THE DOUBLE CITY OF MEGALOPOLIS.

§ 1. It is less easy to forgive Xenophon for telling us so little about the foundation of Megalopolis than for telling us nothing at all about the foundation of Messene. We would give much to know the details of the building of the city on the slopes of Ithome and the synoecism of Messenia; but Megalopolis, in its double character of a federate city and a federal capital, presented such complicated problems that the silence of those who could have best told us how those problems were solved is more aggravating than many of such silences to the curiosity of posterity. In this paper I propose to deal with one problem which seems never to have been quite realised.

§ 2. The investigation of the site conducted seven years ago by the British school confirmed, within less than half a mile, the statement of Polybius that the circumference of the walls was 50 stadia, and showed that the name Megalopolis was not so much a claim to unusual political importance for the new city as an appropriate expression of its unusual dimensions. The circuit of the walls, as traced by Mr. Loring, measured 46 stadia (or $47\frac{1}{2}$, if we add twice the breadth of the river).¹ It is evident that the main reason for not selecting one of the older Arcadian towns as the centre of the Arcadian League, when it was founded in B.C. 371-0, was not, as Grote thought, their mutual jealousies, but rather their small size; and, on the other hand, the motive of the relatively large circuit of Megalopolis was its intended position as capital of the League. Strategically such a large circuit was a weak point, not only because there was more wall to defend, but also because, owing to the expense of building and the necessity of building quickly, a long wall could not be built as solidly and well as a short one. A comparison of the remains of the wall of Megalopolis with those of the wall of Mantinea brings

¹ *Excavations at Megalopolis*, 1890-1891 (*J.H.S. Supp.* i., 1892), p. 114. Measuring the circuit myself on Mr. Loring's plan, I made it out to be nearly 20 stades longer. Having puzzled over this discrepancy, I discovered that he has accidentally given a wrong scale for the stades (in

which 5 stades correspond to about 750 yards). For comparison it may be mentioned that the circuit of Thebes was 43 stades, that of Corinth (not including Acro-Corinth) 40, that of straggling unwall'd Sparta 48.

into relief the second defect;¹ while the difficulty of defence is illustrated in the later history of the town.²

§ 3. We have not sufficient data to enable us to determine the population of Megalopolis. A statement of Diodorus which has been used for this purpose contains an unknown element. In his account of the siege of the city by Polysperchon, the historian states that the number of citizens, slaves, and ξένοι who were able to take part in the defence was 15,000. Now (1) the ξένοι are an unknown quantity, and (2) Diodorus does not tell us how old were the oldest, and how young the youngest, of those males, citizens and slaves, who bore arms in this emergency.³ Instead of attempting to deduce a definite figure, it is safer to infer the magnitude of the population relatively to the other cities of Arcadia from the inscription in honour of the Athenian Phylarchus. This document⁴ has been generally supposed to belong to the third century, and to prove a revival of the Arcadian League. But it really belongs to the first years of the League,⁵ and may be fixed to the years B.C. 368–363.⁶ Of the fifty damiorgi of the Federation who are enumerated, ten are Megalopolitans and nine Mantineans.⁷ The presumption is that this proportion roughly corresponds to the proportion of the respective populations of the two cities. Without pressing the inference too far, we may safely say that, if the only purpose of Megalopolis had been to synoecize the Maenalian and Parrhasians, a city one quarter as large again as Mantinea would have been ample for the need, with room to spare. But the area of Megalopolis is nearly four times⁸ that of Mantinea. It follows that the superfluous space was required for Federal purposes.

§ 4. When the fact is grasped that the magnitude of Megalopolis was determined by its double character, we are soon led on to perceive some difficulties which must have caused anxious and serious meditation to the Arcadian⁹ statesmen who conceived and carried out the plan of its founda-

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 109.

² Polybius, 5, 93. Cp. below § 13.

