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PHOKAIA AND TEOS: A MONETARY ALLIANCE

The Phokaian mercantile thalassocracy, which expanded during the seventh and sixth centuries B. C. into the western Mediterranean, suffered critically from the Persian occupation of Ionia in 545¹. Phokaian trade dwindled progressively and by the mid-fifth century even the Delian Confederacy's annual assessment of Phokaia's economic productivity declined from three to two talents². In Ionia, Chios, Ephesos, and Rhodes eclipsed Phokaia's activities in sea power, trade, and cultural influence³. To maintain the value of her electrum «sixths», important in international trade, Phokaia instituted drastic measures to prevent their debasement and to curtail wide-scale inflation. The measures held promise and interested the neighboring Mytilene sufficiently to cause it to conclude a monetary alliance with the economically suffering Phokaia⁴. Following the Ionian Revolt against Athens in the early spring of 412, Phokaia's southern neighbor Teos (see map, p. 27) may also have formulated a monetary alliance with her, although it may have been less impressive⁵.

A monetary relationship between Phokaia and Teos has long been noted, resulting often in a confusion in the attribution of coins. Both Phokaian electrum and silver issues with obverses bearing a griffin's head or forebody have often been attributed to Teos. Ernest Babelon considered this Phokaian use of the Teian griffin as the result of Teians settling in Phokaia when they returned from Abdera to Ionia after Cyrus' occupation of Teos and Phokaia in the late 540's⁶. The confusion of types, however, should not exist, at least where some of the issues are concerned, for the electrum issues with a griffin's head are markedly Phokaian and not Teian, as evidenced by the fabric of the struck electrum flan, the artistic techniques of the obverse and reverse types, and the iconography of the Phokaian seal. Similar in nature of technique and iconography are the silver issues.

Minting in the first half of the sixth century⁷, Phokaia produced a sparse series of electrum staters and a prolific series of «sixths», «twelfths», and «twenty-fourths»,

¹ Hdt. i. 162-9; Thuc. i. 13.6; J. L. Myres, «On the 'List of Thalassocracies' in Eusebius», *JHS* XXVI (1906), 84-130.

² *ATL* i. 436-7.

³ Ernst Langlotz, *Die Hellenisierung der Küsten des Mittelmeers durch die Stadt Phokaia* (Köln: 1966).

⁴ «Monetary Alliance Between Mytilene and Phokaia», c. 394 (?): *IG* XII. 2.1 (Bleekmann 50; Schwyzer 619; Tod ii. 112; Buck 25; Bengtson *SV* II. 228); J. F. Healy, «Notes on the Monetary Union Between Mytilene and Phokaia», *JHS* LXXVII (1957), 267-8.

⁵ Thuc. viii. 31.3-32.1.

⁶ Babelon *Traité* I², 105.

⁷ Langlotz 23.

struck on a «Phokaian» standard, 16.07–16.59 g⁸. The obverse types for the early staters and «sixths» bear the seal and griffin's head left. The seal presents the Phokaian heraldic badge, the φώκη symbolizing Φόκαια. The «sixths» bear a seal's head left with a small seal swimming left below (pl. 3, 1); a seal left with an O (= Φ) above and below (pl. 3, 2); a seal seated to the left with torso and head turned right, and with an O below (pl. 3, 3); two seals swimming counter-clockwise, with distinct flippers and the torso and head of one turned back (pl. 3, 4); and three seals swimming counter-clockwise (pl. 3, 5). Similarly, a stater bears a seal swimming right with a ☉ (below pl. 3, 6). Electrum «twelfths» and «twenty-fourths» were also struck with obverse types of a seal's forebody and forehead, and «archaic» reverses (pl. 3, 7–9).

Electrum «sixths» and «twelfths» of similar fabric and reverse types bear obverse types with a griffin's head left and a small seal swimming upright (pl. 3, 10–12). The fabric, technique, and die types of these Phokaian specimens are similar to others with obverses bearing only the griffin's head left and right (pl. 3, 13–15). Therefore, the electrum «sixths» and «twelfths» with the griffin's head left or right, and with or without the seal are also Phokaian. In addition, electrum «twenty-fourths» with the griffin's head left and right are to be assigned to Phokaia as determined by their similarity in fabric and technique to Phokaian electrum «twenty-fourths» with seals (pl. 4, 16–19). Similarly, a second electrum stater with a griffin's head left and the inscription ΓIOM (pl. 4, 20)⁹, and a «sixth» with a forebody of a griffin left may be also attributed to Phokaia (pl. 4, 21).

