

Thera on I.G., II², 43

(PLATE 30)

TO the charter of the Second Athenian Confederacy, *I.G.*, II², 43, names of member states were appended at various times after the text of the decree itself. This list of names begins on the front of the stele and then, apparently when space ran out, was continued on its left side. The first two lines on the left side concern us here.¹ Preserved on the stone is the following (Pl. 30, a):

97 – – ΠΑΙΩΝ
– – ΗΜΟΣ

In the *editio princeps*² Eustratiades published a drawing (Pl. 30, b), later adapted and reproduced in the *Corpus*,³ in which the break before the rho of line 97 and the eta of line 98 was shown considerably farther to the right than is actually the case (see Plate 30). He himself restored [Ἐρυθ]ραίων. This was impossible historically, since Erythrai is on the mainland in the territory of the King, which is specifically excluded from the alliance in the text of the decree (lines 17-18). But the false impression given by the drawing and the precedent of a restoration already too long may have helped to inspire Rangabe⁴ to suggest [Κερκυ]ραίων. This fits so well with the account of Timotheos' activities in Kerkyra in 375⁵ and with the epigraphical evidence for an Athenian-Kerkyraian alliance⁶ that it was accepted immediately⁷ and,

¹ *I.G.*, II², 43, col. B, 1-2; these are lines 97-98 in the consecutive numbering of M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, II, Oxford, 1948, no. 123, which we follow in our text.

² Ἐπιγραφαὶ Ἀνέκδοτοι Ἀνακαλυφθεῖσαι καὶ Ἐκδοθεῖσαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρχαιολογικοῦ Συναλλόγου, II, Athens, 1852, pp. 1-7, no. 61.

³ *I.G.*, II, 17.

⁴ *Antiquités Helléniques*, II, Athens, 1855, pp. 373-379, no. 381 b.

⁵ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, V, 4, 64; Isokrates, XV, 109; Nepos, *Timotheus*, 2.

⁶ *I.G.*, II², 97, is a copy of the treaty. *I.G.*, II², 96, dated in the autumn of 375, is a preliminary decree making arrangements for alliances with the Kerkyraians, Akarnanians, and Kephallenians. Among other things, it directs (lines 20-22) that the names of these peoples are to be inscribed among the allies after the formalities are completed. The Akarnanians and the Pronnoi of Kephallenia are listed in lines 106-108 of *I.G.*, II², 43, and it has always seemed strange that the Kerkyraians are not with them. Accame, *La Lega Ateniese del Sec. IV a.c.*, Rome, 1941, p. 90, suggested that Kerkyra was placed at the top of the left side out of chronological order because of its importance. Marshall, *The Second Athenian Confederacy*, Cambridge, 1905, pp. 62-63, thought that an alliance had been made and recorded with the demos of Kerkyra before Timotheos sailed and that when the formal alliance was made it was not felt necessary to list the city again. With the elimination of Kerkyra from the left side, it seems most likely that Marshall was right and that an earlier treaty with Kerkyra was recorded on the front of the stele. Otherwise we must assume that for some unknown reason that city was not listed even though the alliance was made.

⁷ Cf. A. Schaefer, *De sociis Atheniensium Chabriae et Timothei aetate in tabula publica inscriptis commentatio*, Grimma, 1856, pp. 11-13.

as far as we can ascertain, has never been questioned. But we should like to point out that this restoration is impossible epigraphically.⁸

Although the left edge of the fragment is not preserved at this point, it is intact higher up; therefore its position can be very closely ascertained. The distance from the original left edge here to the upright hasta of the rho in line 97 was about .039 m. We can safely assume that the first letter did not begin immediately at the edge of the stone and also that there was some space left between the rho and the letter preceding it. This gives a distance of about .03 m. to accommodate the letters before the rho; this distance would permit the restoration of only two, or possibly three, letters provided that, as seems most likely, the letters were spaced in the same manner as those of the preserved portion of this and the succeeding line. The space occupied by rho and alpha in line 97, measured from the extreme left to the extreme right tip of the pair, is .023 m.; that by omega and nu in line 97, .026 m.; that by mu, omicron, and sigma in line 98, .035 m. The restoration of only two letters instead of three in line 97 is strongly suggested by line 98, which was certainly [ὁ δ]ῆμος; here, although there were only two letters to the left of the break, the eta is situated farther to the right than the rho in the preceding line. This would indicate that more space was left between the edge and the first letters in these lines than in those below. Therefore the space in line 97 should most probably be restored with two letters; three are possible, with some crowding or if one was an iota. The five necessary for Kerkyra are patently impossible.