³ Mr. Woodhouse (*Excavations*, p. 3) uses the figures of Diodorus, and arrives at 'a population of perhaps 65,000' (both freemen and slaves); Beloch (*die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt*, p. 127) calculates 60,000 from the same data; both assume that ξένοι = μέτοικοι. Of course, in any case, the data and the inference refer to the population of the town along with the district (χώρα, Diodor. 18, 70), and not the town alone. I doubt much whether we can implicitly trust the figures of Diodorus.

⁴ Dittenberger, *Syll.* n. 167.

⁵ This has been recognised by Dittenberger, *ib.* p. 661.

⁶ The limits are fixed by the presence of Mantinean, Orchomenian, and Heraean dami-

orgi. The decree must have been prior to the secession of Mantinea, and posterior to the accession of Heraea and Orchomenos. One of the reasons for assigning the later date was the Attic dialect of the inscription. It seems to me that this objection is answered by the inscriptions of Antiochos on the fronts of the seat-backs in the Megalopolitan theatre.

⁷ There are only five Tegeates, and we may infer that their town had declined in numbers. Beloch (*loc. cit.*) is wrong in his statement that Megalopolis sent as many delegates 'as Mantinea and Tegea together.'

⁸ See below § 10.

⁹ Epaminondas often gets the credit for Megalopolis—without any evidence, I think, except the flourish of Pausanias, who says he might rightly be called the oecist of Megalopolis. The fact that he was the actual oecist of Messene,

tion. It was impossible to expect the Parrhasians and Maenalians, who now gave up their old tribal names and took the civic name of Megalopolitans, to undertake the responsibility of defending the whole line of fortification of a town which was far larger than their own needs required. And, on the other hand, the Pan-Arcadian League could not prudently place its buildings and its treasury at the mercy of one of its members. It was manifest that some precautions were necessary for the protection of the League, in case Megalopolis were ever induced to secede.

The interests of the League, as well as the interests of the city, demanded that Megalopolis should be defended not only by the Megalopolitan state, but also by the Pan-Arcadian state; and the demand could be met only by the formation of a corps of federal troops. This is what was done. We find a band of 5,000 soldiers paid by the League, ready for service in any emergency, but quite distinct from the federal host, which gathered to march against an enemy when need called, but dispersed when the campaign was over. It is a legitimate inference that the constant duty of the Eparitoi, or a considerable part of that body, was to act as the garrison of Megalopolis. They were always available for emergencies elsewhere; but it was the existence of the Federal capital that in the first place rendered the formation of the Eparitoi indispensable.

But when the necessity of a Pan-Arcadian garrison for the Pan-Arcadian capital had been recognised, there were many contingencies and dangers arising out of the double character of the town, which it was of great moment to foresee and provide against.

§ 5. Megalopolis possessed one feature in common with the elder Mantinea, which King Agesipolis had rased to the ground. The river Ophis flowed through Mantinea, and by damming it up the Spartan king had succeeded in taking the town. When the Mantineans rebuilt the city in the same months which saw the foundation of Megalopolis, they took good care to keep the fatal river outside their walls by digging a second channel for it, so that the stream divided on the east side, and, embracing the city round about, reunited its waters again in the north-west. Then what had been a weakness became a strength. In the same way the Helisson flowed through Megalopolis: but here there was not the same danger, since the ground was hilly, and not a dead flat like the site of Mantinea. Many Greek cities, perhaps most, were built on rivers; but they were generally skirted or girt by them. It is no common thing to find a fortified city divided by a stream.¹

combined with the support which he gave to the organisation of the Arcadian League, might easily set afloat the idea that he was responsible for Megalopolis too. With our present evidence we are bound, in my opinion, to give the credit of the idea to the Arcadian leaders who were active in organising the federal state. The sending of Pammenes from Thebes to protect

the building of the city proves nothing. See Paus. 8, 27, 2.

¹ Pausanias cites Cnidus and Mytilene; 8, 30, 2. Dirce flowing through Thebes is another instance, but the case is somewhat different. There is no doubt that Dirce was originally outside the walls; the western extension of the city across the stream was comparatively late.

