

MORTIMER CHAMBERS – RALPH GALLUCCI – PANTELIS SPANOS

ATHENS' ALLIANCE WITH EGESTA IN THE YEAR OF ANTIPHON

aus: Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik 83 (1990) 38–63

© Dr. Rudolf Habelt GmbH, Bonn

ATHENS' ALLIANCE WITH EGESTA IN THE YEAR OF ANTIPHON

Hommage à H. B. M.

I THE DOCUMENT

In a year that has been much disputed, the Athenians made an alliance with the Elymian city of Egesta (now Segesta) in western Sicily. Historians would warmly welcome a date for this event, since such a date would enable us to trace at least this one step in the development of Athenian international policy. As is well known, the alliance is recorded on a thick piece (c.19 cm.) of marble in the Epigraphical Museum (= EM 6568) in Athens: see Plate I.1. Its date depends on the name of the archon for the year, of which only the final two letters, Iov , have been securely read. In addition to the text on the large stone, now *IG* i³ 11, there are parts of the two final lines of the text of the decree on another fragment of the same stele, *IG* i³ 11 b, which may have registered the ambassadors from Egesta who swore to the alliance (this paper does not discuss this small fragment).¹

The critical line of the text is line 3, in which the archon's name was recorded; the letters in stoichoi 37-42 are clearly $\text{Iov } \epsilon\rho\chi\epsilon$. The modern study, as we may call it, of this inscription began in 1944, when A.E. Raubitschek drew attention to a "round" letter in stoichos 36, before the omicron of Iov and suggested that this letter was rho.² He believed that a trace of beta could be found in a vertical stroke before the "round" letter, in stoichos 35. All this led Raubitschek to suggest the archon Habron (458/7); he printed the name as

¹ We wish to thank Mrs. Dina Peppas Delmousou, the director of the Epigraphical Museum, Athens, who has offered us every courtesy and encouragement. The first photographs were taken by Jerome Bannister, later ones by P.G. Spanos and Dr. R. Anania, who has also been our technical advisor. We have had the valued assistance of Zacharias Protogeros in measuring and in mathematical analysis. The firm of *Hellastours*, Athens, made generous grants toward expenses in Athens, for which we express our gratitude. The photographs appear as Plates I-III and Color Plates A & B.

² *TAPA* 75 (1944) p.10 n.3. In fact, rho is not strictly a "round" letter, although it contains a semicircle, thus a rounded section, on the right; but for verbal convenience we retain Raubitschek's terminology. The first editor, U. Koehler, in *Hermes* 2 (1867) p.16, had also seen this "round" letter but printed it (also in *IG* i 20) as a broken omicron. This reading has long been abandoned, for the name of no archon of the fifth century ends in -OON. The recognition of this "round" letter, which cannot be tau, also rules out Ariston (454/3), proposed by H.G. Lolling and printed by Hiller von Gærtringen in *IG* i² 19. Aristion (421/0) is equally to be rejected, since the "round" letter cannot be iota. The readings and restorations down to 1944 are well surveyed by W.K. Pritchett, *AJA* 59 (1955) pp.58ff.

[hó]βρον. Further support for Habron was sought from a squeeze of the stone in Berlin: Günther Klaffenbach reported³ that the top of alpha was visible on the squeeze in stoichos 34, and Raubitschek and others thus felt able to expand the letters to [h]όβρον; in various publications one or more of the letters alpha, beta, and rho have been dotted or bracketed as uncertain.

Before going farther, we may deal with the Berlin squeeze and its potential alpha, of which no trace is visible on the stone. D.R. Laing examined the squeeze in 1968 on behalf of D.W. Bradeen and M.F. McGregor. He found that “[t]here are no clear and unquestionable letter-strokes visible on the squeeze in this space [*sc.* for the potential alpha]. However, I observed a faint but definitely triangular shape on the squeeze that could be the result of the wearing down of an A or Δ, but one cannot exclude other letters as well”. But when Laing reexamined the stone in Athens he could see no traces that might have produced such an impression on the squeeze. Bradeen and McGregor wrote, “On the basis of Laing’s report and the evidence of our own eyes we refrain from reading any letter, however tentatively, in this stoichos”.⁴ On July 9, 1987, M.H. Chambers examined the squeeze in the Akademie der Wissenschaften der D. D. R. with Herr E. Erxleben, the general editor of *IG*. Nothing whatever of the putative alpha in the required space could be seen. Nor could we see traces of a letter in this stoichos on the stone itself or recover traces through our photography program (see *infra*): the surface is smooth and the perception of any traces in the stoichos is likely to be the work of imagination. The potential alpha must therefore disappear.⁵

II THE ARCHON

The critical letters, then, are the vertical in stoichos 35 and the “round” one in 36. As for the vertical, Pritchett⁶ wrote it off as “surely a scratch”; concerning the apparent letter in 36

³ See *SEG* x (1949) p.7.

⁴ D.W. Bradeen and M.F. McGregor, *Studies in Fifth-Century Attic Epigraphy* (Norman: 1973) (hereafter Bradeen and McGregor, *Studies*) p.75f., where they print Laing’s report.

⁵ This was also the view of B.D. Meritt, *BCH* 88 (1964) pp.413-415, despite the testimony of Klaffenbach. Later, Meritt was to accept the potential alpha (*Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 121 [1977] pp.437-447).

⁶ *AJA* 59 (1955) p.59.

he was uncompromisingly negative: “the stone itself now affords no evidence for the reading of any letter; the surface is smooth... In my opinion it is clear that the stone is not going to give the evidence of what name is to be read... Wear on the surface has obliterated the name of the archon, and the epigraphist and the historian must accept this fact”. Pritchett’s gloomy conclusion is related to the shameful abuse of the stone: it was evidently used at some time as a threshold stone; a cavity was hollowed in it to receive the support for a door, and the critical letters, along with many others, were systematically erased over the years by the opening and closing of the door.⁷ We agree, however, with Raubitschek and other investigators who have accepted this vertical as a deliberately carved letter or part of one.

A.G. Woodhead was also cautious about trying to recover the tantalizing name, for in *IG* i³ 11 he accepts the vertical that stands two stoichoi before]ov but prints only [.] before]ov, observing that “in lectione ita disputata textum sine supplemento relinquere sapientis est”. This was also the conclusion of Bradeen and McGregor: discussing Raubitschek’s “round” letter in stoichos 36, they found that the “roughly oval shape is cut, above and below, by... scratches; for scratches, probably, are what we are discussing. We conclude that they were not made by a chisel and that they are not the relics of any letter. In this stoichos nothing can be read and nothing can even be suspected”.⁸ They read only [-][.]ov, although they favored Habron and printed [hó]β[ρ]ov, with dotted beta, in their articulated text.⁹

Meanwhile another candidate for the archonship had emerged, Antiphon (418/). His first sponsor was H.B. Mattingly,¹⁰ who was supported by J.D. Smart;¹¹ but Mattingly later withdrew his own suggestion, preferring not to base any argument on the two doubtful

⁷ See Plate I.1. Even more comically, someone once painted the inventory (?) number 266 practically under the archon’s name; the offending paint has been removed (with part of some letters?).

⁸ Bradeen and McGregor, *Studies* pp.76ff.

⁹ McGregor, writing with D.W. Madsen, restated his allegiance to Habron, *Phoenix* 33 (1979) pp.233-238 (hereafter McGregor and Madsen), referring with approval to a paper supporting Habron by Meritt, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 121 (1977) pp.437-447.

¹⁰ *Historia* 12 (1963) pp.268ff.

¹¹ *JHS* 92 (1972) pp.130ff.

letters before Jov. ¹² The case for Antiphon was revived by T.E. Wick.¹³ He described the now famous “round” letter, stoichos 36, as an oval with a faint trace of a vertical under it, thus as a phi. Wick also contributed importantly to the debate by showing the need to measure the intervals between letters. He obtained the support of J.M. Balcer, who in a letter to him reported that he had been able to read $\text{J}\text{I}\phi\text{O}\nu$.¹⁴ However, in Wick’s paper, neither the photographs of the stone, supplied by Meritt, or those of his own squeeze were clear enough to prove his case, and mere descriptions of what one claims to have seen do not carry conviction among the sceptical.

There is also the weighty objection that the mason usually carved tailed rho (there are ten tailed and two tailless rhos) and, above all, without exception carved three-barred sigma (13 examples). According to a widely accepted canon, three-barred sigmas were not used in Attic inscriptions after 446 nor tailed rhos after 438;¹⁵ McGregor and his two successive colleagues have repeatedly appealed to this canon to show that the mason worked before that year and, in fact, in 458/7.

