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ARNOLD-PETER C. WEISS AND SILVIA HURTER

THE SILVER STATERS OF IALYSOS\*

*Plates 1 – 4*

Ialysos, one of the three cities on the island of Rhodos which struck coins in the late 6th century B.C., is located some ten miles south-west of the city of Rhodes, at an altitude of 267 m on top of mount Philerimos. According to tradition, the city was founded by its eponymous hero Ialysos, son of Kekraphos and Kydippe, both descendants of the union between Helios and the nymph Rhodos. Ialysos was also the elder brother of Kameiros and Lindos who, in their turn, founded the two other cities of Rhodes which bear their names. Ialysos allegedly died from being torn to pieces by his rabid dog.<sup>1</sup> The city was certainly settled in the Mycenaean period; and there is a large Mycenaean necropolis dating from the end of the 15th century to the beginning of the 14th century BC at the foot of mount Philerimos. Physical remains of the city itself, on the summit plateau of the hill, are scant.<sup>2</sup> The city was mentioned by Homer, who called it Ielysso.<sup>3</sup> During the 8th and 7th centuries the three Rhodian cities were very prosperous<sup>4</sup> and were also renowned for the skill of their seamen who went on to establish numerous colonies throughout the Mediterranean, on the coasts of Asia Minor and Africa. One of the mercenaries who engraved their names at Abu Simbel in 591 was a native of Ialysos. Together with Kos,

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*Additional abbreviations*

Asyut	M. Price and N. Waggoner, <i>Archaic Greek Silver Coinage: The Asyut Hoard</i> (London 1975)
Bresson	A. Bresson, <i>Notes rhodiennes 1. Monnaies à palmette</i> , REA 83, 1981, p. 211-226.
Cahn, Knidos	H.A. Cahn, <i>Knidos. Die Münzen des sechsten und fünften Jahrhunderts v. Chr.</i> AMuGS 4 (Berlin 1970)
Kagan	J.H. Kagan, <i>An Archaic Greek Coin Hoard from the Eastern Mediterranean and Early Cypriote Coinage</i> , NC 154, 1994, p. 17-52

<sup>1</sup> LIMC V/1, p. 614.

<sup>2</sup> The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites, 2nd ed. (Princeton 1979), p. 756.

<sup>3</sup> Ilias 2.656.

<sup>4</sup> Ialysos, e.g., was known for the fine quality of its glass necklaces and bronze arms.

Knidos, Halikarnassos, Kameiros and Lindos, Ialysos formed part of the Dorian Hexapolis.<sup>5</sup> In 408, Ialysos, Kameiros and Lindos joined together in the *synoikosmos* which created the city of Rhodes.

All three cities struck silver coins in the second half of the 6th century. Kraay wrote<sup>6</sup> «At Rhodes, too, all three mints in the island were active by the middle of the century, though on somewhat different scales and each on a different standard... and finally Ialysos striking very occasionally on what appears to be an individual standard.» Kameiros struck an extensive coinage on the Aeginean standard<sup>7</sup> and Lindos, whose output was much smaller, used Milesian weights,<sup>8</sup> but Ialysos chose a stater weighing between ca. 14.45 and 14.95 g, accompanied by even rarer third stater, and by smaller fractions (see below, Appendix II).

### *The Staters*

The design types of the staters remain the same for the entire period of minting. The obverse bears the forepart of a winged boar, turned either to the right or the left, occasionally surrounded by a border of dots (nos. 16-17). The reverse is characterized by the head of an eagle,<sup>9</sup> facing right or left, within an incuse square with a dotted border; below the head is the ethnic, sometimes retrograde; above the head, there is usually a floral scroll (absent from nos. 20-21). On the later groups there are symbols on the obverse, either an astragal (nos. 19-21) or a helmet (no. 22). On this last stater the ethnic appears on both the obverse and the reverse. This general design is shared by the third staters though none of those carries a symbol.

<sup>5</sup> Hdt. 1.144.

<sup>6</sup> ACGC, p. 35.

<sup>7</sup> See Coinage and Administration in the Athenian and Persian Empires (CAAPE), I. Carradice (ed.), BAR International Series 343 (Oxford 1987), pl. 5, 41-45.

<sup>8</sup> H.A. Cahn, Die archaischen Silberstater von Lindos, Charites. Festschrift für Ernst Langlotz (Bonn 1957).

