Deconstructing a Prussian Myth: The Athenian Standards Decree (IG I3 1453a-g)

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Es ist dringendes Bedürfnis das ein ordentlicher Philologe eigens darum Numismatik lerne, dass er die Münzen des fünften Jahrhunderts geschichtlich verarbeite.

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, Aus Kydathen (Berlin 1880) 31 n. 56

à Olivier Picard (1940-2023)

The Athenian Standards Decree (ASD) is one of the most controversial pieces of evidence for fifth-century BC Athens and its hegemony. It has been widely discussed by epigraphists, numismatists and historians. The bibliography on the decree is enormous: as a PhD student I tried to collect all the references to the decree in SEG and filled an entire notebook. In this article I propose to adopt a reading and understanding of the decree as a technical financial measure, following others.¹ This interpretation takes into consideration (a) the very limited evidence from coin hoards, as it has already been pointed out,² (b) the absence of serious numismatic evidence (i.e. evidence from mints) for a break in coinage in the allied cities, (c) the way monetary units are mentioned in epigraphic documents from Athens, such as the Athenian Tribute Lists (ATL) and other documents, and (d) the clauses of the decree, as well as those of IG I³ 90. I will begin with the story we all know about the decree and turn to these four points afterwards.

In a passage from Aristophanes’ Birds (1040-1041), produced in 414 BC, the decree seller presents a decree according to which χρῆσθαι Νεφελοκοκκυγίας τοῖς αὐτοῖς μέτροις | καὶ σταθμοῖς καὶ ψηφίσμασι καθάπερ ‘Ολοφύξιοι (“The Cloudcuckoolanders are to use the selfsame measures, weights, and decrees as

* For very useful discussions I wish to thank Alain Bresson, Edward M. Harris and Olivier Picard (†), and those who attended the Paris 2018 Conference, the Athens Numismatic Seminar (13/01/2020), Postgraduate Seminars at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, and the ANS Long Tables.

Bergk in the Teubner edition of 1857 suggested emending ψηφίσμασι to νομίσμασι, which was adopted by Blaydes, van Leeuwen, and Del Corno, but not by Sommerstein, Henderson and Dunbar. It was on the basis of the emendation of Bergk that von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf hypothesized the existence of such a decree well before it “started surfacing in the form of epigraphic fragments”.

The passage appears to allude to a clause in a decree issued by the Athenians for their allies, but comic distortion makes it risky to reconstruct the actual provisions from these lines. A fragment of a decree allegedly discovered at Smyrna and containing language similar to that found in the Aristophanes’ passage was published by Baumeister in 1855. Other fragments from Siphnos, Syme, Cos, Aphytis, Olbia and, possibly, Hamaxitos have been published since. The texts of the fragments appear to overlap in certain places, making it possible to reconstruct the main clauses of the decree(s) and their sequence.

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7. Baumeister 1855, 196-197 no. 22; IG I 1453g. For this copy of the decree, see Papazarkadas, Santini 2023.
8. For Siphnos (IG I 1453e), see Wilhelm 1897, 180 [= 1898, 43]. For Syme (IG I 1453a, d), see Hiller von Gaertringen 1923. For Cos (IG I 1453b), see Segre 1938. For a date of the fragment of Cos in the 440s BC, see Figueira 1998, 431-465. For the two fragments from Aphytis (IG I 1453c, SEG 51, 55), see Hatzopoulos 2000-2003 and 2013-2014, with previous publications and bibliography. For Olbia (IG I 1453f), see Braund 2005. For Hamaxitus (SEG 39,2), see Mattingly 1993. Figueira (1998, 347-348) rejected the assignment of the fragment from Hamaxitus to the Athenian Coinage Decree.
Deconstructing a Prussian Myth: the Athenian Standards Decree

composite texts of David Lewis in *IG* I³, M. B. Hatzopoulos, and Osborne and Rhodes contain fourteen clauses, but the first and last are so fragmentary that any restorations are inevitably speculative.¹⁰

The way the decree was interpreted is well known to all of us. The leading Prussian scholar Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf proposed the interpretation we all learn, from school books to postgraduate seminars: the decree banned the minting of coinages of the city-members of the Athenian alliance, i.e. the cities of Euboea, the islands of the Aegean Sea, Thrace and Western Asia Minor.¹¹ Given the impact of Wilamowitz in Classical studies, his interpretation of the decree became canonical. Wilamowitz was obviously influenced in his interpretation of the decree by the recent creation of a common coin-age for the German Empire and found a Classical precedent for the monetary unification of 1871. Epigraphists comparing letter shapes from different cities—which is a methodological mistake—, followed by numismatists searching for a firm *terminus ante quem* to date coin series, adopted the same interpretation, and the debate concentrated on the date.¹²

Such a measure, allegedly revealing the imperial character and policy of Athens, was first associated with Callias, Cimon’s brother-in-law, the richest Athenian of his day. The three-bar *sigma* of the fragment from Cos was the main argument, as it was believed to have disappeared from Athenian official documents by 447 BC.¹³ Therefore, a date in the early 440s BC was proposed.¹⁴ There were several objections to this early date, summarized by M. B. Hatzopoulos in his third article on the new fragment from Aphytis.¹⁵ When hoard evidence (the Decadrachm hoard) showed that this date was untenable and had to be lowered, a date in 425 BC, previously also proposed, ¹⁰ *IG* I³ 1453a-f and the new Aphytis fragment published by M. B. Hatzopoulos. For this new fragment, see Hatzopoulos 2000-2003 (*SEG* 51, 55); Hatzopoulos 2013-2014, 239-240 (*SEG* 64, 53); Osborne-Rhodes 2017, 329-337 no. 155. Cf. Maltese 2021, 5-6.

¹¹ von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1880, 30; 1913, 52 (*non vidi*).


¹³ This was the date proposed by Meritt (*ATL* II 6364). Cf. Segre 1938, 167-169 n. 8; Hatzopoulos 2013-2014, 252-253; Maltese 2021, 15-16. For a date in the 440s BC for the fragment of Cos, see also Figueira 1998, 431-465.


¹⁵ Hatzopoulos 2013-2014, 251-257.
was adopted. With a date in 425 BC, it seemed obvious that Cleon and his friends, well known for their views about the allies, were behind the decree. One recalls that his relative Thoudippos was involved in the assessment of the same year which imposed an increased tribute upon members (and members in revolt) of the Empire.

Harold Mattingly wrote a number of articles to support a date in 425 BC, which was also retained by all participants—with one exception—in the Oxford conference of 2004, which remains unpublished. In this conference, Lisa Kallet, following Cavaignac, supported the date she proposed in 2001, i.e. 414 BC, and the association of the decree with the introduction of the *eikoste*. According to Kallet, the decree was quickly revoked and left no traceable impact on the coinages of the cities of the so-called Athenian Empire. Kallet was followed by Kroll in 2009, and partly by Osborne and Rhodes in 2017.


18. For the assessment, see *IG I* 71. For a Κλέων Θουδίππου, see the accounts of the *tamiai* of Athena: *IG II* 1410, ll. 1-2 (377/6 BC) and 1411, ll. 506 (376/5 BC). This reveals that Cleon and Thoudippos were or became relatives.


21. See previous note.

Recent scholarship cast doubt on the traditional interpretation of the decree. Maria Schönhammer in a summary of her unpublished thesis on this decree proposed the interpretation of νομίσματα in the relevant clause of the decree as coinage standard. For Thomas Figueira, the allied states paid their phoros in Athenian coins. This procedure presented “practical advantages over the complexity in exchange and awkwardness of making payments in a variety of local currencies”. Olivier Picard also interpreted the decree as a technical financial measure. Samons rejected the view that the decree represents a crucial stage in the transformation of the league to empire. According to Samons, the decree had little impact on the way Athenian imperial finance actually functioned. Lisa Kallet, followed by Maltese and Lazar, considered the decree not as an oppressive political weapon but as a measure to facilitate exchange and transactions in the commercial realm.

Let us turn now to the four (4) points I mentioned at the beginning.

**Hoard evidence**

In his 2012 article on the presence of Athenian owls in Asia Minor, Koray Konuk stressed that owls are found in only very limited numbers in hoards and single finds discovered within the arche in Asia Minor. The so-called Decadrachm hoard from Elmali, Pamphylia (*CH VIII* 48), and a new hoard which contains hundreds of Athenian coins and comes also from Asia Minor do not challenge this view, because they were both buried in territories under Persian control. All specialists of Macedonia and Thrace know that “there is practically no hoard-evidence to show that Athenian coins played an important

29. For the Elmali hoard, see various contributions in *Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires* (1987). The new hoard from Asia Minor was presented by G. Kakavas in the XVI International Numismatic Congress (INC 2022), 11-16 September, Warsaw, Poland. For other hoards with Attic currency buried outside the Athenian arche see Kallet, Kroll 2020, 156-157.
role in the North Aegean at any period in the second half of the fifth century BC”. 30 The 2006 hoard from the excavations of Methone was buried well before Methone became a member of the Athenian League in the early 420s. 31 There are no hoards of Athenian coins from the islands of the Aegean Sea with the exception of Euboea, whose cities minted coinage during the early decades of the fifth century and later stopped. 32 However, two passages in Thucydides and one in Xenophon, as well as all mentions of the money Lysander sent to Sparta, reveal that during the last decade of the Peloponnesian war Athenian owls played a significant role as a means of payment to soldiers and those who rowed in the Athenian and Peloponnesian fleets. 33 This is also reflected in Aristophanes’ lines in his Frogs. 34 Athenian coins had a good reputation due to the purity of their metal. This was the reason they were preferred by Greeks and barbarians. The story narrated by Claudius Aelianus, about an Attic drachm being the prize for the man who catches the king of the whelks at Byzantium, might also refer to this period. 35 As owls circulated in the Aegean during the last years of the war, to explain their absence from hoards buried within the territories of the archē (with the exception of Euboea), one needs also to take into account


31. It contained 15 Athenian tetradrachms and 9 staters of Alexander I and its burial dates from the late 460s / early 450s BC; see Gatzolis, Psoma forthcoming. For the erroneous restoration of the ethnic of Methone in IG I 280, l. ii 67, see Piérart 1988. Methone’s ethnic appears for the first time in IG I 282, l. ii 53 of 429/8 BC.

32. For the silver coinages of the cities of Euboea (Carystus, Chalcis, Eretria), see Price, Waggoner 1975, 53-56 nos. 250-258. For their end in ca. 465 BC, see Picard 1999, 209. For 5th-cent. BC hoards with Athenian coins buried in Euboea, see infra, Appendix (list of hoards).

