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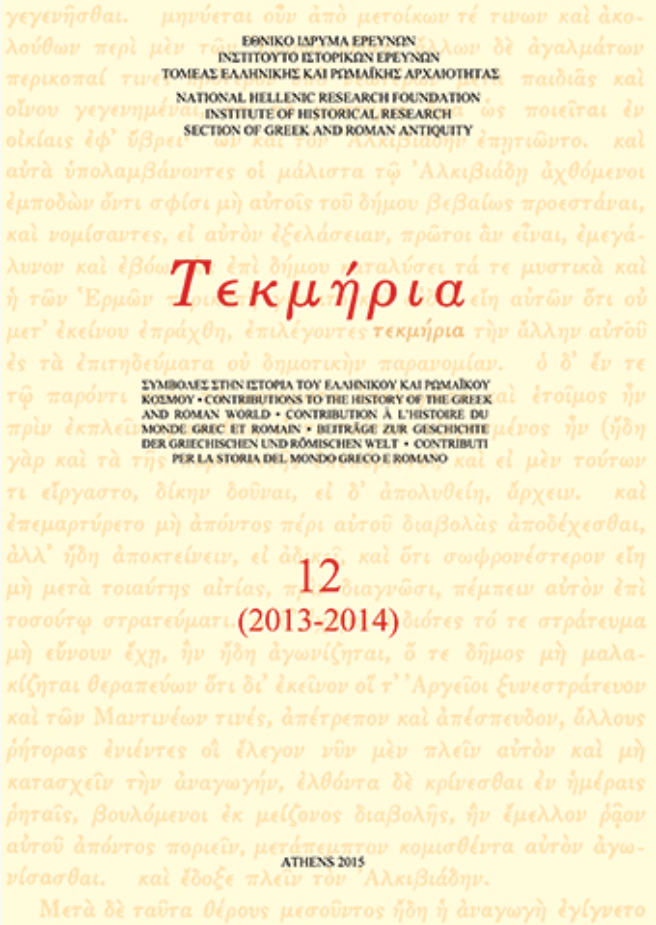

The Athenian Standards Decree: The Aphytis Fragments

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The Athenian Standards Decree: The Aphytis Fragments

I first met Ioakeim A. Papangelos at the conferences on *The Archaeological Work in Macedonia and Thrace* annually held at Thessalonike since 1987. There was no obvious reason why the ancient historian that I was should single out a Byzantine archaeologist such as Ioakeim. Yet I did, because I was struck by the quality of his Greek and the concision of his speech (both rare items nowadays). As at that time I was preparing the publication of two studies, on a grant by Lysimachos from Cassandrea and on deeds of sale from the hinterland of Sithonia respectively, our common interest in these areas served as a passport for an introduction. This is how I discovered Ioakeim's incomparable knowledge of Chalkidike, ancient, mediaeval and modern, and his inexhaustible generosity, from which I shamelessly profited. So it is with great pleasure that I dedicate to him the present paper on the Aphytis fragments of the Attic coinage decree. It was my contribution to the international symposium on *The Athenian Standards Decree: New Text, New Contexts* convened at Oxford in 2004. In spite of my efforts, its proceedings were never published, because some contributors did not hand in their papers. In 2012 I was asked to contribute with an article to a *Festschrift* in honour of my dear colleague Ioakeim Papangelos. I accepted whole-heartedly, but three years later the volume had not appeared and no clear commitment could be made concerning its publication. So I decided to accept the hospitality of *Τεκμήρια.* Meanwhile a number of studies have more or less thoroughly discussed the Aphytis fragments. However, the main conclusions I had reached then do not seem to have lost their validity. Thus I have kept, with only minor corrections the text that I had prepared for publication, and I have added to it a postscript in which I discuss the most significant studies that have appeared in the meantime. I wish to extend my sincerest thanks to Angelos Matthaiou and Nikolaos Papazarkadas for generously giving me permission to consult and cite the very important unpublished studies which they have devoted to the Attic Standards Decree, and for spending inordinate time sharing with me their expertise and responding to my queries.[1] Ron Stroud had the

1. A.P. Matthaiou, "The Athenian Standards Decree: The Cos Fragment", *Unpublished* communication to the International Symposium *The Athenian Standards Decree: New Text, New*

extreme kindness to read a draft of this paper and to significantly improve it by his comments. I wish to express him my gratefulness for his wise advice and his encouragements. I am deeply indebted to all three of them, but I naturally assume full responsibility for the opinions aired in the present paper and for the errors it may still contain.

Introduction

It is a great but largely undeserved honour to be one, after F. Hiller von Gaertringen, A. Wilhelm, D.M. Robinson, M. Segre, P.O. Karyshkovsky and – last but not least – H.B. Mattingly, to publish an inscribed stone as a fragment of the Attic Standards Decree. My involvement with this decree dates from 1987, when I was preparing my report for the IXth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy on the relations between the Euxine and the Aegean Basins.[2] The expansion of the Athenian Empire into the Black Sea in the fifth century, about which the "Odessa" fragment might provide evidence, was a subject that could not be avoided. I returned to it in 1995 in an unpublished introduction to a symposium organised in honour of Manto Oikonomidou,[3] in order to draw methodological lessons from the unexpected identification of the Hamaxitos fragment and of the application of modern technology to the reading of damaged inscriptions.[4] Since the mid 80's, however, I had known that there existed a new fragment of the Aphytis copy of the Standards Decree, which our Macedonian team had copied, photographed, had taken squeezes of and identified in the storerooms of the Museum of Thessalonike. My reluctance to become more closely involved in the study of the new fragment

Contexts (Oxford, 16-18 April 2004); *id.*, *Studies in Attic Inscriptions and the History of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Doctoral Dissertation, La Trobe University 2009); N. Papazarkadas, "The Athenian Standards Decree: The Smyrna Fragment", Unpublished communication to the International Symposium *The Athenian Standards Decree: New Text, New Contexts* (*Oxford, 16-18 April 2004*).

The most frequently cited abbreviations are:

ATL I – IV= B.D. Meritt, H.T. Wade-Gery and M.F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* I (Cambridge, Mass. 1939); II (Princeton 1949); III (Princeton 1950); IV (Princeton 1953)

Figueira, *Money* = T.J. Figueira, *The Power of Money: Coinage and Politics in the Athenian Empire* (Philadelphia 1998)

2. M.B. Hatzopoulos, "Le Pont-Euxin et le monde méditerranéen", *Acta Centri Historiae. Terra Antiqua Balcanica. Actes du IXe Congrès International d'Épigraphie Grecque et Latine* (Sofia 1987) 119-121.

3. International Conference *Numismatic Archaeology/Archaeological Numismatics (Athens, 31st May and 1st June 1995)*.

4. See below.

was due to the fact that I did not possess the necessary publication rights and was unlikely to obtain them. Moreover, I felt myself unequal to the task of dealing with one of the most controversial items of Attic epigraphy, from which I had always kept myself at a safe distance.

The XIIth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy gave me an incentive to overcome my coyness, as my standing with the archaeological authorities had notably improved. The warm encouragement and pertinent counsels of Angelos Matthaiou and Ronald Stroud did the rest. Thus I presented a preliminary communication at the Congress[5] and prepared a longer version for the latest issue of *Horos*.[6] As I have already mentioned, in 2004 a symposium was held in Oxford to discuss exclusively this decree. The organisers' kind invitation to take part in the Oxford symposium gave me the opportunity to discuss my understanding of the new Aphytis fragment with the most eminent specialists.

Discovery and publications

First the story of the discovery: In 1928 a fragment of a stele of greyish-blue marble (0.51 x 0.375 x 0.127) damaged except on the right side was accidentally discovered in a field about a kilometre west of the modern village of Athytos, which preserves almost unaltered the name of the ancient Chalcidic city of Aphytis. It was transported to Thessalonike Museum, where it was eventually given the acquisition number 6801, and was first published in 1935 by D.M. Robinson,[7] who had visited Athytos shortly after its discovery, and then republished by M. Segre,[8] F. Hiller von Gaertringen,[9] the editors of the Athenian Tribute Lists,[10] E. Erxleben,[11] D.M. Lewis and Lilian H. Jeffery.[12] Ch. Edson copied

5. M.B. Hatzopoulos, "Nouveau fragment du décret attique sur les monnaies, les poids et les mesures en provenance d'Aphytis", *Acta XII Congressus Internationalis Epigraphiae Graecae et Latinae, Barcelona 3-8 Septembris 2002*, vol. II (Barcelona 2007) 717-722.

6. M.B. Hatzopoulos, «Νέο ἀπότμημα ἀπὸ τὴν Ἄφυτι τοῦ ἀττικοῦ ψηφίσματος περὶ νομίσματος, σταθμῶν καὶ μέτρων», *Horos* 14-16 (2000-2003) 31-43, pls. 5-8.

7. Cf. D.M. Robinson, "A New Fragment of the Athenian Decree on Coinage", *AJP* 56 (1935) 149-154.

8. M. Segre, "La legge ateniese sull'unificazione della moneta", *ClRh* 9 (1938) 153-165.

9. *IG* XII, *Suppl.*, pp. 215-216.

10. *ATL* II 63-64.

11. Erxleben, "Münzgesetz" (see n. 68) 132 and 117-118.

12. *IG* I^3 1453, incorporating the readings of R.S. Stroud, "Three Attic Decrees", *CSCA* 7 (1974) 279-283.

the inscription and took two squeezes of it in 1937[13] and R.S. Stroud reexamined it and proposed several improved readings in 1974.[14]

Although Robinson returned to Athytos in 1934 and with the help of the then Ephor of Macedonia N. Kotzias searched for other fragments of the stele, none was found on that occasion.[15] On the 12th of August 1969, however, the secretary of the village municipality handed over to the archaeological authorities "a triangular piece of an inscribed plaque", which received the inventory number 6117 of the Thessalonike Museum. Discoloration of the surface of the stone, which gave it a reddish-brown hue, very different from the greyish-blue of the first fragment, was probably responsible for the failure to identify the two fragments as parts of the same stele. Only some fifteen years later, when a team of the Research Centre for Greek and Roman Antiquity worked on the inventory of the Museum, was it possible to realise that the new fragment belonged too to the Aphytis copy of the famous Athenian decree.[16]

The new fragment (figs. 1-5)

Thessalonike Museum, inventory no. 6117. Fragment of a brownish limestone stele broken away except at the left and lower side. Dimensions: 0.70 x 0.38 x 0.127. Height of letters: 0.012. Interspace: 0.007. Stoichedon 42. Photographs, squeezes.

