189 in accordance with an old decision of the Achacans under Philip II (Livy, xxxviii. 34. 8), which implies that Sparta had seized it again between 219 and 189, perhaps under Machanidas in 208 as Kolbe conjectured.<sup>43</sup> Belbina was part of Lakonike again in Pausanias' day (iii. 21. 3), and had been perhaps given back by the Romans in 146,<sup>44</sup> or by Augustus. The best-dated possible site of post-Classical Belbina has 4th-c. BC to Roman pottery,<sup>45</sup> and thus appears either to have been founded before the creation of Megalopolis and to have survived despite its incorporation into that city, or to have been founded or refounded after the foundation of Megalopolis.

We may conclude that Belbina and the Belbinatis were Spartan from the mid-6th c. until 338, from some time in the 230s until 222/1, briefly in 219, from perhaps 208 to 189, and permanently from perhaps 146 or from Augustus' reign to at least the second half of the 2nd c. AD.

Further E lay the SKIRITIS,<sup>46</sup> which Thucydides (v. 33. 1) locates within Lakonike; he also appears to make Parrhasia (W of Megalopolis) adjoin Skiritis, suggesting that 'Skiritis' denoted any southern Arkadian territory occupied by Sparta.<sup>47</sup> In 370/69 it lay on the route of the Arkadians who invaded in collaboration with Epameinondas (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 25 *ad fin.*). The only settlement explicitly situated in Skiritis<sup>48</sup> is *Oios* or *Oion*;<sup>49</sup> it was probably perioikic, for though Xenophon describes it as a κώμη (*Hell.*

<sup>42</sup> Diod. xvi. 39. 3–7; Paus. iv. 28. 1–2.

<sup>43</sup> G. [= W.] Kolbe, in *IG* v. 1, p. 11.

<sup>44</sup> So Kolbe in *IG* v. 1, p. xiv, followed tentatively by Cartledge in *CS* 90 and n. 25, referring to Paus. iii. 21. 3; viii. 35. 4; S. Accame, *Il dominio romano in Grecia dalla guerra acaica ad Augusto* (Rome, 1946), 130; T. Schwertfeger, *Der achäische Bund von 146 bis 27 v. Chr.* (Munich, 1974), 49 n. 90, but also noting the caution of V. Ehrenberg, 'Sparta (Geschichte)', *RE* iii A 2 (1929), 1373–453, at 1445.

<sup>45</sup> The hill of Chelmós is probably the site of the Athenaion rather than a settlement of Belbina (*LS* ii. 283, CC41; Pikoulas, *NMC* 115–17, no. 70). Possible sites for a Classical settlement of Belemina/Belbina are Vardoúka Skortsinoú on the SW slopes of Chelmós (4th-c. BC to Roman finds; *ibid.* 120 no. 75) and three less precisely dated sites near Giakoumaíika on the SE slopes of Chelmós (*ibid.* 120–1 no. 77). Any of these would be compatible with a settlement that came into existence in the Classical or Late Classical period. Pikoulas suggests (*ibid.* 123) that the site

changed its position several times, and locates Late Hellenistic–Roman Belemina at the largest site, Mctóchi in the region known as Agía Eiríni near Giakoumaíika Longanikou. Geometric–Archaic settlement in the general area is suggested by a Geometric tomb and Archaic finds in the area (*ibid.* 119 no. 74, I, II).

<sup>46</sup> Shipley, *OL* 264 no. 106; see e.g. Thuc. v. 33. 1; Andrewes *et al.* (n. 16), 33–4, with map 1 (facing p. 34); and see esp. Pikoulas, 'Skiritis'; *id.* *NMC* 142–5.

<sup>47</sup> *Id.*, *NMC* 144.

<sup>48</sup> *Id.*, 'Skiritis', 135. Another Late Classical–Hellenistic site: Kourniákos Rous' Apidiá, *ibid.* 139.

<sup>49</sup> Late sources write of a 'settlement' (κατοικία) of Skiros, placing it in Arkadia 'near the Mainalians and Parrhasians' (Herodian, π. ὀρθογραφίας, iii. 2. 581, l. 23 = Steph. Byz. 575. 7–8: Σκίρος Ἀρκαδίας κατοικία πλησίον Μαιναλέων καὶ Παρρασιῶν. οἱ κατοικοῦντες Σκίριται, τὸ θηλυκὸν Σκίριτις). Andrewes (n. 46) suggests that S. was part of Megalopolis.

vi. 5. 26) he also gives it an ethnic, Oiatai,<sup>50</sup> and it was probably a polis. On the occasion in question the town was lost while under the command of the Spartan Ischolaos, who had hoped to use its citizens as ‘allies’ (σύμμαχοι, Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 26; that expression does not necessarily specify its juridical relationship to Sparta, but may merely indicate that he wanted their support). Since Xenophon refers to Οἶον τῆς Σκιρίτιδος, the town’s *chora* (rural territory) was perhaps the Skiritis (rather than e.g. Oiatis, an unattested form). In that case, although the Skiritai and Perioikoi can be named alongside one another (Xen. *Hell.* v. 2. 24, referring to 382 BC), the Skiritai themselves were probably perioikic, though perhaps enjoying a special status among Perioikoi.<sup>51</sup> The Skiritai had probably been incorporated into the Spartan state in the 8th c., at the same time as the Aigytiis.<sup>52</sup>

There is no evidence that in 370/69 any of the inhabitants of Oios were discontented and ready to revolt, unlike some from nearby Karyai, though there may have been Oiatai among the unspecified Perioikoi who offered their services to the invaders (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 25). Oios was soon afterwards synoikized into Megalopolis (if we emend Paus. viii. 27. 4, and if we accept his statement).<sup>53</sup> The archaeological evidence for its probable site, Aí-Giánni near Kerasiá, appears to be no later than Classical,<sup>54</sup> so this may be another place where synoikism led to abandonment.

Not only Oios but the Skiritis as a whole was probably lost in 369.<sup>55</sup> It was still in Arkadian (specifically Megalopolitan) hands in 365, when King Archidamos ravaged the area in order to try to raise the siege of Kromnos (Xen. *Hell.* vii. 4. 21). Probably, too, the territory given to Tegea by Philip II in 338 included part or all of the Skiritis; this need not imply that it had reverted to Spartan ownership in the interim, only that the Spartans claimed it.<sup>56</sup> Probably this region was recaptured by Kleomenes III, since in 229 the Aitolian league, which was at this time anti-Achaean, allowed him to seize the chief towns of eastern Arkadia to the north of Skiritis, including Tegea, Mantinea, and Orchomenos. It was doubtless lost after Sellasia, and was again Arkadian, probably Tegean, in the mid-2nd c. (*Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 665 = *IvO* 47). By the Roman period Skiritis was probably Spartan once more, since the frontier of Tegea was the valley of the Sarandapótamos (Paus. viii. 54. 1).<sup>57</sup> By now, however, it is possible that Skiritis no longer existed in its original denotation of any southern Arkadian territory occupied by Sparta.<sup>58</sup>

*Karyai* probably lay outside the Skiritis and was almost certainly not a polis in the Classical period, since Xenophon implicitly distinguishes the people of Karyai from the Perioikoi in 370/69 (*Hell.* vi. 5. 25).<sup>59</sup> (Its territory may have been called Karyatis, as often asserted in modern works, but there is no ancient authority for the name; if Karyai was not a polis, of course, it did not have a *chora*.)<sup>60</sup> At that

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Μετάχοιον, at 449. 1: καὶ γὰρ Οἶος πολίχινον, ἧς τὸ ἐθνικὸν Οἰάτης. Herodian, *De prosodia catholica*, iii. 1. 75, l. 26, lists it among Arkadian and Laconian ethnics.

<sup>51</sup> Pikoulas (‘Skiritis’, 144) regards the Skiritai as a whole as being of perioikic status, with one urban centre at Oios and smaller settlements in the surrounding area of c. 100 km<sup>2</sup>. Xen.’s statement, *Cyrop.* iv. 2. 1, that the Assyrians treat the Hyrkanians as the Lakedaimonians do the Skiritai is not to be taken as evidence that the Skiritai were not Lakedaimonians; they clearly formed part of the Lakedaimonian army.

<sup>52</sup> Pikoulas, ‘Skiritis’, 123, 127.

<sup>53</sup> This again depends on the Niese–Pikoulas reading; see n. 16. Dr J. Roy (pers. comm.) has observed that Paus. is well aware that not all the sites he lists were, in the event, incorporated into Megalopolis, but that the proximity of Oios to Tegea may not be an obstacle to accepting his statement, since (a) Pallantion is not much further from Tegea and was incorporated and (b) there may have been a desire on the part of those determining the shape of Arkadia not to see Tegea elevated to a position of power. One might add (c) that if ‘Skiritis’ denoted any territory in S. Arkadia captured by Sparta (above) there might be a presumption that all such places should

remain within a single geopolitical entity. (I am grateful to Jim Roy, Thomas Heine Nielsen, and Giannis Pikoulas for discussions of this crux; they are not responsible for my views.)

<sup>54</sup> W. Loring, ‘Some ancient routes in the Peloponnese’, *JHS* 15 (1895), 25–89, at 60 and n. 141; K. Romaios, *PAE* 1907, 121; Pikoulas, ‘Skiritis’, 124, 135–7 and n. 35; cf. id. *NMC* 239 no. I; *LS* ii. 283.

<sup>55</sup> So Pikoulas, ‘Skiritis’, 123–4.

<sup>56</sup> Pikoulas, p. 124, takes the silence of the sources as a sign that Skiritis was now Arkadian.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>58</sup> *Id.*, *NMC* 143–4 and n. 433.

<sup>59</sup> Shipley, *OL* 238–9 no. 24. Not part of Skiritis: Pikoulas, ‘Skiritis’, 133.

