

THE SPARTAN SYNARCHIA

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ON THE INSCRIBED BASE for a statue of Caracalla, erected at Sparta probably to celebrate his attainment of the title Caesar in 196 A.D., there appears an institution called the *synarchia*.¹ Of the known public institutions of Roman Sparta, the *synarchia* is least understood. Paucity of evidence is the main stumbling block, since we have the names of no members other than its chairmen (*presbeis*).² On the other hand, the *synarchia*'s competence seems to have been wide-ranging—it was involved in honouring a gymnasiarch; it dedicated an altar to Hadrian; it was empowered in a decree to pass judgement on appeals in disputes arising from an athletic contest; and a number of its chairmen paid expenses for the erection of honorific statue bases.³

The presence of a chairman indicates that the *synarchia* was collegiate, as were the other major magistracies of Roman Sparta.⁴ Since the word *synarchia* was the usual Greek term for a college of magistrates, and since *synarchontes* or *synarchoi* were attached to various later Spartan magistrates, Boeckh was moved to conclude that *synarchia* was used in this general meaning at Sparta to refer to any of the many collegiate magistracies: in his opinion, a *synarchia* should consist of *synarchontes*.⁵ By 1925, the British excavations had discovered enough epigraphical evidence to show that the *synarchia* was a single, specific institution, which, as A. M. Woodward argued, comprised the six men called *synarchoi* who assisted

The following works will be cited by author's name alone: A. Aymard, *Les Assemblées de la Confédération achaienne* (Bordeaux 1938, Bibliothèque des universités du Midi 21); A. S. Bradford, "The Synarchia of Roman Sparta," *Chiron* 10 (1980) 413–425; P. Cartledge and A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities* (London 1989); K. M. T. Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta. A Re-examination of the Evidence* (Manchester 1949); A. Furtwängler and U. Kron, "Das Siegel der Stadt Demetrias," *AthMitt* 93 (1978) 133–160; W. Larfeld, *Griechische Epigraphik*³ (Munich 1914, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1.5); H. Swoboda, *Die griechischen Volksbeschlüsse: Epigraphische Untersuchungen* (Leipzig 1890).

¹IG V.1 448. For the history and institutions of Sparta in the Roman period, see Cartledge and Spawforth (144–145, 257, n. 20), who essentially agree with the interpretation proposed here.

²IG V.1 37, 480, 504, 1505; SEG XI 492, 495.

³Gymnasiarch: IG V.1 480; Hadrian: SEG XIII 256. Chairmen: IG V.1 37b, 448, 480, 504, 1505; SEG XI 492, 495.

⁴Ephors: IG V.1 49–77; SEG XI 510–533. *Nomophylakes*: IG V.1 78–91; SEG XI 534–556. *Bidyoi*: IG V.1 136–140; SEG XI 604–617. *Gerontes*: IG V.1 92/3–122; SEG XI 558–592.

⁵A. Boeckh, *CIG* 1, p. 610.

the so-called six-member "college" of *patronomoi*—Sparta's eponymous magistrates.⁶ In turn, K. M. T. Chrimes concluded that the 23-member *gerousia* and the five so-called "lesser" or "non-eponymous" *patronomoi* together formed the *synarchia*—a solution with the twin benefits of making the size of the *synarchia* equal the full complement of the Classical *gerousia* and accounting for a late epigraphical reference to 28 *gerontes*.⁷ Neither of these two solutions can be entertained seriously now. On the one hand, the *patronomoi* were not the only magistrates to have *synarchoi*, and the *synarchoi* themselves were clearly not as important as the *synarchia*. On the other hand, the "lesser" *patronomoi* are illusory, and the supporting evidence for a 28-member *gerousia* in the Roman period results from an incorrect transcription.⁸

Most recently, A. S. Bradford has preferred simply to equate the *synarchia* with the *gerousia*. In his view, the *gerousia* met in session as the *boule*, but at other times was known as the *synarchia*, which denoted its "theoretical position" in the state.⁹ A complex and confusing scenario is thus envisioned, with the *gerousia* going under two different official names, neither of which was the traditional one. Although Bradford seeks justification on the grounds that the word *gerousia* does not occur "without the aid of a restoration" in any Spartan inscription of Roman date, *gerousia* does survive almost complete in one document; lists of members of the *gerousia* are headed by the word *gerontes*; and *gerousias* is used in careers to denote a term in the *gerousia*.¹⁰ All of this makes it inevitable that the *gerousia* kept its ancient appellation under the Romans.

