

trilogy. That would be to suppose that Aeschylus did not give each play of his *Prometheus* trilogy an individual title, but only gave an overall title to the set—*Προμήθεια* or perhaps *οἱ Προμηθεῖς*. In support one might point to the citations in Aristophanes of Aeschylus' *Λυκούργεια* (*Thesm.* 135) and *Ῥόετεια* (*Frogs* 1124), and might note that trilogy-titles are occasionally found in the *didaskaliai*, at least for minor tragedians.¹⁰ On the other hand in all other known trilogies of Aeschylus, whether or not there was an overall title, each individual play has a title of its own: thus *Οἰδίπους* is distinguished from *Σφίγξ*, *Ἰκέτιδες* from *Λαυαῖδες*, the three *Achilles* plays by their three choruses, and so on. Moreover *Ἐπιτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας* is already current in Ar. *Frogs* 1021 and *Φρόγες* in Ar. *Fr.* 678K. So it looks like special pleading to make an exception of the *Prometheus* plays.

While this argument is not so weighty nor so impregnable as to prove that *Prom. Desm.* did not belong to a trilogy with the other *Prometheus* plays, it may be more resilient evidence against that assumption than the evidence for it. *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἐξῆς δράματι λέγεται* in the scholion on *Prom. Desm.* 511 (Herington p. 151) might refer only to the next play in the collected works; compare the scholion on Pind. *Isthm.* 3.24 (Drachmann III p. 224) *ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐξῆς ωιδῇ* . . . Or it may be that the scholiast was simply mistaken in supposing that *Prom. Desm.* and *Prom. Luom.* belonged to the same trilogy. This could happen if Aeschylus composed a similar treatment of a similar subject on separate occasions, like Euripides with Hippolytus; or if *Prom. Desm.* was composed by a successor to Aeschylus on the model of *Prom. Luom.*, perhaps even as a companion piece.¹¹ Either of these hypotheses would also explain the evident similarities between the two plays. Other than the scholion on 511 the arguments for the traditional *Prometheus* trilogy rest entirely on the internal evidence of forward-looking references in *Prom. Desm.*¹² But loose ends and references to the future do not of themselves demand or prove a sequel: there is nothing in *Prom. Desm.* which is intrinsically more demanding of a sequel than there is in, say, Eur. *Med.* or Soph. *Phil.* In any case these forward-looking references may also be accounted for by the hypothesis that our *Prometheus* was written by an imitator to be a companion piece to the genuine *Luomenos*. Those who argue that there are things in *Prom.* which are inexplicable or unacceptable without other plays to follow are, in this context, begging the question of authenticity.

¹⁰ Namely Polyphrasmon's *Λυκούργεια* (*TrGF* DID C 4), Philocles' *Πανδιονίς* (*TrGF* 24T6c) and Meletos' *Οιδιπόδεια* (*TrGF* DID C 24); cf. Σοφοκλῆς *ἐδίδακε Τηλέφειαν* in *IG* ii² 3091 (fourth century Aexone = *TrGF* DID B 5).

¹¹ Cf. Schmid (above n. 2) 102 f.

¹² These are discussed more fully than ever in R. Unterberger *Der Gefesselte Prometheus des Aischylos* (Tübingen Beitr. 45, Stuttgart 1968).

This is not the occasion to go into the question of the authenticity of *Prom. Desm.*¹³ It is a notoriously dangerous and emotional set of problems, and to stir the hornets' nest here would only obscure the single simple point I wish to make. I hope merely to have given pause to those who assume the traditional trilogy without demur, and especially those who have regarded the trilogy as a kind of critical anaesthetic against all the problems of *Prom. Desm.* Could they explain its peculiarities if it were to stand by itself, and not in a connected trilogy?

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¹³ Those who are reassured by the latest defence in C. J. Herington *The Author of the Prometheus Bound* (Austin, Texas 1970) are easily pleased. 'Quonam anno acta sit fabula omnino ignoramus; etiam de auctore Aeschylo dubitatur'—Page's new Oxford text (1972) p. 288.