<sup>60</sup> Herodian, iii. 1. 106, l. 12, includes Καρυάτις in a list mainly comprising names of territories but immediately following the cult title ‘Dereatis Artemis’. It is therefore probably to be linked with the feminine form Καρυάτις, cited by Steph. Byz. 362. 6–7 s.v. Καρυά as a feminine ethnic and as the name of a variety of bee. Hsch. s.v. Καρυάτις takes over the report in Paus. iii. 10. 7 and infers that Καρυάτις was the name of a festival of Artemis.

time there were those in Karyai who were prepared to revolt from Sparta (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 25). It is not listed among places incorporated into Megalopolis and is further from Megalopolis than Oíos, so less likely to have been absorbed in 369 or later. Assuming, with Pikoulas, that Karyai is at Análipsi near Vouírvoura,<sup>61</sup> it flourished between the mid-5th and mid-2nd c. (and earlier) and was abandoned neither after the Persian wars (despite Vitruvius' story of the origin of Caryatids, i. 1. 5) nor after the massacre of its inhabitants or garrison by Archidamos in 368 (Xen. *Hell.* vii. 1. 28).<sup>62</sup> Karyai may have been retained after 368, for it is relatively close to Sparta. It may conceivably have been given to Tegea by Philip II, but in support of that proposition there is only a Tegean legend of the Roman period reported by Pausanias (viii. 45. 1).<sup>63</sup> Karyai may therefore have remained Spartan until 192 when it was enemy, i.e. Lakedaimonian, territory for Philopoimen and the Achaeans (Livy, xxxv. 27. 13), though it could have been captured by Nabis just before 192. It was probably one of the settlements 'encircling' Sparta which were garrisoned by Diaios in 148/7 (Paus. vii. 13. 6), after which the archaeological evidence suggests that it ceased to exist, since Análipsi has only Geometric–Hellenistic finds and Classical houses. In the Roman period Karyai was still (or again) in Laconian territory (Paus. iii. 10. 7); if it was also a settlement (which is not stated explicitly) it must have been relocated away from Análipsi.

So far as the evidence goes, then, Karyai was Spartan almost continuously, with interruptions in 370/69 and shortly after, until in the mid-2nd c. its original site was captured by the Achaeans (this would fit the archaeological evidence at Análipsi); it may then have been rebuilt on a new site.

The SKOTITIAS, which contained no polis, probably followed Karyai's fortunes.<sup>64</sup>

The possibly Archaic–Classical settlement and certain Middle Hellenistic polis of *Iasos* (if its name is correctly recorded) was probably not absorbed into Megalopolis after 369.<sup>65</sup> It may have been one of the 'encircling' towns N of Sparta that were seized by the Achaean general Diaios in 148/7 (Paus. vii. 13. 6). Pausanias describes *Iasos* as being on the frontier of Lakonike though subject to the Achaeans, as if it were normally Lakedaimonian, at the moment soon afterwards when it was seized for Sparta by Menalkidas (vii. 13. 7).<sup>66</sup> Even if it was straight away lost, there is no reason to think that the towns garrisoned by the Achaeans remained outside Sparta's control for long, for the Achaean league was defeated by the Romans in 146 and Belbinatis was perhaps restored to Sparta (above). Cartledge may overstate the case in saying that Sparta had now lost its remaining *Perioikoi*;<sup>67</sup> Pellana, for example, is still Λακωνικόν χωρίον in Strabo (viii. 7. 5 (386)).

Polybios' τριπόλις including Pellana (iv. 81. 7) is probably the same as the *Tripolis* in Laconian territory, bordering on that of Megalopolis, which Philip V ravaged (Livy, xxxv. 27. 10); it may also have included Aigys and Belbina.<sup>68</sup>

In summary, Aigys ceased to be Spartan in or after 369 and flourished until the second century AD outside Spartan rule. Kromnos ceased to be Spartan after 369, apart from a brief occupation

<sup>61</sup> *LS* ii. 284, DD45; Pikoulas, 'Skiritis', 137–9.

<sup>62</sup> For the date see *ibid.*, 124; D. R. Shipley (n. 17), 355.

<sup>63</sup> The legend that Karyatai was the name of a deme of Tegea in very early times (Herodian, *loc. cit.* (n. 60), also cites the ethnic) can hardly reflect an actual grant by Philip II, which would have made such invention otiose; rather, it reflects a claim concocted on the basis that Philip did give part or all of the Skiritis to Tegea. Niese (n. 26), 120, however, assumes that it was given away by Philip; cf. Kolbe, *IG* v. 1, p. 172.

<sup>64</sup> Skotitas was a wooded area between Tegea and Lakedaimon, Polyb. xvi. 37. 4, cf. 3. See also Paus. iii. 10. 6, where the MSS read Σκοτίτων or Σκοπιτών; Rocha-Pereira in the Teubner edition, probably unnecessarily, reads Σκοτινά on the basis of Steph. Byz. 577. 10–14 s.v. Σκότινα,

but that may be a corruption of e.g. Σκοτίτας. For the modern wood see O. Rackham, 'Observations on the historical ecology of Laconia', forthcoming in *LS* i.

<sup>65</sup> Shipley, *OL* 246 no. 44. The text of Paus. viii. 27. 3 is uncertain (Iasaia? Asea?) but refers in any case to Mainalian towns, whereas Paus. vii. 13. 6 places *Iasos* on the border of Lakonike and Arkadia. See Pikoulas, 'Skiritis', 138 n. 41.

<sup>66</sup> If Análipsi (above) is not Karyai it may be *Iasos*; but Pikoulas would place Karyai at Análipsi and *Iasos* nearer to Sparta, in the headwaters of the Evrótas between Konidítsa, Káto Kollines (Agía Varvára), and Chelmós ('Skiritis', 137–9; cf. *LS* ii. 284, DD45).

<sup>67</sup> CS 88, 90.

<sup>68</sup> F. Hiller von Gaertringen, n. 7 to *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 665.

in 365. Leuktra ceased to be Spartan in 369 but survived as a settlement. Belbina (with the Athenaeion and the Belbinatis) went in and out of Spartan ownership, being apparently Lakedaimonian in *c.* 550–338, *c.* 235–222, 219, 208–189, and permanently from perhaps 146 or the late first century. Malea ceased to be Spartan after 369 and was probably abandoned. Oios was lost in 370/69,<sup>69</sup> was soon incorporated into Megalopolis, and may have ceased to exist. The rest of the Skiritis became Arkadian at that time and was possibly recaptured before Philip II assigned it to Tegea in 338, though he may simply have been confirming the *status quo*. Karyai and presumably the Skotitas probably remained Spartan until the mid-second century, when Karyai was first seized by the Achaeans and then probably ceased to exist.

#### THE NORTH-EAST: THE THYREATIS

Before and possibly after 369, Spartan territory included that part of the Kynouria which was called THYREATIS<sup>70</sup> (or Thyrea,<sup>71</sup> or Thyreai)<sup>72</sup> and contained the probable polis settlements of Anthana (almost certainly a coastal place, perhaps Nisi Agíou Andréa though that may have been urbanized only *c.* 350–300) and Thyrea (perhaps an original inland location at ΛΑ23 Marmarálono Agíou Pétrou or elsewhere, plus the Aiginetan fort, the lower town, at Nisi Paralíou Ástrous). Minor settlements may have included *Astros* (attested only in the Late Roman period) and *Neris* (a possible Classical town site and later *kome*).

According to Polybios, as we have seen, Philip II gave some Spartan territory to Argos. Since other territory was given to Tegea, what was given to Argos should include part or all of the Thyreatis. There is uncertainty, however, over whether Argos received the whole eastern seaboard (possibly called Kynouria) or just the Thyreatis. According to Pausanias Philip forced Sparta ‘to abide by its original frontier’ with Argos.<sup>73</sup> This might be thought to refer to the time down to about the early sixth century before Sparta captured the Kynouria;<sup>74</sup> but I would follow Cartledge<sup>75</sup> in doubting the claim<sup>76</sup> that the entire eastern seaboard as far as and including Kythera (*sic*) had once been Argive.

The area was Argive in Pausanias’ day,<sup>77</sup> and it appears none of it reverted to Spartan control after 338.

*Anthana* did not necessarily have a long life as a polis, but the sources attest its existence in the 5th c., 4th c., and Roman times, and the two most likely sites are also Classical–Roman.<sup>78</sup> In the late 5th c. it was apparently given to the Aiginetans, as was Thyrea (though possibly earlier or later than Thyrea), unless Pausanias (ii. 38. 6) or his sources have confused it with Thyrea.

<sup>69</sup> If we accept the emendation of Paus. viii. 27. 4.

<sup>70</sup> Thuc. ii. 27. 2, vi. 95. 1.

<sup>71</sup> Hdt. i. 82. 1; Thuc. iv. 57. 1, 3.

<sup>72</sup> Hdt. i. 82. 2.

<sup>73</sup> Paus. ii. 20. 1, μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσιν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄροις τῆς χώρας.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Paus. iii. 2. 2: in the reign of Echestratos (early 6th c.) they expelled the adult Kynoureis from the Kynouriake; cf. K. A. Romaios, ‘Κυνουρία καὶ Κυνούριοι’, *Πελοποννησιακά*, 1 (1956), 1–22, at 3.

<sup>75</sup> Cartledge (n. 16), 124–6.

<sup>76</sup> Hdt. i. 82. 2.

<sup>77</sup> Paus. ii. 38. 5.

<sup>78</sup> Shipley, *OL* 226 no. 1; see e.g. Thuc. v. 41. 2; Ps.-Skyl. 46, reading Ἀνθάνα for Μέθανα; Paus. ii. 38. 6. Several locations have been proposed. Tsiórovos and Nisi Agíou

Andréa both have Classical Roman pottery (Shipley, l.c., cf. 230–1 no. 10), but J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias’s Description of Greece* (London, 1898), iii. 309, points out that, if we read Ἀνθάνα in Ps.-Skyl. 46 (as I believe we should), then Anthana should be a coastal place, which would rule out Tsiórovos. On the problems of identification, see Phaklaris<sup>2</sup> 47–55 (proposing Nisi); Pritchett, *SAGT* iv. 75–9, vi. 94–101, vii. 214–22 (Tsiórovos; cf. ii. 17, iii. 116–21); cf. *LS* ii. 276, AA1; 279, AA19; G. Shipley, review of Pritchett, *SAGT* vi–vii, in *CR*, n.s. 43 (1993), 131–4, at 132–3. Y. C. Goester, ‘The plain of Astros: a survey’, *Pharos*, 1 (1993), 39–112, at 88–91, 98–9, makes Tsiórovos mainly Classical though possibly continuing into Hellenistic; at pp. 84–8, 97–8 Nisi Agíou Andréa is mainly Hellenistic. Another possibility is Nisi Paralíou Ástrous, a fortified Bronze Age and Protogeometric–Roman settlement with an acropolis (*LS* ii. 277, AA6; Goester (above), 91–3, 99).

The possible Archaic–Classical polis of *Eua*<sup>79</sup> will have been Spartan territory from the mid-6th to c. the mid-4th-c. If it was Ellinikó,<sup>80</sup> its attachment to Argos after 338 may be confirmed by the fact that all the eight datable coins found by the Dutch survey dated to c. 350–146.<sup>81</sup> The substantial fortifications are likely to be Argive of c. 350–250.<sup>82</sup> Ellinikó had a long life and contained a sanctuary of Asklepios in its territory at Anemómýlos,<sup>83</sup> but the archaeological evidence suggests a Late Classical–Hellenistic decline after its removal from Sparta.