33. Thuc. 8.29.1-2 and 8.45.2; Xen. Hell. 1.5.4; cf. Plut. Lys. 16.2; Diod. Sic. 13.106.9. See also von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 1880, 30-31: “(...) es ist artig zu hören, wie die würdigen Staatsmänner Spartas, der sittenstrengen Stadt, die überhaupt die Wertmetalle als Teufelswerk verbannt, ihre Bestechungen in den laureotischen Eulen einstreichen”.

34. Ar. Ran. 721-726.
35. Ael. NA 7.32.
a number of facts. What comes first is the huge amount of money Lysander
sent to Sparta at the very end of the Peloponnesian war.\textsuperscript{36} Thus, owls moved
from Western Asia Minor and the Aegean to Sparta. Second, it cannot be ex-
cluded that owls entered the 	extit{gaza} of the satraps of Asia Minor as well as the
royal Persian 	extit{gaza} and in this way found their way to the territories of the
Achaemenid Empire from a much earlier date, well before the final years of
the war.\textsuperscript{37} It is tempting to explain in this way the significant hoards that were
buried within the territories of the Persian Empire (the Decadrachm hoard
and other unpublished hoards).\textsuperscript{38} Third, Athenian coins of good silver might
have been melted down to provide metal for the production of local coinag-
es.\textsuperscript{39} It has been proposed to link this with the decision of the Athenians to im-
pose the decree and their wish “d’enrayer la raréfaction de leur monnaie”.\textsuperscript{40}
Metal analysis might provide more evidence about this hypothesis.

What comes at the very end is the most significant. During the fourth cen-
tury BC Athenian owls were not legal tender outside Athens and had to be
exchanged for local coins, as we learn from both Apollodorus of Acharnae, the
son of Pasion, and Xenophon, who also mentioned their good exchange rate.\textsuperscript{41}
It seems difficult to admit that things were different during the fifth century
BC and that Athenian coinage was legal tender within the 	extit{arche}. The evidence
we have for two members of the League, Phocaea and Mytilene, indicate the
opposite. These two proceeded to the minting of an electrum coinage in al-
ternation and created a monetary zone through a monetary pact between the
two cities (\textit{IG} XII 2, 1), which was still valid ca. 360 BC.\textsuperscript{42} Thucydides (4.52.2.-3.6)

\textsuperscript{36} Four hundred seventy (470) talents: Xen. \textit{Hell.} 2.3.8-9; Plut. \textit{Lys.} 16.1; one thou-
sand five hundred (1,500) talents: Diod. \textit{Sic.} 13.106.8; three hundred (300) talents were

\textsuperscript{37} Konuk 2011, 60-61. Cf. van Alfen 2012 and 2016. For a list of hoards see Kallet,
Kroll 2020, 156-157.

\textsuperscript{38} For a prepublication of the Decadrachm hoard, see Carradice 1987. For the
Karkemish hoard, see Wartenberg 2015, 359-360. For some other hoards, see Kallet,
Kroll 2020, 156-157.

\textsuperscript{39} This is most probably what happened in the Macedonian kingdom under Arche-
laus: Psoma 2015a, 4 with n. 16.

\textsuperscript{40} Flament 2011, 50.

\textsuperscript{41} [Dem.] 50.30; Xen. \textit{Vect.} 3.2.

\textsuperscript{42} This is revealed by an anecdote attributed to the 4th-cent. BC historian
mentions that in 424 BC “the citizens of Mytilene and of the other cities of Lesbos who were in exile, the majority of them setting out from the mainland, hired some mercenaries from the Peloponnesus, gathered still others on the spot, and took Rhoeteum; but they restored it again to its citizens without having done any damage, with a ransom of 2,000 Phocaean staters” (trans. C. F. Smith).

Thus, hoard (and literary) evidence does not at all support the hypothesis of a wide circulation and extensive, let alone exclusive, use of Athenian owls within the frontiers of the so-called Athenian Alliance. One cannot make a study of the numismatic circulation of owls without owls.

**Mints**

As far as mints are concerned, two phenomena need to be taken into consideration in the discussion and the interpretation proposed here for the so-called Athenian Coinage Decree: (a) the end of production of local coinages and (b) a change in weight standard of local coinages.

On the basis of an early date in the 440s for the decree and its interpretation as imposing a ban on local coinages, Robinson’s famous article published in 1949 proposed an end for almost all coinages minted in the cities that were members of the Athenian Alliance ca. 449 BC. Barron, writing in the 1960s about the coinage of Samos, proposed a gap in the early 430s for Samos in relation with the end of the Samian revolt, “when Athens conquered Samos and obliged her to observe the Currency Decree”. As the publication of the Decadrachm hoard in 1987 refuted this early date for the end of a number of coinages, dates in the mid-420s for an eventual end of these coinages began to be adopted, as had been previously proposed by Erxleben and Mattingly.

Callisthenes involving the poet Persinos and Euboulos, the tyrant of Aeolian Atarneus (FGrHist 124 F4 [apud Poll. 9.93.4-9]). See also infra n. 62.

43. In the fourth century, Mantitheus claims that when he was on military service and had collected mercenaries, Apollonides, the Athenian proxenos at Mytilene, and the friends of Athens provided him with 300 Phocaic staters, which he spent on these troops: [Dem.] 40.36-37.

44. Robinson 1949.


In the early 1990s, Hardwick followed the same path and proposed a break in the coin production of Chios in ca. 425 BC as a result of the decree. Mattingly made a similar assumption for Acanthus, Maroneia and Mende, and Chryssanthaki-Nagle for Abdera.

The evidence from mints has been exploited by Thomas Figueira and further discussed by Jack Kroll and more recently by Lisa Kallet and Jack Kroll. We will briefly go through evidence from some mints for which we have more recent studies. The coinages of the Cycladic islands on three different standards (Euboean-Attic, Aeginetan and Milesian) came to an end at a date which is independent from the decree, mostly during the first half of the century. This was also the case for the silver coinages (on the Euboean-Attic standard) of the three cities of Euboea, ca. 465 BC, as well as for a number of mints in the Chalcidian peninsula (Aineia, the Chalcidians of Thrace, Scione, Potidaea, Sermilia, Stageira and Torone), also on the Euboean-Attic standard, and the cities on the coast opposite Thasos (Berge / Datos, Eion, Galepsos, Dicaea), on a local standard. The interruption –if there really was one– of Aegina’s numismatic


51. Sheedy 2006: the three cities of Ceos (Carthaea, Ioulis and Corhesia) ca. 470 BC; Cythnus ca. 460 BC; Siphnos ca. 455 BC; Melos (not a member of the League until 425 BC) down to 416 BC; Thera (not a member of the League until 425 BC) ca. 500 BC; Anaphe, Delos and Paros ca. 470 BC; Tenos ca. 500 BC; Naxos ca. 490 BC. For fractions from Siphnos on the Attic weight, which continued to be minted after 460 BC, see Kallet, Kroll 2020, 51-52; Kagan 2022, 3-4. For the Cycladic islands and the Athenian Empire, see Bonnin 2015 and 2019.

52. For Euboea, see supra n. 32 and Kallet, Kroll 2020, 48-49. For Olynthus, see Psoma 2001, 253-261. For Scione, see Marathaki 2014; Kagan 2014. For Potidaea, see Alexander 1953. For Sermilia and Stageira, see Psoma 2000, 27 and 29. For Torone, see Hardwick 1998. For Argilus, see Liampi 2005. For the coinages of Berge / Datos, Eion and Galepsos, see Psoma 2006, 66-67, 72, 73, 74-75, and 2016b, 83. Cf. Kroll 2009, 200.
production was considered as the immediate result of Athenian intervention in 431 BC: the Aeginetans were expelled and found their way to the Pelopon-
nese while the Athenians established a cleruchy on the island.53 Different ex-
planations have been proposed for the end of these coinages.54

While working on the silver coinage of Olynthus, the Chalcidian League and other silver coinages emanating from cities of the Chalcidic peninsula, I did not take the ASD under consideration simply because the Chalcidians of Thrace were the enemies of Athens in this area from 432 to, most probably, the end of the war.55 For the needs of this war, they minted their silver coinage on the standard of their ally, Perdicas II of Macedonia.56 In a short 1997 pub-
lication I proposed to explain the change of standard of Acanthus in relation with the need of this new ally of all enemies of Athens to pay for Brasidas’ soldiers, together with the Chalcidians and Perdicas II of Macedonia.57 Later, I proposed on the basis of style the continuation of the silver coinage of Mende after Cleon’s intervention, and Jonathan Kagan provided more evidence to strengthen my arguments.58 In my study of the excavation coins from the two sites of Maroneia, which included a chapter on the silver coinage of this city, I paid no attention to the decree, because it already seemed obvious to me that all attempts to posit a break in silver coin production at any date were based on preconceived ideas about the decree and its date.59 Like Abdera and Ainos, Maroneia issued on a non-Attic standard.60 There is no reason to assume that they stopped issuing coinage as a result of the decree. On the contrary, the three cities of Aegean Thrace continued to mint their silver coinages down

53. Thuc. 2.27.1-2; 8.69.3; cf. 4.57.1. For Aegina’s 5th-cent. BC coinage, see Sheedy 2012, 108-109: “The final phase of the island’s fifth-century BC coinage is often placed in the years between 445 BC and the Athenian expulsion of the Aeginetans in 431 BC”. See also Houghtalin 2015; Kallet, Kroll 2020, 75-77; Psoma forthcoming b. For the eikoste and Aegina, see Ar. Ran. 362-364. For the return of the Aeginetans to their island and for Lysander after the end of the Peloponnesian War, see Xen. Hell. 2.2.9.
54. Sheedy 2006, 125; impoverishment; cf. Konuk 2011; see also Kallet, Kroll 2020, 70.
55. Psoma 2011a, 120.
60. For Ainos see also Kallet, Kroll 2020, 58-59.
to the fourth century BC. The electrum coinages of Cyzicus and Lampsacus, Mytilene and Phocaea that were not included in the discussions about the decree, continued during the *Pentecontaetia*. The silver coinages of Lampsacus, Abydus, Parion, Selymbria and Cyzicus were minted on the Persian standard. Samos continued minting on its own standard. Chios made payments to the Spartans with its own currency in 412 BC (and also later). Although there are only a few *corpora* of coinages of Greek cities of Western Asia Minor, cities within the *arche* issued “small-denomination coinages whose chronologies cannot be pinned down”.

