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A HISTORY OF SPARTA: 323-146 B.C.

DISSERTATION

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the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
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By

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The history of Sparta from the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. to the destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C. is the history of social revolution and Sparta's second rise to military prominence in the Peloponnesus; the history of kings and tyrants; the history of Sparta's struggle to remain autonomous in a period of amalgamation. It is also a period in Sparta's history too often neglected by historians both past and present.

There is no monograph directly concerned with Hellenistic Sparta. For the most part, this period is briefly and only incidentally covered in works dealing either with the whole history of ancient Sparta, or simply as a part of Hellenic or Hellenistic history in toto. Both Pierre Roussel and Eugène Cavaignac, in their respective surveys of Spartan history, have written clear and concise chapters on the Hellenistic period. Because of the scope of their subject, however, they were forced to limit themselves to only the most important events and people of this time, and great gaps are left in between.

Kathleen Chrimes deals with post-Classical Sparta in Part I of her work entitled Ancient Sparta. She has attempted to

reinterpret the history of the period in the light of the major reforms which took place at this time. Her theories, although interesting, are generally rejected by Humfrey Michell who, unfortunately, has only one chapter on Hellenistic Sparta, in which he concentrates on Agis, Cleomenes, and Nabis. His work is important, however, for its extremely informative narrative of the reform movement in Sparta and the part in it played by these three men.

The best attempt to cover, in detail, the whole of Spartan history from its beginning through the Roman period has been made by Victor Ehrenberg in his excellent article in Pauly-Wissowa. His vast knowledge of sources, both literary and epigraphic, as well as his keen intellectual probing into his subject, make his work the most important secondary source of knowledge of Hellenistic Sparta. He records the prominent events in as much detail as is possible in an encyclopedic article, and his listing and analyses of the source material for this subject are especially thorough and valuable.

Of the writers of Greek history in general, mention should be made of Karl Beloch and Georg Busolt. Beloch treats Spartan

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5 Ibid., chapter XI.
history only with respect to its relationship to the general history of the Greek world in this period, but his observations, though scattered, are scholarly and authoritative. Busolt narrates the subject in a more concise manner in the first part of the second volume of his work, entitled "Der Staat der Lakedaimonier." He tends to concentrate, however, on the period of social reform to the neglect of other more or less important events.

In the field of Hellenistic history, Benedict Niese's Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten and the articles in the Cambridge Ancient History are, again, as far as Sparta is concerned, brief, but sound. M. Cary, in A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C., is more specific in his treatment of certain areas of Spartan history, especially the area of social reform, but his narrative is more factual than interpretive. Maurice Holleaux interprets Spartan history almost exclusively in the terms of modern socialism. The inadequacy in all these works derives from their neglect of any but the most outstanding events and persons of the Spartan history of this period.

9 Benedict Niese, Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten (3 vols.; Gotha, Friedrich Andreas Perthes, 1893-1903).


Several areas of the Hellenistic period lend themselves to specific study, and the leagues which arose at this time especially are of interest in a discussion of later Sparta. A very early work was done by Edward A. Freeman entitled *A History of Federal Government in Greece and Italy*.\(^1\) Nothing done in more recent time has surpassed the quality of this book. It gives a highly detailed and scholarly account of the relationships of Sparta with both the Achaean and Aetolian Leagues. More recent works on the leagues are J.A.O. Larsen's two articles in *Classical Philology*,\(^2\) and his book entitled *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History*.\(^3\) In both his articles and his monograph, Larsen treats Sparta only incidentally.

Freeman's example has also been followed in a somewhat lesser degree by F. W. Walbank in his work on *Aratos of Sicyon*.\(^4\) Walbank gives a vivid picture of Aratos, the man and the politician. He is fair in his treatment of those individuals with whom Aratos came into contact. The weakness in his discussion lies in his tendency, natural enough, to become a special pleader for Aratos, and to seek to justify, or at least excuse, all his acts. Since his scope is limited to the lifespan of Aratos, Walbank discusses

\(^{14}\) J.A.O. Larsen, "Representative Government in the Panhellenic Leagues," Reprinted from *Classical Philology* XX (1925) and XXI (1926).
\(^{16}\) F. W. Walbank, *Aratos of Sicyon* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1933).
Sparta mainly in the Cleomenic period, but he does this with all due justice to Cleomenes III.

Two other works specifically concerned with the Greek leagues are Marcel du Bois' *Les Ligues Étolienne et Achéenne* and two articles in *Klio* by Heinrich Swoboda entitled "Studien zu den griechischen Bunden." Both authors treat Spartan history only incidentally to their main subject, but they give the reader a clear insight into the diplomacy of the time, and Sparta played an important part in this diplomatic activity.

Concerning the history of Sparta herself in the Hellenistic age, one special area is almost inevitably emphasized—the social revolution begun by Agis IV and completed by Cleomenes III. One of the best discussions of the background of the land problem in Sparta is found in *Le Mirage Spartiate* by François Ollier. The author gives a precise and detailed discussion of the whole problem, dealing at length with the early period of Spartan history and with the decline in population especially among the citizen-class.

Naturally, there have been several attempts made to link the social revolution in Sparta to socialism. Two such endeavors are Robert von Pöhlmann's *Geschichte der sozialen Frage und des*

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Socialismus in der antiken Welt, and an article in Klio by Gawril Kazarow, "Zur Geschichte der sozialen Revolution in Sparta." Although all analogies between ancient and modern "socialism" are apt to be more or less forced, the attempts at analogy throw light on the nature of the social revolution in Sparta, and the characters and purposes of the leading actors in it.

There is no one work, therefore, that treats the whole history of Hellenistic Sparta intimately and in detail, and from the Spartan point of view.

The present work, then, is an attempt to fill this lack and to present a detailed history of Sparta in the period of her decline and that of Greece, from Alexander to the Roman conquest. By a careful and meticulous study of the ancient literary sources and inscriptions, it is hoped that more light will be shed upon the more neglected events of Spartan history in this period, and, through this elucidation, a better understanding will be achieved of the more familiar episodes connected with the careers and policies of Agis IV, Cleomenes III, and Nabis. Further, a deeper understanding of the internal stresses and strains of Hellenistic Sparta should make more intelligible the part played by her in the general diplomatic and military history of the last age of Greek freedom. Finally, one cannot read, study, and write the intimate

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history of the last heroic Greek city-state, magni nominis umbra, without realizing how chaotic conditions were in a small corner of what was fast becoming the Roman world, and what a blessing, especially for the ordinary person, must have been the imposition of the pax Romana.

The narrative is supplemented by a chronological outline of the events of this period, a list of the Spartan kings during this period, a listing and analysis of the ancient sources, an index nominum, and an appendix on the date of the battle of Sellasia.
ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I wish to acknowledge my deep appreciation of the assistance given to me by Professor William F. McDonald in the preparation of this dissertation, and for his consistent consideration and kindness through the years in which he has been my adviser.
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INTRODUCTION

By the middle of the sixth century B.C., partly by conquest and partly by diplomacy, Sparta had become the strongest single power of the Peloponnesus. Her barracks-discipline gave her the finest army in Greece; her helot-economy made her agriculturally self-sufficient and liberated her limited citizen-body from all tasks save those of army and public life. Had she been able, she would have locked the gate at the Isthmus and enjoyed the security of a wholly peninsular hegemony.

Twice, however, in the fifth century circumstances beyond her control forced her into international politics and foreign war. The first occasion was the Persian invasion which she finally recognized rightly as no less a threat to herself than to the more exposed Greek states to the north. Once the danger was over, however, Sparta retired into comfortable seclusion and left the protection of Aegean Greece to the more adventurous spirit of Athens.

The second occasion was the rise of the Athenian empire. Forced by Corinth to fight reluctantly a war which she did not seek, she ended the conflict by destroying the only power that could then contain Persia, the Athenian navy. Having wrecked the stability of Greece since Plataea, she wasted her substance, such as it was, by attempting first to fight Persia in Asia, and...
secondly to control, by force and guile, northern Greece. In both cases she failed, and failed totally. The humiliating King's Peace of 387 B.C. which surrendered to Persia virtually everything won from her in the previous century, ended Sparta's Asiatic venture; the career of Epaminondas, 371-362 B.C., which reduced her territorially to what she was before the first Messenian War, ended her second venture. It is not surprising therefore, that, cut down to the status of a provincial second-rate state, and unable to control even the Peloponnesus, she should temporarily retreat into a policy of retirement, and decline to join both Philip and Alexander in their crusade against Persia.

When, then, in the summer of 323 B.C., Alexander died, Sparta was only a shadow of her former self. If the territorial losses she suffered from Philip and Alexander are added to those suffered from Epaminondas, her domain was reduced by almost half. This was a severe blow to her agrarian economy upon which her social and military system rested. On the other hand, she had not participated in the colonizing activities of the Greeks in Asia, and thus her soldier-citizen class, though reduced in number and destined to further diminution in the next century, remained at home and socially unchanged. Her polity was still that of a barracks-aristocracy in a world in which her professional officers and army could no longer be used effectively as instruments of national policy.

Obviously, she now had only two choices: either to convert her kings into mercenary condottieri and her Spartiates into
mercenary hoplites serving under them; or to achieve a social revolution that would destroy the oligarchical Spartiate monopoly of citizen-soldier education and introduce into the body politic a substantial number of perioeci and helots. The careers of Actotatus, Cleonymus, and Areus represent the attempt at the mercenary remedy; the endeavors of Agis IV and Cleomenes III and the rise of tyranny represent the attempt at social reform. In the end, of course, there was no remedy, and when, in 192 B.C. Sparta came under control of the Achaean League, the Roman legions had already come to Greece and were about to cross the Hellespont into Asia. Sparta's last fifty years were merely an epilogue before the curtain finally came down with the sack and destruction of Corinth in 146 B.C.
CHAPTER I

THE BACKGROUND FOR SOCIAL REFORM

In the Classical period, Sparta had control of the whole southern half of the Pelopponnesus. Arcadia, too, was generally under Spartan hegemony. All this began to change, however, first when Sparta lost Messenia after her defeat at Leuctra in 371 B.C., and later, when she refused to join the Athenian-Boeotian coalition which was defeated by Philip in 338 B.C. Since the Spartans declined also to take part in the League of Corinth set up by the Macedonian victor, Philip avenged this insult by forcibly depriving Sparta of a large part of Laconia. The Skiritis, that part of Laconia bordering on the Arcadian town of Skiros, was given to Arcadia; the Denthaliatis, an area between Laconia and Messenia, went to the Messenians; and the Cynuria was obtained by Argos. Sparta was restricted, therefore, to the territory between Mt. Taygetus and the coast of the Aegean Sea with her borders extending as far north as Sellasia and south to the Laconian Gulf. To be sure, this was the best part of Laconia, but the loss of almost one-half of her former possessions was a serious blow to Spartan pride and economy.¹

¹For a more detailed discussion of Spartan economy see below pp. 26-27.
It was natural, then, that once Alexander was occupied in Asia, Sparta would try to recover her lost territories. A rebellion instigated by King Agis III in 333 B.C. was crushed by Antipater at Megalopolis in 331 with the defeat and death of Agis. Sparta was forced to give fifty hostages, but the city was not occupied.\(^2\) In 330 B.C., Alexander confirmed all Philip's decisions on Sparta, and this was the situation at the death of Alexander in 323 B.C.

The Lamian War, which broke out in the autumn of 323, found most of the Greeks leagued against Antipater. The Macedonians, however, were supported by Boeotia and Corinth, the latter still in Macedonian hands; Athens, on her part, sought and obtained as allies the greater part of the Peloponnesus and almost all of central and northern Greece. Once again, Sparta, following her policy of isolation, remained aloof.\(^3\) Antipater was again victorious,\(^4\) and the Greeks now became subjects, instead of allies, of Macedonia. The Greek cities were forced to pay taxes and the strongest of them were garrisoned by Macedonian troops. After this, tyrants took control in many cities, and these tyrants supported, and were supported by, the Macedonian king. But Sparta, precisely because of her policy of non-participation, remained free. Freeman rightly says that, "on the whole, the history of Sparta during this age (371-277 B.C.) is more honourable than that

\(^2\)Diodorus XVII 73, 6.
\(^3\)Also Arcadia, Achaea, and Megara. Cary (Greek World, p. 7) states that "the Spartans and the Arcadians, unable to sink their long-standing feud, stood fixedly on guard against each other."
\(^4\)The war ended in 321 B.C.
of any other of the great Hellenic cities."\(^5\) She preserved her independence and dignity, and she neither received a Macedonian garrison nor suffered a tyrant. Sparta was not "crushed like Thebes, enslaved like Thessaly, nor degraded like Athens."\(^6\)

Antipater died in 319 B.C. after having given over the authority to his vice-regent Polycperchon. This was the beginning of a struggle for control between the new regent and Cassander, the son of Antipater, which ended in 316 B.C. with the complete success of Cassander. Although Sparta gave active support to neither contestant, she was openly in sympathy with Polycperchon. By 317 B.C., after Cassander had won several victories and many supporters,\(^7\) the Spartans began to feel the threat of invasion and called upon Polycperchon for help. They also fortified the city at its most exposed spots. The walls had been started during the time of Philip's threat to Greece and were clear evidence of the increasing weakness of Sparta's position.\(^8\) Although she could still mobilize two to three thousand men plus mercenaries,\(^9\) the

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\(^7\) Diodorus (XVIII 75, 2) says: \(\ldots\) δὲ Κάσσανδρος ἐπίεις κῶς προσφερόμενος πᾶσι καὶ κατὰ τὰς πράξεις ἐνεργῶς ὑν πολλοὺς ἐίχεν αἵρετοτάς τῆς αὑτοῦ δυναστείας.

\(^8\) Justinus (XIV 5, 5) states that Cassander: *deinde profectus in Graecian, multis civitatibus bellum infert: quorum excidio, veluti vicino incendio, territi Spartani, urbem quam semper armis, non muris, defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum et veteran maiorum gloriam, armis diffisi, murorum praesidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse a maioribus, ut, quam multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterent.*

\(^9\) This was the number which had fought at Megalopolis in 331 B.C.
Spartan peripheral protection no longer existed, and the Spartan soldier now faced the enemy on his own frontier.

In 315 B.C., Cassander joined the alliance against Antigonus and invaded Messenia, Arcadia, and Argos, but carefully avoided Laconia. Meanwhile, Antigonus built ships and sent generals to Greece and Pontus. Aristodemus, the general dispatched to Greece by Antigonus, sailed to Laconia and, after receiving permission from the Spartans, recruited eight thousand soldiers from the Peloponnesus. Many of these recruits were no doubt Spartans, and it is significant that the old Spartan citizen soldier is in process of becoming a mercenary soldier. At the same time, mercenary service resulted in a dangerous loss of manpower on the home front.

The two best known Spartan mercenaries in the latter part of the fourth century were the sons of King Cleomenes II, Acrotatus and Cleonymus. In 317 B.C., Agathocles had established a tyranny in Syracuse. Urged on by the Syracusan exiles living in Acragas, the Acragantine popular assembly voted for war and added Gela and Messana to their alliance. Some of the exiles then were sent as envoys to Sparta to bring back a general capable of taking charge of affairs for, as Diodorus tells us, they mistrusted their own countrymen who seemed too inclined toward tyranny, but they remembered the justness of Timoleon the Corinthian, a mercenary

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10 Diod. XIX 60, 1.
11 See below, pp. 17-19 concerning the attack of Pyrrhus.
general of former times. Acrotatus, the elder son of Cleomenes II, accepted their offer, since he was extremely unpopular among the young men in Sparta at this time. Acrotatus was so anxious to leave Sparta that he set sail with a few ships, and without gaining the permission of the ephors. Instead of going directly to Acragas, however, he was carried by the wind to the territory of Apollonia where, acting as a true condottiere, he managed to end an Illyrian siege of that city and effect a peace between the two combatants. He then sailed to Tarentum where he urged the people to fight against Syracuse. The Tarentines, who placed great trust in his words because of his ancestry, were persuaded to vote him twenty ships. Finally, he sailed to Acragas and assumed the generalship.

Up to this point Acrotatus had conducted himself honorably. As time advanced, however, he gave himself up to debauchery until, "acting the Persian rather than the Spartan," he offended the townspeople who considered him worse than a tyrant. When Acrotatus treacherously murdered Sosistratus, a prominent Syracusan exile, all the people united against him. He was removed from the generalship and forced to flee Sicily, sailing secretly, at night,

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12 Diod. XIX 70, 3.
13 Diod. XIX 70, 4. He was the sponsor of a bill condemning the cowards in a recent battle.
14 Ibid., XIX 70, 8.
15 Ibid., XIX 71, 3. His behavior parallels that of the Spartan general Pausanias after the Persian War. See Thucydides I 95.
16 Ibid., XIX 71, 2.
for Laconia. As Diodorus justly says, πράξει μὲν οὐδεμίαν οὔτε
τῆς πατρίδος οὔτε τῆς περὶ τὸ γένος ἐπιφανείας ἄξιον
διεσπαρξάτο.\textsuperscript{17} After his return to Sparta, nothing more is heard
of Acrotatus. It is certain, however, that he was dead by 309 B.C.,
the date of his father's death.\textsuperscript{18}

There were two possible successors of Cleomenes II. The
more likely choice was the king's second son, Cleonymus, but he was
a violent man and seemed inclined toward absolute monarchy.\textsuperscript{19}
Since the Gerousia could not trust Cleonymus, they gave the king-
ship instead to Areus, the son of Acrotatus and the grandson of
Cleomenes. Cleonymus, however, was offered the generalship\textsuperscript{20} of
the armies since Areus was still a child,\textsuperscript{21} and it is not unlikely
that he may have acted as regent during the minority of his
nephew.\textsuperscript{22} It was important, at that moment, that the armies be

\textsuperscript{17}Ibid., XIX 71, 2.
\textsuperscript{18}Pausanias III 6, 2. Pausanias (VIII 27, 11) tells us
that sometime after Acrotatus' return the Lacedaemonians, under his
leadership, invaded the territory of Megalopolis. The Spartans were
defeated, and Acrotatus was among those slain in battle. This event
supposedly occurred shortly after the tyrant Aristodemus took
control of Megalopolis, but Aristodemus came into power fifty years
after the death of Acrotatus. Pausanias has obviously confused the
son of Cleomenes II with Acrotatus, the son of Areus, who was
contemporary with Aristodemus.
\textsuperscript{19}Plutarch Pyrrhus XXVI, 8.
\textsuperscript{20}Niese (II, p. 7) states: "Kleonymus war als spartanischer
Feldherr wiederholt in Griechenland und in Italien thätig und genos
in seiner Zeit keinen geringen Namen." There can be no doubt of the
validity of this statement.
\textsuperscript{21}Areus was born in 312 B.C.
\textsuperscript{22}This may have led Polyaeus (II 29, 1) erroneously to call
Cleonymus Δικαιοσαίμουνοῦ βασιλεύς when referring to a time when
Areus was definitely the king.
led by an experienced general, since a new threat to Spartan autonomy was soon to arise.

In 307 B.C., Demetrius, the son of Antigonus, freed Athens and began his campaigns to wrest Greece from Cassander. Early in 303 B.C., he proceeded into the Peloponnesus where none stood against him, but all fled before him and handed over their cities. Demetrius, however, carefully avoided Laconia and contented himself with re-establishing the old League of Corinth with himself as Commander-in-Chief. Sparta again, as in the time of Philip and Alexander, refused to join. Shortly after this, Demetrius turned toward the conquest of Macedonia, and the Peloponnesus was left in peace.

It was about this time that an embassy from Tarentum came to Sparta seeking an army to aid them in their quarrel with the Lucanians and Romans. Cleonymus accepted, with the blessings of the Ephors, and became the first Spartan to fight against the Romans. With Tarentine gold, the Spartan general hired five thousand soldiers from the Peloponnesus, again many of them were no doubt Spartan mercenaries, and later, in Tarentum, enrolled some Italian soldiers. These men, plus the Tarentine troops, gave him an army numbering twenty thousand. The Lucanians, in terror,  

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23 Plut. Demetrius XXV, 1.
24 In the year 302 B.C. Livy (X 2, 1) gives two versions, first that the consul Aemilius, "proelio uno fugatum compulit in naves," and second, that he finds, "in quibusdam annalibus . . . Cleonymum, priusquam confligendum esset cum Romanis, Italia excessisse."
25 For a concise discussion of how historians have arrived at this number, see Beloch, Griech. Gesch., IV, 1, p. 202.
sought friendship with Tarentum, and the Romans also made peace. Cleonymus, however, was not satisfied with the easy turn of events, since he had hoped to use this commissior the first step to a personal dominion. He persuaded the now friendly Lucanians to invade the territory of Metapontum because the people of this city refused to come over to him. Accordingly, the Lucanians and Cleonymus made a simultaneous attack and completely cowed the Metapontines. The Spartan was received into the city as a friend, but exacted from the townspeople six hundred talents of silver and two hundred maidens of the best families as hostages, Diodorus adds, not as a security measure, but merely to satisfy his own lust. He then cast off his Spartan garb and lived in luxury.

Cleonymus, although he had a strong army and ample supplies, used them haphazardly. After making ambitious plans to invade Sicily and overthrow Agathocles, he turned instead to Corcyra, gained the city, exacted tribute, and installed a garrison, intending to make this his base of operations against Greece. At this time, envoys proposing alliances came to him from both Cassander and Demetrius, but he joined neither. Instead, learning that the Tarentines were no longer obeying his commands, he sailed back to Italy, leaving behind the garrison at Corcyra. He landed in the territory of Tarentum and took an unknown town, sold its inhabitants into slavery and plundered the countryside. The city of Triopium also fell. Now, however, the natives throughout the region rallied against Cleonymus, and in a night attack upon his

camp, killed more than two hundred of his men and took about one thousand prisoner. At the same time, a storm destroyed twenty of his ships. Cleonymus decided to leave Italy and sailed again for Corcyra where he now established a base for pirate raids in the Adriatic. His ventures took him as far north as the Venetian lagoons, where he suffered a defeat at the hands of the inhabitants of this area. In 300 B.C., Demetrius captured Corcyra and ended the pirate career of Cleonymus who then returned to Greece.

The expeditions of both Acrotatus and Cleonymus were private, mercenary enterprises and not undertaken in behalf of the state. Both brothers acted like condottieri, became tyrants, and were forcibly ejected from their tyrannies, Acrotatus from Acragas and Cleonymus from Corcyra. Diodorus says of each man, οὐδὲν τῆς Ἐπάρτης ἁζου ἐπορεύειν.28

In 298 B.C., Cassander died, to be followed after a few months by his eldest son and successor, Philip IV. Macedonia was then divided between the remaining sons of Cassander, Antipater and Alexander V. Demetrius, who had returned to Greece after the battle of Ipsus only to find himself deserted by his former allies, began his new campaign by besieging Athens. The Athenians held out for two years, but finally capitulated in the summer of 294 B.C. Demetrius then turned towards Sparta, now allied with Ptolemy I of Egypt. A Spartan army under the leadership of the Eurypontid king

27 Ibid., XX 104-105.
28 Diod. XX 104, 4.
Archidamus IV met the army of Demetrius near Mantinea, but was defeated and routed. A second pitched battle was fought closer to Sparta, in which Demetrius captured five hundred men and killed two hundred. Although the Spartans had reinforced the defenses previously erected against Cassander in 317 B.C., the city was about to fall when word came to Demetrius from Alexander V asking for help against his brother, Antipater. Demetrius also received word at this time that Lysimachus had taken his cities in Asia, and that Ptolemy had reduced Cyprus with the exception of the city of Salamis, where Demetrius' mother and children were now under siege. Deciding to leave Sparta, he went immediately to Macedonia, only to find that Pyrrhus of Epirus had answered the call first and had settled Alexander's problems. The assassination plot and counter-plot following the meeting of Demetrius and Alexander resulted in Alexander's death and the assumption of the Macedonian throne by Demetrius. By 293 B.C., Demetrius was master of all the Greek states except Epirus, Aetolia, and Sparta.