Both these later attempts share the contention that the *synarchia* and the *gerousia* are essentially the same, since Bradford and Chrimes put no small weight on the inscribed base mentioned above. The inscription on that base records that one man, M. Tadius Philoxenides, was simultaneously chairman of the *synarchia* and of the *gerousia*. This seemingly implies that the two bodies were identical, nudging Chrimes and Bradford toward their common conclusion.¹¹

The inscription actually tells us something quite different:

⁶A. M. Woodward, "Excavations at Sparta 1924–1925: The Inscriptions," *BSA* 26 (1923–25) 159–239, at 186.

⁷Chrimes 146, 149.

⁸On the patronomate, see N. Kennell, "The Size of the Spartan Patronomate," *ZPE* 85 (1991) 131–137. The idea that the *gerousia* still had 28 members in Roman times, in spite of other epigraphical evidence to the contrary, rests on A. Wilhelm's erroneous restoration of the last line of *IG* V.1 16. For a corrected text, see N. Kennell, "IG V.1, 16 and the Gerosia of Roman Sparta," *Hesperia* 61 (1992) 193–202.

⁹Bradford 419.

¹⁰Bradford 413. *SEG* XI 486, lines 14–15: [πρέσβυς]/ τῆς γερον[σίας]. Lists of the *gerousia*: *IG* V.1 92–122; *SEG* XI 558–592. Careers: e.g., *IG* V.1 32a; *SEG* XI 480.

¹¹Chrimes 149; Bradford 417.

Μᾶρκον Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνείνον
 Καίσαρα Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Λουκίου
 Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου Εὐσεβοῦς
 5 Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ Ἀραβικοῦ
 Ἀδι<α>βηνικοῦ υἱόν· διὰ συναρχίας
 τῆς περὶ Μάρκον Τάδιον
 Φιλοξενίδην· γέροντες ἐπὶ
 10 Ἰουλ(ίου) Δαμ[- -] ὧν πρέσβυς
 Μᾶρκος Τάδιος Φιλοξενίδης, Δαμάριστος
 Ἀνδρίωνος τὸ γ' Πίστος Φιλονεικιδά

As is normal in this type of inscription, the name of the honorand is in the accusative. The name of the person or body honouring him (here, the *gerontes*) is in the nominative; the verb, when present, is a form of either ἀνατίθημι or ἀνίστημι, though in this case it is omitted entirely. If another body or person was charged with the actual erection of the statue or stele, this was usually expressed by διὰ followed by the agent's name in the genitive. For example, at Taenarum in southern Laconia, Julia Domna was honoured by the city δι' ἐφόρων; at Tarsus, the guild of porters honoured their benefactor διὰ γραμματέων. This usage appears also in non-honorific contexts: at Athens, the ephebes sought a favour from the Areopagus διὰ κοσμητοῦ; at Aphrodisias, a man provided in his will for the erection of a statue διὰ τῶν ἐαυτ(οῦ) παίδων. At Sparta itself this usage also occurs: the city honoured Tiberius Claudius Harmonicus διὰ συναρχίας.¹² If the *gerousia* had been identical with the *synarchia*, the διὰ formula would have been otiose. The inscription thus makes a clear distinction between the *gerousia* as the body initiating the action and the *synarchia* as the body charged with effecting it. That the same man was chairman of both indicates a close connection between the two institutions, not that they were one and the same.

