

# FEDERALISM IN GREEK ANTIQUITY

EDITORS

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## CHAPTER 6

# *The Achaian League*

*Athanasios Rizakis*

The ancient Greeks believed that the inhabitants of the historical region of Achaia, that is to say the northwest of the Peloponnese, were of Achaian ethnic extraction. According to one tradition, which is difficult to verify, the Achaians succeeded an Ionian population at the time of the Dorian invasion of the peninsula, but in any event it is highly possible that at the beginning of the Iron Age the territorial and ethnic unity of the region was permanently shattered.<sup>1</sup> That there was indeed an ethnic transition at the time is confirmed by the fact that in Achaia a dialect of the northwestern group was spoken during the historical period. This implies that at the time of these migrations at the end of the Bronze Age this dialect was passed on by neighboring groups of Aitolians, Boiotians, Ainianians, Thessalians, and others, and that there was a concurrent shift in the ethnic composition of the region's population. The demographic shift perhaps also entailed a change of name, because at the time of the composition of the *Catalog of Ships* several centuries later (c. 750 BCE), the residents of Eastern Achaia are identified as Aigialians and their home as Aigialos, while those of the western part are known as Kaukones and Epeians.<sup>2</sup>

These tribal designations do not seem to have persisted for very long, however, because during the same period, or slightly later, the process of the creation of a new Achaian identity had begun. It was even suggested recently that this identity was already part of a common heritage since the eighth century BCE.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the transmission of the Homeric poems, in which the *poieis* of the eastern Achaia are directly related to the

<sup>1</sup> Hdt. 7.94; Strabo 8.7.1; cf. Sakellariou 1991; Osanna 2002: 274, n. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.574–575; Eust. *Schol. ad 2.2*, 574–575 and 569; see Rizakis 1995: 114–116 nos. 151, 151a, 151b; Strabo 8.6.19; cf. Rizakis 1995: 302 no. 526; Steph. Byz. s.v. Aigialos, Aigialians. Hom. *Il.* 2.516–619; cf. Rizakis 1995: 116–118 nos. 152, 152a, 152b (Epeioi); Hom. *Hymn Ap.* (I) 425; cf. Rizakis 1995: 123 no. 160; Strabo 8.3.11, 17 (Epeians, Kaukones); Rizakis 1995: 300 no. 522 and 301 no. 523 with other references; see also Moscati Castelnuovo 2002.

<sup>3</sup> Mele 2002: 76 entertains the idea that a first Achaian core identity might even date to the ninth century BCE. We are unable to say with certainty whether the development of this regional identity

Achaians as they belonged to the kingdom of Agamemnon,<sup>4</sup> contributed to either the reappearance of an already-extant sense of Achaian historical memory, or they aided in the creation of this ‘Achaian’ identity.<sup>5</sup> If, in fact, we are unaware of the origins and early development of this identity-forming process, we can still say with more certainty that this process did not come to fruition until the sixth century, perhaps under Spartan influence.<sup>6</sup> From this period onwards the name Achaia is applied to the entire region of the northwestern Peloponnese.<sup>7</sup>

Presumably, the context in which this identity was construed was initially the opposition between the Aigialian-Ionians and Achaian-Aiolians, crystallizing in the rivalry between Poseidon Helikonios and Zeus, the respective patrons of the two rival cities Helike and Aigion.<sup>8</sup> This opposition facilitated the promotion of Zeus who became the custodian of the new Achaian identity – regardless of whether it was ‘real’ or imagined – and his sanctuary became their common religious center.<sup>9</sup> Zeus, thanks to his tight links with the Achaian past, was far better equipped than any other divinity to absorb such an integrative function among the communities of the northwestern Peloponnese, while also facilitating the transition of the Aigialos-Aigialians into Achaia-Achaians. The god thus found himself at the heart of a developing system of ethnic-regional identity, and then in his capacity as *Zeus Homarios*, that is “he who unites” or “accommodates,”<sup>10</sup> gradually succeeding in uniting people

was contemporary with or subsequent to the movement which began in the second half of the eighth century, at the time of the rise of the *polis*. The often-supposed delay in the development of Achaian cities, based on an overvaluation of the archaeological *argumentum ex silentio*, is rendered void by recent discoveries: see Rizakis 2012: 27 and, more generally, Mele 2002: 73–76; Osanna 2002: 274–275.

<sup>4</sup> Hom. *Il.* 2.569–575; see Sakellariou 1991: 15–16; Mele 2002: 76–77.

<sup>5</sup> On the common strategies in this search for an Achaian identity, as well as that of the inhabitants of the northwestern Peloponnese and the Argolid, see Giacometti 2001: 28, 31–39; on their relations in cult, Rizakis 2009. The process of the formation of regional identities in the Peloponnese is also described by McInerney 2001: 59–61.

<sup>6</sup> See Körner 1974: 458–459. On the transfer of the remains of Tisamenos to Sparta during the first half of the sixth century, see Leahy 1955: 26–38; Achaian memory of Sparta: Lévêque 1991: 573–580.