Once Demetrius was master of Macedonia, he first conquered Thessaly, and then, in 293 B.C., turned against the Boeotians. The Boeotians made friendly agreements with him until a Spartan army under Cleonymus arrived at Thebes. None of the sources

29 Plut. Dem. 35, 1; Polyaeon. IV 7, 9f.: Archidamus was routed by setting the forest on fire.

30 Paus. I 13, 6. In discussing the fortifications raised against Pyrrhus, Pausanias relates: πρῶτερον ἔτι τῆς Σπάρτης ἐπὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς Δημήτριον τάφροις τε βαθεῖαις καὶ σταυροῖς τετειχισμένης ἱσχυροῖς, τὰ δὲ ἐπιμαχώτατα καὶ οἰκοδομήμασιν.

31 Plut. Dem. 35, 1; ὁσον οὐχὶ τὴν πόλιν ἔχειν ἐδόκει μέχρι τῶν χρόνων ἐκείνων ἄνδρων οὐδαμον ὀυκαυ.
indicates whether or not Cleonymus was hired to bring this army, but it is doubtful that he would have come otherwise. At his arrival the Thebans revolted, and Demetrius laid siege to the city. Cleonymus, seeing the siege weapons, fled in fear. Again he added nothing to the glory of Sparta. A twelve-year period of relative quiet followed the return of Cleonymus to Sparta.

In 281 B.C., Areus was definitely king of Sparta and ready to make his bid for hegemony of the Peloponnesus. The opportunity was presented in the struggle between Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius, and Ptolemy Ceraunus, half-brother of Ptolemy II, for control of Macedonia. Justin tells us, "omnes ferme Graeciae civitates, ducibus spartanis, velut occasione data, ad spem libertatis erectae, missis invicem legatis, per quos in societatis foedera alligarentur, in bellum prorumpunt." Secretly subsidized by Antiochus I and probably by Ptolemy II, Areus re-formed the old Peloponnesian League in the winter of 281 B.C., and in 280, marched north at the head of a coalition army of Spartans, Eleans, and Arcadians. Although Argos and Megalopolis expelled their Macedonian garrisons and proclaimed their freedom, they did not join Areus. At the news of his march, four Achaean cities, Patrae, Dyme, Tritaea, and Pharae, also revolted from Macedonian control. These will become part of the twelve initial cities of the soon-to-be-formed Achaean League. Since the Greeks were afraid to attack Gonatas directly, Areus and his army shipped from Patrae and

\[\text{\textsuperscript{32}}\text{Ibid.}, \text{Dem. 39, 2.}\]
\[\text{\textsuperscript{33}}\text{Just. XXIV 1, 1.}\]
invaded Aetolia. Aetolia not only offered an opportunity for plunder, but was an ally of Gonatas. Using the excuse that Aetolia had occupied the sacred territory of Cirrha and was holding Delphi, Areus wasted its territory. The Aetolians then resorted to guerrilla warfare in which the allies suffered great losses. Finally, when they refused to go further, the League fell to pieces, and Areus, checked both militarily and diplomatically, returned to Sparta. The Achaean cities, the former allies of Areus, then reconstituted the old Achaean League which had been broken up after Ipsus, and which was to become the most constant enemy of Sparta in the subsequent period.

Areus, however, if he failed in his extra-Peloponnesian adventure, still could attempt to reassert Spartan hegemony in the Peloponnesus. In the period between 281-277 B.C., he marched against Messene, probably recovering the Denthaliatis at this time,34 invaded Elis and Arcadia,35 sent Cleonymus with an army to Troezen,36 and made an alliance with Apollodorus,37 the tyrant of Cassandreia and an opponent of Gonatas, and himself went to Crete on an appeal from the Gortynians. Apollodorus was an ally of Antiochus, and his treaty with the Spartans can only mean that they too attached themselves to Antiochus. The intervention in Crete indicates that the Spartans were in friendly relation with Ptolemy

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34 Paus. IV 28, 3; see also Tacitus, Annales, IV, 43.
35 Paus. IV 28, 4 concerning Elis; VIII 6, 3 on Arcadia.
36 Troezen was held by Craterus, half-brother of Gonatas. Cleonymus, in 277 B.C., took the city by siege, expelled Craterus' garrison, pillaged it, and set up his own garrison under a Spartan commanding officer. Polyaen. II 29, 1.
37 Paus. IV 5, 4; Polyaen. VI 7, 2.
also. Areus was still in Crete in the spring of 272 B.C. when Pyrrhus invaded Laconia and laid siege to Sparta.

Since both Areus and Pyrrhus were enemies of Gonatas, friendship between them would have been natural. Cleonymus' conduct, however, had changed this. In his later years, Cleonymus married a Eurypontid princess named Chilonis as one of the steps toward regaining the power he had lost when Areus came of age. He tried to gain followers in Laconia so as to raise up the masses against the Spartan oligarchy and overthrow the constitution, but he was frustrated in both his political and marital plans, for he gained few revolutionary followers, and Chilonis made no secret of her love for Acrotatus, the son of Areus. In disgust, Cleonymus left Sparta and joined Pyrrhus in his acquisition of western Macedonia and Thessaly in 274 B.C. It was Cleonymus again who urged Pyrrhus to turn towards Sparta. Pyrrhus took with him twenty-five thousand infantry and two thousand horses besides twenty-four elephants, all of which was a good indication, as Plutarch states, that he came ὁυ Κλεσωνύμω τὴν Σπάρτην, ἀλλὰ τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐπιτηδεύω. He professed to come as a liberator of the Greek cities and was welcomed as such by the Achaean towns. He then made his way to Megalopolis where he was doubly welcome once the townspeople realized that his real objective was Sparta. Elis and Messene also gave their aid to

38 Plut. Pyrrhus XXVI, 9.
39 Pausanias (I 13, 6) says that the Argives and Messenians came as allies to aid Sparta. This statement, however, is not corroborated by any other source.
Pyrrhus in retaliation for Areus' previous raids. Here, at Megalopolis, he met with a Lacedaemonian embassy and assured them that not only had he no designs against Sparta, but he was going to send his younger sons to Sparta to be brought up in the Lacedaemonian traditions. As soon as he reached Laconia, however, he began to plunder the territory and, arriving at night before Sparta, almost took the city itself by surprise. He lost his advantage when, against the advice of Cleonymus, he decided to wait until daylight to attack.

Plutarch, in his life of Pyrrhus, has given us a dramatic account of the heroic defense of Sparta in this emergency, and the episode is a testimony to the survival, under less happy circumstances, of the antique Spartan character. The men wanted to send the women to Crete, but the women, led by Archidamia with sword in hand, refused to leave, preferring to perish if Sparta should perish. Next, the men decided to run a trench parallel with the enemy camp. At either end of this trench, which Phylarchus says was 800 feet long, wagons were imbedded up to their axles in order to impede the elephants. The Spartan women ordered the fighting men to rest while they assumed their share of the work. One-third of the trench was completed by them. The next morning, the army was sent out with words of praise and encouragement from the women while Chilonis stood aside with a rope around her neck so that Cleonymus would not take her alive.

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40 The grandmother of King Agis IV. See below, chapter II.
The Spartan phalanx which confronted Pyrrhus, as well as the trench, could not be broken, but Ptolemy, the eldest son of Pyrrhus, took two thousand Gauls and Chaonians and tried to force his way through the wagons. This also was impossible, so long as the wagons were imbedded in the soil, and so the Gauls began to pull them up and drag them away. Acrotatus saw the danger, however, and gathering three hundred men behind him, circled around behind Ptolemy, attacked his rear, and drove back the Gauls with great slaughter. A fierce battle also raged around Pyrrhus, but night put an end to the fighting with neither side victorious.

At daybreak the battle began again. Plutarch tells us that the Spartans defended themselves προθυμα και ἀρετὴ παρὰ δύναμιν, and the women were everywhere helping the wounded and providing food and water. Pyrrhus' men attempted to fill up the trench with whatever material they could find, while Pyrrhus himself tried to force the wagon-wall again. After his horse was killed, however, he called a halt to the fighting in hopes that the Spartans would be willing to make concessions since almost all were wounded, and many of the men had already fallen in battle. But fortune now smiled upon Sparta, for Ameiniyas, a Phocian general of Antigonus, arrived from Corinth with mercenary troops to give aid. Pyrrhus had inadvertently thrown Sparta and Macedonia together in their mutual desire to halt him. Shortly after the arrival of Ameiniyas, Areus returned from Crete with an additional

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41 Plut. Pyrr. XXIX, 3.
42 Ibid., XXIX, 5.
two thousand soldiers. Against these forces Pyrrhus could accomplish nothing, so he turned away from the city and was ravaging the countryside when a message arrived from one of the faction leaders in Argos asking aid from his armies. Pyrrhus started for Argos constantly harrassed on the way by Areus who, by frequent ambushes, kept cutting off the Gauls and Molossians who brought up the rear of the army. Ptolemy was sent by his father to bring help to the rear, but was killed in the fighting. The Spartans, elated by his death, rushed out onto a plain and against orders engaged Pyrrhus' infantry in battle while Pyrrhus, now determined to avenge the death of his son, brought up the Molossian cavalry. The Spartans were defeated with great slaughter. Plutarch says that this additional loss to Sparta when the war was already over was due to 'η φιλοτιμία τῶν ἄρχοντων. The desire for vengeance was probably a stronger motive. At all events, Areus lost part of his best troops in a needless battle. Pyrrhus died a brief time after this in Argos; nothing more is known of Cleonymus.

The affair of Pyrrhus, if it accomplished nothing else, greatly enhanced the prestige of Areus. Ptolemy II of Egypt had been supporting Pyrrhus as his champion against Gonatas, but he now turned to Areus. To the Spartans he offered the hope of a restored hegemony in the Peloponnesus; to Areus he held out the opportunity for personal glory and a large amount of Egyptian gold, for Areus had a huge appetite for both. Ptolemy's plan was to attack Gonatas with a powerful Greek alliance backed by

\[^{43}\text{Plut. Pyrr. XXX, 6.}\]
Egyptian naval and financial support and he used as an excuse for this venture the desire to fulfill a plan of his wife.

Arsinoe, now the wife of Ptolemy II, had been formerly married to Lysimachus by whom she had a son, Ptolemaeus. When Lysimachus died in 281 B.C., Arsinoe began to intrigue to place Ptolemaeus on the throne of Macedonia. She found a willing supporter in the person of her present husband, Ptolemy, who proceeded to gain first Sparta and then Athens as allies in a coalition against Gonatas. The war officially started in 267 B.C., when Chremonides, an Athenian, offered in the Athenian ecclesia a resolution inviting the Greeks to form a general league of liberation against their common enemy, Macedonia. His success was limited, but his name was given to the "Chremonidean War," which lasted for almost six years. Athens made a covenant with the Spartans, her first since the Persian War. Sparta brought with her, on the allied side, Achaea, Elis, most of Arcadia and part of Crete. Ptolemy's fleet, under Patroclus, was sent into the Saronic Gulf. Gonatas had as his allies Argos and Megalopolis. Boeotia and Aetolia remained neutral, but friendly to Macedon. Most important, however, was the fact that Antigonus held the Isthmus with his garrisons on Acrocorinthus and in Megara.

Gonatas took the initiative in 266 B.C. by invading Attica and cutting off the Athenian supply line. Patroclus retaliated by taking Sunium and operating a blockade-running service to Athens.

44 Unfortunately, there are no literary sources for this period, but events can be reconstructed, in part, from a long inscription found at Athens commemorating the treaty between that city and Sparta. See Dittenberger, *Syll.* 434/5.
which was fairly successful. The Egyptian admiral was careful, however, probably on orders from Ptolemy, never to engage the Macedonian fleet in combat, and for the same reason he never attempted to ferry Areus' troops across the gulf. Instead, in 265 B.C., Areus made a frontal attack upon the Macedonian fortified position at Corinth. What caused this foolhardy decision is not known. Ehrenberg says that Areus underestimated his enemy's strength, and overestimated his own. Cary thinks that the Spartan king acted from a sense of duty to Athens. It is more likely that his Spartan pride and Ptolemy's generous financial support encouraged him to make this attempt. Areus was defeated and killed in the battle. After this the Spartans made no further attempt to help Athens, and the city fell in 262 B.C. A lasting peace between Athens and Macedonia was made in 261. As a result of the Chremonidean War, the former work of Areus in the Peloponnesus was destroyed. Achaea abrogated her alliance, Mantinea joined the Arcadian League, and the Denthaliatis was restored to Messene. For a period of almost twenty years, however, Sparta had a king worthy of her past.

The period of Areus' rule also brought about some internal changes in Sparta. According to Phylarchus, Areus introduced courtly luxury and extravagance, and it is generally acknowledged that he coined the first Spartan money, placing his head on it in

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46 Cary, Greek World, p. 135.
47 Phylarchus, frag. 43, FHG I, 175.
48 Cavaignac (Sparte, pp. 188-9), no doubt correctly, says that Areus coined money in order to pay his mercenaries.
the manner of a Hellenistic king. He was the first and only Spartan king for whom an inscription of honor was erected outside Sparta. A fragment of this inscription, found at Delphi, reads:

Δέλφοι ἐδωκαν Ἀρεὺς βασιλεὺς βασιλέως Ἀκροτάτου καὶ Χιλώνιος, ἀυτῷ καὶ ἐκγόνοις, προξενιῶν, πρωμαχείν, προ[ε] δραν, προδικιάν, ἀσυλίαν, ε[ὕ]ρησιαν.49

Areus is designated as the son of King Acrotatus and Queen Chilonis in a typically Hellenistic manner. His father was not a king, nor was his mother a queen. To mention his mother, furthermore, was contrary to Spartan customs, but indicative of an age in which women begin to play an important part in public affairs. A statue honoring Areus was also erected by Ptolemy II at Olympia with an inscription which reads:


It is extremely unfortunate that our sources on Areus are not more ample. From what we do know about him, it is obvious that he was a strong personality in a period of weak Spartan kings. He acted in the tradition of the old kings in his policy of expansion, but he was Hellenistic in his coalitions with Antiochus, Ptolemy, and Athens, and in his coining of money. Ehrenberg says

49 Dittenberger, Syll. 3 430.
50 Dittenberger, Syll. 3 433.
that in the play of high politics Areus was "nur Figur, nicht Spieler," but this does him less than justice. In his two attempts at Greek leadership, Areus was foiled by his allies, once in Aetolia, and again at Corinth. Justin says of the former event that the allies mistrusted the Spartans, "existimantes, dominationem eos, non libertatem Graeciae quaerere." Perhaps this was true, but it is also true that Areus took the lead in endeavoring to free Greece from Macedonia, and his failure to do so was due, in a large part, to the failure of his allies to support him.

Areus was succeeded by his son Acrotatus about whom very little is known other than his love affair with Chilonis and his defense of Sparta against Pyrrhus. About the year 263 B.C., he attempted to recover Mantinea for Sparta and failed. He died sometime before 252 B.C. in a battle against Aristodemus, the tyrant of Megalopolis. There are no sources for the ten-year period preceding his death, nor for the almost ten years following it, before Agis IV became king. Sparta, however, had suffered several severe military set-backs, and the loss of manpower must have been grievous at a time when the Spartan population had already decreased greatly due to domestic problems. Sparta retired into a period of quiet to recoup her losses. But Sparta had remained free, she paid no tribute, she had no foreign garrison within her city, and even in defeat, she had suffered no shame.

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52 Just. XXIV 1, 7.
53 See above, p. 9, note 18.
54 For a discussion of these problems see below, chapter II.
CHAPTER II
AGIS: THE BEGINNING OF SOCIAL REFORM

The failure of Areus was indicative of the rise of a new state form in Greece. No longer was the particularistic polis capable of maintaining its freedom by its own means. To be sure, leagues had been formed before this when special needs arose, but in the Hellenistic age they became characteristic. The separate city-states of the Peloponnese, and even Macedonia, remote as it was, offered little threat to Spartan autonomy; the Achaean League, however, re-established following Areus' retreat from Aetolia, was a different matter. This league, at first made up of twelve Achaean cities, slowly extended its influence to most of the northern Peloponnese, and a coalition of northern cities was definitely to be feared by Sparta. In 245 B.C., Aratus of Sicyon became strategos of the Achaean League, an office which he would hold every other year until his death in 213 B.C. One year later, in 244, Agis IV became king of Sparta.

The history of Sparta between 260 and 243 B.C. is obscure. Agis was the grandson of the Archidamus defeated by Demetrius; Agis' father, Eudamidas II, did nothing worthy of note. The Eurypontid kings, for almost a century, were overshadowed by the more vigorous Agiads. Acrotatus, however, died in c. 264 B.C. and was succeeded by his son, Areus II, who, in turn, died of disease
when he was eight years old. The Agiad throne then, in 256 B.C., went to Leonidas, son of Cleonymus, already an old man. The only figure who really emerges in this earlier period is Xanthippus, a Spartan mercenary who answered the call of Carthage in 255 B.C. Polybius tells us that the Carthaginians had been defeated by Regulus, and the city was in difficult straits when the generals, hearing of some remarks that Xanthippus had made concerning Carthaginian leadership, offered him a chance to do better. Xanthippus accepted the challenge and proved himself a capable general. Nothing more is known of him, and his adventure proves only that Sparta was still turning out good soldiers and sending them abroad as mercenaries. We also know that sometime within this period Sparta attempted to conquer Elis. Beloch thinks that this was preliminary to an invasion of Messenia. Sparta did not want to secure Elis, but rather to prevent her from allying with Messenia in the coming struggle. If so, this was in the tradition of Areus; the originator of the policy at this time is unknown.

In 244, then, when Agis IV became king, Sparta had sunk to the status of a second-rate power, still with delusions of grandeur, but not capable of living up to her dreams. Agis hoped to change all of this; and as a first step, he initiated a program of social reform.

1 Plut. Agis 3, 5; Paus. III 6, 7.
2 Polybius I, 32-34.
3 Paus. IV 28, 4ff.
4 Beloch, Griech. Gesch., IV 1, p. 615.
Some sort of social reform was badly needed. Sparta had become very wealthy after the Peloponnesian War, and rich Spartans had the reputation of being the wealthiest of Greeks. Cicero tells us of an oracle of Pythian Apollo concerning Sparta which says that "Spartam nullo re alia nisi avarita esse perituram," while Plutarch states, ἕπελ παρεισέδυ πρῶτοι εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀργυροῦ καὶ χρυσοῦ ζήλος ... τῶν πλείστων ἐξέπεσεν ἡ Σπάρτη καλῶν. With the rise in prices which follows any great influx of wealth, the poor became even more miserably poor, while even some of the rich found it hard to retain their fortunes. As is usual under conditions such as these, and where land is the basis of wealth, the Lycurgan system of equal and inalienable κλῆροι broke down, and land began to be inordinately concentrated in the hands of a few, thus destroying the scheme of Lycurgus for providing Sparta with a self-supporting, military citizen body. The means of this radical revolution in the land-holding system was a rhetra of the ephor Epitadeus, proposed probably shortly after the Peloponnesian War, and before Leuctra. Epitadeus introduced a law permitting a man, during his lifetime, to give his estate and allotment to anyone he wished, or to bequeath it in the same way. The essence of the ancestral Lycurgan system was the κλῆρος, patrimonial land which was always hereditary and inalienable, and the possession of which in equal, or almost equal

5Plato Alcibiades 122E-123A, says, χρυσοῦν δὲ καὶ ἀργυρίου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πασί Ἐλλησιν οὔσοι ἐν Λακεδαίμοι.
6Cicero De officiis II, 77.
7Plut. Agis III, 1.
8Ibid., V, 2.
portions, made the members of the land-holding class equal (οικονόμοι) in landed wealth. Epitadeus changed this by abrogating the law of inheritance for the right of testament. Lycurgus had tried to provide equality among Spartans, but, as Coulanges says, "plus le législateur avait fait effort pour faire régner l'égalité, plus l'inégalité est devenue profonde." The rhetra was accepted by the Spartan citizen body. As a result of this law, many Spartans lost their land and citizenship, for they could no longer contribute to the συσσίτια. The common meals were deserted, since the poor could not, and the rich would not support them. The poor could not even become wage earners since helots still tilled the soil, and there was no commerce or industry in Sparta to which they could turn.

The social hierarchy which existed in Sparta at this time was as follows. At the bottom were the νεοδοµῆδες, helots freed by the state in reward for service in war. Directly above them were the ἐπεύσκοτοι, offspring of Spartan women who had mated with helots while their husbands were at war. Above them were the μηδώνοι who were children of helots brought up as foster-brothers of the young Spartans. Next in order were the

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11 See Myron of Priene in Athenaeus VI.
12 See Theopompus in Athenaeus VI.
13 Athenaeus VI, 102; Plut. Cleomenes VIII.
descended from true Spartans by helot women and, as such, not Spartan citizens. Next were the ὑπομελούσες, the "inferiors," or younger, disinherited sons. The ὀμοίοι, or "equals," superior to all others, were at the top and controlled the government. What this listing fails to indicate, however, is that the Spartan women, through inheritance and dowries, had gained control of almost two-fifths of the whole area of the country and become a powerful influence in Spartan society. By the time of Agis IV, according to Phylarchus, there were about seven hundred Spartiates (ὀμοίοι), of whom only one hundred held land and farms.

The question is: what was the distinction between the one hundred Spartiates who held land and farms and the other six hundred who did not? Alexander Fuks, who gives a very good summary of the problems besetting the Spartan citizen-body in the third century B.C., offers an interesting and logical explanation of Phylarchus' statement. He agrees with Busolt that the number one hundred must be too low if by that is meant the totality of true Spartiates. There could hardly have been a Gerousia of twenty-eight men in a citizen body of only one hundred. The citizen army, moreover, would have disappeared also, since there could only be sixty to seventy combatants in that number. Plutarch, quoting Phylarchus, must mean a citizen-body of seven hundred with one

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\textsuperscript{14}Aristotle \textit{Politics VIII}, 6; Xenophon, \textit{Hellenica}, V 3, 9. \\
\textsuperscript{15}Arist. Pol. II 6, 11. \\
\textsuperscript{16}Alexander Fuks, "The Spartan Citizen-Body in Mid-Third Century B.C. and its Enlargement Proposed by Agis IV," \textit{Athenaeum}, XL (1962), 244-263. \\
\textsuperscript{17}Busolt, \textit{Griech, Staatsk.}, II, p. 726 with note 1.
hundred land-rich and six hundred poorer citizens, who still some­how managed to contribute to the syssitia. At the death of Agis, furthermore, a number of citizens fled Sparta, probably about ten percent of the population, while Cleomenes first killed fourteen and then exiled eighty men. This more than takes care of one hundred citizens. The poor, active supporters of Agis, therefore, were citizens whom Plutarch refers to as δῆμος, πένητες, πολλοί and κακῶς πράττοντες. They are not the ὀχλος ἄπορος καὶ ἄτιμος who were no longer citizens. Thus, as Aristotle says, although Lacedaemon was capable of supporting fifteen hundred cavalry and thirty thousand heavy-armed soldiers,¹⁸ the Spartan army numbered not even a thousand. Conditions were perfect for a revolution. The land-poor citizens, in no position to help them­selves, needed a leader; Agis IV became that leader.