Let’s turn now to changes of standard. Olynthus / the Chalcidian League and Aineia adopted a local version of the Milesian standard in the 430s BC, following their ally in the war against Athens, Perdiccas II of Macedonia. Aineia revolted in 432 BC but joined the *arche* later. Olynthus became a member and the administrative capital of the Chalcidian League and never issued its own

61. For the monetary production of Maroneia during the 5th century BC, see Psoma 2008, 166-167. During the last quarter of the 5th century BC Maroneia issued double staters (13.9-14.05 g), staters (6.71-6.90 g), trihemiobols (0.62-0.84 g), obols (0.32 g) and *tetartemoria* (0.9-0.21 g). For the early 4th century BC, see Psoma 2008, 170, with Ellis-Evans, Kagan 2022.


66. In the 2012 Oxford Handbook of Greek Coinage there is no chapter on cities of Asia Minor after 480 BC. For the years before this date, see Konuk 2012.

67. Kroll 2009, 200. See also Kallet, Kroll 2020, 39-72. Kroll also stressed that “with the possible exception of Ephesus and Teos, the sixteen minters of higher-value coins in the later fifth century were city-states whose economies were characterized by some exceptional circumstance or initiative”. These cities are Ephesos, Teos, Samos and Chios, Thasos, Abdera, Maroneia, Ainos, Mende, Acanthus, Aspendos, Celenderis and the four cities that minted electrum coinages (Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Mytilene and Phocaea).

68. Psoma 2016a, 104.
coinage again. The Chalcidian League also adopted the Milesian standard for its coinage, which emerged together with the Chalcidian state, i.e. after 432 BC, the date of the anoikismos and the beginning of the Potidaiaiatika.\textsuperscript{69} It served to pay for the war and later for Brasidas’ soldiers.\textsuperscript{70} This was the reason Acanthus stopped minting on the Euboean-Attic standard and turned to the Milesian standard of the Chalcidians in 424/3 BC.\textsuperscript{71} Mende, which previously minted its coinage on the Euboean-Attic standard, revolted in 423 BC, was later recaptured, and continued to strike its silver coinage on a reduced Attic or other standard during the last two decades of the fifth century BC.\textsuperscript{72}

Moving to the east of the Strymon River, the Thasian stater underwent successive reductions to achieve the weight of 8.6g, the weight of the Attic stater, by its latest phase, i.e. during the years of the war.\textsuperscript{73} Samothrace and Chalcis minted on the Attic standard,\textsuperscript{74} while Apollonia and Mesambria seem to have adopted a weight standard that strongly recalls the Attic.\textsuperscript{75} Siphnos continued to strike drachms also on this standard after 460 BC.\textsuperscript{76} After the failed revolt of Mytilene, this city, as well as fourteen more cities on the mainland opposite Lesbos minted their silver coinages with their own types and on a reduced version of the Attic standard.\textsuperscript{77} Two of these cities, Gergis

\textsuperscript{69} Psoma 2001, 173-174, 177-179. For the standard, see Psoma 2015b, 171-172.
\textsuperscript{70} Psoma 2001, 156.
\textsuperscript{71} Psoma 1997, 426 and 2001, 156.
\textsuperscript{72} Psoma 2000, 32-33; 2008, 164 with n. 167 (reduced standard); Kagan 2014, 16-23 (Euboean).
\textsuperscript{73} SNG Cop. 1017. See also Picard 1982, 420 and 2000, 304-305.
\textsuperscript{74} Kallet, Kroll 2020, 59, 60.
\textsuperscript{75} Psoma 2016a, 99. For a new hoard with staters (Attic weight tetradrachms of Apollonia), see Draganov, Paunov 2017, 422. They propose for these staters dates parallel to Ainos II (435/4-405/4 BC: May 1050, 70-99) and Maroneia V (436/5-411/10 BC: Schönert-Geiss 1987, nos. 85-153) and Athenian tetradrachms dated to 454/3-405/4: Kroll 1993, 5-7, pl. 1, 8a-h. The new dates proposed for Maroneia V (430-400 BC: Psoma 2008, 167-173) fit better the dates Draganov and Paunov proposed. They also proposed to link the decision of the city to issue this coinage on the Attic standard with the payment of the phoros.
\textsuperscript{76} Kagan 2022, 3-4; Kallet, Kroll 2020, 70.
\textsuperscript{77} Ellis Evans 2019, 189-196: Mytilene, Neandreia, Gergis, Myrina, Pitane, Pergamon, Gargara, Lamponeia, Assos, Dardanos, Kebren, Scepsis, Larisa, Antandros and Porosilene.
and Pergamon, were not members of the Athenian League. This indicates that the Attic standard “spread to the mainland mints through the commercial network of which Mytilene was a major part”. Methymna moved from the Euboean to the lighter Samian standard, while Tenedos adopted what we can consider a reduced version of the Attic standard. During the last decade of the war Samos issued a coinage with its own types but on the Attic standard to fulfill the needs of the ten Samian warships engaged in the war against Sparta and her allies.

Two findings need to be retained from this analysis of silver coinages issued by members of the Athenian Empire:

(a) Numismatic scholarship felt the need to associate the decree with presumed breaks in coin production, thus facilitating the task of dating different periods and finding firm termini ante quem. All attempts to locate interruptions in the monetary production of this or that city as a result of the decree, however, remain highly speculative and are almost always based on preconceived ideas about the impact of the decree on the production of different mints. As David Lewis pointed out more than thirty years ago, “I am not sure how, in the circumstances, we really expect that the Decree can do anything to date any coinage”.

(b) Changes of standard did occur, but these do not always concern the Attic standard (Aineia, Olynthus, the Chalcidian League, Acanthus), and are related to historical circumstances deriving from war expenditure (Aineia, Olynthus, the Chalcidian League, Acanthus and Samos), to trade networks or to a change of the gold / silver ratio. There are also cases of cities that strike coinages on the Attic standard, such as Acanthus down to her alliance with Brasidas in 424/3 BC, Mende down to the late 420s BC, Thasos, Mesambria, Apollonia,

78. Kallet, Kroll 2020, 95-98.
79. Ellis-Evans 2019, 196.
80. For these coinages, see Kallet, Kroll 2020, 61.
81. Xen. Hell. 1.6.25, 29; 1.7.30; Diod. Sic. 13.97.2. For the coins, see Barron 1966, 100-101; Kallet, Kroll 2020, 63. For Camirus and Cos, see Kallet, Kroll 2020, 64, 66. For Cos see also Sheedy 2019; Kallet, Kroll 2020, 67.
82. Psoma 2008, 164.
83. Lewis 1987, 63.
84. Ellis-Evans, Kagan 2022.
Mytilene and fourteen cities of the mainland opposite Lesbos down to the end of the war.

Athenian financial documents
From the second half of the fifth century BC, we have various financial documents from Athens. In these documents, the Athenian tribute lists included, money is recorded without a reference to an issuing authority, with very few exceptions. These are: ἀργύριον and staters of Acanthus, νόμισμα of Eretria, ἀργύριον of Boeotia, Phocis and Taras, obols, drachms and staters of Aegina, staters of Corinth and Corcyra, drachms of Chios, ἡμίεκτα of Samos. There are also gold coins (χρυσίου στατῆρες), Croesids and darics (δαρεικοῦ χρυσίου στατῆρες), electrum coins of Cyzicus, Lampsacus

85. For the exceptions, see following notes and the indices of IG I 1 III pp. 1031-1942 (II. Civitates et ethnica. Populi. Loca s.v. Αἰγιναιοί στατῆρες, δραχμαί, ὀβολοί, [Ἀκάν]θιοι στατῆρες, Βοιώτιο[ν] ἀργύριον, Κορίνθιοι στατῆρες, [Κορκυραῖοι] στατῆρες, Ταραντίνον (ἀργύριον), Χῖαι δραχμαί [άργυρον], Σάμια ἡμίεκτα (ἀργυρίου)), and 1057-1150 (IX. Index verborum s.v. ἀργύριον, δραχμή, ἕκτη, ἡμίεκτον, ὀβολός, στατήρ). There is no need to discuss IG I 1 83, ll. 23, [24], the treaty between Athens, Mantinea, Argos and Elis of 420 BC, which mentions Aeginetan drachms and obols as daily allowances for hippeis and hoplitai.

86. IG I 1 380, l. 32 (404/3 BC); 383, ll. 25, 89, 180 (429/8 BC). For obols, see IG I 1 386, l. 7 (408/7 BC); 387, l. 6 (408/7 BC). For IG I 1 83, ll. 23, [24] of 420 BC, see supra n. 85.

87. IG I 1 383, l. 101 (429/8 BC).
88. IG I 1 384, l. 5 (450 BC).
89. IG I 1 383, l. 34 (429/8 BC).
90. Staters: IG I 1 380, l. 32 (404/3 BC); 383, ll. 25, 89, 180 (429/8 BC). For obols, see IG I 1 386, l. 7 (408/7 BC); 387, l. 6 (408/7 BC). For IG I 1 83, ll. 23, [24] of 420 BC, see supra n. 85.
91. IG I 1 383, l. 33 (429/8 BC); 380, ll. 29, [95] (404/3 BC).
92. Staters: IG I 1 383, l. 91 (429/8 BC).
93. IG I 1 383, l. 27 (429/8 BC).
94. IG I 1 383, ll. 33, 93 (429/8 BC).
95. See IG I 1 III (Indices) p. 1147 s.v.
96. IG I 1 458, l. 29 (440/39 BC), rationes Minervae statuae.
97. IG I 1 [379, l. 59] (405/4 BC); 383, ll. 18, [43], 111 (429/8 BC); [386, l. 48] (408/7 BC); [387, l. 55] (408/7 BC); [388, l. 5] (420-405 BC); 389, l. 6 (post 408/7 BC).
and Phocaea. In a restricted number of cases there is mention of ἀργύριον ξενικόν, which is grouped together with ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον in a document from Eleusis of 450 BC. The term ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον (σύμμεικτον) of the traditio of the tamiai of All Other Gods of 429/8 BC, and the ratio Eleusiniae of 420 BC refers to foreign and local silver coins alike. In a number of documents we also find ἀργύριον ἐπίσημον ἡμεδαπόν.