III A STUDY THROUGH MEASUREMENTS AND ENHANCED PHOTOGRAPHS

In an effort to go beyond this apparent stalemate, a research team from UCLA has repeatedly studied the stone in the Museum. We have used two methods to determine the identity of the two letters in stoichoi 35-36. First, we have performed a series of measurements of the space between letters within a given line. If we measure from any clear iota to the beginning of the third following letter, the distance is usually about 4.0 cm. (example: line 4, $\text{I}\alpha\upsilon\tau$: from iota to the left end of the crossbar of tau is about 3.98 cm., this

¹² *Istituto ital. di numismatica, Annali* 12-14 (1965-1967) *Supplemento* (publ. 1969) p.205 n.7; he now dated the alliance to 421/0 or 418/7 (pp.213-217). Mattingly showed some sympathy for the position of Bradeen and McGregor (*Studies* pp.76ff.) in *AJP* 105 (1984) p.347. In *Chiron* 16 (1986) pp.167-170, he returned to Antiphon and pointed to the acceptance of this name by other witnesses, especially Fordyce Mitchel; but this falls short of proof.

¹³ *JHS* 95 (1975) pp.186-190 with pls.XXIII-XXIV.

¹⁴ *CP* 76 (1981) p.12f.

¹⁵ Professor P.J. Rhodes points out to us that this canon is a fairly old one: see, for example, *SIG* iii.1 (1915) pp.42-43 (on no.41), “litterae J forma aetatem anno 446 antiquiorem indicat”. The classic modern statement of this canon: R. Meiggs, *JHS*, 86 (1966) pp.86-98. So too M. Walbank, in *ΦΟΡΟΣ: Tribute to Benjamin Dean Meritt* (edd. D.W. Bradeen & M.F. McGregor) (Locust Valley: 1974) pp.161-169 and *Athenian Proxeny of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Toronto: 1978) pp. 31-51.

being the average of five measurements). This distance holds good for the potential reading $\text{I}\varphi\omicron\nu$ in line 3 (average of five measurements from iota to the left hasta of nu, 4.086 cm.).¹⁶ On the other hand, if we measure from the beginning of a clearly preserved broad letter beginning with a vertical to the beginning of another broad letter in the third space following the distance is normally distinctly greater (e.g. line 13, $\epsilon\kappa\omicron\lambda$: from beginning of epsilon to beginning of lambda, average of five measurements, 4.46 cm.). The group $\text{I}\beta\rho\nu$, required for the archon Habron, begins with such a broad letter and would be incompatible with the space now occupied by $\text{I}\varphi\omicron\nu$; therefore the vertical in line 3 is not part of beta and is an iota. These measurements are presented in Appendix II. All these considerations tell against Habron as the potential archon in the year when the inscription was carved.

If Habron is eliminated, can we determine the actual archon? To this end, we turn to our second method and present the results of photography under many different kinds of light. We subjected our photographs to enhancement by a computer, using the same method by which images are recovered and then enhanced from explorations in space. The first enhancements were performed by the firm of Unisys, Camarillo, California, under the supervision of Mr. John Addington; we have also had the generous cooperation of Professor M. Fourney of UCLA. We give here a brief account of the process.¹⁷

From the many photographs taken of the stone, those were selected that showed concentrated detail at the 18% gray point. Such photographs appear dark and saturated with color to the human eye, but they contain the most information. Within the copying process, the pictures were defocused, a procedure acting as a low pass spatial filter that deemphasizes granularity and presents groove features as connected lines. Selected positive transparency photographs were digitized in high resolution and stored on digital magnetic tape for easy access. In the digitizing process, the image processor assigns a numerical value (from 0 to

¹⁶ Bradeen and McGregor, *Studies* p.76, report that their own "prolonged and repeated tests" convinced them that the vertical of line 3 is neither centered nor at the extreme left of its stoichos. They thought it was more to the left than to the center and stood immediately under the vertical of the first epsilon of $\epsilon\pi\rho\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon$ in line 2. We are inclined to agree that the vertical does stand a little to the left of the exact center of its stoichos. Photographs show, however, that the vertical is not immediately under the vertical of this epsilon in line 2; and if the vertical in line 3 were the first hasta of H it would have to be at the extreme left of its stoichos. They go on to say that "it could belong to a letter requiring a left-hand vertical or to one requiring a centered vertical; its position is not conclusive". R. Meiggs and D.M. Lewis, in the addenda to the revised edition of their *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p.310, incline to accept the vertical but "think it is on the left of its space". In reply to these statements we offer our measurements and photographs: see Plates II-III and Color Plates A & B.

¹⁷ For an introduction to the terminology and procedures of this process in a widely available place, see *Understanding Computers: Computer Images*, Time-Life Books (Alexandria: 1986), especially pp.39-43.

255 for each level of brightness) to each minuscule segment of any image, according to the depth of the cutting (these segments are called pixels); it then produces the image on command by reading the various values of brightness. Both linear and histogram equalized contrast enhancement improved the visibility of features. Pan zooming and windowing were used to magnify and focus on certain parts of the photographs. Pseudo-color (that is, the deliberate introduction of colors not on the stone) improved the range of features visible to the eye.

Comparisons based on human observation remain subjective, but the image processor, free of the wish to discover any archon on historical grounds, showed that 35 and 36 are most probably iota, phi.

In addition to photographing the surface, we directed a laser beam through the stone in order to capture the letter in stoichos 36 from within and bring it out through the surface; for the mason's strokes have disturbed the crystals of the stone and have left their imprint even under the surface: the stone is still alive. In order not to neglect any possible pattern of informed crystals under the surface, we directed the laser beam through the stone from the back, the sides and the front. We had the greatest success when the beam came through the stone from the back. On the surface appeared a clearly rounded shape in stoichos 36 that could not be rho and can be interpreted as phi.¹⁸ The reader has, however, the right to expect more than a description of our software program and its results. We therefore publish some computer-enhanced pictures of the famous letters: Plates II-III and Color Plates A & B.

Iota. This vertical is of precisely the same length as the other clear iotas on the stone and, as we have stated, is virtually in the center of its stoichos. The photographs, we submit, leave little doubt about the identity of this letter and confirm the evidence of the measurements already set forth. A note on the image of the iota: the reader will see a couple of small diagonal marks, slanting down to the right, near the top of the vertical. These are the result of damage to the stone and are not part of the enclosed sections of a beta: the only preserved betas (βολῆς, line 12; πρεσβείαν, line 14) are carved with rounded loops,

¹⁸ Professor A.S. Henry, in his response to this paper at the epigraphy conference, pointed out that some kinds of fragile marble (e.g. Parian) can suffer distortion of the crystals under the surface when struck with a chisel, and suggested that such a reaction could lead to a deformed letter underneath. In this case a laser photograph might recover the deformed letter and might not be a reliable guide to what was once inscribed on the surface. This might be true of Parian (or other) marble, but our stone is of Attic (probably Pentelic) fabric, which is denser and tougher. The reader will decide whether the phi in the group φονε in our photographs (Plates II-III and Color Plates A & B) is really some other letter that has suffered distortion – or, indeed, haphazard distortion of crystals not forming any letter at all.

with which these small diagonal marks are incompatible.¹⁹

Phi. The establishment of either of the two letters automatically identifies the other: only Antiphon can be matched with the reading]ι.ον (or with].φον). The next letter, 36, has suffered much damage; yet enough is left to show at once that there is considerable carving on the left side. If this letter were rho (as the reading Habron requires), then there should be no carving whatever on the left side, only a severe vertical. A long scar runs through it from upper left to lower right; the letter extends well around this scar. There are also two or three small marks above and to the right of this diagonal scar, forming a shape like a small tent. These marks too seem to be largely damage or “noise”, and they are not part of the letter as it was carved. The loop of phi itself actually lies to the left of the diagonal scar. The damage on the right side of the letter attracts the eye and gives the impression, at first, that the phi is both too broad and wrongly placed, as if it were too close to the omicron following it; but this is not so. We were able to see and measure its loop with the aid of two strong standing lamps; it is 0.82 cm. high, exactly the height of the omicron to the right. Moreover, the right edge of its loop is 0.55 cm. from the left edge of the loop of the following omicron; and the right edge of the omicron is 0.54 cm. from the left hasta of the clear nu following. In other words, when one eliminates and disregards the damage on the right side of the phi, the letter turns out to be in its correct position.

There is only one fully preserved phi on the stone, that of Εὔφεμο[ς (line 13; the second phi φσέ]φισμα in line 11 is incomplete): see Plate I.2. Interestingly, the distance from the vertical of upsilon to the left edge of the loop of phi in Εὔφεμο[ς is 0.98 cm., precisely the distance between iota and the left edge of the loop of phi in line 3.²⁰ This is a further confirmation that the iota in line 3 is in the center of its stoichos and is indeed an iota.