Plutarch says of Agis: πολὺ παρῆλαττεν εὔφυία καὶ φρονήματι ψυχῆς¹⁹ almost all the kings who came before him. Before he reached the age of twenty, he had turned away from pleasures, although he had been reared amid luxury by his mother, Agesistrata and his grandmother, Archidamia,²⁰ who were the richest people in Sparta. Agis accepted the old manner of dress, observed the ancient customs in his meals and general way of living, and declared that he did not want royal power ἐν μὴ

¹⁸Arist. Pol. II 6, 11.
¹⁹Plut. Agis IV, 1.
²⁰The same Archidamia who was the heroine of 272 B.C. See above, p. 17.
His hope was, as he put it, to restore the laws of Lycurgus and, therefore, restore the Spartan citizen body to its ancestral strength. "Return to the old ways and bring back Spartan power" became the slogan of both Agis and his follower, Cleomenes III.

The young men among the ὄμολοι adhered rapidly to Agis' plan, and he was equally successful with the women of his own family, although they at first opposed his ideas. He also won to his side the mass of poor citizens in the lower echelons, and some of the rich ὄμολοι who were badly in debt. In the latter category was his maternal uncle Agesilaus who hoped to rid himself of a multitude of debts by changing the constitution. Two other supporters were Lysander, a man of high reputation in Sparta, and Mandrocleidas, whom Plutarch calls the craftiest Greek of his times. Very much against Agis were most of the older ὄμολοι, far gone in corruption by now, so that they shuddered at the thought of the Lycurgan constitution. The women also were opposed to him because they would lose their wealth and, therefore, their source of power. They turned, for a champion of their cause, to the Agiad king, Leonidas II. Leonidas had been previously a mercenary in Seleucid pay, and for a long time had frequented oriental courts. When he became king, he had tried to bring Eastern pomp and pride into his office, but without much success. Naturally, the women recognized in Leonidas a kindred spirit. The

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21 Plut. Agis IV, 1.
22 Plut. Agis VI, 2; "They were as fearful as runaway slaves being led back to their masters."
Agiad king, however, although in full sympathy with the rich, feared to antagonize the people who were eager for a revolution. He made no open opposition to Agis, therefore, but contented himself with spreading the rumor that his colleague was buying a tyranny by giving land to the poor, and gaining a bodyguard by remission of debts.

Agis was determined to gain his reforms by legal methods, and his first step was to have Lysander elected to the ephorate in 243 B.C. Lysander, almost immediately, introduced a rhetra into the Gerousia, the chief provisions of which, following the Lycurgan pattern, were abolition of debts and redistribution of land. The area of Pellene, Taygetus, Malia, and Sellasia was to be divided into forty-five hundred lots (κληρον), and the land outside of this area into fifteen thousand. The smaller territory would be apportioned to perioeci who were capable of bearing arms. Since there were obviously not enough Spartiates for forty-five hundred lots, their number was to be increased by the addition of perioeci and foreigners, ὃσοι τροφῆς μετεσχημότες ἐλευθερίου καὶ χαρέντες ἄλλως τοῖς σώμασι καὶ καθ' ἡλικίαν ἀκμαίους εἶναι. The new and old Spartiates then would be formed into fifteen syssitiai by four hundreds and two hundreds, and would practice the ancient Spartan way of life.

The members of the Gerousia were divided in their opinion of this plan, so Lysander called together a meeting of the Apella,

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23 Plut. Agis VIII, 1.
24 Ibid. This is mathematically impossible.
although it had no power to pass on a law until the Gerousia had given approval. Lysander first gave a speech in behalf of reform, and then Mandrocleidas and Agesilaus spoke, reminding the people of the Delphic oracle as well as the recent one from Pasiphaë which ordained that the Spartans ὅσος γενέσθαι πάντας καθ’ ὦ Ἀινούργος εἰς ἀρχής ἔταξε νόμον. Finally, Agis stood up, spoke briefly, and then offered to put into the common treasury which he hoped to establish, his own estate plus six hundred talents. His mother and grandmother, along with their relatives and friends, did likewise. The people were delighted with the generosity of Agis, but Leonidas now became more active in his opposition, for he realized that he too would be forced to contribute a large part of his possessions, and yet would reap none of the glory that Agis had. Wherefore, the Spartans split into two factions, the poor who enthusiastically supported Agis; and the rich whose only hope lay in Leonidas. The rich finally prevailed, for the Gerousia rejected the rhetra by one vote.

In retaliation, Lysander brought an indictment against Leonidas according to an ancient law which forbade a descendant of the Heraclidae to marry a foreign wife, and another law which demanded the death penalty for any Spartan who settled abroad. Pausanias tells us that Lysander also charged that Leonidas, while still a boy, had sworn to his father, Cleonymus, to ruin Sparta.

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25 Plut. Agis IX, 3. The temple and oracle of Pasiphaë were at Thalamae.
26 Paus. III 6, 7.
The Ephors then proceeded to watch for the traditional sign from heaven.

Every nine years, the Ephors were permitted, on a clear and moonless night, to observe the skies for unfavorable omens. If they saw a shooting star, they could decide that the kings were unworthy of that office, and depose them until they heard otherwise from Delphi or Olympia. Lysander declared that the sign had been given him and indicted Leonidas as unworthy, producing witnesses to prove that the king had an Asian wife and two children by her. He also tried to induce Cleombrotus, a man of royal lineage and the son-in-law of Leonidas, to claim the royal power. Leonidas fled in terror to the temple of Athena of the Brazen House where his daughter, having left her husband, joined him as a suppliant. Since he failed to appear at his trial, Leonidas was deposed, and Cleombrotus II became king in his place.

This ouster of Leonidas served to strengthen the conservative opposition and in 242 B.C., when Lysander's term expired, a new and reactionary board of Ephors was elected. The new ephorate recalled Leonidas from his sanctuary and indicted Lysander and Mandrocleidas for violating the law by proposing an abolition of debts and a redistribution of land (the rhetra of 243 B.C.). Lysander and Mandrocleidas, then, proved themselves worthy of their reputations, for they not only brought Agis and Leonidas together, but persuaded them that the task of the Ephors

27The omen was supposed to condemn both kings, but Lysander, without opposition, used it only against Leonidas.
was to advise the kings, and to arbitrate differences between them, but not to interfere when both kings were of one mind. The kings, therefore, went with their friends into the agora, removed the Ephors, and put in their own men. One of these was Agesilaus. They next armed a large body of the young men among their supporters, opened the prisons, and set free other supporters, an act which caused some concern among the people, for they feared a bloody retaliation. Agis saw to it, however, that none lost his life. Not long after this, Leonidas, regretting his former coalition with Agis, fled to Tegea.

The reform program was well on its way when, as Plutarch says, Agesilaus ἄνετρεψε πάντα καὶ διελυμῆνατο. Agesilaus owned a great deal of land, but he also owed huge debts. As he had no desire to give up his estates, he persuaded Agis to remit debts first, thus winning the support of many men of property who also were in debt. Agis could then proceed with the rest of his plan, it was suggested, with much less difficulty. Accordingly, all the mortgages were brought into the agora, heaped together, and burned. The party of Agesilaus now deserted Agis since they had gained all they desired, and although the multitude clamored for land division, Agesilaus always made some excuse for putting

28 Cleomenes, in order to overthrow the ephors, killed all but one, and later exiled another eighty men. See below, p. 47.

it off. By the summer of 241 B.C., the reform movement had spent itself. Finally, when an appeal came to Sparta from the Achaean Ephors, in relief, sent Agis north.

Agis started out with an army of young men who were imbued with the revolutionary spirit and the hope of receiving their allotments of land once they had returned from this expedition. They marched through the Peloponnesus with a discipline and order which amazed the other Greek cities, and brought to mind the great Spartan commanders of the past. Agis joined Aratus at Corinth, where the leader of the Achaean was still debating whether or not to meet the Aetolians in open battle. Agis urged a battle, but Aratus, at first sight of the enemy, decided to withdraw. He gave the excuse that a battle was now unnecessary since the crops were in and the people had retired to Corinth. Aratus, however, displayed courage few times in his career, and it is probable that he suffered a lack of nerve at the crucial time. He was also, no doubt, suspicious of Agis of whose reform movement the conservative Achaean heartily disapproved. Agis accepted the decision not to fight and turned his army homeward. Aratus, whatever his reasons were, had sacrificed a strong defense against the Aetolians and a Spartan alliance. The Aetolians, entering Achaea, took and sacked Pellene. Although the invaders, while plundering the city, were

Pausanias (II 8, 5) claims that Agis and a Spartan army surprised and took Pellene in the year 243 B.C., but when the Achaean army under Aratus arrived, the Spartans were defeated and returned home. Plutarch does not mention this event, and it is highly unlikely that Achaea would look to Sparta for aid so shortly after having defeated the Spartans.
surprised by Aratus and completely routed, the townspeople of Pellene never forgave Aratus for allowing the Aetolians to reach them.

Agis returned to find Agesilaus had made himself tyrant of Sparta. In order to prolong his time in office, Agesilaus had intercalated a thirteenth month, although it was not yet due, and collected the taxes for it. He kept an armed bodyguard which went everywhere with him, and he made no secret of his contempt for the kings, honoring Agis only slightly because of his relationship to him. He also spread rumors that he would seek the office of Ephor again, an unconstitutional act. Agesilaus' arrogance and disregard of the law brought about a counter-revolution and, in 240 B.C., Leonidas was invited to come back from Tegea. Hippomedon, the son of Agesilaus and a man of high repute, saved his father by taking him out of Laconia. Agis and Cleombrotus sought sanctuary, Agis at the temple of Athena of the Brazen House, and Cleombrotus at the sanctuary of Poseidon. Leonidas first proceeded against his son-in-law, Cleombrotus, who was saved only by the entreaties of his wife, Chilonis. This woman, the daughter of Leonidas, had formerly followed her father into exile and was now willing to do the same for her husband.

After settling the question of Cleombrotus by sending him into exile, Leonidas dismissed the existing Ephors and appointed his own men in their place. He then began to lay plots against

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31 This was done three times every nine-year period at specified times so as to equalize the lunar and solar years.
Agis. Leonidas at first tried to persuade Agis to leave his asylum and take up the royal power again, claiming that the people had pardoned him as a young man duped by his elders, but Agis was too suspicious for this. He was finally deceived by three former comrades who pretended to be still friends and then arrested him on his way back to the temple from his bath. Agis was thrown into prison and given a mock trial at which he refused to defend himself. By this time, many citizens had gathered outside the prison, demanding that the king be tried before the Apella. Hearing this, the ephors hastily condemned and executed the king. The conspirators went one step further and had Archidamia and Agesistrata murdered also. Plutarch says that Agis was the first Spartan king to be put to death by the Ephors. The greater blame should rest on Leonidas who, although once himself saved by Agis, refused to intervene on his behalf now.

After the death of Agis, his brother Archidamus fled to Messene, but his wife and small son were given to Cleomenes, son of Leonidas. Agis' followers went into exile and, for the first time in Greek history, there were a large number of Spartan exiles. Many of them went to Aetolia, giving the Aetolians an excuse, later in 240 B.C., to invade and plunder Laconia. Fifty thousand helots or perioeci were carried off as slaves, but the exiles were not restored at this time. Those who suffered most,

32 Pausanias (VIII 10, 5-8) tells about a battle near Mantinea in which Agis was killed. He has confused this Agis with a previous king of the same name who fell in battle at Mantinea. 33 Plut. Agis XXI, 3.
however, were the ones who most needed a γῆς ἀναδασμός and still had nothing. The revolution proved abortive, and the Spartan government became even more conservative than before.

Plutarch depicts Agis as a martyred idealist who tried to better the conditions of his people and gave his life in that attempt. We must remember, however, the Plutarch's plan was to compare Agis and Cleomenes to the Gracchi, and he therefore exaggerates for literary purposes. When we look at Agis' program, three facts stand out. First, it was a revolution from the top, made through the framework of the Lycurgan constitution. It did not intend to abolish property ownership for collectivism, since the lots were still individual κληρον. Agis was no more a socialist than Lycurgus. Furthermore, it involved only Spartiates and perioeci and offered no hope whatsoever to the helots. Secondly, its purpose was primarily military. As Chrimes states, "... the reforms of Agis were not intended to restore the ancient constitution and laws, but simply to create a large citizen body for military purposes."34 All new citizens must be of military age and physically fit. The Achaean League was growing too fast for Spartan comfort, and Agis meant to combat this menace with a Spartan citizen army trained in the old traditions. His success in this endeavor is evident in the spirit and discipline of the army which went with him to Corinth. Finally, the power of the kingship was being greatly increased in this period. Agis' methods

in deposing the ephorate verged on tyranny, yet, as king, he proved himself, in the end, more powerful than the elected officials.

Agis failed because he was not a true revolutionary. Plutarch calls him ἡμερώτατος καὶ προστάτος, the type of man who would trust his friends and kinsmen and spare his enemies. He was a weak man too, for Agesilaus does not deserve all the blame for the failure of the reform movement. Agis was king of Sparta and could have forced his uncle to act on his measures. Agis came back from Corinth with an army which was fiercely loyal to him yet, instead of using this army to set matters straight in Sparta, he abandoned it and fled to the temple. He had initiated a program badly needed in Sparta, but he had failed to see it through every time he was faced with opposition, great or small.

But the zeal for reform did not die with Agis, for he had won to his cause his wife, Agiatis, just as he had the other women of his family. Agiatis was betrothed to the son of Leonidas, who also accepted the ideals of Agis, and as Cleomenes III, king of Sparta, had the power and the vigor to carry them through.

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35 Plut. Agis XXI, 3.
CHAPTER III

CLEOMENES: COMPLETION OF SOCIAL REFORM

After the death of Agis, Leonidas ruled unconstitutionally without a colleague. Debts were probably reimposed, and the ephorate regained its old power. When Leonidas died, in 235 B.C., his young son succeeded him as Cleomenes III.

Cleomenes had grown up under the confusion of a civil war let loose by Agis' reform movement. After the disturbance had ended, his father has caused him to be betrothed, although he was too young for marriage, to Agiatis, the wife of Agis, because she was of great beauty and even greater wealth. Once married, an affection grew up between them, so that Cleomenes could sympathize with her devotion to the memory of Agis. He listened attentively as she told him of the plans of Agis, and he was perhaps also influenced by the Stoic doctrines taught by his former tutor, Sphaerus of Borysthenes, who wrote a treatise on the Spartan constitution. When he came to the throne, he was determined to change the existing order of things, for, as Plutarch relates, he saw that the citizens were altogether degenerate. The rich were interested solely in their own pleasures, while the common people were in such a wretched state that they had lost all readiness for war and all ambition to maintain the old Spartan discipline. Furthermore, he
was king in name only, since the ephors held all the power.\(^1\) Cleomenes was intensely ambitious and a born leader. At first he cautiously tested a close friend in order to discover his reaction to a new reform movement, but he found the friend vehemently opposed to everything that Agis had done. The king, afraid that everyone else felt the same, decided to arrange the project by himself. Realizing that he had a better chance for success in time of war rather than in the midst of peace, he was prepared to welcome a war with the Achaeans.

Cleomenes waited until 229 B.C. and then made his move. Ten years before this, Antigonus Gonatas had died and was succeeded by his son Demetrius II. In 233, Demetrius had sent an army under Bithys into the Peloponnesus, which defeated Aratus and the Achaean army at Phylace, a village probably between Tegea and Sparta. It is Walbank's theory that Aratus fought this battle to keep the Macedonians from reaching Sparta where anti-Achaean feeling was strong and the chance of a Macedonian-Spartan alliance all too likely. Aratus was planning to include all the Peloponnesus in the Achaean League, and such an alliance would make the success of his plan very doubtful.\(^2\) On the other hand, anti-Macedonian sentiments in Sparta were strong also. Finally, the Spartan ephorate was intensely conservative and isolationist. All this renders Walbank's theory doubtful. At all events, Sparta gave aid to neither side in this minor war.

\(^1\)Plut. Cleomenes III, 1-2.
\(^2\)Walbank, Aratos, p. 65.
But in 229 B.C., Demetrius II was dead, and Antigonus Doson had been named regent for the young king Philip V. Macedonia seemed quiescent, while the Achaean League was becoming more and more arrogant. The Spartan, Eleans, and Arcadians resisted Aratus' proposed Peloponnesian confederation, and so as soon as Leonidas was dead, Aratus began to ravage the territory of the Arcadians, since he despised Cleomenes for his youth. Under such provocation the ephors were moved to action and, in 229, Cleomenes was sent to the Belbinatis, the area between Sparta and Megalopolis, of which both cities claimed possession. There he besieged and occupied the Athenaion, a fortress on modern Mt. Khelmos, which commands the entrance into Laconia from Arcadia. Aratus, in retaliation, attempted to surprise the Arcadian cities of Tegea and Orchomenus, but was unsuccessful. When Cleomenes countered with an expedition of a few horsemen and three hundred infantry into Arcadia, the ephors, in fear of a war, recalled him to Sparta. Once he was in Sparta, however, Aratus, in the spring of 228 B.C., seized Caphyae, and the ephors were forced once more to send out the king with an army. At this juncture, the assembly of the Achaean League declared war, and the so-called Cleomenic War began.

According to Polybius, Sparta and Aetolia had entered into an alliance before the outbreak of the Cleomenic War. In 229 B.C., Cleomenes had persuaded the Arcadian towns of Tegea, Mantinea,
Orchomenus, and Caphyae, formerly allied with Aetolia, to change their allegiance and declare for Sparta. The Aetolians decided to accept the situation and ceded the towns to Cleomenes, thus allowing the Spartans to drive a wedge between Megalopolis and Argos. Antigonus Doson, who had assumed the royal power by this time, was showing himself a strong king. Aetolia was too busy building a defense against Macedonia to be concerned in the Peloponnesus. She was content to let Sparta stand guard against further expansion of the Achaean League. J.V.A. Fine argues that there was no formal alliance between Sparta and Aetolia, and gives several good reasons to prove his point, the most important being that the Aetolians and Achaean never broke off diplomatic relationships in this period. Besides, Cleomenes spoke bitterly of Aetolia during his revolution in 226 B.C., while in the winter of 225/4, Aratus called on Aetolia for aid against Sparta. Fine is no doubt correct in his conclusion that Aetolia was in no position to object to Cleomenes' action in 229 and so she made the best of it by giving her consent. When the war broke out a year later, there was no Spartan-Aetolian alliance, and Aetolia remained aloof throughout the whole war.

In 228 B.C., Cleomenes moved against Methydrium, took it, and was overrunning the territory of Argolis when an Achaean army appeared under Aristomachus, League strategos for the year 228/7, and the promoter of a vigorous anti-Spartan policy. Cleomenes had

6Ibid., p. 134.
only a small force of five thousand men, while the Achaeans had twenty thousand foot soldiers and one thousand horsemen. The armies met at Pallantium near Megalopolis, and both generals wanted to fight. But Aratus, afraid of Cleomenes, and jealous of the fame that would go to Aristomachus if the Achaeans were successful, prevented the engagement. The Lacedaemonians were elated, and this encounter added greatly to the prestige of Cleomenes. The Achaeans, though temporarily disappointed in Aratus, elected him strategos for the next year.

In May of 227 B.C., the Achaeans took the offensive by invading Elis to gain the border fortress of Lasion. If there had been a Spartan-Aetolian alliance, Elis would have been a natural base for an Aetolian attack on the Peloponnesus. Cleomenes went to the aid of the Eleans, this time with a better equipped army, which also included mercenary soldiers. The two armies met near Mt. Lykaion, and the Achaeans were defeated with great slaughter. It was even reported, erroneously, that Aratus was dead. But in September, very much alive, he surprised and captured the pro-Spartan city of Mantinea. The way was now opened from Argos to Megalopolis, and Aratus made sure it would stay open by placing a garrison of three hundred Achaeans and two hundred mercenaries in Mantinea. Shortly after this, the ephors, disheartened by the loss of Mantinea, again recalled Cleomenes.

Cleomenes now made a bid to win Eurypontid support by recalling Archidamus, the brother of Agis, from his exile in
Messenia. Agis' son, Eurydamidas, had died sometime before this, and so Archidamus was the rightful heir to the throne. Cleomenes hoped to diminish the power of the ephorate by restoring the kingship to its full strength and using it as a counter-balance. The murderers of Agis, however, fearful of what would happen to them if Archidamus became king, had him put to death as well. Plutarch, quoting Phylarchus, claims that Cleomenes was not to blame for this action, and most of the other sources, with the exception of Polybius, seem to agree. Archidamus could only have strengthened Cleomenes' position against the ephors, while his death served no purpose. The dual kingship, therefore, disappeared under Cleomenes III, but the king, anxious not to appear as a tyrant, later placed his brother Eucleidas on the vacant Eurypontid throne. Although this too was unconstitutional, the recall of another Eurypontid was too dangerous.

In order to continue the war, Cleomenes was forced to bribe the ephors for permission to lead out an expedition early in 226 B.C. He was gaining the favor of more and more of the citizens of Sparta, and was being substantially aided by his mother, Cratesiclea, who shared his ambitions. She not only liberally

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7 Pausanias (II 1) claims that Cleomenes poisoned Eurydamidas. No other source contains this charge, and since Agiatis and Cleomenes remained on good terms, the story is surely false.

8 Plut. Cleo. V 3; Paus. II 9, 1; Polybius (V 37, 2) says that Cleomenes did not wait until Archidamus reached Sparta, but killed him on the way.

9 For an interesting discussion of this problem see E. von Stern, "Kleomenes III und Archidamos," Hermes, L (1915), 554-571. Stern thinks Cleomenes recalled Archidamus and then plotted his assassination with Agis' murderers in order to lull their suspicions concerning his plans.
provided him with finances, but also married again, this time to a Spartan of great prominence and influence. Cleomenes again invaded the territory of Megalopolis, occupied Leuctra on the border, and threatened the city itself. The whole League force under Aratus came to the aid of Megalopolis. The armies met under the city walls, and at first the Spartans seemed doomed to defeat, but Aratus, fearing to cross a ravine in pursuit of the fleeing Spartans, halted his army and lost the advantage. Lydiades, a Megalopolitan and commander of the cavalry, in disobedience to the order to halt, took the cavalry in pursuit and fell fighting bravely against Cleomenes' Cretan and Tarentine mercenaries. The Spartan army then, taking courage, fell upon the rest of the Achaean forces and routed the entire army. Cleomenes sent the body of Lydiades back to Megalopolis clothed in purple with a garland of victory on his brow, thus honoring a gallant foe. The Achaeans, who blamed Aratus for the death of Lydiadas, now refused to vote him further supplies.

After this victory, Cleomenes felt himself sufficiently strong to turn to domestic affairs. Taking with him all the citizens who he suspected would be opposed to his plans, he seized Heraea and Alsacea, two League cities, introduced food supplies into Orchomenus which was being besieged by Aratus, and encamped by Mantinea from which he made long expeditions up and down the countryside until his troops were completely exhausted. At their

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10Plut. Cleo. VI 3-4. Lydiadas had been tyrant of Megalopolis, but had renounced the tyranny and attached his city to the Achaean League.
own request, he left them in Arcadia while he and the mercenaries returned to Sparta. Meanwhile, Megistonus, Cleomenes' stepfather, had been convinced of the need for reform and had begun to prepare the way for the king by converting several of his close friends to the program.

