

Arkadia. City-Ethnics and Tribalism

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In the present paper I discuss two of the data-base entries and their application to Arkadia (*supra* pages 55-62). The entries selected are “ethnics” and “tribal affiliation”. The two selected topics are not connected with each other. However, the conclusions reached in the part dealing with city-ethnics become important in the part dealing with tribalism, since that part makes frequent use of city-ethnics in discussing the *polis*-ness of different tribal communities. The aim of the paper is to show: 1. that the occurrence of a city-ethnic is a very good indication of *polis*-ness of the city to which the ethnic belongs, and 2. that the so-called tribes of Arkadia were, contrary to what is normally held, believed by the Greeks to be subdivided into *poleis* and that this view of the tribal communities is corroborated by other evidence.

I. Arkadian City-Ethnics as Sources for *Polis*-ness

It was one of the major results of M.H. Hansen’s investigation of *Boiotian Poleis* that in Boiotia a city-ethnic, if recorded in a good source, is a very strong indication of the *polis*-ness of the city in question. We know this because Boiotia had no civic subdivisions like the Attic demes or Argive *komai*, and consequently the third and often political part of a Boiotian’s name was never a demotic, but either the regional ethnic Βοιωτός/Βοιώπιος or the ethnic of his *polis*, e.g. Θεσπιεύς, Ταναγραῖος etc. These ethnics are, of course, also used in the plural, in the regular Greek manner, to denote the community of citizens making up a *polis*, as in e.g. Σιμωνίδα ἄρχοντος τῷ ἡρώδι Πτοίῳ Ἀκριφίδος ἀνέθεαν (LSAG 402 7 13).¹

In Arkadia the situation is more complex, partly because we meet tribal ethnics such as e.g. Παροράσιος in addition to the regional ethnic and city-ethnics, and partly because civic subdivisions are attested in e.g. Tegea, Thisoa and Phigaleia. It seems, however, that the civic subdivi-

visions of Arkadian *poleis* were never used to coin demotics in the way the Attic demes were, and so we can take an ethnic, when used as a part of a name, to be a city-ethnic and use it as source for *polis*-ness if we are able to distinguish it from tribal and regional ethnics, which is, in practice, very easy (see part II below). It will also emerge that external collective uses of city-ethnics are very valuable in establishing the *polis*-ness of a given site. The rest of this part will be devoted to substantiating this claim and to draw up a list of ethnics attested in contemporary sources from the archaic to the Hellenistic period.²

1. Alea

*Attestations of the city-ethnic:*³ 5th cent: external collective, *IvO* 30; external individual, *IG* 1³ 80. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *IvO* 295, *I. Magnasia* 38.65; external individual, Dubois O.9, *IG* IX.1² 7, 9, *IG* VII 2112, *IG* IV.1² 96.46; internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: *IvO* 30 reads: ἔδοξεν Ἀλειοῖς ι[...] // Δίφιλον τὸν Ἀθαν[αῖ]ον, Μελανώπω υἱόν, // πρόξενον καὶ εὐεργέ/ταν τῶν Ἀλειῶν γράψ//αι ἐν Ὀλυμπία ἔδοξεν, and it surely belongs to Alea, not Elis. In addition to earlier arguments, it should be noted that the enactment formula of *IvO* 30: ἔδοξεν Ἀλειοῖς, is different from the Elean enactment formula. In the archaic period, the Elean enactment formula is invariably ἅ Φράτρα τοῖς Φαλείοις, and the only contemporary decree of Elis has Θεοτιμίδην τὸν / Εὐδήμο Μενδαῖον / πρόξενον ἐπόησαν / τοῖ Φαλείοι, δαμιο/ργεόντων κτλ., whereas the first instance of ἔδοξε (ταῖ πόλι) in an Elean decree is *SEG* 12 371 from 242 BC, where we still find digamma in both toponym and ethnic of Elis.⁴

The decree *SEG* 12 371 (which has the digamma in both toponym and ethnic of Elis) leads us to expect, *a fortiori*, digamma in inscriptions set up in Elis itself around 300 BC, which is *IvO*'s date for *IvO* 295, a dedication by ἅ πόλις τῶν Ἀλειῶν in honour of Φύσκος Αἰτωλός. Klaffenbach suggested that *IvO* 295 should be attributed to Alea on the basis of *IG* IX.1² 7, an Aitolian grant of citizenship to a man of Alea dated ἐπὶ τῶν περὶ Φύσκον βουλαρχούντων. In the light of the digammas found in *SEG* 12 371 it is very tempting to accept the attribution of *IvO* 295 to Alea.

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Alea.

2. Alipheira

Attestations of the city-ethnic: *Hellenistic period:* external collective, Polyb. 4.77.10, 78.8, *IvO* 48; external individual, *CIG* 1936, *IG* II² 8046; internal collective, *SEG* 25 449, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: although the evidence is at present exiguous, it is worth pointing out that there are no traces of civic subdivisions used to coin demotics in Alipheira. The preserved epitaphs from the city make no use of either city-ethnic or demotics, and neither is there any trace of demotics in the amnesty of 273 BC; however, it is reasonable to assume that Κλεώνυμος, who liberated the city, Μίλων and Ἀπέλιχος, whose fines shall be abrogated, Ξενοφῶν, who is a magistrate (τὸς δαμορογὸς τὸς περὶ Ξενοφῶντα), and Ξενοκράτης, also a magistrate (χρεονόμος τὸς περὶ Ξενοκράτα), and Εὐμηλος, perhaps a lawgiver, were citizens. But although for at least some of these persons a reference to this decree could be important and precise identification therefore necessary, they are referred to solely by their personal names, and thus the custom of coining demotics from civic subdivisions probably did not exist at Alipheira.⁵

3. Asea

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5. *Hellenistic period*: internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Asea.

4. Dipaia

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, Paus. 6.7.9 = Moretti no. 314. 4th cent.: external collective, *SEG* 23 179. *Hellenistic period*: internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: the nature of the inscription *SEG* 23 179 is not entirely clear. Bradeen thinks that it is a record of a judgement by a foreign board of arbitration in a dispute involving the city of Dipaia.⁶

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Dipaia.

5. Eua

Attestations of the city-ethnic: *Hellenistic period*: internal collective, *NC* (1917) 139 (Achaian federal bronze coin), *SEG* 30 377.

Comments: Eua is often discussed in an Arkadian context, since at 283.12-13 Stephanos of Byzantion has this entry: Εὐα, πόλις Ἀρκαδίας, Θεόπομπος ἐν ἔκτῳ. τὸ ἔθνικόν Εὐαῖος. That this Eua was Arkadian is accepted by Ernst Meyer, who argues that it must have been situated near Orchomenos, because the Achaian federal bronze coin inscribed [ΑΧΑΙΩ]Ν ΕΥΑΕΩΝ was found there. However, Roy thinks that this Eua was the one in Thyreatis in Lakonia, and this is almost certainly correct. The reason that Theopompos described it as Arkadian

may well be that it was a member of the Arkadian Confederacy, like Triphylian Lepreon.⁷

Theopompos seems to have treated Peloponnesian, and perhaps especially Arkadian, matters fully in his *Philippica*, often in a way that inspires confidence, as is seen when frag. 60, Εὐαίμων, πόλις Ὀρχομενίων, Θεόπομπος ἐν ἔκτῳ, is compared with *IG V.2 343* (= *IPark [supra n. 5]* no. 15), a record of συΦοικία between Euaimon and Orchomenos. For Euaimon, see below no. 6.⁸

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Eua.

6. Euaimon

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *IG V.2 343* = Dubois (*supra n. 3*) 146-163 = *IPark (supra n. 5)* no. 15.

Demotics: An interesting feature of the inscription is the list of personal names found in lines 91-?; it originally held at least five names, but one or two more is not impossible. It is not immediately clear in what capacity these 5-7 persons are listed, but it seems reasonable to agree with Dubois 162 that “ces noms doivent être ceux des magistrats qui ont prêté serment pour les deux cités.” Oaths are recorded for both the Orchomenians (ll. 77-95) and the Euaimnians (ll. 58-77), and if Dubois is right, we should expect the list to include people of both Orchomenos and Euaimon. But the bare personal names are given, and so all persons listed are perhaps Orchomenians (see below s.v. Orchomenos); if Euaimnians are included, it seems that there was no custom of naming with demotics in this city.

7. Helisson

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *SEG 37 340* (= *IPark [supra n. 3]* no. 9), *IG IV.1² 42*. *Hellenistic period*: external collective, Polyb. 11.11.6; internal collective, Head *HN² 418*.⁹

Demotics: *SEG 37 340* contains a stipulation of great importance in this connection, ll. 16-18: ἘλισΦασίος πάντας ἀπυγράψασθαι ἰν τὸς ἐπιμελητᾶς πατριᾶφι κατ [ἀ]λικίαν ἰν δέκ' ἀμέραις ἅμιν οἱ σταλογράφοι μὀλωνσι; “All the Heliswasians are to register themselves with the *epimeletai* with their father's name according to age.” What is important here is that there is no mention of any kind of civic subdivision like *phylai* or demes, although it is obvious that precise identification of the persons registered could be very important (see e.g. ll. 23-25). This leads to the conclusion that there were no civic subdivisions in Helisson, or, at the very least, that they were not used in official naming customs.

This conclusion is corroborated by another inscription, *IG IV.1² 42* of ca. 300 BC, which lists seven people of Helisson just by their personal names, although other people listed are allotted city-ethnics or demotics.¹⁰

8. *Heraia*

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 6th cent.: external collective, *SV II 110*. *5th cent.:* external collective, Lazzarini no. 975, *Thuc. 5.67.1*; internal collective, Head *HN² 448*. *4th cent.:* external collective, *Xen. Hell. 6.5.11, 22, IG V.2 1.58; IG V.2 343.13*. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *Polyb. 4.78.5, I.Magnesia 38.65, IvO 48*; external individual, *IG II² 2326, IG V.2 368.143-45, IG IV.1² 96.35, 43*; internal collective, Head *HN² 418*.

Demotics: the only major inscription assigned to Heraia by von Gaertringen seems to show that civic subdivisions were not used to coin demotics in Heraia. It is a 3rd century record of a verdict given by an unknown *polis* in a case between Heraia and an unknown *polis*. Lines 7-11 contain a list of the Heraians involved in the case; they are listed merely with name and patronymic.¹¹

9. *Kaphyai*

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, *Syll.³ 48*. *4th cent.:* external individual, *IG II² 66, CID II 12.II.1*. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *IG II² 687.25, 39, Polyb. 4.11.13, 13.3, IG V.2 534, IvO 50, I.Magnesia 38.61*; external individual, *CIG 1936, IG IX.1² 22, Dubois (supra n. 3) O.4, O.6, SEG 11 414.8*; internal collective, Head *HN² 418*.¹²

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Kaphyai.

10. *Kleitior*

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 6th cent.: external collective, *Paus. 5.23.7*. *4th cent.:* external collective, *IG V.2 1.52, Xen. Hell. 5.4.36, 37, SEG 20 716.18*; external individual, *IvO 167, CID II 51.7, Syll.³ 291*. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia 38.63, Polyb. e.g. 4.18.12*; external individual, *IG XI.4 532 (see SEG 18 235), IG IV.1² 96 bis*; internal collective, *IG V.2 367 e.g. I.1, II.1, Head HN² 418*.

Demotics: unfortunately there is no good evidence about demotics in Kleitior, although it should perhaps be noted that there are no traces of demotics on the surviving funerary monuments.¹³

11. Kortys/Gortys

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 6th cent.: external individual, *IG* I² 488 (?). *5th cent.:* external collective, *SEG* 11 1168. *Hellenistic period:* internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: Hiller von Gaertringen printed *IG* I² 488 like this: [ΘϞ]ἄιχς Κορτύνιο[ς] / [ἀν]έθεκεν / [τὰ]θ[ε]ναίαι, and commented “Arcas fuit”, thus producing an extremely early use of the ethnic (ca. 525 BC). *IG* I³ 639, however, has changed the reading to: [ΘϞ]ἄιχς Κορτυνίο κτλ., thus turning the city-ethnic into a personal name “ab ethnico Arcadico deductum.” Perhaps this interpretation is the most probable as there is no direct parallel to the formula: dedicant’s name in the nominative + city-ethnic, from archaic Athens, whereas there are good parallels to the formula: dedicant’s name in the nominative + patronymic, or slight variations hereof. But even if we read Κορτυνίο, it would be fair to interpret this to mean that the city-ethnic of Kortys existed and was used in the 6th century.¹⁴

Demotics: there is no evidence relating to the question of demotics in Kortys.

12. Kynaitha

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external individual, Aristoxenos (Wehrli frag. 135). *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I. Magnesia* 38.66, *SEG* 15 254.3, *SGDI* 1604, Polyb. e.g. 9.17; external individual, *SGDI* 2566.

Demotics: there is no evidence relating to the questions of demotics in Kynaitha.¹⁵

13. Lasion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.16. *Hellenistic period:* external individual, Euphoriion of Chalkis (Meineke p. 139), *Ant. Graeca* 6.111.

Comments: according to Xenophon the Arkadians laid claim to Lasion in the 390s; since no pan-Arkadian political organization existed in the 390s, Xenophon’s statement should probably be interpreted to mean that Lasion was considered ethnically Arkadian. In the 360s Lasion was a member of the Arkadian Confederacy.¹⁶

Demotics: *SEG* 11 1173, two grave stelae, give just the personal names, once accompanied by a patronymic.

14. Lousoi

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, Xen. *Anab.* 7.6.40; internal collective, *IG* V.2 387. *4th cent.:* internal collective, *IG* V.2 388-396. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia* 38.68, Polyb. 4.18.11, *IG* V.2 358; external individual, *IG* IV.1² 73.24, Dubois (*supra* n. 3) O.12; internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: although some of the decrees of Lousoi list magistrates, the persons in question are listed solely by personal names, and thus we must on present evidence assume that there was no custom of naming with demotics in Lousoi.¹⁷

15. Lykosoura

Attestations of the city-ethnic: Hellenistic period: external collective, *SEG* 41 332; internal collective, *SEG* 41 332.

Demotics: *SEG* 41 332 is the only evidence of any significance surviving from our period. It shows no traces of demotics, and the same holds true of the Roman era documents from the city.

16. Mantinea

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, *IvO* 16.17, *SEG* 28 408 (?), *IG* I³ 83, Hdt. e.g. 9.35, Thuc. e.g. 3.107.4; external individual, Hdt. 4.162.2. *4th cent.:* external collective, *IG* II² 33, *IG* V.2 1.34, Xen. *Hell.* e.g. 3.2.21, 4.2.13; external individual, *IG* II² 9279-82, *SEG* 26 330, *SEG* 11 347, *CID* II 1.II 24, 5.I.4; internal collective, *SEG* 37 340. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, Polyb. e.g. 2.56.6; external individual, e.g. *FD* III.1 32, 43.