<sup>7</sup> On the rich tradition of the terms Achaia, Achaians, see Stern 1980: 67–70; Cassola 1996: 7–8. The geographic designator appears for the first time in Hekataios, where Dyme, the most western city, is defined as both Epeian and Achaian. See Moscati Castelnovo 2002: 171, who refers to McInerney 2001: 59–61 regarding the analogous definitions of the identity.

<sup>8</sup> See Paus. 7.1.4; cf. Mele 2002: 77.

<sup>9</sup> See Breglia 1984: 72–74. The valorization of the cult of Zeus coincides with a period in which Zeus also assumed a more prominent place in the mythological tradition of other cities of the period (ninth to sixth centuries BCE).

<sup>10</sup> See, for instance, Foucart 1876: 100; Cook 1914: 16–17; most notably Aymard 1935: 467 n. 2 and 5; Durante 1957: 104–105, cited in Breglia 1984: 71–71; Osanna 1989: 56 n. 9; Rizakis 2013.

and providing the Achaians with a political identity.<sup>11</sup> This new identity is, for the first time, clearly expressed – in a form that is not without political connotations – in the famous dedication in honor of Zeus in Olympia at the beginning of the fifth century BCE by the “common *ethnos* of the Achaians.”<sup>12</sup> The Achaians there presented themselves as the direct descendants of the Homeric Achaians through descent from the hero Pelops, who was himself the grandfather or great-grandfather of Agamemnon and Menelaos. According to Pausanias (5.25.10), the accompanying inscription read: “The Achaians, themselves the descendants of Tantalid Pelops, challenger of the gods, dedicated these statues to Zeus.”

### The political union of the Achaians and their dualistic identity

Questions which have interested scholars since the nineteenth century are: first, when and through what process did this ethnic group evolve and transform itself into a political union of the twelve cities of the north-western Peloponnese; and second, was the cult of Zeus Homarios established as the common cult of all the Achaians before the creation of the league or was it simply an epiphenomenon of it? Answering these questions is complicated. It might be reasonable to suppose that external pressures – the threat from Sikyon to the cities of Eastern Achaia, and Spartan power ambitions in the middle of the sixth century BCE<sup>13</sup> – were potentially influential by accelerating the evolution and facilitating a progressive shift towards a political union. The united attitude of the Achaians during the Persian Wars perhaps indicates some form of military and administrative organization of the region, albeit admittedly loose and hybrid, which, according to Bruno Helly, is best illustrated by Herodotus’ mention of the division of Achaia into twelve *merē* (“districts”).<sup>14</sup> This territorial organization might have corresponded with a more complex political form of cooperation during the second half of the fifth century

<sup>11</sup> The promotion of his cult limited the impact of the rival cult of Poseidon Helikonios who continued to be worshipped at the regional level.

<sup>12</sup> Paus. 5.25.8; see Eckstein 1969: 27–32; Doerig 1977: 20–21; Giacometti 2001: 28–31; Walter-Karydi 1987: 19–32 (on another dedication by Onatas). For the significance of the term *Achaioi* in this document as well as other contemporary inscriptions, see Moggi 2002: 126–128.

<sup>13</sup> On the Sikyonian threat and its subsequent impact on the formation of Achaian *koinon*, see Giacometti 2001: 16–19; Rizakis 2002: 50; on the pro-Achaian policy of Sparta, see Leahy 1955: 26–38; Giacometti 2009: 9 and n. 5 with relevant bibliography.

<sup>14</sup> Hdt. 1.145; see Rizakis 1995: 111–112; Helly 1997a; see also the commentary on this passage by Moggi 2002: 125–126. Certain scholars hold that the process of politicization crystallized only during the first half of the fifth century BCE. Others date the creation of the first *koinon* to 570–550 BCE: see Tausend 1992: 23–24; also Walbank 2000; Mele 2002; Cuhe 2010: 104; Larsen 1968: 83.

BCE, even though many scholars believe that this happened only at the beginning of the following century.<sup>15</sup> The Peloponnesian War provides, here as elsewhere, the context in which political and structural changes occurred at a regional level; a trend which reveals itself in a political sense with the appearance of the terms Achaia and Achaians in Thucydides,<sup>16</sup> and for the first time the identification of Achaians as individuals with two ethnics, especially in epigraphic documents.<sup>17</sup>

The echo of this new political reality is also found in an interesting passage of Polybius,<sup>18</sup> who tells us that the Achaian cities of Magna Graecia, after the anti-Pythagorean revolt (c. 430 BCE), used the institutions of their Peloponnesian homeland as their model, and subsequently erected a sanctuary of Zeus Homarios which was destined to be, like the sanctuary at Aigion, the location of their meetings and debates. This passage is fraught with problems which have led to divergent interpretations.<sup>19</sup> On the whole, I agree with Mario Moggi that “the substance of the events is generally credible, as credible as the framework for the ethno-regional organization of Achaia, which can be extrapolated from the references of Polybius.”<sup>20</sup>

The political union of the Achaians probably consolidated itself only after 417 BCE, thanks to Spartan support which allowed the league for the first time to outgrow its regional boundaries and expand into the Aitolian coast at the beginning of the fourth century.<sup>21</sup> In fact, Xenophon informs

<sup>15</sup> See Moggi 2002: 117–132. A recent update on this question with all relevant bibliography is offered by Rizakis 2012: 27–28.