As soon as he reached Sparta, Cleomenes ordered the assassination of the ephors. Only one escaped by pretending to be dead after the first blow was struck. Ten men who came to the aid of the ephors also were killed. The next day, Cleomenes published a proscription list of eighty citizens who were required to go into exile, and then, removing all the ephoral chairs but one, sat in it and transacted public business. Finally, he called the Apella together in order to defend his actions. Lycurgus, he said, had established the ephors as assistants to the kings while they were away on campaigns. The ephors, however, had usurped the power of the kings, and brought Sparta into its present state of luxury and poverty, extravagance and debt. Cleomenes, by ridding Sparta of the ephorate, had put away τοὺς ἐνισταμένους τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς Λακεδαίμονος. He then made his proposals for reform, and after this, he himself, his stepfather Megistonus and his friends, and all the rest of the citizens placed their property in the common stock.

Almost immediately, debts were abolished and the common land parcelled out into four thousand ἀκρότ. Lots also were assigned to those who had been exiled, for Cleomenes hoped to

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bring them back once the revolution was accomplished. Again, there were not enough Spartiates for that amount of land, and so the number was filled up with deserving perioeci and metics who, just as in Agis' plan, were required to be of military age and physically fit. Cleomenes now had a citizen army of four thousand men, which he rearmed and began to train in the Macedonian style. He also saw to the education of the younger men by re-establishing the discipline of the ἀγωνία. Plutarch says that Sphaerus had to help Cleomenes in arranging this since it had been in disuse for so many years. With the resumption of the Σὺνοικίτικα Cleomenes completed the second Lycurgan reform of Sparta.

Several of his reforms, however, were not Lycurgan. Cleomenes had replaced the ephorate with himself. He also brought about changes in the Gerousia. Pausanias says that Cleomenes, τὸ κράτος τῆς γερουσίας καταλύσας πατρούμους τῷ λόγῳ κατ' ἀντιστησεν ἀντ' αὐτῶν. The Patronomoi were to be a board of six men, probably appointed by the king, one of whom would hold the annual position of Eponymus, an office previously held by the president of the ephorate. Six σύμαρχοι were attached to the Eponymus. It is generally conceded that the Gerousia was not abolished. The deliberative function of the Gerousia was probably given to the Patronomoi, however, and the Gerousia, therefore,

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13 Paus. II 9, 1.
became a mere ratifying body. It is also likely that at this time the γέροντες ceased to hold their office for life and became annually elected officials. Thus the power of the oligarchy in Sparta was broken, and the king gained absolute control. Other non-Lycurgan reforms included a wall built around Sparta, new coinage struck which contained the heads of Apollo of Amyclae and Cleomenes, and the crowning of his brother as joint-king. This is the only time in the history of Sparta that both kings were from the same house.

Pausanias tells us that Cleomenes, βασιλεὺς ὕστατος ἐγένετο ἐν Σπάρτῃ. Polybius claims that he overthrew the constitutional government and became the first tyrant in Sparta. Plutarch, again, was looking at Cleomenes in light of the Gracchi whom he admired. Many of the king's acts were unconstitutional and resembled, in certain aspects, the earlier tyrannies in Greece. His land reform, however, although typical of the sixth century tyrannies, was also typically Lycurgan, and he re-established other Lycurgan features as well. It is interesting to note where Cleomenes drew the line. Any office detrimental to the power of the king was either abolished or changed. Any Lycurgan law which would add to the strength of the army was reimposed. Thomas Africa claims that, "Cleomenes ... was a military expansionist astutely

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15 Chrimes (Ancient Sparta, p. 145) gives a thorough, although disputed, discussion of the functions of the Patronymoi.
16 The γέροντες were annually elected in the Roman period.
18 Paus. III 7, 1.
dividing his enemies by assuming the role of the champion of the popular cause."  

He goes on to say that although, "the Spartan Revolution outdistanced the Gracchan program by expanding the franchise and eliminating economic inequality, yet it was not a popular movement, but the result of power struggles among the ruling groups in Spartan society, Agis against Leonidas and Cleomenes against the ephors."  

Pohlmann says that he was power hungry, playing the role of the social prophet merely to build an army.  

Cleomenes wanted supremacy in the Peloponnesus, not reform, according to Ehrenberg.  

All these statements are doubtlessly true in light of Cleomenes' subsequent actions, but they do not prove a tyranny. What happened was a practically bloodless revolution, supported by a large majority of the people, and led by a dynastic monarch. Cleomenes was no more a tyrant than the later European kings who destroyed feudalism and established a centrally controlled government. Freeman states that, "the Ephors, the real Tyrants once gone, Kleomenes stood forth as the King of a free people, the General of a gallant army."  

The phrasaeology is Victorian, but the sentiment is Plutarch's. Cleomenes was the last king of Sparta, and whatever his motives, he was a king worthy of Spartan tradition.

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21 Pohlmann, Sozialen Frage, p. 386.
23 Freeman, Federal Gov., p. 337.
Once the major reforms had taken place, Cleomenes decided to prove to Aratus and the Achaean to the revolution had not endangered his position at home. He invaded the territory of Megalopolis, collected much booty, ravaged the countryside, and as a final grandiose gesture, built a theater in enemy territory and forced a company of actors which he had captured to perform for his army, not because he wanted to see a play, but merely to make fun of his enemies. In this way he proved that he was completely in control of both domestic and foreign affairs. Not long after this, the Mantineans invited him to help them. Arriving at the city by night, the Spartans, with Mantinean aid, expelled the Achaean garrison, and Cleomenes then restored to the citizens their old laws and constitution. Once more the Spartans controlled the Arcadian Corridor. The capture of Mantinea also brought fifteen hundred to two thousand additional soldiers to Cleomenes' army.

With his army greatly enlarged, Cleomenes sought either to challenge Aratus to a battle, or to damage his reputation even more for abandoning the country to the Spartans. He therefore

24 Plutarch (Aratus, XXXVIII, 1) states that Aratus fought a battle with the Spartans under Megistonous at Orchomenus, and the Achaeeans won, killing three hundred of the enemy and taking Megistonous prisoner. No other source relates this event, not even Plutarch in his Life of Cleomenes. If it took place at all, it must have been after the reform movement, since Megistonous was in Sparta before this. Afterwards, the capture of his stepfather would have placed Cleomenes in an extremely delicate position. Plutarch must have confused this story with a later battle in which Megistonous suffered defeat and was killed. See below, p. 57.

25 Plut. Cleo. XII, 2.
marched through Arcadia and attacked Phorae, a town in west Achaea. Hyberbates was League strategos for this year although, as usual, Aratus had the real power. In late summer of 226 B.C., the Spartan army met the entire Achaean force at Hecatombaion, near Dyme. Cleomenes forced a battle which ended in the complete defeat of the Achaean army. He then took Lasion, expelled the League garrison, and restored the city to its ally, Elis.

The Achaeans, completely disheartened by defeat after defeat, were ready for peace, and Cleomenes offered generous terms. He promised to return to them their captives and their strongholds in return for hegemony in the Peloponnesus and League leadership. These terms were agreeable to the Achaeans, and Cleomenes was invited to the assembly at Lerna. On the way, however, he fell ill. Forced to return to Sparta, he sent back the most prominent captives and postponed the meeting until later. Shortly after this, sensing the power of Cleomenes, Ptolemy, who had been financially supporting Achaea as a buffer against Macedonia, transferred his subsidies to Sparta as the more worthy and more powerful of the two.

Plutarch says that Cleomenes' illness διελυμήνατο τὰ πράγματα τῆς Ἑλλάδος. Aratus, jealous of Cleomenes, and unable to sway the Achaeans from their decision to cooperate with him, began, early in 225 B.C., to intrigue for an alliance with Macedonia. In order to leave himself free to negotiate, he had

26 Walbank (Aratos, p. 90) says that Cleomenes attacked Phorae and Dyme as traditional foes of Elis, hoping to gain five thousand Elean hoplites in this way.
27 Plut. Cleo. XVI, 1.
Timoxenus elected strategos although it was a year in which Aratus would have normally been elected. Afraid to approach Doson openly, he sent instead two Megalopolitans, Cercidas and Nicophanes, to Macedon, ostensibly to complain of Spartan raids in their territory, but secretly to seek an Achaean-Macedonian alliance. Doson agreed in a letter to give aid if the Achaeans wished it, but Aratus, wanting only the security of knowing that he could rely on the Macedonians if the need arose, persuaded the League assembly to trust in its own forces for as long as possible. He then set about making sure that Cleomenes and the League assembly would never meet.

The conference had been recessed to June, 225 B.C., to coincide with the Nemean festival at Argos. Cleomenes came from Tegea to be met with Aratus' demands that, either after accepting three hundred hostages, he should come into the city alone, or that he should come with his army as far as the gymnasium outside of Cyllarabium and meet with the assembly there.\(^28\) Cleomenes refused both terms, as Aratus no doubt hoped he would, and claiming that he had been insulted, sent a herald to declare war against the League.\(^29\)

By this time, the Achaeans, as well as other peoples of the Peloponnesus, had been imbued with a revolutionary spirit, and looked toward Sparta as their natural leader. The common people wanted land division and abolition of debts. Many of the city-state leaders were dissatisfied with Aratus. Cleomenes, encouraged

\(^{28}\)Plut. Cleo. XVII, 1; Aratus, XXXIX, 2.

\(^{29}\)Plut. Cleo. XVII, 2. The herald was sent to Aegium instead of Argos in order to give Cleomenes more time.
by these conditions, invaded Achaea in 225 B.C. He first took Pellene and drove out the garrison before moving on to Pheneus and Penteleium on the opposite side of Mt. Cyllene. The Achaeans, afraid that Corinth and Sicyon would be next, sent their troops out of Argos to those cities while the Nemean festival was in progress. But Cleomenes, defying the sacred truce for the Nemea, brought his army to Argos at night, occupied the slopes of the Larisa just above the theater, and so terrified the citizens that they accepted a garrison, gave twenty citizens as hostages, and agreed to an alliance with Sparta. Immediately after this, Cleonae and Phlius came over to Cleomenes.

While the Spartans were still at Argos, an embassy came from the Corinthians asking for help in ridding themselves of their Achaean garrison. Cleomenes first tried to negotiate with the Achaeans. Megistonous was sent by the king to Aratus to offer a large sum of money in exchange for Acrocorinthus. Aratus refused, but Cleomenes still did not march directly toward Corinth. First he took Hermione, Troezen, and Epidaurus in the Argolid before arriving at the Isthmus. Cleomenes was received into the city itself in the winter of 225 B.C., but could only blockade the citadel since the garrison there refused to leave. He then made his final offer to Aratus. Tritymallus, a Messenian, was sent with a proposal of a joint Achaean and Spartan garrison on Acrocorinthus, and an annual stipend for Aratus double the amount he had received from Ptolemy. Aratus' answer was to send his son as an ambassador to Macedon, and then he persuaded the League
assembly to vote the surrender of Acrocorinthus to Doson, the Macedonian price for aiding the Achaeans. Cleomenes, in anger, accepted the Corinthian property of Aratus which the citizens had voted to him, although he had formerly kept it safe for its owner. After this, he invaded and plundered the territory of Sicyon. It was necessary that Sparta control Sicyon since the city would be at the Spartan rear if the Macedonians attacked at the Isthmus. The unsuccessful siege of Sicyon lasted for three months, ending only with the appearance of Doson in the Peloponnesus.

Polybius goes to great lengths in order to excuse the conduct of Aratus in this period. Quoting from Aratus' Memoirs, he points out that the Spartans and Aetolians were determined to overrun all Greece, destroying liberty in their wake. Achaea and Macedonia allied in order to preserve Greek freedom. Aratus had wanted a co-equal confederacy; Cleomenes also wanted a united Peloponnesus, but with Sparta as the perpetual leader. Cleomenes' plan, according to Freeman, was, "less noble . . . than the republicanism of Aratus," but it was better than becoming a Macedonian dependency. Aratus, on the other hand, preferring to deal with a king, rather than a revolutionary tyrant, turned to Macedonia as the lesser of two evils. No doubt, he realized that he was ending the de facto freedom of the League, but he was willing to pay the price to save it from Cleomenes.

The Achaean League had as its allies Megalopolis, Sicyon, Stymphalus, Megara, and ten Achaean towns. Then Megara, in a bid

for safety, joined the Boeotian League. Shortly after this the Achaean League, meeting at Sicyon, suspended the League generalship and made Aratus dictator. He was provided with a bodyguard of Sicyonians, and the League constitution was modified. It was at this time that Achaea sought the aid of Aetolia, but in vain. When Cleomenes had gained Corinth, and while he was besieging Sicyon, the League voted to accept Doson's terms.

Doson reached the Isthmus early in 224 B.C., with twenty thousand infantry and thirteen hundred cavalry. He came by way of Euboea (since the Aetolians had refused him passage through Thermopylae) and was joined by Aratus in the Megarid. At news of his arrival, Cleomenes abandoned the siege of Sicyon in order to fortify the Isthmus more heavily. The Spartan line, which included the artificial defenses of Corinth and the walls of Lechaion, ran north of Acrocorinthus over Mt. Oneion, closing off the Peloponnesus from sea to sea. The gap between Oneion and Acrocorinthus was closed by a palisade and a trench. Doson was forced to try a frontal attack which failed. Several other Macedonian skirmishes were also unsuccessful, and provisions were running low when the Argives, led by a man named Aristotle, decided to revolt from Cleomenes.

The fact is that the masses throughout the Peloponnesus were now becoming disillusioned with Cleomenes. They had looked to him as the leader of a general social revolution, not realizing that his reforms were not intended for anyone but Spartans. When

31 Walbank (Aratos, p. 101) gives a detailed description of the defenses at Corinth.
he failed to abolish debts in Argos, the people became incensed, and were easily led into revolt. A messenger was sent to Aratus asking for help. He immediately, with fifteen hundred men, set sail from the Isthmus, where he then was, for Epidaurus, arriving only to find that the Argives had anticipated him and had taken matters into their own hands, since they were already besieging the Spartan garrison on the Larisa. Achaean troops from Sicyon under Timoxenus also arrived in Argos at this time. This placed enemy troops at Cleomenes' rear. In anger, he sent Megistionous with two thousand soldiers to rescue the garrison, but Megistionous fell in battle, and the garrison held out only with great difficulty. If the garrison fell, the way stood open to Laconia and Sparta which had been left without defenders. In view of this situation, Cleomenes reluctantly left Corinth to the Macedonians and turned toward Argos.

By cutting his way through the tunnels running under the citadel, Cleomenes managed to make connections with the garrison. His Cretan archers cleared the streets of the enemy, and it seemed likely that Cleomenes would gain back the city when Doson's Macedonian phalanx, following Cleomenes from Corinth, appeared on the plain. This ended the Spartan numerical superiority.

Cleomenes retreated into Arcadia and was leading his army home when word of his wife's death reached him at Tegea. He returned to Sparta in defeat, but with hopes of gaining more aid from Ptolemy. The Egyptian king would only give assistance, however,
upon receiving the mother and children of Cleomenes as hostages. Cratesiclea agreed to go to Egypt.

Meanwhile, Doson took Argos and then reduced the Spartan defenses at the Athenaiion and in other parts of the Aegytis district, handing them over to Megalopolis. It was now time for the autumn meeting of the Achaean League at Aegium, and here a new Hellenic League was formed and Doson elected hegemon. This was to be a League of Leagues, of Κολυμβητεκχων not of πόλεις. The various leagues preserved their autonomy. Decrees of the League were ratified by each member, and a Council was constituted to deal with war or peace. The League included the Achaeans, Macedonians, Thessalians, Epirotes, Acarnanians, Boeotians, Phocians, and probably the Locrians and the cities of Euboea.\(^{32}\) It did not count as members, Sparta, Aetolia, Elis, Messenia, and Athens. Macedonian influence had been restored to Greece. Doson then sent his troops into winter quarters.

Early in the spring of 223 B.C., Doson advanced on Tegea and took the city by siege. Next he surprised Orchomenus, and then Mantinea, which was sacked and its citizens enslaved. The territory was later recolonized by Macedonian sympathizers and renamed 'Antigoneia. When the inhabitants of Heraea and Telphusa learned that the Macedonian army was approaching them, they surrendered of their own accord. In this campaign, Sparta lost five important cities and six thousand potential hoplites. Cleomenes

\(^{32}\)Walbank, Aratos, p. 104.
now was confined to Laconia and, in order to supplement his Spartan troops, Plutarch tells us that the king set free those of the helots who could pay five Attic minas,\(^{33}\) thus raising a sum of five hundred talents. This was not a further social reform, but a necessity.

Two thousand ex-helots were then armed in the Macedonian fashion, and Cleomenes, with his troops, suddenly and unexpectedly set out for Megalopolis. Arriving in a day and a night, he found the city poorly defended and easily took it. All but one thousand of the citizens escaped, however, led by the young Philopoemen to Messene where they were given refuge. Since Cleomenes wanted an alliance more than revenge,\(^ {34}\) he sent messengers and a herald to the Megalopolitans at Messene, offering to spare the city if they would renounce the Achaeans. Philopoemen, however, persuaded the citizens to refuse. Megalopolis was razed to the ground and her art treasures carried off to Sparta.

Cleomenes realized that Sparta was superior only as long as the Macedonians were in winter quarters. Early in the spring of 222 B.C., therefore, he prepared his army for a campaign against Argos.\(^ {35}\) The Spartans, invading the Argolid, ravaged the territory up to the gates of the city, and then retired by way of Phlius. After expelling a garrison trying to check him at Oligyrtus, Cleomenes marched passed Orchomenus, a former ally now in Achaean hands, where he was cheered by the people in the city. Polybius,

\(^{33}\) Plut. Cleo. XXIII, 1.

\(^{34}\) The Spartans thought that Megalopolis was chiefly responsible for bringing in the Macedonians. See Plut. Cleo., XXIII, 2.

\(^{35}\) Plutarch (Cleo. XXVI) records two invasions of Argos. There was only one.
quoting Phylarchus, says that Ptolemy now withdrew his subsidies from Sparta. According to Polybius himself, however, Cleomenes did not really need Ptolemy's aid since he now had a vast treasury from the enfranchised helots. Plutarch, on the other hand, gives the impression that Cleomenes was hard put to finance the war. Cleomenes, no doubt, had enough money for the moment, but a long, protracted campaign would deplete his treasury very quickly. It was to his advantage to end the war with all possible speed. Doson, too, had reasons for wanting a swift settlement, for his presence was needed in Macedonia. Unfortunately for Cleomenes, he decided to stake all his resources in one battle just two days before word reached Doson summoning him to Macedon. Plutarch says, ὅ καὶ μάλιστα τὴν δυστυχίαν τοῦ Κλεομένους ὀμηροτέραν ἐποίησεν. If the Spartans had only held out for two more days, Doson would have evacuated the Peloponnesus with his troops, a battle could have been avoided, and Cleomenes could have easily made terms with the Achaeans. Instead, the armies came together at Sellasia in July, 222 B.C., and the Spartans went down in defeat. The circumstances of the decisive battle of Sellasia were as follows.

By June, the Macedonian army had left its winter-quarters and was back in the Peloponnesus. Doson pushed into Laconia and

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36 Plut. Cleo. XXVII, 2.
37 Both the barbarians and the Illyrians had invaded sections of Macedonia and were ravaging the countryside.
38 Plut. Cleo. XXVII, 4.
39 See Appendix D concerning the date of this battle.
arrived at Sellasia just north of Sparta where he found Cleomenes firmly entrenched. The Macedonian king had with him in his own army ten thousand men for the phalanx, three thousand peltasts, and three hundred horses. He also had a thousand Agrianians, a thousand Gauls, and a mercenary force of three thousand foot and three hundred horses. The Achaeans supplied an additional three thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, plus one thousand soldiers from Megalopolis. The allies consisted of two thousand Boeotian foot and two hundred horses, a thousand Epirote foot and fifty horses, the same number of Acarnanians, and one thousand six hundred Illyrians. His total force was twenty-eight thousand foot and one thousand horses. Cleomenes' army numbered twenty thousand.

Doson had approached Sparta by way of Tegea. In order to reach the city he would have to use a pass near Sellasia along the bank of the Oenous River which flows between two hills, one called Euas, the other Olympus. Cleomenes, after fortifying both hills with a trench and a palisade, placed his brother Eucleidas and six thousand perioeci on Euas, while he himself held Olympus with six thousand Spartans and five thousand mercenaries. The remaining three thousand cavalry and mercenaries were sent into the valley and posted on either side of the road. Cleomenes' forces on the right were the striking force; the left and center were flank guard. Doson, at first, encamped nearby in order to look for weak spots, but finding none, after several days was

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Polyb. II 65, 1-5.
forced to do battle. He faced Cleomenes on the left with the Macedonian phalanx and five thousand mercenaries. Against Eucleidas he sent the Macedonian peltasts, the Illyrians, the Acarnanians, and the Cretans with a reserve of two thousand Achaeans. The cavalry, including the Achaean horse under Philopoemen, and the Megalopolitans were sent into the valley.

The battle was begun by the Illyrians who had established themselves under Euas at night. As the Acarnanian troops began their ascent, however, the Illyrians turned the hill and, unseen by Eucleidas, ascended from the flank. They were hidden from Cleomenes' sight by the hill itself. The Illyrians surprised and completely defeated Eucleidas who fell in the battle, thus exposing Cleomenes' flank. At this same time, Philopoemen and the Achaean cavalry, charging without orders, drove off the center. The two kings, meanwhile, had sent their mercenaries, each totaling about five thousand, into battle. The Spartan phalanx, at the same time, charged downhill and pushed back the Macedonian phalanx. Then Euas fell. Doson re-formed his Macedonian troops, and their numbers and experience prevailed. All the Spartans with the exception of two hundred men fell in battle and many of the mercenaries also. Cleomenes was one of those who escaped. This is where Cleomenes broke with Spartan tradition, for instead of remaining in Sparta to fight to the death, he advised the citizens to receive Doson and then set out with a few companions for Gytheum where a boat was waiting to take them to Egypt. There, Cleomenes hoped to be able to convince Ptolemy to assist him in regaining his lost power.
Doson took Sparta without resistance, and the city was occupied by a foreign conqueror for the first time in its history. The Macedonian king, however, maintaining that that war had been against Cleomenes and not Sparta, was very lenient. He abolished the reforms of Cleomenes, restored the old constitution, and allowed the reactionary ephors to gain power again. On the other hand, Sparta was not forced to join the Achaean League. Then, receiving news of trouble in Macedonia, Doson left Sparta and returned to his own country where he died in the autumn of 222 B.C.

Rousell says that "avec Cléomène disparut le dernier champion de la grandeur de Sparte." He goes on to say that Cleomenes mixed remembrance of the past with the necessities of his time. He counted on aid from Egypt which was not forthcoming, and he went against a combined Achaean and Macedonian force which caused his downfall. Freeman poetically calls Cleomenes' last campaign "... a struggle for Grecian freedom waged by one of the last and noblest of Grecian heroes against the overwhelming power of Macedonia." Cleomenes was an ambitious man who wanted control of the Peloponnesus. He proved himself a worthy general by almost gaining that control. If he had been given the League leadership that he sought, he no doubt would have governed wisely and well.

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41Polybius (V 9, 9) states that the Spartans venerated Doson as a savior. A badly mutilated marble inscription found at Sparta bears witness to this. See IG V 1122:

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΟΣ
ΑΝΤΙΠΟΝΟΥ
ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ

42Rousell, Sparte, p. 200.