A Note on the Date of the Athenian-Egestan Alliance¹

(PLATES XXIII–XXIV)

The text of the alliance between Athens and Sicilian Egesta is partially extant in *IG* i² 19 and *IG* i² 20.1–2.² Crucial for the dating of the inscription and the alliance which it records is the third line of the first fragment, for it contains what remains of the name of the eponymous archon who held office at the time. Only the last two letters of the archon's name are clear and undisputed: they are *ON*, and appear in stoichoi 37 and 38. (See PLATE XXIII a). On the basis of these two letters, only five fifth-century B.C. archons appear as possibilities: the name must be restored to read *háβρον* (458/7), *Ἀρίστον* (454/3), *Ἐπαμείνον* (429/8), *Ἀριστίων* (421/0), or *Ἀντιφῶν* (418/7).

It has been customary for scholars automatically to eliminate the last three names from consideration on the grounds that the stonemason made use of the three-bar sigma (usually believed to have been replaced by the four-bar sigma in virtually all

¹ I wish to thank Professor Jack M. Balcer, The Ohio State University, Professor Harold B. Mattingly, University of Leeds, and Mr John D. Smart, University of Leeds, for reading the manuscript; Professor Benjamin D. Meritt, Institute for Advanced Study, for his generosity and aid at various points; Mlle Chara Karapa, of the Epigraphic Museum, for her expert assistance in preparing the squeeze which is, in part, reproduced in PLATE XXIV a–b, and for the photographing of which I am indebted to Mr Marvin Zivney, University of Wisconsin, Stevens Point. The photograph in PLATE XXIII a was made available to me by Professor Meritt, and it and the partial enlargement of it in PLATE XXIII b are reproduced here through the courtesy of the Epigraphic Museum and its director, Mme D. Peppas Delmousoy.

² *IG* i² 19 and 20.1–2 = Bengtson, *Staatsverträge* 139 = ML 37. Tod i² 31 does not include the two lines from

official Attic documents after 446/5³) and the tailed-rho (no example of which is commonly thought assured in an Attic inscription postdating 438/7⁴). Of the other two possibilities, Habron and Ariston, the latter was adopted by A. Lolling in 1891; and he proposed to restore the name [^ˈΑρίστ]ορ.⁵ This reading and the resultant 454/3 date for the document were questioned by Antony E. Raubitschek in 1944, at which time he proposed to read [há]βρορ (458/7).⁶ Benjamin D. Meritt, writing in 1964, preferred [há]β[ρ]ορ⁷—but he, too, has since come to favour Raubitschek's reading with the dotted rho.⁸

In contrast to Meritt and Raubitschek, numerous writers have rejected the belief that anything but ορ remains of the archon's name. Consequently, some have preferred to read [háβρρ]ορ,⁹ others have preferred to retain [^ˈΑρίστ]ορ,¹⁰ and still others have shown a marked reluctance to choose between them.¹¹

IG i² 20, but mention is made of them (p. 260). It may be noted that each of these editions contains a minor error in line 17 of *IG* i² 19, for each indicates that the first remaining letter of it, an epsilon, occupies stoichos 20. Actually, the epsilon is located in stoichos 21, and thus is immediately below the first epsilon in line 16, not the lambda to the left of it. Similarly, each edition also places the only two extant letters of line 18 one stoichos too far to the left: the first of the two letters, a sigma, is located in stoichos 26, not 25. The result of these displacements is that the letters in lines 17 and 18 have been described accurately relative to one another, but have been misplaced in their own lines and thus misplaced relative to the letters which appear in the preceding lines. These misplacements in the more recent editions, as in the *editio minor* of *IG*, may be attributed to the fact that the *IG* text has 'O' in line 17, stoichos 18, whereas it should have 'h' in stoichos 18 and 'O' in stoichos 19. These errors do not occur in the text as originally edited by U. Köhler, *Hermes* ii (1867) 16; nor in the text as given in *CIA* (*IG*) i 20.

³ A recent defence of this position is given by Meritt and H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* lxxxii (1962) 67–74 and *JHS* lxxxiii (1963) 100–17.

⁴ See especially R. Meiggs, *JHS* lxxxvi (1966) 86–98.

⁵ *ADelt* vii (1891) 105–6.