<sup>9</sup> There is some controversy over the classification of the bird; it is usually described as an eagle. O. Bernhard called it a bearded vulture (*Gypaëtos barbatus L.*), see: Der Adler auf griechischen und römischen Münzen, SNR 26, 1936, p. 105 and pl. 1, 3-4. Incidentally, Bernhard uses the same term (*Lämmergeier*) for the birds on the tetradrachms of Kyrene which clearly derive from the Ialysean (or Paphian) prototype (see below, Related Coin Types, and *Pl. 3, I and J*). F.G. Hill in BMC Cyprus, p. lxxiv, had already hesitated between eagle and hawk, and more recently R. Matton, Villes et Paysages de Grèce: Rhodes (Athens 1959), called it a gerfalcon (*Falco rusticolus*), the most prized bird for falconry. However, «Vulture, eagle, hawk were practically synonymous, and even many of the larger sea birds were loosely thought of as eagles. When the natural historians begin their classification, starting from the popular notions, they are driven to all kinds of absurdities.» (W.R. Halliday, Greek Divination, quoted in J. Pollard, Birds in Greek Life and Myths, London 1977, p. 76). In view of this confusion and the information obtained from an Italian authority that it is the flight rather than the beak which allows definite classification, it seemed preferable to just call the bird an eagle.

## Catalogue

### *without legend*

- 1 O.1/R.1 Freeman & Sear Mail Bid 1, 1995, 69 = J.H. Kagan, NC 154, 1994, 22. 14.16 g.

### *with IEΛYΣION*

- 2 O.2/R.2 BMC 1, Pl. 35, 1 = *Traité* 2.I, 766, Pl. 20, 14. 14.42 g.  
3 O.2/R.2 SNG Keckman 302 = Rosen 649 = Asyut 793. 15.08 g.  
4 O.3/R.2 Hess-Leu, April 1957, 278 = de Sartiges 367 = Hirsch 25, 1909 (Philipsen), 2426. 14.56 g.

### *with IΑΛYΣION*

- 5 O.4/R.3 Berlin (Imh. Blumer); Monn. gr. p. 321, 123, Pl. F, 11. 14.84 g.  
6 O.4/R.3 Asyut 706. 14.91 g.  
7 O.5/R.4 BMC 2, Pl. 35, 2 = *Traité* 2.I, 767. 14.86 g.  
8 O.5/R.4 Lambros, cast in Winterthur. 14.70 g.  
9 O.5/R.4 Athens. JIAN 7, 1904, p. 382, 228, Pl. 16, 23 14.75 g.  
10 O.5/R.4 Berlin (Fox 1871). 14.72 g.  
11 O.5/R.4 Asyut 704. 14.67 g.  
12 O.5/R.4 Asyut 705. 13.02 g. (broken).  
13 O.6/R.5 SNG von Aulock 8185. 13.79 g.  
14 O.6/R.6 Paris, de Luynes 2718. 13.98 g.  
15 O.6/R.7 ANS = *Ars Classica* 15, 1930, 981. 14.07 g.  
16 O.7/R.8 Giessener Münzhandlung 69, 1994, 380 (ex 'ca 1993' hoard). 14.63 g.  
17 O.7/R.9 Boston, BMFA Suppl. 196. 14.72 g. (legend retrograde)  
18 O.7/R.10 SNG Keckman 300. 13.33 g.

### *On rev., IΑΛYΣION and astragal*

- 19 O.8/R.11 BM (1979.1-1.601) = SNG von Aulock 2774. 14.10 g. (legend retrograde)  
20 O.9/R.12 Hunter Coll. II p. 436, 1, Pl. 54, 19 = *Traité* 2.I, 771. 14.48 g.  
21 O.9/R.12 Berlin (Löbbecke). 13.99 g.

### *On obv., IΑΛYΣION and helmet; on rev., IΑΛYΣION (Σ retrograde) and floral scroll; large flan*

- 22 O.10/R.13 BMC 3, Pl. 35, 3 = *Traité* 2.2, 1683. 14.47 g.

*Frequency Table of Ialysos Staters*

15.10 - 15.05	*
15.05 - 15.00	
15.00 - 14.95	
14.95 - 14.90	*
14.90 - 14.85	*
14.85 - 14.80	*
14.80 - 14.75	*
14.75 - 14.70	* * * P
14.70 - 14.65	*
14.65 - 14.60	*
14.60 - 14.55	* P
14.55 - 14.50	
14.50 - 14.45	+ +
14.45 - 14.40	*
14.40 - 14.35	
14.35 - 14.30	
14.30 - 14.25	
14.25 - 14.20	
14.20 - 14.15	*
14.15 - 14.10	+
14.10 - 14.05	*
14.05 - 14.00	
14.00 - 13.95	* +
13.95 - 13.90	
13.90 - 13.85	
13.85 - 13.80	
13.80 - 13.75	*