We also note that the vertical of the clear phi (line 13) stops at the bottom of the loop and neither bisects it nor appears at the top (it is not clear whether this is also true of the incomplete phi in 11). This seems to be true of the letter that we identify as phi in line 3, as Plates II-III and Color Plates A & B show. Here we may consider the image that the laser

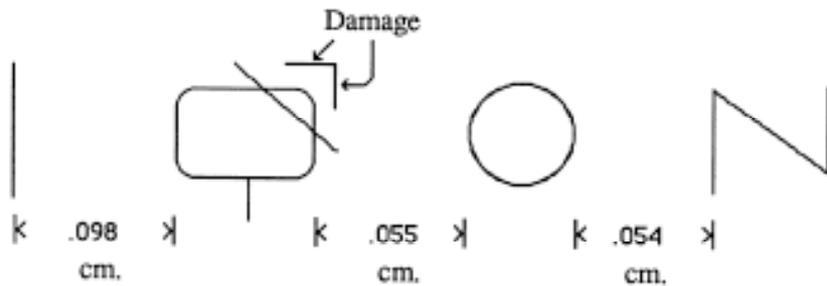
¹⁹ Bradeen and McGregor, *Studies* p.76, evidently refer to these marks when they say, “The hook at the top, however, which makes an angle that does not fit a letter and is very light, is a mere scratch” – we agree, but we see more than one light mark.

²⁰ This distance between the vertical of phi, which one expects to be in the center of a stoichos, and the beginning of a broad letter following is commensurate with that between iota and a following broad letter, i.e. normally about 1 cm.: e.g., from iota to alpha in line 14, 1.0 cm.; from iota to chi in line 14, 1.0; from epsilon to iota in line 16, 0.95; from the same iota to the following tau, 0.9.

beam, directed at the back of the stone (and also at the front, using a diffused beam), brought out through the front at line 3, stoichos 36: see Plates II-III. It is clearly a rounded letter that could not be rho; it is possible to see a small mark under the letter that may well be the vertical of phi. This rounded image looks rather larger than the one on the surface, but this is probably the result of the spreading out of strokes under the surface.

To return to the surface: at this point it is badly worn (and some epigraphists, as we have seen, have renounced the attempt to read any letter), but even to the naked eye traces are visible. Yet the letter is distorted and worn. Probably we are seeing it on a somewhat lower level of the surface of the marble. As letters wear away, they do not always simply become faint: what remains of their shape can change. An experiment confirmed this theory. We obtained a piece of marble in Athens and asked a mason to carve a phi on it. When we rubbed this down with an emery cloth, the grooves of the letter did not simply vanish but broke up and spread out, as the phi in our line 3 has done.

The preserved letters of the archon's name can be sketched thus:



We have also studied the remaining letters on the stone and give the text of the inscription as we have been able to read it.²¹

418/7 BC

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 48 (except line 1)

Χσυμμαχία καὶ ἡόρκ]ο[ς Ἀθηναίων κα]ῖ Ἐγεσταί[ον
 ἔδοχσεν τῆι βολῆι καὶ τ]ῶι [δέμοι·ῖς] ἐπρυτάνευε, [...
 --ἐγραμμάτευε, --]ο[....ἐ]π[εστάτε, Ἀντ]ιφῶν ἔρχε, Ἀρ[....

4εἶπε· περὶ Ἐγεσταί]ιο[ν τόνδε τὸν ἡόρκον] δῶναι αὐτο[ῖσιν·

²¹ The restorations are in part those of Woodhead, *ap.* Bradeen and McGregor, *Studies* pp.71ff. (Woodhead's text and commentary are also presented in *IG* i³ 11.)

χσύμμαχοι ἐσόμεθα ἀδ[όλ]οις α[ί]ει Ἐγεσταίοις· ἐὰν δ[ὲ] δ[έ]ονται,
 ὀφελίαν παρέξομεν καὶ πί[στι]ν· βολὲν δὲ ὁμόσαι τὸν Δί[α] καὶ π-
 8 ἄσας τὰς ἀρχάς· ἦοι δὲ ἠ[ε]ρ[ῆ]ς π[ρ]ο[σθ]έν[τ]ον ἠερὰ ἡόσομ[περ] ἐπ-
 ἰτέδεια τοῖς ὁμόσοσι τ[ὸ]ν ἡόρκ[ο]ν ἂν δοκεῖ. ἡόπος δ' ἂν ὁμό[σοσ]-
 ἰν ἡάπαντες ἦοι στρατ[ε]γοὶ ἐπιμελεθέν[τον]. κατ[ά]γγελτο[ν] δὲ
 πρέσβυν πέμψαι μετὰ τὸν ἡορκοτὸν ἡόπο[ς] ἂν ἠυπ' Ἐγ[ε]σταίον
 12 τὰδε ὁμνυθεῖ. τὸ δὲ φσέ[φ]ισμα τόδε καὶ τὸν ἡόρκ[ο]ν ἀναγ[ρ]ά[φ]σα-
 ἰ ἐστέλει λιθίνει ἐμ π[ό]λει τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς· [ἦοι δὲ π-
 ολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντ]ον· ἦοι δὲ κολακρέται δό[ν]το[ν] τὸ ἀργύρ-
 ἰον· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπ[ὶ] χσένια τὲν πρεσβείαν τῶν Ἐγ[ε]σταίον
 ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἐς τὸν νομιζόμενον χρόνον. Ὑ Εὐφεμο[ς] εἶπε· τὰ
 16 μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῆ β[ολ]ῆι· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπειδὴν π[ρ]έσβες Ἐγ-
 εσταίον ἀφικνῶνται, ἡο κῆ[ρ]υχς προσαγ[έ]το.....¹⁴.....
²⁵.....σ π²¹.....

lacuna

TRANSLATION

Alliance and oath between the Athenians and the Egestans. Resolved by the council and the people: –is held the prytany, – was secretary, – presided, Antiphon was archon, Ar..... moved: As concerns the Egestans, let the following oath be given them. We shall be faithful allies of the Egestans forever. If they request it, we shall provide them assistance and security. The council and all the magistrates shall swear in the name of Zeus. The priests shall offer offerings, as many as may be deemed suitable by those who are to swear the oath. The generals shall take care that all swear the oath. An envoy shall be named and sent along with those who are to swear the oath [in Egesta], to see to it that these provisions be sworn to by the Egestans. The secretary of the council shall have this decree and the oath inscribed on a stone stele on the Acropolis; the poletai shall let the contract; the kolakretai shall provide the money. The embassy of the Egestans shall be invited to dinner at the prytaneion at the usual time. Euphemos moved: The preceding shall stand as resolved by the council. But in the future, whenever envoys from the Egestans arrive, the herald shall bring [them before the council?].

COMMENTARY

We offer a complete restoration, in which we incorporate suggestions from some colleagues, in order to show the structure of the decree and to demonstrate how the text may have read. We trust that others will improve on our restorations.

1 Bradeen and McGregor, Woodhead; but we cannot see several letters that they read with dots.

3 Epigraphically the dotted pi could also be gamma or epsilon; but if Antiphon is right, pi is

required. Our restoration calls for a mover's name of ten letters, e.g. Ἀρίσταρχος. We cannot see the dotted alpha of W.'s Ἀρ[χί]α[ς]. Br. and McGr. rightly observe that the stroke interpreted as the right diagonal of alpha or delta is "rough and deep, 0.014 m. in length as opposed to the normal 0.011 m. "; we think it is a scar on the surface. It is not read by G. Nemeth, *Acta Archaeol. Acad. Sci. Hungaricae* 39 (1987) p.101. (We thank Professor D.M. Lewis for the reference to Nemeth's paper.)

4 We do not accept περὶ μὲν Ἐγεσταίου (W.), because "Attic decrees commonly begin without the particle" (Br. and McGr.), and because this phrase might call for, e.g., περὶ δὲ Λεοντίων (or some other name) in response. τὸν ἰσχυρὸν is read by W., Br. and McGr., but since no oath has yet been mentioned at the beginning of the decree, "the oath" seems inappropriate and we prefer "the following oath". The δ of δῶναι is faint but practically complete.

5 In the structure of the decree, the general terms of the oath should now be stated in the language of Greek diplomacy as it is attested in other documents. Cf. *IG* i³ 54, 21-23 (the Athens-Leontinoi alliance), σύ]νμα[χ]οὶ ἐσόμεθα Λεοντ[ί]ν[οι]ς ἀί]διο[ι] ἀδόλο[ι] κ]αὶ [ἀβλα]βῶς. A similar formula: *IG* i³ 53, 13f. (the Athens-Rhegium alliance), χσύ]μαχοὶ ἐσόμεθα πισ[τοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ἰσ]χυροὶ καὶ ἀβλαβῆς.