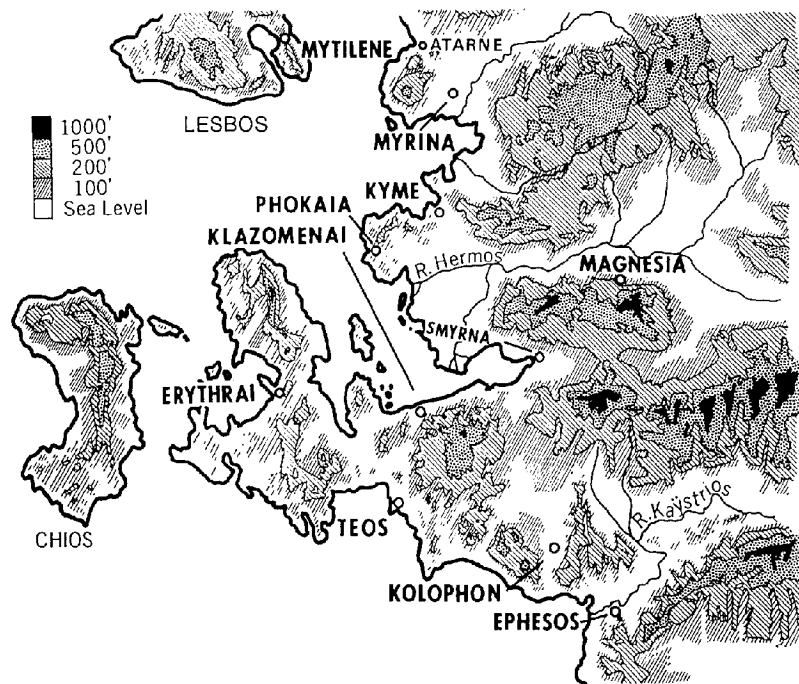
Concurrently with the sixth century electrum issues, Phokaia minted silver on the Chian standard (stater = 7.26–7.84 g): drachmae (which exchanged as Aeginetan weight tetrobols) and obols bearing the seal swimming right (pl. 4, 22–25); obols and hemiobols with a seal's head left and right (pl. 4, 26–30); and a hemiobol with a seal's forebody right (pl. 4, 31) as well as diobols with a griffin's head left and seal swimming up (pl. 5, 32). Silver issues with a griffin's forebody right and griffin's head left should also be considered Phokaian by reason of the similarity of die types to the electrum series (pl. 5, 33^{10–37}¹¹). The silver issues with a griffin's head right

⁸ Head *HN* 589; Babelon *Traité* I², 322–30.

⁹ J. Brandis, *Das Münz-, Maß- und Gewichtswesen* (Berlin: 1866), 397; R. Meister, «Herkunft und Dialect der griechischen Bevölkerung von Eryx und Segesta», *Philologus* XLIX, N. S. III (1890), 610–1; E. Babelon, «Études sur les monnaies primitives d'Asie Mineur: L'Étalon phocaïque», *Revue Numismatique* 3rd Series, VIII (1895), 16.

¹⁰ The weight equals an Aeginetic drachma and, therefore, may demand attribution to Teos rather than being considered a very light Phokaian stater. The obverse type however is uncommon for Teos but does parallel a Phokaian electrum «sixth» (Illus. 21). F. Imhoof-Blumer (*Kleinasiatische Münzen* Vol. I [Wien: 1901], 91) identified this coin as Phokaian and noted: «Es ist dieses das Halbstück des *Cat. Br. Mus. Ionia* 214, 79a Taf. XXIII, 3. bekannt gemachten Staters (Gr. 12.51).» I wish to thank Mr. Raul Abecassis, Lisbon, for bringing this reference to my attention.

¹¹ In 1894, M. Wroth held that the Phokaian types invariably face left while the Lesbian types face right, *BMC Troas* lxvii.



are Teian rather than Phokaian as based upon their similarity to the larger Teian denominations which always bear the seated griffin right.