*Thyrea* was given to the Aiginetans in the late 5th c.; Thucydides (ii. 27. 2 with iv. 56. 2, 57. 3, v. 41. 2) speaks as if there were a pre-existing polis there. The Aiginetans were killed or taken away by the Athenians, at which point the land may have remained Lakedaimonian but the town may not have been a functioning perioikic polis. Thucydides' statement (v. 41. 2), using the present tense, that the Lakedaimonians administer (νέμονται) the Kynouria, of which Thyrea is a part, may indicate such an outcome.

In summary, the Thyreatis probably reverted to Spartan ownership after the Athenian attack, and we have no evidence that it ceased to be Spartan in or soon after 369; it was Argive after 338 and presumably remained so.

#### THE EAST: KYNOURIA, PARNON, AND THE PARNON SEABOARD

Romaïos views Kynouria<sup>84</sup> as the whole Parnon seaboard; Meyer has a narrower view and implausibly identifies Kynouria with the Thyreatis, but correctly notes that no ancient source warrants the extension of the name to the whole seaboard (Cartledge's 'east Parnon foreland').<sup>85</sup> Phaklaris assumes that Kynouria is made up of the plain of Astros (which he identifies as Thyreatis) and the plain around Leonídi (ancient Prasiai), i.e. more or less the modern *eparchía*, but does not argue the point in detail.<sup>86</sup> Here I treat the Parnon seaboard as a unit without reference to the question of the extent of ancient Kynouria.

The Parnon seaboard contains five coastal towns: from north to south, Tyros, Prasiai, Polichna, Kyphanta, and Zarax. Two inland settlements, Glyppia and Marios, are also included in this section because Glyppia is once mentioned alongside the coastal towns. Prasiai, Zarax, and Marios were Eleutherolakonian poleis later;<sup>87</sup> possibly Kyphanta was also Eleutherolakonian, although, if so, it had reverted to Spartan ownership by the time of Pausanias along with five other towns: one in south-eastern Messenia (Pharai), the others probably in south-eastern Laconia (Kotyrtá? Leukai? Helos?) and the Tainaron peninsula (Hippola?).<sup>88</sup>

<sup>79</sup> Shipley, *OL* 241 no. 30.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. *SEG* xxx. 377; *LS* ii. 278, AA13, Geometric–Roman finds; cf. Pritchett, *SMGT* vi. 87–9; also *LS* ii. 277, AA5; *contra*, Phaklaris<sup>2</sup> 78–90 (Ellinikó = Thyrea), 96–104 (Loukoú = Eua).

<sup>81</sup> Goester (n. 78), 77–8.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 57–67; dates at 78–80.

<sup>83</sup> *LS* ii. 278, AA10; Phaklaris<sup>2</sup> 185–92.

<sup>84</sup> e.g. Thuc. iv. 56. 2.

<sup>85</sup> Romaïos (n. 74); Meyer, 'Kynouria 1', *Der kleine Pauly*, iii. 402.

<sup>86</sup> Phaklaris<sup>2</sup> 18–20, cf. P. V. Phaklaris, "Η μάχη τῆς Θυρέας (546 π.Χ.)", *Horos*, 5 (1987), 101–19, at 101, and English summary (118–19) at 118.

<sup>87</sup> Paus. iii. 21. 7.

<sup>88</sup> Paus. iii. 21. 7 lists eighteen Eleutherolakonian poleis and says another six were formerly Eleutherolakonian but now subject to Sparta. Of those six we can firmly identify only *Pharai*, enrolled by Augustus in τὸ Ἀρκωνικόν (Paus. iv. 30. 2), a name Paus. uses elsewhere (iv. 1. 1) for the Eleutherolakonian league.

Cartledge (n. 16), 322, following Müller and Kolbe, adds *Kotyrtá* and *Hippola*; both are likely since they were Hellenistic poleis. Hippola was later ruined (Paus. iii. 25. 9); Kotyrtá is not mentioned by Paus. Cartledge, against Kolbe, also adopts Müller's suggestions of Kyphanta, Leukai, and Pephnos. I would accept *Kyphanta* since it was a Classical polis and was later ruined (Paus. iii. 24. 2), and *Leukai* since it was clearly a substantial settlement and may well have been a polis (attacked by Lykourgos and Philip V; listed with mainly polis settlements at Polyb. iv. 36. 5, v. 19. 8); but there is no evidence apart from Steph. Byz. 520. 5–6 that Pephnos was ever a polis (at Paus. iii. 26. 2, it is only a place and an islet). For the sixth, *Helos* (suggested by Müller) is a possibility since it may have been revived as a polis in the Middle Hellenistic–Early Roman period. Cf. Polyb. v. 19. 7, 20. 12 (the Heleia may be its *chora*); Strabo, viii. 5. 2 (363) (*kome*, former polis); Paus. iii. 22. 3 (now ruined). The ethnic Ἐλεΐτης or Ἐλεΐτης occurs in a 3rd-c. victor-list from Boiotia (*JG* vii. 1765, c.240 BC) and may belong to Helos.

In this region there is no evidence for the removal of more than the Thyreatis from Spartan control in 338. Even if Philip II did give the entire seaboard to Argos, it did not remain Argive: the northernmost town, Tyros, was Lakedaimonian in 275 when it made offerings at Delphi,<sup>89</sup> and the southernmost, Zarax, was Lakedaimonian in 272 when it was temporarily lost to Kleonymos (the Spartan regent who, with Pyrrhos of Epeiros' support, sought the kingship and invaded Laconia).<sup>90</sup> Zarax flourished as a polis later, giving the lie to Pausanias' allegation of serious decline (unless its decline was closer to his time). The area must have been lost, however, at some point between 272 and 219, when King Lykourgos of Sparta captured Polichna, Prasiai, Leukai, and Kyphanta but failed to take Glyppia and Zarax.<sup>91</sup> Presumably all six places had been taken away after Sellasia.<sup>92</sup> The four places captured by Lykourgos may have been retained until the coastal towns of Laconia deserted Sparta in 195 and were put under Achaean protection;<sup>93</sup> they were probably recaptured by Nabis in 193 but lost when he was defeated in 192. They remained independent and probably joined the Lakedaimonian league, perhaps in 188 or 146.

The northernmost town, the possible Classical polis of *Tyros*,<sup>94</sup> is first attested in 275 BC when its people made a gift to Apollo at Delphi under the name 'the Tyritai, a *kome* of the Lakedaimonians';<sup>95</sup> the appellation *kome* does not imply that the Tyritai were not citizens of a polis.<sup>96</sup> The site of Kastri Tyroú (*f. Lygariás*) is Late Classical–Late Roman, and there is a nearby 7th-c. to late-4th-c. sanctuary of Apollo Tyritas.<sup>97</sup> There is no evidence that Tyros was removed from Sparta before Sellasia; since it is the northernmost town in this Parnon seaboard, *a fortiori* the remaining towns also remained Lakedaimonian after 338.

The Classical polis of *Prasiai* (e.g. Ar., *Peace*, 242; Thuc. ii. 56. 6)<sup>98</sup> will have been Spartan from the mid-6th c. along with the rest of the eastern seaboard, and Prasiai is Lakedaimonian in the mid-4th c. (Ps.-Skyllax, 46). The first change of control attested is its (inferred) takeover by Argos, perhaps after the battle of Sellasia; this is implied by its recapture under Lykourgos in 219 (Polyb. iv. 36. 5). Archaeological evidence covers *c.* late 7th-c. to Roman, and it was in the Eleutherolakonian league in Pausanias' time (iii. 21. 7).<sup>99</sup>

*Polichna*,<sup>100</sup> a possible Classical and possible Hellenistic polis but never certainly a polis (it is perhaps too close to Prasiai to be a distinct polis), was, like Prasiai, captured by Lykourgos in 219 (Polyb. iv. 36. 5) and had probably been given to Argos *c.* 222. The archaeological evidence is Classical and Hellenistic.

Further S, *Kyphanta*<sup>101</sup> was very probably a Classical polis: a holder of the ethnic received proxeny in Keos *c.* 360 and is described as a Lakedaimonian (*IG* xii. 5. 542). Like Prasiai, it was captured by Lykourgos in 219 (Polyb. iv. 36. 5) and had probably been given to Argos *c.* 222. There is archaeological evidence of Late Classical/Early Hellenistic fortification and Roman tombs, but Pausanias (iii. 24. 2) describes it as ruined. It may be one of his former Eleutherolakonian poleis (iii. 21. 7 and n. 88 above).

The southernmost town, *Zarax*,<sup>102</sup> a possibly Classical and certainly Hellenistic polis, was captured by Kleonymos in 272, his sole success; for Pausanias (iii. 24. 1) it is evidence of decline, so he is assuming it

<sup>89</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 407 = *FdD* iii. 1. 68; Delphi, 275 BC.

<sup>90</sup> Paus. iii. 24. 1.

<sup>91</sup> Polyb. iv. 36. 5.

<sup>92</sup> So Cartledge in *CS* 63.

<sup>93</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 35. 10, xxxv. 13. 2.

<sup>94</sup> Shipley, *OL* 263 no. 101.

<sup>95</sup> *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 407, cited above; for the name Τύρος see e.g. Steph. Byz. 643. 5.

<sup>96</sup> Hansen, 'Kome' (n. 4).

<sup>97</sup> *LS* ii. 281, BB28 and BB29 respectively.

<sup>98</sup> Shipley, *OL* 229 no. 7. The site is at Pláka near Leonidi: *LS* ii. 282, BB33; Phaklaris<sup>2</sup> 129–37.

<sup>99</sup> Phaklaris<sup>2</sup> 137 considers that the archaeological evidence confirms close relations with Argos in at least the 2nd c. BC.

<sup>100</sup> Shipley, *OL* 247 no. 50; *LS* ii. 282, BB35.

<sup>101</sup> Shipley, *OL* 233 no. 14; *LS* ii. 282–3, BB38 Kyparissi.

<sup>102</sup> Shipley, *OL* 248 no. 54. The site is *LS* ii. 310, NN231 Limin Iéraka.

had a Classical history. Kleonymos is said to have destroyed Zarax (Polyb. iv. 36. 5), but any effect was clearly not lasting. In the late 3rd c. it belonged to the Argive state, for a citizen of Zarax was secretary at Argos (*SEG* xvii. 743), and it must have been given to Argos before 219, probably in 222. The town withstood Lykourgos in 219 (Polyb. iv. 36. 5), which gives a *terminus ante quem* for the fortifications. Its boundary dispute with another town, probably Epidauros Limera, is preserved (*IG* v. 1. 931, c. mid-2nd c.). Later it was Eleutherolakonian.

