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THE SIZE OF THE SPARTAN PATRONOMATE

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One of the most striking aspects of the Spartan constitution in the Roman period is the displacement of the annual eponymous ephor of Classical times by an eponymous magistrate called the *πατρονόμος*. Pausanias, although aware of the patronomate's existence, was evidently so misled by his antiquarian research that he thought the ephors provided the eponymous magistrate in his own day.¹ The earliest evidence of eponymity comes from several inscriptions of the first century B.C. dated explicitly by the annual patronomos. It is also assumed, on the basis of a number of roof tiles carrying a similar formula, that the patronomos gave his name to the year as early as the second century B.C., although there is no indication of any office associated with the names.² The virtual absence of inscriptions from the post-Achaean League period of the second century B.C. and the paucity of epigraphical testimony from the first make it pointless to speculate, except in the most general terms, about the role of the patronomos at that time.

On the other hand, from the period of Spartan prosperity - the late first to the early third century A.D. - we have the names of more than one hundred patronomoi.³ They came from the highest echelons of Spartan society: Eurycles Herculanus, descendants of his ancestor's accuser under Augustus, and many putative descendants of Hercules and the Dioscuri held the post. A signal indication of the office's prestige is that the emperor Hadrian deigned to serve as eponymous patronomos for the year 128/9 on the occasion of his second visit to the city.⁴

A cloud of mystery surrounds the Spartan patronomate. Majority opinion holds it to be a unique institution, since no other Greek state possessed a similarly-named magistracy. Like

¹ Eponymous ephors: G.Busolt and H.Swoboda, *Griechische Staatskunde II* (Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft IV 1.1), Munich 1926, p.648; L.H.Jeffrey, *Local Scripts of Archaic Greece*, Oxford 1961, p.60. Patronomoi: Paus. 3.11.2.

² Eponymous patronomoi in the first century B.C.: IG V,1, 261, 266. Second century B.C. tiles: IG V,1, 870-917 passim; A.J.B.Wace, "Excavations at Sparta, 1907: The Stamped Tiles," *BSA* 13 (1906-1907), pp.36, 43.

³ K.M.T.Chrimes, *Ancient Sparta: A Re-examination of the Evidence*, Manchester 1949, pp.463-470, listed the known patronomoi from the late first to early third century A.D. On the patronomoi of the third century, see now A.J.S.Spawforth, "Notes on the Third Century AD in Spartan Epigraphy," *BSA* 79 (1984), pp.283-285. Another patronomos, Memmius Eudamus, appears in the heading of a list of gerontes briefly cited by C.Chrestos, *ArchDelt* 17 (1961-1962): *Chron* p.84, perhaps identical with the eponymos Eudamus of IG V,1, 277.

⁴ Hadrian's patronomate: W.Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, Leipzig 1907, p.211 (128 A.D.); A.S.Bradford, "The Date Hadrian was eponymos patronomos of Sparta," *Horos* 4 (1986), pp.71-74 (127/8 A.D.). I hope to argue elsewhere that Hadrian was patronomos in 128/9 A.D.

Eurycles Herculanus: IG V,1, 32b, 44. Brasidas: IG V,1, 530; SEG XI, 302. Descendants of Hercules and the Dioscuri: A.M.Woodward, "Excavations at Sparta, 1924-1928. The Theatre: Architectural Remains," *BSA* 30 (1928-1929), pp.222-225.

most other aspects of the office, the composition of the patronomate is highly problematical. The three catalogues of patronomoi which still survive have been interpreted as showing that the patronomate was a college of magistrates headed by the eponymous patronomos, who carried the title "chairman" (presbys). Actually, these catalogues are more perplexing than heretofore recognised, since they do not all have the same form. The earliest list (IG V,1,48) dates from the first century B.C. and consists of the names of six men, each of whom is distinguished by the title patronomos, and another six men with the collective appellation synarchoi; then follow the names of the secretary, the under-secretaries, and a servant.