The common occurrence of the griffin upon Phokaian coins may be attributed to the legendary foundation of Phokaia by the Kodrid kings from Teos and Erythrai¹², and perhaps to Teian settlers in Phokaia, as Babelon suggested. The Teian «Hyperborean» griffin was often present in Phokaia, although the Erythraian «naked horseman (Erythros?)» holding a prancing horse (pl. 5, 38) appears in Phokaia only as the head and neck of the prancing horse with a seal left (pl. 5, 39).

By the late sixth century the earlier Phokaian theriomorphic types began to give way to the heads of humans and deities, still often accompanied by the small swimming seal, which continued through the early fourth century¹³.

¹² Paus. vii. 3.10.

¹³ Langlotz 23–8.

Sixth Century

| | | |
|------------|------|--------------|
| Pl. 5, 40, | 2.57 | Boston |
| 41, | 2.50 | ANS New York |
| 42, | 2.14 | Leningrad |
| 43, | 2.57 | Boston |

Early-Mid Fifth Century

| | | |
|------------|------|--------------|
| Pl. 6, 48, | 2.50 | Oxford |
| 49, | 2.53 | ANS New York |
| 50, | 2.50 | Oxford |
| 51, | 2.53 | Leningrad |
| 52, | 2.55 | ANS New York |
| 53, | 2.54 | Boston |
| 54, | 2.55 | Boston |

Late Sixth Century

| | | |
|------------|------|--------------|
| Pl. 5, 44, | 2.59 | Oxford |
| 45, | 2.60 | Oxford |
| 46, | 2.57 | ANS New York |
| Pl. 6, 47, | 2.55 | Oxford |

Late Fifth–Early Fourth Century

| | | |
|------------|------|-----------|
| Pl. 6, 55, | 2.55 | Boston |
| 56, | 2.50 | Leningrad |
| 57, | 2.50 | Leningrad |
| 58, | 2.55 | Oxford |
| 59, | 2.55 | Leningrad |
| 60, | 2.54 | Leningrad |
| 61, | 2.52 | Leningrad |

In Phokaia, many electrum «sixths» carried obverse types correspondingly common in Mytilene, which illustrates a Phokaian relationship in «types» not only with Teos but also with Mytilene, with which Phokaia unquestionably contracted a monetary alliance. Phokaian «sixths» which bear an obverse with a horned ram's head left (pl. 5, 42) compare to a Mytilenian obverse with a horned ram's head right with a feeding cock below (pl. 7, 62); a Phokaian obverse bearing an «archaic» head of Herakles left (pl. 7, 63) to Mytilenian intaglio reverses with the «archaic» head of Herakles right (pl. 7, 64); a Phokaian obverse with a bull's forebody left and seal (pl. 7, 65) to the Mytilenian intaglio reverse with a bull's head and neck right (pl. 7, 66) and also to a Mytilenian reverse with a charging bull left (pl. 7, 67); a Phokaian obverse with a reclining goat left and seal (pl. 5, 43) to the Mytilenian obverse with the forebody of a goat right with its head turned left (pl. 7, 68); Phokaian griffins to the Mytilenian reverse of the griffin's head right (pl. 7, 69) and a Phokaian silver obol with the head and neck of a boar right (pl. 7, 70) to a Mytilenian electrum «sixth» with a forebody of a rushing boar right (pl. 7, 71).

In Phokaia's major colony Massalia, the obverses of silver fractions (obols and diobols, essentially on the Phokaian standard) were also struck with die types common in Phokaia: ram's head right, forebody of a boar running right, calf's head right, lion's head left, Athena's head left, and female heads:

Auriol Hoard Class

| | | |
|------------|------|--------|
| Pl. 7, 72, | 0.96 | Boston |
| 73, | 0.58 | Boston |
| 74, | 0.57 | Boston |
| Pl. 7, 75, | 0.59 | Boston |
| 76, | 0.71 | Boston |
| 77, | 0.59 | Boston |

The Phokaian monetary associations with Mytilene, Massalia, and Teos are, therefore, notable: with Mytilene by virtue of the type relationships and the monetary alliance, with Massalia because of type relationships and as a colony, and with Teos because of a type relationship and the possibility of a monetary alliance and perhaps Teian settlers.