With the exception of Aeginetan and Corinthian staters in the list of expenses of 404/3 BC, as well as darics in documents from Eleusis, and the electrum coinages, all other foreign coins occur in the list of the tamiai of All the Other Gods of 429/8 BC. This document listed coins that belonged to the Other Gods and were moved to the Acropolis for security reasons. These coins were in fact offerings in the various sanctuaries of Attica. In documents from Eleusis are mentioned coins, mainly darics, that were also offered as dedications. All other documents record objects and coins of the Hecatompedon, Athena Polias and Victory and others. Thus, the mention of foreign coins in these documents can be explained in relation to the function of the documents. These very rare cases of ἀργύριον ξενικόν together with the special mention of ἀργύριον ἡμεδαπόν reveal that all the other amounts were calculated in Athenian owls. One recalls the 3,000 talents νομίσματος ἡμεδαποῦ

99. For Cyzicene staters, hektai and chryson, see IG I3 III p. 1036 s.v. Κυζικηνός. For staters and hektai of Lampsacus, see IG I3 III p. 1036 s.v. Λαμψακηνός. For electrum coins of Phocaea (chryson, staters, hektai and argyrion), see IG I3 342, ll. 9, 10, 19 (405/4 BC); 380, l. 34 (404/3 BC); 383, l. 19 (429/8 BC); IG I3 386, l. 50 (408/7 BC); IG I3 387, l. 57 (407/6 BC); 388, l. 7 (420-405 BC); 389, l. 8 (408/7 BC).

100. IG I3 383, ll. 384-387 (429/8 BC); 384, ll. 1-2 (ca. 450 BC); 386, ll. 55-56 (408/7 BC); 387, ll. 63-65 (408/7 BC); 388, l. 13 (420-405 BC); 389, l. 14 (408/7 BC); 409, l. 22 (420-405 BC).

101. IG I3 384, l. 1 (450 BC).

102. IG I3 383, l. 384 (429/8 BC); 385, l. 5 (420 BC).

103. IG I3 [372, l. 2] (413/2 BC); 376, ll. [32], 38, [41], 52, 67, 82 (409/8 BC); 378, l. 22 (406/5 BC); 383, l. 237 (429/8 BC).

104. IG I3 383.

105. IG I3 384-389.


107. In epigraphic documents and literary sources, a city’s own currency is noted in a generic way while the issuing authority is used when this is required for specific
of the decree of Callias from 434/3 (?) BC. As was usual in the Greek world, in Athens the city’s coinage had legal tender within its territory, and all transactions had to be done with owls. Thus, all money from the tribute that was delivered to Athens in the theatre of Dionysus during the Great Dionysia was calculated in Attic currency or converted into Athenian coinage. We can now turn to the decree.

The Decree
Since the first and the last clauses of the decree are very fragmentary, we will start with the second clause.

(2) The second clause instructs the Hellanotamiai to record the names –most probably– of the cities; if they do not do so, they will be prosecuted; there is mention of the court (heliaia) of the thesmothetai and most probably a penalty for each one of them.

(3) The third clause applies to officials in the cities, that is, Athenian officials in the allied cities of Athens, citizens and foreigners, and threatens harsh penalties for failure to carry out the terms of the decree: loss of rights (ἀτιμῶστω) and confiscation of property (χρήματα).

(4) The next clause provides that if there are no Athenian magistrates in the cities, the local magistrates shall act. These are also threatened with heavy


109. Cf. Lewis 1987, 55: “(...) write up names of cities”. K. Hallof in his translation (http://pom.bbaw.de/ig/digitale-edition/inschrift/IG%201%C2%B3%201453) proposes that the missing term is argyrokopeion, unlike Osborne, Rhodes 2017, 331, who refrain from speculation: “(...) of any of the cities”.

110. For the heliaia and the thesmothetai, see Bartzoka 2018, 34. See also Maltese 2021, 7-13.

111. For atimia, see Joyce 2018; Youni 2018. For Athenian officials in the allied cities, see also the decree of Cleinias (IG I3 34, ll. 6-7 [448/7 or 425/4 BC]) and IG I3 122, ll. 5-6 (413-405 BC). Cf. Meiggs 1972, 167 and 172.
penalties if they do not carry out the terms of the decree. We know now from the new Aphytis fragment that they were also threatened with *atimia*.

(5) The fifth surviving clause is very fragmentary and includes the expression “no less than a half”, a reference to a number of drachms per mina, a reference to exchange (of one currency for another) and a reference to guilt. This clause is key for the interpretation of the decree. It mentions the mint for silver coins (*ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἀργυροκοπίωι*), a rate based on drachms and minas, and a verb meaning “to convert” (*καταλλάττειν vel ἀλλάττειν*) followed by the phrase “or be liable” (*ἠ ἐνόχοις έναι*), which must indicate a penalty for not carrying out the provision. There is also mention of the cities (*αἱ πόλεις*) and the first letters of the verb *πράττω* (*πράττουσαι*). One of the meanings of this verb is to “exact payment from one”. In two passages of Thucydides this verb is associated with the payment of tribute.

(6) The next clause contains the verb “to hand over” followed by a reference to the special fund of Athena and Hephaestus. In the same clause there is mention of *ἀργύριον* that is left over (*ὃ δὲ περιγίγηται*), and the generals (*τοῖς στρατηγοῖς*). What follows is the standard formula for an entrenchment clause, which appears to have been followed by a legal procedure for those who violate the clause. This clause concerns the money that is left over and is mentioned in the previous phrase.

(7) The seventh clause contains instructions to elect heralds and send them to the four districts of the Athenian Empire. This has a parallel in the decree of

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112. SEG 51, 55, ll. 8-9.
113. For this clause, see also Figueira 1998, 359-361; Bubelis 2019, 47 n. 23.
114. For the process of *καταλλάττειν*, see the speculations of Cataudella 1986, 112-118.
115. See LSJ s.v. *πράσσω* VI.
116. Thuc. 8.5.5 (summer 413 BC): ὧδος βασιλέως γὰρ νεωστὶ ἐτύγχανε (sc. ὁ Τισσαφέρνης) πεπραγμένος τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχῆς φόρους, οἷς δὲ Ἀθηναίων ἀπὸ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων οὐ δυνάμενος πράσσεσθαι ἐπωφείλησεν; 8.37.2 (winter 412/11 BC): ὡς θέρᾳ καὶ πόλεις βασιλέως εἰσὶ Δαρείου ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων, (…), μηδὲ φόρους πράσσεσθαι ἐκ τῶν πόλεων τούτων μήτε Λακεδαιμονίοις μήτε τοῖς ἐξομάχους τοῦ Λακεδαιμονίων (treaty of Miletus). See also n. 115, and Hdt. 3.58.
117. For this fund, see Faraguna 2006, 154-156.
118. For entrenchment clauses, see Lewis 1974; Harris 2006, 23-25.
Cleinias.\textsuperscript{119} There appears to be a penalty at the end of the clause for generals, who do not send heralds. This clause might also provide us with a \textit{terminus post quem} for the decree, because it mentions the four districts of the Empire. Evidence from the Athenian tribute lists shows that it was only after 438 BC that the Empire was divided into four districts.\textsuperscript{120}

(8) The next clause contains a publication formula instructing officials in the cities to inscribe the text on a stone stele and place it in the agora of each city, while the \textit{epistatai} should place the stele in front of the mint for silver coinage.

(9) The ninth clause contains an instruction to each herald.

(10) The tenth clause is also central to the interpretation of the measure but breaks off at a crucial point. The decree orders the secretary of the Council to add a phrase to the oath of the Council, which begins as follows: “if anyone mints silver coinage in the cities and does not use Athenian \textit{nomismata}” (I am leaving this term intentionally untranslated) “and measures and weights (…)”. This takes one of the standard forms of an Athenian law, with a substantive provision in the \textit{protasis}, followed by a legal procedure in the \textit{apodosis}.\textsuperscript{121} On the other hand, this is an oath, which should contain in the \textit{apodosis} a verb in the future tense in the first person singular as in other oaths preserved in public documents on stone. The best example is the agreement with the city of Chalcis (IG I\textsuperscript{3} 40), probably dated to the 440s BC, which contains a series of promises all expressed in verbs in the first person singular and in the future indicative. Another example is IG II\textsuperscript{2} 111, ll. 57-69 from Keos.

The two last surviving clauses are known only from the copy of “Smyrna”, which mentions a previous decree that Clearchus proposed.\textsuperscript{122} On the basis of the second Aphytis fragment, which ends with the \textit{protasis} of clause ten (10)

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[{119.}] IG I\textsuperscript{3} 34 (426/5 BC?), ll. 22-28: Ἀθηναίος δὲ ἥλιομένος ἄνδρας τέττ[αρα ἀποπε̣]μπεν ἐπὶ] τὰς πόλες ἀντιγραφομένος τῇ ὑφόρον τὸν ἀποδοθέντα καὶ ἀπαίτομοι τὸ μὲ [ἀποδοθέντα παρὰ τὸν ἐλληπογον]ν, τὐδὲ δύο πλεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἐπὶ Νέσον καὶ ἐπὶ Ἰονίας ἐπὶ] τιμερος ταχείας, [τὸ δὲ δύο ἐπὶ τὰς ἐρ’ Ἐλληποτόν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἐράκες.
\item[{120.}] For discussion, see Hatzopoulos 2013-2014, 253-255 with n. 65.
\item[{121.}] For Athenian laws in the 5th cent. BC, see Harris 2013, 138-140.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
and a vacat, what followed in the copy of “Smyrna” was considered as a rider of the first one.\textsuperscript{123}

(11) The eleventh clause mentions foreign coins (ξενικὸν ἀργύριον), the city and the silver mint (τὸ ἀργυροκόπιον).

(12) The last clause concerns the epistatai, their duty to publish lists of something in front of the mint (ἐμπροσθεν τὸ ἀργυροκόπιον) for anyone who wishes to look at them, as well as the total amount of foreign silver, not counting something that is missing.\textsuperscript{124}

As we saw above, ever since Wilamowitz, scholars—with few exceptions—have generally interpreted this decree as containing a ban on the minting of silver coins by the allies of Athens.\textsuperscript{125} There are several objections to this view. We have already seen hoard evidence as well as evidence from mints. Some more objections are the following:

(i) There is no example in the ancient Greek world of one state forbidding another state to mint coins. By contrast, there is evidence (the law of Nicophon and the isopoliteia decrees of Smyrna) about cities allowing the circulation of other currencies in the territories under their jurisdiction.\textsuperscript{126} This was also


\textsuperscript{123} See discussion in Hatzopoulos 2013-2014, 250-251, 261, 263-264. According to Hatzopoulos, Matthaïou suggests a second decree and Papazarkadas a rider. For Hatzopoulos (2013-2014, 261), “Papazarkadas suggests that the letter ταύ 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”. Cf. the rider of the decree for Brea (IG I\textsuperscript{3} 46), which is written on face B of the stone. The hypothesis of a rider was first formulated by Habicht in Whitehead 1997, 173 n. 42. Cf. Maltese 2021, 13-15.