§ 6. It was this river which supplied the founders of the Pan-Arcadian city with a simple means of solving their problem. The meaning of Megalopolis began to dawn on me when I stood on one of the high benches in the theatre and, looking northward, felt driven to ask why the city had crossed the river. It would have been in accordance with the design of other Greek cities if the circuit had been entirely on the southern side of the Helisson, stretching south-eastward over the site of the modern town. Strategical considerations would have emphatically recommended this plan; for, if the northern wall had skirted the south bank of the river, the city would have been strengthened by an additional natural defence on the northern side. The inevitable inference is that there were cogent reasons of a political nature for disregarding the obvious considerations of strategy; and it is obvious that these reasons can only have been connected with the double character of the place. There is no difficulty in drawing the conclusion—

The Helisson divided the Federate city from the Federal capital.

§ 7. The northern half of Megalopolis was the city of Megalopolis in the strict political sense. For its defence the Megalopolitan citizens were responsible, just as the Mantineans were responsible for the defence of Mantinea; and it was as exempt as Mantinea from Federal interference. The Agora was laid out on the north bank, and the Buleuterion was built beside it.¹ This Hall of Council had nothing to do with the League; it was for exclusively Megalopolitan purposes. The councillors who met together there dealt with the affairs of the city; they were in no way concerned with the direction of the affairs of the Federation. When they went to take their place in the Federal Assembly and let their voice be heard in the discussion of Federal affairs, they were obliged to cross by bridge² the river which divided their own city from the Federal capital of Arcadia.

The southern division of Megalopolis was Pan-Arcadian ground. Here were all the Federal buildings and offices. Here stood the great Hall of Council or Assembly, called the Thersilion, in front of the theatre, which might itself be used for holding the meetings of the Ten Thousand. Here the Arcadian citizens, who gathered from all parts of the land to the capital of the League, were lodged, whether in permanent dwelling places, or in temporary tents, like those which served the spectators at the Olympian festival. Here dwelled the Federal magistrates and officers for their term of office here were the Pan-Arcadian treasury and the Pan-Arcadian archives. Here too the Eparittoi must have had their quarters; and it was their duty, in case of an hostile assault, to defend the southern circuit of the walls. Here were ample spaces for the Arcadian throng to group themselves, the folk of each city, we may guess, in a quarter of its own, and to mix together, not only in

¹ Pausanias, 8, 30, 4.

² It is remarkable that no traces of an ancient bridge have been found, and it may be

questioned whether Megalopolis ever had a stone bridge. A wooden bridge seems the most probable hypothesis.

the debates of business, but in the festivities and amusements which would accompany the national meetings.

The temples enumerated by Pausanias throw no light on the matter. Those which he saw on the north side suggest no federal association. On the south he mentions seven: three of these (two to Asclepius, one to Artemis Agrotera) seem to have been still used, the other four were in ruins. Seeing this progress of decay, we cannot be surprised to find no mention of a sanctuary of federal significance, such as one may confidently assume to have existed during the federal period of the history of the city.

§ 8. By this arrangement the sojourners in the Federal capital, with those who came from time to time to attend the Assemblies, as well as the small number of permanent Federal officials, and the military garrison, had all the advantages of living in a city; while the Federation was secured against the danger of Megalopolitan encroachment, against all confusion between Megalopolitan and Pan-Arcadian rights, by the clear and unmistakable boundary of Helisson's stream. In case a party in Megalopolis should ever induce the city to desert the League—and this was a terrible contingency which the founders of the dual town had to face—the Pan-Arcadian capital would indeed be in a serious peril; but it would not without more ado pass into the hands of the seceders, as must have been the case if there had been no physical barrier corresponding to the difference between Megalopolis as a sovran city and Megalopolis as a Federal capital. In such an event the garrison of the southern town could easily maintain itself against the northern until reinforcements from the Arcadian cities arrived; and northern and southern Megalopolis on either bank of their river might conceivably exist side by side, hostile and independent.