6 τος δι[.....] W., Br. and McGr., but the letter after o is uncertain. They restore τὸς δι[καστᾶς because the Athenian dicasts swear the oath in the treaty with Chalcis (*IG* i³ 40, 4), but there the context is different: the dicasts promise not to use their power to exile any Chalcidians or to take other arbitrary action. In our decree the powers of the dicasts are not in question and these officials need not be mentioned. For swearing by Zeus cf. *IG* i³ 37, 52-53 (the Colophon decree), νὲ τὸν Δί]α.

7 The priests now perform certain rites to secure the good will of the gods. The rough breathing of ἰσόμε]περ, clear on the stone, is bracketed in error by W., Br. and McGr.

8-9 The generals are to see that all take the oath in the Chalcis decree, lines 19-20.

9 το[, a new reading, is clear; the tau is complete, the omicron is well shaped, weakly preserved but acceptable. We suggest a form of καταγγέλλω, "proclaim, report"; cf. Thuc. 7.48.1, καταγγέλλτους γίγνεσθαι (of troops). An envoy will be named and sent off to Egesta along with the Athenians who are to swear to the treaty there.

10 Most of the left side of the second o of ἰσόμε] is preserved.

15 The upper rim of the o of Euphemos' name is visible. H.B. Mattingly has well pointed

out²² that the formula, “at the usual time”, can be paralleled only from an inscription much later than 458/7, *viz.* *IG* i³ 165, dated by Lewis to before 420 (thus near to 420?). We note that Meiggs and Lewis, in the addenda to their second edition, acknowledge “some force” in the inference that this phrase points to a low date for our decree. ἐς αὖριον is the more common phrase.

17 The ε before Ἰρυχς, though read by W., Br. and McGr., is too uncertain; Nemeth also omits it.

This inscription belongs, therefore, to the year of Antiphon, 418/7. The evidence of the enhanced photographs is clear, and in some ways this paper might end here. But there remain two issues for discussion, since they have both played a part in the attempt of some scholars to place the treaty with Egesta in the 450s.

IV THE EGESTANS IN ATHENS

The new date for the inscription requires us to reconstruct the events leading to the Athenian expedition of 415-413 against Syracuse; for envoys from Egesta played a major role in enticing Athens into this intervention (Thuc. 6.6.2). In Thucydides’ narrative, the Egestans remind the Athenians of an alliance made when the Athenian general Laches was sent to Sicily in 427 BC (Thuc. 3.86.1). Thucydides’ words at this point are unusually hard to interpret: ὥστε τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ Λάχητος καὶ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου Λεοντίνων οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι ξυμμαχίαν ἀναμιμνήσκοντες τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐδέοντο σφίσι ναῦς πέμψαντας (**JK**; -τες *rell.*) ἐπαμῦναι. Between whom was this alliance made? The possible parties are:

1. Athens and Egesta
2. Athens and Leontinoi
3. Egesta and Leontinoi²³

Translators and interpreters, including the leading commentators on Thucydides, have understood this passage in different ways. We survey the varying interpretations in Appendix I. The differing translations seem to show that we cannot recover the meaning of this sentence through mere linguistic or philological method; historical and political

²² *Historia* 25 (1976) pp.42-44; *AJP* 105 (1984) pp.342-344.

²³ In strict theory we might add Athens, or Egesta, or Leontinoi, and some unnamed state, or even two unnamed states; but few would seriously suggest such remote possibilities.

information must play a part. We may consider the possible members of the alliance in turn.

1. Athens and Egesta. We now know that the treaty recorded on *IG* ɩ³ 11 was passed in 418/7; but the Egestan envoys in Thucydides do not refer to it, rather to an alliance formed in 427, “in the time of Laches”. Are we to believe, then, that the alliance formed in 427 was between Athens and Egesta?²⁴ Apparently not: the evidence from Diodorus (12.82.3-7) seems decisive against this possibility. He records under the year 416 that war broke out between Egesta and Selinus, in this agreeing with Thucydides (6.6.2). He goes on to add that the Egestans at first sought an alliance with Acragas and Syracuse; failing with these, they then turned to Carthage; “when they too refused, the Egestans began to seek some alliance overseas” – that is, with Athens. We may, with Georg Busolt,²⁵ doubt that Egesta appealed to Syracuse, but even the critical Busolt allows the historicity of Egesta’s appeal to Acragas and Carthage.²⁶ In any case, if an Athens-Egesta alliance had been made in the time of Laches, the Egestans’ “search for an overseas alliance” would have been unnecessary. Accordingly, the alliance of which the Egestans “reminded” the Athenians in Thucydides was not one between Athens and Egesta.

But could it be that it was not a strict, formal “alliance” to which the Egestans pointed in Thucydides? K.J. Dover observes that *ξυμμαχία* in Thucydides at least once may mean “collaboration in the field”, “fighting-on-the-same-side”.²⁷ Yet perhaps this meaning is unlikely here in view of Thucydides’ use of almost exactly the same words at 6.75.2, where the Athenians have sent an embassy to Camarina *κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Λάχητος γενομένην ξυμμαχίαν*; and here the meaning “alliance” seems clear; moreover, *ξυμμαχία* with *γίγνομαι* is commonly used of “forming an alliance” (e.g. 1.102.4, 2.68.8, 3.10.2).

²⁴ Madsen and McGregor, p.237f., think so: for them, the original alliance, recorded on our inscription, was made in the year of Habron and renewed in 427. But it is no longer possible to date the inscription to Habron’s year; thus if their argument is to hold – if, that is, the alliance was between Athens and Egesta – the alliance must have been first made in 427.

²⁵ *Griechische Geschichte*² iii.2 (Gotha: 1904) p.1274 n.2.

²⁶ The importance of Diodorus’ narrative is also recognized by E. Roos, *Opusc. Ath.* 4 (1962) pp.19ff. Despite his general superficiality, he was a Sicilian and cannot easily be dismissed when he writes about his own island.

²⁷ A.W. Gomme, A. Andrewes and K.J. Dover, *A Historical Commentary on Thucydides* iv (Oxford: 1981) p.221. He cites 6.80.1, where Hermocrates urges the people of Camarina not to be despondent, *ἰέναι δὲ ἐς τὴν ξυμμαχίαν προθυμότερον*. But even here *ξυμμαχία* may well mean “alliance” (“we have new encouragement to league together”, Crawley), for Hermocrates, the speaker, has referred in 6.79.1 to the Athens-Camarina alliance.

Even if *ξυμμαχία* does mean “fighting-on-the-same-side” in 6.6.2, it is still hard to find a reference to military collaboration between Athens and Egesta, “in the time of Laches”, since Egesta did not share in the fighting in which Athens took part in 427 (see Thuc. 3.86.1-2).

Roos²⁸ accepted the implications of Diodorus’ version (that Egesta had no alliance with Athens before 416) but was embarrassed by the evidence of an alliance in our inscription, which he dated to the 450s. In order to maintain that there was no Athens-Egesta military alliance (or “Bündnis”) before the appeal in Thucydides 6.6.2, he pointed out that the word *χσυνμαχία* (or *χσυμμ-*) appears nowhere in the text as preserved on the stone and suggested that this treaty was merely one of friendship, thus a treaty that did not commit either party to military action. Such a military alliance, a *ξυμμαχία* is what the Egestans sought in 6.6.2. But, since the inscription is no longer to be dated to the 450s, Roos’s difficulties vanish. Moreover, as Meiggs and Lewis point out, we seem to have no treaties of mere friendship until later periods. It is true that the word *χσυνμαχία* is not preserved on the stone, but we find attractive the restoration of the heading, *χσυνμαχία καὶ ἡόρκος Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἐγεσταιών*, proposed by Bradeen and McGregor,²⁹ and we restore *χσύμμαχοι* in line 5. Whatever the text originally written on *IG* i³ 11, we think it was a military alliance or *ξυμμαχία*.

2. Athens and Leontinoi. This alternative – that the Egestan envoys remind the Athenians of the alliance that the Athenians had made with Leontinoi – was first proposed, as far as we know, in the translation by V. Winsemius (Wittenberg: 1580)³⁰ and, in a more familiar place, by Thomas Hobbes (London: 1629 etc.). Dover, who accepts this view (see n. 27), reaches his conclusion by separating *πόλεμος* from *Λεοντίνων* in the difficult sentence at 6.6.2. He notes that “*πόλεμος* c. gen. means ‘war against’ or ‘war conducted by’”; 1.32.4 is a good example: here the envoys of Corcyra refer to the *πόλεμος Κορινθίων*, which can mean either “the war we are waging against the Corinthians” or “the war the Corinthians are waging against us”. For Dover, the Sicilian war of 427 was not a war waged against (or waged by) Leontinoi, rather a war “about Leontinoi”. We admit, though, that the objections brought by Madsen and McGregor (p.235) against this strict interpretation

²⁸ Roos, *op.cit.* pp.22-25.

²⁹ *Studies* p.71f.; we do not designate here their dotted and restored letters, and confess we cannot read all the letters that they saw on the stone.