\textsuperscript{124} For other examples of the expression σκοπεῖν τῶι βουλομένωι of this clause, see Mattingly 1999, 120-122 and Hedrick 2000.

\textsuperscript{125} See recently Hatzopoulos 2013-2014, with previous bibliography.

the case with federal states. As we all know, Philip II did not close the mints of Greek cities, while even the most powerful Hellenistic monarchs never stopped a Greek polis from minting coins.

(ii) The preserved fragments of the decree do not explicitly mention a ban on minting coins. Scholars have restored a penalty clause in the missing apodosis of clause ten (10) but there are several reasons to reject this kind of a restoration. If this were the main clause of a law, this would be a plausible supplement, but the clause comes from an oath contained in a law. Furthermore, the Council did not have the power to inflict any punishment beyond a fine of 500 drachms and could not put anyone to death without a trial.

In the procedure of eisangelia to the Council, the Council only made a preliminary vote about whether to have the case go to court. In the decree of Cleinias, which laid down strict regulations for the collection of tribute from the allies and their bringing a cow and panoply to the Panathenaea, the procedure for dealing

2012, 167-168. This has been challenged by those who regarded it as impossible that any Greek polis would mandate the acceptance of imitations: Buttrey 1979, 39-40 and 1981; cf. Giovannini 1975, 191-195; Bogaert 1976, 23-25 no 21 and 1976, 20-24; Cataudella 1986, 132-135; cf. Shipton 1997, 408-409; Matthaiou 2017. They were followed by scholars who assumed that an agio or discount had to be paid for these Athenian imitations (Mørkholm 1982, 290-296; Le Rider 1989, 160 and 2001, 263-266; Martin 1991, 43; Nicolet-Pierre 2003, 151-152). However, the law does not mention such an agio. Some think that “the wording of the law was not decisive on this point” (Ober 2009, 7), and that the acceptance and monetary values of imitations were matters for negotiation between the buyer and the seller (Ober 2008, 226-230). This negotiation is not at all mentioned in the law. For the decrees of Smyrna (OGIS 229; I. Magnesia Sipylos 1; I. Smyrna 573), l. 55: δεχέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ ἑμ Μαγνησίαι τὸ νόμισμα τὸ τῆς πόλεως [ἔνν]ομον. For the status of Magnesia near Sipylon during this period, see Cohen 1995, 216-217. Cf. Psoma forthcoming a.

127. For federal states, see Psoma, Tsangari 2003.
128. For Philip II, see Martin 1985.
129. For the Hellenistic monarchs, see Meadows 2001, 62-63. For Antiochus IV, see ibid., 61-62.
130. Rhodes 1972, 179-207. See also [Arist.] Ath. Pol. 45; [Dem.] 47.43.
131. For eisangelia, see now Harris, Esu 2021.
Deconstructing a Prussian Myth: The Athenian Standards Decree

with offenders reveals that the Council’s power was certainly limited. The phrasing from the oath in the so-called law of Demophantos in Andocides’ On the Mysteries 1.97, that was recently proposed to be restored in clause number eleven (11), must also be rejected, because this document is a forgery, as it has been recently shown. This rules out the supplement dealing with putting someone to death. Thus, all previous restorations—including the death penalty—need to be rejected as well. Finally, in other oaths sworn by the Council and Athenian officials, one never finds any mention of punishment. We will come back to this clause later.

(iii) If the clause to be added to the oath of the Council did contain a ban on allied coinage, the wording of the protasis makes no sense: the clause reads “If someone strikes silver coin (coinage) in the cities and does not use the nomismata and weights and measures of the Athenians”. If this were a ban expressed in the normal way found in Athenian laws, it should be “if anyone mints silver coins, there is a penalty” or “there is a procedure to bring the person who violates the law to court”. Why the entire phrase about not using Athenian nomismata, weights and measures?

(iv) One might interpret this phrase to mean “if one mints silver coins and does not use Athenian silver coins”, that is, the clause not only bans minting coins but also requires the allies to use Athenian coins. But then what does

\[ h̄ ð' ἂν καταγν̄ι[τενῶ καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι] | καταγν̄ι[τενῶ καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι] \]

For this decree and the Council’s power, see Rhodes 1972, 189.

132. IG I' 34, ll. 31-41, esp. 37-39: [h̄ ð' ἂν] | καταγν̄ι[τενῶ καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι] | καταγν̄ι[τενῶ καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι]. For this decree and the Council’s power, see Rhodes 1972, 189.

133. By A.P. Matthaiou in the 2004 Oxford Conference: see Hatzopoulos 2013-2014, 242: “Matthaiou (...) invokes the Demophantos decree cited in And. 1.97 and proposes (per litteras) a restoration that would not exceed 23-24 letters, such as κ[τευ̣ν καὶ λό̣γωι καὶ ἔργωι]. The expression λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι occurs frequently in epigraphic documents but is never to be found with the verb κτεύ̣ν and only six times in a negative context: IG II1 1, 877 ll. 48-50, 283/2 BC: οὐδὲν ὑπεναντίον πράττω; IG IV2 1, 68 face A fr. 2, ll. 35-36, 302 BC: ἐναντίον τι πράττω; BCH 115, 1991, 172, ll. 5-6, Delphi, 3rd cent. BC: μήτε λόγοι μήτε ἔργωι κακόν; IG IX 1/2, 1, ll. 8-9, Calydon, early 4th cent. BC: εἴτε χηρὶ εἴτε λόγωι λέγοι; IG XII 5, 109, ll. 19-20, Paros, after 411 BC: παραβαίνω; IC III iii 5, ll. 19-20, Hierapytna, 2nd cent. BC: κακοτεχνῶ.

134. Harris 2013/2014, 139-140.
one make of the phrase “weights and measures”? These two words can have a concrete meaning (scales and measuring rods) or an abstract meaning (weight standards and length standards) like pounds, feet and inches or centimeters and kilograms. The concrete meaning is absurd—would the Athenians require the allies to use scales and measuring rods manufactured in Athens? But if these words are to be construed in the abstract sense, then νομίσματα must also be construed in the abstract sense and mean “coinage standard” and not coinage. We will return to this point.

(v) Clause eight (8) calls for copies of the decree to be placed in the agora, and the epistatai are to place it in front of the mint for silver coinage. The number of copies of the decree from different cities of the Athenian League corroborates this clause as far as the copies to be placed in the agora are concerned. We are not told explicitly by the decree if the mint at Athens is meant, if the mints in the cities are meant, or if both are meant at this clause. If the mints in the cities are meant and the decree bans the minting of silver coinage by the allies, all such mints would be closed. There would be no point in putting a decree in front of a deserted site. If the mint of Athens is meant, this was for specific reasons that we might guess with the help of clauses (5), (6), (11) and (12).

(vi) In the so-called second Athenian coinage decree, the fragmentary IG I3 90, which was of significant size, Laureion is mentioned (l. 11), as well as the ἐπιστάται (ll. 13-14), the verb καταλλάττειν (l. 14), the same coin vel coinage (τὸ αὐτῷ νομίσματι: ll. 15-16), another coinage (ἄλλο βόλον το νόμισμα: ll. 16-17), the Council (ἡ βολή: l. 17), and also expressions such as καὶ ἀλλῷ τις ἄλλος (l. 17), [ὅπος ἂγ γίγνεται (l. 18), ἀπὸ τὸν τραπεζοντα] (l. 19), [κεραμεῖα

136. For this verb, also in the Athenian Standars’ Decree, in IG I3 90 and in the fragment from the Italian excavation of the wall of the stoas of Eumenes (SEG 52, 43 and 59, 56), see Papazarkadas 2009, 72. It occurs also in the law of Epicrates (ll. 10-11). For this law (Agora I 7495), see Richardson 2021 (ed. pr.), with Harris 2022.
137. For the term nomisma, see Faraguna 2003, 112-113. According to Faraguna, this was an Athenian 5th-cent. BC novelty. The term occurs also in the ASD as well as in IG I3 52 and 383.
Deconstructing a Prussian Myth: The Athenian Standards Decree

(l. 21)\(^{138}\) and ἄρχοντες (l. 20).\(^{139}\) It also mentions χρυσίον, pointing indiscriminately to gold and electrum, i.e. darics and electrum coins minted by Cyzicus, Lampsacus, Mytilene and Phocaea.\(^{140}\) There is a provision about exchange (καταλλάττειν), as well as what those who changed their coins received: the same coinage or another coinage (ἄλλο νόμισμα). It is plausible that with this fragmentary decree, the city of Athens introduced legislation concerning the exchange of χρυσίον (darics and Cyzicene staters).\(^{141}\) If the standards decree bans the use of other coinages to the allies and dates before IG I\(^{3}\) 90, why then the decree from 416 BC includes provisions related to other coins or coinages, and conversion of coinage?\(^{142}\)

Despite the main uncertainties about the decree, one thing is fairly certain: clause five (5) refers to a process of conversion and mentions an amount expressed in drachms per mina. The fragmentary decree IG I\(^{3}\) 90, that we mentioned above, also links the Council with the conversion of coinage. A link with the payment of tribute is also suggested by the mention of the Hellanotamiai

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138. First epigraphic attestation: Faraguna 2008, 51 n. 71. This is a point in common with the law of Nicophon on silver coinage, which dates from 375/4 BC (SEG 26, 72). For this law, see also supra n. 126. Banking tables refer to coin-exchange by private individuals, and κεραμεῖα either to clay storage containers or to pottery workshops. For the first meaning, see Grace 1946, 31 n. 4; Mattingly 1970, 142 and 1987, 71. For the second, see Aeschin. 3. 119: καὶ κεραμεῖα ἐνῳκοδομημένα καὶ αὔλια. Cf. Hsch. s.v.: ἔνθα τὰ ὀστράκινα σκευή πιπράσκεται.


142. For the date, see Tracy 2016, 124: the letter cutter worked between 423/2 and 394/3 BC (IG II\(^{3}\) 1386). For a connection with the ASD, see Cataudella 1986; Mattingly 1977. Contra Figueira 1998, 424-430. This decree, along with the ASD and the mid-4th cent. BC law of Epicrates, testifies to the complete control of mining operation by the Council, the Assembly and magistrates and also the supervision by the city of the minting of owls: Faraguna 2006, 159-160.
in clause two (2) of the ASD. We know that these officials were responsible for collecting the tribute and making reports to the Council.\textsuperscript{143} A relationship with minting coinage can be observed in the mention of the fund of Athena and Hephaestus in IG I\textsuperscript{1} 1453C from Aphytis.\textsuperscript{144} This fund is also mentioned in the law on silver coinage of 354/3 BC.\textsuperscript{145} It was a significant fund and there is evidence for its links with Laureion.\textsuperscript{146} This fund was supposed to receive silver / money that was left over (περιγίγνηται) after the conversion of foreign currency into Attic currency mentioned in the previous clause and the payment of the agio. This conversion procedure brought profit to the city of Athens and this profit entered the fund of Athena and Hephaestus. According to the entrenchment clause that followed, this money was not supposed to be borrowed or serve any other purpose.