Since Sparta's inscriptions can yield no further information in isolation, analogies and parallels from other cities need to be found. The search is not an arduous one—*synarchiai* abounded outside Sparta, usually in cities founded in the Hellenistic or Roman periods, and quite often documents

¹²Taenarum: SEG XXXIII 199. Tarsus: SEG XXVII 947. Athens: IG II² 3737. Aphrodisias: C. Roueché and K. Erim, "Sculptors from Aphrodisias: Some New Inscriptions," BSR ns 37 (1982) 102–115, at 103, no. 2. Sparta: IG V.1 480. On this usage, G. Daux, "L'Onomastique romaine d'expression grecque," in L'Onomastique latine (Paris 1977, Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 564) 415. A slightly different usage is treated by C. P. Jones, "Some New Inscriptions from Bubon," IstMitt 27–28 (1977–78) 290–291.

were dated by a city's *synarchia*.¹³ Especially in the cities of the Peloponnese, where, with the exception of Sparta, the institution's name invariably takes the plural form, *synarchiai* were common and were perhaps the most obvious constitutional legacy of membership in the Achaean League.¹⁴ So characteristic of the League were *synarchiai* that even outside the Peloponnese, at Megara and Aegosthena, both former member states, it was the *synarchiai* that submitted the results of their deliberations to the council and people.¹⁵ The *synarchiai* of the Achaean League itself were among the most important bodies of the federal government, being composed of the League's general, the board of *damiourgoi*, and probably the hipparch and navarch.¹⁶ It is natural, and indeed inevitable, to draw from this the conclusion that Sparta's *synarchia* had survived from the constitutional arrangement that obtained during the city's unhappy membership in the Achaean League.¹⁷ The Peloponnesian *synarchiai* provide further aid, for evidence both literary and epigraphical makes it clear that their function was to prepare business for consideration by their councils: to use the technical term, they were probouleutic.

Evidence from further afield is of more help in determining which officials actually comprised the Spartan *synarchia*. Heinrich Swoboda showed a century ago that the *synarchia* of Hellenistic times was usually a combined college of all, or at least the highest, magistrates of a state.¹⁸ Demetrias in Thessaly provides a good example of such a *synarchia*. Using decrees of the late second century B.C., previously attributed to the Magnesian League, Gerhard Kip was able to determine the composition of the Demetrian *synarchia*.¹⁹ The movers of one decree (IG IX.2 1108) were the priest of Zeus Acraeus, the General of the League, and seven magistrates of Demetrias called ἡ συναρχία; those of the second (IG IX.2 1109) were the same League officials, but in place of the seven members of the *synarchia*

¹³Nicopolis ad Istrum: IGR I 568, 580; Philippolis: IGR I 713; Odessus: IGR I 1439; Ancyra: CIG III 4048; Thus: I. Levy, "Études sur la vie municipale de l'Asie Mineure sous les Antonins: seconde série," REG 12 (1899) 255-289, at 268, n. 1.

¹⁴Swoboda 139-142; *id.*, "Studien zu den griechischen Bünden II," Klio 12 (1912) 17-50, at 44.

¹⁵Megara: IG VII 15, συναρχία προεβουλευσαντο ποτί τε τοὺς αἰσιμνάτα[ς καὶ τὰν]/ βουλὰν καὶ τὸν δᾶμον. Aegosthena: IG VII 223, συναρχί[αι προ]/εβουλευσαντο ποτί τὰν βουλ[άν]/ καὶ τὸν δᾶμον.

¹⁶Aymard 357; J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 222.

¹⁷Sparta was a member of the Achaean League after 192 and was subject to an Achaean-style constitution from 188 to 146 B.C. On the dates, see N. Kennell, *The Public Institutions of Roman Sparta* (Diss., Toronto 1985) 13-19; Cartledge and Spawforth 84, 198.

¹⁸Swoboda 142.

¹⁹G. Kip, *Thessalische Studien. Beiträge zur politischen Geographie, Geschichte und Verfassung der thessalischen Landschaften* (Diss., Halle 1910) 93-97.

three generals and four *nomophylakes* appear. Kip identified the generals and *nomophylakes* as the component colleges of the seven-member joint board of the Demetrian *synarchia*.