Of possible restorations, [Θη]ραίων seems to us by far the most attractive for several reasons. First, Thera had been a tribute-paying member of the Delian League as had been most of the other members of the Second Confederacy.⁹ Secondly, she has already been proposed and accepted by scholars as a member of the latter.¹⁰ Although there is no direct literary evidence for this, a fragmentary inscription from Athens, *I.G.*, II², 179, which is adduced as evidence for the membership of Naxos, also makes mention of Thera, presumably in similar circumstances. Third, the manner of listing here would imply that there had been a democratic revolution in the state in question, and, although the inhabitants of Thera were Dorians, we do have epigraphical evidence for a democratic constitution there in the fourth century. *I.G.*, XII, 3, suppl., p. 280, no. 1289, a fragmentary inscription said by Hiller to be *litterae bonae quarti a. Chr. n. saeculi*, refers to an ekklesia. Finally, the position on the stone is right for Thera. Her accession to the league would most probably have come after the battle of Naxos in 376/5. Other accessions after this battle are

⁸ This was first noted by Miss E. T. Blackburn in the epigraphical seminar at the University of Cincinnati in 1962.

⁹ Cf. *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 284-285; Tod, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-69.

¹⁰ Cf. Schaefer, *op. cit.*, p. 20; A. Ferrabino, *Riv. di Fil.*, LVI, 1928, p. 253; Accame, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

generally assumed to have been recorded on the front of the stele where a portion of the stone is lost.¹¹ [Θη]ραίων [ὁ δ]ῆμος is in a different hand from the names below it; the letters are slightly smaller, more deeply cut and more widely spaced. Thus these lines can be dissociated from the group of names immediately below, which represent Chabrias' accessions in the north in 375. Most logically it should be associated with the last group on the front and considered the first to have been put on the side for lack of space.

Very few other restorations could be contemplated for line 97. Of the other members of the Delian League only Αἰραῖοι and Δειραῖοι would meet the requirements of space. Hairai is near Erythrai in Asia Minor¹² and is therefore eliminated for the same reason as the latter. Deire seems to have been situated on the coast of Thrace; yet beyond its appearance in one assessment, we hear almost nothing about it.¹³ "Skylax's" Δερίς ἐμπόριον is probably to be associated with it, and its relative unimportance may be taken as a fairly strong argument against it. A few other epigraphically possible names can be rejected on historical grounds. Therefore we must conclude that Thera not only admirably fits the available space but also is the most likely candidate on historical grounds.