<sup>16</sup> I.III.3; II.5.1; 2.9.2; 3.92.5; 4.21.3; 5.82.1; see Moggi 2002: 124–125.

<sup>17</sup> See Moggi 2002: 120–124; Rizakis 2012: 26–27. This double identity is not attested in the epigraphic records of the first half of the fifth century. Thus a citizen of Helike, buried on the banks of the Black Sea, is described in his epitaph (490–480 BCE) as a Peloponnesian of Helike: see Bultunova 1986: 59–61. no. 18 with photograph = *SEG* 36.718; Rizakis 1995: no. 740.

<sup>18</sup> Polyb. 2.39.1–6; cf. Strabo 8.7.1. The date by which federal institutions were adopted by Achaian Italiote cities is usually placed around 430–420 BCE; see Osanna 1989: 205, n. 147 with all previous bibliography; add Gallo 2002: 133, n. 2. See also Chapter 21 by Michael Fronza, below.

<sup>19</sup> See de Sensi Sestito 1994. The veracity of the passage from Polybius was questioned by Morgan and Hall 1996: 195, but their interpretation was challenged by Walbank 2000: 23–27; cf. also Rizakis 2012: 27–28.

<sup>20</sup> Moggi 2002: 118–119 (“la sostanza degli eventi è considerata in genere attentibile, così come attentibile è ritenuto il quadro della organizzazione etnico-regionale dell’Acaia, che si può ricavare dalle notazioni polibiane.”)

<sup>21</sup> Notably in Kalydon and Naupaktos, but also in other cities on the Aitolian and Lokrian coasts: see Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1; Strabo 8.7.3; Paus. 10.18.1–3; cf. Aymard 1936: 6, n. 1; Walbank 1957–1979: 1.18; Merker 1989: 303–311; Tausend 1992; Beck 2001b: 356; Rizakis 2012. This expansion was facilitated by the links which had long existed between the two coasts, but also by political considerations of the day: Morgan 1997: 157 and 165–166; Bommeljé 1988: 311–314; Grainger 1990: 30–32; Freitag 2009: 18–19; Rzepka 2006: 54.



us that slightly before 389 BCE, the Achaians granted the status of federal *politeia* to the citizens of Kalydon across the Gulf, allowing their city's incorporation into the Achaian League.<sup>22</sup> The fact that the Kalydonians maintained their civic identity while becoming Achaian citizens leads us to think that, on the one hand, this right of federal citizenship coexisted with the citizenship of each individual *polis*. On the other hand, Kalydon's integration in the league presupposes the existence of a political structure with a common citizenship that was distinct from that of local communities.<sup>23</sup>

The hierarchical ranking of two ethnic identities, as it regularly appears in both Achaian epigraphic documents and in the legends of federal coins,<sup>24</sup> discloses the superiority of the federal *politeia* in the political arena. Achaian federal citizenship could only be granted directly by the central power, i.e., the federal assembly, but it could also be acquired indirectly by local citizenship which as such entailed federal citizenship.<sup>25</sup> While local citizenship was the title *par excellence* of any citizen and thus the expression of their political and social rights at the local level, federal citizenship broadened their rights, because it granted to each of its beneficiaries the ability to participate in the affairs of the community of all Achaians. The status of federal citizen accorded even more rights to those who held it, including the right of owning lands and property (*enktēsis*) anywhere in Achaia, to contract marriages, and to go freely about their economic activities.<sup>26</sup> Achaians living in a city other than their own hometown were not, however, integrated into the citizen body of the city which welcomed them; only native citizens of the local community were entitled to participate in the affairs of their local community. This restriction of local citizenship, consequently, created a sharp distinction between the political spheres of individual communities in Achaia and their respective *politeiai*. At the macro-level, they were of course all tied together as Achaians.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 4.6.1; see Merker 1989: 303–311; Moggi 2002: 120.

<sup>23</sup> Xen. *Hell.* 5.2.19; 7.3.5 allows us to clarify certain issues regarding the relationship between local and federal citizenship; see Beck 1997: 194 n. 1; Bearzot 2004b. Beck (1997: 178) reminds us not to forget that the federal *politeia* evolved out of the local *politeia* and that the latter remained the fundamental source of identity for citizens even after their city had joined the *koinon*. On the local *politeia* in the Achaian confederation, see Rizakis 1990.

<sup>24</sup> See Rizakis 2012: 25 n. 11; add Weil 1882 and Benner 2008a: 22–23.