Inland *Glyppia*,<sup>103</sup> a possible Classical settlement, is first mentioned when it withstood Lykourgos in 219 (Polyb. iv. 36. 5), so it was evidently fortified and non-Spartan (probably since c. 222). Shortly afterwards, according to Polybios, Philip's Messenian allies marched through Argive territory (v. 20. 3) and arrived there (20. 4), 'relying on the goodwill of the inhabitants' (20. 5); clearly it was still Argive. Lykourgos captured their camp though apparently not the settlement (20. 6–9). The place lies (sc. in Polybios' own day) at the frontier of Argive territory and Lakonike (20. 4). There is archaeological evidence of Hellenistic–Roman occupation at its probable site, and it is described as a *kome* in the Roman period (Paus. iii. 22. 8).

Finally, the Archaic–Classical settlement and possible Classical polis of *Marios*<sup>104</sup> near the crest of Parnon, with its 'old' (ἄρχαῖον) cult site (Paus. iii. 22. 8), is barely attested but became Eleutherolakonian later; it was perhaps taken from Sparta after Sellasia.

In summary, apart from Kleonymos' brief capture of Zarax, the towns of the Parnon seaboard were probably perioikic in the Classical period and remained Lakedaimonian until after the battle of Sellasia. Four were recaptured in 219 and may have been retained until 195. Their recapture in 193 proved temporary, and after 192 they remained non-Spartan.

#### CENTRAL LAKONIKE

The Spartan core territory is here taken to comprise the Eurotas plain and the Vardoúnia hills to its south. A ready-made definition of its northern limits may be taken from Agis IV's proposal to share out among the Spartans the land 'from the torrent-stream at Pellana to Taygetos and Malea' (probably meaning Mt. Parnon) 'and Sellasia'.<sup>105</sup> Together with this Spartan land, I include here the nearest towns to Sparta, some or all of which may be among the 'townships in a circle around Sparta' (ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς Σπάρτης πολιόμενα) that Diaios captured and garrisoned in 148/7.<sup>106</sup> These places may all have been north of Sparta. Geronthrai alone is known to have been an Eleutherolakonian polis later.

The probable Archaic–Classical polis and certain Hellenistic polis of *Geronthrai*<sup>107</sup> (e.g. Paus. iii. 21. 7) has been suspected of having been disaffected at the time of Antigonos Doson's invasion in 222/1 on the basis of *IG* v. 1. 1122, a simple honorific inscription to 'King Antigonos, saviour'. Since, however, there are alternative hypotheses to explain it—Cartledge<sup>108</sup> suggests that it may have been dedicated either by anti-Kleomenean Perioikoi, in which case disaffection from Sparta is at issue, or by new citizens created by Kleomenes whom Antigonos had allowed to retain their status—its import is unclear. Expressions of gratitude to foreign powers need not be spontaneous or truthful; Polybios says Antigonos was honoured among the 'Lakedaimonians' and others when he died (v. 9. 10), which need not mean non-Spartan Lakedaimonians (Perioikoi): Polybios has just emphasized how Antigonos restored the 'ancestral

<sup>103</sup> Shipley, *OL* 262 no. 96; or Glympeis; *LS* ii. 281–2, BB31.

<sup>104</sup> Shipley, *OL* 247 no. 49; *LS* ii. 286, FF263; 287, FF262 and FF66.

<sup>105</sup> Plut. *Agis*, 8 (29). 1.

<sup>106</sup> Paus. vii. 13. 6.

<sup>107</sup> Shipley, *OL* 245 no. 41; or Geranthrai.

<sup>108</sup> CS 58.

constitution' of Sparta, 'liberating' the people from the so-called tyranny of Kleomenes (v. 9. 9). It could be the pro-Macedonian ruling group among the Spartans, with or without others, that honoured him, and the same may have happened among the Geronthriates even if they remained part of the Spartan polity. Geronthrai is not among the towns reportedly recaptured by Lykourgos in 219, and may therefore have remained Spartan after Sellasia.

Once independence was bestowed or imposed, whether in 222 or 195, the city flourished outside Spartan control. It may even have been one of the 'encircling' towns garrisoned by the Achaeans under Diaios in 148/7 (Paus. vii. 13. 6), and consequently still perioikic, though it is possible that all of these lay on the N side of Sparta, the direction from which Diaios was campaigning. It may well have belonged to the Lakedaimonian league, since it was later Eleutherolakonian (Paus. iii. 21. 7). The archaeological evidence, apart from bronze age, is Hellenistic, which is also the date of the main phase of rubble fortification.<sup>109</sup>

The obscure site of *Selinous* near Geronthrai (Paus. iii. 22. 8),<sup>110</sup> a possible Classical settlement and Roman *kome*, will probably have followed the fortunes of its larger neighbour.

The possibly Archaic, very probably Early Classical, and probably Classical polis of *Oinous* (e.g. Androion (*FGrH* 324), fr. 49)<sup>111</sup> was presumably in the valley of the river Kelephina (ancient Oinous), but remains unlocated. Nothing is known of its history. If it still existed it presumably remained perioikic.

The very probable Classical polis of *Pellana* ('Pellene' in Xen. *Hell.* vii. 5. 9)<sup>112</sup> was Lakedaimonian in c.360; given its proximity to Sparta and given Agis' proposal (above), under which the Spartan core territory presumably stopped just short of Pellana, it is unlikely to have been lost until 148, if then. Archaeological evidence is somewhat vague, but there is Hellenistic and Roman material nearby.<sup>113</sup> (For the *tripolis* containing Pellana, see p. 375 above.)

The probable Classical perioikic polis of *Sellasia*<sup>114</sup> was certainly burned and pillaged by the Thebans in winter 370/69 (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 27), but was probably recovered in 365.<sup>115</sup> Like Pellana it was a limit of Spartan territory in Agis' scheme and thus was probably still perioikic. According to Pausanias (iii. 10. 7) it was 'enslaved' in 222, which again suggests a population that until that date was free, loyal to Sparta, and perioikic. Archaeological evidence confirms its Late Archaic foundation and Early Hellenistic demise.

Non-polis settlements close to Sparta in the plain, such as *Alesiai* (Paus. iii. 20. 2; possibly Classical, probably also Hellenistic–Roman),<sup>116</sup> *Bryseai* (Hom. *Il.* ii. 582, Paus. iii. 20. 3; allegedly Dark Age/Archaic and possibly Classical),<sup>117</sup> *Messapeai* (cult site with Protogeometric–Hellenistic settlement),<sup>118</sup> and *Thornax* (Paus. iii. 10. 8; on the N outskirts of Sparta, archaeologically Late Archaic–Ottoman),<sup>119</sup> presumably remained Spartan throughout. So, one supposes, did *Krokeai*,<sup>120</sup> a possible Archaic–Classical settlement in the Vardoúnia and a *kome* in Roman times.

In summary, Sellasia was lost in 222, though Geronthrai and Selinous were not necessarily detached then and may have remained perioikic until 195. The fate of Oinous is unknown;

<sup>109</sup> A. J. B. Wace, 'Laconia: Geraki. 2. Sculptures', *BSA* 11 (1904–5), 99–105; id. and F. W. Hasluck, 'Laconia: excavations near Angelona', *ibid.* 81–90; *LS* ii. 291, GG103. Date of wall: preliminary excavation reports by J. H. Crowl, M. Prent, *et al.* in *Pharos*, 3 (1995), 41–65, at 47–52; *Pharos*, 4 (1996), 89–120, at 90–8; *Pharos*, 5 (1997), 49–83, at 70. Classical Hellenistic buildings, possible street: *ibid.* 58–60, 63–5, 70, 72; S. M. Thorne, pers. comm. (July 1999).

<sup>110</sup> Shipley, *OL* 262–3 no. 100; *LS* ii. 286, FF98.

<sup>111</sup> Shipley, *OL* 233 no. 15.

<sup>112</sup> Shipley, *OL* 234 no. 17 ('Pellene').

<sup>113</sup> *LS* ii. 288, GG69 Palaiókastro Pelláνας (uncertain date); *ibid.* GG264 Spiliés, Pellána (prehistoric tombs with

Hellenistic, Roman material); less likely *ibid.* GG67 Ágios Dimitrios Vivariou (uncertain date).

<sup>114</sup> Shipley, *OL* 239 no. 28; *LS* ii. 321–3, A118 Palaiogoulás, cf. ii. 285, EE54, EE57 and pp. 328, 352. Not part of Skiritis: Pikoulas, 'Skiritis', 129.

<sup>115</sup> Pikoulas, *NMC* 144 and n. 437.

<sup>116</sup> Shipley, *OL* 268 no. 126; *LS* ii. 289, GG85.

<sup>117</sup> Shipley, *OL* 252 no. 64; H. Waterhouse and R. Hope Simpson, 'Prehistoric Laconia: part I', *BSA* 55 (1960), 67–197, at 80–1; *LS* ii. 290, 291–2, GG87, GG339, or GG101.

<sup>118</sup> Shipley, *OL* 268–9 no. 131; *LS* ii. 293, GG108.

<sup>119</sup> Shipley, *OL* 269 no. 134.

<sup>120</sup> Shipley, *OL* 262 no. 97.

whether it was removed in 222 may depend on how close to Sparta it was, since Pellana (probably perioikic) and the settlements in the Eurotas plain (probably Spartan) may have been retained into the Roman period (e.g. Alesiai, Bryseai, Messapeai, Thornax, Krokeai).

#### THE SOUTH-EAST AND THE MALEA PENINSULA

Parts of this well-settled area were temporarily seized by the Aitolians in their raid of c. 240, and a large number of Perioikoi, helots, or chattel slaves (or a combination of all three) carried off into slavery.<sup>121</sup> The long-term effects can only be guessed at.

Much of the area was taken from Sparta and put under Achaean protection in 195. According to Livy,<sup>122</sup> Nabis lost the coastal cities (*maritimae civitates*) which he had used as pirate bases along the whole coast from Maleus<sup>123</sup> and whose young men he had used as military reinforcements. Leukai, however, was presumably lost in c. 222 after the battle of Sellasia, along with the east coast towns, and so was attacked by King Lykourgos in 219; on Leukai see below). In 193 Nabis took back the small coastal towns (*maritimos vicos*)<sup>124</sup> by bribery or force, but Sparta must have lost them next year when he was defeated.

Sites are here treated in a sequence along the coast, starting in the north-east.