³⁰ Cited by Roos, *op.cit.* p.15 n.38.

seem to have some force: the war of 427, they say, was “one in which the Leontines participated prominently”, and one could rather easily describe it as a war waged against (or by) Leontinoi.

If, then, we combine *πολέμου* with *Λεοντίνων*, we obtain the translation, “the Egestans reminded the Athenians of the alliance (or: the military collaboration) made during the time of Laches and the time of the war fought against (or by) the Leontines”. This translation has the disadvantage that it does not say between whom the alliance was made (or among whom the military collaboration took place). Still, Thucydides may have been relying on his reader to infer that the alliance was between Athens and Leontinoi.

J. Classen, in his edition (Berlin: 1876, *ad loc.*), deleted *Λεοντίνων* from the text, in which he is followed by Stahl in his revision of Poppo, Hude, Bodin and de Romilly, and some others. By this means Classen sought to cause the text to refer to a previous general informal military cooperation among Athens and those Sicilian states that had resisted Syracusan hegemony in the time of Laches.³¹

Dover reaches his version of the sentence by concentrating on the phrase *Λεοντίνων οἱ Ἐγεσταῖοι ξυμμαχίαν ἀναμιμνήσκοντες*. By the rough juxtaposition of *Λεοντίνων* and *Ἐγεσταῖοι* Thucydides, in Dover's interpretation, “comments on the unusualness of this procedure” (by which the Egestans remind the Athenians of the latter's alliance with Leontinoi). The historian does indeed indulge in this kind of arresting hyperbaton,³² and Dover's translation is possible: in fact, if we follow him in separating *πολέμου* from *Λεοντίνων*, it is inevitable.³³

3. Egesta and Leontinoi. As we have seen, if we associate the word *πολέμου* with *Λεοντίνων*, it is also possible to translate our difficult sentence as “the Egestans reminded the Athenians of the alliance (or the military collaboration) between Egesta and Leontinoi made during the time of Laches and the time of the war fought by the Leontines”. Steup and Roos both choose this interpretation. Roos's chief argument is that two inscriptions, *IG* i³ 54 and 53, record alliances made by Athens with Leontinoi and Rhegium, respectively, in

³¹ Classen evidently thought that the offending word, *Λεοντίνων*, could not be construed with *πολέμου* (so Dover).

³² For example 4.135.1, *Ἀπεπείρασε δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ ὁ Βρασίδης τελευτῶντος καὶ πρὸς ἔαρ ἤδη Ποτειδαίας*. For further examples, mostly concerning the article and shorter words, cf. H. Scheiding, ‘De hyperbato Thucydideo’ (part 1, no more published?), *Progr. Städt. Evang. Gymn. zu Jauer* (1867) pp.1-16.

³³ It is, however, resisted by Madsen and McGregor, p.237: “far too subtle even for Thucydides”.

433/2 BC; and the Egestans could not say that the Athens-Leontinoi alliance was made (γενομένην) under Laches (427 BC) if the alliance really went back to 433/2.³⁴ Roos's argument would vanish if we were to interpret *ξυμμαχία* as "fighting-on-the-same-side", for such could surely have been said to have taken place in the time of Laches and to have involved Athens and Leontinoi; or, again, if the Athens-Leontinoi alliance had been made in 433/2 and renewed under Laches, and if the Egestans referred to the renewed alliance as γενομένην under Laches.

Steup's argument rests on interpreting *αὐτῶν*, farther on in 6.6.2, to refer to the Leontinoi: εἰ Συρακόσιοι Λεοντίνους τε ἀναστήσαντες ἀτιμώρητοι γενήσονται καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἔτι ξυμμάχους αὐτῶν διαφθείροντες..., "if the Syracusans, who had already driven the Leontinoi from their homes, were allowed to go unpunished for that, and were also to destroy their (*αὐτῶν*) remaining allies..."; for Steup, "their" allies means "allies of Leontinoi", and among their "remaining allies" who must not be destroyed are the Egestans, who indeed were under Syracusan pressure at the time. Roos also refers *αὐτῶν* to the Leontinoi, while Dover refers it to the Athenians.

Madsen and McGregor (p.233 n.3) dismiss this interpretation (that the Egestans refer to an Egesta-Leontinoi alliance) as "grotesque history", but that is a matter of opinion. Certainly the view of Steup and Roos is linguistically possible; but is it the most likely interpretation? For the Egestans to argue, "we made an alliance (or fought together with)" the Leontines in the time of Laches; we now call on you Athenians to do the same with us would surely be less effective as rhetoric than our second possibility, "you Athenians made an alliance with Leontinoi in the time of Laches, when they were under attack from Syracuse; we now call on you to make an alliance with us, who are under a similar attack".

It therefore appears that Dover and his predecessors are right, that the Egestans in Thucydides are referring to a *ξυμμαχία* that the Athenians had made with Leontinoi in 427. If the word means only "military collaboration", there is no further problem, since the

³⁴ The canonical view (see Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI*, commentary to no.63) is that these alliances of 433/2 were renewals of alliances made in the 440s. But some maintain that they were made first in 433/2 and are not renewals: H.B. Mattingly, *Historia* 12 (1963) p.272; J.D. Smart, *JHS* 92 (1972) pp.142-146. Both treaties have prescripts that have been carved in long erasures, in the Leontinoi decree, at least, by a different hand from that of the body of the decree. E. Ruschenbusch agrees with Mattingly and Smart and proposes an ingenious hypothesis that would explain why the prescripts of both decrees had to be erased when a mistake, caused by a defective master copy, was discovered in each: *ZPE* 19 (1975) pp.225-232; a reply, D.M. Lewis, *ZPE* 22 (1976) pp.223-225. Dover points out, *ad loc.*, that *γενέσθαι* can function as the passive of *ποιήσασθαι*, so that a renewal of the Athens-Leontinoi treaty under Laches could be described as γενομένην.

Athenians under Laches did fight along with Leontinoi (Thuc. 3.86). If the word means a formal alliance, a treaty, it is true that Thucydides tells us of no Athenian-Leontine decree of alliance passed in 427. But, as Madsen and McGregor point out, he also omits mention of the Athens-Camarina alliance, which is first referred to at 6.75.3 (winter 415/4); and here we learn that it was actually made “in the time of Laches”, thus in 427; so there is no obstacle to our believing that some kind of Athens-Leontinoi agreement was also made in the same era. Since the Athenians went to the aid of Leontinoi, according to Thucydides 3.86.3, “in accordance with an old alliance”, not further specified³⁵ but clearly antedating 427, the diplomatic agreement in the time of Laches must have been a renewal of the previously existing alliance.

Such is our understanding of the possible meanings of the “reminder” given to the Athenians by the Egestan envoys. But, since the Athens-Egesta alliance on *IG* i³ 11 is now dated to 418/7, we must face the question raised by Russell Meiggs and others, “why do the Egestan envoys in Thucydides, when appealing for Athenian help in 415, not even mention their recent alliance?”³⁶ Perhaps this question should be addressed to Thucydides, who had his own reasons for writing as he did, but it deserves an attempt at an answer.

It is indeed inconceivable that the Egestans would arrive in Athens, seeking military assistance when facing virtual extinction, and not point to an alliance only recently concluded in support of their request. Even in a summary of a debate Thucydides must have been concerned to invent language in which this recent alliance would play a part. He is careful to indicate that the Athenians made their decision to intervene in Sicily in winter 416/5 (6.1.1); they sent envoys to verify the Egestans' financial stability in that same year; the envoys returned, with Egestan representatives, “in the following spring”, 415 (6.8.1). Yet nowhere is the alliance of 418/7 mentioned: the alliance that was made, as Diodorus clarifies, after Egesta had looked in vain for help closer to home. If Thucydides knew of this alliance he omitted it from his narrative, as he omitted events like the transfer of the treasury of the Delian League from Delos to Athens in (probably) 454.

His omission of the moving of the treasury can be explained on various hypotheses; but it is hard to suppose that he would have been content with a narrative that left the Egestans begging for help without causing them to refer to the very agreement that practically

³⁵ This could be the alliance made in the 440s and renewed in 433/2, if the canonical view about *IG* i³ 54 is right (see previous note).

³⁶ *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford: 1972) p.599.

committed the Athenians to send such help. The problem would remain even if we were to guess that the agreement of 418/7 was a renewal of an earlier alliance: the Egestans must then point to the renewal, the most recent statement of their friendship with the Athenians. We are driven to the conclusion that Thucydides (and Diodorus) did not know of the treaty recorded on *IG* i³ 11. The modern historian regards Thucydides as generally well informed, and with good reason. Be it remembered, though, that he was in exile from 424 for at least 20 years and that his work is unfinished. He tells us that he spent most of his time with the Peloponnesians owing to his exile (5.26.5), and there is no difficulty in accepting the fact that his informants did not tell him that a treaty, whose precise terms we do not know, had preceded the Egestans' arrival in Athens in winter 416/5. It must indeed have been on the strength of this treaty, partly preserved on our inscription, that they soon afterwards arrived to claim Athens' support.