<sup>25</sup> See Niccolini 1914: 254; Aymard 1938: 293; Rizakis 2012: 29. On Achaian citizenship grants, see Polyb. 2.38.1–2 and 4.1.7; Plut. *Arat.* 9.4–6 and 23.3–4; *IG* v.2 344 = *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 490.

<sup>26</sup> See Larsen 1968: 239.

<sup>27</sup> See Larsen 1971: 83–84; Rizakis 2012: 35–38; for the Aitolian League, see Peter Funke, chapter 5.

## Federal institutions

The structure of the federal government in Achaia, based on that of the cities of the region, is tripartite. It comprises a group of federal magistrates, a federal council, and an assembly of the people. It is certain that there was a lively interaction between these three bodies of government in the handling of federal affairs, but the specific scope of the power of each, along with the procedures followed, are mostly unknown to us, at least during the Classical period. We are much better informed regarding these same questions in the second Achaian confederation, refounded in 280/79 BCE,<sup>28</sup> even though numerous details, some of them significant, remain obscure. The description of Polybius, our principal source with which we attempt to reconstruct the Achaian League, is plagued by many lacunae; the historian rarely bothers, in the surviving parts of his work, to provide a systematic analysis of these institutions or to linger on constitutional subtleties. The details provided by other literary sources and inscriptions are not sufficient to fill this gap. It is for this reason that certain aspects of the Achaian constitution continue to be the object of vigorous debate among researchers.<sup>29</sup>

That said, we are certain of one thing: these federal institutions evolved and adapted themselves gradually to their political and social context. Before 255 BCE the Achaians appointed a common secretary and two *stratēgoi*,<sup>30</sup> but after this period a single *stratēgos* was elected whose precise functions are unknown. Polybius defines the powers in a fairly general manner – they presided over the administration of common affairs – but surely their functions took on greater importance and contributed to the first sizeable extension of the league's territory (251–229 BCE).<sup>31</sup> This extension was briefly halted by the military success of Kleomenes, king of Sparta. Achaian setbacks during the war with Kleomenes (228–222 BCE), and the Social War which followed (220–217), along with the breakdown of the league, led to a traumatizing experience. In response, the leaders of Achaia introduced new institutional reforms that targeted the army and the financial system (217 BCE),<sup>32</sup> and finally a very important reform regarding the decision-making process. The reform gave great prominence to the

<sup>28</sup> Polyb. 2.41.1–15 with Walbank 1957–1979 on this passage; Rizakis 1995: 259–262, n. 430.

<sup>29</sup> The most recent review of the debates regarding Achaian institutions is Roy 2003.

<sup>30</sup> Polyb. 2.43.1–2; Strabo 8.7.3; cf. Aymard 1938: 297–300.

<sup>31</sup> See Aymard 1933 and 1938: 21, 298–299, 322, 358–359 and passim. On the expansion of the league during this period, Urban 1979.

<sup>32</sup> The precise nature of these reforms remains unknown.

*boulē*, an organ which in its composition was now more flexible and effective. The integration of several large Peloponnesian cities in the league at the beginning of the second century entailed, at the instigation of Philopoimen, a final reform which put an end to Aigion's claims as exclusive meeting place of the league; the federal capital lost its monopoly on federal assemblies after 189/8 BCE in favor of a rotating schedule in various cities.<sup>33</sup>

The layout of the redrawn map of the political geography was embodied, as demonstrated by Heinrich Chantraine (1972: 175–190), by a 'younger' series of Achaian coinage, including silver triobols and bronze coinage<sup>34</sup> struck by numerous member-states of the league. Two recent studies illustrate the issues concerning the production of Achaian silver and bronze coinage. A long controversy exists about the last period of federal mints (167–146 BCE).<sup>35</sup> Christof Boehringer's study (Boehringer 1991) of the Poggio Picenze coin hoard argues that federal mints continued even after the destruction of Corinth in 146 BCE, while others brought some chronological precisions to this hypothesis, supposing that these mints began during the time of Lucullus and Sulla; some mints might have continued down to the time of Actium (31 BCE). The majority of scholars now accepts partial mints during this period, which were mostly used in the context of military events.<sup>36</sup>

For several generations, the question of whether or not the Achaians had a representative government has been a fundamental issue in scholarship. As indicated by Jakob Larsen (1955: 75–76), the critical terms in this debate are *synklētos* and *synodos* as indicated in our sources. The first was used from the second century onwards for an extraordinary meeting of all active citizens, which was called to address an issue of war or alliance, and later also to respond to a demand accompanied by letters from the senate in Rome.<sup>37</sup> The term *synodos*, on the other hand, was used to designate a regular assembly which met several times throughout the year at regular intervals. The crucial question is whether the *synodos* was a representative assembly,<sup>38</sup> but there is no scholarly consensus here. Andre Aymard (1938: 63) rejected out of hand the equivalence established between the

<sup>33</sup> Liv. 38.30.1–6; Aymard 1938: 293–302; Rizakis 1995: 131 no. 175.

<sup>34</sup> See more recently, Warren 2007 and Benner 2008.