The probable Phokaian monetary association with Teos again becomes evident following the Ionian Revolt of 412. The Athenian catastrophe in Sicily in 413 had not only set the stage for the revolt but had also seriously disrupted Athenian economic stability. To replace the Athenian *moneta franca*, the numerous Ionian states in revolution against Athens reopened their mints. Many of these states were to face new problems of inflation, currency instability, and even currency debasement. Meanwhile, the Athenian tetradrachma rapidly declined in value and by 406 copper-core issues climaxed the Athenian economic failures.

The Teian mint, reopened in 412, produced a distinct series of silver staters on the previously used Aeginetic standard¹⁴. Seven staters represent four obverse types (and five reverse) and mark the major stylistic change from those Teian staters and fractions struck prior to c. 449 and the Athenian Currency Decree. The initial stater of this series, struck until c. 407, represents the new style of Teian coinage: a straight winged griffin seated right with the left leg and forepaw horizontal, the field symbol of a bee above the griffin, and the clockwise ethnic THIO[N] around (pl. 8, 78). Succeeding this issue, three additional obverse types were struck, each with the new style griffin with the ethnic THION horizontally above the griffin's wings and with a small seal swimming left below the griffin's body and above the exergue:

| | | |
|------------|-------|--------|
| Pl. 8, 79, | 11.88 | London |
| 80, | 11.72 | Paris |
| 81, | 11.86 | Berlin |
| 82, | 12.04 | Berlin |
| 83, | 11.69 | Berlin |

This small seal on Teian staters struck between 412 and c. 407 suggests a pronounced and renewed monetary relationship between Teos and Phokaia, if not a definite monetary alliance. Perhaps Teos sought such an alliance to stabilize her new currency. In any case, the new Teian staters bearing the Phokaian seal were struck in relationship to Phokaian electrum and its economic stability.

The magistrate's badges on the Teian staters vary from issue to issue with only an occasional repetition and, although they are personal symbols, they occasionally reflect a social or political condition. Staters minted c. 478–470/65 bear a grain kernel which may refer to the grain shortage in Teos c. 475–470 (pl. 8, 84)¹⁵. The

¹⁴ J. M. Balcer, «The Early Silver Coinage of Teos», *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* XLVII (1968), 16–9, pl. XIX. 133–6.

¹⁵ Tod *GHI* I². 23, 6–12.

owl borne on a stater and a drachma struck c. 470/65–449 is strikingly similar to the Athenian owl, and doubtless recalled Athens and her patron deity, as well as the Teian magistrate (pl. 8, 85). On those staters struck between 412 and c. 407 the bee may refer to Ephesos' role in the Ionian Revolt as the center of the Ionian anti-Athenian party¹⁶, while the seals attest to the long established close relationship between Teos and Phokaia¹⁷.

The early fourth century monetary alliance constructed between Phokaia and Mytilene, as well as several literary references, suggest that Phokaia's economic conditions were unstable. This suggested instability, however, is to be questioned. The monetary agreement provided for the regulations of punishment for the debasement of electrum coins. This decree coupled with the late references of Hesychios and Pollux that the Phokaian electrum was *κακίστος*, «wretched», and that Phokaian electrum was purchased in Atarne at discount rates have led to the conclusion that Phokaian electrum had become seriously debased and the Phokaian economy was in turmoil¹⁸.

The neutron-activation analysis of Mytilenian and Phokaian electrum «sixths» conducted by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, reveals a decline in the gold content of Phokaian electrum during the sixth and fifth centuries; but this was not actually a debasement¹⁹. The sample of fourteen Mytilenian «sixths» indicates a gold content ranging between 40 and 49 ‰, with a mean at 45 ‰; silver between 42 and 55 ‰, with a mean at 49 ‰; and copper between 3 and 9 ‰, with a mean at 8 ‰ (specimens 62, 64, 66, 67)²⁰. The sample of nine Phokaian «sixths» indicates a gold content ranging between 47 and 69.7 ‰, but when grouped into three chronological periods the mean of each period shows a progressive decline in gold content. For six «sixths» attributed to the sixth century (specimens 10, 14, 44, 45, 47, 63 [see

¹⁶ Thuc. viii. 14–9; Satyros [Regum et Imperatorum: Alcibiadis], Müller *FGH* iii. 160. 1 (*apud* Athenaeos, xii. 534, B); W. Ruge, «Teos», *RE* 5ⁿ XXXIII; P. Gardner, «Coinage of the Athenian Empire», *JHS* XXXIII (1913), 184; *History of Ancient Coinage* 298–311; «The Financial History of Ancient Chios», *JHS* XL (1920), 168–73.