§ 9. Thus the river performed a twofold function. It was a barrier which preserved the distinction between the two characters of Megalopolis against obliteration or confusion; and it was also a military defence for the Federal capital against the possible revolt of the city to which it was locally attached. When Megalopolis was to be defended against a common enemy, the river was no hindrance to free communication between the Megalopolitan and the Pan-Arcadian sections of the garrison; one city, and not two, was besieged, one city, and not two, was defended. But, if the Arcadian League were ever threatened by the hostility of Megalopolis itself, then the river would assume a new aspect, and become the northern fortification of the Federal capital, the southern fortification of the revolting city; Megalopolis would break up into two adjacent towns. The Helisson served the purpose of a barrier, without obtruding that purpose as an artificial barrier would have done; the innocent river need not suggest to the dwellers on its northern bank that the Federal government had ever considered the possibility of their defection or the necessity of a line of defence against them.

§ 10. It has been pointed out above that a town one quarter as large again as Mantinea would have been of luxuriously ample size for Megalopolis,

if Megalopolis had not been the Federal capital. Now *the northern city* more than fulfils this condition; for it *is about one third as large again as Mantinea*. I have calculated¹ the areas of Mantinea and the two Megalopolitan towns, by weighing them in accurate scales, as follows:—

Area of Mantinea ²	...	...	...	1,471,512 square yards or (1,230,247 square metres)
Area of Northern Megalopolis ³	...	...	...	1,977,486 square yards
Area of Southern Megalopolis	...	...	...	2,113,238 square yards
Total area of Megalopolis	...	...	...	<u>4,090,724 square yards</u>

§ 11. It is important to remember that the theatre was intended for Arcadia, and not merely for Megalopolis. It was a Federal building, and its construction must have been paid for out of Federal funds. This is proved (1) by its close connexion with the Federal Hall of Assembly—a connexion which is structural and not one of mere proximity; and (2) by its vast size, compared with the little theatre of Mantinea. The Hall of Assembly, affording standing room for 10,000, and the Theatre, capable of seating 20,000,⁴ were part of the same design. The Megalopolitans of course had the advantage of the theatre; when it was not required for Federal purposes, it was available for them; this was one of the advantages to set off against the disadvantages of their close union with the Federal capital. The inscriptions of Antiochus on the backs of the front seats, which belong to the first twenty years of the history of Megalopolis, accord with the Federal character of the theatre. Antiochus is probably the envoy whom the Arcadian League sent up to Susa in B.C. 367. Xenophon describes him as an Arcadian pancratiast; and he is probably the pancratiast of Lepreum mentioned by Pausanias.⁵ This hypothetical identity confirms the view that the benches which Antiochus dedicated in the theatre were a gift to the Pan-Arcadian League and not to the Megalopolitan city.

§ 12. The serious disadvantage in the position of the Megalopolitan state was the prospect which it had to face in case the League were weakened or dissolved. In the latter case the southern town would be thrown entirely into

¹ The calculation depends on the plans of Messrs. Fougères and Loring.

² If Mantinea be treated as an ellipse, the area (πab), calculated from M. Fougères' statement of the lengths of the major and minor axes, would give 1,136,630 metres. The fact that the ellipse is not perfect, being extremely blunted at one side, accounts for the difference in the results. My colleague, Mr. W. E. Thrift, kindly helped me in these calculations.

³ If Polybius had known these measurements he might have used them for further illustration of the geometrical truth which he insists upon,

that the relative sizes of two cities do not correspond to their circuits. The circuit of the wall of the southern town is a little less than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles, that of the northern a little more than 3 miles. The entire circumference of the northern town is about 4 miles. The circumference of Mantinea is somewhat more than $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles (3,942 metres = 21 stades, 180 feet); see Fougères, 'Fouilles de Mantinée,' *B.C.H.* 1890, pp. 68-70.

⁴ 19,700: R. W. Schultz in *Excav.* p. 41.