[----------]Ν̣ΕΑΝΔ̣[...⁵..]
[----------]ΙΔΕΤΟΨΗΦ[.]
[----------]Α̣ΘΕ̣ΝΑΕΚΑΣ
4 [----------]ΟΡΑΙΤΕΛΕΣΙ
[----------]ΡΟΣΘΕΝΤΟΑΡΓ
[----------]ΧΙΑΝΕΑΜΜΗΑΥΤ
[----------]Ο̣ΓΚΗΡΥΚΑΤΟΝΙΟΝ
8 [----------]Σ̣ΓΡΑΨΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΠΡΟ
[----------]Μ̣ΜΑΤΕΑΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗΣΚ
[----------]ΝΟΜΙΣΜΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΕΝ
[----------]Α̣ΤΙΑΛΛΩΙΗΤΩΙΑΘΗΝΑ

13. Unpublished *Notebooks* II 415.

14. See n. 12.

15. Robinson, "Fragment" (see n. 7) 149.

16. The identification was due to my colleague and friend Argyro Tataki, who very generously drew my attention to it.

12 [----------]ΛΟΙΣΗΤΟΙΣΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝΚ
[----------] *vacat*

It was obvious that the new fragment continued from the point where the older one broke off and that between the two fragments there was only one line missing. Thus it was possible to restore a total of 38 lines (including the missing line between the two fragments and the last line of the text, which did not extend to the surviving right part of the stele), that is to say probably the greater part – including the end – of the text.

The combined text

[----------o]
[ἰ δὲ θεσμοθέται πε....[9].....]αντων[.....[12]....χρήμα]-
[σι ἕκαστον· ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ἄλλ]ων ἀρχόν[των ἐν ταῖσι πό]-
[λεσιν μὴ ποιῆι κατὰ τὰ ἐψηφισ]μένα ἢ τῶν [πολιτῶν ἢ τῶ]-
4 [ν ξένων, ἄτιμος ἔστω καὶ τὰ χρή]ματα δημόσι[α ἔστω καὶ]
[τῆς θεοῦ τὸ ἐπιδέκατον· καὶ εἰ μ]ή εἰσι ἄρχον[τες Ἀθην]-
[αίων, ἐπι.....[13].....ἐν τῶι] ψηφίσματι οἱ [ἄρχοντ]-
[ες οἱ ἑκάστης τῆς πόλεως· ἐὰν δὲ μ]ὴ ποιῶσι κατὰ [τὰ ἐψη]-
8 [φισμένα, ἑκάστους τῶν ἀρχόντων] τούτων περὶ ἀτι[μία]-
[ς διώκειν Ἀθήνησι· ἐν δὲ τῶι ἀργυρ]οκοπίωι τὸ ἀργύ[ριο]-
[ν.....[20].....μὴ ἔλατ]τον ἢ ἥμυσυ καὶ α[..]
[.....[27].....]ι αἱ πόλεις πραττο-
12 [.....[27].....] δραχμὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μν-
[ᾶς .....[23]..... κατ]αλλάττειν ἢ ἐνόχο-
[υς εἶναι κατὰ τὸν νόμον· ὃ δὲ ἂν περι]γίγνηται ἀργυρίο-
[.....[28].....]σθαι ἢ τοῖς στρατ-
16 [ηγοῖς ἢ .....[19].....· ἐπε]ιδὰν δὲ ἀποδοθῆι,
[.....[21]..... τῆι Ἀθην]ᾶαι καὶ τῶι Ἡφαίσ-
[τωι .....[11]..... καὶ ἐάν τις εἴπηι ἢ] ἐπιψηφίσηι περ-
[ὶ τούτων .....[15]..... ἐς ἄλλο] τι χρῆσθαι ἢ δανε-
20 [ίζεσθαι, ἀπαγέσθω αὐτίκα μάλα πρὸ]ς τοὺς ἕνδεκα· οἱ δ-
[ὲ ἕνδεκα θανάτωι ζημιωσάντων· ἐὰν] δὲ ἀμφισβητῆι, ἐσ-
[αγαγόντων ἐς τὸ δικαστήριον· κήρυκ]ας δὲ ἑλέσθαι τὸ-
[ν δῆμον ἀπαγγελοῦντας τὰ ἐψηφισμ]ένα, ἕνα μὲν ἐπὶ Νή-

[σους, ἕνα δὲ ἐπὶ Ἰωνίαν, ἕνα δὲ ἐφ' Ἑλλήσπο]ντον, ἕν[α] δὲ ἐ-
[πὶ τὰ ἐπὶ Θράικης· τούτοις δὲ τὴν πορείαν ἑκάστωι συ]-
[γγράψαντες οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἀποστελάντω]ν· ἐὰν δ[ὲ μή, εὐ]-
[θυνόσθωμ μυρίαισι δραχμαῖσι· ἀναγράψα]ι δὲ τὸ ψήφ[ι]-
[σμα τόδε τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν ταῖσι πόλεσι κ]αθ' ἕνα ἕκασ-
[τον· θεῖναι δὲ ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι ἐν τῆι ἀγ]ορᾶι τέλεσι-
[ν ἑκάστης πόλεως καὶ τοὺς ἐπιστάτας π]ρόσθεν τῶ ἀργ-
[υροκοπίο· ταῦτα δ' ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν συμμα]χίαν, ἐὰμ μὴ αὐτ-
[οὶ βούλωνται· δεηθῆναι δὲ αὐτῶν τ]ὸγ κήρυκα τὸν ἰόν-
[τα ὅσα κελεύουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι· προ]σγράψαι δὲ καὶ πρὸ-
[ς τὸν ὅρκον τὸν τῆς βολῆς τὸγ γρα]μματέα τῆς βουλῆς κ-
[αὶ τοῦ δήμου ταδί· ἐάν τις κόπτηι] νόμισμα ἀργυρίο ἐν
[ταῖσι πόλεσιν ἢ χρῆται νομίσμ]ατι ἄλλωι ἢ τῶι Ἀθηνα-
[ίων ἢ σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις ἄλ]λοις ἢ τοῖς Ἀθηναίων κ-
[----------]

vacat

L. 1: ο[ἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται πρ.....[10].....]ντων[.....[12]....α] *IG*; the present restoration is due to the new reading of the Cos fragment by Matthaiou in his communication to the Oxford symposium (see n. 1).

L. 2: Instead of [ἐὰν δέ τις ἄλλος τ]ῶν of all the previous editions, including mine, in view of the Hamaxitos copy, which has [ν]ΔΕΤΙΣΤΟΝΑ at the beginning of its sixth line.

L. 3: Mark the presence of the word ἤ before τῶν, which would be absent from the Cos copy (if we accepted, with Lewis, a stoichedon of 40 letters), though not from the Hamaxitos one. However, according to the new reading by Matthaiou, who would rather reckon a 41 letters stoichedon, there would be enough space for the restoration of ἐ in line 9 of the Cos fragment.

L. 4: Note that the Cos fragment, instead of [καὶ τὰ χρή]ματα must have had the un-Attic construction [τὰ δὲ χρέματα]; the word αὐτῶ, for which there is the necessary space in the Cos fragment, has here been omitted.

L. 6: [ἐπιτελεσάντων ὅσα] Segre; [ἐπιμελεθέντων τῶν] Erxleben.

L. 7: Note that the Cos fragment has the construction [καὶ] ἐὰμ μὲ ποιῶσι.

Ll. 8-9: ἀτ[----] *IG*; the present restoration is due to the new reading of the Cos fragment by Matthaiou.

L. 14: [περιγ]ίγνηται *IG*.

L. 23: The Syme fragment seems to require a more developed formula at this point, and all editors, with the exception of M.N. Tod, *JHS* 69 (1949) 105, who prefers αὐτίκα μάλα ἀπαγγέλλοντας, have suggested the words [καὶ πέμψαι] after the word [δῆμον]. There is no space for either of these restorations in the Aphytis fragment.

L. 26: The Syme fragment seems to require a number of letters after [ἀποστελάντω]ν, which have been accordingly supplemented as [αὐτίκα μάλα] by all editors with the exception of the authors of *ATL*, who prefer instead to insert the words καθ' ἕνα ἕκαστον before the word εὐθυνόσθωμ; [εἰ δὲ μή] in the Syme and Siphnos fragments according to the previous editors, except Figueira (*Money* 387), who envisages the alternative [ἐὰν δὲ μή].

L. 27: The length of the line confirms the reading [εὐθυνόσθωμ] in the Siphnos fragment, proposed by Wilhelm and the editors of the *ATL*, but not adopted by most other editors, including those of *IG*, who have preferred the reading [εὐθυνόσθω].

L. 28: The definite article after [ἄρχοντας], which must have figured in the Siphnos and the "Smyrna" fragments, has been omitted from the Aphytis fragment, but not necessarily from the Syme one (cf. Figueira, *Money* 390, n. 36).

Ll. 28-29: The words [κ]α̣θ̣' ἕνα ἕ̣κασ|[τον], which cannot fit into the corresponding lines of the Syme, and Siphnos fragments, that seem to have [πόλεσι καὶ θε(ῖ)ναι], but which according to Papazarkadas, can fit into the "Smyrna" one, appear here for the first time.

Ll. 29-30: τέλεσι|[ν ἑκάστης πόλεως] (instead of τέλεσι | ἑκάστης πόλεως, according to the suggestion of Papazarkadas) appears here for the first time, but it is possible that the first two letters of the word τέ̣[λεσιν] can be read in the second line of the "Smyrna" fragment. The presence of this word is also compatible with the length of the lines of the Syme and Siphnos fragments, provided that the useless article before the word πόλεως be omitted and that the adverb ἔμπροσθεν be replaced by the simple πρόσθεν, as suggested by Papazarkadas.