¹⁷ The first triobols of Abdera struck before 480 which bear the Samian reverse types of the bull's head and lion's scalp indicate a close commercial connection between Abdera and Samos, J. M. F. May, *The Coinage of Abdera* (London: 1966), 95 and n. 1, pl. VIII, 114–8. The owl symbol on Samian coins of c. 465/4 are noted as a compliment to Athens, J. P. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London: 1966), 88, pl. X, 40a, b. At Ainos c. 431–429, tetradrachms and tetrobols with the double-axe symbol indicate Athenian-Odrysian cooperation, May *Ainos: Its History and Coinage* (London: 1950), 87, 106–9, Group XXI. The owl on the Thasian issue, c. 389/8, may reflect Thrasyboulos' campaign to Thasos and Athens' reimposition of her influence upon the island, May *Abdera* 189.

¹⁸ Hesychios *Lexicon* Φωκαεῖς; Pollux *Onomasticon* Φωκαίδες.

¹⁹ C. M. Kraay, «The Composition of Electrum Coinage», *Archaeometry* I (1958), 21–3. I am grateful to Dr. Kraay who has kindly supplied me with casts of the coins analysed and the statistics of their metallic composition.

²⁰ Kraay, *Archaeometry* I, Cf. J. F. Healy, «The Composition of Mytilenian Electrum», *Congrès International de Numismatique*, Paris 1953, V. 2, 529–36.

also 8, 19]), the gold mean is 52–69.7 ‰, for two «sixths» attributed to the fifth century (specimens 48, 50) the mean is 49–52 ‰, and for the one «sixth» attributed to the late fifth–early fourth century (specimen 58) the mean is 47 ‰. The silver content for these nine Phokaian «sixths» ranges from 18.8–44 ‰ for the sixth century, a mean of 40–41 ‰ for the fifth, and 44 ‰ for the late fifth–early fourth century. Although the gold content of the Phokaian electrum declined, the «sixths» had not become debased nor did the content fall below the stable metallic content of the Mytilenian electrum «sixths».

To prevent further decline in the gold content of her electrum, a decline which would fall below the gold content of Mytilenian electrum, and to stabilize her domestic and international economies, Phokaia concluded early in the fourth century the monetary alliance with Mytilene. The two states agreed to maintain a common ratio of metallic content in their respective electrum issues. The measure was to prevent a serious economic inflation and crisis if debasement occurred at a time when the Athenian international silver tetradrachm had failed. Two decades earlier when the Ionian states had begun to reissue silver, Teos (with similar economic motives) sought a monetary relationship with Phokaia, which Teos noted with the Phokaian seal on three issues of staters. The alliance conceivably established the value of thirteen Teian silver staters to equal six Phokaian electrum «sixths». The «sixth» with an average weight of 2.55 g in ratio with silver at 1:10 and the Teian staters with an average weight of 11.88 g produced a ratio of one Phokaian electrum «sixth» to equal two Teian silver staters and one diobol on the Aeginetic standard (Phokaian electrum «sixth» 2.55 g [.47 AV + .44 AR + .09 CU] = .47 AV × 13 + .53 (AR + CU) × 1 = 6.64 × 2.55] = 16.932 g AR value; a Teian silver stater 11.88 g, thus 11.88 ÷ 16.93 = 7 : 10. After 413 the value of silver to gold in Ionia may have been lower than in Athens, which rose to 11 : 1, due to the constant supply of Persian sigloi in contrast to the non-productivity of the Laureion mines)²¹.