43Freeman, Federal Gov., p. 382.
He was neither cruel, nor vindictive, and showed himself ready for compromise whenever possible. He was intelligent enough to make plans, and energetic enough to carry them through. He was unfortunate, however, in that he was a contemporary of a man even more ambitious, and much more unscrupulous. Aratus, more than any other cause, was responsible for the downfall of Cleomenes, and brought Greece, once again, under Macedonian control. With the defeat of Cleomenes, Spartan history ceases to be a chronicle of greatness and declines into a story of petty tyrannies.

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44 Those on his proscription list of 226 B.C. were merely exiled. See above, p. 47.
45 He was willing to spare Megalopolis in return for an alliance, and he later regretted destroying the city. See Plut. Cleo. XXVI, 2.
46 He was willing to settle for a joint Spartan-Achaean garrison of Acrocorinthus. See above, p. 54.
CHAPTER IV

FROM SELASIA TO NABIS

After the defeat of Cleomenes III, Sparta entered into a long period of civil strife and tyranny. The foreign policy of Sparta was discredited, reform in order to expand Spartan power had failed, and the ephors not only had regained their former positions, but now ruled without the kings. Sparta had also lost a considerable amount of territory. Regions in the upper Eurotas Valley, the Belbinatis and Aegytis, had been given to Megalopolis by Doson in 224 B.C. Sparta later lost to Argos all perioecic coastal towns north of and including Zarax. Finally, the Dentheliatis was given back to Messenia. Sparta was confined to Laconia, and had even been deprived of some of that area. Spartan policy for the next fifty years is concerned with the recovery of lost territory.

The death of Antigonus Doson, late in 222 B.C., had brought the young Philip V, son of Demetrius II, to the throne of Macedonia. Immediately facing the new king was the problem of Aetolia. In 221 B.C., Ariston, the general of the Aetolian League, yielded his powers to Scopas who, together with Dorimachus, decided to make war on Messenia. The main reason for the raids was plunder, but the impetus for the operation came from the situation of the moment. Philip was only seventeen years of age,
Elis was pro-Aetolian, and Sparta was anti-Achaean. The Aetolians thought that they would have a safe and easy campaign.\(^1\)

The raids began that same year. Marching through the Achaean territory of Patrae, Pharae, and Tritaea, the Aetolians arrived at Messenia where they pillaged without resistance. At the Achaean League assembly at Aegium in 220 B.C., however, at which Aratus was elected strategos, complaints were heard from Patrae, Pharae, and Messene concerning the Aetolians. The League voted to aid the Messenians and ordered the strategos to call for a general levy. When Timoxenus, still League general, hesitated, Aratus mustered the Achaean troops although his term of office was not to begin for five more days, and the efficiency of the Achaean forces had declined greatly since the defeat of Cleomenes. The army came together at Megalopolis, where the Messenians again begged for help and pleaded for entrance into the Hellenic League. The Achaeans replied that only Philip could admit them to the League, but that they would give assistance if the Messenian envoys would deposit their sons in Sparta as hostages to insure that Messene would not make a separate peace with Aetolia.\(^2\) The Spartans, in accordance with the terms of the alliance forced on them in 222 B.C., had marched to the Athenaion, Polybius says ἔφεδρων καὶ θεωρῶν μᾶλλον ἡ συμμάχων ἔχουσες τάξιν.\(^3\)

After the Messenians had complied with the order, Aratus sent a

\(^1\)Polyb. IV 5, 3-5. The history of this period from 222-220 B.C., is found only in Polybius.

\(^2\)Ibid., IV 8, 5.

\(^3\)Ibid., IV 9, 7.
message to the Aetolians informing them of the Achaean resolution and demanding that they withdraw from the Peloponnesus. At first, the Aetolians seemed about to obey, but after Aratus had dismissed the Achaean and Spartan forces and was advancing toward Patrae with only three thousand foot and three hundred horse, Dorimachus turned his forces around and encamped near Methydrium. The two armies met at Caphyae, and the outnumbered Achaeans were badly defeated. The Aetolians, after ravaging the territory of Sicyon, returned home.

The Achaean League held its regular general meeting a few days after the battle of Caphyae and, after censuring Aratus, passed a resolution to send an embassy to Philip, as well as other members of the Hellenic alliance, begging for assistance against the Aetolians, and admission of Messenia into the Hellenic confederacy. They also ordered the strategos to levy a force of five thousand foot and five hundred horse to assist Messenia if the Aetolians should invade again. The Spartans and Messenians were each to contribute two thousand five hundred foot and two hundred fifty horse. The Aetolians, however, when the time came for their annual meeting, voted to maintain peace with Messenia, Sparta, and all other states, including Achaea, if the alliance between the Messenians and the Achaean League were abandoned. If the alliance remained, Aetolia would go to war with the Achaeans. The Epirotes and Philip agreed to receive Messenia into the confederacy, but voted to remain at peace with the Aetolians. It was

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4 Polyb. IV 15, 8-9.
then, as Polybius tells us, that Sparta sent privately to the Aetolians and entered into a secret alliance with them.⁵

In the summer of 220 B.C., the Aetolians again entered the Peloponnesus, marched through Achaea, and took Cynaetha in Arcadia. While they pushed further south, Aratus called up the Achaean levy and sent to Philip for help. The Aetolians got as far as Cleitor where they yielded to the resistance of the townspeople and returned to Cynaetha which they now burned. Then, learning of the approach of Macedonian troops, they retreated into Aetolia. The Spartans sent only a token force instead of the number assigned them,⁶ but Aratus, mindful of his recent defeat, made no move against the enemy anyway. Philip arrived at Corinth shortly after the Aetolian troops had left the Peloponnesus.

Meanwhile, faction had arisen in Sparta in 220 B.C.⁷ The Spartans were, for the first time in their history, without a king. The ephors, who controlled the government, were divided in their allegiance, three favoring Aetolia and two pro-Macedonian. When Philip appeared so quickly at Corinth, the three pro-Aetolian ephors began to fear that one of the other two, Adimantus, who knew of their plans, might reveal them to the Macedonian king. They therefore ordered all men of military age to assemble at the

⁵Polyb. IV 16, 5.
⁶Ibid., IV 19, 10.
⁷Ibid., IV 23-25. The disturbance was further complicated by a strong Cleomenic party, and the exiles of 226 B.C. who had returned to Sparta. The party of Cleomenes was generally pro-Aetolian since Aetolia represented opposition to Achaea and Macedonia. The exiles, on the other hand, supported the pro-Macedonian party.
temple of Athena of the Brazen House, since the Macedonians were approaching the city. Adimantus, who disapproved of the meeting, was haranguing the assembly when he was run through by assassins. Several of his friends were killed also, while others fled to Philip. The three ephors now in power sent word to Philip asking him to delay his arrival until the disturbance was settled. They blamed the whole affair on those who had been murdered and promised to fulfill all their obligations to Macedonia. The king ordered them to present their case to him at Tegea for decision. Ten envoys led by Omias met with Philip at Tegea, repeated all that had been said before, and then withdrew. The king's council was divided in its opinion, some favoring the complete destruction of Sparta, while others felt that only the guilty should be punished. But Philip, deciding that the Spartans had done nothing against the alliance as a whole, persuaded the council to overlook the incident. He sent his friend Petraeus, however, along with Omias, to exhort the Spartans to remain faithful hereafter to their agreement.

After this, Philip returned to Corinth where he found envoys from the allied cities assembled to complain about Aetolia. He thus held a council to decide what measures should be taken. War was the unanimous vote of the allies. This was the beginning of the Social War (220-217 B.C.). The Messenians, on whose account the affair had begun, decided to remain neutral since the

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8 So-called because it involved allies (socii). It should not be confused with a social revolution.
Aetolians still held the city of Phigalea on the Messenian border. The Lacedaemonians, reverting to their ancient policy, remained aloof. In the autumn of 221 B.C., when new ephors took office in Sparta, messengers from Sparta were sent to the Aetolians by the authors of the earlier disturbance inviting them to negotiate. The Aetolians sent Machatas to Sparta as their envoy. He presented himself to the ephors, accompanied by the Spartans who had invited him. These citizens demanded that Machatas be presented to the Apella and that kings should be appointed in accordance to the constitution. The ephors, intimidated by a mob of young men, agreed to call the Apella, but postponed the matter of appointing kings. Machatas spoke at length before the Apella, praising the Aetolians, condemning the Macedonians, and urging an alliance. Then some of the elder citizens reminded the people of the leniency of Antigonus, and of the injustices of the Aetolians when they had invaded Laconia in 240 B.C. They persuaded the Apella to maintain the Spartan alliance with Macedonia, and Machatas returned to Aetolia. Early in 219 B.C., however, the pro-Aetolian party made its move. The ephors were slain, along with one of the elders who had spoken for Macedonia, new ephors were appointed from the pro-Aetolian faction, and an alliance was concluded with Aetolia.  

9Polybius (IV 34, 1) says that the Spartans could not decide whether or not to enter the war. Their decision to remain aloof, however, is probably due to the usual policy of isolation followed by the ephors.  

10Ibid., IV 34, 3-11.  

11Ibid., IV 35, 1-6.
Up to this time, the anti-Macedonian party had not urged the appointment of new kings since they hoped for the return of Cleomenes. In 219 B.C., however, word reached them of his death. Cleomenes had been welcomed by Ptolemy Euergetes with promises of assistance for some future return to Greece, and for the present, an annual pension of twenty-four talents. Euergetes died, in 219, without fulfilling his promises, and was succeeded by Ptolemy Philopator, a drunken degenerate who was ruled by the women of his family. Philopator, at first, brought Cleomenes into his privy council since he was afraid of his brother, Ptolemy Magas, and felt that the Spartan king would be of some use to him. When he discovered that three thousand of Magas' mercenaries were Peloponnesians and loyal to Cleomenes, he began to fear the Spartan more than his brother. Cleomenes and his friends were finally put under house arrest by Philopator, at which time they abandoned all hope and determined to die in a manner worthy of Sparta after they had first avenged themselves on Ptolemy for his injustice and insolence.  

12 Breaking away from the guards placed around their house, the Spartans rushed through the streets of Alexandria, summoning the people to win their freedom, but none joined them. Their plan to break into the prison and free the prisoners failed too. Finally, in despair, they committed suicide. Philopator ordered the execution of the Spartan women and children, including the mother and sons of Cleomenes. After the death of Cleomenes became known, his partisans in Sparta began the agitation for a new monarchy.

12Plut. Cleo. XXXVI, 3.
The ephors, still those set up by the pro-Aetolian faction, agreed to appoint new kings. Their first choice was Agesipolis, the legal heir to the Agiad throne although still a minor. He was the grandson of Cleombrotus, the son-in-law of Leonidas. Appointed as his guardian was his uncle, another Cleomenes. The Eurypontid heir was Hippomedon, the son of Agesilaus, who had lived twenty years in exile in Egypt, and had obtained a high position in mercenary service. Hippomedon, however, was passed over in favor of Lycurgus, οὗ τῶν προγόνων ὁδὲλς ἐτετεύχει τῆς προ- σηγορίας. According to Polybius, Lycurgus offered the ephors a talent apiece for the throne, and became, in effect, the first tyrant of Sparta. When Machatas heard of the events in Sparta, he returned to urge the ephors and kings to make war on the Achaeans. Not only did the Spartans agree, but the Eleans also, in that same year, allied with Aetolia. Lycurgus began the war by invading the Argolid where he caught the Argives completely by surprise. He seized Polichna, Prasiae, Leuca and Cyphanta, being repulsed only at Glympes and Zarax. Later, in the spring of 219 B.C., Lycurgus also recovered the Athenaiion in the territory of Megalopolis. Meanwhile, the Achaean League was in no position to cope with this new Spartan menace. Sparta and Elis were enemies, Messenia was neutral, and Philip had troubles of his own with the

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13 Agesipolis was expelled after the death of his guardian. He joined Flamininus in 195 B.C. (Livy XXXIV 26), and was finally murdered by pirates ca. 183 B.C. (Polyb. XXIII 6, 1).  
14 Polyb. IV 35, 14.  
15 Livy XXXII 26, 14. "Lycurgus primus tyrannus Lacedaemon fuit."
Dardanians and Aetolians. As usual, the League troops had grown soft with the peace established after 222 B.C. and were in no condition to protect the Peloponnesus without Macedonian aid. Since the League mercenaries had not been paid following the Cleomenic War, it was difficult for Aratus to get a foreign force together. Matters had come to such a pass that the citizens of Dyme, Pharae, and Tritaea, cities recently attacked by Elis, set a precedent by hiring a private force to protect them since the League could no longer do so.  

It was almost winter when Philip appeared at Corinth with six thousand men, and immediately set out against the Eleans. The Elean troops, badly defeated near Caphyae, began to retreat. Philip marched to Olympia and raided Elis from there, gaining rich booty before leaving. At the same time, Sparta was undergoing another revolution.

The revolution of 218 B.C., was brought about by Chilon, another claimant to the Eurypontid throne, who, considering himself the lawful heir, deeply resented the ephors' choice of Lycurgus. He decided, therefore, to follow in the footsteps of Cleomenes III, promising land redivision in hopes of gaining the allegiance of the masses. Realizing that Lycurgus and the ephors stood in his way, he plotted to kill them. The ephors were slain while they were at supper, but Lycurgus managed to escape to Pellene. Chilon made his way to the Agora, calling on his friends and relatives to

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16 Polyb. IV 59, 6.
17 Ibid., IV 81, 1-10.
join him and making promises to the rest, but a hostile crowd gathered forcing Chilon to flee into exile in Achaea. Shortly after this, the Spartans, dreading the arrival of Philip, evacuated the Athenainon after razing it to the ground.

By the beginning of 218 B.C., Philip needed both food and money for his troops. He summoned the Achaeans to a general assembly at Aegium, but found it necessary first to go into private conferences with Aratus at Sicyon. Philip then decided to initiate a naval policy. By use of sea power he hoped to cut communications and supplies between Aetolia and the Peloponnesus. He spent some time at Corinth training his Macedonians as sailors, and then took command of the western sea and the island of Cephalenia which overlooks Elis. In order to divert Philip from Cephalenia, in June of 218 B.C. Lycurgus attacked Messenia, which by now had decided to join the Achaean cause, and the Aetolians invaded Thessaly. The Spartan campaign in Messenia accomplished nothing. Shortly after this Lycurgus took Tegea and besieged the citadel into which the citizens had retired, but again was unsuccessful and the siege was lifted.

Philip, after achieving his purpose in Aetolia, quickly returned to Corinth where he picked up the Achaean levies. Hoping to take Sparta by surprise, he marched by way of Argos. On the fourth day he seized the hills opposite Sparta, encamped at Amyclae and pillaged the district. By the seventh day he possessed the hills near the Menelaion. Philip spent two days plundering the immediate neighborhood before turning south. He laid waste the
country as far as Taenarum and then encamped in the district of Helos, the richest in Laconia, where he set fire to everything. The Spartans remained in their city since Lycurgus had only four thousand troops against Philip's ten thousand. Philip, moreover, had called upon the Messenians for troops, and they were eager to comply. The Messenians, marching quickly to Laconia, encamped near the village of Glympeis with an unmilitary lack of precaution. When Lycurgus heard that the Messenians were in Laconia, he set out with his mercenaries and a few Spartans and, finding the camp unguarded, attacked it. The Messenians fled to the village leaving their equipment behind. Lycurgus took the horses and baggage back to Sparta, and the Messenians returned home.

Lycurgus was elated by this minor victory. Upon returning to Sparta, he began to make plans to stop the Macedonians from leaving Laconia without a battle. Not long after this, Philip reached Amyclae again with his whole army. Lycurgus, with two thousand men, occupied the area around the Menelaion, leaving the rest of his force in the city to await his signal. Since Lycurgus held the strongest position, Philip sent the mercenaries, peltasts, and Illyrians against him. The rest of his troops were arranged so as to cut off aid from the city. The Spartans were successful at first when engaged only with the mercenaries, but when Philip sent in the peltasts to support the mercenaries while the Illyrians attacked on the flank, the Spartans broke and ran. One hundred were killed and about the same number taken prisoner. The rest, including Lycurgus, escaped to the city. Aratus and the phalanx
now approached from Amyclae, guarded on their march by the cavalry. The Spartans from the city attempted an attack on the cavalry, but were driven off by the peltasts. The next day, the Macedonians, by-passing the city of Sparta, left for Tegea and then proceeded to Corinth.

Shortly after this, Lycurgus was called before the ephors to answer for the Spartan defeat. He was falsely accused of intriguing with the Macedonians, and forced to flee for safety to Aetolia. Each time Lycurgus fled Sparta he was accompanied by οίκεται. The οίκεται were not helots in the old sense, but were either private slaves or a clientele. Ehrenberg feels that by attending the king in exile, they "bildeten für diesen König von zweifelhaften Legalität offenbar eine wesentlich Stütze." He began to look more and more like a king. Lycurgus also left dependents behind in Sparta, and through their urging, along with the persistence of the war and pressure by the Aetolians, the ephors recalled him in the summer of 217 B.C., for they had also discovered that the charges against him were false. Lycurgus immediately began to intrigue with Pyrrhias, the Aetolian commander of the Eleans, for a joint invasion of Messenia. Lycurgus took Calamae in Messenian territory, and advanced to meet the Eleans. Pyrrhias, however, had been checked by the people of Cyparissia. The Spartan king could neither join Pyrrhias, nor hold Messenia himself, and after making a feeble assault on Andania, he returned to Sparta. The campaigns in Messenia

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illustrate clearly the weakness of the Spartan army and the Spartan king at this time.

Aratus was again strategos of the Achaean League, and had reorganized the League to resist Sparta and Elis. His army now contained a mercenary force of eight thousand foot and five hundred horse, an Achaean complement of three thousand foot and three hundred horse with five hundred infantry and fifty cavalry each from Argos and Megalopolis. He also had three ships in the Gulf of Argos and three more in the Corinthian Gulf. After Lycurgus' raid on Messenia, Aratus obtained five hundred foot and fifty horse each from Taurion and Messenia. In the summer and early autumn of 217 B.C., the Eleans were badly defeated twice by the Achaean League. Meanwhile, the Aetolians and Acarnanians were engaged in raids and counter-raids while Philip strengthened his defenses against the Dardanians.

Philip attended the Nemean games at Argos in 217 B.C., and it was here that he received word of the Roman defeat by Hannibal at Lake Trasymene. He communicated his information to Demetrius of Pharos, an Illyrian, who advised him to settle the Aetolian war and seek a western policy. Both the League and the Aetolians were willing to negotiate a peace. The delegates met at Naupactus in 217 B.C., and signed the Treaty of Naupactus, thus ending the Social War.

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Unfortunately, the history of the period following this is found only in fragments of Polybius. Faction developed in Messene in 215 B.C., and a democracy was established by men hated by the populace.\textsuperscript{21} Philip and Aratus both brought aid to the malcontents. Philip wanted to seize the citadel on Ithome and place a garrison there, but was dissuaded by Aratus who felt that the best garrison was πιστις.\textsuperscript{22} Messene remained free for the moment. In 214 B.C., however, Philip returned to Messenia and devastated the country. It was probably at this time that the Messenians entered into an alliance with Sparta that would last until 195 B.C. Aratus, who so strongly disapproved of Philip's actions toward Messenia that he refused to support the invasion of 214, was poisoned by Philip's agent Taurion, and died in 213 B.C.\textsuperscript{23} The Achaeans buried him with full honors. The League would never again have a leader as powerful and as popular as Aratus.

By 211 B.C., Lycurgus was dead and had been succeeded by his son Pelops, still a minor. It was this year that Sparta again became involved in a Macedonian-Aetolian quarrel.\textsuperscript{24} Polybius gives us the speeches of the envoys from the Aetolian and Acarnanian Leagues who spoke to the Apella in Sparta sometime in 211 B.C. The Aetolians, led by Chlaeneas, condemned the Macedonians, while Lyciscus, the Acarnanian envoy, praised them.\textsuperscript{25} Sparta

\textsuperscript{21}Polyb. VII 10, 1.
\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., VII 12, 7.
\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., VIII 12.
\textsuperscript{24}The Acarnanians, allies of Philip, were threatened with invasion by the Aetolians. In the spring of 211 B.C., Philip attacked Aetolia.
\textsuperscript{25}Polyb. IX 28.
decided in favor of her old ally Aetolia, and in the winter of that same year, renewed the alliance of 220 B.C. The alliance was made in the name of King Pelops, thus indicating that Lycurgus was no longer alive. Pelops is also mentioned in the alliance between Sparta and Rome which followed shortly after the Aetolian coalition. Sparta's duty was to distract Philip from the Adriatic by harassing the Achaean League, still an ally of Macedonia. Soon after this, Machanidas became the guardian of Pelops.

The sources, probably correctly, call Machanidas a tyrant. He was a member of the anti-Macedonian party in Sparta, had acquired enough power during his regency to become a tyrant, and gained considerable military success before his death in 207 B.C. Little more than this is known about him. It was necessary that Sparta, as an ally of Aetolia and Rome, have a strong military leader. The king was only a boy, while Machanidas had served as a mercenary. According to Plutarch, Machanidas had a strong and numerous army which, for a time, threatened the whole Peloponnesus. He was obviously a good general and must have been accepted by the ephors also, since we hear of no domestic strife in Sparta at this time.

In early 209 B.C., the Achaeans, caught between the Aetolians and Spartans, called on Philip for help. The Aetolians

26 Livy XXVI 24; XXXIV 32, 1.
27 Diod. XXVII, 1. Livy XXXIV 32, 1.
29 Machanidas took Tegea and also seems to have recovered the Belbinatis. See Livy XXXVIII 34, 8.
were defeated twice and withdrew to Lamia after which peace negotiations began at that place. Sulpicius, the commander of the Roman fleet assigned to help the Aetolians, was against a peace and urged impossible terms. When Attalus of Pergamum, a Roman ally, arrived at Aegina with thirty-five warships, the negotiations ended without a peace. By 208 B.C., the Aetolians had fortified Thermopylae in an attempt to keep Philip north of the pass. Meanwhile, rumor had it that the Illyrians and Maedi were preparing to invade Macedonia at the same time that Machanidas attacked Argos. The Achaeans again appealed to Philip, and this time he sent aid.\(^3\)

In June, Attalus had been forced by an attack of the Bithynian king, Prusias, to return to Pergamum. Philip had broken through Thermopylae and was winning battles when the Achaean call came in July. The Macedonian king sent aid, but he remained at Elatia in Aetolia where he was discussing how to end the war with envoys of Ptolemy and the Rhodians. When it was learned, however, that Machanidas had decided to attack the Eleans\(^3\) who were preparing for the Olympic games, Philip left Aetolia for the Peloponnesus. He reached Heraea before learning that Machanidas, alarmed at the report of his coming, had fled back to Sparta.

Up to this time, Machanidas owed his success to the decay of the army of the Achaean League, and the incapability of its strategos, Euryleon. But in 209 B.C., Philopoemen, one of the

\(^3\) Livy XXVII 29, 9. "Philippus implorantibus Achaeis auxilium tulit."