We will now turn to oaths. Oaths by Athenian officials in matters regarding the allies give the allies guarantees and do not threaten them with penalties. They also place restrictions on the actions of Athenian officials. Penalties for allied citizens are placed in the main clauses of laws, not in oaths. The decree of Cleinias presents a good example.\textsuperscript{147}

“If any Athenian or ally does wrong concerning the tribute which the cities must write on a tablet for those bringing it and

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[143.] For the hellenotamiai, see Meiggs 1972, 234-238.
\item[144.] For this new fragment, see Hatzopoulos 2000-2003 (SEG 51, 55) and 2013-2014 (SEG 64, 53).
\item[145.] For this new law (the law of Epicrates), see supra nn. 136 and 142. For the fund of Athena and Hephaistos, see following note.
\item[146.] Faraguna (2006, 154-156) showed that this was a special fund and not a mine, also mentioned in IG I\textsuperscript{1} 82, ll. 15-16 (τὸ ἡδ[φαϊστικὸ τῆς Ἀθηναίας]). He also showed that it can be identified with the Ἰ[φα]στικὸν of IG I\textsuperscript{1} 444, ll. 249-250: [παρὰ ταμιῶν ἱ[φα][στικὸ] ἀπὸ Λαυρε[ίο]; 445, ll. 294; [παρὰ ταμιῶν ἱ[φα]στικ[ὸ ἀπὸ Λαυρείο]; 464, ll. 103-104: [παρὰ ταμιῶν ἱ[φα]στικὸ ἀπὸ Λαυρείο]; 465, ll. 126-127: [παρὰ ταμιῶν ἱ[φα]στικ[ὸ ἀπὸ Λαυρείο]. For IG I\textsuperscript{1} 82, see also Makris 2014 (SEG 64, 38). For the fund of Athena and Hephaestus in IG I\textsuperscript{1} 82, ll. 15-16, see Makris 2014, 190-191; Malouchou 2024 (Makris and Malouchou ignore Faraguna 2006, 154-156). For this fund, see also Maltese 2021, 8-9; Harris 2022, 69-71.
\item[147.] IG I\textsuperscript{1} 34, ll. 31-43.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
send to Athens, against him it shall be permitted to whoever wishes of the Athenians and the allies to write an accusation to the prytaneis; the prytaneis shall introduce it into the Council within three or five days from when the accusation is made, or they shall be penalized by ten thousand drachms each.¹⁴⁸ When a man is condemned by the Council (---) have [not] final power over him but shall bring out to the people about him; if he is judged to be in the wrong, the prytaneis shall institute a debate to judge what he should suffer in his person or pay.”¹⁴⁹

Like the oath of the Council and the judges in the decree regulating relations with Chalcis, the oath in this decree should provide an assurance.¹⁵⁰

“I shall not expel Chalcidians from Chalcis, nor shall I uproot their city; I shall deprive no individual of civic rights nor punish any with exile nor take any prisoner, nor execute any, nor confiscate the money of anyone not condemned in court without the authority of the Athenian people.”¹⁵¹

There is also similar evidence from other oaths of Athenian magistrates during the fifth and the fourth century BC.¹⁵² From the fifth century we have the treaty between Athens and the cities of the Bottiaeans, dated to 422 BC.¹⁵³ This is also an oath of the Council and the generals. From the fourth century we have the treaty of alliance with Chalcis, which guarantees Chalcis freedom, autonomy, no payment of tribute, and no presence of an Athenian garrison or magistrate.¹⁵⁴ This dates from 378/7 BC. From 375/4 (or 372/1) BC dates the

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¹⁴⁸. For this penalty, see Beretta Liverani 2013.
¹⁵⁰. IG I¹ 40, ll. 4-10.
¹⁵¹. Trans. Osborne, Rhodes 2017, 171-172 no. 131. For this decree, see Mattingly 2014.
¹⁵². See also the treaty between Athens and Leontinoi in 433 BC: IG I¹ 54, ll. 21-32.
¹⁵³. IG I¹ 76, ll. 12-16: [άμυνο τοίς] Βοττι[αίοις τοίς] | [χυντιθεμέ]νοις | [τὲν χσυμμα-
χίαν, κ]αὶ τὲν χ[νικαντά]ν πιστὸς καὶ άδόλος φυλάχσο Βοττιαίοις προθυμόμει[ν]ός κατὰ τὰ [χσυ]
[νικείμενα καὶ οὐ μεν]εσικακέσο τὸ[ν παρ]οιχομένον ἕνεκα.
¹⁵⁴. IG II² 44, ll. 21-27: ἔχεν τὴν ἐαντόν Χαλκιδέ[ις ἐ] appropriation [par] Ἀθηναίων μήτε φόρον
treaty with Corcyra,\textsuperscript{155} and from 363/2 BC the treaty with the cities of Keos (\textit{IG II}\textsuperscript{2} 111, ll. 58-66). In their oath, the Athenian generals were committed in the following way:

\begin{quote}
“I shall not harbor grudges for what is past against any of the Cears, nor shall I kill or make an exile any of the Cears who abide by the oaths and this agreement, but I shall bring them into the alliance like the other allies. But if anyone commits an act of revolution in Ceos contrary to the oaths and the agreement, I shall not allow him by any craft or contrivance as far as possible. If any one does not wish to live in Ceos, I shall allow him to live wherever he wishes in the allied cities and enjoy his own property.”\textsuperscript{156}
\end{quote}

In the treaty with Aleuas of Larissa and the Thessalians (\textit{IG II}\textsuperscript{2} 116, ll. 16-20) of 361 BC, the generals and the Council swear:

\begin{quote}
“I shall go in support with all my strength as far as possible if anyone goes against the \textit{koinon} of the Thessalians for war, or overthrows the \textit{archon} whom the Thessalians have appointed, or sets up a tyrant in Thessaly.”\textsuperscript{157}
\end{quote}

What could this assurance be in our decree? That if anyone in the allied cities mints silver coins and does not use Athenian coinage standards, weight-standards and measurement-standards, I (i.e. the member of the Council) will convert it and will not exact a conversion fee of more than a certain

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{155} Trans. Rhodes, Osborne 2003, 196-201 no. 39.
\textsuperscript{156} Trans. Rhodes, Osborne 2003, 220-223 no. 44.
\end{flushright}
percentage (clause five [5]), i.e. I will convert it at the established rate. In other words, the decree does not forbid the allied cities to continue to mint silver coinage, but insists that if the cities do not mint on the Athenian standard, they will pay only the conversion fee for any tribute paid in coinage minted on a non-Athenian standard. Such an interpretation is corroborated by the last phrase of the previous crucial clause ten (10) including the oath, as well as the last clause of the fragment from “Smyrna”. In this clause we have mentions of the foreign currency, the mint at Athens, a stele in front of the mint, the epistatai and a total sum not counting something that is missing. The sum not to count was most probably the money resulting from the conversion that found its way to the fund of Athena and Hephaestus. The tribute paid in foreign currency (ξενικὸν ἀργύριον) could be melted down and used to strike Athenian owls. This restoration best fits the context and, moreover, does not clash with the numismatic evidence. It is also consistent with further legislation about coinage in other Greek poleis during other periods of Greek history.

To understand the decree and to arrive at a better reconstruction of the key clause in the Oath of the Council, one must consider the financial needs of the Athenian Empire. Ever since the foundation of the alliance in 478 BC, the Athenians collected tribute from dozens of allies who paid with coins and

158. The last line (l. 15) of the Siphnos’ fragment (IG I 1453e: μέτροι[ς - - ca.14 - -] τ[πο - - ]) could be restored in the following way: μέτροι[ς κατὰ τὸν λόγον κα]τ[αλλάχσο αὐτὸ vel τὸ τότο] with precisely 14 missing letters before Τ. In the Smyrna fragment (IG I 1453g) we have: ll. 8-10: νομίσμα[σι καὶ μέτροις καὶ στάθμοις, [- - ca.21 - - κατὰ] | [τὸ πρότε]ρον ψήφισμα ὅ Κλέαρχ[ος εἶπεν - - ca.19 - -]]. This could be: νομίσμα[σι καὶ μέτροις καὶ στάθμοις, [κατὰ τὸν λόγον καταλλάχσο κατὰ] | [τὸ πρότε]ρον ψήφισμα ὅ Κλέαρχ[ος εἶπεν - - ca.19 - -] with 22 letters or [κατὰ λόγον αὐτὸ vel τὸ τότο καταλλάχσο] etc. with 23 letters. The textus compositus of IG is the following: [- - ca.14 - - ]τ[- - ca. 6 - - κατὰ τὸ πρότε]ρον ψήφισμα ὅ Κλέαρχ[ος etc. This could be: [κατὰ τὸν λόγον κα]τ[αλλάχσο κατὰ τὸ πρότε]ρον ψήφισμα ὅ Κλέαρχ[ος] with 14 and 7 letters or [κατὰ λόγον αὐτὸ vel τὸ τότο κα]τ[αλλάχσο κατὰ τὸ πρότε]ρον ψήφισμα ὅ Κλέαρχ[ος], this time with 15 and 7 letters. Cf. Hatzopoulos 2013-2014, 260 on Stroud 2006, 20-26 (SEG 56, 77): “For some major discrepancies, such as the different endings of the Aphytis and the “Smyrna” versions, he (scil. Stroud) 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”.