This alliance is similar to that established between Thasos and Paros in c. 411 which instituted a common monetary weight standard, and which may be reflected in the fragmentary epigraphic evidence²². The Teian-Phokaian monetary alliance,

²¹ P. Gardner, *History of Ancient Coinage* (Oxford: 1918), 33–6, 74. The ratio of electrum to silver may have fluctuated during the late fifth century, as perhaps intimated by the Phokaian-Mytilenian alliance, and the value of electrum declined as did its gold content. The token value of electrum, however, may have remained higher than its intrinsic value, which may be calculated at 1 : 6²/₃ (gold to electrum). A. B. West, *Fifth and Fourth Century Gold Coins from the Thracian Coast*, *NNM* 40 (New York: 1929), 172, suggests that gold to silver at the end of the fifth century maintained the ratio of 1 : 13 in Greece generally, while it changed at Athens. D. M. Lewis, «New Evidence for the Gold-Silver Ratio», *Essays in Greek Coinage Presented to Stanley Robinson* (Oxford: 1968), 105–10, has carefully traced the fluctuations of silver to gold value at Athens which rose to 10 : 1 (or 11 : 1) in 408 (*IG* I², 301). Cf. W. E. Thompson, «Gold and Silver Ratios at Athens During the Fifth Century», *NC* 7th Ser., IV (1964), 103–23.

²² *IG* XII 5. 109, Bengtson *SV* II. 204; West *NNM* 40, 14, n. 4; cf. T. Reinach, *L'Anarchie monétaire et ses remèdes chez les anciens grecs* (Paris: 1911).

however, did not last more than five years as marked by the brief issuance of the «seal» staters. With the economic decline of the Attic standard, many Ionian states, including Teos, abandoned their former monetary standards and adopted the Chian standard in an attempt to seek that economic stability once offered by the Athenian *moneta franca*.

List of Coins illustrated

Phokaia

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------|---|-----|------|---|
| 1. | 2.57 | El. Boston (Brett 1894). | 34. | 1.60 | AR Berlin. |
| 2. | 2.67 | El. Paris. | 35. | 1.27 | AR Vienna. |
| 3. | 1.99 | El. Leningrad. | 36. | 0.28 | AR Berlin. |
| 4. | 2.57 | El. Vienna. | 37. | 0.22 | AR Berlin. |
| 5. | 2.56 | El. ANS New York. | 39. | 2.58 | El. Boston (Brett 1905). |
| 6. | 16.50 | El. Munich. | 40. | 2.57 | El. Boston (Brett 1899). |
| 7. | 2.56 | El. Paris. | 41. | 2.50 | El. ANS New York. |
| 8. | 0.65 | El. Oxford (.32 AR, .64 AV, .04 CU). | 42. | 2.14 | El. Leningrad. |
| 9. | 0.14 | El. Berlin. | 43. | 2.57 | El. Boston (Brett 1903). |
| 10. | 2.59 | El. The Hague (.118 AR, .697 AV, .115 CU). | 44. | 2.59 | El. Oxford (.30 AR, .65 AV, .05 CU). |
| 11. | 0.63 | El. Berlin. | 45. | 2.60 | El. Oxford (.38 AR, .53 AR, .09 CU). |
| 12. | 0.31 | El. Berlin. | 46. | 2.57 | El. ANS New York. |
| 13. | 2.76 | El. Berlin. | 47. | 2.55 | El. Oxford (.40 AR, .52 AV, .08 CU). |
| 14. | 1.51 | El. The Hague (.482 AR, .50 AV, .018 CU). | 48. | 2.50 | El. Oxford (.41 AR, .55 AV, .07 CU). |
| 15. | 1.37 | El. Paris. | 49. | 2.53 | El. ANS New York. |
| 16. | 0.72 | El. Berlin. | 50. | 2.50 | El. Oxford (.40 AR, .49 AV, .11 CU). |
| 17. | 0.675 | El. Berlin. | 51. | 2.53 | El. Leningrad. |
| 18. | 0.66 | El. Berlin. | 52. | 2.55 | El. ANS New York. |
| 19. | 0.25 | El. The Hague (.188 AR, .697 AV, .115 CU). | 53. | 2.54 | El. Boston (Brett 1910). |
| 20. | 16.574 | El. Munich. | 54. | 2.55 | El. Boston (Brett 1912). |
| 21. | 2.48 | El. Berlin. | 55. | 2.55 | El. Boston (Brett 1911). |
| 22. | 3.93 | AR ANS New York. | 56. | 2.50 | El. Leningrad. |
| 23. | 0.68 | AR Berlin. | 57. | 2.50 | El. Leningrad. |
| 24. | 0.54 | AR Berlin. | 58. | 2.55 | El. Oxford (.44 AR, .47 AV, .09 CU). |
| 25. | 0.45 | AR Winterthur. | 59. | 2.55 | El. Leningrad. |
| 26. | 0.965 | AR Berlin. | 60. | 2.54 | El. Leningrad. |
| 27. | 0.85 | AR Berlin. | 61. | 2.52 | El. Leningrad. |
| 28. | 0.652 | AR Oxford. | 63. | 2.54 | El. Oxford (.33 AR, .64 AV, .03 CU). |
| 29. | 0.575 | AR Berlin. | 65. | 2.54 | El. Winterthur. |
| 30. | 0.372 | AR Oxford. | 70. | 0.57 | AR Brussels. |
| 31. | 0.27 | AR Berlin. | | | |
| 32. | 1.26 | AR Berlin. | | | |
| 33. | 6.25 | AR Berlin. | | | |