Demotics: a system of five *phylai* is attested at Mantinea. *IG* V.2 271 is a fully preserved catalogue of names, arranging the entries, consisting of onoma + patronymic, by the headings: 'Επαλέας, 'Ενυαλίας, 'Οπλοδμίας, Π[ο]σοιδαίας and Φανακισίας. There is, however, no evidence that these *phylai* served to coin demotics, though we could fairly expect to find traces of such a custom if it existed: *IG* V.2 262 ll. 1-13 is a mid-5th century list of persons convicted in a trial, listed solely by their personal names; *IG* V.2 272-73 are two fragmentary catalogues of names of the 4th-3rd centuries and again only the personal name is employed; *IG* V.2 278 of the 4th century is commonly thought to be a dedication by two boards of officials, and the ten persons are again recorded only with their personal names; finally, *SEG* 37 340.23 has provided evidence that the eponymous official of Mantinea was a *damior-*

gos, who is referred to in this inscription merely by his personal name: ἰν τῷ ὕστερον Φέτ[ε]ι ἢ Νικῆς ἑδαμύοργη.¹⁸

Three undated *horos* stones of some kind suggest that there did exist organizations after which a group of people could be named. The best preserved reads: ὄρ(ος) χω(ρίου) Στρανβωνέων. I know of no scholarly discussion of these inscriptions and it is difficult to see what kind of organization we are dealing with, except that they must have been of a territorial character. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that they are *horoi* of private estates or small religious associations. In any case, these subdivisions are not used to coin demotics, on present evidence.¹⁹

And so we can reasonably conclude that Mantinea conforms to the general Arkadian pattern in not using demotics although the city did demonstrably possess civic subdivisions.

17. Megalopolis

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5, *IG* V.2 1.23; external individual, *CID* II 5.1.26-47. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *IvO* 46.5, 26; external individual, *FD* III.1 44, 45, 46; internal collective, *IG* V.2 437.438.18; internal individual, *IG* V.2 437.438.21, *SEG* 36 379.

Demotics: First, it is worth pointing out that there is no evidence to suggest that the communities absorbed by the synoecism in 368 BC lived on as administrative units of the new *polis*. The importance of this will emerge later.²⁰

But civic subdivisions are attested in Megalopolis. A system of six *phylai* was in existence in the classical period; the *phylai* are called Ἀρχαδισία, Ἀπολλωνία, Παναθαναία, Ἡρακλεία, Πανία and [Λυ]-καία, all named after important Arkadian divinities.²¹

Again, these *phylai* are not used to coin demotics. If they were, we could expect to find traces of the custom in the inscriptions of the city. These, however, normally use the plain personal name, personal name + patronymic, or personal name + patronymic + city-ethnic, and even officials are not treated otherwise.²²

There is a late Hellenistic decree by the *phatra* of the *Lykoatai* and a dedication of the *patra* of the *Prosymnaians*, but both seem to be religious associations, and they are not used in individual naming.

So Megalopolis conforms to the general Arkadian pattern of not using demotics.

18. Methydrion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, Xen. *Anab.* 4.1.27, 6.20, 7.9. *4th cent.:* external collective, *IPArk* (*supra* n. 5) no. 14.6-7; internal collective, Head *HN*² 451. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia* 38.61, *IG* V.2 344.18; external individual, *FD* III.1.83 (p. 384) with *IG* V.2 p. 130; internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: there is no agreement on the date of the coinage inscribed ΜΕΘΥΔΡΙΕΩΝ and described by Head *HN*² 451. It is perhaps most likely that it dates to the 4th century as the types (which refer to a peculiar epichoric version of the Kallisto myth) are clearly identical to those of Orchomenos – a city with which Methydrion had special relations – and this coinage is assigned to the 4th century by Head.²³

Demotics: there is no evidence about civic subdivisions or the custom of naming from demotics in Methydrion.

19. Orchomenos

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, *Syll.*³ 31.12, *Hdt.* 9.28, *Thuc.* 5.61.5; external individual, Xen. *Anab.* 2.5.37. *4th cent.:* external collective, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.11, *IG* V.2 1.46; external individual, *IvOlb* 4; internal collective *IG* V.2 343 *passim*, Dubois (*supra* n. 3) O.1, Head *HN*² 451. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, Polyb. 4.11.3, *I.Magnesia* 38.60; external individual, Dubois TE.8; internal collective, *IG* V.2 344; internal individual, *IG* V.2 345.8.

Demotics: the epigraphic material from Orchomenos is rich in precisely those details which allow us to say for sure that no demotics were employed there.

IPArk (*supra* n. 5) no. 14 is a demarcation of the borders of Orchomenos towards an unknown *polis* made by, presumably, the Arkadian Confederacy; it thus dates to the 360s. The inscription ends with two catalogues of Orchomenian officials: five θεαροί are listed, solely by personal name, and five πολέμαρχοι, likewise only by personal name. The list of names appended to *IG* V.2 343 (= *IPArk* [*supra* n. 5] no. 15) was discussed above in connection with Euaimon. Dubois O.3 is a grant of proxeny to three Athenians from 265/4. It mentions the eponymous *thearos* solely by his personal name (l. 9), and the προ[στάτας τᾶς] ἀλιείας is treated in the same way (ll. 9-10).²⁴

Dubois O.4 is a Hellenistic grant of proxeny; again, the eponymous *thearos* and the *prostatas haliaias* are referred to solely by personal name, and the same goes for a new official, a χερσοκόπος. Dubois O.5 is another 3rd century grant of proxeny. Again, the eponymous official,

the *prostatas haliaias*, the *cheroskopos* and this time also the *grammateus* are referred to solely by their personal names. In Dubois O.6 of the 3rd century only the eponymous *thearos* and the *grammateus* are mentioned; both are referred to solely by their personal names. In Dubois O.8 at least the *grammateus ton thearon* and the priest of Artemis are referred to solely by personal names. In Dubois O.9 the eponymous official has become a *damiorgos*, but he is still referred to solely by personal name (l. 8). In Dubois O.10, the eponymous official is again referred to solely by personal name. In Dubois O.11 the eponymous *thearos* and the *grammateus* are referred to solely by their personal names (ll. 1, 18). Finally, epitaphs and dedications from the city show no traces of demotics.²⁵

So we can conclude that the custom of naming with demotics did not exist at Orchomenos; if any kind of civic subdivisions existed, it has left no traces whatsoever.²⁶

20. Oresthasion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, *IvO* 147.148. *4th cent.:* external individual, *SEG* 20 716.23.

Demotics: there is no evidence at all on the question of demotics in Oresthasion.

21. Pallantion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *Xen. Hell.* 7.5.5, *SEG* 33 276; external individual, *CID* II 5.21; internal collective, *SEG* 11 1084, *Diod.* 15.59.3. *Hellenistic period:* internal collective, *Head HN*² 418.

Demotics: there are only a few sources that can throw any light on the question about demotics in Pallantion. Three dedications of the 6th century have simply the personal names, which is not surprising.²⁷

The Argive decree *SEG* 11 1084 contains a grant of proxeny and *theorodokia* to seven people of Pallantion; they are listed with personal name and patronymic. The decree was set up in copy at Pallantion itself and we can perhaps conclude that Pallantians could be identified in a satisfying way without the use of demotics.

22. Pheneos

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, *SEG* 39 1365. *4th cent.:* external individual, *SEG* 30 356; internal collective, *Head HN*² 452. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia*

38.63; external individual, *SEG* 21 992, *IG* XII 3.250.17, *IG* IX.1¹ 22, *FD* III.1.16, 39-42, *IG* IV.1² 73.13, 96.48, 71, 100.1, 3; internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: unfortunately, there is no good evidence bearing on the question of demotics in Pheneos. *IG* V.2 362-366 are from Mt. Kyllene, inscribed with just personal names, and the purpose is uncertain; *SEG* 19 328 is a base of a statue recording the dedication of the statue ἐπὶ ἰερέως τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Θηριλάου τοῦ Ἡρώιδα, but we cannot be sure that we are facing a public document, since it is uncertain whether the priest of Asklepios was the eponymous official of the polis.²⁸

23. Phigaleia

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external individual, Hdt. 6.83.2. 4th cent.: external collective, *CID* II 4.III.45; external individual, *IvO* 161. *Hellenistic period*: external collective, *IG* II² 687, *I.Magnesia* 38.64, *SGDI* 4646-48, Polyb. 4.3.5; external individual, *IG* IX.1² 13; internal collective, *IG* V.2 421, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: in *IG* V.2 421, undated and very fragmentary, occurs the expression ἐκάστα φυλά; this shows that at some time there was a system of *phylai* in Phigaleia. There is, however, nothing to suggest that demotics were coined from these *phylai*. On the contrary, what evidence there is suggests that Phigaleia did not have the custom of naming with demotics: *IG* V.2 425 is an archaic list of names, perhaps a funerary monument. Six persons are listed, all males, solely by personal name. *IG* V.2 423 is an undated dedication by two *damiorgoi*; only their personal names are given. Dubois (*supra* n. 3) PHI.2 is a list of names; three males are listed, solely by personal names. Dubois PHI.5 is a list of names. One person has the city-ethnic of Triphylian Lepreon, Λεπρεάτας, added to his name. The others have nothing, so we can assume that Phigaleian citizens could be satisfyingly identified by their personal name alone.²⁹

Other sources strongly support this assumption. In *IG* V.2 419, a Messenian decree set up at Phigaleia itself, there is a list of Phigaleian envoys to Messene; eight persons are listed, solely by personal names; dedicators in the city also used only their personal names, and the same habit can be observed on the funerary monuments.³⁰

Finally, *IvO* 402 is a late Hellenistic base set up in Olympia by ἄ πό[λις] τῶν Φιαλέων (sic) in honour of three of its own citizens; they are all named, with personal name and patronymic.

So, Phigaleia conforms to the Arkadian pattern in not using demotics in naming.

24. Psophis

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 6th cent.: external collective, *SEG* 24 299. 5th cent.: external collective, Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1) frag. 6; internal collective, Head *HN*² 453. 4th cent.: external collective, *IvO* 294. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, Polyb. 4.71.13, *I.Magnesia* 38.66; internal collective, *NC* (1921) 172.

Demotics: no individual use of the city-ethnic has been transmitted and neither is there any evidence relating to the question of demotics in Psophis.

25. Stymphalos

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, Pind. *Ol.* 6.99; external individual, Xen. *Anab.* 2.5.37, 3.1.31, 4.7.13. 4th cent.: external collective, *SEG* 32 370, *SEG* 36 147, *SEG* 20 716; external individual, *Syll.*³ 189, *IG* V.2 389.16, *IG* IV.1² 102; internal collective, Head *HN*² 454. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia* 38.62, *SEG* 25 445, Polyb. 2.55.8, Diod. 19.63; external individual, *FD* III.1.14, 38, 447 (see *SEG* 18 235); internal collective, *SEG* 11 1109, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: fortunately the epigraphical material from Stymphalos provides those details that allow us to conclude that there was no custom of naming with demotics in this city: *IG* V.2 351 is a grant of citizenship to an unknown man; it has no mention of civic subdivisions like the one found in e.g. *IG* V.2 510, a grant of citizenship from Thisoa, containing a stipulation that the naturalized man choose whatever φάτροα he likes. Furthermore, the decree lists a number of officials solely by their personal names. The same is true of the decrees *IG* V.2 355 and 356. In *SEG* 25 445 two envoys of Stymphalos are mentioned, one solely by personal name and one with patronymic added (l. 21). Finally, the funerary monuments from Stymphalos show no traces of demotics.³¹

So it can be concluded that Stymphalos conforms to the Arkadian pattern in not naming with demotics; if any kind of civic subdivisions existed, it has left no traces whatsoever.

26. Tegea

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 5th cent.: external collective, Hdt. 1.66.3, Thuc. 4.134.1, *Syll.*³ 31.7; external individual, Hdt. 9.9.1, Thuc. 2.67.1, *IG* I³ 1371; internal collective, *IG* V.2 159. 4th cent.: external collective, Dubois (*supra* n. 3) TE.3, Xen. *Hell.* 4.2.13; external individual, *IG* V.1 719, *IG* II² 10435, *CID* II 4.I.40; internal collective, Head *HN*² 455, Dubois TE.8. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *I.Magnesia* 38.60,

Polyb. *passim*; external individual, *IG* IV.1² 96.70; internal collective, *IG* V.2 9, Head *HN*² 418.

Demotics: Tegea had a system of four *phylai*. The *phylai* were called: Ἴπποθοῖται, ἐπ' Ἀθηναίαν, Κρασιώται and Ἀπολλωνιάται. One could easily imagine that demotics, e.g. Ἴπποθοίτας, could be coined from these *phylai*. But it was certainly not the case. Just as in Mantinea, the *phylai* were used to arrange certain public documents of unknown purpose and lists of fallen warriors, but that is all.³²

In *IG* V.2 6 B.1 59-60 a board of three ταμίαι στρα[ταγῶν] is listed, but only by personal names. In B.2 109-110 a board of *stratagoi* is listed, again only by personal names. A number of other people are mentioned in the inscription, with name + patronymic. The inscription also contains two references to the *phyle* ἐπ' Ἀθηναίαν in fragmentary contexts. *IG* V.2 10 mentions a *stratagos*, simply by his personal name. *IG* V.2 11 lists the *prostatai tou damou*, the *stratagoi*, the *hipparchos*, a *grammateus* and a priest of Athena, all simply by their personal names, and exactly the same is seen in *IG* V.2 12 and 13. *IG* V.2 16 contains references to several heads of boards of *stratagoi*, all simply referred to by their personal names. *IG* V.2 30 is a catalogue of the 3rd century, containing at least 27 persons, listed with name + patronymic. In *IG* V.2 31 at least 32 persons are listed, some with, some without patronymic. *IG* V.2 2.35 is a list of perhaps as many as 75 persons, listed with name and patronymic. *IG* V.2 116 is a 3rd century dedication by seven *stratagoi*, a *hipparchos* and a *grafes*; all are listed with name + patronymic, but without demotic, and, in short, no traces whatsoever are found of demotics in the rich epigraphical material from Tegea.

So Tegea conforms to the Arkadian pattern of not using demotics in naming.

27. Teuthis

Attestations of the city-ethnic: Hellenistic period: internal collective, Head *HN*² 418.

Comments: this is an extremely badly documented city. The Achaian federal bronze is the *only* documentary attestation of the city-ethnic. The ethnic is given by Herodianus *De Prosodia Catholica* 3.1 67: Τευθίδης ὁ οἰκῶν Τευθίδα πόλιν Ἀρχαδίας, apparently not reconstructed by Lentz from Stephanos of Byzantium.³³

Demotics: there is one inscription from Teuthis, *SEG* 35 347: it is an epitaph of the 2nd century, with no sign of demotics. This is all we can say about Teuthis.³⁴

28. Thelpoussa

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *IG* V.2 1.64. *Hellenistic period:* external collective, *SEG* 12 371, *IG* IV.1² 72B, *I.Magnesia* 38.67, Polyb. 4.73.2; external individual, *IG* IX.1² 31.89, *FD* III.4 15, 19, *IG* V.2 512; internal collective, *IG* V.2 411.

Comments: the oldest occurrence of the ethnic of Thelpoussa is *SEG* 13 1254a. Here the word is not really an ethnic, i.e. it is not used as a (part of a) name: κάρυξ δαμόσιος Θελφοίσιος, on a *kerykeion* from Olympia. It dates to the early 5th century.