L. 31: [δ' ἐπιτελῆν τὴν συμμα]χίαν appears for the first time. Until then the passage had been restored as δὲ ἐπ[ιτελέσαι Ἀθηναίος], but the new reading is compatible with the non stoichedon Syme and Siphnos copies but it could hardly fit in the stoichedon "Odessa" fragment [A.P. Matthaiou, «Μία λανθάνουσα ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς Σίφνου», *Πρακτικὰ Γ΄ Διεθνοῦς Σιφναϊκοῦ Συμποσίου, Σίφνος 29 Ἰουνίου - 2 Ἰουλίου 2006* (Athens 2009) 79; *id.*, *Studies* (see n. 1) 176-177, suggests the alternative restoration ϑιᾶσθαι τὴν συμμαχίαν for the Siphnos, "Smyrna" and Aphytis copies. For the use of the word συμμαχία in the sense of the members of an alliance, cf.

Thuc. 1.119 and 2.7.3; Matthaiou, *Studies* (see n. 1) 176, adds the further references Thuc. 2.9.3, 6; 5.40.1; 6.73.1].

Ll. 32 and 33: These two lines have 41 instead of 42 letters each. Is this attributable to slight stylistic differences from the Syme and "Smyrna" fragments, such as, for example, the use of καί instead of δέ, or to a defect of the stone that affected the disposition of the letters?

Ll. 33-34: προσγράψαι δὲ πρός in the Syme and "Odessa" fragments. Siphnos may present either formula. Papazarkadas restores προσγρ[άψ|αι δὲ καί] in the "Smyrna" fragment.

Ll. 34-35: The reading τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου, which had been disputed (cf. Figueira, *Money* 407-408), is now vindicated by the presence of the letter kappa at the end of line 34. The "Odessa" fragment has [τὸν γραμματέα τὸν τῆς βο(υ)λῆς ταδ]ί and so probably does the Siphnos fragment, whereas the Syme and the "Smyrna" fragments probably also have τὸν γραμματέα τὸν τῆς βο(υ)λῆς καὶ το(ῦ) δήμο(υ) ταδί.

Ll. 36-37: There is wide disagreement between the several versions in this section. The "Odessa" fragment has certainly καὶ μὴ χρ[ῆται νομίσμασιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίων], instead of our [ἢ χρῆται νομίσμ]ᾰτι ἄλλωι ἢ τῶν Ἀθηνα[ίων]. There is no way of knowing how the non-stoichedon Syme, Siphnos and "Smyrna" versions behaved in this instance. The "Odessa" fragment has again certainly [σταθμοῖ]ς ἢ μέτ[ροις], and the "Smyrna" fragment ἢ σταθμοῖς ἢ μέτ[ροις], instead of the [σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις] of the Aphytis fragment, which is guaranteed by the stoichedon pattern. Finally, it is clear that the Siphnos, "Odessa" and "Smyrna" fragment included another phrase element containing the *iunctura* καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις in the Siphnos and "Odessa" fragments, but καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς in the "Smyrna" fragment.

Ll. 37-38: I had initially proposed the restoration κ|[αὶ τιμωρήσομαι καὶ ζημιώσω], which was based on the restoration of the corresponding passage of the Siphnos version in the *ATL*. Papazarkadas in his unpublished paper on the "Smyrna" copy (see n. 1) put forward the restoration κ|[ολάσω], which would leave enough space for the introduction of a rider. Matthaiou, *Studies* (see n. 1) 182-183, invokes the Demophantos decree cited in And. I 97 and proposes (*per litteras*) a restoration that would not exceed 23-24 letters, such as κ|[τενῶ καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι. [See "Postscript", below].

I offer the following translation of the last portion (lines 22-38) of the Aphytis version of the Standards Decree, which can be practically entirely read or safely restored:

"Let the People elect heralds who shall communicate what has been decreed, one to the Islands, one to Ionia, one to the Hellespont, one to the Thraceward district; let the generals despatch them, giving to each written instructions about his itinerary; if they fail to do so, let them be liable to a fine of ten thousand drachmas; let the magistrates in the cities, each one of them, transcribe this decree and set it up on a stone stele in the agora at the expense of each city and let the *epistatai* (do the same) before the mint; let the Alliance execute these (orders), if they will not (do it) themselves; let the herald on his itinerary request of them whatever the Athenians will order; let the secretary of the Council and of the People add this to the oath of the Council: 'if anybody mint silver coinage in the cities or use coins other than those of the Athenians or weights or measures others than those of the Athenians, I shall [---] (him)' ".

In previous editions of this text I had limited myself to a comparison with the recent *IG* edition, which in my neophyte eyes represented the most up-to-date *status quaestionis*, and with the "heterodox" version of Figueira. There is no need to reproduce these obsolete versions here. On the other hand, while preparing the present paper, I came to realise that only very rarely can one say that the case of a fifth-century Attic inscription, and in particular the Standards Decree, 'is closed'. So, in this version I have systematically compared my readings of the Aphytis fragment with the texts of the other six extant versions, so as later on to use the results thereof in order to understand better how the Standards Decree was disseminated throughout the Athenian Empire.[17]

Significance of the new fragment

Following the publication of its second fragment, the Aphytis version now emerges as the most significant that we possess. Its importance is manifold. It is the longest and most complete version. In combination with new discoveries, such as the Hamaxitos fragment,[18] or recent work on other long-known relevant

17. Cf. Figueira, *Money* 326-327.

18. H.B. Mattingly, "New Light on the Athenian Standards Decree (*ATL* II, D 14)", *Klio* 75 (1993) 99-102. D.M. Lewis, review of J. Bingen, *Pages d'épigraphie grecque: Attique-Égypte (1952-1982)* (Epigraphica Bruxellensia 1, Brussels 1991), in *CR* 43 (1993) 208. Figueira, *Money* 347-348, unconvincingly denies that the Hamaxitos inscription belongs to a copy of the Standards Decree. See the rebuttal of H.B. Mattingly, review of Figueira, *Money*, in *AJA* 103

documents, it enables us to obtain throughout the text several improved readings. Its last portion in particular can now be entirely restored with almost absolute certainty. It gives the end of the Standards Decree text, at least in one of its versions. This can be extensively compared to the other extant versions, enabling us to attempt a comprehensive interpretation of the variations observed between them. Its spellings as well as its tone and content offer valuable clues concerning its date, the revision of which affects that of a number of other very important fifth-century Athenian inscriptions. Finally, it calls for a more general reflection on the relative weight that should be attributed to formal and historical arguments respectively in dating archaeological finds.

Old and new readings

The revelation that the decree ended with the bouleutic oath had suggested to me the possibility that the "Odessa" and Siphnos fragments almost entirely preserve the ends of their texts, and that there is hardly more than a couple of lines missing. Likewise, if the Syme (fragment A), Cos and Hamaxitos stelae preserve without much loss the beginning of the text inscribed on them, then no more than half a dozen lines could be missing from the beginning of the Aphytis copy, as we read it today.[19] If, however, we accept that the Siphnos fragment does possess a fifteenth line with the letter *tau*, then it would side not with that of Aphytis, but with the "Smyrna" fragment.[20]

Among the new readings obtained, some, such as [εὐθυνόσθωμ] of line 27, do not significantly affect our understanding of the text,[21] but others, even though they might at first seem negligible, have important historical implications. Such is the case of the new reading of line 2 obtained thanks to the new Hamaxitos fragment: [ἐὰν δέ τις τῶν ἄλλ]ων ἀρχόν[των], which enables us to solve a notorious

(1999) 712. Cf. also A.S. Henry, "Fact, Fiction and Formulae in Athenian Decrees", *Preatti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* (Rome 1997) 205-209; *id.*, "Fact, Fiction and Formulae in Athenian Decrees", *Atti del XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina* (Rome 1999) 335-343; *id.*, "The Sigma Enigma", *ZPE* 120 (1998) 45-48 (see also R.S. Stroud, *SEG* 48 [1998] 58-59).

19. Cf. Mattingly, *Empire* (see n. 59) 405-411 (= "The Second Athenian Coinage Decree", *Klio* 59 [1977] 85-89); *id.*, "Light" (see n. 18) 100, n. 3.

20. N. Papazarkadas ("Smyrna Fragment", see n. 1) suggests that the letter *tau* preserved in line 15 of the Siphnos fragment may belong to the first word of the rider clause τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ.

21. Cf. Figueira, *Money* 385-388.

crux concerning the ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖσι πόλεσι of the decree.[22] The *"other archontes"* in this particular instance have to be officials, other than those of an unspecified but different category (ἐπίσκοποι?) mentioned in the lacuna, resident in the allied cities, either Athenian citizens (πολῖται) or foreigners (ξένοι) in Athenian service. Similarly significant is the addition of the words [κ]ᾰ̣θ̣' ἕνα ἕ̣καστ[ον] in lines 28-29, which establishes beyond dispute that, as Meiggs has argued, the reference is not to local magistrates[23] but to the Athenian officers mentioned in lines 5-6 in contradistinction to [οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ ἑκάστης τῆς πόλεως] of lines 6-7.[24] This verification is particularly important because from the combination of the above passages it emerges that at the time of the adoption of the Standards Decree Athenian resident officials were as a rule present in the "allied" cities.[25] A similar picture emerges from the decree of Kleinias[26] and from another one of which only a small fragment is preserved.[27] The latter, which mentions Athenian *archontes* in cities of Ionia, is securely dated to the days of the Peloponnesian War. The date of the former, enacting measures against the "allies" who do not discharge their obligations – fiscal or religious – vis-à-vis Athens, is disputed. It has long been noted that it presents striking similarities "in tone and temper" with the Standards Decree.[28] It does not aim at obtaining consent through persuasion. It issues strict orders to the Athenian officials resident in the "allied" cities to coerce into compliance the local authorities, who are threatened with severe punishments. However, although the Kleinias decree deals also with the failure of an "ally" to send to Athens an ox and a panoply at the penteteric celebration of the Great Panathenaea – an obligation which had been instituted by a decree of

22. Cf. H. Leppin, "Die ἄρχοντες ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι des delisch-attischen Seebundes", *Historia* 41 (1992) 257-271.

23. As H. Leppin (see previous note) has affirmed.

24. R.Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1972) 213; cf. 223.

25. Although Figueira (*Money* 346) attempts to deny it.

26. *IG* I^3 34: [τὲ]μ βολὲν καὶ τὸς ἄρχ[οντας ἐν] τẽσι πόλεσι καὶ τὸς [ἐπισκό]πος ἐπιμέλεσθαι hόπ[ος ἂν χσ]υλλέγεται ho φόρος κ[ατὰ τὸ ἔ]τος hέκαστον καὶ ἀπά[γεται] Ἀθέναζε.