<sup>35</sup> Benner 2008: 15–19, classifies the silver triobols after 280 into four periods: 280–200, 195–168, 167–146, and 88–30 BCE.

<sup>36</sup> On this issue see, most recently, Touratsoglou 2010: 239 and in n. 9 with bibliography.

<sup>37</sup> Polyb. 12.10.10–12; Aymard 1938: 192; Larsen 1955: 89.

<sup>38</sup> As suggested by Larsen 1945: 66, n. 5, who refers to his unpublished doctoral thesis (Harvard 1927).

*synodos* and the *boulē*,<sup>39</sup> because he was convinced that the Achaian League had not taken the decisive step towards having a representative government. He posited that the *synodoi* were the primary assemblies of government (next to the *boulē* and the magistrates), and that the term *boulē* in Polybius referred to the council; consequently, he believed that the *bouleutērion* was a council chamber.<sup>40</sup>

This view, even though it previously met with some approval, has now been abandoned by the majority of scholars.<sup>41</sup> Larsen has attempted to demonstrate, correctly, or so it seems, that the term *boulē* in Polybius originally refers to the council.<sup>42</sup> He supposes that the *synodos*, the principal assembly before 217 BCE, transformed itself over the following years into a meeting of the *boulē*, thanks to a law passed during this period which stipulated that henceforth the ordinary people would only be able to come together in an *ekklēsia* to discuss questions of war and alliance.<sup>43</sup> Such a reform could only strengthen the prerogatives of the *boulē*; the arena of its authority soon became autonomous. From that time onwards, the *boulē* regularly met four times a year according to a less rigid procedure which now allowed the discussion of several subjects during any given meeting, while the *synklētos* was held to discuss a single one and specific item of business.<sup>44</sup>

### The administrative structure of the league

Aldo Ferrabino held that on the occasion of the military reform introduced by Aratos in 217 BCE,<sup>45</sup> which resulted in three military units each tasked with assuring the defense of a border (the Spartan, Eleian, and Aitolian borders, respectively), the *koinon* was accordingly subdivided into three distinct administrative units. In addition to the district of Patrai,

<sup>39</sup> The most important evidence for this comes from Polyb. 29.23–25. After Aymard, the question was picked up by Walbank (1957–1979: 3.406–412) and, on several occasions, by Larsen (1955: 75–85, regular assemblies = *synodoi* before 217 BCE; 86–105, *synodoi* = assemblies of the *boulē* after 217 BCE; cf. also Larsen 1968: 165–188).

<sup>40</sup> See Aymard 1938, 62–75; 92–95; 150–164.

<sup>41</sup> As has already been observed by Larsen (1955: 157–159), Aymard goes too far in asserting that when Polybius (2.37.10) says that the Achaians have “the same magistrates, *bouleutai*, and *dikastai*”, *bouleutai* does not refer to the council but to the legislative assembly. Giovannini (1969a: 1–17) continues to support the position of Aymard, but cf. the responses of Larsen 1972: 178–185 and Walbank 1970: 129–143.

<sup>42</sup> Larsen 1955: 77, 170–171; Larsen 1968: 156–188.

<sup>43</sup> See Larsen 1972: 178–185; also Giovannini 1969 and Walbank 1970.

<sup>44</sup> See Larsen 1955: 76–77 and 92–93; Walbank 1957–1979: 3.404; Funke 1994: 130.

<sup>45</sup> Referenced in Polyb. 5.92.7–10; cf. Ferrabino 1921: 297–301.

attested in an inscription of Magnesia on the Meander from *c.* 208 BCE (*I. Magnesia* 39), Ferrabino recognized a second district, that of Megalopolis. Thomas Corsten (1999: 166–177) adopted this theory, basing it on the list of *nomographoi* from Epidauros which, according to him, attests a subdivision of Achaia into five districts. Corsten, however, argued that the establishment of Ferrabino's three districts occurred only in 207 BCE as a consequence of the military reforms of Philopoimen.<sup>46</sup> The available evidence does not allow for an obvious conclusion between both positions.<sup>47</sup> If such subdivisions did in fact exist in one form or another, it does not seem to have impacted (unlike, for example, in the Boiotian League) the selection process of the representatives of member-cities in various federal bodies. The lists of Achaian *nomographoi*, the earliest of which from Epidauros dates to the period 210–207 BCE<sup>48</sup> and the latest from Aigion in 182 BCE onwards,<sup>49</sup> lead us to believe that the individual cities of Achaia selected and sent delegates to various federal institutions, rather than the administrative districts.<sup>50</sup>

These documents, on the other hand, clearly demonstrate that the number of officials sent by the member-cities of the league was inconsistent: large cities provided three, mid-sized *poleis* two, and small communities one *nomographos*, respectively. Despite some uncertainties (for instance how the various member-states were chosen for representation<sup>51</sup>), the argument in favor of proportional representation is quite strong, as is acknowledged by many.<sup>52</sup> While the absence of certain large cities remains puzzling, the absence of small cities can be better explained. The idea that they were represented alternately is a plausible hypothesis in the sense that we have similar situations attested in other confederations. Indeed, small neighboring cities, in Lykia and in Boiotia, could be represented on an alternating basis in federal structures, and they could equally make their

<sup>46</sup> See also Aymard 1938: 302–307; Errington 1969: 63–64; Anderson 1967: 104–105.