Demotics: if Thelpoussa had any structure of civic subdivisions, it has left no traces in the sparse material from the city. *IG* V.2 411 is an honorary statue set up by Thelpoussa for [X]έλεις Πλειστί[α]; as the honorand is recorded without city-ethnic, we may perhaps assume that he was a citizen of Thelpoussa itself, in which case we have an instance of naming without demotic in an official context. In *SEG* 12 371 we find exactly the same: the *thearodokos* elected by Thelpoussa for Kos is named, and only personal name + patronymic is given (l. 31). If *IG* IV.1² 72 has been correctly restored to [Θελπ]ούσσ[τοι], we have at least 14 citizens of Thelpoussa listed with just personal name + patronymic, though that is perhaps not very significant in an external context. Dedications and epitaphs of the city show no traces of demotics either.³⁵

And so it can be concluded that Thelpoussa conforms to the Arkadian pattern of not using demotics in naming.

29. Thisoa

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external individual, *SEG* 14 455, *CID* II 5.I.23-24. *Hellenistic period:* internal collective, *IG* V.2 511, Head *HN*² 418.³⁶

Comments: the entry *CID* II 5.I.23-24 reads: Βαθυκλήης Θισσοῦτος ἐγ Μεγάλας Πόλιος, followed immediately by ten citizens of Megalopolis listed just with the city-ethnic of Megalopolis, e.g. Ἀγησίδαμος Μεγαλοπολίτας. According to Paus. 8.27.4, Thisoa was one of the *poleis* synoecized into Megalopolis. But as stated above, the cities synoecized into Megalopolis did not live on as administrative units of the new *polis*. So Bathyklēs is either a metic in Megalopolis or he is sentimentally hanging on to his old ethnic. In both cases, this must be treated as an individual use of the city-ethnic.

Demotics: *IG* V.2 511 is a 3rd-2nd century grant of citizenship to an unknown man. The decree contains the stipulation that the naturalized man εἰς φάρακιν ἔρπειν ὅποιαν ἂν βόληται. But as no other relevant

evidence survives from Thisoa, we cannot know if demotics were coined from these *phatrai*.³⁷

30. Torthyneion

Attestations of the city-ethnic: 4th cent.: external collective, *IPArk (supra n. 5) no. 14. Hellenistic period:* external individual, *IG IX.1² 17.37.*

Demotics: there is no information about demotics in Torthyneion.

Conclusion

Though civic subdivisions, primarily in the form of *phylai*, are found in Arkadia, adjectives coined from the names of these *phylai* are never used in personal names as a kind of demotic (in the wider sense), and thus it must be legitimate to conclude that a city-ethnic used as the third and political part of a name is an extremely good indication of the *polis*-ness of the site from whose toponym the ethnic is derived.

A few documents use names of subdivisions collectively, though not individually; e.g. in Megalopolis we find a decree of the *phatra* of the Λυκοῦται. These documents are found only within the *polis*, and so we can regard external collective attestations of ethnics as attestations of city-ethnics, and use them as very good indications of the *polis*-ness of the sites from whose toponym the ethnics are derived.

Important as this conclusion is in itself, it also points to some other interesting perspectives. Thus, three small pieces of evidence become very interesting in the light of the conclusions reached above. First, *SEG* 18 157 is a *subscriptio statuae* of the 5th century: Σαέας Θρασυβόλο Παρπυλαῖος. As should be clear by now, it is very unlikely that Παρπυλαῖος is a demotic. It is more likely that it is the city-ethnic of the Πύλαι mentioned by Stephanos of Byzantion at 539.18 and described as τόπος Ἀρκαδίας. If so, this (Par)Pylai may very well have been a small *polis*.³⁸

Secondly, Stephanos of Byzantion (478.8) cites Ephoros for the ethnic Νεστάριος, the ethnic of Nestane in Mantinike. Nestane is normally regarded as a village of Mantineia, but in view of the conclusions reached here, this instance of its ethnic opens up the possibility that Nestane was a dependent *polis* of Mantineia in the same way as Helisson. But as we do not know exactly how the ethnic was used by Ephoros, this cannot be more than a suggestion. And exactly the same caveat applies to the third piece of evidence: At 670.7-8 Stephanos again cites Ephoros, this time for the ethnic Φοριαεύς, of Phorieia, described as a *kome*. Nothing else is known of this Phorieia, but the existence of a separate

ethnic suggests that it may have been a small dependent *polis* somewhere in Arkadia.³⁹

II. Tribalism and *Polis*-Structure

Introduction

It is well-known that a number of tribal communities existed in Arkadia right down to the synoecism which produced Megalopolis, and even beyond. The tribes in question were the Eutresians, the Kynourians, the Mainalians, the Parrhasians, and in the archaic period perhaps also the Azanes.

We have no information about the ethnic character of these “tribes” in the archaic and classical periods; they are not referred to as e.g. ἔθνη or φύλα in classical sources. Thucydides and Xenophon refer to them by their collective ethnics such as Μαινάλιοι, Παρράσιοι or Εὐτρῆσιοι and some of them are listed in this way by an important document of the Arkadian Confederacy. They are, however, classified as ἔθνη by Strabo and perhaps for this reason it has become modern practice to refer to them as “tribes”. It is not impossible that the tribes claimed a common ancestry for their members; thus the Mainalians probably claimed Mainalos as an ancestor. And it is at least a possible interpretation of a passage in Hellanikos that Mainalos was a son of Arkas, the eponymous ancestor of all Arkadians.⁴⁰

The tribes were made up of a number of minor communities, and it is the aim of the present part of this paper to investigate whether these subdivisions were *poleis* or not. It will be shown that a substantial number of these tribal communities were believed by the Greeks to be *poleis*. This runs counter to the prevailing view: that the tribal states were “settled in villages” and that the use by the ancient sources of the word *poleis* to describe these tribal communities “is unlikely to be precise.”⁴¹

But first it will be necessary to draw up a list of the attested tribal communities. The tribal affiliations of 50 different Arkadian communities are set out in Table 1.⁴²

Two things are immediately striking. First, not one of the major *poleis* of Arkadia is described by the ancient sources as belonging to a tribal group. In his list of the μεγάλα πόλεις of Arkadia at 44 Ps.-Skylax names the following: Tegea, Mantinea, Heraia, Orchomenos and Stymphalos, and these big *poleis* are never described as belonging to any of the tribal groups. These *poleis* (Heraia excepted) are all situated in east-

ern Arkadia and this area, then, seems to have been an area of *poleis* only. Second, the scarcity of contemporary evidence relating to the tribal affiliations of these communities: we find only three communities (Dipaia, Oresthasion, and Paion) whose tribal affiliations are attested in classical sources; and in one case (Dipaia) the classical source is only transmitted *via* Pausanias. Hellenistic sources attest the tribal affiliation of only one community (Psophis). Roman sources, on the other hand, attest the tribal affiliation of no less than 29 communities, counting Enispe. Pausanias alone is responsible for 27 of these 29 attributions. And 26 of these tribal affiliations given by Pausanias are found in one single passage, 8.27.3-4, the decree listing the participants in the synoecism of Megalopolis.⁴³

On the basis of the location of the attested tribal communities, modern scholars have placed on the map a total of 17 communities and the tribes to which they are believed to have belonged. So, the ancient sources assign 33 communities to various tribal groups and for 26 of these attributions we depend on one single source; in 17 cases we rely on modern inference.

The key passage contained in Pausanias is the list of communities that were synoecized into Megalopolis. The list is laid out on the basis of the different Arkadian tribes. Pausanias himself believes that it is a genuine list representing a decision passed by the Arkadian Confederacy. Modern opinions, however, are divided on the issue of the genuineness of this list. Some, e.g. Callmer, Hejnic, Dušanić and Roy, accept that the passage does ultimately reflect the original federal decision, whereas others, e.g. Moggi, Demand and myself, hold that it is later and perhaps a forgery made to justify Megalopolitan claims to cities acquired subsequent to the original synoecism.⁴⁴

However, in both cases the list must have originated from local sources and this fact ought to guarantee the authenticity of the tribal affiliations expressed in the list. Moreover, the tribal affiliations of Dipaia and Oresthasion expressed in classical sources correspond to those of Pausanias' list, and a combination of *IvO* 147.148 and *P. Oxy.* 222.29 also supports the authenticity of the tribal affiliations expressed in the list: *IvO* 147.148 is a dedication of a victorious athlete in Olympia; he describes himself as Ὀρεσθάσιος. *P. Oxy.* 222 is a fragment of a list of Olympionikai; in line 29 the victor who dedicated *IvO* 147.148 appears; he is described as Μαινάλιος, which fits Pausanias' list. Finally, the list seems to betray a high degree of local geographical knowledge; Iasaia, Lykaia, Ptoleiderma, Knauson and Proseis, are sites known exclusively

from this list, and this should be considered a support of the conclusion that the list is reliable as regards the tribes and the tribal affiliations of the communities included in the list, no matter whether it is a forgery or not.

One community (Thisoa) is ascribed to two different tribal groups by Pausanias, to Kynouria in the list at 8.27.4, and to Parrhasia at 8.38.3. This may perhaps be an indication that tribal borders were fluctuating, but it is more likely that we are dealing with an error on the part of a late source. The attribution to Kynouria in the list at 8.27 should be considered the correct one, as this list is probably derived from local sources; the attribution of the city to Parrhasia at 8.38 must then be considered “a mere slip by Pausanias.” Thus we can accept the tribal affiliations set out in Table 1, though we cannot, of course, be sure that the table includes all communities that belonged to the tribal states.⁴⁵

In the following I shall concentrate on the Mainalians and their communities and investigate whether these communities were believed by the Greeks to be *poleis* or not, and to what extent the description of them as *poleis* that are in fact found in the sources can be corroborated by other evidence. The reason for concentrating on the Mainalians is that this tribe is by far the best documented, and that the conclusions reached in discussing the Mainalians will provide a suitable point of departure for a short discussion of the other tribes.

Mainalia

The Mainalians are far better documented than any of the other tribal groups in Arkadia. The name of the tribal territory is given by Thucydides at 5.64.3; it was Μαιναλία. Pausanias once uses this form but more often he uses the name of the mountain, Μάινανλον, to refer to Mainalia. The tribal ethnic is used as the third part of a name, e.g. Ξενοκλῆς Εὐθύφρονος Μαινάλιος. Whether the athletic games ἐμ Μαινάλωι mentioned in a 3rd century Argive inscription go back to the time of tribal organization, we cannot say. In the 4th century the Mainalians supplied two oecists for the founding of Megalopolis, 10 Mainalian communities were planned to be absorbed by Megalopolis, and (some of?) the Mainalians were members of the Arkadian Confederacy on a tribal basis. Thus the Mainalian tribal state existed both before and after the synoecism of Megalopolis and we can assume that it existed throughout the classical period, although we do not know when it ceased to exist.⁴⁶

In this period we also meet some fully developed Mainalian *poleis*

(see below) and perhaps the evidence presented by Thucydides and discussed below can be interpreted in the light of this fact, namely that *poleis* existed in Mainalia alongside the tribal structure.

At 4.134 Thucydides briefly describes a battle fought in 423/2 between Μαντινῆς...καὶ Τεγεᾶται καὶ οἱ ξύμμαχοι ἑκατέρων. He does not specify who these allies were. It is, however, likely that the Mantineian allies were (at least) the Parrhasians, as it appears from 5.33 that the Parrhasians were *hypekooi* of Mantinea and their territory could be considered Mantineian *συμμαχίς*. This state of affairs was however brought to an end by the Lakedaimonians, who made the Parrhasians *autonomoi*. Considering the context, where ξύμμαχοι and ὑπῆρκοι are taken to be more or less the same thing, the liberation of the Parrhasians must equal the dissolution of their *symmachia* with the Mantineians.⁴⁷

The allies of Tegea were perhaps the Mainalians as they fought alongside the Tegeatai in the battle of Mantinea in 418.⁴⁸

If this reconstruction is correct, who were the Arkadian allies of Mantinea in 418, mentioned by Thucydides at 5.67.2? It is not very likely that they were the Parrhasians, since we have not heard of any further changes in the foreign connections of Parrhasia since 5.33 (where Thucydides describes how the Lakedaimonians “liberated” the Parrhasians from Mantineian rule). The allies were almost certainly some of the Mainalians, and perhaps the Orchomenians. This is very strongly indicated by 5.77.1, the treaty between Argos and Sparta, which stipulates that the Argives are to return τὼς παῖδας τοῖς Ὀρχομενίοις καὶ τὼς ἄνδρας τοῖς Μαιναλίοις. These Orchomenian children must be the hostages given by Orchomenos to Mantinea, when Orchomenos surrendered shortly before the battle of Mantinea. Likewise we must suppose that the Mainalian men were hostages taken from the Mainalians in question to ensure their loyalty; this may have been deemed necessary, because they were to face other Mainalians in battle, namely those who were allies of Tegea (?) and Sparta.⁴⁹

If this is accepted, the Mainalian tribe was clearly divided into two parts in 418, one allied with Tegea and Sparta, and one allied with Mantinea. This division can of course have been the result of force, but may perhaps also be explained by the fact that some of the Mainalian communities acted as *poleis* on their own.

All this leads to the conclusion that the Mantineian “empire” mentioned by Thucydides in 5.29.1 and 81.1 at least in its later phases included some of the Mainalians. Clearly, then, it must be these Mainalian subjects (and perhaps Orchomenos) that are referred to at 5.81.1. Thucy-

didēs here states that the Mantineians came to terms with Sparta and τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀφείσαν τῶν πόλεων.⁵⁰

The Mainalian subjects of Mantinea must be included in τῶν πόλεων. So, Thucydides could refer to the Mainalian communities in general as *poleis*. M.H. Hansen has shown that whenever Thucydides uses the term *polis* about a named urban site, this “town” is also the political centre of a city-state. If we can assume by analogy that this rule applies also when the term *polis* is used generally, then Thucydides clearly considered (some of) the Mainalian communities to be *poleis* in the political sense of the word.⁵¹

Individual Mainalian communities

That Thucydides was indeed right can be shown by an examination of the individual Mainalian communities.⁵²

Oresthasion, or *Orestheion*, is mentioned by Herodotos, but he does not give any information on its status. The city is, however, called *polis* by Pherekydes and Euripides. There is good evidence to support the description of Oresthasion as a *polis*. The territory of the city is mentioned by Thucydides; it was called *Oresthis*. The city produced an Olympic victor in 472 BC. The inscription of his victory dedication has survived; the victor is referred to as Ἀρκὰς Ὀρεσθάσιος. The same victor is listed by *P. Oxy.* 222.29, but here described as Μαινάλιος. So, the victor himself seems to have placed emphasis upon his being an Oresthasion. In the 4th century there is one more external attestation of the city-ethnic used as the third part of a name. So the city was called *polis*, had its own territory, had an Olympic victor, and the city-ethnic was used as the 3rd part of names; it must be reasonable to assume that the ancient sources were right in their classification of Oresthasion as a *polis*.⁵³

Asea is poorly documented by the written sources. It is, however, mentioned by Xenophon in an extremely important passage where he seems to think of Asea as a not unimportant *polis*: ὁ μὲντοι Ἐπαμεινώνδας ἐλογίζετο καὶ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ σφίσιν ὑπάρχειν Ἀργείους τε καὶ Μεσσηνίους καὶ Ἀρκάδων τοὺς τὰ σφέτερα φρονοῦντας. ἦσαν δ' οὗτοι Τεγεᾶται καὶ Μεγαλοπολῖται καὶ Ἀσεᾶται καὶ Πάλλαντες, καὶ εἴ τινες δὴ πόλεις διὰ τὸ μικραὶ τε εἶναι καὶ ἐν μέσαις ταύταις οἰκεῖν ἠναγκάζοντο (*Hell.* 7.5.5). Asea is here listed with Tegea, Megalopolis and Pallantion, all three of them demonstrably *poleis*, and all four are contrasted with small *poleis* who are *forced* to side with Thebes. This must mean that Asea is a *polis* siding with Thebes not due to force, but due to its *phronesis*. So the conclusion must be that Xeno-

phon considered Asea a not unimportant *polis*. In the Hellenistic period the city was demonstrably a *polis*. The city has been thoroughly excavated. It seems to have been a centre of some importance in the Hellenistic period. The akropolis was fortified in the 3rd century and so was the town below. Remains of private houses, a temple and a *palaistra* have been unearthed. The city was a member of the Achaian Confederacy and had its own Delphic *thearodokos*. Thus Asea was a *polis* in the classical period and continued to be so in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁴

In the case of *Eutaia* Xenophon is again the only source of any importance. He describes the activities of Agesilaos in Eutaia in 370 BC. From the description it appears that the city was walled, that there was a number of private houses in the city, and that the city had placed troops under the command of the Arkadian Confederacy. Xenophon thrice uses the word *polis* about Eutaia, once primarily in the sense of "territory," and twice primarily in the sense of "town." But as I have shown elsewhere, Xenophon uses the word *polis* in precisely the same way as Thucydides: to denote the urban centre of a city-state. So the conclusion must be that Xenophon thought of Eutaia as a city-state.⁵⁵

That *Helisson* was a *polis* in the first half of the 4th century has been definitely proved by the discovery of an inscription recording an agreement between Helisson and Mantinea whereby the Heliswasians become citizens of Mantinea. The inscription twice refers to Helisson as a *polis*, mentions its territory, its laws, its magistrates and has the city-ethnic in its external collective use. It further appears that it was possible to prove that a man was not a Heliswasian, which must mean that citizenship was defined at Helisson. All this refers to the period prior to the inclusion of Helisson in Mantinea, i.e. (according to most scholars) to the period before 385 BC, and for that period the *polis*-ness of Helisson cannot reasonably be doubted. The city-ethnic of Helisson is found in the external collective use ca. 300 BC and in Polybios. In the Hellenistic period the city was a member of the Achaian Confederacy and had its own territory. Thus, Helisson was a *polis* in the classical period and again in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁶

Pallantion was surely a *polis*. This appears both from the passage of Xenophon discussed above in connection with Asea, and from an Argive decree in which the city is described as a *polis*. This decree furthermore contains an Argive grant of *proxenia* and *thearodokia* to seven named Pallantians and has the city-ethnic in its external collective use. In the 5th century, Pallantion had its own Delphic *thearodokos*, and its own coinage. In the 4th century Ἀσάλατος Παλλαντεύς donated mon-

ey in Delphi. Pallantion existed in the archaic period, and a number of votive offerings and temples dates to this period. The akropolis was walled. In the Hellenistic period the city was a member of the Achaian Confederacy and had a Delphic *thearodokos*. Thus, Pallantion was a *polis* already in the classical period and continued to be so in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁷

The city of *Mainalos* is not very amply documented. The only evidence that suggests its *polis*-ness is the Olympic victor it produced in 400 BC. There is possibly a reference to the Mainalian city of *Lykaia* in Theopompos; Stephanos of Byzantion has the following s.v. *Lykaia*: Λύκαια, πόλις Ἰσθακιδίας. Θεόπομπος νς'. The probability that Theopompos *did* describe *Lykaia* as a *polis* is not bad, but the reference might as well be to the homonymous Kynourian city.⁵⁸

Dipaia is not actually called *polis* in any source from the classical period. It is mentioned both by Herodotos and Isokrates in connection with the battle fought there in the 460s; neither of them says anything about the status of the town. The city had an Olympic victor in ca. 440 BC, who erected a statue in Olympia and decribed himself as a Διπαιεύς τῆς Μαιναλίων χάρας, according to Pausanias. An inscription dating to the first half of the 4th century mentions the Διπαέες, thus providing an attestation of the city-ethnic in its external collective use which is, as demonstrated above, a very strong indication of *polis*-ness. The nature of the inscription is not clear, but it seems to be a verdict in a case involving *Dipaia*. If correct, the nature of the document may lend support to the idea that *Dipaia* was a *polis*. In the Hellenistic period the city was a member of the Achaian Confederacy. Thus *Dipaia* was perhaps a *polis* already in the classical period; it surely came to be one in the Hellenistic period.⁵⁹

So in the classical period, even after the synoecism of Megalopolis, there existed a Mainalian tribal state, which included a number of communities referred to by Thucydides, Xenophon and other literary and epigraphic sources as *poleis*. These Mainalian *poleis* show some features characteristic of ordinary *poleis* such as defined territories, city-ethnics, coinage, *proxenoi*, *thearodokoi*, participation in the Olympic Games, walls, magistrates, laws, and so on. It must, then, be concluded, that these Mainalian communities not only were *called poleis* in a rather loose sense, but that they *were poleis* in the sense of political communities.⁶⁰

The other tribes

No traces have been left of the Azanian tribal state if it ever existed. All three communities called Azanian by good ancient authorities are described by our sources as *poleis* or were probably *poleis*: *Paion* is called *polis* by Herodotos. But apart from that the only source pointing to the *polis*-ness of *Paion* is the existence there of a Hellenistic *thearodokos*. *Psophis* refers to itself as a *polis* on a 4th century dedication set up in Olympia, and its city-ethnic is attested from the 6th century onwards. *Pheneos* is not actually called *polis* in any archaic or classical source, but it was probably a *polis* since its city-ethnic is found in good sources and since it has coinage from the 5th century and produced an Olympic victor in 392 BC. So the communities described as Azanian were *poleis*, but it is impossible to decide whether the *poleis* only developed when a tribal structure broke down, or whether tribalism and *polis* structure ever coexisted for a time.⁶¹ The Eutresians must be left out of consideration in this connection since next to nothing is known about the individual Eutresian communities.⁶²

For the Parrhasians, the situation is a little better. Thucydides (5.33.2) refers to the Parrhasian communities as *poleis*: ἀδύνατοι δ' ὄντες (sc. οἱ Μαντινεῖς) διασῶσαι τό τε ἐν Κυψέλοις τεῖχος καὶ τὰς ἐν Παρρασίοις πόλεις ἀπῆλθον. Here the word *polis* is probably used in the sense of “town”, but as already discussed, Thucydides only describes towns as *poleis* when they are centres of political communities, at least when he is dealing with named urban sites. Thus if we can rely on analogy here, Thucydides probably did think of the Parrhasian communities as *poleis* in the sense of political communities.⁶³

We are, however, not in a position to test whether Thucydides was right, since our sources for the individual Parrhasian communities are very few. The only classical reference to any Parrhasian community is found in Herodotos. In his description of the suitors of Agariste he lists two Arkadians, one being Ἀμίαντος Λυκούργου Ἀρκὰς ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος. Since Herodotos states that Ἑλλήνων ὅσοι σφίσι τε αὐτοῖσι ἦσαν καὶ πάτρῃ ἐξωγκωμένοι ἐφοίτεον μνηστῆρες, we can perhaps assume that Herodotos (or rather his source) considered *Trapezous* a not completely negligible community. But unfortunately this does not throw light on the status of *Trapezous*.⁶⁴

For *Lykosoura* we now have epigraphical proof that the city was a *polis* in the Hellenistic period. SEG 41 332 is a decree of *Lykosoura* dating to 223-190 BC. The decree refers to *Lykosoura* as a *polis* six times, gives the city-ethnic five times, refers to the citizen body and to envoys

of the city, and it contains a grant of proxeny. So Lykosoura was clearly a *polis* in the late 3rd-early 2nd century. This is a nice confirmation of Pausanias' statement that Lykosoura was not absorbed by Megalopolis. Unfortunately, the decree does not throw any light on the question whether Lykosoura only developed into a *polis* after the foundation of Megalopolis or whether it was a *polis* also prior to the foundation of Megalopolis. But it is reasonable to assume that it was a *polis* at least from 368 BC, since it is hard to see how else the city could have been organized when the rest of the Parrhasians had been synoecized into Megalopolis. So we do not know whether the Parrhasians were settled in *poleis* during the existence of their tribal state.⁶⁵

We know that the tribal state of the Kynourians survived the synoecism of Megalopolis, since they appear on the Phylarchos decree side by side with Megalopolis. The decree lists five *damiorgoi* of the Kynourians, the same number as e.g. Tegea and Mantinea supplied. This probably means that no Kynourian communities took part in the synoecism of Megalopolis. At least we know of only four Kynourian communities, and according to Pausanias all but Alipheira were incorporated into Megalopolis. If this is correct, the five *damiorgoi* must have been supplied by Alipheira alone, in which case we should have expected the heading Ἀλιφειρεῖς, not Κυνούριοι; or they must have been supplied by Alipheira and a number of other Kynourian communities of which not a single trace of evidence has survived. The most likely solution to the problem is that no Kynourians were incorporated into Megalopolis and that Pausanias (or rather his source) is wrong. But, as shown below, the evidence relating to Alipheira seems to contradict this.⁶⁶

Although it cannot be proved, it is indeed possible that the Kynourians were settled in *poleis* like the Mainalians. Thus, as we have already seen, it is possible that Theopompos referred to Kynourian *Lykaia* as a *polis* (see above). *Kortys*, or *Gortys*, set up a dedication of spoils in Delphi in the early 5th century. The dedication uses the city-ethnic and can be considered proof of action by Kortys independently of the tribe: "The Gortynians certainly dedicated their spoils without reference to the Kynourian tribe, and it seems entirely likely that they had undertaken independently of the tribe the war from which the spoils came." As we have seen, such an external attestation of the city-ethnic is a very strong indication of *polis*-ness. In the Hellenistic period Kortys was certainly a *polis*, since it was a member of the Achaian Confederacy.⁶⁷

It is not entirely clear whether *Alipheira* participated in the synoecism of Megalopolis. According to Pausanias 8.27.7, Alipheira remained a

polis in spite of the synoecism. This is probably correct, as we shall see, but it is unclear whether it means that the city was not synoecized. Both Polybios and Livy state that it was, but the evidence relating to the Kynourian tribe as such seems to point in the opposite direction (see above).⁶⁸

The city is not attested in written sources until the Hellenistic period. It must, however, have existed in the 5th century, since the colossal statue of Athena mentioned by both Polybios and Pausanias must be dated to that period. Furthermore, the construction of the temple of Athena on the akropolis took place ca. 500-490 BC and some ex-votos found at the temple go back to the 6th century. The temple of Asklepios was constructed in the second half of the 4th century. The walls probably belong to the 5th century. Thus the existence of the city in the archaic and classical periods is proved by archaeological evidence. However, as already stated, the city is not attested in written sources until the 3rd century. Polybios describes an attack on the city during the Social War (221-217 BC); he calls it a *polis* twice and mentions the walls, the akropolis, and the *proasteion*, and then relates how the *Alipheireis* negotiated a settlement with Philip V. A little earlier he has given a short review of 3rd century Alipheirian history. The city had been controlled by the tyrant of Megalopolis, Lydiadas, who gave it to the Eleians πρὸς τινὰς ἰδίας πράξεις ἀλλαγῆν. Polybios uses the phrase ἢ τῶν Ἀλιφειρῶν πόλις in this connection, and he probably does not regard it as a *kome* (*vel sim*). of Megalopolis, but as a dependency. It is proved beyond doubt by inscriptions from the city that Alipheira was a *polis* in the political sense of that word early in the 3rd century: *IPArk* (*supra* n. 5) no. 24 is an amnesty of 273 BC. Containing detailed regulations for a return to peaceful conditions after a period of *stasis*, it refers to Alipheira as a *polis* three times and contains references to officials and possibly to a *boule*. Alipheira also had a defined territory and it had a dispute with Heraia settled by arbitration. The city became a member of the Achaian Confederacy, and had a Delphic *thearodokos*.

So Alipheira was clearly an urban site and certainly a *polis* in the 3rd century. It is not known whether Alipheira developed into a *polis* only when the Kynourian tribal structure broke down (presumably in the late 4th century), or whether it was a *polis* also at the time of the existence of the tribal structure. The latter cannot be excluded, as has become clear from the discussion of the Mainalians.⁶⁹

Conclusions

City-ethnics are a very important type of source in dealing with Arkadia, since the existence of a city-ethnic is a very strong indication of *polis*-ness of the city in question. That this is the case is shown by an examination of civic subdivisions in Arkadia. Civic subdivisions are found in a number of Arkadian cities, but there is not a single instance of these subdivisions being used to coin demotics, and not a single instance of a personal name including a part that is demonstrably a demotic. For a number of sites the city-ethnic is one of the best indications of *polis*-ness, if not the only one: Alea, Asea, Dipaia, Euaimon, Kaphyai, Kortys, Kynaita, Lasion, Methydrion, Pheneos, Thelpoussa, Thisoa and Torthyneion. In the case of other cities, the city-ethnic is the oldest source to have survived: Heraia, Kleitor and Psophis, to mention only some prominent cities. The importance of city-ethnics as a type of source is illustrated by the fact that this group alone puts 30 sites on a map of Arkadian *poleis*, some of them already in the archaic period.

The demonstration that the Mainalian tribal state was subdivided into *poleis* and the probability that some of the other tribal states were too, adds an interesting perspective to the political organization of Arkadia and to Greek history at large.

In the classical period, Arkadia was clearly organized into a number of major *poleis* such as Heraia, Kleitor, Stymphalos, Orchomenos, Mantinea, Tegea and after 368 BC Megalopolis.⁷⁰ These big *poleis* did not unite into a federation until 370 BC. Prior to that, each one of them seems to have followed its own policy.

This political fragmentation sometimes led to serious conflicts among the major *poleis*. One such conflict between Mantinea and Tegea is described in Thucydides, and Xenophon has a reference to a traditional state of hostility between Orchomenos and Mantinea, as well as a reference to a war between Orchomenos and Kleitor.⁷¹

Sometimes a number of the major *poleis* united to meet external threats. This happened e.g. during the Persian Wars, and Herodotos attests an alliance between all Arkadians (except the Mantineians) which fought Sparta in vain in the 460s.⁷²

But Arkadia also housed a number of minor *poleis* such as Alea, Paion, Pallantion, Helisson and Eutaia, to mention just a few. It seems certain that these small *poleis* were the objects of aggression on the part of the major *poleis*. Thus Orchomenos was the centre of a *synteleia* prior to the foundation of Megalopolis, if we accept Pausanias 8.27 as a reliable reflection of Arkadian conditions around 368; Methydrion, Thisoa

and Teuthis and others belonged to this *synteleia*. This must have meant some kind of dependence upon Orchomenos. Kleitor was clearly an aggressive *polis*, and it has been assumed that it turned Paion and Thaliades into dependencies.⁷³

But the best example of the aggressiveness of the major *poleis* is Mantinea. During the Peloponnesian War Mantinea established an empire. This empire included at least the Parrhasians and probably also some Mainalians and others. To maintain this empire against the will of Sparta, Mantinea allied with Argos, Elis and Athens. This alliance conquered Orchomenos and then turned against Tegea. This led to the battle of Mantinea in 418 BC. Sparta won this battle and Mantinea had to give up its empire.⁷⁴

A glance at Map 2 shows that the Mainalians were the neighbours of three of the major *poleis*: Orchomenos, Mantinea, and Tegea. It was perhaps to maintain themselves against the threats constituted by these big *poleis* that the Mainalians, presumably on the basis of a feeling of common ancestry but certainly on the basis of geographical proximity, formed a tribal state. If the Mainalians did unite to stand up against the big *poleis*, they were not completely successful, since they probably had to give in to Mantinea during the Peloponnesian War. But the Mainalians should be taken into account in descriptions of how Greek *poleis* formed larger units.⁷⁵

From a diachronical point of view it is interesting to note that the tribal structures disappeared in the late 4th century and that the former tribal communities all were *poleis* in the Hellenistic period: either they had been absorbed by the synoecism of Megalopolis, or they became *poleis* without any tribal affiliation like Lykosoura. Of the former Mainalian communities we meet Asea, Dipaia, Helisson and Pallantion, as members of the Achaian Confederacy in the Hellenistic period. Of the former Kynourian communities we meet Alipheira and Kortys as members, and of the former Parrhasian communities Lykosoura is attested as a *polis* on its own in the Hellenistic period. Taken with the synoecism of Megalopolis this testifies to an Arkadia under continuous development as far as the *polis* structure is concerned, a development that lasted into the Hellenistic period, and a development which made Arkadia look more like the other Greek regions such as Boiotia and Argolis (see Figure 2 for a diachronical view of the structure of the Arkadian *ethnos*). If the Battle of Chaironeia did in any way mark the end of the *polis*, this was not noticed in Arkadia.