Teos

| | | | | | |
|-----|-------|---|-----|-------|---|
| 78. | 1 70 | AR ANS New York (Balcer, «Teos», RSN XLVII [1968], 133). | 81. | 11.86 | AR Berlin. |
| 79. | 11.80 | AR London (<i>BMC Ionia</i> Teos 21; Balcer, «Teos», RSN XLVII [1968], 134). | 82. | 12.04 | AR Berlin. |
| | | | 83. | 11.69 | AR Berlin (Balcer, «Teos», RSN XLVII [1968], 136). |
| 80. | 11.72 | AR Paris (Babelon <i>Traité</i> II 2, 1949; Balcer, «Teos», RSN XLVII [1968], 135). | 84. | 11.65 | AR Berlin (Balcer, «Teos», RSN XLVII [1968], 84). |
| | | | 85. | 11.70 | AR Helbing Jan. 31, 1930, 313; Balcer, «Teos», RSN XLVII (1968), 100. |
| | | | 86. | 5.276 | AR Berlin (Balcer, «Teos», RSN XLVII [1968], 108). |

Erythrai

38. 7.06 AR Boston (Brett 1835).

Massalia (Auriol Hoard Class)

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|----------------------|-----|------|-----------------------|
| 72. | 0.96 | AR Boston (Brett 1). | 75. | 0.59 | AR Boston (Brett 9). |
| 73. | 0.58 | AR Boston (Brett 4). | 76. | 0.71 | AR Boston (Brett 14). |
| 74. | 0.57 | AR Boston (Brett 7). | 77. | 0.59 | AR Boston (Brett 10). |

Mytilene

| | | | | | |
|-----|------|---|-----|------|---|
| 62. | 2.52 | El. Oxford (.51 AR, .40 AV, .09 CU). | 67. | 2.56 | El. Oxford (.52 AR, .40 AV, .08 CU). |
| 64. | 2.56 | El. Oxford (.44 AR, .48 AV, .08 CU). | 68. | 2.50 | El. Boston (Brett 1682). |
| 66. | 2.45 | El. Oxford (.47 AR, .47 AV, .06 CU). | 69. | 2.55 | El. Boston (Brett 1704). |
| | | | 71. | 2.51 | El. Boston (Brett 1684). |

Location-index of Specimens illustrated

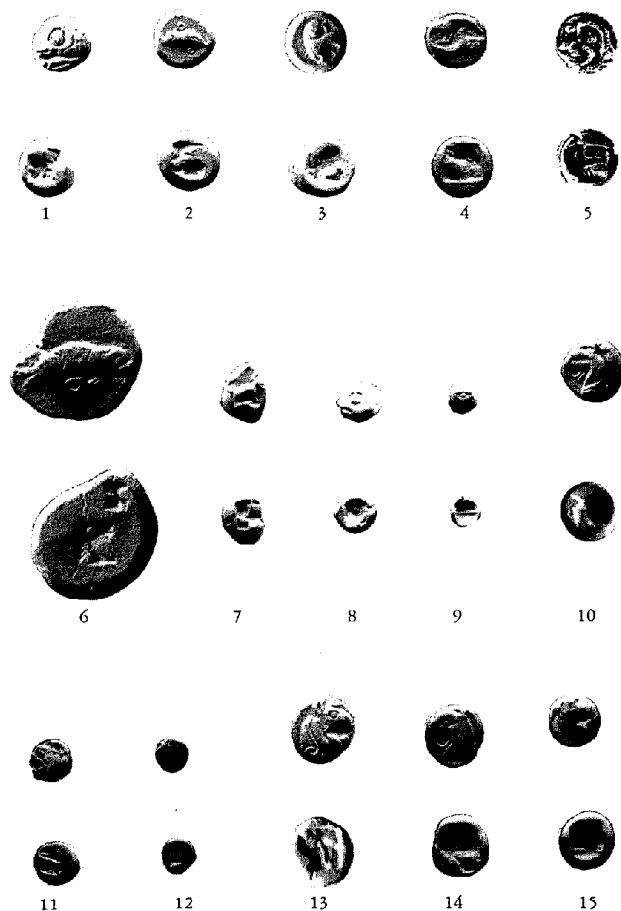
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 Berlin 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 21, 23, 24, 26, 27, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 81, 82, 83, 86.
 Boston 1, 38, 39, 40, 43, 53, 54, 55, 68, 69, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77.
 Brussels 70.
 The Hague 10, 14, 19.
 Helbing Sale 85.
 Leningrad 3, 42, 51, 56, 57, 59, 60, 61.
 London 79.
 Munich 6, 20.
 Oxford 8, 28, 30, 44, 45, 47, 48, 50, 58, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67.
 Paris 2, 7, 15, 80.
 Vienna 4, 35.
 Winterthur 25, 65.