<sup>47</sup> For my own reservations regarding the existence of districts in Achaia, see Rizakis 2003: 202–206.

<sup>48</sup> *JG* IV.1<sup>2</sup> 73; cf. Lehmann 1983: 245–251; 2001: 82–89; Gschnitzer 1985.

<sup>49</sup> Rizakis 2008a: 168–170, no. 116.

<sup>50</sup> See Rizakis 2003: 102–107. We might also postulate a role of districts in military affairs as well as matters of taxation, but this has not yet been proven.

<sup>51</sup> In the earliest list certain cities are not represented at all (Aigina, Corinth, Megara, as well as the cities of central Arkadia and of the south, except Megalopolis). Gschnitzer (1985) argued that, even though the small cities are not necessarily represented, the large cities must be present, and thus we must ask ourselves if their absence calls into question their membership in the league at the time of the inscription. Lehmann (1983), however, demonstrated that Mantinea, even though absent from the list, was a member in its own right with a significant population at the time when the text was composed.

<sup>52</sup> E.g., Lehmann 1983: 249; Gschnitzer 1985; Rizakis 2003.

contributions to the league in the form of money or the dispatch of troops.<sup>53</sup> The idea that a similar system also existed in Achaia is not unreasonable.

The *boulē* was by its very nature a deliberating body, composed, in various confederations, of delegates from members who were represented either directly or proportionally to their population. Councils of proportional representation are attested for Aitolia, Boiotia, and possibly Arkadia,<sup>54</sup> in later periods also in Thessaly and Lykia. The latter case is the most interesting, given the resemblance between its institutions and those of Achaia. In fact, Strabo (14.14.3) informs us that in Lykia twenty-eight cities had the right to vote in federal affairs. These votes were then allocated according to the importance or population of the city, with large cities having three votes, mid-sized two, and the least important cities one vote.<sup>55</sup> A system of proportional representation in the council of the Achaian League, as in Lykia, is equally probable. For the college of *nomographai*, at least, such a scheme appears to have been in place.<sup>56</sup> If this is indeed the case, then it would confirm Achaia's role as the institutional 'parent' organization, as it were, of Lykia – indeed, the Achaian League might have served as a template for the Lykian League, whose emergence is usually dated to the beginning of the second century BCE.<sup>57</sup>

Thanks to the lists of *nomographoi* the mode of representation and the quota entitlement of each of the member-cities are fairly well attested today, but we still do not know the total number of city delegates in the council. Their number must have varied from one period to another and will have hit its peak in the second century BCE when the league was at its greatest extent. By means of comparison, the Achaian council was probably more extensive than its Aitolian counterpart, which counted over 550 members, or the *synedrion* of the Thessalian League, which numbered 334.<sup>58</sup> But evaluating

<sup>53</sup> Moretti 1962: 204–206. Some small cities might have been admitted to the Lykian *koinon* without a vote in the *synedrion* (Moretti 1962: 206–207). We do not know whether a similar situation existed in Achaia in which the citizens of certain cities (e.g., Ascheion), who apparently were not part of the League, nonetheless used the ethnic *Achaios* (see Rizakis 1995: nos. 597; 598; 605; 659; 668n).

<sup>54</sup> Larsen 1955: 68–75.

<sup>55</sup> See Chapter 22 by Ralf Behrwald below. See also Troxell 1982; Behrwald 2000; Knoepfler, 2013a.

<sup>56</sup> It is difficult to believe that the large cities of the league would have accepted being represented in the various federal bodies in the same manner as all other *poleis*, although such an equal representation cannot be dismissed explicitly, especially in the early history of the league, when twelve core cities – “equal in their mediocrity” (Plut. *Arat.* 11.1) – comprised the *koinon*.

<sup>57</sup> More precisely after 189 BCE: see the detailed discussion and relevant bibliography in Knoepfler, 2013a.

<sup>58</sup> Liv. 45.28.7 (Aitolia). Thessaly: *IG* IX.2 261 and Liv. 34.51.6 on corresponding census qualifications.

the number of delegates from member-cities is practically impossible for Achaia for lack of relevant documentary evidence.<sup>59</sup>

### Division of power between the local level and the federal center

Greek federalism is characterized by a duality of identity and a duality of political power between the federal and the local level, although the dividing line between the two is not always clear. Member-states maintained their own distinct identity as autonomous and distinct juridical and political entities because they preserved their respective political institutions, administrations, coinages, legal processes, and local constitutions (*politeiai*). If the Achaian League, as argued by Aymard, was the master of all affairs which were of common concern (most notably, external relations, the army and navy), and the league exacted financial and military contributions, then the members possessed a fair amount of autonomy and freedom of action that was not necessarily limited to the sphere of culture (e.g., the organization of cults, athletic competitions, etc).<sup>60</sup> Members might have been hindered to engage directly in relations with the outside world, but the idea of proportional representation in the main bodies of the league provided for an effective integration into the *koinon*. Cities could also make their voices heard in the primary assembly (*synklētos*, in which the most pressing decisions were made by vote according to city) and during regular meetings of the *boulē* (*synodoi*), in which decisions were made by the city delegates. The *stratēgos*, the supreme magistrate of the union, was not able to make any important decision without the approval of the popular assembly – in other words, without the support of the member-states. In this sense, it would seem fitting to characterize the league as a true *sympoliteia*.