Figure 1
First Occurrence of Each Category of City-Ethnics

City	ext. coll.	ext. ind.	int. coll.	int. ind.
Alea	classical	classical	Hellenistic	
Alipheira	Hellenistic	Hellenistic	Hellenistic	
Asea	classical	Hellenistic		
Dipaia	classical	classical	Hellenistic	
Eua	Hellenistic			
Euaimon	classical			
Helisson	classical		Hellenistic	
Heraia	archaic	classical	classical	
Kaphyai	classical	classical	Hellenistic	
Kleitōr	archaic	classical	Hellenistic	
Kortys	classical	archaic	Hellenistic	
Kynaitha	Hellenistic	classical		
Lasion	classical	Hellenistic		
Lousoi	Hellenistic	classical	classical	
Lykosoura	Hellenistic		Hellenistic	
Mantineia	classical	classical	classical	
Megalopolis	classical	classical	Hellenistic	Hellenistic
Methydriōn	classical	classical	classical	
Orchomenos	classical	classical	classical	Hellenistic
Oresthasion		classical		
Pallantion	classical	classical	classical	
Pheneos	classical	classical	classical	
Phigaleia	classical	classical	Hellenistic	
Psophis	archaic		classical	
Stymphalos	classical	classical	classical	
Tegea	classical	classical	classical	
Teuthis			Hellenistic	
Thelpoussa	classical	Hellenistic	Hellenistic	
Thisōa		classical	Hellenistic	
Torthyneion	classical	Hellenistic		

Appendix Missing City-Ethnics

A city-ethnic is something every *polis* must have had. For some *poleis*, however, the city-ethnic is not attested. In Arkadia, the city-ethnic has not been transmitted in the cases of the following *poleis*, excluding from consideration the ethnics evidenced by Stephanos of Byzantion and Pausanias (in brackets, sources pointing to the *polis*-ness of the sites listed):

Amilos (Paus. 8.13.5); **Brenthe** (Paus. 8.28.7); **Dasea** (Paus. 8.3.2, 36.9); **Eutaia** (Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.12); **Eutresia**: none of the Eutresian communities has produced a city-ethnic (for a list of Eutresian communities see table 1); **Halous** (possibly had a Delphic *thearodokos* in the 5th century [G. Daux, *REG* 62 (1949) 9]); **Koila** (a possible Arkadian *polis*; perhaps it had a Delphic *thearodokos* in the 5th century [Dubois [*supra* n. 3] 295-96]); **Kynouria**: Thisoa and Lykaia of Kynouria have failed to produce a city-ethnic (for a list of Kynourian communities, see table 1); **Mainalia**: the following Mainalian cities have failed to produce a city-ethnic: Eutaia (see above), Iasaia, Lykaia, Peraitheis, Soumateion, Haimoniai and Mainalos (for a list of Mainalian communities, see table 1); **Melainai** (Paus. 8.3.3); **Nonakris** (Hdt. 6.74.2.) Another Nonakris was a part of the Arkadian Tripolis, see below. **Paion** (Hdt. 6.127.3); **Parrhasia**: all Parrhasian communities except Lykosoura have failed to produce a city-ethnic (for a list of Parrhasian communities, see table 1). **Phalanthos** (Paus. 8.35.9); **Phara** (a possible Arkadian *polis*; it had a Delphic *thearodokos* in the 5th century (Dubois 295-96); it is just possible that the city-ethnic occurs in *IG* V.2 548.7 (see Roy [*supra* n. 7] 142)); **Thaliades** (possibly a *polis*; it had a coinage in the archaic period, but is otherwise unattested until Pausanias); **Thyraion** (Paus. 8.35.7); **Tripolis** (mentioned only by Pausanias at 8.27.4; it consisted of Dipoina, Kallia and Nonakris [different from the Nonakris mentioned by Hdt. 6.74.2]).

Table 1 Communities Ascribed to Various Tribal Groups

Azania

The following communities are ascribed to the Azanes by:

Classical sources

1. Paion (Hdt. 6.127.3)

Hellenistic sources

2. Psophis (Polyb. 4.70.3)

Roman sources only

3. Pheneos (Steph.Byz.662.6)
4. Phigaleia (Paus. 8.42.6)

Modern scholars

5. Bouphegion (Hejnic [*supra* n. 40] 61)
6. Kaphyai (Hejnic 18)
7. Kleitor (Hejnic 19, Jost [*supra* n. 59] 25)
8. Kynaitha (Hejnic 21, Jost 26)
9. Lousoi (Hejnic 103, Jost 26)
10. Nonakris (Jost 36)
11. Pellana (Jost 26)
12. Teuthis (Hejnic 61)
13. Thelpousa (Hejnic 58, Jost 26)

Perhaps we should add

14. Enispe

to the Azanian communities; Stephanos of Byzantion at 271.1 states that it was thought to have been situated in the territory of either Kleitor or Psophis: Ἐνίσπη, πόλις Ἀρκαδίας...νῦν οὐκ ἔστι. φασὶ δὲ ἢ τῆς Κλειτορίας γῆς εἶναι ἢ Ψωφίδος.

Alipheira is treated as Azanian by Jost 77, but is here considered Kynourian.

Heraia is treated as Azanian by Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 50, but this has not won general acceptance.

Eutresia

The following communities are ascribed to the Eutresians by:

Roman sources only

15. Chairisia (Paus. 8.27.3)
16. Knauson (Paus. 8.27.3)
17. Paroreia (Paus. 8.27.3)
18. Ptoleiderma (Paus. 8.27.3)
19. Trikolonoi (Paus. 8.27.3)
20. Zoiteion (Paus. 8.27.3)

Modern scholars

21. Hypsous (Hejnic 26)
22. Phalanthos (Hejnic 42)
23. Thyraion (Hejnic 60)

Kynouria

The following communities are ascribed to the Kynourians by:

Roman sources only

24. Alipheira (Paus. 8.27.4)
25. Kortys (Paus. 8.27.4)
26. Thisoa (Paus. 8.27.4)
27. Lykoa (Paus. 8.27.4)

Mainalia

The following communities are ascribed to the Mainalians by:

Classical sources

28. Dipaia (Paus. 6.7.9, cf. Moretti no. 314)
29. Oresthasion (Thuc. 5.64.3)

Roman sources only

30. Asea (Paus. 8.27.3)
31. Eutaia (Paus. 8.27.3)
32. Helisson (Paus. 8.27.3)
33. Iasaia (Paus. 8.27.3)
34. Lykaia (Paus. 8.27.3)
35. Pallantion (Paus. 8.27.3)
36. Peraitheis (Paus. 8.27.3)

37. Soumateion (Paus. 8.27.3)

Modern scholars

38. Haimoniai (Hejnic 24)

39. Mainalos (Callmer 18, Hejnic 29, 81)

Parrhasia

The following communities are ascribed to the Parrhasians by:

Roman sources only

40. Akakesion (Paus. 8.27.4)

41. Akontion (Paus. 8.27.4)

42. Dasea (Paus. 8.27.4)

43. Lykosoura (Paus. 8.27.4)

44. Makaria (Paus. 8.27.4)

45. Proseis (Paus. 8.27.4)

46. Thoknia (Paus. 8.27.4)

47. Trapezous (Paus. 8.27.4)

Modern scholars

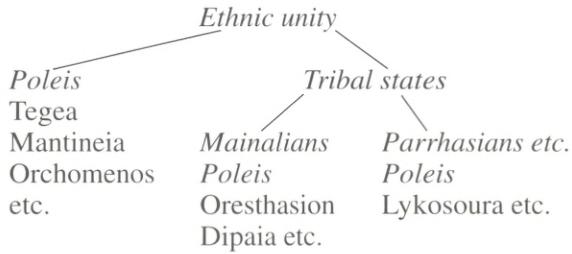
48. Bathos (Callmer 18, Meyer *RE* Suppl. XI [1968] col. 1031], Hejnic 15, Jost 170)

49. Basilis (Callmer 18, Meyer col. 1031, Jost 170)

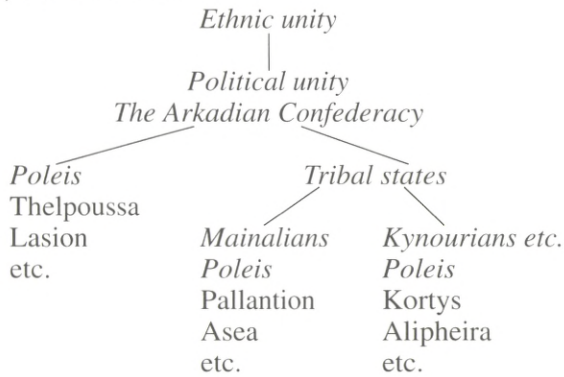
50. Kypsela (Meyer 1031)

Figure 2
 Diachronical View of the Structure of
 the Arkadian Ethnos

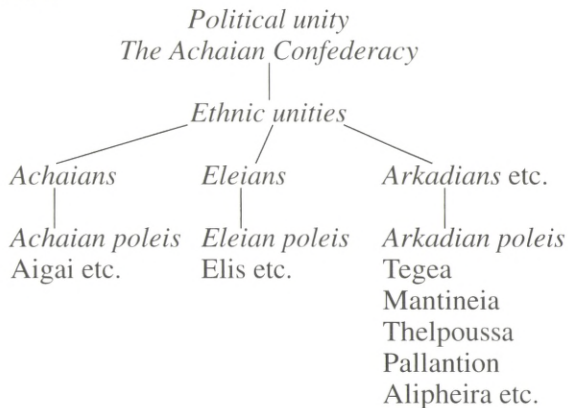
The fifth century



The federal period, ca. 370-324



The Hellenistic period



Map 1
 Cities with Attested City-Ethnics



Map 2
The (Supposed) Locations of Mainalian Cities



Notes

1 M.H. Hansen, “Boiotian *Poleis*. A Test Case”, in M.H. Hansen (ed.), *Sources for the Ancient Greek City-State*. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabernes Selskab, Historisk-filosofiske Meddelelser 72 (Copenhagen 1995), Appendix II, 45-51.

I use the term *city-ethnic* to refer to ethnics such as Θηβαῖος, Ἀθηναῖος, Μαντινεύς, Μιλήσιος κτλ., i.e. ethnics that refer to *towns* in contradistinction to *regional ethnics* such as Βοιωτός, Ἀρκάς, Θετταλός κτλ., that refer to regions, and *demotics* such as the Attic “*demotika*” (Μελιτεύς, Παιανιεύς, Ἐλευσίνιος κτλ.) and the Argive “*kometika*” (Κλεωναί, Μυκάννα, Πρόσσημα) that refer to subdivisions of a city-state, and *tribal ethnics* such as Ἀκρόρειος, Παρράσιος, Μαινάλιος κτλ., that refer to areas inside regions.

I would like to thank my respondent Dr. James Roy, Dr. M.H. Hansen, Dr. A. Keen, and the other participants in the symposium for their helpful criticisms and proposals. I would also like to thank Dr. Y.A. Pikoulas, who kindly discussed topographical questions with me.

2 Tribal ethnic: e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 1.1.2: ἀναβαίνει οὖν ὁ Κῦρος λαβῶν ... Ξενίαν Παρράσιον. Regional ethnic: e.g. Thuc. 5.49.1: Ἀνδροσθένης Ἀρκάς. City-ethnic: e.g. Xen. *Anab.* 3.1.31: Ἀγασίας Στυμφάλιος. Civic subdivisions: see N.F. Jones, *Public Organization in Ancient Greece* (Philadelphia 1987) 132-142 (Arkadia).

The most important later source for Arkadian city-ethnics is Stephanos of Byzantium. However, he seems to have generated quite a lot of Arkadian ethnics; for this problem in Stephanos in general, see D. Whitehead, “Site-Classification and Reliability in Stephanos of Byzantium”, in D. Whitehead (ed.), *From Political Architecture to Stephanus Byzantius*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1. *Historia Einzelschriften* 87 (1994) 99-124.

Stephanos has ethnics of the following cities not discussed here: Akakesion (56.5), Akontion (61.15), Allante (76.1), Amilos (85.18), Anthana (95.15), Aulon (147.7), Basilis (160.5), Brenthe (185.10), Charisiai (688.20), Delphousia (225.3), Deraia (226.4), Diopie (233.10), Enispe (271.1), Eugeia (284.10), Gatheai (195.9), Haimoniai (50.4), Hermoupolis (278.9), Kalliai (349.5), Kaous (355.13), Lykaia (420.13), Lykoa (421.13), Lyle (422.19), Mainalos (426.6), Makareai (427.7), Manthylrea (431.1), Melainai (441.6), Nede (471.13), Nymphas (479.3), Nonakris (479.20), Onkeion (482.22), Oios (487.5), Oichalia (487.18), Parrhasia (508.18), Paroreia (509.7), Petrosaka (519.19), Pylai (539.19), Rhipie (545.17), Skias (574.14), Skiros (575.7), Skirtonion (576.7), Soumatia (586.10), Stratia (586.2), Schoinous (596.1), Thokneia (320.24), Thyreion (320.13), Trapeza (631.7), Trikolonoi (635.3), Phalaisiai (655.5), Phalanthos (655.14), Phegeia (663.5), Phrixa (672.12), Zoiteion (297.11).

3 I have arranged the attestations of the respective city-ethnics in the manner used by the Copenhagen Polis Centre. Thus an attestation is classed as “internal” if it originates from organs of the *polis* (e.g. ἔδοξε τοῖς Μαντινεῦσι, *SEG* 37 340) or if it is used by a citizen and is used *inside* the *polis*. An “individual” use is the use of the city-ethnic as part of a personal name (Πειθίας Ἐξαινέτου Μαντινεύς, *IG* II² 9282); this use is very rare inside the *polis*. “Collective” uses denote the citizen-body, as in e.g. ἔδοξε τοῖς Ἀλκαιοῖς and thus I take the legend of the Achaian federal bronze coins (and other coinages) as examples of the internal use of the ethnic, as these coins were struck by the individual cities, not the federation. See A. Aymard, *Les assemblées de la confédération Achaïenne* (Paris

1938) 167 note 6; for the date (2nd century) of these coins, see H. Chantraine, “Der Beginn der jüngeren achäischen Bundesprägung”, *Chiron* 2 (1972) 175-191. Attestations are classed as “external” when they originate from organs or writers etc. outside of the *polis*, or from the *polis* itself or its citizens themselves, but are used outside of the *polis*, e.g. *IvO* 16.17, an Elean decree concerning Skillous and mentioning the Mantineians; *IG* I³ 1871, a gravestone of a Tegeates erected in Athens.