\(^3\) Livy XXVIII 7, 14. No explanation is given why Sparta, an ally of Aetolia, would attack Elis, also a member of the alliance.
heroes of Sellasia, returned from a mercenary stint in Crete, and by 207 B.C., had reformed the whole Achaean military system, remodelling it on the Macedonian pattern. That year he also was elected strategos. Philopoemen collected his troops at Mantinea; the Spartan forces were at Tegea which Machanidas had taken sometime before this. The Spartans started for Mantinea, and Philopoemen came out to meet them. At first the Spartan mercenaries routed the Achaean javelineers and Tarentines by using the catapults intended for the siege of Mantinea, but instead of advancing on to the Achaean phalanx, the victors by-passed it in order to pursue the fugitives. This left the Spartan phalanx exposed, and it was surprised by Philopoemen in a flank attack. The phalanx was routed and over four thousand hoplites were killed. Then the Achaean leader killed the Spartan tyrant with two thrusts of his spear. The head of Machanidas was then carried back to the Achaean troops as evidence of victory. Shortly after this, the League army recaptured Tegea by storm, and a few days later were encamped on the banks of the Eurotas River. They had killed four thousand Spartans in battle.

\[33\] This is the first and only use of field artillery by the Greeks. See Holleaux, CAH, vol. VIII, chap. V, p. 134. It also shows some ingenuity on the part of Machanidas.
and taken many more prisoner. The Achaeans met with no resistance as they plundered Laconia.

The battle of Mantinea established the reputation of Philopoemen. He was to be the last great leader of the Achaean League. This battle also was the last action of any magnitude between Hellenic armies alone. After this, Rome and Macedonia dominate Greek history. Before 205 B.C., however, Rome, engaged in a critical struggle with Hannibal, could only afford to give incidental attention to Hellenic affairs. In 206, Aetolia was forced to make a separate treaty with Macedonia, but once the Roman proconsul, Publius Sempronius, arrived in Greece to sign a peace with Philip ending the First Macedonian War, a general peace followed. This Peace of Phoenice, in 215 B.C., listed Nabis, tyrant of Sparta, among the allies.

The period of Lycurgus and Machanidas is the beginning of tyranny in Sparta. But the tyrants carried on in the tradition of the kings. They seemed content to leave domestic affairs in the hands of the ephorate while they performed as capable military leaders. Machanidas was the more successful of the two in this aspect. Neither man, however, had the appeal and the brilliance of Cleomenes III, and Sparta was no longer in any position to defy the Achaean League and Macedonia. The Macedonian troops were not even needed for the last great defeat of Sparta, a defeat brought about mainly because the Spartan army was no longer a disciplined body of citizen soldiers, but now, for the most part, a mercenary army. The old Spartiate forces would never have broken ranks to
give pursuit before the battle was finished, and no ancient Spartan king would have permitted it, much less joined in it. But Machanidas' mercenary instincts overcame his Spartan education, and he foolishly lost the battle that he might have won.

The Spartan army was no longer the best army in Greece, and it was upon her army that Sparta's fame had rested. From 219 to 146 B.C., Sparta was a pawn in the hands first of Aetolia, and then Rome. Nabis was to offer Sparta her last chance to become a power again. Nabis failed, and Sparta was doomed to obscurity.
CHAPTER V

NABIS: THE END OF TYRANNY

Machanidas was succeeded by Nabis, the son of Demaratus, perhaps of the Eurypontid line. A branch of this family had lived in Asia Minor since the Persian War, but was back in Sparta by the end of the fourth century B.C. Nabis is not a Greek name. He was probably born ca. 240 B.C. since he had grown sons in 197 B.C., and he himself was married to Apega, the daughter of an Argive tyrant. Nabis gained power in the same way as Machanidas, by becoming guardian of the still young Pelops. Unlike his predecessor, however, Nabis removed Pelops and assumed the title of king.

Unfortunately for the study of this period, all of the sources are hostile to Nabis. He is not only called a tyrant, but is consistently referred to as the worst kind of tyrant, a man who banished all of the wealthy and illustrious Spartiates, surrounded himself with thieves and murderers, and did all manner

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1 Dittenberger, Syll. 3 584. For an excellent article on Nabis, see Ehrenberg in P-W, s.v.
2 Diod. XXVII, 1. He accuses Nabis of murdering Pelops. Nabis ... ἀνείγε τὸν Πέλοπα ... This story is not found in any of the other sources.
3 Syll. 3 584; IG V 1, 885.
4 The Romans called him rex until the battle of Cynoscephalae, and then changed to tyrannus.
of cruel and rapacious deeds. The legitimate double kingship no longer existed, and the behavior of Nabis certainly indicates a tyranny. He surrounded himself with a bodyguard, fortified his palace, and gained the loyalty of the masses by land reform. But again, the tyranny of Nabis, just as the so-called tyranny of Cleomenes, was to take on definitely Spartan characteristics.

After the Spartan defeat at Mantinea in 207 B.C., the city-state was helpless. The fact that chaos did not result immediately is probably due to Nabis. Pausanias indicates that Nabis was in command shortly after the death of Machanidas. There was much unrest in Sparta after such a severe defeat, and much enmity toward Achaea. It was the perfect situation for Nabis' plans, for he had grown up under the reforms of Cleomenes and had it impressed on his mind that only through social reform and military success can one hope to gain power. Almost immediately he began a program of social revolution. Since he was not a wealthy man himself, he procured the money for carrying out his schemes by killing or banishing numerous wealthy Spartans. The property and wives of these citizens were then given to his chief supporters and to the mercenaries who made up his bodyguard.

Nabis carried the reforms of Cleomenes to a logical conclusion. The former king had initiated a program which concerned only Spartiates and a few select perioeci, but the tyrant now

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5 Polyb. XIII 6, 1.
6 Polyb. XXI 6, 5.
7 Livy XXXV 36.
8 Paus. IV 29, 10.
included the helots also in his program. The plan of Nabis was the same as that of Agis and Cleomenes, to create a strong Spartan army. After the defeat at Mantinea, the number of Spartan citizens was dangerously low. Nabis had to augment the citizen body, and he made no distinctions in his choice of men. He abolished debts, redistributed the land, reinstated the συστήμα which was paid for by the State, freed the helots, and raised a large and effective army. The helots thus ceased to exist as a class, but even before this they had lost their raison d'etre since the army was no longer purely Spartiate. Nabis kept a strong mercenary force, disguising these men as Spartiates when he forced the wives of the exiles into marriage with them, but directing their loyalty to himself, not to Sparta. He was no communist, contrary to Holleaux's theory. This was no honest social revolution, but merely a desire for power, which could only be gained by a powerful military force. And Nabis, too, pointed to Lycurgus for the basis of his reforms, claiming aequatio fortunae ac dignitatis, for both Lycurgus' and his Sparta.

Once his domestic reforms were complete, Nabis began to dream of conquest, but first he secured his position in Laconia. He reclaimed the perioecic cities and the Laconian coast, establishing Gytheum again as the Spartan arsenal, created the first Spartan navy from the ships of the maritime towns, which he

9 Holleaux, CAH, vol. VIII, chap. VI, p. 147.
10 Livy XXXIV 31, 18.
11 Ibid., XXXIV 36, 3; XXXV 12, 7.
would later use as a pirate fleet, and acquired places of refuge on Crete by making a treaty with the Cretans.\footnote{Polyb. XIII 8, 2; Livy XXXIV 35, 9.} Then, in 205 B.C., in the Peace of Phoenice, Nabis was recognized as an ally of Rome and as king of Sparta.\footnote{Livy XXIX 12, 14.} The next year he began his war against the Achaean League with border raids on the territory of Megalopolis. Unfortunately for the League, Philopoemen could be \textit{strategos} only every other year, and it was only during his generalship that the League acted vigorously against Nabis. Finally, in 201 B.C., while Lysippus was League general, Nabis invaded Messenia and took Messene by surprise. Philopoemen could not persuade Lysippus to go to the rescue of Messene and so, gathering together a contingent of Megalopolitanists, he set out to liberate the Messenians in a private action. When Nabis heard that Philopoemen was approaching, however, he left the city by the opposite gate, and returned to Sparta.

The next year, it was Philopoemen's turn to be \textit{strategos}. By means of secret letters with detailed instructions, he managed quickly and quietly to gather together all the League forces and completely surprise Laconia. The Spartans were badly defeated in a battle near Tegea. Philopoemen was succeeded the next year by Cycliadas, a man in the pay of Philip, and it was at this time that Philopoemen again went to Crete as a mercenary. With Philopoemen gone, the Spartans met with little resistance. Plutarch says that Megalopolis was so continuously under attack
that the citizens were forced to stay within the walls and plant their grain in the streets since the fields were ravaged and the enemy encamped almost at the gates of the city. In 200 B.C., at a general assembly of the League held at Argos for the purpose of discussing Nabis, Philip suddenly appeared with an offer of Macedonian aid if the Achaeans would serve in his garrisons at Oreus, Chalcis, and Corinth. The Macedonian king hoped to deceive the Achaeans into joining him in his war against Rome, but he failed. Cycliadas replied that the assembly could only vote on the matter for which it had been called, and proceeded to pass a decree levying an army against Nabis.

In 198 B.C., the Achaean League held an assembly at Sicyon. Livy gives a vivid description of the proceedings of this meeting which terminated with a speech by the League strategos Aristaenus who strongly urged an alliance with Rome. He accused Philip of forgetting their alliance and leaving the Achaeans for Nabis and the Lacedaemonians to plunder and rob. If the League joined Philip against Rome, Aristaenus asked, who would aid the Achaeans against both Nabis and the Romans since the king of Macedonia would not even send help against the Spartans alone? After much delay the vote was finally taken, and a Roman alliance agreed upon, but not all the League cities were present to vote.

\[\text{Plut. Philop. XIII, 1.}\]
\[\text{Livy XXXII 19, 6. Livy says that the Achaeans were terrified of Nabis, a "gravis et adsiduus hostis."}\]
\[\text{Livy XXXII 21, 28.}\]
Megalopolis, and Argos had already withdrawn from the assembly in disagreement. The two former cities took a neutral stand, but in Argos the pro-Macedonian party gained the upper hand and turned the city over to Philip. The next year, Philip, in hopes of gaining an alliance with Nabis, ceded Argos to the Spartans, with the provision that it would be restored to him if he were victorious. If the Macedonians were defeated, Nabis would keep the city. To seal the bargain, Philip offered to unite his daughters in marriage to Nabis' sons.

At first Nabis refused to accept the city except by invitation of the Argives, but later, learning that the citizens were speaking of him with scorn, he entered the city secretly by night and occupied the defensible sites. When daylight came, he first appropriated the wealth of the leading citizens and then called an assembly at which he made proposals for the cancellation of debts and the redistribution of land. Thus, by doing what Cleomenes had been expected to do and had not done, Nabis gained the loyalty of the majority of Argive citizens. Now the Spartan who was generally opposed to Philip's policies, felt safe enough to abandon him. Philip was in no position to recover Argos since he was kept busy by the Roman army now under Flamininus. There was the chance, however, that Rome would dispute Nabis' possession

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18 Nabis was to keep the Achaeans from actively aiding the Romans against Philip.
19 Livy XXXII 38, 1-5.
20 See above, p. 56.
of Argos, and for that reason, Nabis sent to Flamininus asking for a conference.

The meeting was held at Mycenae. Flamininus brought with him his brother Lucius, Attalus of Pergamum, and Nicostratus, strategos of the Achaean League. They found Nabis waiting with his entire army. In discussing the terms of alliance, the Romans made two demands: first that the Spartans end their war with the Achaeans, and second that they send auxiliaries to the Romans against Philip. Nabis immediately furnished Flamininus with six hundred Cretan mercenaries, but instead of peace with the League, a four months truce was agreed upon. Attalus accused Nabis of holding Argos by force and demanded that the Spartans withdraw from the city so that a free assembly could decide the future of the Argives, but when the tyrant refused, the matter was dropped. The conference ended with the acceptance of Nabis as socius et amicus of Rome.²¹ Shortly after this, the Macedonians suffered a severe defeat at Cynoscephalae, and by 196 B.C., the Second Macedonian War was over. Flamininus made his famous proclamation of liberty at Corinth, and Greece was once more free of foreign domination.

Meanwhile, the sea power of Nabis had been growing. He had allied with the Cretans early in his tyranny, and Polybius says that he participated in acts of piracy with the Cretans.²² The Spartan fleet no doubt committed acts of piracy, and there

²¹Livy XXXII 39-40.
²²Polyb. XIII 8, 2.
were several reports of assaults on Roman ships. There is evidence, however, that Nabis had established a sea trade with friendly cities and used his ships more as privateers against the enemy than as pirates against all. An inscription was set up in 197 or 196 B.C., by the citizens of Delos honoring βασιλεὺς Νάβις ας προξενος καὶ εὐεργέτης. The text is in very good condition, and shows clearly that Nabis was deemed deserving of honor by the shrine, state, and citizens of Delos. This honor, and the title βασιλεὺς must have meant much to Nabis in his claim of legality. Nabis, however, was not a king although he was probably recognized as such in Sparta.

Rome had restored peace and liberty in Greece in 196 B.C. By 195, the Greeks were preparing again for war. Achaea felt that she had more right to Argos than Nabis who still possessed the city. The Achaeans began to speak in exaggerated terms of the power of Nabis until he was generally considered to be as dangerous as Philip to Greek freedom. Messene also was worried since that territory would be attacked first if the Spartan power started to expand. And Rome too, feared that Sparta and Aetolia might renew their old alliance, especially if they fell under the

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23 Livy XXXIV 32, 18. The reports were probably exaggerated.
24 Dittenberger, Syll. 584. For an excellent article on this inscription, see T. Homelle, "Inscriptions de Délos," Bulletin de correspondance hellénique, XX (1896), 502-522.
25 Livy XXXIII 44, 8. "Mox si liceat universae Graeciae futurus tyrannus."
influence of Antiochus III, the Seleucid king. The Romans had no real basis for a war against Nabis, but after a long debate in the Senate, Flamininus was asked for his decision and, following his departure again for Greece, war was declared. The decree was delivered to Flamininus later in Greece upon which he called together the Greek allies to a council at Corinth. All the states unanimously pledged themselves to fight for the freedom of Argos. Only the last speech, that of the Achaean strategos Aristaenus, asked for protection against both the Spartans and the Aetolians, and then all the allies joined in censuring Aetolia. The council finally passed a decree of war against Sparta if Argos were not given back to the Achaeans and then, without waiting for Sparta's answer, declared war.

Rome took the lead in this war, asking merely that the allies send auxiliaries in proportion to their strength. Only the Aetolians were excluded from this Roman-Achaean coalition which Rhodes and Eumenes of Pergamum also joined. Flamininus wanted a quick war since Antiochus remained the more serious threat to Rome's position in the East, and he himself was due to be replaced soon. Therefore, summoning his troops from winter quarters at Elatia, he met near Cleonae with Aristaenus who had with him ten thousand Achaean infantry and one thousand cavalry. Together they marched to Argos which was defended at that time by

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26 Relations between Rome and Antiochus were becoming very strained at this time although the Syrian War will not begin until 192 B.C.

27 Livy XXXIV 22-25.
an Argive Pythagoras, both the brother-in-law and the son-in-law of Nabis. Pythagoras posted guards on both citadels and fortified the weak places, but his biggest concern was for the mutiny which had arisen within the city walls. This rebellion, led by Damocles, was short-lived, since the citizens, seeing no hope of success, refused to support it. Some of the mutineers, however, escaped to Flamininus and convinced him that the city would revolt if help were near. The Roman general sent some cavalry and light infantry up to the walls of Argos which easily drove back the Spartan force sent out against them, but the expected revolt of the Argives did not follow. Flamininus then held a council to consider laying siege to Argos. All the allies except Aristaenus felt that the war should begin here, but the Achaean, with Roman approval, argued for the invasion of Laconia since the war was against Nabis, not the Argives. After harvesting the ripe grain and trampling the unripe, to prevent the enemy from using it later, the allied army marched south toward Sparta and encamped near Caryae to wait for more allied auxiliaries. Philip, now an ally, sent fifteen hundred Macedonian hoplites and four hundred Thessalian cavalry. The fleet, also assembling at this time, contained fifty Roman ships under Lucius Quinctius, eighteen Rhodian vessels, and, under Eumenes, ten warships and thirty liburnae. Many Spartan exiles came to the Roman camp too, in hopes of being restored to their homes. The leader of the exiles was Agesipolis, the legal

28 Livy XXXIV 26, 10-13.
29 See above, p. 72.
Spartan king deposed by Lycurgus. The total allied force numbered about fifty thousand.

Nabis, meanwhile, was preparing his forces in Sparta. He added one thousand Cretans to the thousand already with him to stand with three thousand mercenaries, ten thousand Spartans, and the rural guards. It was then that he fortified the city with a moat and a rampart. Livy says that in order to prevent a mutiny of his own citizens, Nabis initiated a reign of terror and, calling together an assembly, read off the names of eighty prominent young men who, he said, would be held as hostages until the danger ended. These he later caused to be put to death during the night. Livy adds, "hoc terrore obstipuerant multitudinis animi ab omni conatu novorum consiliorum." 30

Flamininus invaded Laconia with no opposition since Nabis, badly outnumbered, decided to remain within the walls. While the Romans were preparing to camp north of Sparta, however, Flamininus, going on ahead with some cavalry and light infantry, was surprised by Spartan auxiliary forces and, for a time, the Roman troops were thrown into panic and disorder. With the arrival of the legions, the Spartans were forced to flee back to the city and refused to give battle against the whole Roman force. The next day, as Flamininus marched his forces past Sparta, the mercenaries of Nabis attacked the rear of the line, but the Romans, prepared for this emergency, immediately turned around and routed the enemy. The victorious army encamped at Amyclae, using it as a base for

30 Livy XXXIV 27, 9.
pillaging the districts around the city and then, moving to the Eurotas, they devastated the valley lying below Mt. Taygetus, and the fields which stretched toward the sea. After this, the coastal towns, with the exception of Gytheum, the Spartan arsenal, surrendered to the Romans. Flamininus might have found the siege of Gytheum extremely difficult if the Roman fleet had not appeared at the right moment. Besieged by land and sea, the city could not hope to hold out long, and so Gorgopas, the garrison commander, in return for permission to lead his troops away unharmed, surrendered Gytheum to the Romans. Shortly before this, Pythagoras gave the leadership of Argos to Timocrates of Pellene and set out for Sparta with one thousand mercenaries and two thousand Argives.

With the fall of Gytheum, Nabis was isolated by both land and sea. He now sent a herald to the Roman camp to ask if ambassadors might be sent. When Flamininus had given permission, Pythagoras came to the camp asking that Nabis be granted an interview. A council agreed to meet with the Spartan, and the assembly was finally held in the district between Sparta and Gytheum. Livy records, in detail, the speeches of Nabis, Flamininus, and Aristaenus at this meeting. Nabis invoked the Spartan-Roman alliance of 205 B.C., which Flamininus, in turn, claimed had been made with Pelops, not Nabis. Aristaenus recalled other tyrants who had laid down their tyrannies, and pleaded with Nabis to do

31Livy XXXIV 28.
32Ibid., XXXIV 29, 13. Shortly before this, Dexagoridas, Gorgopas' fellow officer, had planned the same thing and was slain by Gorgopas.
likewise. Nightfall broke up the meeting, but on the next day, Nabis agreed to withdraw from Argos and give back the prisoners and deserters. He then returned to Sparta to discuss further concessions with his friends, while Flamininus held a council of the allies to consider peace. The majority of allies wanted to continue the fighting and destroy Nabis completely, but the Roman general, finding the prospect of a long siege of Sparta distasteful, and wishing to conclude the matter before his successor should arrive in Greece, decided on peace. Flamininus then summoned only a few chosen Romans, and wrote down the terms of the peace. 33

The terms first provided for a six months truce between Nabis, on the one side, and on the other, Eumenes and the Rhodians. Nabis and Flamininus should both send ambassadors to the Roman senate so that the peace might be ratified. The armistice was to begin on the day that the conditions for peace were handed to Nabis, and ten days after that he was to evacuate Argos and the Argive territory, taking nothing with him, and hand it over to the Romans. Nabis was required to give back the fleet to the coastal cities, keeping only two small boats for himself, and restore all fugitives and captives from the allied cities. He must also return all identifiable Messenian property to its owners. The wives and children of the exiles should be permitted to go to their husbands if they wished, but none should be forced to do so. The possessions of the mercenaries who had deserted Nabis should be returned to them. Nabis could not retain possession of any

33Livy XXXIV 35.
town in Crete, and those which he held should be turned over to the Romans. Also he should withdraw his garrisons from any town which had put itself under Roman protection.\(^{34}\) He was forbidden to make an alliance with the Cretans or anyone else. Lastly, Nabis was to give five hostages, including his son, Armenas, to the Roman commander, and pay an immediate indemnity of one hundred fifty talents of silver and fifty talents per year for eight years.

Nabis was relieved to discover that the terms contained no mention of restoration of the exiles, but he found most offensive the clause depriving him of his fleet. He tried to keep the terms secret at first, but they soon became general knowledge and the basis for many individual complaints among the Spartans. Feeling ran so high that an assembly finally was called, and Nabis presented the conditions to the people. When he asked their decision on the matter, the unanimous vote was to continue the war. Nabis then confidently announced that he would have the support of Antiochus and the Aetolians, both ardently anti-Roman, and that Sparta herself was strong enough to withstand any siege. A few skirmishers from Sparta informed the Romans that the war was not ended, and the fighting began again. For the first four days there were only minor engagements, but on the fifth day, some Romans, in pursuit of the Spartans whom they had routed, entered the city through some gaps which then existed in the walls, thus

\(^{34}\) This implies the loss of the Laconian seacoast towns. After the defeat of Nabis they formed the republic of the Eleutherolacones, but were later re-attached to Sparta. They were finally given separate status by Augustus. See Paus. III 21, 7.
indicating to Flamininus the weakness of the Spartan defense system.

In fact, Sparta still did not have a ring wall. Nabis had constructed fortifications in the low places, but the higher points were guarded only by soldiers. Flamininus sent messengers to Gytheum to bring the disembarked sailors to him, and then placed all his men in a circle around the city. His plan was to make the tyrant think that he was attacking from all sides while actually three strong columns were specifically directed to points where there were no walls. At first, the Spartans withstood the charge, but they had only long distance weapons and the fighting was hand to hand. Finally, the Romans formed a testudo and forced their way into the city. The Spartans, and Nabis too, began to look for ways of escape, but Pythagoras the Argive, displaying a courage which surpassed the Spartans, ordered the buildings nearest the wall to be set on fire and thus saved the city. The roofs of the burning houses collapsed on the advancing Romans, and the flames and smoke created even more havoc. When Flamininus saw the resulting chaos, he ordered a retreat.\(^{35}\) For three days after this, Flamininus harried the Spartans, giving them no rest until finally Nabis sent Pythagoras to plead again for him. A truce was declared on the basis of the former terms, and the Romans received immediately the money and the hostages. The Argives then, led by Archippas, rose up and expelled their Spartan garrison.

\(^{35}\) *Livy* XXXIV 39, 9.
Sparta was defeated, compelled to agree to terms which deprived her of most of the coastal area of Laconia, deprived of her fleet, and forced to pay an indemnity. But Nabis remained in control of the city. Flamininus had decided, over the protests of the allies, to let the tyrant live and rule as a check against the Achaean. In the beginning of 194 B.C., ambassadors from Nabis arrived in Rome to request ratification of the peace, and the Senate granted their petition. Nabis then began to strengthen the walls of Sparta and renew his army in order to recover the lost Laconian territory.