Another suggestion is that of J.D. Smart.³⁷ Writing before the date of the Egesta alliance was known, he nonetheless offers a scenario based on the supposition, put forth by Mattingly, that it was created in 418/7. In his reconstruction, the Egestans' appeal in Thucydides 6.6.2 took place in 418/7, say spring 417, and led to the acceptance of the alliance. The following events – the Athenian visit to Sicily, the tricking of the envoys by the Egestans with their borrowed gold and silver plate (6.46), the return of the Athenians along with Egestans bringing 60 talents of silver – took longer than Thucydides' narrative states and took place at some time within 417 and 416, not all within 416/5. This chronological inaccuracy within Thucydides' narrative would be caused by his absence from Athens and his inability to pin down the exact course of events. In this reconstruction, he knew of the alliance but got its date wrong. However we try to answer Meiggs's question, we cannot date the alliance with Egesta to any year but 418/7, the year of Antiphon.

The placing of the alliance in 418/7 invites us to discuss Athenian foreign policy in this era. It was always rather difficult to find reasons why Athens and a non-Greek city in western Sicily should make an alliance in 458/7, the year of Habron, since at that time Athens was heavily engaged in supporting the revolt of the Libyan prince Inaros in Egypt.³⁸ Meiggs indeed tried to construct reasons for the alliance at this time: "In 458-457 [Athens]

³⁷ *JHS* 92 (1972) pp.130ff. We react with reserve to Smart's suggestion that Thucydides has deliberately left in obscurity the moment when Athens made the alliance in order to give the impression of an ignorant, impassioned *demos* rushing to its ruin.

³⁸ Thuc. 1.104. The exact date of the beginning of Inaros' revolt can be disputed, but it must have been in progress during 458.

was riding high on the tide of success...[Athens may have made the alliance] in the buoyant mood that followed the reforms of Ephialtes and the first successes in Egypt".³⁹ These motives cannot be shown to be impossible, but it will be obvious that the new date, 418/7, provides a much better historical context, between Athens' first forward moves in Sicily in 427 (Thuc. 3.86 and 88) and the tragic decision to intervene against Syracuse.⁴⁰ Moreover, the Euphemus who proposed the rider in the decree may well be the "Sicilian expert" who was sent in winter 415/4 to persuade the people of Camarina to join the Athenian side.⁴¹

V LETTER FORMS IN ATTIC INSCRIPTIONS

The mason who carved our inscription usually carved rho with a tail: there appear to be ten tailed rhos and two tailless (lines 7, 15). According to the canon sponsored by Meiggs and some others, tailed rho was not used after 438; yet we find it on our stone along with its more modern partner. But in the discussion of the palaeography of Attic inscriptions, rho has been greatly overshadowed by sigma. Some have thought that the Athenians slammed the door on three-barred sigma in a single year and instructed their masons to use it no longer, or that the masons themselves simultaneously abandoned this form. Meritt, McGregor, Lewis and others adhere to this canon and have declined to consider any year lower than 446 for our decree, in which three-barred sigma is used exclusively. But this theory about the instant prohibition against the older form of sigma has never really been easy to believe. It has been weakened by the recognition that the pillar recording a choregic victory of Aristocrates, with three-barred sigma, is probably to be assigned to the 420s,⁴² but that is not the only ground for doubt.

The orthodox have even applied the canon so rigidly as to push the Standards Decree (as, we think, it should be called: it is about weights and measures as well as coinage) up into the 440s because a fragment of one copy of it, on Cos, has a three-barred sigma.⁴³ Yet this

³⁹ *The Athenian Empire* pp.101 and 599.

⁴⁰ For further discussion of the historical context, now shown to be right, see H.B. Mattingly in *Annali* (n.12 *supra*) pp.217-221

⁴¹ Thuc. 6.81. He may also have been the archon of 417/6.

⁴² T.L. Shear Jr., *Hesperia* 42 (1973) pp.173-175.

⁴³ D.M. Lewis has reviewed the whole problem of the Standards Decree in *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (ed. I. Carradice) (Oxford: 1987) pp.53-63. H.B. Mattingly replies, *ibid.* pp.65-71.

fragment is apparently cut on marble from an island, not from Attica;⁴⁴ therefore the Athenians must have sent a copy of the decree to Cos, as to other places, with instructions that it be inscribed and displayed. It would seem natural that the text of the decree, in the copy dispatched from Athens, was written in the Attic alphabet. The masons who inscribed the several copies from which fragments survive normally turned the Attic text into their own Ionic alphabets, but the mason on Cos retained the Attic. There is no obstacle to assuming that the text sent to Cos had three-barred sigma, nor does this letter any longer entail a date in the 440s for the inscribing of the copy on Cos.⁴⁵ It rather seems that we must seek a date for the Standards Decree through other methods.⁴⁶

H.B. Mattingly has done battle with this canon for a generation,⁴⁷ but he has not been able to produce one securely dated public inscription with three-barred sigma later than 446. Yet in commenting on Mattingly's first major papers, J. and L. Robert said, "Sa méthode nous paraît saine".⁴⁸ This judgement is now seen to be appropriate, for Mattingly is proved right at least to this extent, that three-barred sigma could be, and in fact was, written long after 446. His persistence in favor of his case, despite nearly universal opposition, has been an example of high intellectual courage and scholarly integrity. No one doubts that three-barred sigma gave way to the four-barred style, but we must now abandon the canon as a rigid criterion for dating inscriptions to the years before 445. We emphasize that only the computer-enhanced photographs have enabled us to read the decisive letters; down to this time the conclusions drawn by several scholars, and stated by Meiggs, from the available

⁴⁴ See the commentary in Meiggs and Lewis, *GHI*, to no.37. Lewis, *loc. cit.* (see previous note) p.58, seems to admit only that the marble of the Cos fragment is not Pentelic and is more like Parian than any of the other samples in the article of A. Georgiadis, *BCH* 89 (1965) pp.400-422; but he does not state that it is of island marble or that it was probably not carved in Athens.

⁴⁵ We can only guess why the mason on Cos used the Attic alphabet rather than the local Doric one. Perhaps he did so out of scrupulous regard for the Attic text that had been sent to Cos; perhaps he was an Athenian sent there to inscribe the text, for clause 10 (now numbered 8 by Lewis, *loc. cit.*, *supra* n.43, p.55) provides that the Athenians will set up the decree in public if an allied city refuses to do so. W.K. Pritchett conjectured that the mason was an Athenian who had moved to Cos but retained his "old" letter forms: *BCH* 87 (1963) pp.20-23.

⁴⁶ For the record, we think that the Standards Decree was recent news when Aristophanes parodied it in the *Birds* in 414 (lines 1038ff.).

⁴⁷ Beginning with *Proc. Class. Ass.* 54 (1957) pp.31ff., but above all in his long paper, *Historia* 10 (1961) pp.144-188, and in many other studies. Other scholars have questioned the dogma; e.g., E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPE* 19 (1975) pp.225-232; E. Erxleben, in his study of the Standards Decree, *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung* 21 (1971) pp.154-160; W.K. Pritchett, *BCH* 89 (1965) pp.425-427.

⁴⁸ *REG* 75 (1962) p.142.

evidence were logical. But we may also remember that we possess only a small portion of fifth-century Attic inscriptions, and that a strict palaeographic rule based on our small available sample is unlikely to be statistically cogent. Moreover, a large proportion of the dated inscriptions belong to public financial records, in which uniformity of style may have been desired. With the elimination of the canon regarding three-barred sigma, discussion of the dates of inscriptions on prosopographic and historical grounds can resume; and the abrupt statement of Ruschenbusch, "Die Datierungen einer Reihe athenischer Inschriften müssen erneut überprüft werden",⁴⁹ is confirmed.

MORTIMER CHAMBERS, RALPH GALLUCCI, PANTELIS SPANOS

University of California, Los Angeles

⁴⁹ *ZPE* 19 (1975) p.132

APPENDIX I

As we have seen, the long, complex third sentence of Thucydides 6.6.2 has inspired differing interpretations, of which we review a selection.