The identification gains considerable support from the text of 1109, in which the generals and *nomophylakes* are always mentioned in common as jointly charged with some duty.²⁰ In one passage, reference is made to the "seal of the generals and *nomophylakes*;" this should probably be recognized as the city's official public seal.²¹ As the two boards had joint use of the seal of Demetrias and as the combined total of the two boards was the same as that of the *synarchia*, there can be no reasonable doubt that they were the Demetrian *synarchia*. The *synarchia* of Demetrias was a probouleutic body, as is evident from its role in the moving of the two decrees. In addition, the text of IG IX.2 1109 shows that it also had executive power. Its control of the public seal reveals its high position; it was the *synarchia* that corresponded officially with other states.²²

Given that Demetrias provides a valid parallel, the Spartan *synarchia* was probably a joint board as well, with an analogous position and powers. The *synarchia*'s component colleges, then, ought to be magistrates who, like the generals and *nomophylakes* of Demetrias, were involved in the legislative process and who are cited together on inscriptions.

Of Roman Sparta's rather taciturn epigraphical corpus, official catalogues of annual magistrates and the inscribed records of careers have the most to say under scrutiny. On the walls of the city's theatre and on stones erected all over the city, the best people left records of the enthusiastic performance of their civic duties. A simple calculation can reveal much about the offices thought most worthwhile to record. From a total of 158 catalogues whose contents can be fairly well determined, the overwhelming majority (120) comprises registers of ephors, *nomophylakes*, and members of the *gerousia*.

As well, Spartans most often mention terms as ephor, *nomophylax*, or *gerousias* in the *curricula vitarum* they had inscribed for public display. Of the 47 Spartans whose careers survive, 30 were members at least once of the now annually-elected *gerousia*, 20 were ephors at least once, and 26 were *nomophylakes*. The next most frequently-cited office was that of *bidyos* (mentioned 12 times), then secretary of the *boule* (nine times), *diabetes*

²⁰ IG IX² 1109, col. I, lines 20, 23–24, 30, 43–44, 65; col. II, lines 72–73, 85–86, 92–93.

²¹ IG IX² 1109, col. I, lines 43–44, κατασφραγισάσθωσαν τῇ τε τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ νομοφυλάκων σφραγίδι; Furtwängler and Kron 147. On public seals in general, see G. S. Don-tas, "Ἀρχαῖαι Ἑλληνικαὶ Δημόσιαι Σφραγίδες," *ArchEph* (1955) 1–21.

²² Furtwängler and Kron 147; cf. IG V.2 367 (a letter from Demetrias to Cleitor in Arcadia), line 25 Δ[η]μ[η]τρίω]ν οἱ [στ]ρατηγοὶ καὶ οἱ νομοφύλ[ακες] Κλ[ειτορ]ίων τοῖς δ[ημιουργ]οῖς καὶ τῶι δήμῳ χαίρειν.]

(seven times), while tenure of the patronomate is referred to only once.²³ Of the other offices, just one appears more than five times, the vast majority not more than four times.

The frequency of the offices of ephor, *nomophylax*, and *gerousias* in these documents undoubtedly reflects their constitutional significance. Pausanias is informative on this point:²⁴

Λακεδαιμονίων τοῖς Σπάρτην ἔχουσιν ἐστὶν ἀγορὰ θέας ἄξια, καὶ τῆς τε γερουσίας βουλευτήριον καὶ τῶν ἐφόρων καὶ νομοφυλάκων καὶ καλουμένων βιδιαίων ἀρχεῖά ἐστιν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς. ἡ μὲν δὴ γερουσία συνέδριον Λακεδαιμονίους κυριώτατον τῆς πολιτείας, οἱ λοιποὶ δέ εἰσιν ἄρχοντες . . . τοῖς μὲν [sc., βιδιαίοις] τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Πλατανιστῷ καλουμένῳ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγῶνας τιθέναι καθέστηκεν, ἔφοροι δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα διοικοῦσι τὰ σπουδῆς μάλιστα ἄξια.