- | | |
|-------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| 1-2 | Καβωνίδα· Ἄνδρονίκου / πατρονόμος, |
| 2-4 | Δαμόχαρις / Μελανίππου πατρονόμος, |
| 4-5 | Πρατονίκος Ἐπι/στράτου πατρονόμος, / |
| 6-7 | Καλλικρατίδα· Τιμοξένου / πατρονόμος |
| 7-8 | Τιμόξενος / Φιλοκλέος πατρονόμος, / |
| 9-10 | Δαμόχαρις Τιμοξένου / πατρονόμος. |
| 10 | κύναρχοι· / |
| 11 | Ἄριστοκράτης Εὐτέλιδα, / |
| 12 | Εὐδαμίδα· Κλεωνύμου, / |
| 13 | Τιμάριτος Δάμωνος, / |
| 14 | Ἴππαρχος Γοργίππου, / |
| 15 | Φιλόξενος Δαμόλα, / |
| 16 | Πασιτέλης Κλεάνορος. / |
| 17 | γρ(αμματεὺς)· Ὠτηρίδα· Ἀγαθοκλέος. / |
| 18-19 | ὑπογρα(μματεῖς)· Ἄριστοκλήης, Ὠκρατίας, / Εὐτυχίδα· |
| 19 | ὑπηρέ(τας)· Εὐτυχός. |

This text forms the basis of the canonical reconstruction of the patronomate, envisioned as comprising the eponymous patronomos, the first name on the list, five other so-called "full patronomoi," and six lesser colleagues (synarchoi).⁵ It has recently been suggested that there was no difference in status between the five non-eponymous patronomoi and the synarchoi - they were all the colleagues of the eponymous patronomos - but this does not adequately account for the explicit distinction made in this list.⁶ The second and third lists (SEG XI, 503) are inscribed together on one stone and presumably date from consecutive years of the

⁵ Böckh, CIG I, p.605; P. Le Bas, "Voyages et recherches archéologiques en Grèce et en Asie Mineure," RevArch 1 (1844-1845), pp.639-641; G.Gilbert, Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer I, Leipzig 1881, p.26 n.3; M.N.Tod and A.J.B.Wace, A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum, Oxford 1906, p.9; L.Pareti, "La patronomia spartana," Studi spartani, Turin 1910, p.157; Busolt-Swoboda (above, n.1) p.735; H.Schaefer, "patronomos," RE 18.4 (1949), 2296; Chrimes (above, n.3) p.143.

⁶ A.S.Bradford, "The Synarchia of Roman Sparta," Chiron 10 (1980), pp.415-416.

second century A.D. At the head of each is the name and title of the eponymous patronomos; after him come six men under the rubric *synarchoi*, one secretary, and one servant.⁷

	Πατρονόμος
	Γά(ιοϛ) Ἰούλ(ιοϛ) Ἀντίπα-
	τροϛ Λυσικράτουϛ,
	φιλόκαισαρ καὶ φιλ[όπατ]ριϛ·
5	κύναρχο[ι]·
	Καλλικρατ[-----],
	Γά(ιοϛ) Ἰούλ(ιοϛ) Κλέ[ανδροϛ],
	Νικ[α]νδρίδ]αϛ (Νικανδρίδα) βου]αγόϛ,
	Δάμιπποϛ [-----],
10	Μουσαῖοϛ [-----],
	Πλώτιοϛ [-----]·
	γραμμα[τεύϛ]·
	Μαντε[-----]
	ὑπηρέτη[ϛ γρα(μματέωϛ)--]οϛ.
	vacat spat. 3 vs
15	Πατ[ρ]ο[νόμοϛ]
	Γά(ιοϛ) Ἰο[ύλ(ιοϛ)---]·
	[κύναρχοι]·
	[-----]εοϛ Δεξίππου,
	[-----] Περικλέουϛ,
20	Ο[-----] Ἐωσικράτουϛ,
	Μένι[ππ]οϛ Παϛ[ι]κράτουϛ,
	Τίτοϛ [Λ]ουκίου,
	Γά(ιοϛ) Ἰού[λ(ιοϛ)] Ἀγίων Φιλωνίδα·
	[γ]ρα[μμ]ατεύϛ·
25	Ἴν[...ου]ϛ (?)·
	ὑπηρέτ[η]ϛ [γ]ρα(μματέωϛ)
	[C]τέφανοϛ.