Lorenzo Valla, the first translator of Thucydides, offered: “itaque Egestani repetita memoria societatis sibi cum Lachete inite: et superioris belli Leontinorum obsecrabant Athenienses...”: “thus the Egestans, bringing up the memory of the alliance made with them by Laches, and also bringing up the memory of the previous war fought by the Leontini, begged the Athenians...”. B. Parthenius, in the *editio princeps* of Thucydides (a Latin translation based on Valla’s; Treviso: 1483), and H. Stephanus (= H. Etienne), in his editions (Geneva: 1564, 1588), repeat Valla’s translation with insignificant changes in punctuation: “Itaque Egestani repetita memoria societatis sibi cum Lachete initae, & superioris belli Leontinorum, obsecrabant Athenienses...”. But the Valla-Parthenius-Stephanus version allows the participle ἀναμνησκοντες to govern both the accusative ξυμμαχίαν and the genitive πόλεμος. Perhaps this interpretation cannot be wholly ruled out in the historian who strove for *variatio*, but it seems that the complex word order proved too much even for Valla.⁵⁰ In any case, for him, the alliance in the time of Laches was between Athens and Egesta. This view was also taken by Aemilius Portus (Frankfurt: 1594),⁵¹ John Hudson (Oxford: 1696), C.A. Duker (Amsterdam: 1731), Gottleber-Bauer-Beck (Leipzig: 1804), H. Dale (London: 1859 etc.) and Madsen and McGregor.

Meanwhile V. Winsemius⁵² (Wittenberg: 1580) was the first to identify the alliance as the one between Athens and Leontinoi and to offer “Quapropter Egestani Atheniensibus in memoriam redigentes societatem priore bello, quod duce Lachete gerebatur, cum Leontinis factam, petebant ab eis, ut classe missa auxilium sibi ferrent”. Hobbes (London: 1629) likewise gave “the Egestaeans, putting the Athenians in mind of their [apparently: the

⁵⁰ Valla’s translation of 1452 has been quoted down through the centuries for this or that phrase, from which we can theoretically recover the Greek text he had before him; but his translation has never been published as he wrote it. Early editors who professed to be printing it (e.g. Parthenius, Stephanus) often “edited” and changed it. The true text of his translation is available only in Vat. lat. 1801; we thank Sir Kenneth Dover for quoting it to us from his photocopy. For details on the perennial neglect of Valla’s version, see R.I.W. Westgate, *TAPA* 67 (1936) pp.240-251.

⁵¹ Portus did, however, correct Valla’s syntax, giving “Egestæi Atheniensibus in memoriam reducebant societatem [*cum ipsis factam*] Lachetis, & superioris Leontinorum belli tempore”.

⁵² A priest, an M.D., and Professor of Greek “in inclyta Academia Witebergensi”. We thank Professor Raphael Sealey for verifying the text of this rare work in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

Athenians'] former league with the Leontines made by Laches..."; so, even more clearly, S.T. Bloomfield (London: 1829), "the Egestaeans, reminding the Athenians of the alliance in the former war made by Laches with the Leontines"; William Smith (London: 1753 etc.) and B. Jowett (London: 1881) agreed. In our day this interpretation is supported by C.F. Smith (Loeb ed., London: 1921 etc.), Russell Meiggs,⁵³ and K.J. Dover.

C.F.F. Haacke (Leipzig: 1820; London: 1823) made an idiosyncratic suggestion that few have followed, understanding that Egesta had once joined *both* Athens and Leontinoi in an alliance, although admitting that Thucydides refers to no such system: "jam antea Egestaeos ad Atheniensium et Leontinorum societatem accessisse. Sed nusquam, quod sciam, Auctorum societatis diserte mentionem injecit" (a view somewhat like that of Classen; see *infra*).

E.F. Poppo, in his *editio maxima*,⁵⁴ rejected Haacke's idea and understood, with Hobbes, that the Egestans were calling on the Athenians to help them, as they had once helped Leontinoi: "ut prius his, ita tunc sibi contra Syracusanos auxiliari iusserunt". But in his smaller edition (Gotha-Erfurth: 1847), he changed his mind and decided that "videtur Segestanos Leontinis in priore bello foederatos aut amicos fuisse". We have said that we find this interpretation weak, but it is accepted by G. Boehme (Leipzig: 1856 – but S. Widmann did not retain it in his revision of Boehme, 6th ed., Leipzig: 1906), by K.W. Krüger (2nd ed., Berlin: 1858), by J. Steup in his revision of Classen (3rd ed., Berlin: 1905), by A. Wärmund in his translation (Stuttgart: 1859-1864), and by Roos.

J. Classen (Berlin: 1876) tried to cut the Gordian knot by the courageous deletion of *Λεοντίνων* from the text, thus allowing the alliance to be a general bond among several states. His view is close to that of E. Schwartz,⁵⁵ and Dover, too, while not deleting *Λεοντίνων*, does allow as a possible translation of *ξυμμαχία* "the fighting-on-the-same-side". J.M. Stahl, in his revision of Poppo's small edition (Leipzig: 1879), accepted Classen's deletion ("laudamus igitur Class."). So did B.A. Lamberton in his school edition of books 6-7 (New York: 1886), K. Hude in his *editio maxima* (Leipzig: 1901), and L. Bodin and J. de Romilly (Budé ed., Paris: 1955). Note, however, that Stahl differed from Classen in that he postulated a formal alliance, not simply military cooperation, between Athens and Egesta during Laches' command in 427. Georg Busolt, in his monumental

⁵³ *The Athenian Empire* p.95: the Egestans refer to "the Athenian expedition of 427 in support of Leontini"; this translation suggests that Meiggs understood *ξυμμαχία* as "military collaboration".

⁵⁴ Part III, vol. iv (Leipzig: 1838) p.28.

⁵⁵ *Das Geschichtswerk des Thukydides* (Bonn 1919) p.288.

history, found Stahl's theory "ohne Zweifel die richtige":⁵⁶ that is, even after the treaty recorded on the inscription, which Busolt dated to 454/3,⁵⁷ the Egestans and Athenians made another alliance in 427.

The two best known English translations of today seem to want to avoid commitment. Richard Crawley (London: 1874 etc.) has "the Egestans now reminded the Athenians of the alliance made in the time of Laches, during the former Leontine war"; while Rex Warner (Harmondsworth: 1954 etc.) offers nearly the same, "so the Egestaeans reminded the Athenians of the alliance made in the time of Laches, during the war in which Leontinoi was concerned".⁵⁸

As we have said, we follow Hobbes, Poppo (1838), Bloomfield, Dover, *et al.*: the Egestans pointed to the alliance that Athens had made (or renewed) with Leontinoi (though Thucydides does not mention it in book 3) in 427.

⁵⁶ *Griechische Geschichte*² iii.2 p.175 n.1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* iii.1 (Gotha: 1897) p.521.

⁵⁸ The word order – the placing of the Egestans and the Athenians near each other – allows the inference that both Crawley and Warner had an Athenian-Egestan alliance in mind, but they are less than eager to be definite about it.

APPENDIX II

We have used another control besides photography to help to identify the vertical stroke in line 3, stoichos 35. The third letter following the vertical, nu, may be assumed to have filled most or all of its stoichos. We measured the distance from the beginning of the vertical in 35 to the beginning of the first vertical of nu in 38, obtaining these results of five measurements (in cm.): 4.12, 4.07, 4.05, 4.08, 4.11. The mean within this range is 4.086. Or, if we eliminate the highest and lowest figures, the mean is 4.0866. We then measured other examples where a clear iota is followed, three stoichoi later, by a letter beginning with a vertical that would also fill a stoichos, and obtained these results (all measurements in these tables were performed five times):

LINE	RANGE	MEAN
3 ιφον	4.05-4.12	4.086
9 ιμελ	4.27-4.32	4.28
11 ιτον	4.21-4.27	4.236
12 ιτον	3.99-4.09	4.048
13 ιδον	4.18-4.24	4.21
14 ιχσε	4.48-4.55	4.528
[But this example is insignificant, because ε is out of position, toward the right, as photographs show; perhaps the mason's eye skipped over to the iota of χσένια; having copied this iota, he saw his mistake and corrected the iota into epsilon.]		
14 ιατε	4.01-4.06	4.03
15 ιζομ	4.13-4.18	4.155
16 ιπον	4.23-4.27	4.25
16 ιδαν	4.10-4.15	4.134

A sub-group in which iota is followed, three stoichoi later, by a broad letter that presumably occupies a whole stoichos but does not begin with a vertical:

LINE	RANGE	MEAN
4 ιαντ	3.94-4.01	3.976
11 ισμα	4.15-4.21	4.174
16 ιτοδ	4.00-4.03	4.012

These mean measurements range from 4.012 to 4.28. Note that the short distance from the vertical in line 3 to the third letter following suggests that this vertical is iota.