The Lacedaemonians inhabiting Sparta have a marketplace worth seeing. As well, the council chamber of the *gerousia* and the offices of the ephors, *nomophylakes*, and the so-called *bidiaioi* are in the marketplace. The *gerousia* is the supreme council of state for the Lacedaemonians, the others are magistrates . . . <The *bidiaioi*> are in charge of holding the contests in the so-called Platanistas and the other ephebic games; the ephors administer the other matters of greatest importance."

It was natural for the principal organs of Spartan government to have their offices together in the agora. Of the *archontes* we know, thanks to Pausanias, that the *bidyoi* (*bidiaioi*) were in charge of the ephebic contests and were thus to be distinguished from the ephors, who managed the most important affairs of state.

Returning to the inscriptions, it is evident from the surviving lists that the ephors and *nomophylakes* fulfill at least one criterion for a *synarchia*. In addition to the 54 extant catalogues of ephors and *nomophylakes*, there are 20 combined lists of the two colleges.²⁵ This is significant, since only one other inscription contains a combined list of magistrates other than

²³Careers: IG V.1 31–47, 65 (in a list of *nomophylakes*), 71 (in a list of *nomophylakes*); SEG XI 488–501. To this number must be added (pace Bradford 415) two inscriptions—IG V.1 254 and 359. They have been erroneously separated from the careers; one (359) classed under *Varia* and the other, by reason of its being a votive to Artemis, under *Dedications* in the corpus. The dedicatory nature of the other careers has been overlooked but several were explicitly dedicated to a divinity or quasi-divinity, e.g., IG V.1 39, θεοῖς; SEG XI 492, θεοῖς εὐχαριστήριον; 500, τῇ κυρίᾳ πατρίδι.

²⁴Paus. 3.11.2.

²⁵Ephors: IG V.1 53, 63, 70, 73; SEG XI 510–513, 515–517, 528, 530. *Nomophylakes*: IG V.1 71, 79, 80, 84–88; SEG XI 536–545, 546a–b, 547b, 548–550, 554. Ephors and *nomophylakes* combined: IG V.1 [50] (= SEG XI 505), 51, 52, [57] (= SEG XI 508), 59 (= SEG XI 521a, 548), [60], [61], 62, 64, 65 (= SEG XI 523), [66] (= SEG XI 524), 68, 69, 71, 72, [90]; SEG XI [532], [552]. Only those stones where enough text survives to determine whether or not they were combined lists have been counted.

the ephors and *nomophylakes*.²⁶ Furthermore, amongst the admittedly exiguous evidence for legislative activity at Roman Sparta the ephors appear coupled with the *nomophylakes*, both bodies acting with the *gerousia*. A fragmentary decree (IG V.1 20) regulating the conduct of an athletic festival ends with the names of the members of the *gerousia*, the secretary of the *boule*, followed by the ephors and the *nomophylakes*, all of whom had collectively passed the legislation. Under Hadrian, the same three bodies jointly dedicated statues of Zeus Boulaeus and Hestia Boulaea, two deities commonly worshipped in a prytaneion or bouleuterion by members of a city's council.²⁷ The involvement of the ephors and *nomophylakes* in dedicating statues of these gods points to their participation in the principal activity of *bouleutai*, making laws. Finally, the status of the ephors and *nomophylakes* is indicated by the fact that, like the *gerontes*, they were the only magistrates whose titles appear on the autonomous Spartan coinage of the first century B.C.²⁸

Certain official assistants also seem to have divided their services among these same three bodies. *Spondophoroi* in varying numbers, along with an official called the *nomodeiktes*, are listed in catalogues of ephors, *nomophylakes*, and *gerontes*, but appear nowhere else.²⁹ The young Spartan *spondophoroi*, who were occasionally attached to the same colleges in which their fathers were serving, probably attended to the sacrifices and other rituals customarily performed before the meetings of legislative bodies.³⁰ The *nomodeiktes*' duty, it appears, was to ensure that motions approved

²⁶ IG V.1 137.