Au début du printemps 412 avant J.-C., à la suite de la révolte des Ioniens contre Athènes, Phokaïa et Teos ont conclu une alliance monétaire semblable à celle que Phokaïa contractera plus tard avec Mytilène (IG XII. 2. 1) aux environs de 394 avant J.-C. Il s'agissait de prévenir une grave inflation et la crise économique, au moment où faisait faillite la monnaie internationale d'argent: les tétradrachmes d'Athènes. En plus de la brève série des statères d'argent de Teos, les monnayeurs de cette localité frappèrent des «griffons» avec les «coins» phocéens, ce qui met en évidence l'alliance monétaire et les relations mythologiques et sociologiques unissant ces deux Etats.

L'alliance toutefois ne dura guère plus de cinq ans. Avec le déclin économique persistant du standard attique, de nombreux Etats ioniens, y compris Teos, ont abandonné leur étalon monétaire antérieur et adopté celui de Chios; ces types nouveaux sont une tentative de rétablir la stabilité économique jusqu'alors assurée par la «moneta franca» d'Athènes.

Trad. par C. M.

TAFEL 3

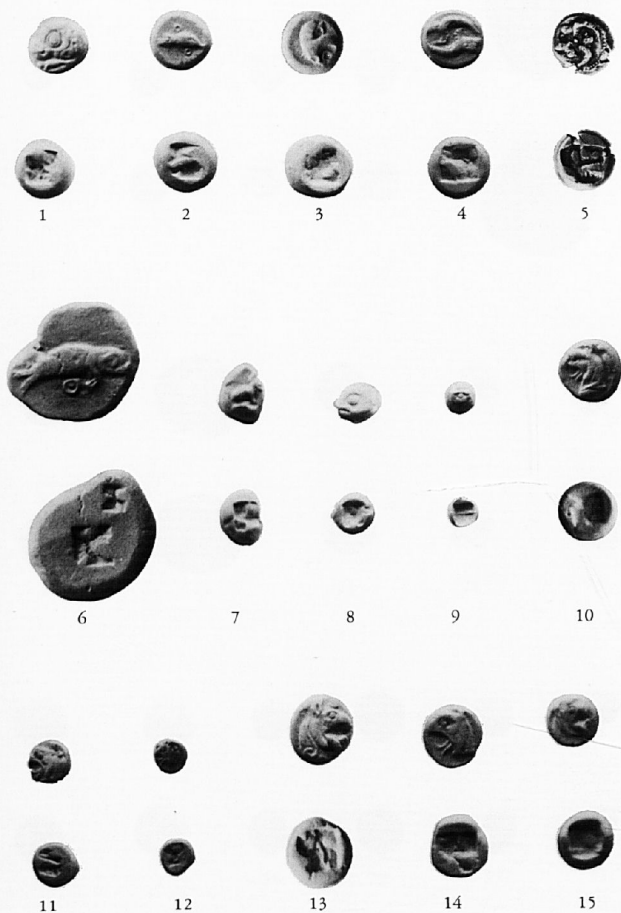


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