The Scribe on the Stone: A Network Analysis of Paros' Entry on the Aristoteles Decree and into the Second Athenian League

The fourth century BCE was a tumultuous time in ancient Greek politics, and in particular, foreign relations. Smaller city/states found themselves at the mercy of greater powers, such as Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, but how did they navigate the post-Peloponnesian War world? A few city/states were able to exude some control over their own affairs while others endured what lot was given to them by the latest hegemon. In this paper, I examine the Cycladic island of Paros and its entrance into the Second Athenian League because its extent of selfdetermination is unclear. Scholars have debated Paros' physical position on the Aristoteles Decree stele (IG II² 43) and when it officially made the list of member states because it is listed twice on the stone: one being a prominent position on the front side and the other being on the left lateral side, which was later erased. This stele is the best record that survives regarding the formation of the Second Athenian League and is critical for understanding how alliances and hegemony operated in this period. The debate surrounding Paros reflects just how much work remains to be done and how much new methodologies are needed to provide insights heretofore undiscoverable.

Christopher Baron has posited that Paros joined the league around 373 BCE, but internal strife caused a rebellion from the league, which required league members' intervention to bring it back into line in the same year. Brian Rutishauser recently argued that Paros joined the league before the Battle of Naxos in 376, securing a base for Chabrias' siege of Naxos. These arguments depend upon epigraphical and literary sources, the usefulness of which has been exhausted at this point. I, however, offer a network analysis of the region in addition to the more traditional source material to determine when Paros joined the League. An analysis of the

Cycladic region based on its historical ties (mid-fifth century) will illuminate its path of political development and allegiance. Those Cycladic city/states that were more powerful would have received more attention from the outside hegemons, so we can reasonably expect the hegemons to have been proactive in securing those local loyalties. To determine which city/states were more powerful, I will assess the ties to other poleis that each city/state had. These ties can be parent/colony, economic, political, or any other relationship that precludes a connection. (More ties, or more significant ties, indicate a more influential city/state) The higher the number of ties, the more influential that city/state was. I will then group the city/states according to which were oligarchic (and pro-Laconian) and which were democratic (and pro-Athenian). The data for this part of the analysis comes from Gehrke's work on stasis in the classical period and Robinson's work on democracies beyond Athens. This is a tricky proposition, as Callistratus, in a speech at Sparta in 371, reminds us, "...in each city/state there are some who are pro-Laconian and some who are pro-Athenian." (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, 6.3.4) Finally, I will provide a network model based on power and allegiance to determine where the pro-Athenian and pro-Spartan sympathies lie; this will in turn support either Baron or Rutishauser's theory regarding how and when Paros joined the Second Athenian League.

Baron's argument revolves around Timotheos and his recruitment of allies for Athens. Finding many cities with pro-Athenian leanings that were not in the League yet would solidify Baron's interpretation of Paros' timeline for inclusion whereas finding these Cycladic poleis to be pro-Laconian would support Rutishauser's thesis. A network of pro-Laconian poleis would be sufficient reason for Chabrias' invasion and subsequent Battle of Naxos. A network of pro-Athenian poleis, however, would have made Timotheos' trek to secure their alliance and support, both financially and militarily, a much more attractive proposition. New techniques and schools of thought are increasingly being used to examine antiquity, a shift which answers old questions even as it provides a framework for asking new ones. Though the literary sources are often vague on details regarding ancient political proceedings, network analysis has the power to elucidate solutions to the problems left by other methodologies. By applying modern political science theory to fourth century BCE Greece, I will add a novel and exciting layer to an old debate.

Bibliography

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