Coins marked + are those with symbols; P are the palmette type (see below)

Most weights lie between 14.45 and 14.95 g, with one specimen (no. 3) higher and six specimens lower. Two of the recorded staters are definitely underweight because they are so poorly preserved: no. 12 (Asyut 704), at 13.02 g. is broken and no. 18 (Keckman 300), at 13.33 g. is exceptionally worn. Cahn's interesting suggestion that the weight was slowly being reduced so that the Ialysos staters would become interchangeable with those of Lindos, now seems unlikely.<sup>10</sup>

The standard of ca. 14.45 - 14.95 g was also used for two staters of an uncertain mint, very possibly Carian, which turned up in the Asyut hoard.<sup>11</sup> They have since

<sup>10</sup> Knidos, p. 190, n. 581. This theory is taken up by Bresson, pp. 219 and 221, and perhaps given too much weight.

<sup>11</sup> Asyut nos. 712-713.

been tentatively attributed to Samos and dated to ca 525.<sup>12</sup> Their unusual weight may indeed be related to Samos, as a stater of 14.5 g would correspond to four Samian drachms of ca 3.6 g.<sup>13</sup> For the intriguing possibility that the palmette staters should also be attributed to Ialysos, see A. Bresson, Appendix IV, below, p. 13.

In addition, a stater weight of ca 14.5 g also appears in two other coinages of the Cyclades or the western coast of Asia Minor. The first example is a stater of 14.45 g with a boar's head on the obverse which was found in the Santorini hoard of 1821<sup>14</sup> and which has recently been attributed to the island of Kythnos.<sup>15</sup> In the second instance, this weight has recently been connected with uncertain half staters bearing a ketos which are tentatively attributed to the Carian city of Kindya.<sup>16</sup>

Coinage at Ialysos was apparently not struck continuously. There is a first issue (no. 1) which is known from the '1990' Hoard, certainly deposited before the end of the 6th century, thus pointing to a date of ca 520 for the start of the coinage. The bulk (nos. 2-18) probably dates to ca 510-480, as was also suggested by Price and Waggoner.<sup>17</sup> The ethnic on the smaller, earlier pieces reads *IEΛYΣION* (nos. 2-4), while the main issue has *IAΛYΣION*, sometimes written retrograde. This is followed by the slightly later group with symbols, an astragal (nos. 19-21) and, on the last one, a helmet (no. 22); this last specimen is struck on a larger and thinner flan than the others. The thirds all seem to fit in with the later main issues, and can be dated to ca 490-480.<sup>17A</sup>

The staters and thirds of Ialysos must have been struck in relatively small quantities and hardly ever appear in hoards. There were no staters in the large 'Decadrachm Hoard' which contained 289 staters of Kameiros (more than 10 % of the entire hoard) and six staters of Lindos.<sup>18</sup> Four staters were found in the Asyut Hoard (IGCH 1644), here nos. 3, 6, 11 and 12. There was one in the '1990' hoard,<sup>19</sup> here no. 1, and one in the 'ca 1993 Hoard', here no. 16. As for the thirds, one was found at Demanhur (IGCH 1637), one at Sakha (IGCH 1630) and a third on Rhodes in 1880 (IGCH 1185).

<sup>12</sup> N.M. Waggoner, *Three Recent Greek Accessions*, ANSMN 21, 1976, p. 5-9.

<sup>13</sup> Cahn, *Lindos* (above, n. 8), p. 25.

<sup>14</sup> IGCH 7. W. Wroth, NC 1884, p. 276, G 1 and pl. 12, 9. Of the same weight, 227 grains, is a second stater in the Santorini hoard with a fish's head and the tail of a fish, Wroth, *ibid.*, C 1 and pl. 12, 6, possibly a very early issue of Kyzikos.

<sup>15</sup> A.K. Kyrou and D.N. Artemis, *The Silver Coinage of Kithnos in the Early Fifth Century BC.*, in: *Numismatic Studies in Memory of Martin Price*, R. Ashton and S. Hurter (Eds.) (London 1997). p. 233-236.

<sup>16</sup> J.H. Kagan and B. Kritt, *The Coinage of Kindya*, NC 155, 1995, p. 263-5.

<sup>17</sup> Asyut, p. 95 «no earlier than 510».