Adjoining the area given to Argos after Sellasia, *Epidauros Limera*<sup>125</sup> was certainly a Classical Roman polis and, in the Roman period, Eleutherolakonian. It was presumably removed from Spartan control in 195; though, as Leukai could hardly have been allowed to be an isolated non-Spartan enclave, it seems possible that Epidauros Limera, too, was taken from Sparta in 222/1 (below). Whatever the date, its 'liberation' gives a probable *terminus post quem* for those of its civic decrees that are preserved at the Hyperteleton; one of these (*IG* v. 1. 931, dated c. mid-2nd-c.), records a boundary dispute with Zarax at a time when both cities presumably belonged to the Lakedaimonian league.

There are no other significant settlements on the E coast. The Classical polis of *Kythera* on the island of the same name<sup>126</sup> was presumably removed from Sparta in 195; in the late 1st c. it was given back to Sparta by Augustus (Cassius Dio, liv. 7. 2) and became in part the private property of the dynast Eurykles (Strabo, viii. 5. 1 (363)).

Rounding Cape Malea one reaches *Boia*,<sup>127</sup> a Classical, presumably perioikic polis though the archaeological evidence is indistinct. Its reported synoikism (Paus. iii. 22. 11–12) perhaps refers to a mid-

<sup>121</sup> According to Polyb. the Aitolians 'enslaved' the perioikic towns (ἐξηνδραποδίσαντο τὰς περιόικους, iv. 34. 9) and raided the Tainaron sanctuary (ix. 34. 9 (*σίε*)). According to Plut. *Kleom.* 18 (39). 3, 'five myriads of slaves' (ἀνδραποδῶν) were seized; Cartledge (in CS 48 and n. 21) rightly doubts the number, but whatever the true figure it seems possible that Plut. or his source wrongly inferred from Polyb. that the captives were *already* slaves, when they may have in fact been free Perioikoi. Cf. Kennell (n. 5), 190.

<sup>122</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 36. 2.

<sup>123</sup> Or Maleum: a *Maleo*, Livy, xxxiv. 36. 3.

<sup>124</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 13. 1.

<sup>125</sup> Shipley, *OL* 227 no. 3; archaeological evidence cited by F. W. Hasluck, §2: the promontory of Malca and Epidauros Limera' (pp. 167–82 of A. J. B. Wace and F. W. Hasluck, 'Laconia, II: topography. South-eastern Laconia', *BSA* 14 (1907–8), 161–82, at 179–82; A. W. Lawrence, *Greek Aims in Fortification* (Oxford, 1979), 146–7; *LS* ii. 310–11, NN235; see

now E. Zavvou, 'Η χώρα τῆς Ἐπιδαύρου Λιμηράς', *Πρακτικά τοῦ Ε' Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν* ('Αργος–Ναύπλιον. 6–10 Σεπτεμβρίου 1995) (Πελοποννησιακά, suppl. 22; Athens, 1996–7), ii. 497–508.

<sup>126</sup> Shipley, *OL* 227 8 no. 4. For Hellenistic data from new fieldwork on the island, see C. Broodbank, 'Kythera Survey: preliminary report on the 1998 season', *BSA* 94 (1999), 191–214, at 200, 203, and 206–9 *passim*.

<sup>127</sup> Shipley, *OL* 226–7 no. 2. The site is Neápolis Voión (*f. Vátika*); D. Leekley and R. Noyes, *Archaeological Excavations in Southern Greece* (Park Ridge, NJ, 1976), 111; *LS* ii. 312–13, NN251; G. A. Pikoulas, 'Η ανατολική άκτή τοῦ Μαλέα: κόλπος Μονεμβασιάς', *Λακωνικά σπουδαί*, 9 (1988), 277–85. Although archaeological evidence is mostly Roman Late Roman, inscriptions (esp. *IG* v. 1. 952, LH1) confirm the settlement's earlier polis status even if they do not preserve its name.

or late 4th-c. reorganization rather than its original foundation, since one of its three alleged components, *Aphroditia* (unlocated),<sup>128</sup> was a separate place in the late 5th c. (Thuc. iv. 56. 1) while another, *Side*,<sup>129</sup> was a polis in the mid-4th c. (Ps.-Skyl. 46). Also combined with Boia (and unlocated) was *Étis*;<sup>130</sup> its ruins were pointed out to Pausanias near Boiai (if the text of iii. 22. 13 is correctly restored). In 219/8 the *chora* of Boia was ravaged by Philip V (Polyb. v. 19. 8),<sup>131</sup> so it was then presumably perioikic; yet we know nothing of any capture by Lykourgos and must infer that it remained Spartan after Sellasia. Boia, indeed, probably remained perioikic until the time of Flamininus, and was a thriving Middle and Late Hellenistic polis, later Eleutherolakonian.

The obscure *Chen*,<sup>132</sup> a possible Archaic–Classical and Roman polis, may have lain near Etis, but nothing is known of its fortunes or status.

*Kolyrta* (e.g. Thuc. iv. 56. 1),<sup>133</sup> a Hellenistic and possibly Classical polis whose probable site has Geometric and Classical–Roman? finds, likewise put up decrees on stone at the Hyperteleton (e.g. *IG* v. 1. 1013) and was presumably ‘liberated’ from Sparta in 195, flourishing as a small polis thereafter. It was probably Eleutherolakonian later, but had ceased to be so by the time of Pausanias.

*Kyparissia* (e.g. Strabo, viii. 5. 2 (363)),<sup>134</sup> similarly, was a Hellenistic and possible Classical polis, superseded by Asopos in, at the latest, the 2nd c. BC but surviving as a cult place and possibly even a non-polis settlement, though if it was a settlement it was ruined by the time of Pausanias. *Asopos* (Strabo, viii. 5. 2 (364))<sup>135</sup> existed by the time of Eurykles, whom it honoured (*IG* v. 1. 970), or even earlier since one attestation of its ethnic has been dated as early as the 2nd c. (*IG* v. 1. 1143).

A trio of settlements occupied the NE corner of the Laconian gulf. The possible Hellenistic polis of *Leukai*<sup>136</sup> was probably made Argive after Sellasia, since it was recaptured by Lykourgos in 219 (Polyb. iv. 36. 5). Polybios gives a list of places which Lykourgos attacked; it includes nothing further SE than Zarax and Leukai, yet shortly afterwards Philip V ravages Helcia and sends foraging parties out to Akriai, Leukai, and as far SE as Boiai (v. 19. 8), implying that even far-off Boiai was still Spartan and that Lykourgos had not had to recapture it. We must conclude that, although Leukai was confiscated before 219 (perhaps because the important perioikic cult site of the Hyperteleton, Paus. iii. 22. 9–10, lay in its territory), Sparta still had the Malea peninsula and possibly a contiguous block of territory allowing direct land access to it.

As a non-Spartan (Argive?) possession, however, Leukai can hardly have been intended by Sparta’s enemies to be a disconnected enclave within its territory. It was perhaps given protection from the fort at Zarax, in which case, unless access from Zarax was to be via the crest ridge of Parnon, Epidaurous Limera may also have been removed before 219. Leukai presumably remained non-Spartan after Nabis’ defeat in 192; if it was later enrolled in the Eleutherolakonian league, it had reverted to Spartan rule by the 2nd c. AD.

A few km NW of Leukai was *Akriai* (e.g. Polyb. v. 19. 8),<sup>137</sup> a Late Hellenistic and Roman (Eleutherolakonian) polis probably from the 2nd c. It was subject to foraging by Philip V in 219/18 and was therefore at that time Spartan; since we do not hear that Lykourgos recaptured it, it probably remained Spartan after Sellasia. Presumably it was removed from Spartan control in 195. Akriai had been a settlement since Middle Geometric times, though in Archaic Classical possibly only a cult site.

Probably inland from Akriai lay *Pleiai* (Livy, xxxv. 27. 2; possibly identical with *Palaiá Kome*, Paus. iii. 22. 6).<sup>138</sup> In 192 Nabis camped here, in non-Spartan territory (above), because it controlled Leukai and

<sup>128</sup> Shipley, *OL* 259 no. 83.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 230 no. 8.

<sup>130</sup> *Ibid.*, 259 no. 84.

<sup>131</sup> For his invasion and the harm he did to the Λακωνῶν γῆναι and Sparta, see also the Epidaurian epigram in his honour, *IG* iv<sup>2</sup> 1. 590.

<sup>132</sup> Shipley, *OL* 233 no. 13.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 241 no. 31. Kastélli Daimoniás, *LS* ii. 311, NN239.

See too n. 88.

<sup>134</sup> Shipley, *OL* 246 no. 46. *LS* ii. 309 MM227 Bozá; 309–10, MM228 Kastélli/Goulás.

<sup>135</sup> Shipley, *OL* 244–5 no. 39. Site: *LS* ii. 310, MM230 Plýtra.

<sup>136</sup> Shipley, *OL* 246–7 no. 47; *LS* ii. 308, MM220.

<sup>137</sup> Shipley, *OL* 244 no. 37; *LS* ii. 308 9, MM219. See too n. 88.

<sup>138</sup> Shipley, *OL* 262 no. 99; the site is probably Apidéa or Apidiá, *LS* ii. 307 8, MM216.

Akriai (Livy, xxxv. 27. 2). It was presumably Spartan after Sellasia but removed from Spartan control in 195. Its probable site is Protogeometric–Byzantine, so it may have flourished before and after Flamininus.

Somewhere further W was *Helos*,<sup>139</sup> probably not a polis but a supposed early settlement once dissolved by the Spartans (Hellanikos (*FGI<sup>H</sup>* 4), fr. 188 ap. Harp. s.v. *εἰλωτεύειν*); later an Athenian base in the Peloponnesian war (Thuc. iv. 54. 4); also an important Lakedaimonian cult site (e.g. *IG* v. 1. 213, early 4th c.; 497, c. AD 160). In the 4th c. it was one location of helot settlement in Laconia (Theopompos (*FGI<sup>H</sup>* 115), fr. 13 ap. Ath. vi. 272 a); in 370/69 it was possibly an unwallled polis (Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 32). It was also a possible polis c. 240 (its possible ethnic occurs in *IG* vii. 1765). Philip V encamped in the HELEIA (Polyb. v. 19. 7), where he put ‘this τόπος’ (i.e. Helos, presumably implying a nucleated or dispersed settlement that was not a polis) to the torch (αὐτόν τε τὸν τόπον τοῦτον πάντα κατεπυρπόλει) and destroyed the crops (v. 19. 8), and from where he sends out foraging parties even as far as Akriai, Leukai and the *chora* of Boiai (ibid.); he presumably would not have done so unless Heleia was Spartan territory. Presumably it remained Spartan until 195. It may have been revived as a Late Hellenistic/Roman polis, perhaps even a member of the Eleutherolakonian league, but was ruined in the time of Pausanias.<sup>140</sup>

The cult site of *Epidelion* (Paus. iii. 23. 2–3, cf. Strabo, viii. 6. 1 (368), ‘Delion’)<sup>141</sup> may not yet have existed in the Hellenistic period, and there is no firm evidence that it was a nucleated settlement at any date.