27. *IG* I^3 122.

28. Cf. Meiggs, *Empire* (see n. 24) 167: "The closest parallel in tone and temper to the decree of Clinias is the so-called Coinage Decree", and 172: "The language of the Coinage Decree is very similar to that of the Clinias Decree. It issues sharp instructions, and Athenian officers overseas are to take the lead in seeing that they are carried out. There is no suggestion that Athens is thinking primarily of the good of the allies and that Attic coinage is being imposed on them for their own economic benefit..."; cf. further 223, 326 and 404-405.

Thoudippos[29] contemporary with another decree of the same politician on the tribute assessment of 425/4 –[30] on the basis of its letter-forms is dated according to the "orthodox" view in 448/7.[31]

The new readings of the last portion of the Standards Decree, made possible thanks to the new Aphytis fragment, highlight its oppressive character and its similarities with the decree of Kleinias even more. In both cases provision is made for the transference of recalcitrant local magistrates to Athens to submit to a trial, the outcome of which might be *atimia*, civic death. Such a harsh disposition – and there are others – nullify a recent attempt to interpret the decree as a mere technical measure.[32] Moreover, the provision that the stelae were to be set up in each city by the resident Athenian officer, but at the city's expense, and that, in case of non compliance, the might of the entire "Alliance" would bear down on the recalcitrant cities to overcome any reluctance or to crush any resistance plainly aggravates the violent *animus* of this decree. The αὐτ[οί] of lines 31-32, as well as the [αὐτῶν] of line 32, can be none other than the local authorities, especially in the cities without resident Athenian officials, where the responsibility of implementing the relevant provisions of the decree would lie with them.[33] As we shall see below, these new elements ought to be taken into consideration in discussing the date of the document.

Equally relevant to the question of the date are the lines 35-38, containing the oath of the *bouleutai*, which can now be almost completely restored. It radically

29. *IG* I^3 71, ll. 51-58.

30. *IG* I^3 71, ll. 1-51.

31. Cf. *IG* I^3 34: "Litt. certe bello aliquanto Peloponnesiaco anteriores". Cf. also Mattingly, *Empire* (see n. 59) 8-30 (= "The Athenian Coinage Decree", *Historia* 10 [1961] 151-169); 316-318 (= "Formal Dating Criteria for Fifth Century Attic Inscriptions", *Acta of the Fifth Epigraphic Congress* [Cambridge 1971] 28-31); 478-481 (= "The Athenian Coinage Decree and the Assertion of the Empire", in I. Carradice [ed.], *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* [BAR 343, Oxford 1987] 66-68); see also C.W. Fornara and L.J. Samons II, *Athens from Cleisthenes to Pericles* (Berkeley – Los Angeles 1991) 180-181, and L.J. Samons II, *Empire of the Owl: Athenian Imperial Finance* (*Historia* Einzelschriften 142, Stuttgart 2000) 189-191.

32. Figueira, *Money*, *passim*; cf. M. Schoenhammer, "Some Thoughts on the Athenian Coinage Decree", *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress* I (Louvain-la-Neuve 1993) 187-191; O. Picard, "Monnaies et guerres en Grèce classique", *Pallas* 51 (1999) 210, and the justified reservations of G. Le Rider, *Naissance de la monnaie* (Paris 2001) 253-254.

33. The text resulting from the incorporation of the new fragment nullifies Figueira's restorations and interpretations (*Money* 388-391), which assume that the Athenian officers are meant and that the relevant clause aimed at their compliance.

belies the attempt to interpret the decree in a way that would not forbid the use of local coinage, weights and measures, and would simply provide for the acceptance of Athenian coinage as well as legal tender in the "allied" cities.[34]

Variants in the fragments

However, the greatest surprise generated by the new fragment comes from the fact that the Aphytis version ends with the bouleutic oath, without any mention of [τὸ πρότε]ρον ψήφισμα ὃ Κλέαρχ[ος εἶπεν] and, what is more, with the omission of the clauses of the last eight lines of the "Smyrna" copy. This raises the question of the variants in the seven copies, of the possible couplings between them and of the interpretation of the divergences and the similarities observed.[35]

TABLE OF VARIANTS

Aphytis	Hamaxitos	Cos	Syme	"Smyrna"	Siphnos	"Odessa"
L. 3: ἢ τῶν [πολιτῶν]	[ἢ] τῶν [πολιτῶν]	(?) [τῶν πολι]τῶν				
L. 4: [καὶ τὰ χρή]ματα		[τὰ δὲ χρέματα]				
L. 4: 0		[αὐτῶ]				
L. 7: [ἐὰν δὲ μ]ὴ ποιῶσι		[καὶ] ἐὰμ μὲ ποιῶσι				

34. Figueira, *Money* 392-410. Similarly the new Hamaxitos fragment, which Figueira refuses to accept as belonging to the Standards Decree, contradicts his restoration of lines 3-8 of the Cos copy (Figueira, *Money* 333-340). Although the Aphytis fragment has a variant which is different from that of "Odessa" and perhaps also of those of "Smyrna", Syme and Siphnos, there can be no doubt as to the meaning of the clause, which explicitly forbids the use of any currency, measure or weight other than that of Athens.

35. On the divergences between the various versions, cf. Figueira, *Money* 323 and 326-327. Earlier scholars had entertained the idea that there were perhaps two different decrees (D.M. Lewis, "The Athenian Coinage Decree", in I. Carradice [ed.], *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* [BAR 343, Oxford 1987] 59) or that the Aphytis fragment, given its letter-forms (cf. Lilian H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* [Oxford 1990^{2}] 364, n. 1), had been inscribed at a later date. [For further discussion, see the "Postscript" below].

Aphytis	Hamaxitos	Cos	Syme	"Smyrna"	Siphnos	"Odessa"
L. 23: [δῆμον ἀπαγγε-λοῦντας]			[δῆμον καὶ πέμψαι ἀπαγγε-λοῦντας]			
L. 26: [ἀποστε-λάντω]ν			[ἀπ]οστε-λάντ[ων αὐτίκα μάλα]			
L. 28: [ἐν ταῖσι πόλεσι]			[τὸς (?) ἐν ταῖσι πόλεσιν]	[τ](ὸ)[ς ἐν τῆσι πόλεσιν]	[τὸς ἐ]ν ταῖσι πόλεσιν	
Ll. 28-29: [πόλεσι κ]ᾰθ᾽ ἕνα ἕ̣καστ[ον· θῆναι δὲ ἐν στήληι			[πόλεσιν καὶ θῆναι ἐν στή]ληι	[πόλεσι καθ᾽ ἕνα ἕκαστον· θῆναι δ᾽ ἐστήληι]?	πόλεσιν [καὶ θεῖναι ἐν στήλη]ι	?
Ll. 29-30: τέλεσι [ν ἑκάστης πόλεως]			?	τέ̣[λεσι ἑκάστης πόλεως]	?	[ἀγορᾶι ἑκάστης] τ̣[ῆς πόλεως]
L. 31: [ταῦτα δ᾽ ἐπιτελῆν τὴν συμμα]χίαν			?	?	?	[ταῦτα δὲ ἐπιτελέ-σαι Ἀθηναίος]
Ll. 33-34: [προ]σγρά-ψαι δὲ καὶ πρὸ[ς]			[προσ-γράψα]ι δὲ πρὸς	προσγρ[ά-ψαι δὲ καὶ πρὸς]?	προσ-(γ)ράψαι δ[ὲ πρὸς]?	[προσ-γράψαι δὲ πρὸς]
Ll. 34-35: [γρα]μματέα τῆς βουλῆς κ[αὶ τοῦ δήμου]			[γραμ-ματέα τὸν τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου]?	[γρα]μματέα τὸν τῆς [βολῆς καὶ τῶ δήμο]?	γραμ|μα-[τέα τὸν τῆς βολῆς]	[γραμμα-τέα τὸν τῆς βολῆς]

Aphytis	Hamaxitos	Cos	Syme	"Smyrna"	Siphnos	"Odessa"
Ll. 36-37: [ἢ χρῆται νομίσμ]ατι ἄλλωι ἢ τῶι Ἀθηνα[ίων]			?	?	?	καὶ μὴ χρ[ῆται νομίσμασιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίων]
L. 37: [ἢ σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις]				ἢ σταθμοῖς ἢ μέτ[ροις]	[ἢ] σταθ|μοῖς [ἢ μέτροις]?	[ἢ σταθμοῖ]ς ἢ μέτ[ροις]
L. 37+: 0				[καὶ] μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς	καὶ σ[ταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις]	[καὶ σταθμοῖ]ς κα[ὶ μέτροις]

Having tabulated the observations of the *apparatus criticus*, we notice that the Aphytis copy version differs from at least one of the other versions in no less than fifteen instances (in lines 4 [twice], 7, 23, 26, 28, 28-29, 29-30, 31, 33-34, 34-35 [twice], 36-37, 37, 38). In five of these (in lines 28, 28-29, 33-34, 34-35, and 37) we are able to compare the Aphytis version with more than one of the other versions. In line 28 the Aphytis version seems to stand isolated against Syme, "Smyrna" and Siphnos. In lines 28-29 Aphytis might side with "Smyrna", while Syme and Siphnos stand together. In lines 33-34 Aphytis may be in agreement with "Smyrna", whereas Syme, "Odessa" and possibly Siphnos stand together. In lines 34-35 Aphytis, contrary to "Smyrna" and "Odessa", and possibly to Syme and Siphnos as well, presents the expected form [τὸγ γρα]μματέα τῆς βουλῆς, without doubling the article.[36] On the other hand, it displays the unusual formula τῆς βουλῆς κ\|[αὶ τοῦ δήμου], which may also occur in "Smyrna" and Syme, but cannot fit either in "Odessa" or Siphnos. In line 37 and beyond Aphytis seems to stand again alone, for it does not duplicate the words σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις (or μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς) as the Siphnos, "Odessa" and "Smyrna" versions do.

