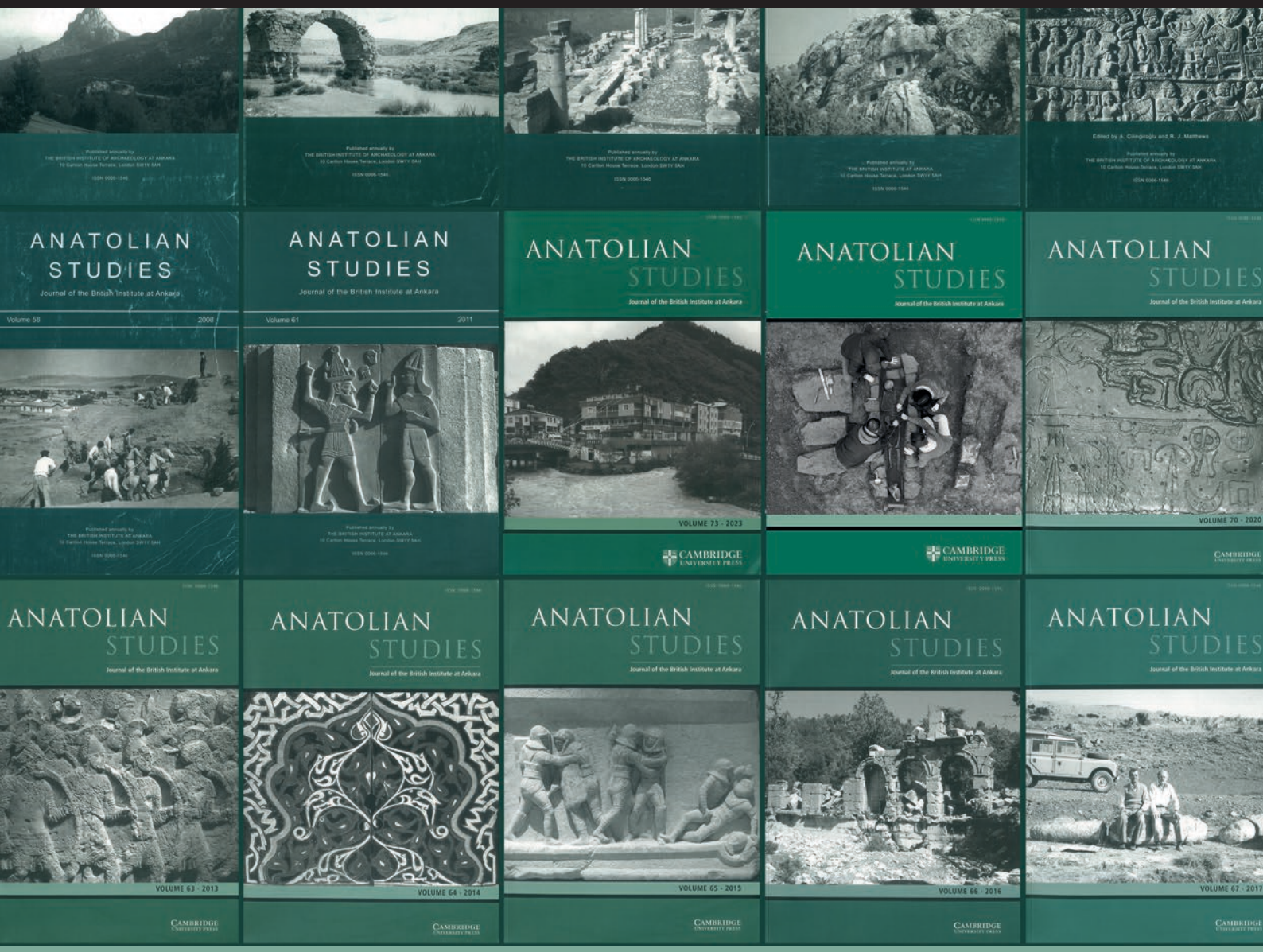
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ANATOLIAN STUDIES