<sup>17A</sup> It is tempting to connect the coinage with Themistokles' expedition to extort money from the Cycladic islands which apparently brought him as far as Rhodes. Among other things he failed to restore the oligarch Timokreon to his native Ialysos; see R. Meiggs, *The Athenian Empire* (Oxford 1997), p. 414-415.

<sup>18</sup> See CAAPE (above, n. 7), p. 9.

### *Related Coin Types*

*Obverses.* Foreparts of winged boars appear on coins struck by several mints in western Asia Minor: on an electrum stater tentatively attributed to Klazomenai and dated to the Ionian Revolt (*Pl. 3, A*);<sup>20</sup> on the early didrachms of Klazomenai which began to be struck around 520 (*Pl. 3, B*),<sup>21</sup> on 'winged boar' drachms of Samos dated to 526-522 (*Pl. 3, C*),<sup>22</sup> on electrum staters of Kyzikos (*Pl. 3, D*) and on several issues of early electrum hektai of Mytilene which date to the period 521-478 (*Pl. 3, E and F*).<sup>23</sup> However, on none of these comparison coinages does the animal have the compact strength as it has on the obverses of no. 1-6 at Ialysos.

*Reverses.* At 'Paphos' in Cyprus we find eagle heads,<sup>24</sup> with palmette in the field, which date to the late 6th or the early 5th century B.C. and strongly resemble those of Ialysos (*Pl. 3, G and H*).<sup>25</sup> They also appear on the early, ca. 495/90, tetradrachms of Kyrene, again with palmette (*Pl. 3, I and J*).<sup>26</sup> While there the basic type probably derives from Ialysos, there are also Cypriote elements, not surprising given the commercial ties which existed between Kyrene, Rhodes and Cyprus. The eagle heads on three Lycian coins known from Asyut, nos. 762-764, are somewhat later and copy the Ialysos issues. Kagan convincingly argues that the Cypriote issues, rather than those of Ialysos, are likely to be the prototypes for the coins from Lycia and Kyrene.<sup>27</sup>

If the bird were an eagle, it would be sacred to Zeus who had a sanctuary on top of mount Atabyros.<sup>28</sup> If it were a falcon or hawk, it would be a reference to the Triopian Apollo,<sup>29</sup> as tentatively suggested by Hill.<sup>30</sup> The vulture has a vague connection with Athena.<sup>31</sup> They all were birds of prey common in this part of the Mediterranean.

<sup>19</sup> Kagan, p. 23, 22.

<sup>20</sup> BMC Ionia 38, pl. 1, 21; Boston MFA 1811.

<sup>21</sup> BMC 3sq., pl. 6, 1.

<sup>22</sup> J.P. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London 1966), p. 168, 1sq.

<sup>23</sup> F. Bodenstein, *Die Elektronmünzen von Phokaia und Mytilene* (Tübingen 1981), My 6. 10. 15. 17

<sup>24</sup> See above, n. 9, about the bird's identification.

<sup>25</sup> Asyut 783-6; Kagan pl. 6, A and B. See also E.S.G. Robinson, *Notes on the Larnaca Hoard*, NC 1935, p. 184 and pl. 14.

<sup>26</sup> Asyut 818.

<sup>27</sup> Kagan, p. 37.

<sup>28</sup> On Zeus Atabyrios see A. Bresson, *Rhodes. L'Hellénion et le status de Naucratis*, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 6, 1980, p. 307-308.

<sup>29</sup> «Apollo's swift messenger» Homer, *Od. XV*, 525.

<sup>30</sup> BMC Cyprus, p. lxxiv, n. 3.

<sup>31</sup> «At Zeus' bidding, she leaped through the air of heaven like a long-winged lammergeyer with a shrill scream» *Od. XIX*, 349 f., quoted from Pollard (above, n. 9), p. 157.

## Appendix: I The Third Staters

- 1 Berlin. ZfN 22, 1900, 242, pl. 8, 9. 4.82 g. (*Pl. 3, 1*)
- 2 Brussels. De Hirsch 1551. J.H. Kagan, IGCH 1185 Reconsidered, RBN 138, 1992, p. 13-14, 26. 4.82 g. (*Pl. 3, 2*)
- 3 Hirsch 7, 1902, 376 = ZfN 37, 1927, 114. 4.84 g. (*Pl. 3, 3*)
- 4 MM 72, 1987, 319 (Rosen 650) = Leu 18, 1977, 204. 5.08 g. (*Pl. 3, 4*)
- 5 Leu 50, 1990, 171 = MM 41, 1970, = Hess-Leu 1954, 166 = Jameson 1562 = Hirsch 25, 1909, 2429. 4.83 g. (*Pl. 3, 5*)
- 6 London. BMC 7 = Traité 2.1 768. 4.89 g. (*Pl. 3, 6*)