There remain several unanswerable questions. Are these variants connected with the method of dissemination of the decree through the four heralds sent to deliver it respectively to the Islands, Ionia, Hellespont and Thraceward districts,

36. Cf. A. Henry, "The Athenian State Secretariat and Provisions for Publishing and Erecting Decrees", *Hesperia* 71 (2002) 95, n. 33. I owe this reference to N. Papazarkadas.

given that Aphytis belongs to the Thraceward district, Syme, "Smyrna" and Cos to the Ionian district, Siphnos to the Islands, and Hamaxitos to the Hellespontine district?[37] Is the convergence between Siphnos and "Odessa" in lines 34-35, beyond line 37 and possibly in lines 33-34 and 37 (of the Aphytis version) due to coincidence or should we accept the hypothesis that the latter fragment originates not from a Black Sea city belonging to the Hellespontine district, but from an Aegean Island?[38] Did the "Odessa" version continue with the clause preserved in the "Smyrna" fragment or is it practically complete as it stands, as I had initially thought?

None of these questions can be answered definitively at present. David Lewis' suggestion about more than one decree[39] has not been definitely excluded. Siphnos and "Odessa" may well share a common feature without necessarily deriving from the same original text. It is divergences, not similarities, which are significant. On the other hand, we possess only a few lines from the beginning of the Hamaxitos fragment, and they cannot be collated with the preserved part of the "Odessa" fragment, which preserves the final portion of the decree, in order to prove or disprove its origin. Thus we are unable to determine whether they both possess common features setting them apart – as belonging to a "Hellespontine group" – from the other versions of the decree. In view of the important divergences in the final lines of the Siphnos and "Odessa" versions, as opposed to the Aphytis one, I would no longer risk any conclusions concerning their extent. Thus we cannot tell whether the "Smyrna" fragment with the Klearchos[40] rider presents a completely isolated version of the decree.[41] One thing is certain: the Aphytis fragment and the "Smyrna" fragment preserve two different versions, since the latter contains an addition which the former does not possess.[42]

Thomas Figueira has attempted to deduce from the variant transcriptions the method used by Athens for the dissemination of the decree. He concluded that the

37. Note Figueira's (*Money* 452-453) similar conclusions.

38. Cf. B.D. Meritt, "The Second Athenian Tribute Assessment Period", *GRBS* 8 (1967) 128; Lewis, "Decree" (see n. 35) 55-56.

39. See n. 35.

40. Cf. Chr. Habicht *apud* D. Whitehead, "The Athenian Standards Decree (*IG* I^3 1453): 'The (?) Preceding Decree which Klearchos Proposed' ", *ZPE* 118 (1997) 173, n. 42.

41. Cf. Figueira, *Money* 407-408. In my two previous papers (see nn. 5, 6) I had listed the Syme copy (fragment B) along with those of Siphnos and "Odessa", but it breaks off at an earlier point than the other two and for this reason its evidence cannot be considered equally significant for determining the extent of the text originally inscribed on the stone.

42. More about this question in the "Postscript" below.

heralds carried with them both the Attic original and an Ionic transcription produced by themselves under the possible supervision of the generals who were accompanying them. He further posited that the Attic copies were set up by Athenian officials, while the Ionic ones might be due either to Athenian officials eager to publish a text more readily accessible to the local population or to local magistrates. There is much good sense in these remarks, but there are still questions that have not been satisfactorily answered. It has been plausibly assumed that the publication in Attic script is evidence of direct Athenian intervention intended to counter the reluctance of the local magistrates to comply with the provisions of the decree. It is indeed possible that Cos and Hamaxitos (which Figueira does not take into consideration) had been recalcitrant.[43] But why do we have in the first case a genuine Attic script and in the second an Attic script adapted to Aeolic *psilosis*? Was it because the Doric dialect of Cos still retained the *spiritus asper*? Such scrupulous attention comes as a surprise from the executants of a brutal policy. And more seriously: How should the presence of two additional clauses in the "Smyrna" copy be interpreted? If they indeed represent a rider proposed by Klearchos, why are they missing from the Aphytis fragment?[44]

The date of the decree

We have already seen that the Standards Decree presents unmistakable affinities of terminology, style and temper with the decree of Kleinias on the collection of the tribute, which is inextricably connected with that of Thoudippos on the assessment of 425/4.[45] Nevertheless, because the copy from Cos, written in the Attic alphabet, presents the three-barred sigma, which according to orthodox opinion went out of use after 446, the most highly reputed specialists of fifth-century Attic epigraphy insisted for a long time on dating the Standards Decree to the beginning of the decade 450-441.[46] Consequently, despite its four-barred sigma, the decree of Kleinias too, with its similar terminology, style and temper,

43. Cf. M.N. Tod, Review of *ATL*[2], in *JHS* 69 (1949) 105; *R*. Meiggs, "The Crisis of Athenian Imperialism", *HSCP* 67 (1963) 19-20; E.S.G. Robinson, "The Athenian Currency Decree" (*Hesperia* Suppl. 8, Princeton 1949) 337; Mattingly, "Light" (see n. 18) 101-102. For Hamaxitos in particular, see below.

44. Cf. Figueira, *Money* 455-456. More about this question in the "Postscript" below.

45. And also with that of Kleonymos *IG* I[3] 68; cf. Meiggs, *Empire* (see n. 24) 404-405.

46. For an account of the epigraphic discoveries and for the chronological controversy, see Lewis, "Decree" (see n. 35) 53-63 and now the exhaustive treatment of the question by Figueira, *Money* 319-465, and the judicious remarks of Le Rider, *Naissance* (see n. 32) 251-260.

was arbitrarily dissociated from the obviously related decree of Thoudippos and moved to the same earlier period.

However, there had always been strong arguments in favour of a later date for the Standards Decree. Already in 1877, Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf had hypothesised the existence of such a decree on the basis of a passage from Aristophanes' *Birds* produced in 414.[47] It was thus only natural to date the decree, when it eventually started surfacing in the form of epigraphic fragments (the Siphnos copy discovered in 1894 enabled Adolf Wilhelm in 1897 to identify an inscription copied at Smyrna in 1855[48] as belonging to the same decree[49]), to a date not far removed from that of the comedy. But there were other positive reasons for maintaining that date. In 1924 F. Hiller von Gaertringen, with his unique experience of Greek epigraphy, dated the decree on the basis of the "Smyrna" and Siphnos copies to the late twenties or early tens of the fifth century,[50] and after the discovery of the Syme fragments, with his acute sense of history, insisted that the decree was closely connected with the assessment decree[51] and belonged "to the last years of Kleon, when the *demos* was hastening to increase its financial possibilities, in order to further its chances of victory".[52] In 1933 M.N. Tod favoured a date around 423[53] and D.M. Robinson, when publishing the first Aphytis fragment found no difficulty in adopting such a date.[54] As we have already said, it

47. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, "Von des attischen Reiches Herrlichkeit", a lecture given at Greifwald and included in an extended version in *Philologische Untersuchungen I: Aus Kydathen* (Berlin 1880) 30 and in *Reden und Vorträge* (Berlin 1913) 52.

48. A. Baumeister, "Monatsberichte", *Verhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*, 1855, 196-197, no. 22.

49. A. Wilhelm, "Bericht über in Griechenland gemachte epigraphischen Studien", *AnzWien* 34 (1897) 180; *id.*, "Bericht über die in Griechenland gemachte epigraphischen Studien", *ÖJh* 1 (1898) 43, and N. Papazarkadas, "Smyrna Fragment" (see n. 1), see "Postscript" below.

50. *IG* I^2, p. 295.

51. *IG* I^2 63.

52. F. Hiller von Gaertringen, "Ἀττικὸς νομισματικὸς νόμος ἐκ Σύμης", *ArchEph* 1923, 116: «...λαβόντες τὸ παράδειγμα τῆς συμπληρώσεως τῶν πρώτων στίχων ἐκ τοῦ περὶ φόρων ψηφίσματος *IG* I^2 63, τοῦ ψηφισθέντος κατὰ τὸ 425/4, ἔτι θαρραλεώτερον ἐκφράζομεν τὴν γνώμην, ὅτι ὁ νόμος ἀνήκει εἰς τὰ τελευταῖα τοῦ Κλέωνος ἔτη, ὅτε ὁ δῆμος ἔσπευδε ν' αὐξάνῃ τὰς οἰκονομικὰς αὐτοῦ δυνάμεις, πρὸς διευκόλυνσιν τῆς νίκης».

53. M.N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* (Oxford 1933) 67.

54. Robinson, "Fragment" (see n. 7) 151-152. He changed his mind, however, after the publication of the Cos fragment; cf. D.M. Robinson, "Inscriptions from Macedonia, 1938",

was the discovery of the Cos fragment, inscribed in Attic script, which cast doubt on the established date. Mario Segre, being no expert in Attic epigraphy, relied heavily on the editors of the *Athenian Tribute Lists*. Accepting as revealed truth that the list of 447/6 was the last document displaying a three-barred sigma, he adopted it as a *terminus ante quem* of the Standards Decree, taking no heed of two important elements that he could not help noticing. First, the document he edited "did not contain any of those signs characteristic of the archaic Attic alphabet, which are retained even in texts dated after that year (446)". Second, until then no objections had been raised against the dating around 420 of the "Smyrna", Siphnos, Syme and Aphytis fragments, written in Ionic script.[55] Segre, however, remained uneasy because the decree mentioned four districts (Islands, Ionia, Hellespont, Thrace), to which heralds were despatched, whereas he knew that until 438 the tribute lists mentioned five distinct districts, the aforementioned four plus Caria, which was then incorporated into Ionia. B.D. Meritt took it upon himself to put Segre's mind at rest, informing him that according to his reconstruction of *IG* I^2 195, "the empire from 450 to 448 was divided into 4 districts just as indicated in the numismatic decree".[56]

Not everyone was convinced. Tod, reviewing the second volume of the *Athenian Tribute Lists* in 1949 made a prophetic appeal to its authors and to other experts "to reconsider its date before the weight of their authority gives unquestioned validity to their present view", and reminded them of the unreliability of palaeographic criteria and the evidence from the mention of not five but of four districts – in exactly the same order as in the assessment decree of 425 – in connection with the heralds.[57] Four years later E. Cavaignac challenged the revised date on numismatic and, mainly, historical grounds.[58] In 1957 H.B. Mattingly began his unremitting onslaught against Meritt's elevation of the form of a single letter

TAPA 69 (1938) 43, n. 1; D.M. Robinson and P.A. Clement, *Excavations at Olynthus.* Part IX. *The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins Found in 1928-1934* (Baltimore 1938) xxviii.