Where are the other five "full patronomoi"? No attempt has yet been made to explain the discrepancy.

One solution might be to posit a radical restructuring of the patronomate between the first century B.C. and the second century A.D.; another, to assume that the five other patronomoi were simply not mentioned in the two later lists. Neither is satisfactory. The answer lies in the meaning of titles whose significance modern scholarship on Roman Sparta has seriously

⁷ SEG XI, 503.

misinterpreted - *σύναρχος* and its variant *συνάρχων*.⁸ They appear in all types of inscription - careers, dedications and catalogues. However, apart from the earliest list of patronomoi just mentioned, no list of a magistracy's members contains the names of both synarchoi and more than one full magistrate. Even in the three extant honorific inscriptions erected by members of the patronomate, those who are not the eponymous patronomos are always called synarchontes.⁹ In the two instances where the officials honouring the patronomos are named, they can be none other than the synarchoi of the lists, because only six names are inscribed under the title synarchontes; if the title had included the five non-eponymous patronomoi we would have expected eleven names. This brings into doubt the very existence of the five non-eponymous patronomoi; they are attested only in the one catalogue and in references to synpatronomoi, all of which are open to a completely different interpretation.

A close examination of *σύναρχος* and *συνάρχων* in the catalogues of magistrates reveals a distinct pattern. Apart from the lists of patronomoi, the words appear only in lists of gynaikonomoi, agoranomoi, and epimeletai. The formulaic headings of this type of catalogue are as follows: "X, magistrate in the year of Y, and the synarchoi/synarchontes."¹⁰ In the surviving lists of the other major magistracies of Roman Sparta, the ephors, nomophylakes, bidyoi, and even the gerontes, the headings are of a different type: "magistrates in the year of X, of whom the chairman (presbys) was Y."¹¹ Slight variations on this formula do occur - for instance, the chairman is sometimes not distinguished from the others - but they are not significant. The important fact is that in all of these colleges the colleagues of the chairman are never styled his synarchoi; on the contrary, they are included under the same collective title, which indicates they were full magistrates in their own right.¹² The relationship of the chairman to his colleagues can be envisioned as that of *primus inter pares*. In the remaining magistracies, on the other hand, the incumbent was apparently more important than the other members. There is no reference to a chairman of the gynaikonomoi, or of the agoranomoi,

⁸ E.g. Bradford (above, n.6) pp.415-416.

⁹ IG V,1, 505, 541, 544.

¹⁰ Agoranomoi: IG V,1, 124-132; SEG XI, 597-603. Gynaikonomoi: IG V,1, 170; SEG XI, 626-629. Epimeletai: IG V,1, 133-135.

¹¹ Ephors: IG V,1, 49-77; SEG XI, 510-533. Nomophylakes: IG V,1, 78-91; SEG XI, 534-556. Bidyoi: IG V,1, 136-140; SEG XI, 604-617. Gerontes: IG V,1, 92/3-122; SEG XI, 558-592.

¹² IG V,1, 54 was restored by Kolbe in the corpus as a list of ephors, with synarchoi, and was cited by Bradford (above, n.6) pp.415-416 in his discussion of the lack of any distinction between full magistrates and synarchoi. Bradford reached his conclusion because, as things stand, IG V,1, 54 is presented as a different version of IG V,1, 53. In 54 some of the ephors of 53 are called synarchoi. However, 54 cannot be a list of ephors since one is described as having been *grammatophylax* in the year of Sextus Pompeius (lines 6-8). The only catalogues in which the prior tenure of this office is mentioned are lists of nomophylakes. This is understandable, since the *grammatophylax* appears to have been a junior magistrate attached to the nomophylakes (e.g. IG V,1, 65, 71a, 71b). Moreover, in none of the other lists of ephors or of nomophylakes are there any references to synarchoi. P. Le Bas, "Voyages et recherches archéologiques en Grèce et en Asie Mineure," *RevArch* 1 (1844-1845), p.711, restored the inscription as an inscribed career followed by the names of some synarchoi; the version in the corpus is hardly an advance.

because the gynaikonomos was not head of a college of gynaikonomoi, he was the gynaikonomos; the synarchoi were merely his assistants. Once this distinction between the two types of magistracy at Roman Sparta is recognised, many problems can be solved.