⁶ *TAPA* lxxv (1944) 10 n. 3. In *SEG* X 7 (which appeared in 1949) G. Klaffenbach went so far as to claim the reading of an undotted alpha before the dotted beta. This reading seems completely out of the question. On this point W. K. Pritchett (*AJA* lix [1955] 58–9) and Meritt (*BCH* lxxxviii [1964] 415 n. 2) are in accord with Harold B. Mattingly (*Historia* xii [1963] 268), who writes that the 'alpha' in the name 'cannot be seen on the stone'. The present writer's own examination of the stone also has indicated this, as has careful scrutiny of the squeeze prepared with the aid of Mlle Karapa.

⁷ *Op. cit.* (note 6) 413–15.

⁸ Professor Meritt expressed this new preference to the writer in a personal letter of the spring of 1971.

⁹ Among them are Meiggs and Lewis (*ML* pp. 80–1).

¹⁰ Tod (i², pp. 56 and 260) is to be numbered among these.

¹¹ Ervin Roos (*Opuscula Atheniensia* iv [1962] 9–10), e.g., concluded that the inscription is to be placed in the 450s, 'sei es im Archontat des Ariston 454/3 v. Chr., wie es hauptsächlich in der älteren Literatur zu lesen steht,

One of the leading critics of any reading which leaves more than ορ unbracketed is W. Kendrick Pritchett. Writing in 1955, he concluded that 'in the third letter-space from the end [of the archon's name] there are no sure traces; one or two curving scratches are barely discernible'. He further noted that the 'deep vertical stroke' in the fourth letter-space from the end of the name is 'surely a scratch'.¹² However, as Harold B. Mattingly has pointed out, if these traces are scratches, 'it is odd that they should twice appear exactly in line with ορ and at the points where we should expect the letter itself'.¹³ Meritt also has discussed his reluctance to accept Pritchett's judgment. As he wrote with reference to the vertical stroke which appears in the pre-antepenultimate letter-space of the archon's name, 'Pritchett has denied that it is part of a letter, thinking that it is a mere scratch, and he cites colleagues who have agreed with him. This becomes a matter of opinion; but the stroke does exist, of proper height, direction, and position to be a normal vertical stroke of a letter'.¹⁴ At the time when he penned these words, Meritt was inclined to agree with Pritchett that the letter-space immediately to the right of the one containing the vertical stroke actually does contain no more than scratches. However, Meritt's more recent preference for [há]βρορ over [há]β[ρ]ορ obviously indicates that he has since changed his mind.

If one could be confident that *IG* i² 19 and 20.1–2 really do date to the 450s, it would make relatively little difference whether he preferred Habron or Ariston: he could at least be confident that the document has been placed in the correct historical context, if not the precise year. But in fact one cannot be sure about either of these matters. The reason, quite simply, is that excellent grounds exist for believing that the inscription and the alliance which it records date to a time many years later than either 458/7 or 454/3. The first scholar to suggest this was Mattingly. In 1963 he proposed the reading [^ˈΑντ]ιφῶρ, with the resulting 418/7 date.¹⁵ Subsequently, in 1969, he abandoned this reading in favour of [^ˈΑντιφ]ῶρ or [^ˈΑριστ]ίορ.¹⁶ 'I now share the reluctance of Pritchett', he wrote, and 'would retract my own earlier attempt at persuasion', because 'with such a worn stone, no one

oder des Habron 458/7, wie man die Reste des Archontenamens in *IG* I² 19, 3 in neuester Zeit mit gleich geringer Berechtigung hat ergänzen wollen'. Maria Teresa Manni Piraino (*Kokalos* vi [1960] 69) has evidenced the same attitude, concluding that the document dates to the archonship of Habron, 'se si esclude l'arcontato di Ariston'.

¹² *Op. cit.* (note 6) 59.

¹³ *Op. cit.* (note 6) 269.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.* (note 6) 413.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.* (note 6) 267–9. This reading has come to be favoured also by J. D. Smart, *JHS* xcii (1972) 130–1; and Peter Green, *Armada from Athens* x and 52.

¹⁶ *Annali*, suppl. to xii–xiv (1969) 213–17.

can hope to persuade others of what he "sees".¹⁷ As will be indicated by what follows, however, this retraction does not seem necessary; for consideration of several factors, with some of which Mattingly dealt, and with some of which he did not, simply lends further credence to his earlier reading.