On the different forms of the Alean city-ethnic, see J. Roy, “Ethnics of Northeastern Arcadia (Pheneos, Caphyae and Alea)”, *Athenaeum* n.s. 50 (1972) 330-336; and Laurent Dubois, *Recherches sur le dialecte arcadien. 2. Corpus dialectal* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986) 186. References to “Dubois” are to this work.

4 Earlier arguments that *IvO* 30 belongs to Alea: R. Weil, “Vau auf elischen Inschriften”, *ZfN* 7 (1880) 117-120, pointed out that the earliest instance of missing digamma (*IvO* 30 has Ἰάλεϊοῖς, not Φάλεϊοῖς) in the city-ethnic of Elis is at the turn of the 4th century (the reference is to *IvO* 295, but even this inscription has been attributed to Alea [see below]; and digamma is found in both toponym and ethnic in the Elean decree *SEG* 12 371 from 242 BC); so, as the Athenian honorand lived in the 5th-4th century (see *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II s.v. Δίφυλος 8), *IvO* 30 must belong to Alea. The aspiration of ἰύύν, too, is against the attribution of *IvO* 30 to Elis. See R. Meister, *Die Griechischen Dialekte* II, 79 and C.D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (London 1955) 155.

The archaic enactment formula of Elis: *IvO* 2, 9, 10, 11, 16. The proxeny decree for Theotimides: *SEG* 15 241.

5 See Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 242-247; G. Thür & H. Taeuber, *Processrechtliche Inschriften Der Griechischen Poleis. Arkadien* (Wien 1994) (=IPArk) 284 do not discuss Dubois’ reading of line 19 καὶ τὰ Εὐμήλω, but on the interpretation there offered, Eumelos was a citizen (or had been). Epitaphs from Alipheira: *SEG* 11 1139-41 and Dubois (*supra* n. 3) AL.3. For the amnesty of 273 BC, see IPArk no. 24, p. 279 (= *SEG* 25 447); J. Roy, “When Did Cleonymus Liberate Alipheira?”, *Talanta* 4 (1972) 39-45, dates this inscription to the period after 199/8 on the ground that it shows Alipheira as a *polis*; however, as shown below, Alipheira was probably always a *polis*, and thus this argument is not valid. On the contrary, since the inscription is in pure Arkadian dialect (as Roy himself notes), it should be dated to the 3rd century (as commonly done), since the Arkadian dialect fell out of use in the 2nd century, whereas a rough count of Arkadian inscriptions shows that half of all 3rd century inscriptions still use the dialect.

6 See D.W. Bradeen, “Inscriptions from Nemea”, *Hesperia* 35 (1966) 321.

7 The ethnic on the Achaian federal bronze coin, [ΑΧΑΙΩ]Ν ΕΥΑΕΩΝ (for which see *NC* 1917 p. 319), is different from that given by Stephanos and so is that found in *SEG* 30 377 which simply means that Stephanos has generated his ethnic, see Whitehead (*supra* n. 2) 103-105.

Ernst Meyer: *RE* s.v. Orchomenos col. 898. Eua as an Arkadian community: J. Roy, *Studies in the History of Arcadia in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods* (diss. Cambridge 1968) 35-36.

8 Theopompos on Arkadia: see frags. 33, 60, 69, 77, 119, 175, 215, 242, 243, 244, 269, 323, 343, 344. An interesting treatment of these fragments and the problems they raise is S. Dušanić, “On Theopompos’ *Philippica* VI-VIII”, *Aevum* 51 (1977) 27-36.

9 For the different forms of the city-ethnic of Helisson, see L. Dubois, “À propos d’une nouvelle inscription Arcadienne”, *BCH* 112 (1988) 288-90.

10 See IPArk (*supra* n. 5) no. 9, p. 100.

11 *IG* V.2 415 = IPArk (*supra* n. 5) no. 23 = Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 235-36.

12 On the different forms of the city-ethnic of Kaphyai, see Roy (*supra* n. 3).

13 *IG* V.2 371-386, *SEG* 24 287-88.

14 “Kortys” is the epichoric form of the name; “Gortys” is found in literature; see Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 287.

The nearest parallel to the reading of *IG* I² is *IG* I³ 741: [?....]θεος ἀνέθεκεν / [? ho Σε]-κυνόνιος. Lazzarini no. 29 is an exact parallel to the reading of *IG* I³: Δίκα[ι]ος / Εὐροπ[ί]δο / ἀνέθεκε τέ[ι] θεῶι.

15 The only epitaph from the city is late Hellenistic; it has name + patronymic + χαῖρε; *SEG* 24 289.

16 Arkadian claim to Lasion in the 390s: Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30. Lasion a member of the Arkadian Confederacy: Xen. *Hell.* 7.4.12. Lasion as an Arkadian community: Roy (*supra* n. 7) 39-40.

17 See *IG* V.2 389, 390, 395.

18 Civic subdivisions of Mantinea: Jones (*supra* n. 2) 133-35. *IG* V.2 278 as a dedication by officials: see *IG* comm. *ad loc.*

19 *Horoi*: *IG* V.2 315-17. They may represent *horoi* of private estates since the most likely reading of 316 is ὄρ(ος) + a personal name.

20 See Jones (*supra* n. 2) 135.

21 See Jones (*supra* n. 2) 135-38.

22 Plain personal name: *IG* V.2 447, 448, 478, 479, 482. Personal name + patronymic: *IG* V.2 432.3, 437.438. *latus reversum* 16, 18, 439 *passim*, 440.441 *passim*, 442 *passim*, 443.444.445 *passim*, 453.1, 468. Personal name + patronymic + city-ethnic: *IG* V.2 436.3-4, 437.438.22-23, *SEG* 36 379. Officials: *IG* V.2 440.441.1.

23 On the proposed dates for the civic coinage of Methydrion, see *RE* s.v. Methydrion col. 1390; see also M. Moggi, “Il sinecismo di Megalopoli”, *ASNP* 3.4 (1974) 93 n. 72. For the close relations between Methydrion and Orchomenos, see *RE* s.v. Methydrion col. 1389, *IG* V.2 344 and Paus. 8.27.4. Date of Orchomenian coinage: Head *HN*² 451. R. Weil, “Nochmals das altarkadische Gemeinwesen”, *ZfN* 29 (1912) 139-46, also dates the Methydrion coinage to the 4th century (370-323).

24 See Dubois (*supra* n. 3) 166 *ad loc.*

25 See Dubois (*supra* n. 3) O.15, 16, 17, *IG* V.2 348.349, 350.

26 The inscription *SEG* 17 829, containing accounts of *tamiai*, has been attributed to Orchomenos (see *SEG* 33 320); if correct, this only corroborates the conclusion here reached: in l. 1 the eponymous *damiorgos* is mentioned solely by personal name, and all other persons mentioned in the accounts are treated likewise, though acting in an official capacity.

27 Dubois (*supra* n. 3) P.1, 2, *SEG* 11 1085.

28 See R. Sherk, *ZPE* 83 (1990) 264. On the different forms of the Pheneatan city-ethnic, see Roy (*supra* n. 3).

29 See Dubois (*supra* n. 3) comm. *ad loc.*: “les autres personnages sans ethnique doivent être des Phigaliens.”

30 Dedicators using the bare personal name: see Dubois (*supra* n. 3) PHI.1 and PHI.4. Funerary monuments: see *IG* V.2 426, 427.428, Dubois PHI.7, 8, 9, *SEG* 23 246, 247, 248, 249, 250.

31 Funerary monuments from Stymphalos: Ph. Harding & H. Williams, “Funerary Inscriptions from Stymphalos”, *ZPE* 93 (1992) 57-66.

32 Civic subdivisions of Tegea: Jones (*supra* n. 2) 139-42. Public documents arranged by phyletic headings: see *IG* V.2 36, 38-41. Lists of fallen warriors: see *IG* V.2 173, 174.

33 On this, see Whitehead (*supra* n. 2) 106 note 22.

34 On the other inscriptions in the museum of modern Dimetsana, see *IG* V.2 p. 126 19-25, *SEG* 36 386.

35 See *SEG* 11 1124-1134, *SEG* 22 325 and Dubois (*supra* n. 3) THE.2.

36 I assume here that all the material treated relates to the same Thisoa, the one by Orchomenos, see Paus. 8.27.4; this is also the opinion of Chr. Callmer, *Studien zur Geschichte Arkadiens bis zur Gründung des arkadischen Bundes* (Lund 1943) 11, and S. Dušanić, *The Arkadian League of the Fourth Century* (Belgrade 1970) 329, n. 100.

We cannot, however, be completely certain that this is correct, since there were two cities called Thisoa in Arkadia: one is situated slightly west of Methydrion at Karkalou; this is the city which has produced *IG* V.2 510-11, two Hellenistic decrees of the *polis* of the Thisoaioi; the second is the Kynourian, probably located at modern Lavda, where excavations have been carried out recently (see *BCH* 104.2 [1980] p. 610 for a plan of the site, *BCH* 110.2 [1986] p. 693, and *AR* 1986-87 21, 1987-88 23, 1988-89 33). A sherd inscribed ΘΙΣ has been found, which seems to guarantee the identification of this site with Thisoa. The identification furthermore fits Pausanias' description of the city as πρὸς Λυκαίῳ (8.27.4). The town is fortified and so is the akropolis. The urban remains are Hellenistic.

The Thisoa at Karkalou seems to have been a somewhat substantial settlement, and was clearly a *polis* from the 4th century onwards, if all sources ascribed to it in fact belong to it. All sources dealing with a Thisoa are traditionally ascribed to this Thisoa. And so the only written information on Kynourian Thisoa comes from Pausanias, who includes it in the list at 8.27, but describes it as a *kome* in his day. Thus, it is impossible to say anything about the status of Kynourian Thisoa in the classical period. But in fact the Hellenistic federal coinage could belong to the former Kynourian Thisoa.

The publication of the work carried out by the Dutch at Lavda has begun in the journal of the Netherlands institute at Athens, *Pharos*. Volume I (1993) contains: G.J.-M.J. te Riele, "Pourquoi des recherches á Lavda?" 177-181; J.J. Feije, "Lavda. History of the Site" 183-199; Y.C. Goester, "The Landscape of Lavda" 201-207. Volume II (1994) contains: Y.C. Goester, "Lavda. Outside the Circuit Walls" 39-48; J.J. Feije, "Lavda. The Site, the Walls" 49-89. So far, no secure chronological conclusions have been reached, but it seems that the walls date to the Hellenistic period.

37 The provenance of *SEG* 36 388, a dedication of the 3rd century with just the personal name, is given as: THISOA?, by *SEG*.

38 In *SEG* 18 157, I follow the reading of Dubois (*supra* n. 3) AS.1 in reading Παρπυλαῖος and not Παραπυλαῖος; Dubois gives a facsimile. For Παρπυλαῖος as the ethnic of Πύλαι, see E. Meyer, "Arkadisches", *MH* 14 (1957) 81 and Dubois 221-22.

39 Nestane a village in Mantinike: see N.H. Demand, *Urban Relocation in Archaic and Classical Greece* (Bristol 1990) 68. For Helisson as a dependent *polis* of Mantinea, see Hansen (*supra* n. 1). The source for Helisson's status as a dependent *polis* of Mantinea is *SEG* 37 340.

40 Thucydides uses Παρράσιοι at 5.33.1 and Μαινάλιοι at 5.67.1 and 5.77.1; Xenophon uses Εὐτρήσιοι at *Hell.* 7.1.29 and Παρράσιοι at *Hell.* 7.1.28. The federal document is *IG* V.2 1, which has Μαινάλιοι in 1. 16 and Κυνούριοι in 1. 40. Strabo refers to several Arkadian *ethne* at 8.8.1: δοκεῖ δὲ παλαιότατα ἔθνη τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἶναι τὰ Ἀρκαδικά, Ἀζάνεζ τε καὶ Παρράσιοι καὶ ἄλλοι τοιοῦτοι. Roy (*supra* n. 7) 135 states as a fact about the tribal state that it "united several communities in an ethnic relationship ..."

James Roy, "Tribalism in Southwestern Arcadia in the Classical Period", *Acta Antiqua* 20 (1972) 43-51 is the modern standard work on these tribal states; he provides ample re-

ferences to other literature. Roy exemplifies the modern practice of referring to our groups as “tribes.” His views are accepted by M. Jost, “Villages de l’Arcadie antique”, *Ktema* 11 (1986) 150-52. The tribal states are briefly discussed by H.J. Gehrke, *Jenseits von Athen und Sparta. Das Dritte Griechenland und seine Staatenwelt* (München 1986) 112 and 154; he understands them as either “Dorfverbände” or as “Mini-Föderationen, aus denen sich kleinere Poleis zuhelfend herauslösten...” There is a brief study by Y.A. Pikoulas, “Μαϊνάλοι καὶ Παρράσιοι. Πολιτική χειραγώγηση καὶ χειραφέτηση”, *Πρακτικά Β' Τοπικού Συνεδρίου Αρκαδικών Σπουδών* (Athens 1990).

Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4) fr. 162 reads: Μαίναλος δὲ ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας. ἐν ᾧ ἡ Ἀταλάντη διῆγεν, ἀπὸ Μαϊνάλου Ἀρκάδος, ὃς ψησιν Ἑλλάνικος. Jacoby (comm. ad loc.) seems to prefer the interpretation that τοῦ Ἀρκάδος is an ethnic rather than a patronymic. J. Hejnic, *Pausanias the Perieget and the Archaic History of Arcadia* (Prague 1961) 29, on the other hand seems to interpret it as a patronymic. This is an attractive interpretation, and perhaps the most likely, since one would not expect characters to be designated by the regional ethnic “Arkas” in a work entitled Περὶ Ἀρκαδίας. Hiller v. Gaertringen (*RE* II² 1159) also interprets the passage to mean that Mainalos was a son of the eponymous hero Arkas.

41 The quotations are from Roy (*supra* n. 40) 43, 48.

42 I leave out of consideration the settlements of Skiritis and Aigytis, as these areas were until the synoecism of Megalopolis Lakedaimonic perioikic communities, see Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 61-62; P. Cartledge *Sparta and Lakonia* (London 1979) 103, 126; P. Cartledge & A. Spawforth *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta* (London 1989) 4-5, 14; Callmer 19-20 gives a short review of the settlements of Aigytis; Skiritis is treated at *RE* 2.III.1 536-37. I also leave out the Heraieis/Heraia as it is unlikely that they were a tribe, as Roy (*supra* n. 40) thinks. That a synoecism occurred at some stage in Heraian history is not a proof that the *polis* was created by that synoecism since synoecisms occurred that did not create, but strengthen existing *poleis*, as at Olynthos and Thebes, see Demand (*supra* n. 39) 74-85; in Arkadia itself Mantinea is a possible example of a *polis* strengthened, not created, by synoecism, see Demand 67-68. Callmer 49-53 does not treat the Heraieis as a tribe. Moreover, Heraia is mentioned by Ps.-Skylax at 44 as one of the major urban centres of Arkadia; the author does not include Megalopolis in his list of μεγάλαι πόλεις, a fact which seems to indicate that the final redaction of chapter 44 took place before Megalopolis had developed into a significant city; it is perhaps not unreasonable, then, to consider 362 BC the *terminus ante quem* for the redaction of chapter 44, since in that year Epameinondas could count on support from Megalopolis for the battle of Mantinea (see Xen. *Hell.* 7.5.5). The fact that Heraia could be considered an urban centre on a par with Tegea and Mantinea in the 360s (or even before) seems to me to seriously question the idea that the city was created by synoecism only in 370 BC.