In the inscribed careers the evidence is less plentiful, but the same distinction can be shown to obtain there as well. People who were members of one of the magistracies with chairmen but who were not presbeis refer to themselves by their title as magistrates. For example, a man who was an ordinary ephor or nomophylax called himself ἔφορος or νομοφύλαξ; if he held the chairmanship of either college, he called himself πρέσβυς ἐφόρων or πρέσβυς νομοφυλάκων.¹³ In no demonstrable instance does the title of the magistrate by itself, such as ephoros, refer to the chairmanship of that college. On the other hand, we find no instance of someone recording his tenure as chairman of the other type of magistracy; no one called himself presbys of the agoranomoi. In the majority of cases, only the simple office is mentioned.¹⁴

In two inscriptions recording the careers of Varius Phosphorus and of Neon, son of Neon, there are references to a synagoranomos and a syngynaikonomos respectively.¹⁵ According to the accepted interpretation, these offices would be explained by analogy with the office of synpatronomos, which also occurs in these two careers. This last title is usually taken to denote one of the so-called "non-eponymous" patronomoi, who were superior to the synarchoi but inferior to the eponymous patronomos. This would mean that Neon, for example, was the "fellow agoranomos" of the chief agoranomos Alcandridas, just as he was also the synpatronomos, "fellow patronomos," of the eponymous patronomos Lampis, son of Lampis.¹⁶ Therefore, to apply the argument consistently, synagoranomos should attest to the existence of a board of full agoranomoi similar to the "non-eponymous patronomoi" under the chairmanship of a presbys, who were superior to the synarchoi appearing in the catalogues. This, of course, must be done on the basis of no evidence whatsoever, for we have seen that none of the catalogues contains any reference to lesser agoranomoi.

On the other hand, if the evidence of the catalogues is used without preconceptions, then the posts of ordinary agoranomos and gynaikonomos mentioned in the careers must be identical with the posts of agoranomos and gynaikonomos at the heads of the catalogues. In addition, as the synarchoi are the only known colleagues of these magistrates, the synagoranomos, for instance, must be one of the synarchoi of the agoranomos. This means that the word synpatronomos, once again maintaining consistency, must refer to one of the synarchoi of the eponymous patronomos and not to a non-eponymous patronomos. Thus,

¹³ E.g. SEG XI, 494, 495.

¹⁴ Agoranomos: IG V,1, 32a, 35, 40; SEG XI, 492. Gynaikonomos: SEG XI, 493, 498.

¹⁵ Neon: SEG XI, 499 (synagoranomos of Aelius Alcandridas). Phosphorus: SEG XI, 500 (syngynaikonomos).

¹⁶ Lampis as eponymous patronomos: SEG XI, 620.

part of the evidence for the existence of the five other full patronomoi is shown to be invalid.¹⁷

Momentarily disregarding the earliest list of patronomoi, we see that the evidence adduced so far indicates that the patronomate was a magistracy of the same type as the gynaikonomate and agoranomate. In other words, it was headed by a man called the patronomos, whose colleagues were called synarchoi and who referred to themselves colloquially as his synpatronomoi, in the same way as the synarchoi of the gynaikonomos called themselves his syngynaikonomoi. The two second-century lists conform to this scheme perfectly.

We must now consider the list from the first century B.C.; how can it be reconciled with this new view of the patronomate? At first glance, the catalogue seems to have nothing in common with those of the other two magistracies. However, among the lists of agoranomoi are two inscriptions, each containing catalogues of the magistrates of more than one year.¹⁸ At the head of the first (IG V,1, 124), in one column, are the names of three men, each called agoranomos, each dated by a different eponymous patronomos; they are followed by the names of fifteen people in three columns of five names each, all called synarchoi.