One may begin by considering the pre-antepenultimate letter-space, the one which evidences only a vertical stroke. (See especially PLATES XXIII *b* and XXIV *a*). Pritchett, although he dismissed the stroke as a scratch, concluded that 'in any case this scratch is not in a position for a beta. The distance from the left hasta of the *nu* [which ends the archon's name] to the vertical stroke is exactly 0.04 m. In the next word, *εργε*, if we measure from the vertical of the second *epsilon* 0.04 m. across the *χ* and the *ρ* we come to the very middle of the first *epsilon*. Hence, if our stroke had been part of a real letter, one could read it as part of an *iota*, a *tau*, or a *phi*; and if one is to consider it as the upright of a *beta*, but not in its proper position, it could be part of any one of a number of Greek letters.¹⁸ In 1963 Mattingly noted that he had checked Pritchett's measurement of the placement of the vertical stroke in its letter-space;¹⁹ and he noted, too, his conviction that the stroke 'indeed is in the exact centre of the letter-space'.²⁰ On the basis of this single stroke, therefore, Mattingly concluded that—if the stroke really does belong to a letter—the two archons whose years of office date to the 450s could be ruled out. The choice would then be reduced to [*Αρισ*]τ[*ι*]ον with its pre-antepenultimate tau, or [*Επαμε*]ι[*ν*]ον or [*Αντ*]ι[*φ*]όν with pre-antepenultimate *iota*.²¹

In the year following the publication of Mattingly's argument, Meritt's article advocating the [*háβ*]ρ[*ρ*]ον reading appeared. Meritt's primary purpose in writing was to show that the vertical stroke in the fourth letter-space from the end of the archon's name is not located in the centre of the space, as would be appropriate for an *iota* or *tau*, but rather to the left of centre, as would be appropriate for a *beta*. 'In line 3', he wrote, 'Pritchett measures the width of two sets of stoichoi. He reports (*a*) that "the distance from the left hasta of the *nu* to the vertical stroke is exactly 0.04 m.". This is correct. Further (*b*), "in the next word, *εργε*, if we measure from the vertical of the second *epsilon* 0.04 m. across the *χ* and the *ρ* we come to the very middle of the first *epsilon*". This is so nearly correct that the measurement may be taken as valid. But it does not follow that the vertical stroke must be the *middle* of a letter. The conclusion which he draws is in error, for it depends on the false premise that all stoichoi were of equal width. The stoichoi in which *εργε* was written were simply a few millimeters wider than those in which *háβρον* was written.²² Meritt's observations are quite correct; and in light of the variation of stoichoi widths to be found in this

inscription, he is fully justified to question the validity of conclusions based upon stoichoi-width measurements which are taken from one set of files and applied to another. In order to avoid this difficulty, Meritt himself selected the letters *EIAA* for control: they occur in the word *ἐπειδάν* in line 16, stoichoi 35–8—i.e., in the same four stoichoi in which one finds, in line 3, the last four letter-spaces of the archon's name. The width of the stoichoi in which the letters *ειδα* appear, as measured from the vertical in epsilon to the first vertical in the nu following the alpha, is given as 0.057 m. By comparison, the distance from the vertical stroke in line 3 (stoichos 35) to the vertical of the epsilon following *ον* (stoichoi 37–8) is given as 0.056 m. The similarity of these two measurements, Meritt concluded, is sufficient to substantiate the reading of beta in the pre-antepenultimate letter-space of the archon's name and to rule against an *iota* or *tau*.²³

This part of Meritt's argument appears impressive. But the appearance is misleading, as a consideration of line 13 clearly shows. In stoichoi 35–8 of this line, one finds *IAO*[·], comprising part of the phrase *κολακρέται δό[ν]το[ν]*. If Meritt is correct to conclude that the vertical stroke in stoichos 35 of line 3 is not properly placed for an *iota* or *tau*, then the distance from the *iota* in line 13 to the vertical of the *tau* which follows (in the fourth stoichos to the right) should be *less* than the distance from the vertical in line 3 to the centre of the epsilon which begins the word *εργε*. But this is not the case: the distance from the centre of the *iota* in line 13 to the centre of the vertical of the *tau* which follows is precisely 0.058 m—and this is exactly the distance from the centre of the vertical in line 3 to the centremost point in the epsilon which begins *εργε*. In consequence, one is obliged to admit the infeasibility of determining if the placement of the vertical stroke in line 3, in itself, indicates a *beta*, a *tau*, or an *iota*; and the question is not resolved, as Meritt has further suggested, by 'the confirmatory fact that the vertical stroke in question for the *beta* in *háβρον* falls directly beneath the vertical stroke in the epsilon in the line above it'.²⁴ So far as the locations of the two strokes are concerned, this observation is quite correct. But it scarcely has the importance which Meritt has assigned to it, for it loses that significance if one considers alignment at this point in light of the careless alignment of letters at numerous places on the stone. One of the most obvious illustrations of the inconsistency of alignment, and the only one which need be noted, is to be found in stoichos 21. In line 14 of that file, there appears an epsilon; immediately below it, in line 15, there is an *iota*; and below that, in line 16, another epsilon. Their alignment is so irregular, however, that the vertical of the epsilon in line 14 lies to the right of the *iota* below it, while the epsilon in line 16