In the fall of 194 B.C., the Aetolians held a council at Naupactus to complain of their treatment at the hands of the Romans. There, they decided to incite the three kings to war against the Romans, and envoys were sent, in 193 B.C., to Philip, Antiochus, and Nabis. Philip, anxious to be revenged upon Antiochus, would have no part of it; Antiochus asked for time to reflect; but Nabis listened eagerly. The Spartan immediately sent agents to stir up seditions in the maritime towns which were now under the guardianship of the Achaean. Nabis, ignoring the Achaean warning to desist, regained most of the seacoast towns and was besieging Gytheum when the Achaean sent a report of these events to Rome. The Romans, fearful of intervention by Antiochus, sent Flamininus and three other legati to Greece in the winter of 193/2. They were later joined by Eumenes of Pergamum. Also, in

36 Livy XXXIV 43, 1-2.
the fall of 193 B.C., Philopoemen, who had returned from Crete, was chosen strategos of the Achaean League.

Flamininus and Philopoemen each tried to keep the other out of battle. Flamininus attempted to delay the war until a new strategos would take office in the fall of 192 B.C., while Philopoemen wanted to stop Nabis without Roman help. The Achaeans voted for war in 192 B.C., and Philopoemen began his first venture in seamanship. Nabis had a small fleet which he was using to keep help from arriving to Gytheum by sea, and he daily drilled the sailors in mock naval battles. Philopoemen, who was completely ignorant of ships and the sea, restored a quadrireme,\(^{37}\) captured eighty years previous to this, and using it to lead the Achaean fleet, set sail for Gytheum. The ancient ship broke apart the first time it was rammed, and everyone on it was taken prisoner. With the flagship gone, the rest of the Achaean fleet fled as fast as they could row.

Nabis took hope from this victory that he no longer had anything to fear by sea. In order to secure the land approaches to Gytheum, he sent one-third of his troops to Pleiae where the enemy would naturally advance. Philopoemen, however, in a secret night attack, caught the camp by surprise and burned the tents. Very few men escaped back to Gytheum. From Pleiae, Philopoemen advanced to Tripolis, in the Spartan territory, and ravaged the land before retiring to Tegea. There, meeting with a council of

\(^{37}\) Livy XXXV 26, 7. Pausanias (VIII 50, 7) calls it a trireme. Plutarch (Philop. XIV, 3) claims it was only forty years old.
all the allies, he decided to lead his army against the city of Sparta. He encamped at Caryae on the day that Gytheum fell to the Spartans, but Philopoemen, ignorant of this event, moved on to Mt. Barnosthenes, just ten miles from Sparta. Nabis, now that he possessed Gytheum, hurried with his army to Sparta, for he knew the city would surely be attacked by the Achaeans. When the two armies suddenly met, Philopoemen was at a distinct disadvantage, for he feared a flank attack and had therefore placed his best troops in the rear. But Philopoemen was a man praeclpute in ducendo agmine locisque capiendis solertiae atque usus. After waiting a day and surveying the problem, he arranged his troops in such a way that the Spartans were completely routed in the ensuing battle. The Spartans did not flee toward the city, however, but into the woods. When Philopoemen realized this, he set ambushes around the city since he knew that the enemy would try to steal back by night. So many Spartans died in the battle and in the ambushes that only one-fourth of Nabis' army escaped to Sparta. For the next month the Achaeans ravaged Laconia at will. Shortly after this, the Roman fleet under Atilius retook Gytheum, and Nabis' defeat was complete.

Flamininus again hindered the allies' desire to rid themselves of Nabis. He forced a truce on both the Spartans and the Achaeans which provided for the re-establishment of the status quo in the Peloponnesus. The Achaean League's fear of Nabis was, to

\[\text{\textsuperscript{38}}\text{Livy XXXV 28, 1.}\]
the Romans, a clear guarantee of its faithfulness to Rome. The Spartans were again confined to the Eurotas Valley, but Nabis remained as tyrant of Sparta.

The Aetolians, in 192 B.C., were confident that Antiochus would soon invade Greece. To provide strongholds for Antiochus in his war against Rome, the Aetolian leaders decided to surprise Demetrias, Chalcis, and Sparta. Nabis, meanwhile, had been imploring Aetolia for aid against the Achaeans. Alexamenus, an Aetolian general, was sent to Sparta with one thousand infantry and a cavalry of thirty young men who had been given secret orders to support Alexamenus in whatever he might do. The Aetolians arrived in Sparta with many promises of future victory, but with the admonition also that Nabis not allow his troops to grow soft. After this, Nabis began to lead out his troops frequently onto the plain, in order to inspect them, and as he rode from end to end, reviewing the line, Alexamenus generally was at his side. The Aetolian contingent was placed on the right of the line. On a given day, Alexamenus broke away from the tyrant, and after making a speech to the Aetolian cavalry, ordered them to assassinate Nabis as he approached from the left end. Before his bodyguards could reach him from their place in the center, the tyrant was dead. Alexamenus and the Aetolians then took possession of the city and turned to plundering it. At this, the Spartan citizens

39Ibid., XXXV 31, 2.
united, elected a boy-king, and slaughtered the Aetolians who were engrossed in pillaging. Next they attacked the palace, killing Alexamenus and a few of his companions. Those Aetolians who escaped fled to Tegea and Megalopolis where they were arrested and sold as slaves. Philopoemen, when he heard that Nabis was dead and Sparta was in confusion, hurried to the city and forcibly attached it to the Achaean League.

The death of Nabis was a gain for the Achaean League. Although Rome did not oppose Sparta's membership in the League, it was, nevertheless, a loss for Roman interests, for Sparta could no longer check Achaean opposition to Rome. Nabis' death was a blow to Sparta also. Ehrenberg says that he accomplished a true statesmanlike achievement which survived in many respects. His land-reforms were permanent and he was the last great champion of Spartan military prestige. He was also, however, the gravedigger of old Sparta through his social revolution and the loss of the seacoast towns. It is evident that Nabis has been maligned through the centuries. Although he robbed the wealthy, the poor whom he helped must have been very appreciative. Even the people of Argos were at least temporarily appreciative of his land reforms there, and the fact that Pythagoras was able to recruit and take

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40 Livy (XXXV 36, 8) says he was of royal stock and named Laconicus. This is nowhere found as a proper name. Livy must have mistaken the adjective Δακωνικός for a noun.
41 Atilius and the Roman fleet were approaching Gytheum at this same time. Livy XXXV 37.
43 Livy XXXIV 26, 4.
with him from Argos to Sparta two thousand Argive hoplites as supporters, is further proof of Nabis' popularity. Since Pythagoras obviously would not force two thousand hostile men to go to a city which was threatened by attack, the Argives must have been volunteers. Lastly, the Spartan citizens never deserted Nabis. Flamininus, in arguing against a siege of Sparta, admitted that he had hoped for dissension and insurrection among the Spartans, but when the legions had come up to the gates, the Spartans remained loyal to their leader. When Nabis was assassinated, it was by Aetolians, not Spartans.

The independent history of Sparta comes to an end in 192 B.C. There are no kings after this period. Sparta, powerless in her own right, will look increasingly to Rome for help in settling her disputes. And Sparta, by seeking Roman intervention, will finally bring about the end of the Achaean League, just as Aratus, by going to Macedon, terminated the plans of Cleomenes. Unfortunately for Greece, however, the Spartan action also will end Greek independence for the rest of antiquity.

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Ibid., XXXIV 29, 14.

Livy XXXIV 33, 11.
CHAPTER VI

THE LAST FIFTY YEARS

After the death of Nabis, the Spartan government fell into the hands of a small group of citizens whom Plutarch calls οἱ ἄριστοι.\footnote{Plut. Philop. XV, 3.} These men, essentially enemies of reform and pro-Macedonian, had managed to survive under Nabis by keeping quiet. It was they who cancelled Nabis' gains and consented to Philopoemen's demands to enter the Achaean League.\footnote{Plutarch and Polybius both claim that these citizens tried to bribe Philopoemen with the confiscated goods and property of Nabis, but were unsuccessful. Plut. Philop. XV, 4; Polyb. XX 12.} In 191 B.C., Messene and Elis also joined the League, giving the Achaean control of the whole Peloponnesus.

The new Spartan government was faced with many problems. Sparta had lost a considerable amount of territory, Spartan hostages were at Rome, the exiles were demanding permission to return, and Spartan patriotism rebelled against membership in the Achaean League. In 191 B.C., a Spartan embassy was sent to Rome to discuss the subject of the hostages and the coastal towns. The Senate replied that they would give orders concerning the towns to the legates whom they were sending to Greece, but they would have to consult further about the hostages. At this time,
however, envoys came to Rome from Philip to bring to the attention of the Senate Philip's recent readiness to aid Rome in the war against Antiochus. After listening to the envoys, the Senate set free both the Macedonian and Spartan hostages with the exception of Armenas, the son of Nabis, who died shortly afterwards.\(^3\) As far as the Senate was concerned, Sparta was free to recall the exiles at any time. The majority of Spartans were against the return of the exiles since it could only mean unrest and confusion. Philopoemen, on the other hand, thought it was a good policy to restore the Spartan exiles to their own country.\(^4\) Philopoemen's threat, added to the Spartan desire for complete autonomy, led to an uprising against the League in 191 B.C.

Diophanes was general of the Achaean League at this time. Although Philopoemen tried to persuade him to ignore the incident, Diophanes disregarded his advice and, along with Flamininus, invaded Laconia and marched on Sparta. Philopoemen, then, hurried past them into the city of Sparta, put an end to the disturbance, and re-instated the Spartans in the Achaean League. This peace, however, was short-lived. The Spartans were extremely dissatisfied with the narrow boundaries within which they were confined. They needed the seacoast cities for reasons of economy as well as pride. At this time the coastal towns were filled with Spartan exiles, intriguing to return home, and this irritated the Spartans also. In late summer of 189 B.C., therefore, a Spartan force surprised

\(^3\)Polyb. XXX 3. The hostages had returned to Sparta by 189 B.C.

\(^4\)Ibid., XXI 32c.
the city of Las near Gytheum and took it. The townspeople and exiles managed to expel the invaders almost at once, but this action caused panic along the whole seacoast. The cities, in terror, sent a joint embassy to the Achaeans. Philopoemen, League strategos of that year, after hearing the complaints of the envoys, sent word that the Spartans must surrender those responsible for the attack on Las or be guilty of having broken the treaty of 195 B.C. The Spartans, in reply, murdered thirty pro-Achaean citizens, and decreed that the alliance with the Achaeans be broken and ambassadors sent to Cephallania to commend Sparta to the Roman consul Marcus Fulvius, imploring him, at the same time, to put the city under his protection. The Achaeans then declared war on Sparta.

Although winter prevented any serious campaigning until 189 B.C., the Spartan territory was devastated by small raids from both land and sea. These disturbances brought the matter to the attention of the Roman consul and, by his order, a council was called at Elis at which the Spartans were also present. The debate which ensued ended in a violent quarrel. Fulvius terminated the meeting by demanding that both sides refrain from war until they had sent ambassadors to the Roman Senate. Diophanes and Lycortas, along with representatives of the Spartan exiles, were the Achaean envoys. Diophanes was willing to let the Senate decide all questions, while Lycortas, acting on orders of

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5Livy XXXVIII 31, 5.
6Lycortas was the father of Polybius.
Philopoemen, demanded that the League be given complete autonomy in this matter. Although the Achaeans had some influence with the Romans at this time, the Senate decreed that no change should be made in the status of Sparta. This ambiguous reply was interpreted by the Achaeans as granting them full authority, while the Spartans rejoiced in their freedom from the League.

In the spring of 138 B.C., Philopoemen, again League strategos, marched, without permission of the Roman consul, to Compasion on the Laconian border. His army was reinforced by thousands of Spartan exiles who made up almost the whole of the advance troops of the army. Philopoemen then sent messengers to Sparta, again demanding the surrender of those guilty of the attack on Las, and promising that they would have a fair trial. Those whom the Achaeans demanded by name agreed to go provided that they were guaranteed safe conduct until they had pleaded their case. Other well-known Spartans went with them to support them as private citizens. They were met at Compasion, however, by the enraged exiles, and before Philopoemen could intervene, seventeen Spartans had been killed. The next day, after a brief trial before a hostile jury, the remaining sixty-three were condemned to death and executed.\(^7\) The Achaeans then imposed their peace terms on the Spartans.

\(^7\) Livy XXXVIII 33.
These terms demanded that the Spartans destroy their walls, and that all the foreign mercenaries who had served under the tyrants leave Sparta. The helots who had been freed by Nabis were required to leave Laconia before a designated day or risk seizure and slavery at the hand of any Achaean. The ancient customs of Lycurgus were to be abolished and replaced by the laws and institutions of the Achaeans. Then, at a general assembly of the League at Tegea, the restoration of the exiles was decreed. Finally, the Belbinatis was restored to Megalopolis. The Spartans complied with the terms, but three thousand mercenaries and ex-helots, who refused to leave Laconia, were captured by the Achaeans and sold as slaves. The money from this sale was used to rebuild a portico at Megalopolis which the Spartans had destroyed in the time of Cleomenes III.

The Roman consul Fulvius had been complaisant about the massacre at Compasion, but when his successor, Marcus Lepidus, was approached by a Spartan embassy in 187 B.C., the new consul wrote a letter to the Achaeans censuring them for this act. Philopoemen then sent envoys to Rome to plead the Achaeans' case. The Senate had sent Quintus Caecilius Metellus on a mission to Macedonia, and he decided to visit Achaea on his return trip. He

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8 Michell, Sparta, p. 330. Michell says that Philopoemen was convinced that Lycurgan Spartans could never be humbled. Two inscriptions (IG V 1, 4, 5), dating ca. 188-183 B.C., mention three new officers in Sparta, συναρχιαί, ἐπιδαμμιοργῆς and ἐκδοτῆρ. Synarchiai were officials in other League cities. Sparta left the League after five years and revived the old constitution. It was generally in use in Roman times.

9 Livy XXXVIII 34.

10 Paus. VII 51, 3.
arrived in July of 185 B.C., and demanded that an assembly be called to discuss the problem of Sparta. The League officials replied that they would not call a meeting for anyone who did not have a decree from the Senate approving the proposal to be placed before the assembly. Metellus was furious at this insult and, upon returning to Rome, made many accusations against the Achaeans which, Pausanias says were οὐ τὰ πάντα ἀληθῆ. This was the first significant indication of growing dissension between the League and Rome.

Other charges were made against the Achaeans at this time also, for although the League had restored many exiles to Sparta, these men resented the abolition of the old Spartan customs. A compromise had thus been agreed upon by the people of the city and the former exiles, and this coalition sent a deputation to Rome represented by Areus and Alcibiades, both of whom only recently had been restored to Sparta by Philopoemen. The Achaeans, in retaliation, condemned Areus and Alcibiades to death. Apollonidas of Sicyon, the League envoy in Rome at this time, asserted that Sparta had never been better governed than under Philopoemen, but the Spartans, in turn, charged first that the power of their city-state had been weakened because of the new banishments of anti-Achaean citizens, secondly that they lacked security because of the destruction of the walls, and finally that they had no political freedom because they were forced to obey League decrees.

11Paus. VII 9, 1.
without any discussion. The Senate decided to appoint a commission under Appius Claudius Pulcher, to investigate affairs in both Greece and Macedonia. Once the Romans had arrived in Achaea, bringing with them Areus and Alcibiades, an assembly was held at Cleitor in 184 B.C. Appius repeated the accusations of the Spartans against the Achaean, especially criticizing the affair at Compasion, and then Lycortas spoke on behalf of the Achaean, blaming the Romans, to a great extent, for the present state of affairs in the Peloponnesus. His frankness toward the Romans so frightened the Achaean that they readily agreed to what Claudius ordered. The law against Areus and Alcibiades was repealed by the League. Appius then authorized Sparta to rebuild the city walls and re-establish her old customs and traditions. The League was also forced to give Sparta special privileges. Independent Spartan embassies could be sent to Rome, and a neutral court, rather than the League Council, would try Spartans on criminal charges.

In the winter of 184/3 B.C., four separate Spartan embassies arrived in Rome. Lysis, on behalf of the old exiles, maintained that they ought to recover all the property that they had had when exiled. Areus and Alcibiades proposed that they receive back their property to the value of a talent, and that the rest be distributed among worthy citizens. Serippus argues in favor of the conditions imposed by the Achaean League, while

12Polyb. XXII 12, 2-5.
13Livy XXXIX 36, 5-21.
Chaeron appeared on behalf of the anti-Achaean exiles, demanding that they be returned, and that the Lycurgan constitution be restored. The Senate, unable to examine the different proposals in detail, appointed a commission of three men to study the matter. These men, all former commissioners in Greece, were Flamininus, Metellus, and Appius Claudius. They agreed that the exiles and the remains of those put to death should be returned to Sparta, and that Sparta should remain a member of the Achaean League. They disagreed on the matter of property. In order not to go into the whole matter from the beginning, however, they wrote up the terms on which they were in accord, and all parties signed the agreement.\(^{14}\)

The unrest in Sparta was settled just as discontent was growing stronger in Messenia. The citizens exiled by Philopoemen for opposition to the League had returned bringing faction with them. Late in 183 B.C., Messenia, under the leadership of Deinocrates, seceded from the Achaean League. Philopoemen, now seventy years old and ill, immediately gathered together his troops and marched to Messene. At first he was successful, but later, outnumbered and surrounded by the Messenians, he was captured and then executed. Freeman calls him "the last hero of Achaia, the last hero of Greece."\(^{15}\) With the death of Philopoemen, the real power of the Achaean League came to an end, for never again would it have a leader so capable and so dedicated. He was succeeded by

\(^{14}\) Polyb. XXIII 4.

\(^{15}\) Freeman, Hist. of Fed. Gov., p. 506.
Lycortas, who did nothing more at that time concerning the Messenian revolt.

Meanwhile, the Messenian uprising gave Rome the opportunity to work against the Achaean League. Quintus Marcius and Flamininus, passing through Greece in 183 B.C., offered their services as arbitrators, but the Achaeans refused. Marcius, in his report to the Senate, accused the Achaeans of insolence, but advised the Senate to do nothing about it at present. He felt that Sparta and Messene would soon be reconciled, and then the League would be eager for Roman aid. When the Achaeans did seek help against the Messenians, the Senate replied that the matter did not concern Rome, and that it would not concern Rome even if Sparta, Corinth, or Argos deserted the League. Corinth and Argos ignored the implication of this reply, but Sparta took it as permission to withdraw from the League, and did so. Early in 182 B.C., however, Lycortas finally quelled the uprising in Messenia. The Achaean League was the strongest power in the Peloponnesus, and a Spartan embassy to Rome could gain nothing. Messene was reattached to the League, and at the general assembly at Sicyon that same year, Sparta was again received into membership at her own request. The Spartan exiles not unfriendly to the League were permitted to return to the city. The Roman Senate approved these actions in the winter of 182/1 B.C.

The last attempt at social revolution was made in Sparta in 181 B.C., under Chaeron. This man had been twice the leader.

16 Polyb. XXIV 7, 1. Chaeron was a "sharp and able man, but he was young and of humble station, and had received a vulgar education."
of the anti-Achaean exiles, and had gone to Rome as ambassador from Sparta after the assembly at Sicyon. He had earlier acknowledged that Spartan membership in the League was necessary, meanwhile setting up political machinery in the manner of Nabis. When Chaeron returned from Rome he put his plan into motion. He first took the land still in the possession of the families of those in exile, and distributed it among his followers. Then, appropriating the public revenue, he began to spend it as though it were his own. The citizens, indignant over this misuse of public funds, secured the appointment of Δοκιμαστήρες τῶν κοινῶν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους,17 but Apollonidas, the most notable of the auditors, was murdered by the supporters of Chaeron in broad daylight. As soon as Aristaenus, the League strategos, heard of this affair, he marched to Sparta. Chaeron was put on trial, found guilty, and put into prison. The remaining auditors were ordered to finish the business for which they had been appointed, and to restore the property of those who had been robbed. Chaeron was merely a petty tyrant who tried to capitalize on the schemes of the past reformers for his own aggrandizement. His revolt, however, is evidence of the low estate into which both Sparta and the Spartans had fallen. It also seems to indicate that the Lycurgan constitution was not being used, for the Δοκιμαστήρες, as a magistracy, have a definite Achaean flavor.

The exiles had been a problem for Sparta since the beginning of social reform. The original Cleomenic exiles were

17Polyb. XXIV 7, 5.
referred to as "old" exiles. Later, Lycurgus and Nabis had expelled those opposed to tyranny, and finally, Philopoemen and other League leaders had forced the anti-Achaean element to leave Sparta. The exiles whose property Chaeron confiscated are an unknown element, but they were probably enemies of tyranny. The question of the exiles as a whole was constantly brought before the Roman Senate, which at first brushed aside the issue, but then, in 180 B.C., ordered their restoration. Lycortas, the Achaean general, ignored the decree. Finally, in 179 B.C., when Callicrates, a pro-Roman, was League strategos, the Spartan and Messenian exiles were returned to their cities. Since the majority of Spartan exiles were anti-Achaean, the balance of influence in Peloponnesian politics was for the first time in favor of Rome. It was perhaps at this time also that the Lycurgan constitution, without the kingship and Δυνατοί, was re-established in Sparta. 18

Between the years 179 and 150 B.C., there is almost no evidence for Spartan history. Sparta did not enter into the struggle of Persius against Rome, although a Spartiate named Leonidas furnished five hundred paid mercenaries for Macedonia. Because of this noble gesture he was banished by the Achaean League assembly. 19 In 168 B.C., Sparta became the sanctuary of the Jewish high-priest Jason 20 who eventually died there, but this

18 Livy (XLV 28, 4) indicates that the Lycurgan constitution had been restored by 168 B.C.
19 Ibid., XLII 51, 8.
20 II Macc. 5, 9.
is not sufficient proof of a Jewish community in the city. Gallus was sent by Rome in 165 B.C., to settle a boundary dispute between Sparta and Megalopolis, but he declined to arbitrate in person and entrusted the decision to Callicrates who naturally decided in favor of Megalopolis. By 150 B.C., there was a definite separatist movement in Sparta. This movement was to provide the means by which Rome would overthrow the Achaean League.

Athens was the immediate cause of the war between Rome and the Achaean League. Athens and Oropus had previously entered into an agreement whereby Athens placed a garrison in Oropus and the Oropians gave hostages to Athens. The agreement provided that if ever the Oropians had cause to complain against the Athenians, the garrison would be withdrawn and the hostages returned. An incident (an Athenian raid) occurred in 150 B.C., which provoked the Oropians, but when they asked the Athenians to keep their part of the agreement, Athens refused. The Oropians, therefore, offered ten talents to Menalcidas, a Spartan strategos of the Achaean League, if he would persuade the Achaeans to help their city. Menalcidas promised half the money to Callicrates who was the man most influential in League policy. The Achaeans decided to help

21 See Niese III 231, 3.
22 Pausanias (VII 11, 2) calls Callicrates ἄπασης τῆς Ἐλλάδος ἀνήρ ἀλάστωρ.
23 DuBois, Les Ligues, p. 88. "Si la résistance de Sparte a longtemps arrêté les progrès de l'union dans le Péloponnèse, ce seront encore ses révoltes qui attireront à la ligue la servitude romaine."
24 Menalcidas had been a mercenary in Egypt who was befriended by the Romans. The fact that he became League strategos indicates the dominance, at that time, of a Roman party within the League.
Oropus, but when the Athenians heard this, they raided Oropus again and then recalled the garrison. Since the Achaeans arrived too late to help, Menalcidas and Callocrates tried to persuade them to invade Attica, but they met with opposition, especially from the Spartan contingent, and the army withdrew. Even though he had not aided the Oropians, Menalcidas forced payment of the ten talents, but he refused to share it with Callocrates. In November of 150 B.C., after Menalcidas was out of office, Callocrates accused him before the League assembly of having intrigued with Rome to overthrow the Achaean League. Since he was in extreme danger, Menalcidas bribed, with three of the talents, Diaeus of Megalopolis, now League strategos, who managed to save Menalcidas in spite of much opposition.