### Conflict resolution and arbitration

One of the arguments used by Polybius to show that the Achaian League had succeeded in unifying the Peloponnese is that the Achaians had magistrates, councilors, and judges who were common to all members.<sup>61</sup> The historian mentions judges, *dikastai*, on various occasions, who charged

<sup>59</sup> Note that Eumenes offered 720 talents to the Achaians during the *synodos* of 185 BCE to be used so “that they might lend it out and spend the interest in paying the members of the Achaian assembly during its session” (Polyb. 22.7.3). But it seems impossible to conclude the number of representatives from this sum.

<sup>60</sup> The limitations to this autonomy are outlined by Aymard 1938: 166; cf. also Giovannini 1971.

<sup>61</sup> In general, see the account by Rizakis 2008b; cf. Luraghi and Magnetto 2012: 537–544.

magistrates and, if they were found guilty, either imposed a fine or condemned them to death.<sup>62</sup> They were also responsible for hearing cases of treason, but the judges' powers were neither permanent nor clearly defined.<sup>63</sup> The assemblies could on occasion transform themselves into tribunals and punish citizens believed to be guilty with either exile or death;<sup>64</sup> the surviving judgements (four in total) all concern cases of high treason,<sup>65</sup> and this is certainly not a coincidence. Whatever the specific case may be, the most important observation to be drawn from this is that the federal assemblies also possessed judicial authority.<sup>66</sup>

In addition to Polybius, epigraphic evidence also attests to a large number of conflicts, either between member-states and the central government, or among member-states themselves.<sup>67</sup> Most of those conflicts clustered around local border disputes, which are well attested in a series of epigraphic documents (collected by Harter-Uipopuu 1998). The recent discovery of a rich inscription from Messene adds to this picture. The text, which concerns an ongoing territorial dispute between Messene and Megalopolis, allows us to shed new light on the role of the Achaian League as arbitrator in internal disputes between its members.<sup>68</sup> Before we turn to the details of the inscription, it is imperative to understand the general outline of conflict resolution within the league. But this is a difficult endeavor.

Aymard (1938: 166–169) believed that the league (i.e., the assembly) mediated in cases of disagreement between its member-states and assigned arbitrators, if it did not judge the issue itself.<sup>69</sup> In particular, he rejected the view that such disputes were mediated by judges from cities which could, but did not necessarily have to be, a member of the Achaian League. In this vein, prior to Aymard, it was conjectured that if the disputing parties were to seek the mediation from an outside city, the approval from federal authorities was required to take this course of action.<sup>70</sup> Kaja Harter-Uibopuu presented a more nuanced interpretation of this necessary prerequisite to obtain league approval. She argues that we cannot speak of a mandatory arbitration by federal authorities and that, in short, the league's

<sup>62</sup> Polyb. 38.18.2–3: death penalty for a *hyposstratēgos*; cf. Paus. 7.13.5: fine of 50 talents imposed on a *stratēgos*. In the case of ambassadors, the trial was held before *dikastai*: Polyb. 38.18.3.

<sup>63</sup> See Aymard 1938: 183; Larsen 1968: 236–237.

<sup>64</sup> Examples are listed in Aymard 1938: 182, n. 4 and 183, n. 1; Larsen 1968: 237.

<sup>65</sup> See Aymard 1938: 183 n. 1.

<sup>66</sup> All relevant citations are assembled by Aymard 1938: 183 nn. 3 and 4.

<sup>67</sup> See Rizakis 2008b; Harter-Uibopuu 1998.

<sup>68</sup> See Themelis 2008; Arnaoutoglou 2009/10; Luraghi and Magnetto 2012.

<sup>69</sup> *JG* vii 189 lines 24ff. *SIG*<sup>3</sup> 471 = *JG* iv 2.1 71, lines 4–5 and 9–10.

