

## The Origins of the Second Athenian Confederacy

In 378 BCE, thirty-six years after their defeat in the Peloponnesian War and the dismantling of their empire, the Athenians took the bold step of reconstituting their hegemony over the Aegean world. But contrary to the view that the Second Athenian Confederacy was an attempt to revive Athens' imperial past (Cawkwell 1981), this new organization was an experiment in inclusive geopolitics (Cargill 1981; Baron 2006). In its political, financial, and military institutions, the Confederacy differed from its fifth-century predecessor by allowing a greater role for the seventy allies under Athenian leadership (IG II2 43; Diod. Sic. 15.30.2; Aeschin. 2.70). In several ways, therefore, the Confederacy can be seen as a response to, even a correction of, the earlier empire. But it is just as important to recognize that this innovative approach to interstate relations did not emerge in a vacuum but materialized in fits and starts, beginning as early as the Peloponnesian War.

Each of the three sections to the paper is devoted to a period in which there were developments in how the Athenians interacted with their allies. The first covers the years 411 to 407 in which Alcibiades, Thrasybulus, and Theramenes demonstrated great intelligence and imagination in their campaigns in the north Aegean, achievements which prompted the return of many allies (Andrewes 1953; Kagan 1987, 211-246). Ever since the Sicilian disaster in 413, many Athenians recognized that they needed to devise an alternative, sustainable path to that which had led them to their nadir in the war (Kierstead 2016). Accordingly, when the generals in the north Aegean deliberately avoided economic and political measures associated with the empire of the past (Kallet 2001, 197-226; Rubel 2001; Figueira 2005). Rather than the *phoros*, the symbol of the fifth-century empire, they introduced the *eikoste* (five-percent tax) and *dekate* (ten-percent tax), a subtle yet significant change in the relationship between the Athenians and their allies (Xen. Hell. 1.1.32, 2.15-4.9; Diod. Sic. 13.64-69, 72; Plut. Alc. 29-31).

The second period is from 390 to 389 BCE, when Thrasybulus made or renewed alliances in Thrace (IG II2 21-22; Xen. Hell. 4.8.26; Diod. Sic. 14.94.2), Thasos (IG II2 24), Mytilene (Xen.

Hell. 4.8.28-30; Diod. Sic. 14.94.3-4), and elsewhere. As he and his associates did during the Peloponnesian War, he included indirect commercial taxes into the alliance treaties. The Athenians now allowed a greater amount of autonomy to their allies and encouraged them to become even more invested, in financial as well as affective terms, in the successful functioning of the alliances – an approach that would come to full realization in the Confederacy.

Finally, the paper considers how these earlier innovations influenced the development of the Second Athenian Confederacy. The Athenian alliances that were concluded after the King's Peace – with Chios in 384 (IG II2 34); Olynthus in 383 (IG II2 36); Byzantium (IG II2 41) and Methymna (IG II2 42.5) at the end of the 380s; and Rhodes (Diod. Sic. 15.28.3), Thebes (IG II2 40), Mytilene (IG II2 40.11-12, 20), and Chios in 378 (IG II2 35) – were modelled after the alliances that were established (or re-established) during the Peloponnesian War and the Corinthian War. These alliances, in turn, became the basis of Confederacy, as represented in the Decree of Aristoteles (IG II2 43). The Confederacy, therefore, should be seen as a realization of the new conception for interstate relations rather than a feeble attempt to recreate the past imperialistic practices.

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