²⁷ IG V.1 62. Even if, as A. M. Woodward, "Inscriptiones Graecae, V.1: Some Afterthoughts," *BSA* 43 (1948) 209–259, at 226, believed, lines 14 ff., which contain a reference to the *gerousia*, were not connected with the rest of the inscription, the important association of ephors, *nomophylakes*, and the bouleutic deities still stands. On Zeus and Hestia Boulaea as patrons of prytaneis see *IEphesos* 4.1058–1087 (*passim*); G. Kawerau and A. Rehm, *Das Delphinion in Milet: Milet 1.3* (Berlin 1914) 37, lines 42–46; C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1900) 23a, lines 14–16; IG 12.3 1392, 1393. On the Spartan prytaneion, see N. Kennell, "Where was Sparta's Prytaneion?," *AJA* 91 (1987) 421–422.

²⁸ S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, *Die Münzprägung der Lakedaimonier* (Berlin 1978, AMUGS 7) 52–55.

²⁹ *Spondophoroi* (*spondopoioi*): IG V.1 112, 116, 162 (= SEG XI 581), SEG XI 587 (*gerontes*); IG V.1 53a, 167 (ephors); IG V.1 64, 68, 71a, 89; SEG XI 540 (ephors and *nomophylakes*); SEG XI 548 (= IG V.1 59) (*nomophylakes*). SEG XI 550 is restored as a list of *nomophylakes* with *spondophoroi*, but, since the top part of the stone is missing, a list of ephors may well have preceded it. See A. M. Woodward, "Excavations at Sparta, 1924–1928: The Inscriptions," *BSA* 29 (1927–28) 2–56, at 23. *Nomodeiktes*: SEG XI 515, 517, 534, 537, 558, 563, 564, 569; G. Souris, "A New List of the Gerousia of Roman Sparta," *ZPE* 41 (1981) 171–174, at 171.

³⁰ On *spondophoroi* in general, see Lucian, *Syr. D.* 42. On prayers and sacrifices at legislative meetings see the examples given by Larfeld (399–402).

by such bodies conformed to legal precedent.³¹ Clinching evidence of a deliberative role for the ephors and *nomophylakes* is provided by IG V.1 60, an incomplete joint list of ephors and *nomophylakes* which concludes with the name of the secretary of the *boule*. If the secretary of Sparta's council sometimes worked with the two colleges, then both must have played some part in the passage of legislation.

The evidence adduced so far indicates that the ephors and *nomophylakes* were closely associated with each other and with Sparta's deliberative body, the *gerousia*; they took part in the passage of legislation, shared officials, and joined with the *gerousia* to honour the gods of the *boule*. More men said they had served as ephor, *nomophylax*, or member of the *gerousia* than any other post. Although close relations did obtain between these three bodies, the lack of a combined catalogue of them all forbids us to consider all three bodies as components of the *synarchia*. Finally, since the inscription on the base of Caracalla's statue has also indicated that the *synarchia* and the *gerousia* were distinct from each other, the only possible conclusion to be drawn is that the ephors and *nomophylakes* formed the Spartan *synarchia*.

Returning briefly to Caracalla's statue base, now that the composition of the *synarchia* is known and its ancestry in a similarly-named Achaean institution has been revealed, it is possible to explain why Marcus Tadius Philoxenides is simultaneously chairman of the *gerousia* and of the *synarchia*. The chairman of the Achaean League's *synarchiai*, the general of the League, was also chairman of the Achaian *synedrion*.³² Thus, Philoxenides was *ex officio* head of the *synarchia*, the *gerousia*'s probouleutic board, by virtue of his chairmanship of the *gerousia*.