257
maybe also with precious objects. It has been recently proposed to link a number of coinages issued by tribes from the area between the Strymon and the Nestos Rivers to the tribute paid to the Delian League. An idea of what the Athenian War Fund included can be offered by the Decadrachm hoard (CH VIII 48), which was buried ca. 465 BC. The Athenians also needed to make payments to their own officials and to those rowing in the fleet, who came from many different cities. The Athenians could not collect tribute or make payments in dozens of different denominations. Such a situation would have made keeping accounts virtually impossible. Apollodorus explicitly states how complicated and difficult it was to keep records of the money he exchanged and spent: “I was ready to reckon it up item by item, while I had by me as witnesses to the expenditures the sailors and the marines and the rowers, in order that, if he disputed anything, I might refute him at once. Everything had been recorded so accurately by me, that I had written down not only the disbursements themselves, but also the objects for which the money had been spent, the nature of the service rendered, what the price was, in the coinage of what country the payment was made, and what the loss in exchange was, in order that I might be able to give convincing proof to my successor, if he thought any false entries were being made against him”. The Athenians needed to make payments in coins minted on one standard and for these they used mainly the Attic drachm. This was the reason the Athenian drachm was the coin that Peloponnesian crews wanted to be paid in during the last decade of the war. But to make payments in coins minted on one standard, they needed to collect tribute in coins minted on one standard or converted to one standard. As we have seen, in almost all Athenian financial documents from

159. The precious objects were suggested to me as an alternative by Stelios Damigos.
161. See the calculations by Flament 2011, 47-50.
162. Trans. by A. T. Murray of [Dem.] 50.30: λογίσασθαι δ’ ἤθελον αὐτῷ καθ’ ἐκαστον, ἢς μι μάρτυρες παρῆσαν τῶν ἀνηλικοτέρων οὗ τε ναύται καὶ οἱ ἐπιβάται καὶ ἡ ὑπηρεσία, ἵν’ εἰ τί ἀντιλέγοι εὑρίσκει. Οὕτω γὰρ μοι ἀκριβῶς ἐγέγραπτο, ὥστ’ οὐ μόνον αὐτά μοι τάναλόμαι ἐγέγραπτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅποι ἀνηλικός καὶ ὅ τι ποιούντων, καὶ ἡ τιμή τῆς ἵν καὶ νόμισμα ποδαπόν, καὶ ὁπόσον ἢ καταλαλή ἵν τῷ ἀργυρίῳ, ἵν’ εἰ άκριβῶς ἀξιόλογησει με τό διαδόχο, εἰ τί ἡγοῦτο ψεύδος αὐτῷ λογίζεσθαι.
163. See supra n. 33.
450s onwards, all figures are given without mention of issuing authorities. The use of the Attic weight standard facilitated the task of collecting tribute and whatever else the allies needed to pay.

During later periods, silver coinages that were issued to serve military needs of allies were struck on the same standard: the ΣΥΝ coinage of the early fourth century BC (Persian or Chian standard), the symmachikon coinages of the late fourth century BC (Persian weight) and of the late third / second century BC (reduced Aeginetan standard), as well as the alexanders during the Hellenistic period (Attic standard). A passage in Cassius Dio, a fictional speech allegedly held by Maecenas, "... asserts the need for a single system of standardized measures and coinages around the Empire". The need the Romans felt in the late first century BC was also felt by the Athenians when

164. Unlike in the Spartan War Fund, in the Athenian financial documents all amounts are calculated in Athenian denominations, with few exceptions. For the Spartan War Fund (IG V 1), see Osborne, Rhodes 2017, 294-301 no. 151, with previous bibliography. For the date of the document, see Piérart 1995, 235-282. The document which included Cyzicene staters is IG I 3 259 postscript 6-13. This is the first Athenian tribute list with a postscript that divided Athens' sixtieth into silver and Cyzicene staters "though the total tribute paid in Cyzicenes cannot have been even as much as 10 per cent of the whole": Lewis 1987, 62 [= 2008, 129].

165. For the two coinages of the 4th century BC, see Psoma 2019, 107-112 and Psoma 2022b. For the symmachikon coinage of the middle Hellenistic period, see Psoma 2019, 112-135. For the alexanders, see Kremydi, Marcellesi 2019; Picard 2019.

166. Dio Cass. 52.30.9: μήτε δὲ νομίσματα ἢ καὶ σταθμὰ ἢ μέτρα ἰδίᾳ τις αὐτῶν ἐχέτω, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες χρήσθωσαν. I owe this reference to Dr Lucia Carbone whom I wish to thank warmly.

167. Carbone 2014, 12: "Certainly the line of action proposed by Dio’s Maecenas was not followed in toto, but it is difficult not to interpret measures such as the Thessalian diorthoma as representing an increasing desire for equivalent weights and measures throughout the Empire". Ibid., p. 29: "The disappearance of Asian autonomous silver issues after Augustus seems to show that the advice of Dio’s Maecenas had been followed after all but with the caveat that the Augustan Age represents only the terminal point of a four-step process, where the creation of the Asian province, and the Mithridatic and Civil Wars all represented important milestones in the involvement of Romans in the direct administration of the province, which increased over time but had been obvious from the beginning". Cf. App. Mith. 186: (sc. ὁ Ζηνόβιος) αἰτιασάμενος τὸν σταθμόν (…).
they had to arrange the financial matters of their Empire and for this what served most probably as a model was the Great King, who was asking his subjects to calculate the tribute on the Babylonian standard for silver and on the Euboean standard for gold. For the function of its own Empire Athens needed a reference coinage and this was its own silver coinage. Athens could mint its owls with silver from Laureion, as well as with silver in which the tribute and other taxes from the allies was received. This abundance of Athenian owls of good silver is linked with the end of a number of coinages of the allies in the same way the very significant number of Alexanders put an end to a number of coinages during the early Hellenistic period.\footnote{169}

**Date and character of the decree**\footnote{170}

There are two restrictions for the date of the decree, and both derive from the decree itself: (a) the reference to the four districts of the Athenian arche, and (b) the mention together with coinage of weights and measures.

(a) In the Aphytis fragment (IG I' 1453C) the districts are four and their order is Islands - Ionia - Hellespont - Thrace.\footnote{171} The same number of districts –four– occurred also in the decree of Cleinias.\footnote{172} As we all know, five districts existed between 443/2 BC (IG I' 269) and 439/3 (IG I' 273), following the order Ionia - Hellespont - Thrace - Caria - Islands.\footnote{173} Between 438 BC (IG I' 274) and 432/1 (IG I' 280) there are four districts and the sequence is Ionia - Islands - Hellespont - Thrace. From 427 BC onwards the Actaean cities, taken from Mytilene, are added and thus in IG I' 71 (425/4 BC) there are six heralds and the following order of districts: Islands - Ionia - Hellespont - cities of Akte - Thrace - cities of the Black

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\footnote{168}{Hdt. 3.89. For this passage, see Kleber 2015. Cf. Tuplin 1987; Zournatzi 2000, 245 n. 17 and 246-252.}

\footnote{169}{Kallet, Kroll 2020, 71-72.}

\footnote{170}{I do not believe that the dates at which different cities became members of the League, the most significant argument of Harold Mattingly (Mattingly 1993, 99-102), have to be taken into consideration in the discussion about the date of the decree. I believe that a new member of the empire was required on its accession to publish a copy of the preexisting decree(s). Cf. Lewis 1987, 56.}

\footnote{171}{Cf. Cavaignac 1953, 2 with reference to Tod 1933 no. 67; Maltese 2021, 15-16.}

\footnote{172}{See supra n. 119.}

\footnote{173}{Five Athenians are mentioned in the decree of Cleonymus: IG I' 68, ll. 16-18: ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ὀφὲ ἐσπράχσον τὸν φόρον. Cf. IG I' 68, ll. 16-18: ἐπὶ δὲ τὰς ὀφὲ ἐσπράχσον τὸν φόρον.}
Of later date is IG I 100 (410/409 BC) with the order: Islands - Hellespont - Ionia - Thrace - Euxínos. If we combine this evidence —number of districts and their sequence— we have a date range between the 420s and 410/409 BC for the Athenian Standards Decree.

(b) The decree mentions weights and measures together with coinage. A full survey of epigraphic documents of legal character (laws and decrees) that regulate matters pertaining to coinage indicates that coinage is never grouped together with weights and measures. Weights and measures (μέτρα καὶ σταθμά) are to be found in five epigraphic documents, four from Athens and one from Paros (the Parian Marble). In all five documents coinage is not mentioned together with weights and measures, while the literary texts that
group the three together date after the ASD.\textsuperscript{177} This indicates that the case of the Athenian Standards Decree is unique, has no parallels, and cannot be compared with other regulations pertaining to coinage and its uses. The addition of weights and measures to a decree about coinage and payment of tribute can only be explained if we take into account what these weights and measures served for: to calculate the weights and measures of various commodities. The need to make these calculations of commodities can only be explained with the famous \textit{eikoste} in mind, about which we learn from Thucydides, who describes the situation at Athens after the Spartan invasion in 413 BC and the establishment of the newly built fort at Decelea (7.28; cf. Diod. Sic. 13.9.2).

Besides, the transport of provisions from Euboea, which had before been carried on so much more quickly over land by Decelea from Oropus, was now affected at great cost by sea round Sunium; everything the city required had to be imported from abroad, and instead of a city it became a fortress. (2) Summer and winter the Athenians were worn out by having to keep guard on the fortifications, during the day by turns, by night all together, the cavalry excepted, at the different military posts or upon the wall. (3) But what most oppressed them was that they had two wars at once, and had thus reached a pitch of frenzy which no one would have believed possible if he had heard of it before it had come to pass. ... (4). These causes, the great losses from Decelea, and the other heavy charges that fell upon them, produced their financial embarrassment; and it was at this time that they imposed upon their subjects, instead of the tribute, the tax of a twentieth upon all imports and exports by sea, which they thought would bring them in more money; their expenditure being now not the same as at first, but having grown with the war while their revenues decayed (trans. R. Crawley).

\textsuperscript{177} With the exception of a passage of Hecataeus on laws of the Egyptians (!): Hec. \textit{FGrHist} 1 F 25 (\textit{apud} Diod. Sic. 1.78.3). Other texts: Pl. \textit{Laws} 746e; [Arist.] \textit{Ath. Pol} 10.1 (Solon); Ephorus \textit{FGrHist} 70 F 115 (\textit{apud} Strab. 8.3.33: Pheidon of Argos); Plb. 2.37.10 (the Achaean League in the Hellenistic period); Dio 52.30.9; Fl. Philostratus, \textit{Heroicus} 708 Olearius (Palamedes); Alcidamas fr. 16.22 (Palamedes) Radermacher.
The “other heavy charges that fell upon them” were the money the Athenians were spending for the Sicilian expedition (Thuc. 6.31.5): three hundred talents in summer 414 BC (Thuc. 6.94.4; Diod. Sic. 13.6.6 and 7.4), and either one hundred and twenty (Thuc. 7.16.2) or one hundred and forty (Diod. Sic. 13.8.7) in the following winter 414/3 BC. It was because of all the problems described by Thucydides that the Athenians decided to replace tribute with the *eikoste*, a payment of a 5% tax on trade, in all cities of the Alliance and Athens (autumn 413 BC). Athens needed money for these two wars and the introduction of the *eikoste* belongs to this historical context. With the introduction of this tax “upon all imports and exports by sea”, all commodities should be calculated in a uniform way, and the tax should be paid in a common currency. This currency was Attic silver, while the Attic weights and measures would serve to calculate commodities imported and exported. Attic currency could serve the collection of both the tribute and the new tax, but the mention of weights and measures in the decree and the need to use these can only be explained in relation with the *eikoste*. One recalls that all other decrees about the collection of tribute, i.e. the decrees of Cleonymus, Cleinias and Thoudippos do not mention weights and measures. Although we know nothing about the details and the mechanisms of tax collection by the Athenians, the decree provides useful information about how the Athenians informed their allies. As with the collection of tribute, the *Hellenotamiai* were once more involved (clause 2). There is a mention of officials of the League, Athenians or foreigners (clause 3), as well as local officials (clause 4), heralds (clause 7), instructions to each herald (clause 9), as well as instructions by the League or city officials and the *epistatai* for the publication of the decree in the cities of the Empire and Athens (clause 8).