## II The Smaller Fractions<sup>32</sup>

While fractions were seldom struck at Kameiros, and were even rarer at Lindos, Ialysos issued numerous fractions of varying weight, but with the same types as the staters and the thirds. The main denomination is a coin weighing between ca. 1.96 g and ca 2.4 g. Termed an Aeginetic diobol in the Traité and a Milesian sixth in the BMC,<sup>33</sup> it has recently been suggested that they are, in fact, tetrobols on the Samian standard.<sup>34</sup> These coins either have the floral scroll as found on the larger coins (*Pl. 3, 7*)<sup>35</sup> or an arrangement of three oblong leaves (*Pl. 3, 8-9*).<sup>36</sup> There is a half of ca 1 g, termed an Aeginetic diobol (surely a typographical error) in the Traité, a Milesian twelfth in BMC and an Aeginetic obol by Cahn<sup>37</sup> which is now thought to be a Samian diobol<sup>38</sup> (*Pl. 3, 10-11*).<sup>39</sup> Finally, there is a quarter of ca 0.4-0.5 g, presumably a Samian obol (*Pl. 3, 12*).<sup>40</sup>

The palmette staters also have fractions on the same Samian weight standard: a diobol of 1.00 g<sup>41</sup> and an obol of 0.5 g<sup>42</sup> are known (*Pl. 4, P 3-4*).

Later, after 480, Kameiros, Lindos and Ialysos all issued fractions of varying weight bearing on their obverses the forepart of a horse (pegasos at Ialysos) and a civic symbol on the reverse: a fig leaf at Kameiros, a lion's head at Lindos, and a rose at Ialysos. All also have the civic ethnic making their attribution certain: at Ialysos, A - I (*Pl. 3, 13*).<sup>43</sup>

In addition, as at both Kameiros and Lindos, Ialysos struck electrum fractions of which three certain examples are known. Cahn provides a list of six pieces;<sup>44</sup> his nos.

<sup>32</sup> A few selected specimens are illustrated on Pl. 3 and 4.

<sup>33</sup> Traité 2.1 769 = BMC 8.

<sup>34</sup> Kagan and Kritz (above, n. 16), p. 264.

<sup>35</sup> Naville 1, 1921 (Pozzi), 2673.

<sup>36</sup> Hirsch 21, 1908, 3239; Sir Hermann Weber Coll. 6708.

<sup>37</sup> Traité 770; BMC 4-5; Cahn, Knidos, p. 190.

<sup>38</sup> Kagan and Kritz (above, n. 16), p. 264.

<sup>39</sup> Hirsch 15, 196, 2427.

<sup>40</sup> BMC 6, termed there an Aeginetic hemiobol.

<sup>41</sup> Bresson no. 3: SNG Cop. 34, 337.

<sup>42</sup> Bresson no. 4: BM, unpublished.

<sup>43</sup> BMC 8; Traité 2.1 cols. 474. 478.

<sup>44</sup> Cahn, Knidos, p. 190, n. 584.

a and b, are Ionian incerta rather than Ialysos<sup>45</sup> and his no. e has been relegated to the forgeries of the Bibliothèque Nationale.<sup>46</sup> The certain coins are

a 0.97 g Hirsch 13, 1905 (Rhousopoulos), 3997 (*Pl. 4, 14*)

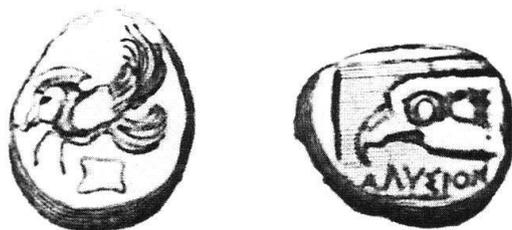
b 0.47 g Hirsch 13, 1905 (Rhousopoulos), 3998 (*Pl. 4, 15*)

c 0.23 g Hirsch 13, 1905 (Rhousopoulos), 3999 (*Pl. 4, 16*)

Cahn terms them Aeginetic hektes, hemihektes and myshemihektes, the electrum equivalent by weight of silver obols, hemiobols and quarter obols<sup>47</sup> though, of course, they could just as well be struck on the Samian standard. We can assume that the three specimens in the Rhousopoulos collection came from a single hoard, but where this hoard was found, and what else was in it, is unfortunately unknown. It would not be impossible that other known electrum fractions from Kameiros and Lindos were found with them as well, given the groups which appeared at auctions from 1905 to 1909.