It is possible, but (I think) unlikely that Μεγάλη Πόλις was originally in Ps.-Skylax 44, but dropped out due to the proximity of αἱ μεγάλαι αἶδε; see *GGM* I p. 40 note *ad* 44. To have been affected by αἱ μεγάλαι αἶδε, Megalopolis must have been the first item in the list, but since the list is only partially laid out on in a geographical way, it is far from certain that Megalopolis would have been placed first. But even if this is the case, Xen. *Hell.* 3.2.30, 3.3.1 are a very strong indication that Heraia was an urban site in the 390s, as is Ps.-Skylax’ use of the toponym.

43 I follow the readings of M.H. Rocha-Pereira in the Teubner edition. The most important consequences of this is that Asea and Iasaia are included, but Alea left out.

44 Pausanias calls the list given at 8.27 a κοινὸν δόγμα in 8.27.5 and 6.12.8. For the

view that Pausanias' list represents the original federal decree: see Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 16, Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 34, Dušanić (*supra* n. 36) 319-20 and Roy (*supra* n. 40) 45 n. 14; Hiller von Gærtringen (*RE* XV col. 130) believes that Pausanias' list depends ultimately on Aristotle's ἡ κοινὴ Ἀρκάδων πολιτεία; accepted by Dušanić 330. For the view that Pausanias' list reflects later territorial ambitions of Megalopolis, see Moggi (*supra* n. 23) 71-107, 98; Demand (*supra* n. 39) 113. T.H. Nielsen, "Was Eutaia a *Polis*? A Note on Xenophon's Use of the Term *Polis* in the *Hellenika*" in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub (eds.), *Studies in the Ancient Greek Polis*. Papers from the Copenhagen Polis Centre 2. *Historia Einzelschriften* 95 (Stuttgart 1995) 85 with n. 16; see also B. Niese, "Beiträge zur Geschichte Arkadiens", *Hermes* 34 (1899) 520-552, 540-41. That Megalopolis did acquire new cities after the original synoecism seems to be proved by Plutarch *Life of Philopoimen* 13: ... ὁ Φιλοποίμην ἀπέστησε πολλὰς τῶν περιοικίδων κωμῶν, λέγειν διδάξας ὡς οὐ συνετέλουν οὐδ' ἦσαν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἐκείνων ... The phrase "and that they were not theirs from the beginning," must mean, if correct, that they had been acquired by Megalopolis subsequent to the synoecism.

45 For the view that tribal borders fluctuated, see Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 50; Roy (*supra* n. 40) 46 with n. 22 (the source of the quotation) dismisses this theory.

46 Name of Mainalian territory: Thuc. 5.64.3. Paus.: Mainalia: 3.11.7; Mainalon: e.g. 8.27. 2 et 3. The known or supposed locations of the Mainalian cities are shown on map 2. Tribal ethnic as part of a personal name: see *IvO* 164 (372 BC, Moretti s.v no. 408); see also *IvO* 158.2, Phlegon (*FGrHist* 415) frag. 1.16, Paus. 5.25.7, 5.27.1 et 2 et 7, 6.6.1, 6.9.2, Schol. in Ar. *Vesp.* 1191b. Games ἐμ Μαινάλῳι: *SEG* 17 150. It is, of course, possible that the expression ἐμ Μαινάλῳι refers to the particular city called Mainalos. It is interesting to note that the only thing Pausanias has to say about the city of Mainalos is: λείπεται δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἔτι ἐρείπια Μαινάλου, ναοῦ τε σημεῖα Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ στάδιον ἐς ἀθλητῶν ἀγῶνα καὶ τὸ ἔτερον αὐτῶν ἐς ὕππων δρόμον (8.36.8). Mainalian oecists of Megalopolis: Paus. 8.27.2. Mainalian communities to be absorbed by Megalopolis: Diod. 15.72.4, Paus. 8.27. Mainalian membership of Arkadian Confederacy: *IG* V.2 1.16.

47 Συμμαχίς at Thuc. 5.33 is an emendation of συμμαχία, the MSS reading. If kept, the MSS reading does not affect the argument here. Parrhasians made *autonomoi* by Sparta: see Thuc. 5.33.3.

48 See Thuc. 5.67.1. See also *HCT* III 625 ad 4.134.

49 Orchomenos' surrender to the quadruple alliance: see Thuc. 5.61.5, and *HCT* IV 136. We do not know why the hostages were kept at Argos, but it is reasonable to suppose that the deposition was occasioned by the war in Arkadia.

50 That Mantinea subdued Mainalian communities is also assumed by Gehrke (*supra* n. 40) 110. Mantineian aggression against the Mainalians is also suggested by the transference of the bones of the hero Arkas from Mt. Mainalon to Mantinea. The transference is mentioned by Pausanias at 8.9.3 and 8.36.8 and explained as ordered from Delphi, and an oracle to this effect is quoted. Pausanias does not date the transference, but the 5th century is assumed by Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 29 and by M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d' Arcadie* (Paris 1985) 128. This is the most likely date, since it is reasonable to interpret this transference as a diplomatic expression of aggression and of a Mantineian claim to the leadership of Arkadia, and the period ca. 425-418 is the only period for which Mantineian aggressiveness of this kind is attested in good sources. Some kind of aggression is, perhaps, to be inferred from the treaty of Mantinea with Helisson by which Helisson is in fact absorbed by Mantinea. The dates proposed for this treaty (= *SEG* 37 340) vary from 418 to 370. It is not entirely impossible, however, that the transference should be dated to the pe-

riod after the Battle of Mantinea in 362. After that battle the Arkadian Confederacy broke into two parts, one of which was headed by Mantinea, the other by Megalopolis (see Dušančić [*supra* n. 36] 307-311); Megalopolis certainly exploited the Arkadian nationalism evidenced by Xenophon (*Hell.* 7.1.23-24) (e.g. by striking coins inscribed APK and laying out lists of Lykaionikai not with Arkadian city-ethnics but with the regional ethnic Ἀρκάδας), and perhaps Mantinea did the same.

For the transference of the bones of a hero as a diplomatic expression of aggressiveness, the history of Sparta offers two good parallels in the transferees of the bones of Orestes and Teisamenos. See G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Origin of the Peloponnesian War* (London 1972) 96, and D.M. Leahy, "The Bones of Tisamenus", *Historia* 4 (1955) 26-38.

The original grave of Arkas seems to have been near the city of Mainalos (Paus. 8.36.8), and the lack of importance of this city is perhaps due to this transference of the hero's bones.

51 Mainalians included in τῶν πόλεων at Thuc. 5.81.1; see *HCT* IV 148. On Thucydides' use of the term *polis*, see Hansen (*supra* n. 1) 39-45.

52 We know nothing of importance about *Iasaia*, *Peraithis*, *Soumateion* or *Haimoniai*. Thus these sites are left out of consideration here.

53 Herodotos: 9.11.2. Name of territory: Thuc. 4.134.1. Olympic victor: *IvO* 147.148; Moretti 231. Pherekydes: (*FGrHist* 3) frag. 135a. Eur. *Or.* 1273-75. 4th century attestation of city-ethnic: *SEG* 20 716 (a payment by the city of Kyrene to Δαμαθίδας Ὀρεσθάσιος). It is worth noting that the treaty between Mantinea, Elis, Argos and Athens recorded by Thuc. 5.47 contains a stipulation in paragraph 6, which indicates that the Mantineian allies (= Mainalians, as argued above) possessed territories; the reference is probably to the *polis* territories of the individual Mainalian communities, but it might refer to the tribal territory; this is perhaps very unlikely, since the Mainalian tribe was split in two at this time.

54 Excavation of Asea: E. Holmberg, *The Swedish Excavations at Asea in Arcadia* (Lund 1944). Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418 and Holmberg 168. Delphic *theorodokos*: *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii l. 64. In the summer of 1995 a Swedish team directed by Jeanette Forsén began new investigations at Asea. The team was able to establish that the city was always situated on the site of its present ruins, although Holmberg thought that the archaic and classical city was situated elsewhere. The team made archaic and classical finds. Jeanette Forsén is now inclined to date the wall of the akropolis to the 5th century.

I take membership of the Achaian Confederacy as a proof of the *polis*-ness of the city in question. It is clear that Polybios considered the individual members of this confederacy to be *poleis* (see e.g. 3.37.11 ... κατά πόλεις). Thus, of the 43 cities listed by B.V. Head as striking federal coins, Polybios explicitly calls no less than 27 *poleis*: see Head *HN*² 418-19 with Polybios: ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΙΡΑΤΩΝ/ 2.41.8 & 4.57.5: ἡ τῶν Αἰγείρατων πόλις; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΙΓΕΩΝ/ 2.41.8 & 4.57.5: τῆς Αἰγέων..πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΡΥΝΕΩΝ/ 2.41.8; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΔΥΜΑΙΩΝ/ 2.41.8 & 5.3.2: τῆ τῶν Δυμαίων πόλει; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΠΕΛΛΑΝΕΩΝ/ 2.41.8 & 4.8.4: τῆς Πελλανέων πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΙΚΥΩΝΙΩΝ/ 5.27.3 & 4.57.5: τῆς..Σικυωνίων πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΛΕΙΑΣΙΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙΩΝ/ 2.61.6: τὴν Κορινθίων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΡΕΩΝ/ 2.43.5: τὴν Μεγαρέων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ/ 2.64.1: τῆ Ἀργείων πόλει; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΛΕΩΝΝΑΙΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΠΙΔΑΥΡΕΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΕΡΜΙΟΝΕΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΙΦΕΙΡΕΩΝ/ 4.77.10: τὴν Ἀλιφειρέων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΑΦΥΕΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΚΛΕΙΤΟΡΙΩΝ/ 4.18.12: τῆ τῶν Κλειτορίων πόλει; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΗΡΑΙΕΩΝ/ 4.78.2: τὴν τῶν Ἡραίων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΕΩΝ/ 2.58.4 & 2.54.11: τὴν τῶν

Μαντινέων...πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ/ 9.26a.2: τὴν τῶν Μεγαλοπολι-
τῶν πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΕΝΕΩΝ/ 2.52.2; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΦΙΓΑΛΛΕΩΝ/ 4.3.5: τὴν τῶν Φιγα-
λέων πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΣΤΥΜΦΑΛΙΩΝ/ 4.69.1: τῆς τῶν Στυμφαλίων πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙ-
ΩΝ ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ/ 2.54.6: τὴν τῶν Τεγεατῶν πόλιν; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΘΕΛΠΟΥΣΙΩΝ/
2.54.13; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΑΛΕΙΩΝ/ 20.3.1: τῆς τῶν Ἡλείων πόλεως; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΥΠΙΑΝΕΩΝ/
4.77.9; ΑΧΑΙΩΝ ΜΕΣΣΑΝΙΩΝ/ 4.4.3.

The following cities are not mentioned by Polybios: Pagai, Tenea, Alea, Asea, Kallistai, Dipaia, Teuthis, Thisoa and Koroneia in Messenia. The following are for some reason not called *poleis*: Helisson, Kortys, Lousoi, Methydrion, Pallantion (called *metropolis*) and Asine. Since the work by Head, federal bronze coins of Eua (for which see *NC* 1917 p. 319), Psophis and Troizen (see Chantraine, *JNG* 8 [1957] 70) have come to light; Eua is not mentioned by Polybios; Psophis is called *polis* at 4.70.5; Troizen is called *polis* at 2.52.2.

That the individual members of the Achaian Confederacy were *poleis* in their own right is also generally acknowledged by modern scholarship. See e.g. G. Busolt, *Griechische Staatskunde* (Munich 1926) 1311 with notes 1 and 2; J.O.A. Larsen, *Representative Government in Greek and Roman History* (Los Angeles 1966) 23, and *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 220, 226, 232, 234, 237; R.M. Errington, *Philopoemen* (Oxford 1969) 5 (see also 91); Aymard (*supra* n. 3) e.g. 165; W.W. Tarn & G.T. Griffith, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (New York 1951) 73; F.W. Walbank, *The Hellenistic World* (Glasgow 1981, and London 1993) 155; P. Green, *Alexander to Actium. The Hellenistic Age* (London 1990) 139-40, 248. Chantraine (*supra* n. 3) takes for granted throughout his article that the individual members were states in themselves, see e.g. 183. P.J. Rhodes, "The Greek *Poleis*: Demes, Cities and Leagues", in M.H. Hansen (ed.) *The Ancient Greek City-State. Acts of the Copenhagen Polis Centre 1* (Copenhagen 1993) 176. It is, furthermore, proved by epigraphical evidence: see e.g. *Syll.*³ 529, a grant of citizenship by Dyme to some soldiers; it refers to Dyme as πόλις in line 6 and 10. In *Syll.*³ 530 Dyme again refers to itself as πόλις in line 6. In 531 we find in line 1 τὰ πόλι, in 2 [Δυμιαί[ων τὰς πόλιος] (for a discussion of the *polis*-ness of the federal members and these inscriptions, see P.J. Rhodes "Sources for establishing *Polis* Identity. Epigraphical Evidence: Laws and Decrees", in Hansen (ed.) (*supra* n. 1) 99.

55 Xenophon: *Hell.* 6.5.12: ὁ δὲ Ἀγησίλαος, ἐπεὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῶ τὰ διαβατήρια, εὐθὺς ἐχώρει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀρκαδίαν. καὶ καταλαβὼν πόλιν ὁμορον οὕσαν Εὐταίαν, καὶ εὐρῶν ἐκεῖ τοὺς μὲν πρεσβυτέρους καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τοὺς παῖδας οἰκοῦντας ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις, τοὺς δ' ἐν τῇ στρατευσίμῳ ἡλικίᾳ οἰχομένους εἰς τὸ Ἀρκαδικόν, ὅμως οὐκ ἠδίκησε τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' εἶτα τε αὐτοὺς οἰκεῖν, καὶ ὄνουμένοι ἐλάμβανον ὅσαν δέοιντο. εἰ δέ τι καὶ ἠρπάσθη, ὅτε εἰσῆι εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἐξευρῶν ἀπέδωκε. καὶ ἐπωκοδόμει τὸ τεῖχος αὐτῶν ὅσα ἐδεῖτο κτλ. Xenophon's use of *polis*: Nielsen (*supra* n. 44).

In his new forthcoming edition of the Delphic lists of *thearodokoi*, J. Oulhen proposes the restoration [ἐν Εὐ]τέα at col. II l. 113 in the great 3rd century list (= *BCH* 45 [1921]); if correct, this may be interpreted as an indication that Eutaia was once a *polis*. See P. Perlman, "Θεωροδοκούντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν. Panhellenic *Epangelia* and Political Status", in Hansen (*supra* n. 1) 135.