It is time now to turn to the so-called allusion to the decree in Aristophanes’ *Birds* presented in the Dionysia of 414 BC, i.e. in the month of Elaphebolion.

178. Because of all this money from Athens, Nicias was stressing that the Athenians were in a better shape than the Syracusans in summer 413 BC (Thuc. 7.48.5) and was later this summer “ready to agree with them on behalf of the Athenians to repay whatever money the Syracusans had spent upon the war if they would let his army go; and offered until the money was paid to give Athenians as hostages, one for every talent” (Thuc. 7.83.3).


180. IG I 68, 34 and 71.
March-April 414 BC. The latest commentators and translators of the play did not accept the emendation of Bergk and preferred to keep ψηφίσμασι. We need to follow them and deny any allusion to the decree for a number of reasons. First, all manuscripts have ψηφίσμασι and not νομίσμασι. Second, the ancient scholia explain the term ψηφίσμασι (as laws) and not νομίσμασι (as coins or coinage). This means that ψηφίσμασι was in the text in antiquity and there is no place for νομίσμασι. This goes together with our third argument: the decree seller is selling to the city of *Birds* a law code, which the decree seller calls new laws, and we know that laws were introduced in the form of ψηφίσματα during the fifth century BC. We can thus follow the latest commentators and translators of the play and conclude that there is no need at all to “correct” the text of Aristophanes and to detect an allusion to *IG I* 1453. With this in mind, we can propose a date for the decree introducing regulations for the payment of the *eikoste* almost simultaneously with the introduction of the *eikoste* in late summer / early autumn of 413 BC.

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181. For an introduction of the decree shortly before the presentation of the play, see Kallet, Kroll 2020, 111-112. For the play at the *Dionysia*, see Henderson 2000, 2. Cf. Maltese 2021, 17-18.

182. See supra n. 5. Cf. Sommerstein 1987, 269 ad v. 1041 (decrees): “Bergk altered *psephismasi* “decree” to *nomismasi* “coins”, but the decree-seller may have deliberately ‘adjusted’ the text of the decree in order to make his ‘customers’ believe that it is compulsory for them to purchase his wares”; Dunbar 1995, 571: “Since ψηφίσμασι makes a surprising third item after μέτροι καὶ σταθμοῖς and the terms of the Coinage decree (1040-2n.) are clearly in mind, Bergk’s note ‘expectaveras νομίσμασι’ (praefatio to text) was seen by many as confirmed later by the Coinage Decree, and adopted as an emendation by Blaydes. But applying prosaic logic removes Ar.’s joke; when the audience is expecting to hear νομίσμασι, the Decree-seller slips in ψηφίσμασι instead, thus representing his decrees as imposed on the new city by the sovereign Athenian Assembly no less than his weights and measures”.


184. *Ad* 1041: ἀντὶ τοῦ νόμος. This occurs in the Codex Venetus CCCCLXXIV (symbol V) of the 11th century. Dindorf 1838, 235; Dübner 1877, 234; White 1914, 197; Forster 1991, 161 For the manuscripts, see White 1914, lxxxvi-ciii.

185. It is very plausible that a decree of earlier date than the Standards Decree, this time a Coinage Decree, regulated matters of payment and collection of tribute
What the Standards decree requires was the use of Attic weights and measures for commodities and for the payment of the tax either in Attic coins and coins minted on the Attic standard or in coins converted to the Attic standard. Its aim was to facilitate the payments made by the allies to the Athenian treasury. As we have seen, this took place during a period when the Athenians needed money to continue the war against Sparta, which was now supported by the Great King. With this decree the Athenians hoped to collect payments more quickly from the allies. Yet the whole undertaking appears to have been very difficult and complicated even though the details remain unknown to us. It is likely that the *eikoste* was quickly repealed and that the decree was rescinded after a series of Athenian victories at the naval battles of Cynossema (Thuc. 8.104.5-106.4), and Abydos in 411 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.5) and Cyzicus in 410 BC (Xen. *Hell.* 1.1.16-18). By 408 BC Alcibiades was putting pressure on Chalcedon to pay the arrears of the tribute from the preceding years (Xen. *Hell.* 1.3.2-9).

It is in this way that I propose to explain the decree and see it as a purely technical financial measure. Athenian imperialism and lack of respect for

and included clauses similar to those of the Standards Decree. This decree was contemporary or probably earlier than those introduced by Cleinias (*IG* I3 34 with Osborne, Rhodes 2017, 325 no. 154) and Cleonymus (*IG* I3 68, ll. 16-18, with Osborne-Rhodes 2017, 300-307 no. 152). For a second decree see also Stroud 2006, 26; Figueira 2006. This Coinage Decree is most probably the decree of Clearchus mentioned in the ‘Smyrna’ copy. The reason that there is no place for ‘the previous decree of Clearchus’ in the new Aphytis fragment, which offers the very end of the Standards Decree, might be that Aphytis put on the stone exactly what was sent by Athens, i.e. the Standards Decree, and there was already a copy of the previous decree of Clearchus, i.e. the Coinage Decree, in all cities of the *arche*. Absent from the Aphytis’ fragment are also the two last clauses of the decree from the ‘Smyrna’ copy, that both refer to Athenian affairs and concern duties of Athenian officials (*epistatai*). The problem is why these appear in the copy seen at Smyrna as well as the origin of this copy, but this is another problem. Cf. Maltese 2021, 13-15.

186. It recalls, in a way, the well-known decree of Olbia imposing the city’s silver and bronze coinage in all transactions taking place within the frontiers of Olbia. For the decree of Olbia, see *I. dial. Olbia Pont* 14 and the comments of P. Gauthier in *BE* 1997, 420.

the autonomy of the Greek city states who were members of the Alliance cer-
tainly cannot be denied in general, but the Standards decree has nothing to
do with either of these.188 More than a sign of despotism the decree is a victim
of anachronistic assumptions based on nineteenth-century historical circum-
stances, i.e. the monetary unification of the German Reich in 1871 under Prus-
sian guidance.

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188. See Psoma 2024.
Appendix

List of hoards with Attic coins buried in the territories of the arche before 400 BC

Attica

*IGCH 12*, Acropolis, 479-478 BC. For later dates, see Tselekas 2020.
*IGCH 14*, Sounion, 480-470 BC.
*IGCH 16*, Attica, before 465 BC.
*CH V 14*, Piraeus, late 5th cent. BC.
*CH X 15*, Ano Voula, late 5th cent. BC.
*IGCH 46*, Eleusis, 406-394 BC. For dates between 406 and 404 BC, see Kroll 1996.

Euboea

*CH II 20*, Eretria 1973, 5th cent. BC.
*CH VIII 69, IX 17*, Eretria 1981, 411 BC. For a date ca. 446 BC, see Kallet, Kroll 2020, 153.
*CH IX 11*, Eretria 1976, 411 BC. For the date, see Kallet, Kroll 2020, 48-49, 70, 153.
*IGCH 39*, Euboea, late 5th cent. BC.
*CH X 7*, Eretria, 5th cent. BC.

Thrace

*CH VIII 63*, Scione, ca. 425 BC; cf. *CH X 4* (the presence of Athenian coins is denied). For the burial date, see Kagan 2014: ca. 423 BC.
*IGCH 359*, Olynthos, 420s BC: one Athenian drachm.

Black Sea


Asia Minor

Unp. hoard from South Caria, 470 BC: 2 / 152.

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189. See also Appendix of all hoards buried within the territories of the Athenian arche in Kallet, Kroll 2020, 152-157.

190. Full publication by Kroll forthcoming.

IGCH 1182, 460 BC, Asia Minor, western, many Athenian tetradrachms / many silver coins.

IGCH 1189, 450 BC Asia Minor, western, Athens, 1 / 11.¹⁹²


IGCH 1252, Southern Asia Minor, 450-430 BC, Athens, 2 / 32+.

CH VIII 73, Asia Minor, 400 BC: Athens, many sigloi and ingots.¹⁹³

¹⁹² The first number refers to Attic silver coins and the second to the total number of coins present in the hoard.

¹⁹³ For hoards with large numbers of Athenian tetradrachms of the 4th century BC, see Psoma 2015a.
Summary

This article analyzes the clauses of the Athenian Standards Decree, which has long been interpreted as banning allied cities from minting their own coinage. It interprets the Standards Decree not as a sign of Athenian imperialism, as previously thought, but as a technical financial measure aimed at streamlining tax collection within the empire. It examines evidence from mints, hoards, and Athenian financial documents that cast doubt on this traditional interpretation. Following other scholars who have questioned the conventional view, the article introduces additional evidence to support an interpretation of the decree as a purely financial measure. Oaths in treaties between Athens and her allies are examined to show that all restorations of capital punishment in the missing part of the Bouleutic Oath are untenable because the Council did not have the power to impose punishments over 500 drachms. The article rejects previous attempts to see an allusion to the decree in a passage from Aristophanes’ *Birds* (spring 414 BC) and to date it shortly before 414 BC, because of the manuscript tradition, ancient scholia, the passage’s meaning, and the decree’s purpose. Instead, the mention of four districts of the Athenian Empire and the inclusion of weights and measures alongside coinage point to a date in the autumn of 413 BC, coinciding with the introduction of the eikoste (a 5% tax). The article argues that through this decree, Athens attempted to increase revenue and to collect significant quantities of Attic currency. However, this measure did not last long; Athens reintroduced the tribute system most probably sometime after the decisive sea battle of Cyzicus.
Abbreviations-Bibliography


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