### III Counterfeits

By the end of the 19th century only two or three staters of Ialysos were known, and it is not surprising that these rare coins inspired counterfeiters. Interestingly enough, it was the Hunter specimen, the first example of a Ialysos stater known, which served as the model for the forgeries. An engraving of it had appeared in the first publication of the Hunterian coins,<sup>48</sup> classified among the «nummi incerti» (*see Fig. 1*).<sup>49</sup> The first of the struck counterfeits copying the Hunter specimen appeared in 1907, in auction Hirsch 18, 1907, 2483, and we can assume that they were made around the turn of the century. There are also some cast forgeries made from these struck counterfeits; but these are not difficult to detect and are not recorded here.



*Fig. 1*

<sup>45</sup> *Traité* 2.1, 130, pl. 4, 8 (misdescribed «tête de phoque»).

<sup>46</sup> *Traité* 2.1, 105 (with I-A). We are indebted to Michel Amandry for this information.

<sup>47</sup> *Knidos*, p. 185.

<sup>48</sup> Ch. Combe, *Numorum veterum populorum et urbium qui in Museo Gulielmi Hunter* (London 1782).

<sup>49</sup> It should perhaps be added that both authors had originally viewed nos. 20 and 21 with a certain suspicion which, however, proved unfounded. The fact that the Hunter coin was first published as «uncertain» is an additional argument in favor of its authenticity.

*On obv., floral symbol (rose); no floral scroll on rev.*

- 1 O.1/R.1 Oxford (ACGC 94), ex Jameson 1561, ex Hirsch 18, 1907 ('Foreign diplomat'), 2483 (Traité 2.I, 1682). 14.06 g. (*Pl. 4, F 1*)
- 2 O.1/R.1 Ex. Lockett. Glendining 1961 (Lockett IV), 2410 = SNG Lockett 2936. 14.03 g. (*Pl. 4, F 2*)
- 3 O.1/R.1 Nanteuil 584. 14.69 g. (*Pl. 4, F 3*)
- 4 O.1/R.1 Ex. Pozzi. *Ars Classica* 17, 1934, 573 = Naville 10, 1935, 715 = Naville 1, 1921 (Pozzi), 2672. 14.55 g. (*Pl. 4, F 4*)
- 5 O.2/R.1 Ex. von Aulock. MM 61, 1982, 150 = SNG von Aulock 2773. 14.08 g (*Pl. 4, F 5*)
- 6 O.2/R.1 Oxford. 13.38 g. Robinson gift 1964. (*Pl. 4, F 6*)

No counterfeits of third staters or of smaller fractions are known to the authors.

#### *IV Other Coins Which Have Been Attributed to Ialysos*

In 1981, Alain Bresson presented a number of good arguments for attributing the palmette staters (*Pl. 4, P. 1 and P. 2*)<sup>50</sup> and their accompanying fractions (see above, p. 9) to Ialysos. There is a close resemblance between the coin's type and the palmette decorations on cups found at Kameiros and Ialysos<sup>51</sup> and on a spectacular 7th century BC Rhodian dish.<sup>52</sup> The weight standard of the palmette coins is, as we have seen, the same idiosyncratic one as that used for the boar's head/eagle staters of Ialysos. In addition, the typically 'Carian' reverse of two incuse rectangles is shared with staters of Kameiros and the earlier series of Lindos. This very plausible suggestion would provide Ialysos with an early coinage with the same reverse type as that of its sister cities, before the start of the winged boar/eagle issues. Bresson connects the palmette coins with Polykrates' thalassocracy and dates them to ca. 540-530.<sup>53</sup> That Ialysos formed part of Polykrates' domain seems certain from a verse of his court poet Anakreon «Once again this man plucks (i.e. mocks) the blue-shielded men of Ialysus».<sup>54</sup> According to Bresson, the palmette staters were almost immediately followed by the winged boar staters, though the date of ca 530 he suggests for their inception seems rather too early.

<sup>50</sup> Asyut nos. 712 and 713.

<sup>51</sup> Bresson, p. 217, 1 and 2.

<sup>52</sup> D. von Bothmer (ed). *Glories of the Past. Ancient Art from the Shelby White and Leon Levy Collection* (New York 1990), no. 83.

<sup>53</sup> Bresson, p. 226.

<sup>54</sup> Greek Lyric, with an English translation by D.A. Campbell (Cambridge, Mass. / London 1988), p. 49, 349.