The exact jurisdiction and competence of the *synarchia* are more elusive. A probouleutic function can be assumed by analogy with homonymous institutions in other states. Sparta herself provides confirmation: one of only two texts surviving from the four decades when Sparta had an Achaean-style constitution forced on her (188–146 B.C.), IG V.1 4 is a decree granting proxeny to an Ambraciote named Damion.³³ In this text, the *synarchia* makes its debut at Sparta, here called *synarchiai* in accordance with Achaean usage. Damion, who petitioned for the honour himself, approached the *synarchiai* first and then the *damos*.³⁴ The order in which the bodies are approached should reflect the *synarchiai*'s jurisdiction over the preparation of the agenda.³⁵

³¹ IG V.1 1390, line 114; IGR IV 468; POxy 27.2476, line 21; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 9.1.

³² Aymard 358–359; Swoboda 138.

³³ On these dates see above, n. 17.

³⁴ IG V.1 4, lines 1–4, πόθοδον ποιησαμένου Δαμίωνος/ τοῦ Θεοκρίτου Ἀμβρακιάτα περὶ προξενίας καὶ ἐπελθόντος ἐπὶ/ τε τὰς συναρχίας καὶ τὸν δᾶμον.

³⁵ For a parallel in Athenian practice, see P. J. Rhodes, *The Athenian Boule* (Oxford 1972) 54–55.

As restored by A. Wilhelm, the *synarchiai* appear in a fragmentary heading of a decree (IG V.1 1370) from the town of Pherae, an erstwhile Spartan possession that continued to emulate Spartan practices even in the first century B.C.³⁶ With one necessary change, the formula may be rendered as follows:³⁷ [γνώμ]α [τᾶν] σ[υ]ναρχιᾶν, καθὰ καὶ οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκριναν.

Using this as a model, the surviving headings of Spartan decrees can be similarly supplemented. The restored texts, while not particularly decisive evidence, do at least conform to the notion that the *synarchia* at Sparta was a probouleutic body.³⁸ The plural form's appearance at Pherae suggests that the Spartans themselves retained the original name ossified in decree headings. There can be no reasonable doubt that the *synarchiai* of IG V.1 4 and the later *synarchia* were the same institution.³⁹

In order to discover any duties beyond *probouleusis* the net must be cast wider. Once again Achaean parallels can be of help. Polybius, who provides the bulk of the evidence on the Achaean League's institutions, uses the proper title of the Achaean *synarchiai* only four times; as a rule, he refers to them as the *archontes*.⁴⁰ This latter term occurs in the member states as well, often in conjunction with *synedroi*, a term for the members of each city's *synedrion* or *boule*.⁴¹ That the *archontes* in these cities were the same as the *synarchiai* can be surmised from the duties they performed. At Andania, the *archontes* passed decrees in conjunction with the *synedroi*, while at Argos, an oracle was ordered inscribed "according to the vote of the *archontes* and *synedroi*;" the *archontes*' high position, like that of the *synarchiai*, is shown by their inclusion in the headings of letters addressed to Peloponnesian cities.⁴²

³⁶A. Wilhelm, "Zu den Inschriften aus Magnesia am Maeander," *ÖJh* 4 (1901) Beiblatt 22-34, at 26. On Pherae, see Cartledge and Spawforth 144-145.

³⁷Wilhelm: [δόγμ]α. However, it was normal practice in the Hellenistic and Roman periods for probouleutic committees as a whole to put motions (γνώμα) to legislative bodies; e.g. SEG XXXIII 1038 (Cyme), lines 2-3, ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ, γνώμῃ στρατηγῶν καὶ φυλάρχων καὶ τῶν συνέδρων; Swoboda 59-61; Larfeld 346-347; I. Levy, "Études sur la vie municipale de l'Asie Mineure sous les Antonins: Première série," *REG* 8 (1895) 201-250, at 211.

³⁸W. Peek, *Inschriften aus dem Asklepieion von Epidauros* (Berlin 1969, *AbhLeip Phil.-hist. Kl.* 60.2) 29-31 (IG IV² 86), [γνώμα συναρχ]ιᾶν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκριναν (Peek: [δόγμα συναρχ]ιᾶν; IG V.1 11, [γνώμα τᾶν συναρχιᾶν καθὰ καὶ οἱ γέρο]ντες ἐπέκριναν (corpus: [- - - καθὰ καὶ οἱ γέρο]ντες ἐπέκριναν); IG V.1 18a, [γνώμα τᾶν συναρχιᾶν καθὰ] καὶ οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκριναν (corpus: [- - - καθὰ] καὶ οἱ γέροντες ἐπέκριναν)].