Turning to a group in which a broad letter beginning with a vertical (such as the suggested beta of Habron in line 3) is followed, three stoichoi later, by another letter beginning with a vertical (such as the nu of the putative Habron), we took our five measurements and got these results:

LINE	RANGE	MEAN
2 νενε	4.71-4.80	4.736
3 κρχε	4.49-4.50	4.494
10 ηορκ	4.49-4.54	4.512
12 βολε	4.40-4.50	4.44
13 εκολ	4.40-4.49	4.456
13 λακρ	4.50-4.55	4.53
14 ενπρ	4.58-4.67	4.64
14 ρεσβ	4.32-4.36	4.344
15 ενον	4.28-4.31	4.294
16 λοιπ	4.37-4.40	4.388
16 πονε	4.56-4.62	4.588
16 νεπε	4.63-4.65	4.636

The mean ranges from 4.294 to 4.736, thus clearly more than the first group in which the first letter was iota. The letters]βρον are not present on the stone, but we may estimate that the space from the beginning of beta to the beginning of nu would be commensurate with these distances.

Finally, in corroboration, one broad letter followed, three stoichoi later, by another broad letter; chosen at random and again measured from beginning to beginning of letters. We got these results:

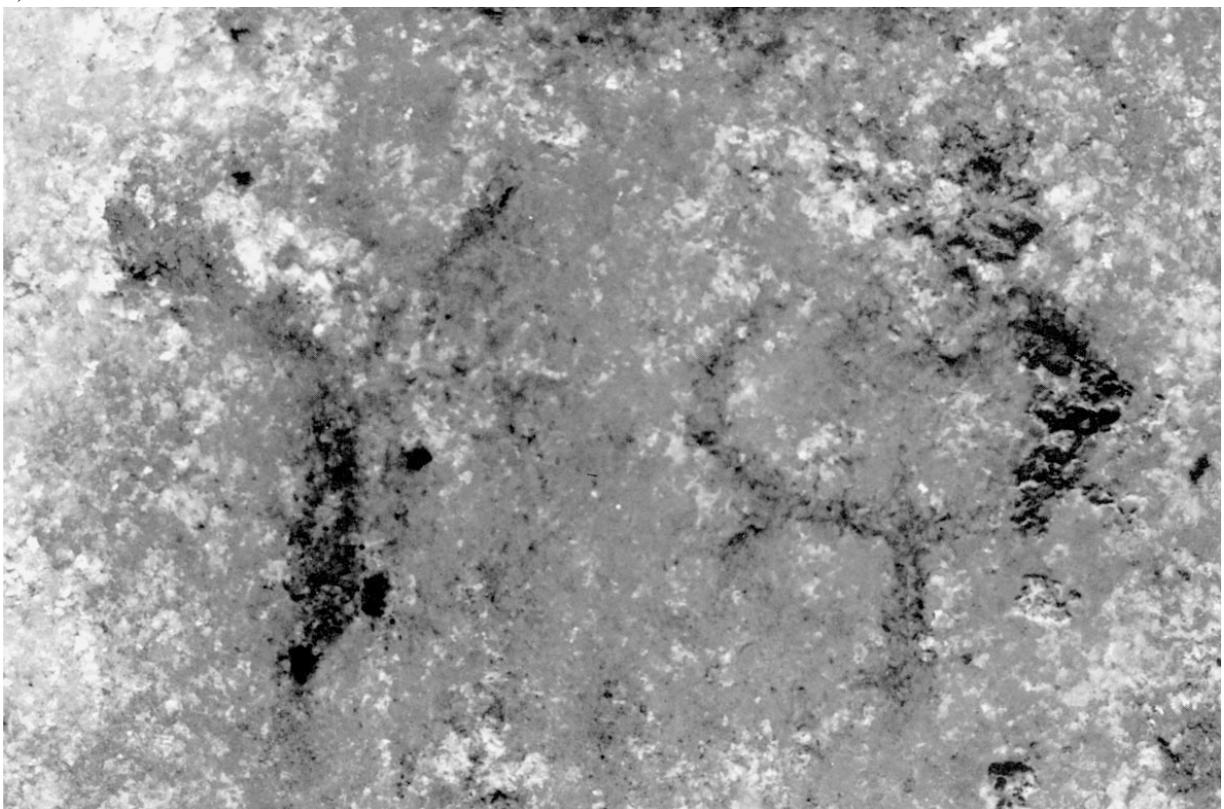
LINE	RANGE	MEAN
11 ματο	4.50-4.60	4.526
11 ατοδ	4.23-4.30	4.274
12 ατια	4.33-4.38	4.36
13 ταιδ	4.41-4.49	4.438
14 πρεσ	4.32-4.40	4.328
14 βεια	4.10-4.25	4.19 ⁵⁹
15 ονον	4.58-4.60	4.594
16 δελο	4.39-4.49	4.446
16 οιπο	4.40-4.44	4.418
16 ουεπ	4.61-4.65	4.62
17 υχσπ	4.40-4.48	4.43

The range of the mean here is 4.274-4.62, thus close to that of the previous group.

⁵⁹ An unusually narrow space, made so by the fact that the left diagonal of alpha slides down toward the neighboring iota.



1)



2)

1) *IG i³ 11* (= EM 6568)

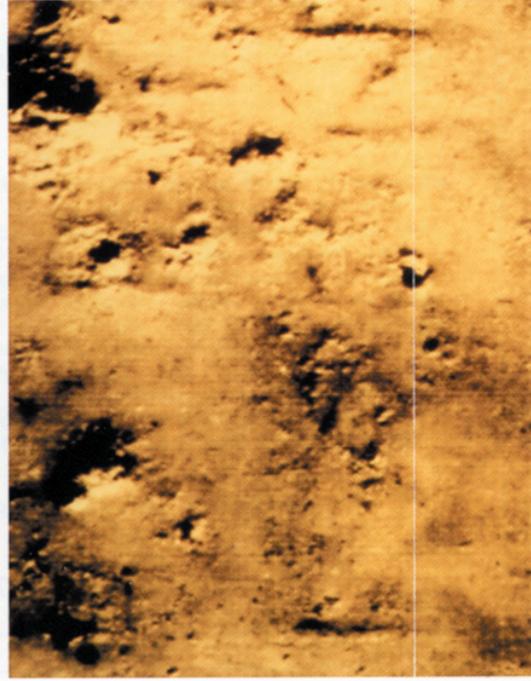
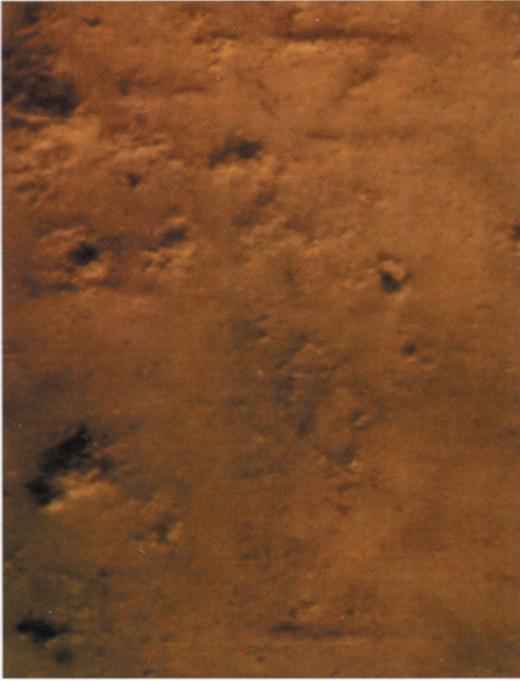
2) Preserved phi in Euphemos, line 13



φove, line 3: as taken by laser-beam back-to-front through the stone

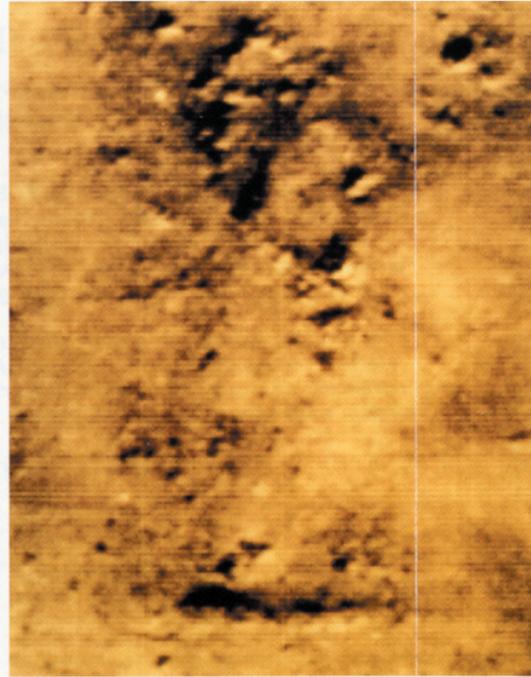


φove, line 3: as taken by laser-beam back-to-front through the stone



B.1. Unenhanced $\tau\phi\upsilon\upsilon$, line 3

B.2. Enhanced $\tau\phi\upsilon\upsilon$, line 3



A.1. Unenhanced $\tau\phi$, line 3

A.2. Enhanced $\tau\phi$, line 3