As Bresson argued and as was already pointed out in Asyut, the reverse type of the palmette staters strongly suggests a Carian origin. It would, moreover, provide Ialysos with an early coinage having the same reverse type as that used by both Kameiros and Lindos. While it may seem unlikely that two so fundamentally different coin types could follow each other so closely, political or commercial changes can lead to major changes in coin types. A perfect example is the change from the varying 'Wappenmünzen' types to the invariable Athena/Owl type at Athens, coincidentally at roughly the same time as it would have occurred at Ialysos.<sup>55</sup> While we are not entirely convinced by Bresson's arguments, and at present prefer to retain the palmette staters as Caria incerta, further evidence may well prove him right.

### *Zusammenfassung*

Die Silberprägung der Stadt Ialysos auf Rhodos setzte im letzten Viertel des 6. Jh. ein. Die äusserst seltene Prägung erfolgte nicht durchgehend, sondern konzentrierte sich in den Jahren ca 510-480, wo sie auch von Drittelstateren und kleineren Fraktionen begleitet ist. Dabei verwendete Ialysos einen ungewöhnlichen Münzfuss mit einem Stater von ca 14.6 g, der nur selten und nur im karischen Raum vorkommt. Neben den Silbermünzen finden sich ganz vereinzelt Fraktionen in Elektron. Die Münzbilder zeigen auf der Vorderseite die Protome eines geflügelten Ebers, auf der Rückseite einen Adlerkopf; sie bleiben während der gesamten Prägetätigkeit unverändert. Im Jahr 408 ging Ialysos als einer der drei rhodischen Städte in der neu gegründeten Stadt Rhodos auf.

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<sup>55</sup> For Athens see e.g. J.H. Kroll, From Wappenmünzen to Gorgoneia to Owls, ANSMN 26, 1981, p. 1-32.

*Key to Plates 1 – 4*

*Plates 1 and 2*

See catalogue p. 7

*Plate 3*

Comparanda

- A Uncertain Ionian. EL Stater. Leu 38, 1987, 110
- B Klazomenai. Didrachm. Sotheby's, 7 March 1996, 113
- C Samos. 'Winged boar' Drachm. Leu 2, 1972, 248
- D Kyzikos, EL Stater. London, BMC 52
- E Mytilene. EL Hekte. London, BMC 4
- F Mytilene. EL Hekte. Leu 42, 1987, 291
- G 'Paphos'. Stater. Berlin. See BMC pl. 14, 4
- H 'Paphos'. Stater. NC 1935, pl. 14, 4
- I Kyrene. Tetradrachm. Asyut 818
- J Kyrene. Tetradrachm. BMC 13, pl. 3, 4

Third Staters, see p. 11, 1-6

Smaller Fractions

Tetrobols

- 7 Naville 1, 1921 (Pozzi), 2678. 1.91 g.
- 8 Hirsch 21, 1908, 3239. 1.96 g.
- 9 Sir Hermann Weber 6708. 2.33 g.

Diobols

- 10 Berlin (Imhoof-Blumer). 0.88 g.
- 11 Berlin (Löbbecke). 0.99 g.

Obol

- 12 Berlin (Löbbecke). 0.50 g.

'Obol'

- 13 BMC 8. ca. 0.42 g (6.5 grains)

*Plate 4*

Electrum

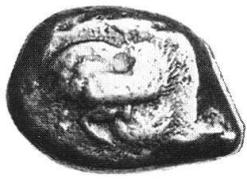
- 14 Hirsch 13, 1905, 3997. 0.97 g.
- 15 Hirsch 13, 1905, 3998. 0.47 g.
- 16 Hirsch 13, 1905, 3999. 0.23 g.

Counterfeits, see p. 12

Palmette Coins

- P 1 Asyut 712. 15.13 g.
- P 2 ANS. Asyut 713. 14.71 g.
- P 3 Copenhagen. SNG 34, 337. 1.00 g.
- P 4 London, BM. 0.50 g.