55. Segre, "Legge" (see n. 8) 167.

56. Segre, "Legge" (see n. 8) 167-169. Moreover Meritt attempted to exploit Segre's (mistaken) identification of the Cos fragment as "marmo pentelico", as a proof that the inscription originated from Athens and reflected contemporary Attic epigraphic style (B.D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions", *Hesperia* 33 [1964] 177, n. 40; cf. W.K. Pritchett, "The Koan Fragment of the Monetary Decree", *BCH* 89 [1965] 424, n. 1).

57. Tod, Review (see n. 43).

58. E. Cavaignac, "Le décret dit de Cléarchos", *RN* 15 (1953), 1-7.

to error-proof criterion for dating fifth century Attic epigraphic documents.[59] From his early articles on he urged "that it has become vital to date as many fifth-century inscriptions as possible by internal evidence and historical probability".[60] The Attic epigraphic establishment bluntly scorned Mattingly's appeal, not heeding the Roberts' ominous sentence: "sa (Mattingly's) méthode nous paraît saine, en face de ce qu'il apelle souvent 'the orthodox position'...".[61] In 1963 it was W.K. Pritchett's turn to assail with arguments of simple good sense the orthodox doctrine of the three-barred sigma ("There is no parallel in the history of the Attic script for such abandonment, not of a style of lettering, but of *one* letter-form in *one* particular year").[62] He very aptly reminded his readers that earlier epigraphists had indeed recognised a change in the Attic script in the middle of the fifth century, but that they were cautious enough to base this doctrine not on one letter but on the general style which evolved from angular forms of beta and rho, slanting ones of lambda and nu, alpha with slanting cross-bar and three-barred sigma to a more rounded and upright style in which the loop of the beta and rho was rounded, the lambda and the rho upright, the cross-bar of the alpha horizontal and the sigma four-barred. As regards letter-forms, he concluded that "in case of an inscription such as the Koan fragment, carved in the rounded style but containing one letter-form of the angular style, the significant factor of the dating is the style in general".[63] L. Robert could only approve of these sound doctrines: "L. R. ne cesse, pour sa part, d'insister dans son enseignement sur cet aspect de l'étude paléographique : il ne faut pas seulement étudier l'évolution de chaque lettre, mais le style d'ensemble d'une inscription".[64] But Pritchett also showed that the supposed four-fold division of the Athenian empire in the years 450-448 was an *ad hoc* invention of Meritt's destined to justify his dating of the Standards Decree.[65]

59. H.B. Mattingly, "The Date of the Athenian Coinage Decree", *ProcClassAss* 54 (1957) 31-32. His most important contributions on this subject have been collected in *The Athenian Empire Restored: Epigraphic and Historical Studies* (Ann Arbor 1996).

60. H.B. Mattingly, "Athens and Euboea", *JHS* 81 (1961) 132 (= *Empire* [see n. 59] 66-67).

61. *BullÉpigr* 1962, 97.

62. Pritchett, "Koan Fragment" (see n. 56) 425.

63. Pritchett, "Koan Fragment" (see n. 56) 427.

64. *BullÉpigr* 1964, 18.

65. Pritchett, "Koan Fragment" (see n. 56) 428-439. The argument from the number of the heralds and the fiscal districts of the Athenian Empire was repeatedly stressed by a number of supporters of the lower date of the Standards Decree besides Mattingly and Pritchett: R.

Meanwhile, the publication in 1960 of P.O. Karyshkovski's article, which posited that a fragmentary inscription kept in the "Odessa" museum since the early 1930s belonged to another copy of the Standards Decree and asserted that it originally came from Olbia, a city that could not have become a member of the Athenian empire before 446, presented a new challenge to Meritt's orthodoxy.[66] Meritt parried this by claiming that the stone was not of local origin, but had been used as ballast in one of the ships coming from the Aegean.[67] In three consecutive years, 1969-1971 E. Erxleben published an exhaustive revision of both the epigraphic and the numismatic evidence concerning the Standards Decree and came to the conclusion that it belonged to the years 425/4-421/0 and preferably to 423/2.[68]

A series of numismatic contributions presented in the wake of the publication of the decadrachm hoard in 1987 further eroded the early date of the decree. M.J. Price in particular, in view of the numismatic situation in Macedonia and Thrace in the first half of the fifth century, saw "absolutely no reason to believe that an imperialist currency decree had any effect on the coinages of the north Aegean".[69] Six years later N.M.M. Hardwick made known the conclusions of his Oxford thesis on the coinage of Chios, which "except for a break after the Ionian revolt", was minted continuously from 525 to 425, then experienced a break until after 412, due to the enactment of the Coinage Decree.[70] Finally, M. Vickers, in an important article published in 1996 highlighted the anomalous amounts in the weights of silver objects dedicated in the Parthenon and in payments of tributes down to 429/8 and explained them by the fact that they had been originally calculated on the Persian Standard, drawing the obvious conclusion that the Standards Decree had not yet been passed. He too was inclined to date the decree to 425.[71]

Seager, "The Congress Decree: Some Doubts and a Hypothesis", *Historia* 18 (1969), 129-140; Erxleben, "Münzgesetz" (see n. 68) 118-119; 148-151; E. Ruschenbusch, "Zur Zahl der Tributbezirke des delischen Seebundes und zur Datierung des Kleinias- und des Münzdekrets (Meiggs-Lewis 45 und 46)", *ZPE* 26 (1977) 211-215.

66. P.O. Karyshkovski, "Olbia and the Athenian League", *Materialy po arkheologii Severnogo Pricheromor'ia Odessa* 3 (1960) 64-70 (in Russian).

67. Meritt, "Tribute" (see n. 38) 128-129.

68. E. Erxleben, "Das Münzgesetz des delisch-attischen Seebundes", *ArchPF* 19 (1969) 91-139; 20 (1970) 66-132; 21 (1971) 145-162.

69. M.J. Price, "The Coinages of the Northern Aegean", in I. Carradice (ed.), *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (BAR 343, Oxford 1987) 47.

70. N.M.M. Hardwick, "The Coinage of Chios from the VIth to the IVth Century B.C.", *Proceedings of the XIth International Numismatic Congress* I (Louvain-la-Neuve 1993) 216.

71. M. Vickers, "Fifth Century Chronology and the Coinage Decree", *JHS* 116 (1996) 171-174.

At the same time on the epigraphic front new evidence was piling up in favour of the later date. Already in his 1987 paper commenting on the decadrachm hoard D.M. Lewis, although still gallantly defending the orthodox position, very honestly underlined the significance of the copy from Syme, which does not appear in the tribute lists until 433, as an argument for dating the Standards Decree after that year.[72] But more momentous developments were still in store. In 1990 M.H. Chambers, R. Gallucci and P. Spanos published an important article with the results of their revision based on modern technologies of the treaty between Athens and Egesta, which used three-barred sigmas. Their verdict was that the partly preserved name of the eponymous archon was Antiphon and that therefore this inscription dated to 418/7. In the light of this, they concluded that "there is no obstacle to assuming that the text sent to Cos had three-barred sigmas, nor does this letter entail a date in the 440's for the inscribing of the copy on Cos".[73] But more was to come. In 1993 Mattingly was able to establish that a fragmentary inscription in Attic script but with four-barred sigmas discovered at Hamaxitos and published in 1988 belonged in fact to a version of the Standards Decree. Since that city was not conquered by Athens until after 427, this inscription offered a very strong argument for placing the Standards Decree after that date and for admitting the parallel use of three-barred and four-barred sigmas by Attic cutters in the twenties of the fifth century.[74] Even Lewis, in a letter to Mattingly, accepted the 420s dating of the decree.[75] That practically left only A.S. Henry as an infidel who "feels that it is a sacred duty to continue to fight for the banner of the three-barred sigma".[76]

Can the new fragment from Aphytis contribute anything to this long-drawn debate? In the field of palaeography it had already been pointed out that its letter-forms had induced Lilian H. Jeffery to posit that the Aphytis stele represented a later copy of the decree.[77] Spellings such as ϐουλῆς (instead of the expected ϐολῆς in a

72. Lewis, "Decree" (see n. 35) 56.

73. M. Chambers, R. Gallucci and P. Spanos, "Athens' Alliance with Egesta in the Year of Antiphon", *ZPE* 83 (1990) 56. *Contra* A.S. Henry, "Through a Laser Beam Darkly", *ZPE* 91 (1992) 137-146, and M. Chambers' reply "The Archon's Name in the Athens-Egesta Alliance" (*IG* I^3 11), *ZPE* 98 (1993) 171-174; cf. *id.*, "Reading Illegible Greek Inscriptions: Athens and Egesta", *Thetis* 1 (1994) 49-52.

74. Mattingly, "Light" (see n. 18) 99-102, but see n. 17, above.

75. Mattingly, Review (see n. 18) 712-713.

76. A.S. Henry, "The Sigma Stigma", *ZPE* 137 (2001) 103.

77. Jeffery, *Local Scripts* (see n. 35) 364, n.1.

mid-fifth-century text) obviously strengthen the case for a later dating of the Standards Decree. The provisions of the decree, of which the new fragment reveals an even harsher and more despotic character, inescapably point to the years of the Peloponnesian War, when the prolongation of the conflict and the rise of the "new politicians",[78] such as Kleon and his friends,[79] had removed the last inhibitions of the Athenians vis-à-vis their "allies", who were being reduced to the state of subjects. Finally, could the new fragment from Aphytis, combined with the new Hamaxitos fragment, offer a chronological clue enabling us to propose a more precise date for the enactment of the Standards Decree? In Spring 424, according to Thucydides[80] the Athenians sent a fleet of thirty triremes under the generals Demodokos, Aristeides and Lamachos to collect the tribute. Lamachos sailed into the Euxine, but the other two generals gathered an allied force (ξυναγείραντες ἀπὸ τῶν ξυμμάχων στρατιάν) and reconquered Antandros and the cities of the Lesbian Peraia, which had been captured by Mytilenean exiles. One might be tempted to connect the ξυμμάχων στρατιά of Thucydides with the συμμαχία threatening to execute the provisions of the Standards Decree in case of non compliance of the local magistrates and to see in the Hamaxitos copy in Attic script the work of the Athenian generals Demodokos and Aristeides, who would be none others than the στρατηγοί of the decree entrusted with despatching the heralds. However, such a reconstruction must remain a mere hypothesis unless further evidence can be adduced in its favour. In any case, it is now clear that instructions for the operations of the Athenian fleet had been given in the closely connected Assessment Decree, Kleinias Decree and Standards Decree, all dating from the year 425/4.[81]

Conclusion

The repercussions of the return of the Standards Decree to its original dating spread far beyond this important document itself and affect a number of other fifth-century Athenian inscriptions, modifying thus our perception of the history of Athens in the second half of the fifth century, based to a large extent on the orthodox theory, according to which no three-barred sigma was cut in Athens after 446 and no rho with a tail after 438. Now that the Athenian treaty with

78. Cf. W.R. Connor, *The New Politicians of Fifth Century Athens* (Princeton 1971).

79. Such as Kleonymos, Hyperbolos, Thoudippos (cf. Meiggs, *Empire* [see n. 24] 317), to whom we might now add Klearchos and Kleinias.