Spartan feeling was stirred up by the League's treatment of Menalcidas, but a more important problem faced the Spartans in 149 B.C. They had appealed to the Roman Senate about some disputed territory, and Rome had replied that all but capital cases should be under League jurisdiction. Diaeus, however, misled the Achaeans into believing that the League could condemn a Spartan to death. The Spartans refused to accept this interpretation, and wished to refer the point to the Roman Senate, but the Achaeans forbade it on the grounds that no single member state had the right to send its own embassy to Rome (although Sparta had been doing so for many years). Diaeus, furthermore, declared that he would march to war, not against Spartans, but against those who were causing trouble. When the Spartans inquired how many were
guilty, Diæus gave the names of twenty-four distinguished Spartan citizens. The twenty-four, including Menalcidas, were advised to go into voluntary exile rather than bring war on Sparta. After they had departed for Rome, the Spartans held a trial and condemned them in absentia. The Achaean immediately sent Callicrates and Diæus to Rome to counter the accusations of the exiles, but Callicrates died on the way. Rome advised both sides to wait until the envoys which they were sending to settle the dispute arrived in Greece. Diæus and Menalcidas both returned home. Diæus told the Achaean that the Senate had decreed the complete subjection of Sparta to the League, while Menalcidas convinced the Spartans that the Romans had freed them entirely of League domination. This was the background of the final war between Sparta and the Achaean League.

In 148 B.C., Damocritus, Achaean strategos, marched an army against Sparta which had by now repudiated the League. Metellus had been sent by Rome to settle affairs in Macedonia, but in concern for Greece, he urged some envoys passing through on their way to Asia, to order the Achaean not to attack Sparta until the promised Roman embassy should arrive. Damocritus ignored Metellus' instructions, and Sparta was badly defeated in the ensuing battle. One thousand Spartan youths fell and the rest of the army fled to the city, but Damocritus, instead of besieging Sparta, contented himself with ravaging Laconia. Diæus, the next strategos,

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25 Paus. VII 13, 3. "The Lacedaemonians, with a spirit greater than their strength, took up arms, and went forth to defend their country."
promised a second embassy from Metellus to wait for the arrival of
the arbitrators from Rome. Meanwhile, he won over the towns around
Sparta and placed garrisons in them. The Spartans then elected as
their general, Menalcidas who broke the truce by attacking and
plundering Iasus, a town on the Laconian border which was subject
to the Achaean. He thus stirred up the war between Sparta and the
League, and in the end he incurred so much blame from his fellow-
citizens that he took his own life by poison. 26

The Roman embassy, under Lucius Aurelius Orestes, finally
arrived at Corinth in the summer of 147 B.C. Orestes, instead of
communicating with the League officials, immediately called
together the magistrates from each of the Greek cities and
announced that Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclaea, and Orchomenus
should no longer be part of the Achaean League since they were not
Achaean cities and were late additions to the League. The League
officers who were also present at this meeting, left before
Orestes had finished speaking, and called an assembly of the
townspeople 27 to inform them of the Roman decree. The Achaean,
aroused by their leaders, turned against the Spartans residing in
Corinth and arrested all but a few who managed to escape to
Orestes for asylum. Even these the mob tried to drag away over
the protests of the Romans whose sanctity of domicile was being
violated. A few days later, the Achaean dispatched ambassadors,
under Thearidas, to Rome, but since they met another Roman embassy

26 Paus. VII 13, 8. Menalcidas was δ ἀμαθέστατος στρατηγὸς and ἀνθρώπων δ ἀδικώτατος.
27 In reality, it was a Corinthian mob.
on its way to Corinth to assist Orestes, they turned around and accompanied the Romans back to the city. By this time Critolaus had succeeded Diaeus as strategos. It was through the intrigues of Critolaus that war was finally declared, for although the Romans, after a meeting with the Achaeans at Aegium, called a conference of Spartans and Achaeans to be held at Tegea, Critolaus saw to it that the League representatives did not attend. When the Romans realized his deception, they returned to Rome. Critolaus spent the winter of 147/6 B.C., visiting the different cities to arouse the people against Rome. He also won the masses to his cause by advising the city magistrates to cancel debts until the crisis was over.

When Metellus heard of these disturbances, he dispatched another embassy which arrived in 146 B.C., just as the general assembly of the League was meeting at Corinth. The ambassadors spoke to the assembly in very conciliatory terms, but the people jeered at the legates and forced them out of the meeting. Critolaus then proceeded to give an inflammatory speech which excited the assembly even more, and using the soldiers to quell anyone who tried to check him, he persuaded the Achaeans to vote for war, λόγῳ μὲν • • πρὸς Λακεδαίμονιος • • ἔργῳ δὲ • • πρὸς ἜΠωμαίον. 28 He also added an unconstitutional decree giving the men chosen as strategoi absolute power, and this too was passed. After this, the Roman legates left Corinth. Instead of returning to Macedon, however, Papirius went to Sparta, Aulus to

28 Polyb. XXXVIII 13, 6.
Naupactus, and the other two to Athens, to watch the progress of events.

Sparta was not implicated in the war of 146 B.C., which involved a quick invasion of Achaea by the Romans, the destruction of Corinth, and the break-up of the Achaean League. Critolaus and Diaeus both committed suicide, and Achaea became a protectorate of the governor of Macedonia. Achaea was fined two hundred talents to be paid to Sparta, the walls of all Achaean cities were destroyed,\(^{29}\) the federal constitution was abolished, and each city became a separate tributary ally of Rome. Sparta, as a *civitas libera et immunis*, was not required to pay tribute, but she was dependent on Rome. There is no clear evidence whether or not the Belbinatis was returned to Sparta at this time. The Denthaliatis remained in the possession of Messenia, and the perioecic coastal cities continued to be separate from the Spartan state. After 146 B.C., Sparta was no more to play an active and independent political role in the affairs of Greece.

\(^{29}\) Except Elis, Messene, and perhaps Patrae. See Paus. VII 16, 9.
Polybius tells us that from the time of their ancient legislator, Lycurgus, until the battle of Leuctra, the Spartans had enjoyed the best form of government and wielded the greatest power. Thereafter, their system of government began rapidly to go from bad to worse, until finally Sparta had more experience than any other people in civic trouble and discord. No other nation was so plagued with banishment of citizens and confiscations of property, none had to submit to more cruel servitude culminating in the tyranny of Nabis.¹ Michell, in the conclusion of his general work on Sparta, says that, although all Greece was in decay, there were unique circumstances in the fall of Sparta. All Spartan governors sent abroad were failures. The land system was fundamentally bad, and Agis and Cleomenes came too late to make any real reforms.² From this, one would get the impression that the history of Hellenistic Sparta was one of total decay. This, however, is an overstatement.

The Spartan land system was bad, and most of the wealth and power fell into the hand of a few men and women, but this was happening throughout Hellenistic Greece. It was in Sparta that an attempt was made to reform this system. Agis failed, but

¹Polyb. IV 81, 12-14.
²Michell, Sparta, p. 334.
Cleomenes profited by his predecessor's mistakes. What Doson had abolished after the defeat of Cleomenes, was re-established by Nabis, and persisted even after his death. It is true that these Spartans initiated land reform to gain a strong army and enhance their own personal power, but the final success of the reform should not be overlooked because their military ventures were unsuccessful. Citizens were banished and property was confiscated. But the majority of exiles eventually came back to Sparta and regained at least a part of their former possessions.\(^3\) Although many were banished, the period was one of relatively little bloodshed among the Spartans themselves. Leaders of factions and magistrates were assassinated on occasion, but we hear of no mob violence in the streets of the city. Domestically, Sparta appears progressive in this period, especially in contrast to the other cities of Greece. Aratus feared Cleomenes because he was a reformer. The Peloponnesian cities welcomed him for the same reason. Land reform was necessary in Greece; it became a fact in Sparta.

It was in the field of foreign policy, however, that Sparta played a most important role in this period. The Spartan kings wanted hegemony of the Peloponnesus, the tyrants fought to regain lost territories in Laconia and Messenia, and the armies of both, even though heavily augmented by mercenaries, were an object of fear to Sparta's neighbors, and especially to the Achaean League. Because he was unable to defeat the armies of Cleomenes, Aratus brought Macedonian domination back to the Peloponnesus. The

\(^3\)See above, p. 111.
alliance between Achaea and Macedonia brought the Greeks into contact with Rome, who at first aided the League in its desire to crush the resurgence of Spartan power, and then used Sparta to crush the League. No doubt, Rome would have extended her power over Greece eventually without the excuse provided by the Spartans, but it was Sparta, nonetheless, which offered the opportunity, and was instrumental in bringing Greece under Roman domination. The part played by Sparta in the foreign policy of Hellenistic Greece cannot be neglected without losing the proper perspective of the period.

Spartan history in the Hellenistic period tells of great and small men, of powerful armies, of domestic success, and of foreign failure. It shows a city-state and its people in decay and in despair. But throughout this era, the history of Sparta is active. Attempts were made to solve the new problems facing Sparta, while the Spartans, at the same time, were endeavoring to regain their old military and political power. When the end came in 146 B.C., Greece was no more, but Sparta was one of the few Greek cities honored by Rome—a fitting tribute to her heroic traditions.
APPENDIX A

Chronology of Hellenistic Sparta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>Death of Alexander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lamian War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>322</td>
<td>End of Lamian War</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>321</td>
<td>Death of Antipater—struggle between Polyperchon and Cassander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>319</td>
<td>Peloponnesus threatened by Cassander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sparta strengthens fortifications</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>318</td>
<td>Cassander successful over Polyperchon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>317</td>
<td>Cassander in Messenia, Arcadia, Argos—avoids Laconia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>316</td>
<td>Acrotatus in Sicily</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>315</td>
<td>Death of Acrotatus (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>312</td>
<td>Death of Cleomenes II—Areus chosen king of Sparta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>311</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>309</td>
<td>Death of Cleomenes II—Areus chosen king of Sparta</td>
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<td>308</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>306</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>305</td>
<td>Sparta refused to join new League of Demetrius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>304</td>
<td>Laconia avoided by Demetrius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>303</td>
<td>Cleonymus fights against Romans for Tarentines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>302</td>
<td>Battle of Ipsus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>301</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>299</td>
<td>Death of Cassander and Philip IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>298</td>
<td>Athens besieged by Demetrius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>296</td>
<td>Fall of Athens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>295</td>
<td>Demetrius king of Macedonia—attacked Sparta—recalled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>294</td>
<td>Cleonymus at Thebes</td>
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<tr>
<td>293</td>
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<td>292</td>
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<tr>
<td>286</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>285</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Antigonus Gonatas takes royal title

Areus re-forms old Peloponnesian League

Areus marches north—defeated by Aetolians—returns to Sparta
Old Achaean League re-formed

Cleonymus at Troezen

Antigonus king of Macedonia

Pyrrhus invades Peloponnesus—plunders Laconia
Arrival of Areus
Death of Pyrrhus at Argos

Beginning of Chremonidian War

Antigonus invades Attica
Areus marches north—stopped at Corinth
Battle at Corinth—death of Areus

(or 262) failure of Acrotatus to recover Mantinea
Surrender of Athens
End of Chremonidian War—peace

Aristodemus tyrant of Megalopolis—death of Acrotatus (?)

Leonidas king of Sparta

Birth of Philopoemen

Aratus general of League first time
Achaean League and Sparta ally
Agis IV king of Sparta
Corinth gained for League
Ptolemy subsidizes Sparta first time—Sparta and Egypt ally
Ephorate of Lysander
Agis deposes new ephorate by force—social reform in Sparta
Attempted joint defense of Corinth by League and Sparta
240  Death of Agis IV
   Aetolian troops plunder Laconia
239  Death of Antigonus Gonatas—Demetrius II king of Macedonia
238
237
236
235  Cleomenes III king of Sparta
234
233  Aetolia takes Tegea, Mantinea, Orchomenus, Caphyae
   Battle of Phylace
232
231
230
229  Death of Demetrius II—Antigonus Doson king of Macedonia
   Aetolia gives Sparta cities won in 233
   Cleomenes seizes the Athenaion
   Aratus fails to surprise Tegea and Orchomenus
   Cleomenes recalled by Ephors
228  Aratus takes Caphyae
   Cleomenes takes Methydrium
   Battle at Palantium
227  Sparta wins battle at Mt. Lykaion
   Aratus takes Mantinea and besieges Orchomenus
   Cleomenes recalled by Ephors
   Recall and murder of king Archidamos—Eucleidas put on throne
226  Spartan campaigns in Arcadia
   occupied Leuctra
   threatened Megalopolis—battle at Megalopolis
   Social reform in Sparta
   Spartan defeat at Orchomenus
   Cleomenes invades Megalopolis—seizes Mantinea—attacks
      Pharae and Dyme
   Battle of Hecatombaion
   Laison restored to Elis
   Ptolemy transfers League subsidies to Sparta
225  Aratus begins intrigues with Macedonia
   Assembly at Argos—Cleomenes declares war
   Sparta takes Pellene, seizes Pheneus and Penteleion, gains
      Caphyae and Argos
   Cleomenes gains Phlius and Cleonae
   Spartans invited into Corinth
   Sparta takes Hermione, Troezen, Epidaurus—entered Corinth
   Sicyon invested
224  Aratus accepts terms of Antigonus Doson—arrival at Corinth
   Siege of Sicyon abandoned
   Argos revolts from Sparta
   Cleomenes abandons Corinth—forced to leave Argos
   Sparta losses the Athenaiyon
   Cleomenes appeals to Ptolemy—mother and sons go to Egypt
   Doson head of new Hellenic League
223  Doson takes Tegea, Orchomenus, Mantinea, Heraea, Telphusa
   Spartans attack Megalopolis—city razed
222  End of Egyptian subsidies for Sparta
    Cleomenes marches to Argos
    Battle of Sellasia--Doson enters Sparta
221  Death of Doson--Philip V king of Macedonia
    Aetolia in Messenia
    Messenian hostages sent by League to Sparta
    Battle at Caphyae
220  Faction in Sparta
    Meeting at Tegea with Philip V
    Beginning of Social War
219  Spartan alliance with Aetolia
    Death of Cleomenes III--appointment of Lycurgus and Agesipolis
    War with Achaea
    Spartan invasion of Argolid
    Recovery of the Athenaion by Sparta
    Arrival of Philip in the Peloponnesus
218  Revolution in Sparta--Lycurgus flees to Pellene--returns later
    Evacuation of the Athenaion
    Spartan attacks on Messenia and Tegea fail
    Aetolia attacks Thessaly--Philip ravages Aetolia, pillages
    Laconia
    Success against Messenians in Laconia
    Sparta loses battle at the Menelaion
    Lycurgus flees Sparta again
217  Return of Lycurgus
    Failure of raid on Messenia
    Treaty of Naupactus
216
215  Faction in Messene--Philip in the Peloponnesus
214  Philip ravages Messenia
213  Death of Aratus
212
211  Death of Lycurgus
    Aetolian-Acarnanian debate at Sparta--renewal of Aetolian
    alliance
210  Aetolia attacked by Philip
209  Aetolia defeated twice--negotiations at Lamia
208  Machanidas plans to attack Elis
    Arrival of Philip in the Peloponnesus
207  Spartans defeated at Mantinea--death of Machanidas
    Rise of Philopoemen
206  Nabis leader in Sparta
205  Peace of Phoenice
204-2C3  Nabis harasses territory of Megalopolis
202
201  Sparta takes Messene--leaves at approach of Philopoemen
200  Philip offers League aid against Nabis
199
198  Achaea joins Rome
197  Alliance between Philip and Nabis--Argos ceded to Nabis
196  Meeting at Mycenae
196 Peace between Rome and Macedonia
   Proclamation of Flamininus
195 War against Nabis—submission of Nabis
194 Romans leave Greece
   Nabis strengthens Sparta
193 Nabis breaks treaty with Romans—attacks Achaean League
192 Defeat and assassination of Nabis
   Sparta forced into League
191 Messene and Elis join League
   Rome agrees to return Spartan hostages
   Spartan uprising against League—reinstated by Philopoemen
190
189 Sparta attacks Las
   Spartan embassy to Romans
   Secession from League
      Thirty Achaean supporters murdered in Sparta
   Return of hostages from Italy
   War declared on Sparta
   Council at Elis
188 Philopoemen forces submission of Sparta
   Trial of the Spartiates—massacre
187 Letter from Lepidus to League
186
185 Metellus in Greece—League refuses meeting
   Embassy of Areus and Alcibiades to Rome
184 Assembly at Cleitor
   Sparta given permission to rebuild walls, re-establish old customs
   Four Spartan embassies at Rome
183 Messenian insurrection
   Death of Philopoemen—Sparta leaves League
182 Messenian insurrection put down
   Sparta re-enters League
181 Revolution under Chaeron
180 Return of exiles ordered by Senate
179 Constitution returns to provisions established by Cleomenes and Nabis
178 Sparta ceases to play important role in Greek history
177
176
175
174
173
172
171
170
169
168 Sparta gives sanctuary to Jewish high-priest Jason
167
166
165 Boundary dispute between Sparta and Megalopolis settled by League
164
163
162
161
160
159-151
150 Separatist movement in Sparta
   Menalcidas leader of League--incident of Oropus
149 Exile of twenty-four prominent Spartiates
148 Secession of Sparta from League
   Defeat of Sparta--Laconia wasted
   Attack on Iasus--suicide of Menalcidas
147 Arrival of Roman embassy
146 War between Rome and League
   Destruction of Corinth
APPENDIX B

Kings of Hellenistic Sparta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agids (Eurysthenids)</th>
<th>Proclids (Eurypontids)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cleomenes II</td>
<td>370-309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areus I</td>
<td>309-265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acrotatus</td>
<td>265-c.258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areus II</td>
<td>258-256</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(died in eighth year of age)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonidas II</td>
<td>256-235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Cleombrotus II 243-240)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cleomenes III</td>
<td>235-219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agesipolis III</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(deposed by Lycurgus shortly after 219)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eudamidas</td>
<td>330-300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archidamus IV</td>
<td>300-?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eudamidas II</td>
<td>?-244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agis IV</td>
<td>244-240</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tyrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tyrant</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lycurgus</td>
<td>219-211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machanidas</td>
<td>211-207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabis</td>
<td>206-192</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(minority of Pelops)  (deposed Pelops)

(Sparta comes under control of Achaean League)
APPENDIX C

SOURCES

Unfortunately for the history of Hellenistic Sparta, none of the ancient authors, except Polybius, is contemporary with the period of which he wrote. There are also gaps in time when the sources say nothing at all. On the whole, however, the authors who did write about this period are among the more reliable of the ancients, and the majority of important events are covered in detail.

From 323 to 244 B.C., there are three main sources. Diodorus Siculus, who wrote a universal history beginning in mythical times and ending in 59 B.C., of which only fifteen books survive, discusses Cassander's invasion of Laconia, and the mercenary ventures of Acrotatus and Cleonymus (books XVII-XX). His detailed narrative of the adventures of the latter two men is our best source of information concerning them. Pausanias mentions them briefly in giving the Spartan king list, while the fragments of Phylarchus and Polyaenus refer only to Cleonymus' relationship to Pyrrhus. The second important source is Justin who epitomized the work of a former historian Pompeius Trogus. Justin supplies us with most of what we know of Areus (book XXIV). Pausanias, who also discusses various events of this period, must be read cautiously. The last noteworthy author is Plutarch who has written
an account of the lives of both Demetrius and Pyrrhus. The Life of Pyrrhus especially gives much information about the Spartan defenses and the spirit of the Spartans themselves in this period.

For the period of social reform we must rely almost entirely on two authors, both showing definite tendencies toward partisanship. Plutarch gives us all but a continuous narrative of the years 244-213 B.C., with his lives of Agis IV, Cleomenes III, and Aratus. Plutarch, however, has followed, to a great extent, an account of this period, now existing only in fragments, written by Phylarchus, a friend and contemporary of Cleomenes III. Phylarchus was very much in favor of the reform movement, and extremely anti-Achaean, all of which tends to color Plutarch's narrative. Polybius, on the other hand, was a native of Megalopolis and an admirer of the League's greatest general, Aratus. He uses, almost exclusively, the memoirs of Aratus, of which only a few excerpts now remain, as the basis for his history of the League at this time. Since Aratus feared and hated the Spartans above all other people, it is natural that his memoirs should be biased. Polybius, although he professes impartiality and undertook to investigate other sources such as Phylarchus, nevertheless relied principally on Aratus, and thus his history, too, is affected by its source.

From the beginning of tyranny in Sparta (219 B.C.) to 146 B.C., the sources become rather meager. For these years there are only fragments of Polybius, and these are generally too brief to be of much help. Pausanias, too, provides only obiter dicta.
The best source, and perhaps the least biased author of the whole era, is the Roman historian Livy, who narrates Rome's relations with the Greeks in books XXI-XL of his history. Livy naturally pictures events from a Roman viewpoint, but he is fair in dealing with affairs which concern relationships within the Greek world.

On the whole, we are fortunate to have as much material as does exist today. By a careful comparison of authors who wrote about the same period, we are able to allow for partisanship and get to the truth of most situations. Although there are only a few inscriptions for this period dealing with our subject, they form a valuable supplement for our understanding of the sources. The gaps in the sources are few and far between, so that the history of Hellenistic Sparta is, for the most part, completely intelligible. It is regrettable that more of the work of the above authors has not survived, but we should be doubly thankful then for the large parts which do remain.
APPENDIX D

THE DATE OF THE BATTLE OF SELLASIA

The battle of Sellasia has been dated from 223 to 221 B.C. The evidence is conflicting, and there is no way at present surely to resolve it. At first, 221 seems most probable, since Polybius (IV 35, 8) says that Aratus was present at the Nemean games after Sellasia, and the games were held in uneven years. The games cannot serve as evidence for 223, however, since it is too early. According to Polybius, Doson sent his troops into winter quarters twice; once after saving Argos (II 54, 5), and again when Cleomenes took Megalopolis (II 54, 13). He arrived in the Peloponnesus early in 224, so he must have wintered in 224/3 and 223/2, thus making it impossible for him to have fought the battle in July of 223. That leaves either 222 or 221.

W. W. Tarn, in an appendix to his chapter on "The Greek Leagues and Macedonia" in the Cambridge Ancient History (vol. VII, chap. XXIII, pp. 863-4) gives an account of the discussion concerning 222 and 221. It is Tarn's belief that the Nemea of 223 was postponed until 222. Such postponements had occurred previously. He also reasons from the known fact that Ptolemy Euergetes died in 221, and Cleomenes was in Egypt in that year. There are further reasons for favoring 222. It is generally agreed that the reform movement took place in 226. Shortly after this, in
the same year, Cleomenes began to conquer the Peloponnesus. He was invited to the League assembly, but fell ill, so the meeting was postponed until the next year (225). War broke out in 225, the League voted to send for Doson, and he arrived in January of 224. He wintered twice before Cleomenes lost the Egyptian subsidies. This brings us to 222. Without the Egyptian financial support, Cleomenes could not afford to wait another year (i.e., until 221) to make his stand. It is even more unlikely that Doson would ignore affairs in Macedonia for that long a period.

On the basis of these considerations, the battle of Sellasia is best dated in 222.
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Ameinias, Phocian general of Gonatas; helped defend Sparta in 272 B.C.

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Aristodemus, admiral of Antigonus; recruited in Sparta.

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MAP IV. Sparta in 146 B.C.
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