In summary, the south-east was removed from Spartan control in or soon after 195, though Leukai had been taken earlier. Sparta had therefore retained the Malea peninsula after the defeat at Sellasia, and had probably had direct access by land to the towns here.

#### THE SOUTH-WEST: TAINARON

The populous Tainaron peninsula (now the Outer and Inner Máni)<sup>142</sup> remained Spartan at least until the battle of Sellasia, and there is no evidence that it was touched even then. It was presumably lost, however, when Sparta’s coastal towns were expropriated in 195 (above). In 193 Nabis, as we saw, may temporarily have taken back some of them,<sup>143</sup> in the same campaign as his siege of Gytheion.<sup>144</sup>

*Gytheion* (e.g. Xen. *Hell.* vi. 5. 32)<sup>145</sup> the main city in this region and Sparta’s chief harbour town, had very probably been a perioikic polis in the Classical period and flourished later as a Hellenistic and Eleutherolakonian polis.<sup>146</sup> It was Spartan in 219/18 when Philip V bypassed it during his invasion. Though it was ‘a strong city provided with a multitude of citizens and inhabitants and all the equipment necessary for war’ (Livy, xxxiv. 29. 3), Flamininus took it by siege in 195 (Livy, xxxiv. 29.

<sup>139</sup> Shipley, *OL* 252–3 no. 65. Possible sites: *LS* ii. 298, KK272, KK140; 299, KK143, KK141.

<sup>140</sup> CS 138 even allow the possibility that Helos might have been reintegrated into the Spartan state in 146/5 or under Augustus, since rich families in Roman Sparta continued to own land there. See too n. 88.

<sup>141</sup> Shipley, *OL* 268 no. 129; A. K. Kyrou, ‘Δηλὸν ἔστι τὸ Ἐπιδήλιον . . .’, *Λακωνικὰ σπουδαία*, 13 (1996), 373–92.

<sup>142</sup> For an overview, see L. Moschou-Tsiomi, ‘Πόλεις και μνημεία της αρχαιότητας στην λακωνική Μάνη’, *Αδούλωτη Μάνη*, 19 (1997), 17–32.

<sup>143</sup> Livy, xxxiv. 13. 1.

<sup>144</sup> Livy, xxxv. 13. 3.

<sup>145</sup> Shipley, *OL* 237–8 no. 23.

<sup>146</sup> Many Hellenistic buildings (*AR* 26 (1979–80), 32; 35 (1988–9), 31) and especially Roman–Late Roman structures (same references plus *AR* 25 (1978–9), 20; 36 (1989–90), 24; 37 (1990–1), 27; 38 (1991–2), 27) have been found. See generally P. E. Giannakopoulos, *Τὸ Γύθειον: ἀρχαιολογική και ἱστορική ἀποψὶς ἀπὸ τῆς προϊστορικής ἐποχῆς μέχρι τοῦ Μεγάλου Κωνσταντίνου* (Athens, 1987); *LS* ii. 296–7, JJ218; A. A. Themis, ‘Τὸ ρωμαϊκὸ ὕδραγωγεῖο τοῦ Γυθείου: μία πρώτη ἐπανεξέταση τῶν στοιχείων’, *Πρακτικά τοῦ Ε΄ Διεθνoῦς Συνεδρίου* . . . (n. 125), i. 400–9.

2–13). Its decree in his honour (*IG* v. 1. 1165) probably dates from this year and presumably commemorates the town's removal from Spartan control. Nabis besieged it in 193 (above); in 192 he captured it (Livy, xxxv. 27. 13) just before his final defeat. Much later (under Augustus?) it honoured a *strategos* of the Eleutherolakonians (*IG* v. 1. 1167). Kardamyle may have been given to Sparta in compensation for the loss of Gytheion (below).

*Hippola*<sup>147</sup> in the SW Mani, a possible Classical polis whose site has Geometric–Hellenistic pottery, was presumably also taken from Sparta in 195; it was ruined in Pausanias' day (iii. 25. 9) but may earlier have been an Eleutherolakonian polis.

*Las*,<sup>148</sup> a Classical and presumably perioikic polis near Gytheion, was relocated at some date before Pausanias saw it and the ruins of the old city (iii. 24. 6), and was an Eleutherolakonian polis. Philip V was repulsed here (Paus. iii. 24. 6), so Las had remained Spartan after the battle of Sellasia (there is no reason to suppose Lykourgos recaptured it). By 189, however, it was an anti-Spartan base (Livy, xxxviii. 30. 7); presumably it, too, had been confiscated in 195.

*Oitylos* (e.g. Pherekydes (*FGrH* 3), fr. 168),<sup>149</sup> a probable (or certain?) Classical perioikic polis and Middle Hellenistic polis, was presumably liberated in 195 and clearly flourished later, becoming Eleutherolakonian. It was evidently removed from Lakonike before Strabo's day: it is W of Thyrides, which he regards as the limit of 'today's' Lakonike (viii. 4. 4. 360, τῆ νῦν Λακωνικῆ τῆ κατὰ Κιναιθιον καὶ Ταίναρον).<sup>150</sup>

The Classical–Hellenistic polis of *Tainaron*,<sup>151</sup> which became the central meeting-place of the league of Lakedaimonians, was superseded by *Kainepolis*.<sup>152</sup> The site and extent of the earlier town, including the sanctuary of Poseidon, have been elucidated by surface investigations.<sup>153</sup> The sanctuary was attacked by the Aitolians in c. 240 (Polyb. ix. 34. 9, cf. iv. 34. 9; *sic*) and by pirates in the 1st c. (Plut. *Pomp.* 24. 5). It is included in the area ravaged by Philip V (Polyb. v. 19. 5), so was presumably Spartan in 219/18. It was presumably taken out of Spartan control in 195.

The possible Classical polis of *Teuthrone*,<sup>154</sup> later Eleutherolakonian, has archaeological evidence from Classical to Roman, esp. Late Classical–Roman; a nearby early 4th-c. fortification may be the akropolis. Presumably it, too, became non-Spartan in 195.

The smaller Classical sites of this area, which either certainly or probably had not enjoyed polis status, presumably all became non-Spartan in 195: *Aigiiai* (later a *polisma*, Paus. iii. 21. 5; also Archaic–Roman cult site),<sup>155</sup> *Hypsoi* (Roman and possibly Hellenistic settlement, at the edge of Spartiate (*sic*) territory, Paus. iii. 24. 8),<sup>156</sup> *Psamathous* (Classical harbour, possible settlement),<sup>157</sup> *Trinasos* (possible

<sup>147</sup> Shipley, *OL* 245 no. 42; *LS* ii. 394, 1.1188. See too n. 88.

<sup>148</sup> Shipley, *OL* 228 9 no. 5; *LS* ii. 300, 1.1153.

<sup>149</sup> Shipley, *OL* 229 no. 6; *LS* ii. 300 1, 1.1154. On the polis status of Oitylos, see now M. H. Hansen, 'The use of the word *polis* in the fragments of some historians', in P. Flensted-Jensen (ed.), *Further Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis* (CPC Papers, 6/Historia Einzelschriften, 138; Stuttgart, 2000), 141–50, at 148.

<sup>150</sup> Kinaithion is otherwise unattested in the word-list of the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* CD-ROM. 'Cinaethium Pr.' is marked by Kolbe, *IG* v. 1, pl. 7, as the Tigáni peninsula.

<sup>151</sup> Shipley, *OL* 230 no. 9; *LS* ii. 306, 1.1210.

<sup>152</sup> L. Moskou (*sic*), 'Topographie du Magne: à propos de la région du Ténare Κιστέρνες–Άγιοι Ασώματοι', *Πρακτικά του Α' Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακών Σπουδών (Σπάρτη, 7–14 Σεπτεμβρίου 1975)*, ii (Athens, 1976 8), 45–54, at 46; Shipley, *OL* 246 no. 45; *LS* ii. 305, 1.1201.

<sup>153</sup> L. Moschou, 'Τοπογραφικά Μάνης: ἡ πόλις Ταίναρον', *ΑΛΑ* 8 (1975), 160–77; repeated in L. Moskou (n.

152). For the important temples at Kiónia (ancient Aigila?), presumably in the territory of Tainaron, and their probable reorganization in Late Hellenistic times, see L. Moschou and T. Moschos, 'Κιόνια Α': μιὰ τοπογραφικὴ καὶ ἀρχιτεκτονικὴ ἐρευνά', *Πελοποννησιακά*, 13 (1978 9), 72–114; L. Moschou-Tsiomi and T. N. Moschos, 'Κιόνια Β': προβληματικὴ κατασκευὴ δωρικῶν κτιρίων τῆς ὕστερης ἐλληνιστικῆς περιόδου καὶ τῶν πρώτων αὐτοκρατορικῶν χρόνων. Ἡ περίπτωση τῶν δύο ναῶν στὰ Κιόνια τῆς νοτίας Λακωνικῆς', *Πρακτικά τοῦ XII Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου* . . . (n. 3), iv. 140–7 (pp. 140–1 by both authors, 141–7 by Moschos).

<sup>154</sup> L. Moschou and T. Moschos, 'Το ἀρχαῖο φρούριο τῆς Τευθρώνης', *Ἀρχ. ἐφ.* (1981), 10–22; Shipley, *OL* 248 no. 53; *LS* ii. 306, 1.1204.

<sup>155</sup> Shipley, *OL* 251 2 no. 63; *LS* ii. 296, 1.1124.

<sup>156</sup> Shipley, *OL* 246 no. 43; *LS* ii. 301, 1.1158 (?); Z. Bonias, 'Ἐνα ἀγροτικὸ ἱερό στις Αἰγείες Λακωνίας (Δημοσιεύματα του Αρχαιολογικού Δελτίου, 62; Athens, 1998).

<sup>157</sup> Shipley, *OL* 241 no. 32; *LS* ii. 306, 1.1209.

Archaic–Classical settlement; Pausanias believes it to be a former fortification and not a former polis; no clear archaeological date),<sup>158</sup> and the three Eleutherolakonian poleis of *Alagonia*,<sup>159</sup> *Leuktron*,<sup>160</sup> and *Pyrrhichos*.<sup>161</sup> A more substantial settlement, Laconian *Asine*,<sup>162</sup> was attacked by Philip V and so was Spartan in 219/8, but presumably removed in 195.

In summary, the towns of the Tainaron peninsula were taken from Sparta no earlier than 195.