⁵ 6. 3. 9.

the hands of the Megalopolitans, and they would have to defend a town twice too large for them. And, if the richer and more powerful members seceded, the treasury would be no longer able to support an adequate Pan-Arcadian garrison, and in this case too the city would suffer. The defection of Mantinea was thus a serious blow to Megalopolis; and ten years after its foundation the city itself must have borne the chief burden in holding the League together. It was obviously to its interest to do so. The manner in which Demosthenes, when he advises Athens in B.C. 353-2 to support Megalopolis against Sparta, uses the terms 'Megalopolitans' and 'Arcadians' as almost synonymous, is highly significant.¹ We do not know whether the *Eparitai* still survived in any shape, but we may be sure that the stress of defending the southern as well as the northern wall fell upon the citizens of Megalopolis. When the League was dissolved about thirty years later, the Federal side of Megalopolis, which had been ever becoming less and less important, finally disappeared; ² the Pan-Arcadian town south of the river was left to the Megalopolitans to deal with as they could or would; and they had at least the consolation of having undivided and undisputed possession of the great theatre and the adjoining stadion. The front seats could now be reserved for the magnates of Megalopolis, being no longer required for the magnates of Arcadia; and the wedges could be appropriated to the tribes of the city. We find tribal names inscribed on the backs of some of the front seat-backs, in letters which are ascribed to the second century B.C.; ³ they represent the Megalopolitan, just as the inscription of Antiochus represents the Federal, stage in the history of the theatre.

§ 13. The deserted spaces of Megalopolis must have impressed visitors by a melancholy sense of the contrast between the high hopes and ambitious designs with which Lycomedes and his fellows had gone to work in founding the League, and the speedy decay and disappearance of the institution which they had called into being. The inhabitants within their unmanageable girth of wall must have sometimes felt with bitterness that they had been sacrificed to the fond dream of a perpetually united Arcadian nation.⁴ Mr. Freeman observes that, though 'the great scheme of Lykomédês, the

¹ Cp. Demosth. *Meg.* §§ 30, 31, 32, &c.

² Hyperid., *Dem.* xvi. ed. Blass, where the critical words are unfortunately missing. The internal history of Arcadia is obscure after the battle of Mantinea. We find the Federal Assembly active in B.C. 347 and 344, hearing the pleadings of Aeschines and Demosthenes (*Dem. F.L.* §§ 10, 11, *De Cor.* § 79). In the war of Agis and Antipater, B.C. 330, Megalopolis supported the Macedonian, and had almost all Arcadia against her (*Aesch. Ctes.* § 165). Did Megalopolis at this crisis pretend to represent the League, and did her opponents meet for federal purposes at some other centre?

³ *Eccav.* pp. 123, 124.

⁴ For the proposal to reduce the girth of the

city after its capture by Cleomenes in B.C. 222, see Polybius, 5. 93. The disaster is distinctly ascribed to the size and emptiness (*τὸ μέγεθος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν*) of the place. But there is no hint in Polybius that its population had decreased since the fourth century. The pillage by Cleomenes reduced the inhabitants to poverty (§ 2, *πολλῶν μὲν ἐπιδείσθαι πάντων δὲ σπανίζειν*). One would have thought that it might have been feasible to build a new southern wall to the northern town, along the bank of the river, and pull down the fortifications of the southern town, thus leaving the theatre outside the walls. Before the time of Strabo (8, 8, 1) the Great City was 'a great wilderness. Cp. Pausanias, 8, 33, 1.

most promising that any Grecian statesman had yet designed, had altogether fallen asunder, his labours were far from being wholly fruitless. He had given a model for the statesmen of later generations to follow.¹ But he had also given a warning. The ingenious experiment of a double city was not tried again. If the Arcadian Megalopolis had never existed, it is not improbable that an Achaean Megalopolis would have been founded by Aratus.

J. B. BURY.

¹ *Federal Government*, 2nd ed., pp. 161-2.