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 205 n. 7.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.* (note 6) 59.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.* (note 6) 269 n. 57.

²⁰ *Ibid.* 269.

²¹ *Ibid.*

²² *Op. cit.* (note 6) 415.

²³ *Ibid.* 414–15.

²⁴ *Ibid.* 415.

has two-thirds of its width to the right of the iota and only one-third to the left.²⁵

The unavoidable conclusion to be drawn from the discussion thus far is that one cannot be sure if the letter of which the vertical stroke in line 3 represents a part is a beta, a tau, or an iota. Consequently, the antepenultimate letter-space of the archon's name becomes the crucial one; and it is here that rho and phi are the only two readings which have been suggested by recent writers who are not of Pritchett's mind and who believe that faint traces of a letter do remain to be seen.²⁶ With reference to what is to be found in this letter-space, Mattingly wrote in 1963: 'I would say that the "letter" is shaped like a slightly flattened balloon, its top lying definitely below that of the faint omicron to its right'.²⁷ This judgment is quite correct, as may be verified by examination of PLATES XXIII and XXIV. But one may say a good deal more than this. The very fact that the top of the letter form is 'definitely *below* that of the faint omicron to its right' is of tremendous importance: this alone appears virtually to rule out the rho which some scholars judge to be in this letter-space. Elsewhere in *IG* i² 19 there are no fewer than eleven rhos, only one of which is partial.²⁸ Without a single exception, the tops of these rhos either extend to the tops of the lines²⁹ in which they occur (R), or—as, e.g., in the rho in $\tilde{\epsilon}\rho\chi\epsilon$, and in both rhos in line 17—extend above them (R). In not a single instance out of eleven examples, therefore, does one find that a rho occupies a position similar to that of the alleged rho in the name of the archon and upon which (in light of the problems associated with the vertical stroke in the preceding letter-space) a convincing argument for the Habron reading is heavily dependent. Consequently, if one is to read a partial rho in this letter-space, he must maintain not only that the rounding in the left half of the space (but not in the right half) is due simply to one or more fortuitous scratches, but also that the stonemason in a single instance placed a rho lower than he did in eleven others. Neither of these matters seems likely, and thus the probability of a

phi reading is increased correspondingly. But a phi reading in this letter-space does not rely only—or even largely—upon the negative reasons against a rho reading: the positive reasons for it in themselves are impressive.