80. Thuc. 4.75.

81. Cf. Mattingly, "Light" (see n. 18) 101-102.

Egesta, which presents these letters, has been securely dated to 418/7[82] and now that we cannot escape noticing that a recently discovered casualty catalogue of Athenians fallen during the Peloponnesian War has four-barred sigmas in its main text, but three-barred ones in a later addition,[83] it is high time that we followed Mattingly's advice and dated not only fifth century inscriptions, but all epigraphic documents primarily "by internal evidence and historical probability".[84]

In the great controversy of recent years on the relative importance respectively ascribed by the Greeks to economic and political considerations in public affairs and in particular in monetary policy, the confirmation that the Athenians intervened in such a brutal way in order to impose the Attic drachma as the sole legal tender, despite the fact that economic developments anyway tended to render it the common means of transactions within the *arche*, vindicates those, such as M.I. Finley[85] and G. Le Rider,[86] who stress the importance of ideological and political factors in determining monetary policies, and belies "economocrats", such as T.R. Martin[87] and T.J. Figueira.[88]

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82. Cf. A. Matthaiou, "Περὶ τῆς *IG* I^3 11", in A.P. Matthaiou and Georgia E. Malouchou (eds.), *ΑΤΤΙΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΙ. Πρακτικὰ Συμποσίου εἰς μνήμην Adolf Wilhelm (1864-1950)* (Athens 2004), 99-122; *SEG* 52 (2002) 44.

83. Ioanna Tsirigoti-Drakotou, "Νέα στήλη πεσόντων ἀπὸ τὸ Δημόσιον Σῆμα τῶν Ἀθηνῶν", *ArchDelt* 55 (2000) [2004], *Meletai* 87-112; *SEG* 52 (2002) 60.

84. Mattingly's unrelenting struggle in favour of content over form can be now considered as fully vindicated; cf. the proceedings of the conference in his honour edited by A.P. Matthaiou and R. Pitt, *Ἀθηναίων ἐπίσκοπος: Studies in Honour of Harold B. Mattingly* (Athens 2014).

85. M.I. Finley, *The Ancient Economy* (London 19852) 168-169, and, particularly, *id.*, "Classical Greece", *Deuxième conférence internationale d'histoire économique, Aix en Provence 1962* (Paris 1965, repr. of first edition New York 1979), 22-25.

86. Le Rider, *Naissance* (see n. 32) 239-257.

87. T.R. Martin, *Sovereignty and Coinage in Classical Greece* (Princeton 1985) 196-214.

88. Figueira, *Money*, *passim* and particularly 548-562. Lisa Kallet's attempt (*Money and the Corrosion of Power in Thucydides* [Berkeley – Los Angeles – London 2001] 205-226) to link the Standards Decree with the replacement of the tribute by the *eikoste* tax (now probably dated "during or shortly before 413"; see J.H. Kroll, "What about Coinage?", in J. Ma, N. Papazarkadas and R. Parker [eds.], *Interpreting the Athenian Empire* [London 2009] 201-202), already suggested by E. Cavaignac (see n. 58), does not escape the rampant stress on economic factors typical of the years of globalisation triumphant. [In all fairness I must stress that Figueira in a recent article (see n. 92) 43 vigorously rejects the term "economocrate" which I have used to describe his theoretical position. I ought to have made clear that this term was by no means meant as an insult, but as a convenient way of describing historians

Finally, there is another lesson – not at all insignificant – to be gained by the vindication of the supporters of the lower dating. When arguments stemming from formal considerations clash with others based on historical verisimilitude, it is unwise to give preference to the former, be they letter-forms of an inscription or saltcellars in a Macedonian grave.[89]

POSTSCRIPT

Thomas Figueira courteously responded to my communication to the Twelfth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy (Barcelona 2002)[90] and to my article in *Horos* 14-16 (2000-2003)[91] in an extensive and thorough (but unjustly polemical against Mattingly) article published in 2006.[92] In it he partly defends the positions he expounded in his previous work[93] and partly exploits the new Aphytis fragment, in order to present a new interpretation of the various versions of the Standards Decree and their chronology. Specifically, he challenges the view that ἄρχοντας ἐν ταῖσι πόλεσι in line 28 of the Aphytis fragment refers to Athenian officials, and that therefore there were Athenian officials in every city of the Athenian *arche*; he considers the use of the term συμμαχία in line 31 as an indication that the Aphytis copy was written after 412 "and perhaps even in the 4th century" in the context of the Second Athenian Confederacy; he disagrees with the *ATL*'s restoration of line 38, which I had also adopted myself, and prefers C. Koch's restoration from the Siphnos version [καταγνώσομαι κα]ὶ τ[ιμήσω];[94] he interprets the disparities in the oath of the *Boule*, for which we have three different variants, as unassailable proof that there were at least three different decrees in the chronological order Syme, "Smyrna", Aphytis. All in all, however, he considers that the chief gain from the new edition of the Aphytis stone is the revelation that the various local fragments of the decree "represent a sequence of

who in my opinion project our modern western utilitarian mentalities in their analyses of ancient Greek societies still imbued with the aristocratic agonistic ethos].

89. Cf. M.B. Hatzopoulos, "The Burial of the Dead (at Vergina) or the Unending Controversy on the Identity of the Occupants of Tomb II", *Tekmeria* 9 (2008) 117.

90. See n. 5.

91. See n. 6.

92. T.J. Figueira, "Reconsidering the Athenian Coinage Decree", *AIIN* 52 (2006) 9-44.

93. In particular in Figueira, *Money*.

94. C. Koch, *Volksbeschlüsse in Seebundenangelegenheiten: das Verfahrensrecht Athens im Ersten Attischen Seebund* (Frankfurt 1991) 398-400.

versions, redactions, or reissues of a piece of monetary legislation, a sequence that may extend into the 4th century".

Figueira's article was received rather critically by Stroud and Papazarkadas.[95] The former had independently discussed the recent developments in the study of the Standards Decree in his D.M. Lewis Memorial Lecture.[96] Stroud, contrary to Figueira, decisively upheld Mattingly's downdating of the Standards Decree and accepted my interpretation thereof as denoting an increased harshness of the Athenian authorities vis-à-vis the other members of the League. However, unknowingly agreeing with Figueira's article, Stroud stresses the different endings of the Aphytis and "Smyrna" fragments, which nullify all efforts for the establishment of a "composite text". Moreover, from the great number of minor textual variants in the local versions he judiciously draws the conclusion that "verbatim copies were not circulated to the subject allies for publication in their cities". For some major discrepancies, such as the different endings of the Aphytis and the "Smyrna" versions, he envisages the possibility of local adaptations of the original enactment due to local reactions, and also the eventuality of different decrees voted at different dates.

Stroud's comments were favourably received by Ph. Gauthier in the *Bulletin épigraphique*.[97] Meanwhile P.J. Rhodes had joined Mattingly on the question of the dating of fifth century Athenian documents.[98] He had been preceded by Chr. Flament in his monetary study of Classical Athens,[99] and followed by Papazarkadas[100] and Matthaiou.[101] The latter confirmed Mattingly's fifth century Athenian chronology, to which I too adhere, against Figueira's, but at the same time espoused his recent views concerning the plurality of decrees. He writes "that we

95. In *SEG* 56 (2006) 77.

96. R.S. Stroud, *The Athenian Empire on Stone. David M. Lewis Memorial Lecture, Oxford 2006* (Greek Epigraphical Society, Athens 2006) 20-26.

97. *BullÉpigr* 2007, 185.

98. P.J. Rhodes, "After the Three-bar Sigma Controversy: The History of Athenian Imperialism Reassessed", *CQ* 58 (2008) 500-506.

99. Chr. Flament, *Athènes à l'époque classique (440-338). Contribution à l'étude du phénomène monétaire en Grèce ancienne* (Namur 2007) 276-279. Cf. Kroll, "Coinage" (see n. 88), 195-209.

100. N. Papazarkadas, "Epigraphy and the Athenian Empire", in J. Ma, N. Papazarkadas and R. Parker (eds.), *Interpreting the Athenian Empire* (London 2009) 67-88.

101. A.P. Matthaiou, *The Athenian Empire on Stone Revisited. David Lewis Lecture in Ancient History, Oxford 2009* (Athens 2010) 10-11; cf. already *id.*, «Μία λανθάνουσα ἐπιγραφὴ τῆς Σίφνου», *Πρακτικὰ Γ΄ Διεθνοῦς Σιφναϊκοῦ Συμποσίου, Σίφνος, 29 Ἰουνίου-2 Ἰουλίου 2006* (Athens 2009) 82, n. 20.

should be thinking of no fewer than two Coinage decrees. One decree is represented by the Aphytis copy and the other by the Smyrna and Olbia copies".

However, two major contributions to the study of the Standards Decree remain unfortunately unpublished: Papazarkadas' communication to the Oxford Symposium and Matthaiou's doctoral dissertation (see n. 1). In the former Papazarkadas adopts the Aphytis fragment's new readings in lines 28-31 and 36-37 also for the "Smyrna" fragment (lines 2-4 and 8-9), and follows Whitehead's and Habicht's proposal[102] that the original Standards Decree ends with the apodosis κολάσω of the bouleutic oath, as in the Aphytis fragment, and that in the "Smyrna" fragment the oath is then followed by a rider introduced by the name of the proposer and the words [--- εἶπε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα κατὰ τὸ πρότε]ρον ψήφισμα ὃ Κλέαρχος εἶπε ---]. This "previous decree" is none other than the decree which we read on the Aphytis fragment and which can be legitimately called "the Klearchos decree". Papazarkadas suggests that the letter *tau* in line 15 of the Siphnos fragment may represent the first letter of the same rider, and admits that in that case it would be the absence of the rider in the Aphytis version that would pose a problem. As a possible solution to the crux he suggests that it may have been inscribed on a different stele.