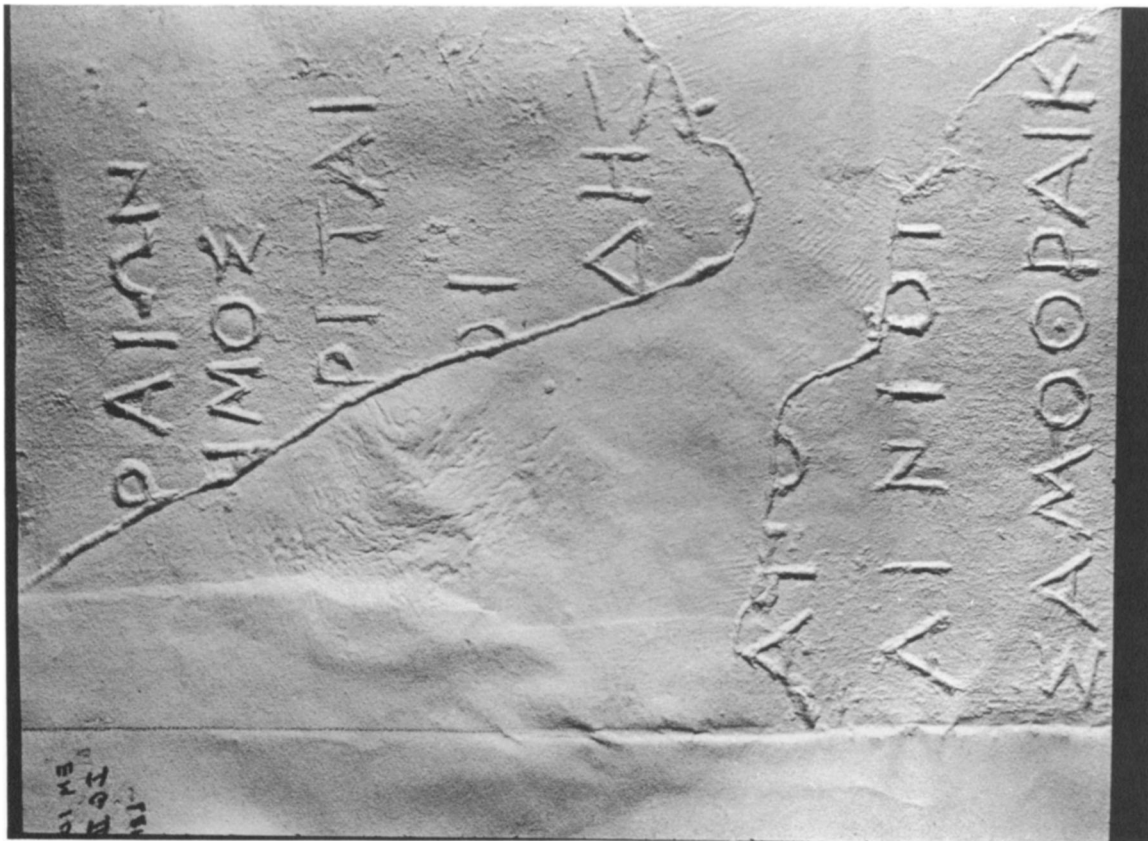
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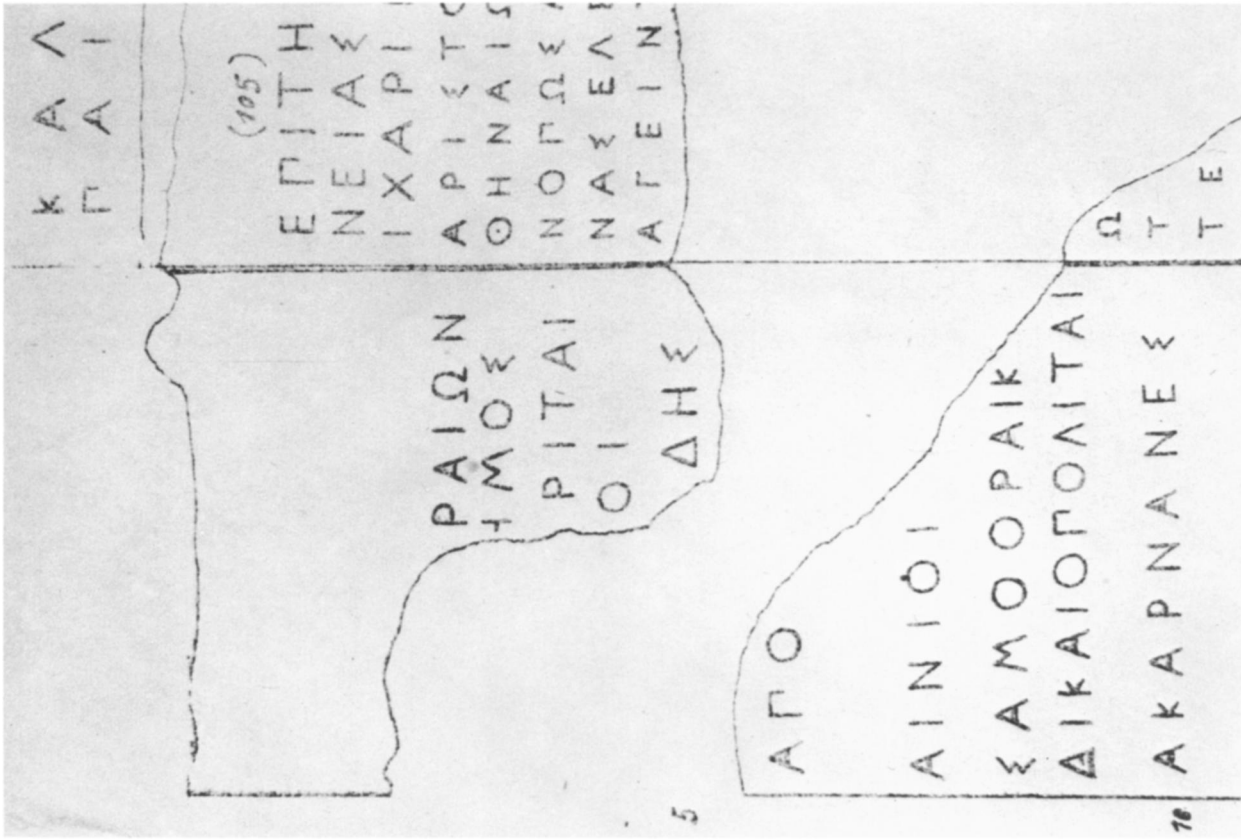
¹¹ Cf. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 66; Accame, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-86.

¹² Cf. *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 465-466.

¹³ Cf. *A.T.L.*, I, pp. 260-261 and 480; II, p. 79.



a. Upper Left Side of I.G., II², 43 (Squeeze).



b. Drawing by Eustratiades of Upper Left Side of I.G., II², 43.