In the later lines of *IG* i² 19 there are two phis. One occurs at the very beginning of line 11, and it is partial; the other occurs in line 15, stoichos 38, and is complete. Mattingly, in 1963, noted both and concluded that each 'corresponds fairly well in shape and size with the traces [of a letter immediately preceding *ov*] in line 3'.³⁰ Indeed, each does. But one may say a great deal more. In the first place, the oval of the phi in line 15 and the oval form which is antepenultimate in the archon's name have nearly identical measurements. The distance from the centre of the line which forms the upper curvature of the phi in line 15 to the centre of the line which forms its lower curvature is .0065 m. In comparison, the distance from the centre of the curved line which forms the upper section of the oval preceding *ov* in line 3 to the centre of the curvature which forms its bottom (and which is faint and difficult to perceive because of wear and what really are scratches, but which nevertheless is still distinct enough to be distinguished, as may be seen best in PLATE XXIV a), is .0068 m. Further, from the centre of the left curvature of the phi in line 15 to the centre of the right curvature is .0096 m; and the corresponding measurement of the oval form in line 3 is .0098 m. Secondly, in the letter-space in question there exists a very faint trace of a vertical stroke. This is suggested both by the stone and photographs of the stone (see PLATE XXIII a-b) and by the squeeze and photographs of the squeeze (PLATE XXIV a-b), although—to the knowledge of the present writer—it has not previously been discussed or even mentioned. The length of this stroke appears to be .0128 m, and thus to be of the same or nearly the same length as the vertical of the phi in line 15. The length of the latter stroke cannot be measured so precisely, for it is not possible to determine exactly where that stroke begins or ends. Nevertheless, it is clear that the vertical of the phi in line 15 exceeds .0120 m, but does not exceed .0130 m by much, if anything at all. If the stroke which bisects the oval form antepenultimate in the archon's name is really a part of a phi, as its length would suggest, one would expect also that the stroke would be located (ideally, at least) in the middle of the oval, thus giving a measurement of, or very near, .0049 m between the centre of the curvature to the left or to the right and the centre of the vertical stroke itself. This expectation is borne out. Measuring in .0049 m from the centre of either the left or right curvature of the oval brings one not only to the middle of the oval, but also to the apparent middle of the faint vertical stroke.

On the basis of the foregoing considerations, the only conclusion which appears justified is the

³⁰ *Op. cit.* (note 6) 269.

²⁵ Similar observations are made by W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia* xxxiv (1965) 132 n. 7; and Smart, *op. cit.* (note 15) 131 with n. 17.

²⁶ The broken omicron reading earlier suggested by Köhler (*op. cit.* [note 2] 16–17) and included in *CIA* i 20 may be noted; but it needs only the briefest mention, since *ovv* does not permit the restoration of an archon's name.

²⁷ *Op. cit.* (note 6) 269.

²⁸ Their locations are: line 2, stoichos 37; line 3, stoichoi 40 and 44; line 7, stoichoi 21 and 37; line 12, stoichos 27; line 13, stoichos 31; line 14, stoichos 29; line 15, stoichos 30; line 17, stoichoi 22 and 27. The one partial rho is in line 7, stoichos 37.

²⁹ By the 'top of a line' is meant the straight line which results if one marks horizontally through the majority of the upper curvatures of omicrons and uppermost or only horizontal bars of epsilons, taus, and pis which occur in each line.

conclusion which Mattingly drew in 1963, but of which he subsequently recanted: namely, 'whether we read —*ιφον* or —*φον* the archon's name can only be completed as *Ἀντιφῶν*', and the date of *IG* i² 19 and 20.1–2, despite the presence of the three-bar sigma and tailed-rho, can only be 418/7.³¹ In light of this, the whole question of Athenian involvement in the Greek West requires extensive reconsideration, as does also the more fundamental matter of the value of letter forms for the dating of fifth-century inscriptions in general.³²

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Addendum: The preceding note was penned before the appearance of Donald W. Bradeen and Malcolm F. McGregor, 'The Alliance With Egesta' (ch. iii in their *Studies in Fifth-Century Attic Epigraphy*). Bradeen and McGregor 'insist that the alliance be placed in the fifties' (p. 79), but the arguments which they advance in