Ἄριτων Ἄριτ[οκράτεος ἀ]γο[ρανόμος ἐπὶ Πα]υ[ρ]α[ν]ί[α],

Ἄνδρόνικος Ἄριτοκλέος ἀγο[ραν]όμος ἐπὶ Θεοξένου,

Μ Θε[λ]ξίνοος Ἄριτωνος ἀγορανόμος ἐπὶ Ἄριτάνδρου καὶ οἱ σύνα[ρχοι].

Κικλείδας Σηρ[ί]ππου,

Εὔδαμος Εὐδάμου

Ξενοκλείδας Εὐκ[---]

Ἄριτόδαμος Ἄριτοκλείδα,

Νικάσιππος Τη[μ]ένου

Γόργιππος Φιλί[---]

Ἄνδρόνικος, Ἄριτοκλέο[ς],

Πολυαινείδα Ἄριτάνδρου,

Ἄγιάδας Φιλί[---]

Ἄντιγονος Ἄντιμένεος,

Ὀλυμπιάδα Ὀλ[υμ]πίχου,

Γραμματε[ί]τιμος[---]

[Ἄ]νδρόνικος Ἄριτωνος,

[---]ἀδης Εὐδ[ά]μου,

[Θ]εοφάνης Τ[---]

Normally, the agoranomos had five synarchoi each year; thus, each of the columns must contain the names of the synarchoi attached to each of the agoranomoi recorded above them.¹⁹ The second inscription is incomplete but has the same structure.

If we compare the first agoranomos catalogue with the list of patronomoi, the similarities become apparent: both record a number of men whose names are each followed by the magistrate's title, followed by the names of the synarchoi associated with these magistrates. Moreover, if the agoranomoi of the first list are from successive years, as seems likely, then the same is probably true of the list of patronomoi. If the men called agoranomoi were the heads of their magistracy, then the men called patronomoi must all be the heads of their magistracy; in other words, they must have been the eponymous patronomoi. This holds for the references to patronomoi in the careers as well. Two men claimed to have been

¹⁷ In only one inscription, an honorific statue base, do the members of a college call themselves synarchontes of their chairman (IG V,1, 556). This can be explained as loose usage, since the base was not a document originating from the state as were the catalogues.

¹⁸ IG V,1, 124, 125.

¹⁹ Agoranomoi lists: IG V,1, 124-132.

synpatronomoi, which, as we have seen, means they were synarchoi of the eponymous patronomos; indeed, the only man who noted that he was simply a patronomos was obviously referring to his tenure of the eponymate.²⁰

Only six synarchoi are listed with the patronomoi in the catalogue from the first century B.C. because the document is probably incomplete; originally, it must have spanned two or more stelae. Thus, the inscription supplies us with the names, not of one eponymous patronomos, five other non-eponymous patronomoi and the synarchoi from a single year, but the names of the eponymous patronomoi of six consecutive years together with the names of the associates of the first. The five non-eponymous patronomoi are chimeras whose supposed existence in this one list has elicited elaborate, and faintly desperate, rationalization.

To sum up, the patronomate was a magistracy similar to the agoranomate and gynaikonomate, whose incumbent was called the patronomos and whose colleagues, substantially inferior, were called synarchoi. Their official title, preserved in one inscription and to be restored in another was "synarchontes of the patronomia," but they also called themselves colloquially the synpatronomoi.²¹ The members of the patronomate were seven in number: one eponymous patronomos and his six synarchoi. The patronomate was not the large, unparalleled college of current fancy but a magistracy exactly similar to one of the two types found at Sparta in the Roman period.²²

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²⁰ Patronomos: SEG XI, 492 (the career of C.Julius Theophrastus). Theophrastus' eponymate: SEG XI, 494, 496.

²¹ For the official title of the synarchoi, see IG V,1, 505, line 5: οἱ συνάρχοντες τῆς πατρονομίας. IG V,1, 44 (SEG XI, 486) lines 16-17, which presently read [σύναρ]/χος πατρο[νόμων?], should be restored as [σύναρ]/χος πατρο[νομίας]; cf. Bradford (above, n.6), p.415.

²² This interpretation is followed by P.Cartledge and A.Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*, London 1989, pp.201-02 and p.265 n.19.

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Corrigenda

ZPE 85,1991, S.131, Anm.1, Z.3 lies: Paus. 2.9.1.