<sup>70</sup> E.g. Raeder 1912: 213–236.



role as arbitral body cannot be proven altogether.<sup>71</sup> This is not to say that the league played no role in the realm of arbitration; Aymard was not mistaken here. Its judiciary role is evident, for instance, in a conflict between Corinth and Epidauros in 242/1 BCE, which was judged by a jury of 181 judges from Megara, “according to the judgement of the Achaians.”<sup>72</sup> The majority of known examples reveal that the league was able to intervene when a member-state made an explicit request for arbitration.<sup>73</sup> If the league itself did not pronounce judgement in the matter, it was referred to a federal commission, composed of judges from a city that was a league member or a “foreign” city. Numerous examples indicate that member-states were able to circumvent federal authorities by calling on an outside court to judge their case; an example of this is the conflict between Epidauros and Hermione that was referred to six Milesian judges.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately, the document does not allow us to conclude whether or not the league played a part in the preliminary phase of the conflict’s resolution.

This ambiguity has now been clarified thanks to the new inscription from Messene which dates to the late 180s BCE. The document demonstrates that the league’s authorities were capable of playing a role in the process of arbitration.<sup>75</sup> It was the league which initiated the arbitration process, in response to an official demand made by the Megalopolitans during a *synodos* (lines 2–11). The case was then judged by an ad hoc commission composed of seventeen *hagemones* who were probably members of the league’s political elite (lines 11–43).<sup>76</sup> The document next turns to a new phase of the dispute which is arbitrated by a prominent member of the Achaian League, Aigion (lines 43–64). The final stage is marked by a lawsuit of the Messenians which was presented to a panel of judges from Miletos, whose arbitration represents the last chapter in the dispute (lines

<sup>71</sup> Harter-Uibopuu 1998: 129; for a similar situation in Aitolia, see Rzepka 2006: 74–92 and 96–97.

<sup>72</sup> *IG* IV<sup>2</sup> 71 = Harter-Uibopuu 1998: no. 3, lines 9–10. According to Arnaoutoglou 2009/10: 189 (and n. 26), this expression should be understood as “the decision of the (*synodos* of the) Achaians about the dispute resolution procedure.”

<sup>73</sup> See Moretti 1967: 131. <sup>74</sup> See Ager 1996: no. 63.

<sup>75</sup> See Arnaoutoglou 2009/10: 189. In other sources, various references to the intervening capacities of federal authorities in the mechanism of conflict resolution among league members survive: see Harter-Uibopuu 1998: nos. 3, 5, and 9. See also *SIG<sup>3</sup>* 665, lines 13–15 (judgement of a commission concerning a disagreement between Sparta and the league). Other instances of arbitration that included at least one judge from the Achaian League: Harter-Uibopuu 1998: nos. 2 and 4.

<sup>76</sup> They are possibly identical with those who Aristainos, *stratēgos* of the confederation, describes as the *principes Achaeorum* (Liv. 32.21.1); see Aymard 1938: 328. These *principes* might be the most important magistrates of the league. The term is used by Livy in an Aitolian context to refer to either the supreme magistrates in office or members of the political elite, including influential persons who had never held a magistracy. See Rzepka 2006: 112–116 and 121.

65–78, 78–84). Although the latter cases were judged by non-federal bodies (the city of Aigion and a group of Milesian jurors), the league seems to have retained a supervisory role during the process, as indicated by the reference to federal *damiorgoi*. The *damiorgoi* intervened during the second arbitration, as they were in charge of collecting the documents produced by the legal opponents at an earlier point in the process (line 64).<sup>77</sup> Similarly, during the third arbitration – the one involving the six Milesian judges – the *damiorgoi* received the legal charges against the Messenians and brought the issue before the Milesian judges who finally made their verdict (lines 75–79).<sup>78</sup>

The inscription informs us that the federal *damiorgoi* were also involved in the administration of justice. They received the legal challenge following the decision of a *synodos* and subsequently referred it to a commission that was capable of considering the issue and arriving at a judgement; elsewhere, they had the quasi-judiciary duty of imposing a monetary sanction on recalcitrant litigants who did not wish to abide by the procedure of the resolution.<sup>79</sup> Thus, when the Messenians refused to participate in the process of selecting the third court of arbitration because they considered the case closed, the *damiorgoi* imposed a fine on them. It appears, then, that different procedures existed for settling various disputes in the Achaian League, as is indicated by the rich variety of procedures in the Messenian inscription.<sup>80</sup>

In conclusion we are able to say that the document of Messenia, beyond the numerous details and nuances it provides for our understanding of the judicial procedures in the Achaian League, also sheds light on the nature of federalism in ancient Greece in general. The document confirms that the cities of the Achaian League enjoyed a high degree of political independence, a verdict which also applies to many other leagues. It thus teaches us that federalism offered a much broader and indeed intriguing degree of autonomy and freedom to the members of a *koinon* than is commonly assumed.

<sup>77</sup> On the *damiorgoi*, see Velighianni-Terzi 1977: 104–107; Harter-Uibopuu 1998: 68; Arnaoutoglou 2009/10: 190–191. For other examples of their engagement, Harter-Uibopuu 1998: no. 8 (between 182 and 167 BCE).

<sup>78</sup> See Arnaoutoglou 2009/10: 189.   <sup>79</sup> See Arnaoutoglou 2009/10: 191.

<sup>80</sup> See Arnaoutoglou 2009/10: 190.

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