### SOUTHERN MESSENIAN

Contrary to the impression that is commonly given, Sparta did not lose all of Messenia after Leuktra, but kept the southern part with its towns and harbours. Hence, in the mid-fourth century, Pseudo-Skylax includes only Kyparissos among Messenian coastal settlements, while under ‘the *ethnos* (of) Lakedaimon’ (ἔθνος Λακεδαιμόνων) he lists (Messenian) *Asine*,<sup>163</sup> *Mothone*,<sup>164</sup> *Tainaros*, and the harbours on both sides of the Tainaron peninsula (*Psamathous* and *Achilleios*).

While central, western, and northern Messenia were removed in or after 369 and formed the *chora* of the new polis of Messene, Sparta probably retained the Messenian gulf until 338/7, when Philip II gave some Spartan territory to Messene (Polyb. ix. 28. 7, xviii. 14. 7). This grant must have included all or part of southern Messenia and presumably also the *Dentheliatis* (below).<sup>165</sup> In 217 *Kalamai* was Messenian, for it was seized by Lykourgos (Polyb. v. 92. 4), who also attacked the sanctuary of *Andania* (v. 92. 6). From 195 Achaean league coins were issued in the names of the peoples of Messene, *Korone*, and (Messenian) *Asine*, the last two places having been taken away from the Messenians and all three places having been enrolled in the Achaean league.<sup>166</sup>

Augustus’ action in detaching *Kardamyle*<sup>167</sup> from Messenia and making it subject to ‘the Lakedaimonians in Sparta’ (Paus. iii. 26. 7) may have been designed to compensate them for the loss of *Gytheion*.<sup>168</sup> *Gerania* became Eleutherolakonian (Paus. iii. 21. 7). The possible Classical and definite Hellenistic–Roman (Eleutherolakonian) polis of *Thalamai*<sup>169</sup> was presumably lost in 338, but Paus. iii. 26. 3 implies that both it and the cult site and islet of *Pephnos*,<sup>170</sup> which the Messenians still claimed in his day, had been awarded to Sparta by Augustus along with *Kardamyle* (iii. 26. 7). The probable site of *Thalamai* is Early Archaic–Roman. Augustus also gave *Thouria*<sup>171</sup> to Sparta (Paus. iv. 31. 1) as a penalty imposed on Messene for supporting Antony; by Trajan’s day it was autonomous and claimed Sparta as its *metropolis* (*IG* v. I. 1381).<sup>172</sup> Finally, and to Sparta’s disadvantage, Augustus enrolled Messenian *Pharai* or *Pherai*<sup>173</sup> in the Laconian or (depending on the date) Eleutherolakonian league (Paus. iv. 30. 2), of which it no longer formed part by Pausanias’ day.<sup>174</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Shipley, *OL* 269 no. 135; *LS* ii. 296, J126 with P. Ch. Doukas, *Ἡ Σπάρτη διὰ τῶν αἰώνων* (New York, 1922; repr. Sparta, n.d. [c.1984]), 91.

<sup>159</sup> Shipley, *OL* 244 no. 38.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, 247 no. 48.

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 51; *LS* ii. 301. 2, LL163.

<sup>162</sup> Shipley, *OL* 240 no. 29; *LS* ii. 301, LL162.

<sup>163</sup> Ps.-Skyl. 46; Shipley, *OL* 234–5 no. 19.

<sup>164</sup> Shipley, *OL* 243–4 no. 36.

<sup>165</sup> Strabo, viii. 4. 6 (361), says the *Pamisos* near *Leuktron* was the subject of *κρίσις* between Messenians and Lakedaimonians under Philip (cited by Kolbe, *IG* v. I, p. 243 under ‘*Thalamae*’, who thinks *Thalamai* was liberated in 338). Cf. Polyb. xvi. 16. 3, *Nabis* reaches *Thalamai*; xvi. 14. 3, description (cited from Zenon of Rhodes, *FGH* 523, late 3rd early 2nd c.), of *Nabis*’ route to *Sellasia* and thence to *Thalamai*, *Pharai*, and the

*Pamisos*, via the so-called *Hoplites*, the narrow way, and the *Poliasion*. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius*, ii (Oxford, 1967), 521 (with further references), doubts the names, unconvincingly.

<sup>166</sup> *Head*<sup>2</sup> 418. Kolbe, *IG* v. I, p. xii, adds *Pylos* (Polyb. xviii. 42. 7), and *Kolonides* and *Methone* on the basis of their coins (*Head*<sup>2</sup> 432, 433 respectively), but these are dated by *Head* to the high imperial period.

<sup>167</sup> Shipley, *OL* 242 no. 34.

<sup>168</sup> Spawforth, in *CS* 101.

<sup>169</sup> Shipley, *OL* 241–2 no. 33; *LS* ii. 299–300, LL150; *MME* 290 no. 150.

<sup>170</sup> Shipley, *OL* 266–7 no. 199; *LS* 300, LL149.

<sup>171</sup> Shipley, *OL* 236 no. 21.

<sup>172</sup> *CS* 139.

<sup>173</sup> Shipley, *OL* 257 no. 79.

<sup>174</sup> *CS* 139.

The DENTHELIIATIS changed hands several times.<sup>175</sup> It was probably removed by Philip II, since the Spartans later claimed he had seized it wrongly (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 43). Evidently the Spartan–Messenian war that was in progress in 279 when the Gauls invaded Greece did not have any lasting territorial results. A king named Antigonos awarded it to Messene (ibid.): this could be Poliorketes *c.* 285, Gonatas in *c.* 262 after the Chremonidean war, or Doso after Sellasia (perhaps most likely given his central role in Spartan fortunes). The award need not imply its previous recapture by Sparta: the Spartans may merely have lodged a claim to it.<sup>176</sup> In 150/49 Sparta fought Messene for the *ager Dentheliatas* and petitioned Rome; the senate referred the question to the Achaean league council (Paus. vii. 11–12). In 146 a Roman commission under Mummius left the Dentheliatas with Messene (Tac. *loc. cit.*), but in *c.* 140 the senate was again approached and invited the Milesians to arbitrate;<sup>177</sup> their panel upheld by 584 votes to 16 the view that the land was Messenian. The Spartans were caught up in the Roman civil wars, and as the result of their pro-Caesarian stand at Philippoi (42 BC), where, it is said, two thousand Spartans died, they received the Dentheliatas again from Octavian and Antony (Tac. *loc. cit.*). Late in Augustus' reign, during AD 4–14, the Roman envoy Atidius Geminus awarded 'Dentheliatas' to Messene once more (ibid.).<sup>178</sup> In AD 25 the senate reaffirmed or ratified this decision (ibid.),<sup>179</sup> yet even this was not the end of the matter. In AD 78 Roman surveyors led by Titus Flavius Monomitos, freedman of Vespasian, re-marked its boundary (*IG v.* 1. 1431); at this date Dentheliatas was still Messenian and the boundary inscription recording the exercise interestingly defines the frontier between 'Messene, Lakedaïmon, and the Eleutherolakonians' (*sic*), suggesting that the last group had a contiguous block of federal territory. Finally, in AD 177/8 the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus made a ruling about the boundary between Pherai (no longer Eleutherolakonian according to Pausanias, whose work was probably now completed)<sup>180</sup> and the Dentheliatas (*IG v.* 1. 1361), an event which implies that the latter was once more Spartan.<sup>181</sup>

Other than Lykourgos' brief tenure of Kalamai and Andania, Sparta never again controlled southern or central Messenia; but parts of the area remained subject to alteration long after the other boundaries of Laconia were fixed. The Dentheliatas, in particular, changed hands several times but was possibly Spartan for an unknown period before *c.* 285, *c.* 262, or *c.* 222 and for at least two periods under Roman rule.

## CONCLUSIONS

### CHANGES IN SPARTAN TERRITORY

There are four crucial epochs in the history of Sparta's territorial decline before the Roman period.

- (i) The invasions of Laconia and Messenia by Epameinondas in 370/69 and 369,<sup>182</sup> when (as all agree) much of Messenia and parts of the north-western borderlands were lost.

<sup>175</sup> CS 138 locate it astride the Langáda pass through Taygetos. It must be border territory and cannot be coastal, since the famous Artemis Limnatis sanctuary in Dentheliatas (Tac. *Ann.* iv. 43) was situated some way inland (Paus. iv. 31. 3).

<sup>176</sup> Kolbe in *IG v.* 1, p. ix, referring to id., *Ath. Mitt.* 29 (1904), 376, favours Gonatas, noting that Beloch preferred Poliorketes and Niese Doso.

<sup>177</sup> *IO* 52 = *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 683; text also printed at Kolbe p. xv: κρίσις περὶ χώρας Μεσσανίωνος καὶ Λακεδαιμονίωνος κ.τ.λ.

<sup>178</sup> The date is suggested by Kolbe, *IG v.* 1, p. xvi, on the basis of *IG v.* 1. 1448, a decree in honour of both Augustus and Tiberius.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. CS 138. The actions of Philip, Antigonos, Mummius, the Milesians, Octavian/Antony, and Atidius are known only from Tac. *Ann.* iv. 43, reporting the decision made under

Tiberius, when the Lakedaïmonians claimed that the Dentheliatas and Artemis Limnatis were seized forcibly by Philip II. For a discussion of Tac.'s account see CS 138–9.

<sup>180</sup> On the date of composition of Paus.'s work, see J. Pouilloux, 'Introduction, I: l'homme et l'œuvre', in M. Casevitz, J. Pouilloux, and F. Chamoux (eds), *Pausanias: Description de la Grèce, I: Attique* (Budé edition; Paris, 1992), xiv–xix.

<sup>181</sup> CS 117, 139. For *horoi* of disputed date see *IG v.* 1. 1371 (Vespasianic) = *SEG* xiii. 259 (AD 25). Kolbe, *IG v.* 1, on no. 1372 (other *horoi* N of Langáda), argues for a date of AD 78 rather than Tiberian times.

<sup>182</sup> Chronology: D. R. Shipley (n. 17), 349 (first invasion Nov./Dec. 370–Mar./Apr. 369), 354, and index s.v. 'Epameinondas'.