Matthaiou followed a different path. He isolated three instances in which the several versions of the decree presented insuperable disparities: the bouleutic oath (lines 35-38 of the Aphytis fragment), the duty of the Athenians or the Alliance to implement the resolutions prescribed in the decree, if the local allied authorities should prove recalcitrant (lines 27-32 of the Aphytis fragment), and lines 10-18 of the "Smyrna" fragment, which according to him do not belong to a rider, but makes an entirely different decree of the "Smyrna", Siphnos and "Odessa" versions. After a thorough examination of these three points of divergence he concludes that the extant versions fall into three groups: Group A with the καὶ μὴ χρῆται formula and the Athenians forcing the recalcitrant allies, to which belongs the "Odessa" fragment; Group B without lines 10-18 of the "Smyrna" copy, with the ἢ χρῆται formula and the "Alliance" forcing the recalcitrant allies, to which belongs the Aphytis fragments; Group C with lines 10-18, to which belongs the "Smyrna" fragment. Moreover, since the phrase καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις (or καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς), which is present in the "Smyrna", "Odessa" and Siphnos fragments cannot be restored in the Aphytis one, groups A and C should be closely connected

102. D. Whitehead, "The Athenian Standards Decree (*IG* I3 1453): The (?) Preceding Decree which Klearchos Proposed", *ZPE* 118 (1997) 169-173, in which Chr. Habicht's suggestion is reported (p. 173, n. 42).

or even be one and the same group. In conclusion he posits that we are dealing with at least two different decrees passed at different times, although he does not venture to establish with certainty their relative or absolute chronology.

In my opinion a distinction should be made between major and minor disparities. The nine additional lines of the "Smyrna", Siphnos and possibly also of the "Odessa" fragments obviously belong to the first category, but the variations between καὶ μὴ χρῆται and ἢ χρῆται, which can be understood as having the same meaning,[103] the repetition of καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ μέτροις (or καὶ μέτροις καὶ σταθμοῖς) and even the variation between Ἀθηναίους and συμμαχίαν can be explained away, if we take into consideration the conditions of transmission of the decree and the place of oral communication in Classical Greece. Papazarkadas very aptly highlights that the four heralds who were sent to the four districts to announce the decision of the Athenian assembly did not carry with them some 150 copies of the decree to hand over to the authorities of one and each city of the alliance, nor did they wait for the local cutter to engrave it on stone.[104] In fact the Thoudippos decree provides an instructive parallel detailing the relevant procedure. Four pairs of heralds are despatched respectively to Ionia and Caria, the Thraceward district, the Islands and the Hellespont and are given the order to announce or proclaim (the verbs ἀναγορεύω or ἐπαγγέλλω have been restored in the lacuna), in fact to enjoin to the public authorities of each city to send ambassadors (to Athens) in the month of Maimakterion.[105] As Papazarkadas points out, it is likely that the heralds simply read out the decree and a clerk attached to the authorities took notes. There is nothing improbable in such a scenario, if we take into account the enhanced capacity to memorise in "oral societies" and also the existence of tachygraphic techniques.[106] If omissions or transposition of words occur in documents transmitted in writing,[107] it should not come as a surprise if even

103. Cf. Matthaiou, *Studies* (see n. 1) 174.

104. Cf. Stroud, *Athenian Empire* (see n. 96) 25: "Often the new evidence contains minor textual variants, which are important demonstrations merely that verbatim copies were not circulated to the subject allies for circulation in their cities".

105. *IG* I^3 71; cf. Matthaiou, *Studies* (see n. 1) 18-68.

106. Cf. H. Boge, "Die griechische Tachygraphie", *Klio* 51 (1969) 89-115.

107. Cf. the discrepancies between the Eleusis and the Athens copies of the Attic decree on the offering of first-fruits at Eleusis (*IG* I^3 78) or between the Kassandreia and the Frama/Amphipolis copies of the Macedonian ordinance on military service (M.B. Hatzopoulos, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides : problèmes anciens et documents nouveaux* [Meletemata 30, Athens 2001] 153, 156 and 160).

greater disparities are observed in cases of oral transmissions. Figueira's objection that that oath could not admit such variations contemporaneously[108] would have been valid had we been dealing with documents exposed in Athens and liable to strict control by the state authorities, but does not apply to texts locally engraved in different parts of the Attic *arche*. Taking into consideration all the above extremely valuable contributions, I am inclined to think that the surviving fragments represent no more than two versions of the decree: the one from Aphytis and the other from "Smyrna", Siphnos and possibly "Odessa". What is the reason of these two main variants and in what chronological order were they enacted? As we saw above, at least two hypotheses have been envisaged. The lines 9-18 of the "Smyrna" copy would belong to (a) a rider voted on the same day as the main ("Klearchos decree") represented by the Aphytis fragment (Papazarkadas), (b) a completely different decree represented by the "Smyrna", Siphnos and possibly "Odessa" fragments and voted rather before than after the Aphytis one (Matthaiou following suggestions by Lewis and Stroud mentioned above).[109] Both solutions have their drawbacks. The objections to the first hypothesis convincingly advanced by Matthaiou are (a) that an amendment passed on the same day should have been inscribed on the same stele, which is patently not the case with the Aphytis version, and (b) that the introductory formula of the amendment would hardly leave enough space for the description of the penalty in the "Smyrna" version. The drawback of the second hypothesis is that it constrains us to admit two completely independent legislative enactments practically identically formulated and "ignoring" each other, though pertaining to the same subject. This seems to me a possible, but not very economical solution. I thought that a way out of this alternative could be found in the notoriously erratic practices of the ancient Greeks, which allowed exceptions from established formulas and, among other things, admitted all sorts of truncated prescripts.[110] A good parallel is provided by the Neapolis decrees.[111] To the original decree enacted in 410/09 a second one was appended, probably in 407/6, without the expected prescript, but only with the abridged formula Ἀχσίοχος εἶπε. What is more, the original Neapolis decree is referred to in the second decree (line 58) as τὸ φσέφισμα τὸ πρό[τερον],

108. Figueira, "Coinage Decree" (see n. 92) 35.

109. Cf. also the extreme hypothesis of Figueira, "Coinage Decree" (see n. 92) 9-44, envisaging several Standards Decrees over several decades as far down as the fourth century BC.

110. Cf. A.S. Henry, *The Prescripts of Athenian Decrees* (*Mnemosyne* Suppl. 49, Leiden 1977) 32-33.

111. *IG* I^3 101.

just like the original Standards Decree is referred to as [τὸ πρότε]ρον ψήφισμα in the second decree of the "Smyrna" fragment. Why then the same formula *ὁ δεῖνα εἶπε*, suggested by Papazarkadas, could not fulfil the same function in the "Smyrna" fragment? If this last hypothesis were accepted, the most likely scenario would be that in the late twenties of the fifth century, not long after the enactment of the original, "Klearchos", decree represented by the Aphytis fragments and dealing with coins detained by the allied states, it was deemed necessary to extend its dispositions to privately held coins. Consequently a second decree proposed by an Athenian whose name has not survived was voted and, at least in the "Smyrna" fragment, was appended to the "Klearchos" one.[112]

Unfortunately this hypothesis too has a drawback, which was kindly pointed out to me by Matthaiou.[113] It hardly leaves any space for the description of the penalty and the name of the proposer on line 10 of the "Smyrna" stele. It could only accommodate the verb κτενῶ and a name, provided it were short. It should be added, however, that in any case the space available on line 38 of the Aphytis version allows only for a heavily truncated form of the penalty attested in the oath formula of the Demophantos decree (And. I 197: κτενῶ λόγῳ καὶ ἔργῳ καὶ ψήφῳ καὶ τῇ ἐμαυτοῦ χειρί, ἂν δυνατὸς ὦ). I conclude that in the present state of our documentation no hypothesis can offer an entirely satisfactory solution to the Standards Decree(s) riddle.

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112. If the hypothesis of a second decree were accepted, Lisa Kallet's proposal to link (a version of) the Standards Decree with the introduction of the *eikoste* tax (*Corrosion* [see n. 88] 205-226) should be reconsidered. The argument that the Aphytis version of the decree postdates the "Smyrna" one, because it uses harsher language and more recent spellings does not seem to me cogent. In my opinion such variations cannot be considered decisive, because alternative spellings and expressions may coexist within the limited period separating the two decrees, and a purely Athenian armada, instead of an allied flotilla (see above), might have accompanied the heralds bringing the second decree to the subjects of the Athenian *arche*.

113. *Per litteras.*

SUMMARY

The discovery and publication in 2003 of a second fragment from Aphytis (Chalkidike) of the Athenian Standards Decree imposed a reconsideration of its date, scope and relations to the other copies of the same document respectively located in Siphnos, Smyrna, Cos, Odessa and Hamaxitos. The restored, thanks to the joining of its two fragments, Aphytis copy, now forty lines long, emerges as the most significant that we possess. It is the longest and most complete version. In combination with other new discoveries, such as the Hamaxitos fragment, or with recent work on other long-known relevant documents, it enables us to obtain throughout the text several improved readings. Its last portion in particular can now be entirely restored with almost absolute certainty. It gives the end of the Standards Decree text, at least in one of its versions. This can be extensively compared to the other extant versions, enabling us to attempt a comprehensive interpretation of the variations observed between them. Its spellings as well as its tone and content offer valuable clues concerning its date, the revision of which affects that of a number of other very important fifth-century Athenian inscriptions. Finally, it calls for a more general reflection on the relative weight that should be attributed to formal and historical arguments respectively in dating archaeological finds.

Fig. 1. The upper fragment of the Aphytis copy of the Athenian Standards Decree discovered in 1928 (Thessalonike Museum 6801).

Fig. 2. Detail of its upper part.

Fig. 3. Detail of its lower part.

Fig. 4. The lower fragment of the Aphytis copy of the Athenian Standards Decree discovered in 1969 (Thessalonike Museum 6117).

Fig. 5. Detail of its upper part.