For the location of Eutaia, see W. Loring, "Some Ancient Routes in the Peloponnese", *JHS* 15 (1895) 50-52.

56 For the inscription, see: *SEG* 37 340, *IPArk* (*supra* n. 5) no. 9. Helisson called *polis*: l. 5 (primarily in the sense of "city-state") and ll. 6-7 (primarily in the sense of "town").

Territory: l. 5 (χώρα). Laws: l. 15. Magistrates: l. 17; it is the most reasonable interpretation that the ἐπιμεληταί referred to are magistrates of Helisson, not Mantinea, because the very next sentence mentions the coming of officials from Mantinea to Helisson. This indicates that the *epimeletai* are supposed already to be in Helisson, and this suggests that they are Heliswasian magistrates. It may have been their duty to prevent metics and slaves from fraudulently getting themselves enrolled as Mantinean citizens and to supervise the registration in general (e.g. by confirming a man's patronymic, etc.).

For the city-ethnic, see above. Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418. Territory: Polyb. 11.11.6. Helisson is mentioned by Diodorus Siculus at 16.39.5, where he calls it a *polis*; the reference is to the 350s.

57 Literature on Pallantion: Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 40–41, Jost (*supra* n. 50) 197–199, *PECS* s.v. Pallantion. Xenophon: *Hell.* 7.5.5. 5th century Delphic *thearodokos*: *REG* 62 (1949) 6–7. Coinage: Head *HN*² 451. Delphic donation: *CID* II 5.21. Treaty with Argos: *SEG* 11 1084. Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418. 3rd century Delphic *thearodokos*: *IG* V.2 xxxvii. col. III. 7.

58 Mainalos: Olympic victor from Mainalos: see Moretti no. 362 (and 377). For the significance of participation in the Olympics, see the contribution of M.H. Hansen in this volume, p. 18 with n. 50. Lykaia: for the possibility that Stephanos reproduces *polis* correctly from Theopompos, see Whitehead (*supra* n. 2) 119, Roy (*supra* n. 7) 160.

59 Herodotos: 9.35.2. Isocrates: 6.99. Olympic victor: Moretti no. 314, Paus. 6.7.9. Verdict in case involving Dipaia: *SEG* 23 179, see Bradeen (*supra* n. 6) 321. Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418. Jost (*supra* n. 40) 152 has pointed out that “Dipaia” is a much better reading than “Dipoina” at Paus. 8.27.7. This reading will testify to the physical survival of Dipaia. Jost proposes a location for Dipaia at modern Davia (see M. Jost, “Pausanias en Megalopolitide”, *REA* 75 [1973] 253 with pl. IX 1, 3).

60 This the opinion of Roy (*supra* n. 40) 48.

61 I leave Phigaleia out of consideration as a tribal community of Azania because the adjective Ἀζᾶνες in the oracle inserted by Pausanias at 8.42.6 is probably merely a poetical auxesis of Ἀρκάδες; a similar usage is found in Euripides (Roy [*supra* n. 40] 44 with n. 6). So it can be left out of the discussion here although its *polis*-ness should not be doubted (for the *polis*-ness of Phigaleia: Hdt. 6.83, *IvO* 161, *CID* II. 4.II 45; Moretti places the Olympic victor Arrhichion early in the 6th century, nos. 95, 99, 102), and although its inclusion among the tribal communities would not alter the conclusions here reached. The oracle is not considered genuine by H.W. Parke & D.E.W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle II* (Oxford 1956) 200–01 (who date it to after 30 BC), or J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) 139, 182, 183, 327–28.

Paion is called *polis* by Herodotos at 6.127. The reference is to the archaic period, and the existence of the town in that period is proved by finds of archaic coins on the site (see Hejnic [*supra* n. 40] 41). In the classical period, Paion was perhaps a dependency of Kleitor. The dependence of Paion upon Kleitor is inferred from Paus. 5.23.7, a dedication by Kleitor in Olympia of spoils taken πολλὰν ἐκ πολλῶν, among which Paion is supposed to have been by von Gaertringen, *IG* V.2 p. 85 l. 106ff.

The fortifications of the akropolis and the town itself date to the 4th century. The urban area shows extensive signs of occupation (see E. Meyer, *Peloponnesische Wanderungen* [Leipzig 1938] 83). In the Hellenistic period a Delphic *thearodokos* resided in the town, see *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii l. 22. Thus nothing contradicts Herodotos' description of the city as a *polis*.

Literature on Paion: Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 41, and *RE* s.v. Paion I. Date of walls and

fortifications, see E. Meyer (*supra*). The Delphic *thearodokos*, see *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii 1. 22.

Psophis: The Olympian dedication on which Psophis refers to itself as a *polis* is *IvO* 294; the inscription is, however, heavily restored, but the restoration is fairly secure since it is based on Pausanias (see *IvO* ad loc.).

Psophis is mentioned by Hekataios, who gives the city-ethnic of the town. So the city must have existed in the archaic period, and this is confirmed by the Psophidian dedication of spoils at Olympia, set up in the 6th century (*SEG* 24 299). Furthermore, “of this city, there are archaic silver coins of the 5th century,” (Head *HN*² 453). Physically, Psophis was a big city; it was walled, had a fortified akropolis and a theatre, though these have not yet been dated. The urban area shows extensive signs of occupation. In the 4th century the city set up a monument in Olympia, on which it called itself a *polis*. In the Hellenistic period the city passed an *asylia* decree for Magnesia, had Delphic *thearodokoi*, had a political union with Elis, was later a member of the Achaian Confederacy, and was described as a *polis* by Polybios. Its border with Thelpoussa was marked by a stele inscribed with ἄρχαῖα γράμματα; thus, Psophis had a defined territory. So, Psophis was a *polis* at least from the 6th century onwards.

Literature on Psophis: Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 15, Hejnic 46-48, *PECS* 741 s.v. Psophis, E. Meyer *RE* XXIII.2 s.v. Psophis 5. Dedications at Olympia: *IvO* 294 (+ Paus. 5.24.2 [undated]). Coinage: Head *HN*² 453; see also *NC* 1921, 172. Delphic *thearodokoi*: *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii ll. 124-25. *Asylia* decree for Magnesia: *I. Magnesia* 38. Union with Elis: Polyb. 4.70.4. Federal membership: *NC* 1921, 172. Polybios’ description: 4.70.2-73.1. Stele at border with Thelpoussa: Paus. 8.25.1.

Pheneos is mentioned in the Homeric *Catalogue of ships* (*Il.* 2.605) (see R.H. Simpson & J.F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer’s Iliad* [Oxford 1970] 91). In the early 5th century the city was the location of athletic games (*SEG* 30 1456, 39.1365), and in this century the city made a dedication in Olympia (Paus. 5.27.8). The akropolis was fortified, but the fortification has not been dated (see Hejnic 42). It follows from a passage in Herodotos (6.74) that he considered Pheneos a *polis* early in the 5th century, and that this is correct is proved by the occurrence of the city-ethnic in the early 5th century. From the 5th and 4th centuries we have coinage of the city, and in 392 BC the city produced an Olympic victor. In the Hellenistic period, the city had Delphic and Epidaurian *thearodokoi*, *proxenoi* of Argos, of Epidauros, of Delphi and of the Aitolian Confederacy. It passed an *asylia* decree for Magnesia and was a member of the Achaian Confederacy. Polybios mentions the territory of the city and calls it a *polis*. So as far back as our sources can take us, Pheneos seems to have been a *polis*.

Literature on Pheneos: Callmer 12, Hejnic 42-44, *PECS* 701-02 s.v. Pheneos, F. Bölte, *RE* s.v. Pheneos. Herodotos at 6.74 describes Nonakris as a *polis* πρὸς Φενεῶν, from which Hejnic infers that Herodotos considered Pheneos a *polis* too. 5th century attestation of Pheneatan city-ethnic: *SEG* 39 1365. Coinage: Head *HN*² 418, 452. Olympic victor: Morretti no. 380. Delphic *thearodokoi*: *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii ll. 118-19. Epidaurian *thearodokoi*: *IG* IV² 1 96.48, *SEG* 11 414.7. *Proxenoi*: of Argos, *SEG* 30 356, of Aitolia, *IG* IX² 1 22, of Delphi, *FD* III.1.16, 39, 40, 41, 42, of Epidauros, *IG* IV.1² 1 96.48, 71. *Asylia* decree: *I. Magnesia* 38.63. Federal membership: *IG* IV.1² 1 73.13-14, Head *HN*² 418. Polybios: territory, 4.68.1, *polis*, 2.52.2.

Roy (*supra* no. 40) 44 thinks that the development of the Azanian settlements into urban centres was associated with the break-up of the Azanian tribe.

62 The Eutresians: *Trikolonoi* is the only Eutresian community of any interest in this

connection. It has not been located. It is included in Pausanias' list at 8.27. It was perhaps the main settlement of the Eutresians, since its eponymous hero Trikolonos (8.35.5) was considered the father of both Paroreus, eponymous hero of Paroreia (8.35.6), and of Zoiteus, eponymous hero of Zoiteion (8.35.6), and since it is the only Eutresian city for which any additional detail has been preserved; according to Pausanias 8.27.5, the Trikoloneis resisted the federal decision to found Megalopolis, but were forced to join. At 8.35.5 Pausanias says: πόλις δὲ ἦσαν καὶ οἱ Τρικολώνοι ποτε; at 8.18.8 he makes a similar remark about Lousoi for which it is literally true that it was once a *polis*; but even so, we shall have to dismiss this evidence since it has been shown by L. Rubinstein that such remarks are intrinsically unreliable (see L. Rubinstein, "Pausanias as a Source for the Classical *Poleis*", in Hansen & Raaflaub (*supra* n. 44) 211-219). Thus the conclusion should be that it is impossible to say anything about the status of Trikolonoii.

The Eutresians disappeared with the synoecism of Megalopolis, see Dušanić (*supra* 36) 324.

63 See the discussion of Eutaia *supra*.

64 Herodotos 6.127.

65 *Lykosoura* was by common consent the most important town of the Parrhasians. Part of the city-wall has been preserved and dates to the classical period, perhaps to the 5th century (*PECS* s.v. *Lykosoura* and *RE* s.v. *Lykosoura*). The temple of Despoina probably belongs to the late 4th-early 3rd century (see Jost [*supra* n. 50] 175); The only literary source for the city is Pausanias!

The Parrhasian tribal state disappears after the synoecism of Megalopolis, see Dušanić (*supra* 36) 326.

66 See Moggi (*supra* n. 23) 76-77.

67 Kortynian dedication at Delphi: see *SEG* 11 1168. The quotation is from Roy (*supra* n. 40) 49. Kortynian membership of the Achaian Confederacy: see Head *HN*² 418.

68 See Polyb. 4.77.10 and Livy 28.8.6, 32.5.4-5.

69 Literature on Alipheira: Callmer (*supra* n. 36) 17, Hejnic (*supra* n. 40) 12-13. Athena statue to be dated to the 5th century: Jost (*supra* n. 50) 78-79. Date of Athena temple on akropolis: Jost 80. Date of temple of Asklepios: Jost 81. Date of walls: R.L. Scranton, *Greek Walls* (Cambridge, Mass. 1941) 81-82. Ex-votos from the 6th century: Jost 80. Polyb.: 4.77.10-78. Defined territory: *IPArk* (*supra* n. 5) no. 25. International arbitration: *IvO* 48. Federal membership: Head *HN*² 418. Delphic *thearodokos*: *IG* V.2 p. xxxvii l. 28.

70 For the *megalai poleis* of Arkadia, see e.g. Ps.-Skylax 44. These *poleis* are met with very often in Xenophon's *Hellenika*: *Heraia*: 3.2.30, 3.3.1, 6.5.11, 6.5.22; *Kleitōr*: 5.4.36-37; *Stymphalos*: 7.3.1; *Orchomenos*: 4.5.18, 5.1.29, 6.5.15; *Mantineia*: 5.2.1-7, 6.5.4-5; *Tegea*: 3.5.7, 5.1.3 et passim; *Megalopolis*: 7.5.5; and in Polybios (see vol. V *Indices* under the individual cities). Arkadia not politically united before 370: see J.O.A. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1968) 180-195, and Dušanić (*supra* 36) 281-290.

Individual policies of the big *poleis*: *Heraia* concluded an alliance with Elis on its own in the late 6th century (*Syll.*³ 9), *Tegea* fought it out with Sparta on its own in the 6th century (Hdt. 1.65-68), and *Mantineia* joined Argos on its own in 421. A number of Arkadian cities had their own mint in the 5th century, see Head *HN*² 444-456.

71 Thuc. 4.132; Xen. *Hell.* 5.4.36, 6.5.11.

72 Persian Wars: Troops from Tegea, Mantineia and Orchomenos fought at Thermopylai, Hdt. 7.202. Arkadian alliance fighting Sparta: Hdt. 9.35.2.

73 Orchomenos: see Pausanias 8.27.4, Kleitōr: see H. von Gaertringen, *IG* V.2 p. 85 ll. 94-p. 86 l. 10; Jost (*supra* n. 40) 148-49.

74 Thuc. 5.29-81.

75 See e.g. Rhodes (*supra* n. 54 *Demes*); Rhodes does not discuss the Arkadian tribal states.

My suggestion that the Mainalian tribal state was formed from pre-existing *poleis* provoked a good deal of criticism at the symposium, both from my respondent and from others. J. Roy will publish his reponse as “*Polis and Tribe in Classical Arkadia*” (in *Papers from The Copenhagen Polis Centre 3*). I have to admit that my remark about the possible origin of tribalism (fear of big *poleis* such as Mantinea) can be nothing but a suggestion. In fact, the threats posed by the big *poleis* could rather be seen as the reason for the long lives of the tribal states, and not for their origin. So I am not strongly opposed to the idea that the *poleis* of e.g. Mainalia arose *within* the tribal structure. But as my respondent himself pointed out, the very name *Tripolis* (of an insignificant Arkadian grouping presumably synoecized into Megalopolis) suggests a small union of preexisting *poleis* (unless the name refers to a remarkable feature of the landscape). Unfortunately, we cannot date the foundation of the Tripolis. But, let me draw attention to some archaeological evidence which suggests the existence of nucleated settlements in the tribal areas in the late 6th century. In the summer of 1995 a Swedish expedition began new investigations at the site of *Asea*. According to Jeanette Forsén, this expedition has found numerous traces of an archaic settlement on the site of the Hellenistic city. Furthermore, there were a number of temples at *Pallantion* in the 6th century. At *Alipheira*, the temple of Athena was constructed around 500; the walls are from the 5th century. Finally, I would like to draw attention to what I consider an extremely important source: Pausanias (5.23.7) quotes verbatim the inscription on a dedication set up in the late 6th century by the city of Kleitor. The inscription states that Kleitor took spoils πολλὰν ἐκ πολίων. As my respondent has himself suggested in an article (see J. Roy, “An Arcadian League in the Earlier Fifth Century?”, *Phoenix* 26.4 [1972] 339) these “many cities” are best explained as small Arkadian *poleis* near Kleitor. If so, there existed in the north of Arkadia a number of small *poleis* in the 6th century. And so there may well have existed small *poleis* elsewhere in Arkadia, in Mainalia for instance. And thus it is not completely impossible that tribal states were formed from *poleis*. But, as I have already stated, it can only be a suggestion; it is not critical, and the point I want to stress is that tribalism does not exclude *polis*-structure.