- (ii) The invasion of Laconia by Philip II in 338/7, when (as we infer from a notice in Polybios) the remaining northern borderlands and Thyreatis were confiscated.
- (iii) The defeat of Kleomenes III by the Achaean league and Antigonos III Doson of Macedonia in 222, when the eastern seaboard and several nearby inland towns were detached from Sparta (for the first time, I have argued).
- (iv) The invasion of Laconia in 195 by T. Quinctius Flaminius, who took away Sparta's southern Perioikoi and may well have founded the *koinon* of the Lakedaimonians ('Lakedaimonian league').<sup>183</sup>

Other events had only a short-lived impact. The invasion by the Achaean general Diaios in 148/7, when some towns in central Laconia were occupied, appears to have had only a temporary effect.<sup>184</sup> It led to a territorial settlement by Roman commissioners in 146 by which earlier confiscations were confirmed (with the possible exception of the Belbinatis, which may have been restored to Sparta along with Diaios' seizures) but the Dentheliatis awarded to Messene, sparking off a centuries-long dispute. At the end of the Hellenistic period the Spartan dynast Gaios Ioulios Eurykles recaptured some or all of the former perioikic towns, including Gytheion, either before or after he was granted Roman citizenship and *dynasteia* over Sparta. This, too, was probably a temporary interruption of their liberty, as they were soon afterwards freed by Augustus,<sup>185</sup> who refounded the Lakedaimonian league as the Eleutherolakonian league.<sup>186</sup>

It is now possible to compile a list, with a reasonable degree of certainty, of cities and settlements dominated by Sparta at different dates (FIG. 2). Those communities that were poleis may be assumed to have been perioikic, politically dependent upon Sparta (see also TABLE 1):

Classical sites, definitely poleis: (until 369?) Side, possibly also for a time after 369; (until 338) Anthana, Thyrea, Mothone, Messenian Asine; (until 222, again 219–195) Prasiai; (until 195) Boia, Epidauros Limera, Kythera, Las, Oitylos, Tainaron.

Classical sites, probably poleis: (until 369) Aigys, Kromnos (briefly also in 365), Oios; (until 222 and again 219–195) Kyphanta, Geronthrai; (until 222) Sellasia; (until 195) Gytheion; (until 148 or permanently) Pellana; (throughout) Oinous?

Classical sites, possibly poleis: (until 369) Leuktra, Malea; (uncertain, possibly for a time after 369) Aphroditia, Chen (if real), Etis; (until 338, again 235–222) Belbina; (until 338) Eua; (until 272, again 272–195) Tyros; (until 222, again 219–195) Polichna; (until 222 or 195) Marios; (until 222) Zarax; (until 195) Hippola, Kotyrta, Kyparissia, Teuthrone, Thalamai.

Classical sites, definitely/probably not poleis then: (until 369?) Iasos; (until 189 or 148?) Karyai; (until 369) Karystos.

Hellenistic sites, definitely poleis: (until 195) Akriai, Biadina (if it exists yet), Leuktron, Pyrrhichos, Gerenia. (Kainepolis replaces Tainaron only after 195, perhaps under Augustus; Asopos replaces Kyparissia only after *c.* 195).

Hellenistic sites, possibly poleis: (until 222, again 219–195) Leukai; (until 195) Helos (thereafter perhaps a polis), Pleiai, Trinasos, Aigiai, Laconian Asine (conceivably a polis thereafter), Psamathous.

Hellenistic sites, probably not poleis: (until 195) Arainos, Hypsoi, Messe, Pephnos.

<sup>183</sup> In a decree of Tiberian date from Gytheion about the organization of a festival in honour of the city's liberators, *SEG* xi. 923 (xiii. 257), the long-dead Flaminius is the only non-imperial honorand (ll. 12–13), which strongly suggests he and no other person was responsible for setting up the Lakedaimonian league.

<sup>184</sup> For the dissociation of the founding of the Lakedaimonian

league from the events of the 140s, see Gitti (n. 9).

<sup>185</sup> Paus. iii. 21. 6, with Gitti (n. 9), 196, 201.

<sup>186</sup> The event is celebrated in inscriptions from the largest town, Gytheion: *IG* v. 1. 1160, in honour of Tiberius who 'with his father' restored their freedom; *SEG* xi. 923, cited above, where Augustus is called Eleutherios (l. 8).

TABLE 1. Settlements within Spartan-dominated territory.

until 369 BC	369–338 BC	338–222 BC	222–195 BC	post-195 BC
<i>Aigiai?</i>	<i>Aigiai?</i>	<i>Aigiai?</i>	<i>Aigiai?</i>	
AIGYS				
<i>Akriai?</i>	<i>Akriai?</i>	<i>Akriai?</i>	<i>Akriai?</i>	
AN'THANA	ANTHANA			
<i>Aphroditia?</i>	Aphroditia?	Aphroditia?	Aphroditia?	
<i>Arainos?</i>	Arainos?	Arainos?	Arainos?	
<i>Asine (Laconian)</i>	<i>Asine (Laconian)</i>	<i>Asine (Laconian)</i>	<i>Asine (Laconian)</i>	
ASINE (Messenian)	ASINE (Messenian)			
<i>Belbina</i>	<i>Belbina</i>	<i>Belbina (235? 222, 219)</i>	<i>Belbina (208? 189)</i>	
<i>Biadina?</i>	<i>Biadina?</i>	<i>Biadina?</i>	<i>Biadina?</i>	
BOIA	BOIA	BOIA	BOIA	
<i>Chen?</i>	<i>Chen?</i>	<i>Chen?</i>	<i>Chen?</i>	
EPIDAUROS LIMERA	EPIDAUROS LIMERA	EPIDAUROS LIMERA	[EPIDAUROS LIMERA]	
<i>Etis?</i>	<i>Etis?</i>	<i>Etis?</i>	<i>Etis?</i>	
<i>Eua</i>	<i>Eua</i>			
<i>Gerania</i>	<i>Gerania</i>	<i>Gerania</i>	<i>Gerania</i>	
GERONTHRAI	GERONTHRAI	GERONTHRAI	GERONTHRAI (219 195)	
Glyppia	Glyppia	Glyppia		
GYTHERION	GYTHERION	GYTHERION	GYTHERION	
<i>Helos</i>	<i>Helos</i>	<i>Helos</i>	<i>Helos</i>	
<i>Hippola</i>	<i>Hippola</i>	<i>Hippola</i>	<i>Hippola</i>	
<i>Hypsoi?</i>	<i>Hypsoi?</i>	<i>Hypsoi?</i>	<i>Hypsoi?</i>	
<i>Iasos?</i>	<i>Iasos?</i>	<i>Iasos?</i>	<i>Iasos?</i>	<i>Iasos</i>
Karyai	Karyai	Karyai	Karyai	Karyai
<i>Karystos?</i>				
<i>Kotyryta</i>	<i>Kotyryta</i>	<i>Kotyryta</i>	<i>Kotyryta</i>	
KROMNOS				
<i>Kyparissia</i>	<i>Kyparissia</i>	<i>Kyparissia</i>	<i>Kyparissia</i>	
KYPHANTA	KYPHANTA	KYPHANTA	[KYPHANTA 219 195]	
KYTHERA	KYTHERA	KYTHERA	KYTHERA	
LAS	LAS	LAS	LAS	
<i>Leukai?</i>	<i>Leukai?</i>	<i>Leukai</i>	[ <i>Leukai</i> 219–195]	
<i>Leuktra (NW)</i>				
Leuktron (SW)	Leuktron (SW)	Leuktron (SW)	Leuktron (SW)	
<i>Malea</i>				
<i>Marios</i>	<i>Marios</i>	<i>Marios</i>	<i>Marios</i>	
<i>Messe?</i>	<i>Messe?</i>	<i>Messe?</i>	<i>Messe?</i>	
MOTHONE	MOTHONE			
OLNOUS	OLNOUS	OLNOUS	OLNOUS	OLNOUS
OIOS				
OITYLOS	OITYLOS	OITYLOS	OITYLOS	
<i>Pepgnos?</i>	<i>Pepgnos?</i>	<i>Pepgnos?</i>	<i>Pepgnos?</i>	
PELLANA	PELLANA	PELLANA	PELLANA	PELLANA
<i>Pleiai?</i>	<i>Pleiai?</i>	<i>Pleiai</i>	<i>Pleiai</i>	
<i>Polichna</i>	<i>Polichna</i>	<i>Polichna</i>	[ <i>Polichna</i> 219–195]	
PRASIAI	PRASIAI	PRASIAI	[PRASIAI 219 195]	
<i>Psamathous</i>	<i>Psamathous</i>	<i>Psamathous</i>	<i>Psamathous</i>	
<i>Pyrrhichos</i>	<i>Pyrrhichos</i>	<i>Pyrrhichos</i>	<i>Pyrrhichos</i>	
SELLASIA	SELLASIA	SELLASIA		
SIDE				
TAINARON	TAINARON	TAINARON	TAINARON	
<i>Teuthrone</i>	<i>Teuthrone</i>	<i>Teuthrone</i>	<i>Teuthrone</i>	
<i>Thalamai</i>	<i>Thalamai</i>	<i>Thalamai</i>	<i>Thalamai</i>	
<i>Trinasos?</i>	<i>Trinasos?</i>	<i>Trinasos?</i>	<i>Trinasos?</i>	
THYREA	THYREA			
<i>Tyros</i>	<i>Tyros</i>	<i>Tyros (except 272)</i>		
<i>Zarax</i>	<i>Zarax</i>	<i>Zarax</i>		

Key. BOIA = definite polis, AIGYS = probable polis, Aigiai = possible polis, Glyppia = certainly or probably non-polis settlement. A question mark against a name indicates that the site was not definitely a settlement in the period in question (e.g. cult). [ ] indicates that Spartan domination is not certain.



FIG. 2. Schematic representation of the extent of Spartan territory at different dates. (G = Gytheion, M = Megalopolis, S = Sparta, T = Tegea.) (A. Sackett)

The elucidation of the extent of Spartan territory at any given date, as presented here, makes it possible to formulate new questions about how the perioikic communities developed in the late Classical and Hellenistic periods. We can be sure that the losses of the 190s, when Sparta's territory was reduced to a mere rump in and around the central Eurotas plain, were far greater than at any date since the 360s. The perioikic system may even have been

abandoned or abolished at this time, since there are no reliable attestations of the continued existence of perioikic status after *c.* 200.<sup>187</sup> Conversely, before this catastrophe Sparta's territorial, and hence economic and military, assets may not have been significantly smaller than in the late fourth century (despite the well-known decline in the numbers of Spartiate citizens), a proposition which may have important implications for the history of the Spartan state.

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<sup>187</sup> Later mentions are anachronistic or reflect an imprecise, or at least non-technical, use of the term *perioikos*. Polyb. iv. 34. 9 (*c.* 240 BC), ii. 65. 9 (222 BC). Strabo, vii. 5. 4 (365), refers to the Perioikoi deserting Sparta for Rome; this is to be

interpreted in connection with the reign of Eurykles, not the events of 195 BC, but is an imprecise usage reflecting the seizure of the former perioikic poleis by Eurykles and their temporary reintegration into the Spartan state (Gitti (n. 9), 196).