³⁹Cartledge and Spawforth 145.

⁴⁰Polyb. 4.4.3.1; 27.2.11.1; 38.13.4.4; 38.13.5; G. Busolt and H. Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde* 2 (Munich 1926, *Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* 4.1.1) 1566, n. 2.

⁴¹IG V.1 1432, line 23 (Messenia); IG IV, 758 (Troezen); IG IV.1² 65, 66 (Epidauros); IG VII 190 (Pagae); SEG XXII 266 (Argos). For *synedroi* as a synonym for *bouleutai*, see Livy 45.32.1-2, *senatores quos synhedros vocant*.

⁴²Andania: SIG³ 736, lines 57-58, οἱ ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ συνέδροι δογματοποιεῖσθωσαν. Argos: SIG³ 735, lines 19-22, κατὰ τὸ ψάψισμα τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ συνέδρων. Elis: SIG³ 683, lines 30 (letter from the Milesians), τοῖς ἄρχουσι Ἡλείων καὶ τοῖς συνέδροις.

Pausanias described the *gerousia* as Sparta's *synedrion*, while the ephors and *nomophylakes* were her *archontes*. The two terms are found in Spartan epigraphy as well. The *archontes* called upon the rich to share the burdens of the state at a time of crisis in the first century B.C. When the festival of the Leonideia was revived, the *archontes* were to ratify decisions of the *damos* on the proceeds of fines exacted from rule-breakers. At another time, one of the *archontes* was to rule in the matter of the gymnasiarch's and xystarch's fulfillment of their obligations. In an imperial letter, there are two fragmentary references to *synedroi*.⁴³ Apparently, the colleges of the Spartan *synarchia* were sometimes simply called *archontes*, like their counterparts in nearby cities.

Principal among the duties of the *synarchia* was that of preparing and introducing motions for debate. As several decrees record, it also acted as an executive body, carrying out the orders of the *gerousia* or *boule*.⁴⁴ In IG V.1 20, the *synarchia* was given the power to decide on competitors' eligibility for the games, and later in the same inscription one of the *synarchia*, chosen by lot, was to ensure that gymnastic officials fulfilled their obligations. In IG V.1 18b, the *synarchia* was to ratify a decision of the *damos*. All three instances have a common denominator: the *synarchia*'s role was to decide on the propriety of actions undertaken by some other person or body. This can be viewed as an extension of the *synarchia*'s probouleutic function, in virtue of which it approved or rejected motions put to it for debate with the *gerousia*.

The executive aspect of the *synarchia* is most easily seen in the two bases which recount their erection "by means of" the *synarchia*. The *synarchia* erected the statue of Caracalla on behalf of the *gerousia* and that of the gymnasiarch Ti. Claudius Harmonicus (IG V.1 480) on behalf of "the city" (probably the *synarchia*, *gerousia* and *damos* combined). One final piece of evidence clearly indicates that the *synarchia* could act independently on its own. In IG V.1 11, the *synarchia* is described as having "called upon the rich . . . to make various contributions and to take part in the affairs of the state" in an emergency in the first century B.C.⁴⁵ Evidently, the *synarchia* could make proclamations directly to the people; whether it could also exact penalties for non-compliance with its wishes cannot be determined.

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⁴³ IG V.1 11, 18b, 20, 21.

⁴⁴ On the Spartan *boule*, see Cartledge and Spawforth 148.

⁴⁵ IG V.1 11, lines 6–10, οἱ ἄρχοντες . . . // . . . [παρεκάλεσαν τοὺς εὐκαιροῦντας ἐν διαφοροῖς τῶν / πολιτῶν ἐπιδοῦναι τὰ διὰ]φο[ρ]α καὶ συνεπιλαβέσθαι τῶν κο[ινῶν πραγμάτων].