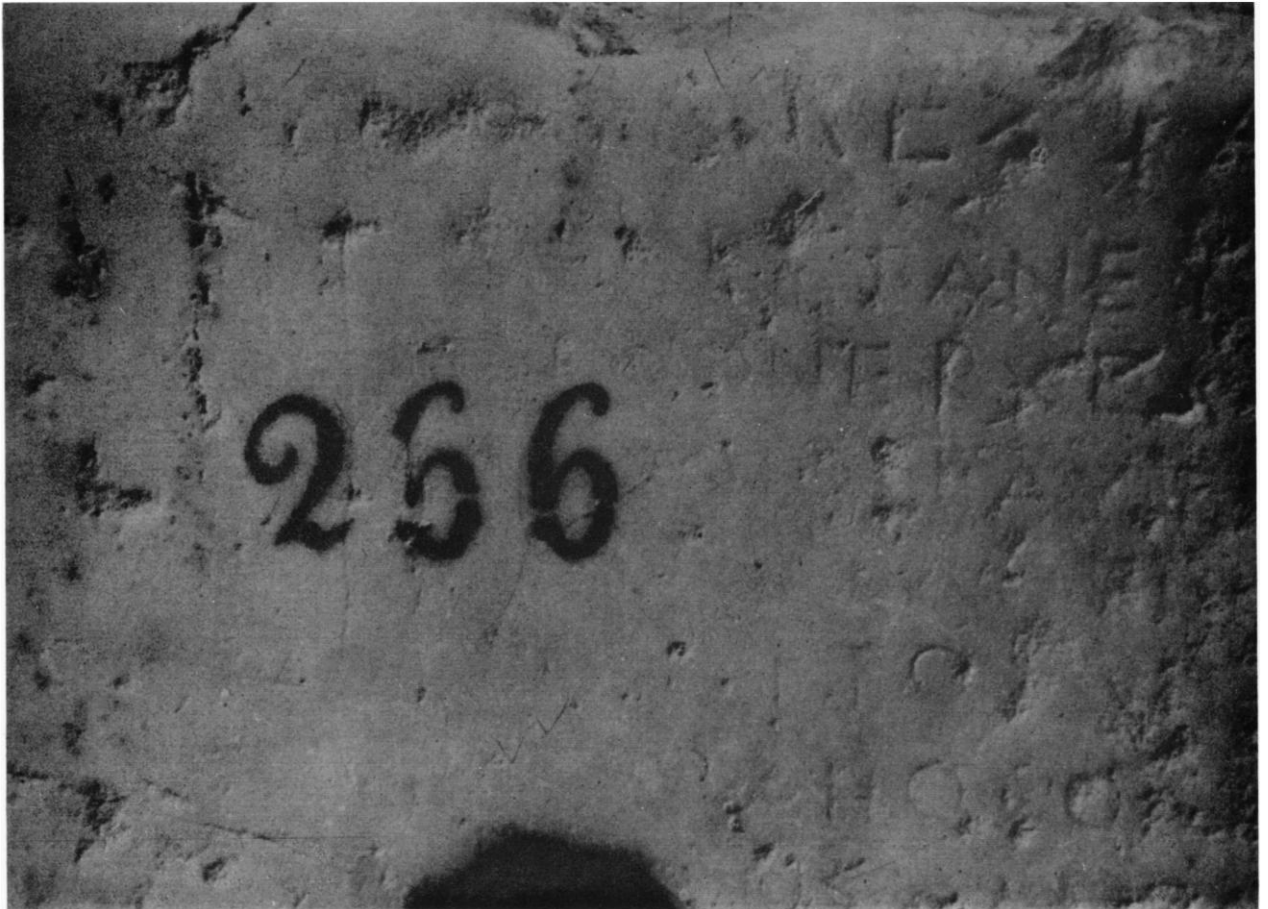
support of the 450s do not add to those earlier made by others, and thus do not detract from the strength of the case favouring 418/7.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² One consequence of the redating of *IG* i² 19 and 20.1–2 is that it suggests a precise date for *IG* i² 20.4 ff, which records the alliance between Athens and Halikya and which was inscribed on the lower part of the stele recording the Athenian alliance with Egesta (as first noted by Raubitschek, *Hesperia* xii [1943] 18 n. 29; and discussed more fully by him. *op. cit.* [note 6] 10–14). If U. Köhler (*AM* iv [1879] 32) was correct in his suggestion that the *AP* which occur in line 5 of that fragment are the first two letters of the archon's name, then the Athenian-Halikyaian alliance would date to 416/5, when *Ἀρ[λυεστος ἔρχε]*. Köhler himself proposed the restoration *Ἀρ[ίστων]*, but the only eponymous archon between 418/7 and 413 (by which point the Halikyaiaians assuredly had become Athenian allies: Thuc. vii 32.1) whose name begins with *Ἀρ* is Arimnestos. A 416/5 date is favoured also by Smart (*op. cit.* [note 15] 132–3), though for other reasons.



(a) IG i² 19



(b) Enlargement of (a), showing lines 1-7, stoichoi 28-43.

THE DATE OF THE ATHENIAN-EGESTAN ALLIANCE



(a) Section of squeeze of *IG i² 19*, showing lines 1-7, stoichoi 28-43.



(b) As (a), but with slightly different lighting.

THE DATE OF THE ATHENIAN-EGESTAN ALLIANCE