1



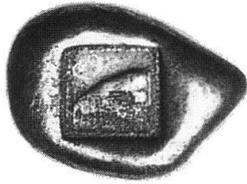
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3



4



5



6



7



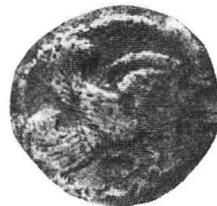
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9



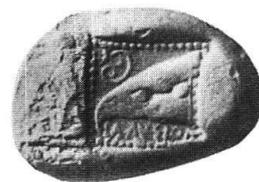
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21



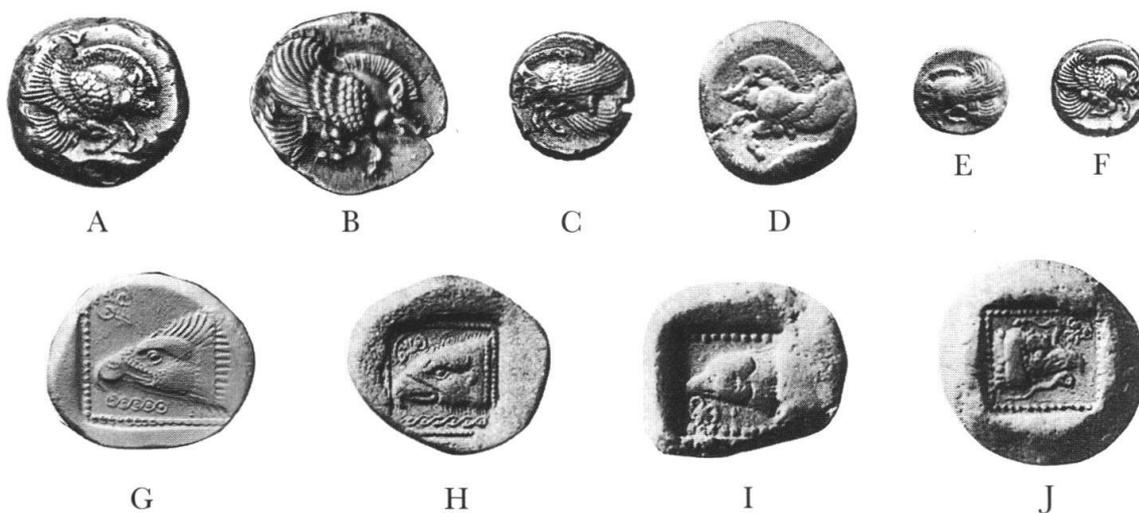
22





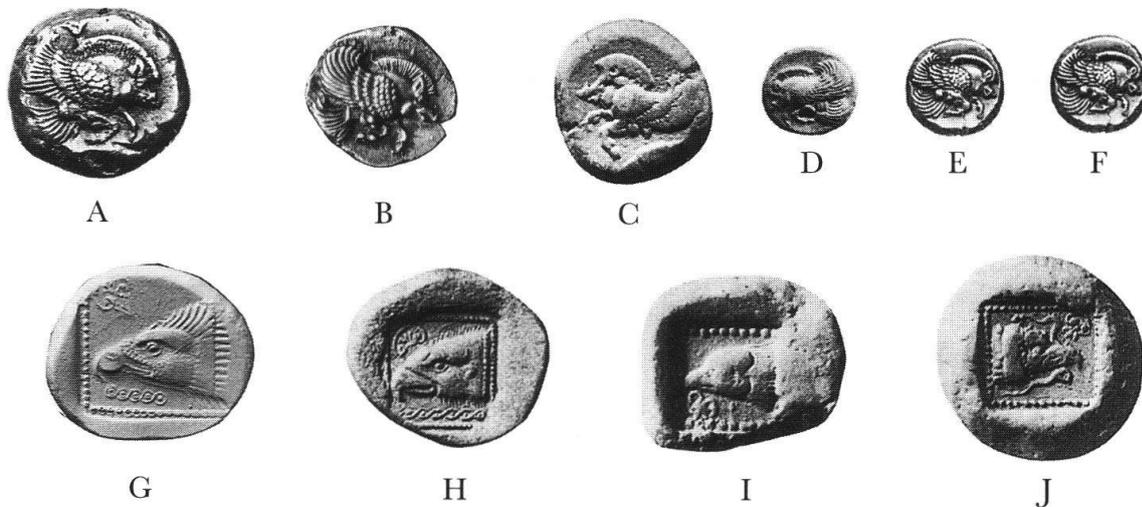
## ERRATA

Weiss-Hurter, Plate 3, Comparanda



- A Uncertain Ionian. EL Stater. *Leu* 38, 1986, 110
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- E Mytilene. EL Hekte. London, BMC 4
- F Mytilene. EL Hekte. *Leu* 42, 1987, 291
- G 'Paphos'. Stater. Berlin. See BMC pl. 7, 6
- H 'Paphos'. Stater. NC 1935, pl. 14, 4
- I Kyrene. Tetradrachm. *Asyut* 818
- J Kyrene. Tetradrachm. BMC 13, pl. 3, 4

Comparanda



Third Staters



Silver Fractions





Electrum Fractions



Counterfeit Staters



Palmette Coins