Journal of the British Institute at Ankara



75th ANNIVERSARY · 2025

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BIAA British Institute at Ankara

ANATOLIAN STUDIES

Journal of the British Institute at Ankara

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It is with great pleasure that we present the 75th anniversary edition of *Anatolian Studies* and dedicate it to our readers. In the decades since its 1951 inaugural issue, the fields Anatolian and Black Sea Studies have expanded enormously, as has the research remit of the journal and its parent organisation, the British Institute at Ankara. As an illustration of this, the cover of this anniversary issue features some memorable past covers, showcasing this diversity.

It is worth taking a moment to acknowledge a few key figures from the journal's past, including David French, Roger Matthews and Gina Coulthard. The current editorial team thank them for their vision and expertise, and hope our work has continued to honour their legacy. We would also like to take this moment to introduce Global Professor Tuna Şare Ağtürk of the University of Oxford and Associate Professor Emma L. Baysal of Bilkent University, who will jointly be transitioning into the role of Academic Editor beginning with the 2026 volume. We are proud to welcome them to the team!

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Overlapping maritime networks of Patara in the fourth and third centuries BC: Evidence of bronze coinage and transport amphora

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Abstract
This study examines the maritime networks of Patara during the fourth and third centuries BC, employing numismatic and amphora evidence as proxies indicative of the city's significant role in ancient maritime routes. The two types of evidence offer perspectives on two different types of connectivity. The numismatic analysis focuses on the presence in Patara of low-value civic bronze coins minted by non-Lycian cities, thereby offering a window onto human mobility at the scale of the individual traveller, not necessarily the traders. In contrast, an examination of transport amphorae imported to Patara helps to reveal the extent of Patara's commercial connections. These findings enhance our comprehension of Patara's crucial role in ancient maritime networks, illuminating the interdependence of Mediterranean societies during this period. They demonstrate the complexity of these networks, suggesting that different kinds of networks operated simultaneously. This research contributes to the discourse on ancient maritime mobilities, considering the overlaps and interactions between different forms and scales of connectivity.

Özet
Bu çalışmada, Patara'nın MÖ dördüncü ve üçüncü yüzyıllardaki deniz bağlantıları, kentin antik dönem denizcilik rotalarındaki önemli rolünün göstergesi olarak nümismatik ve amphora buluntuları ışığında incelenmektedir. Bu iki veri grubu, iki farklı bağlantı türüne ilişkin bakış açıları sunar. Nümismatik analiz, Patara'da ele geçen ve Likya dışındaki kentler tarafından darp edilmiş düşük değerdeki sivil bronz sikkeler üzerine odaklanmakta, böylece yalnızca tüccarların değil, bireysel gezginler ölçeğinde insan hareketliliğine bir pencere sunmaktadır. Buna karşılık, Patara'ya ithal edilen amphoraların incelenmesi, kentin ticari bağlantılarının kapsamı hakkında deliller sunar. Söz konusu veriler, Patara'nın antik deniz ağlarındaki önemli rolüne ilişkin kavrayışımızı geliştirmekte ve ilgili dönemde Akdeniz toplumlarının birbirlerine olan karşılıklı bağlılığını da aydınlatmaktadır. Dahası, bu ağların karmaşıklığı ile farklı türden ağların aynı anda işlediğini de bizlere göstermektedir. Bu araştırma, farklı bağlantı türleri ve ölçekleri arasındaki kesişim ve etkileşimleri dikkate alarak antik dönem deniz hareketliliğine ilişkin çalışmalara katkı sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

The region of Lycia, located in the southwest of Asia Minor, played a significant role in the maritime networks of antiquity (Pryor 1992: 6–7, 90, 99; Keen 1993: 72; Arnaud 2005: 13–14, 72, 99, 131, 138, 141, 207–11; Davis 2009: 70, 79, 219) (Fig. 1). This role is well attested by shipwrecks from the Late Bronze Age (e.g. the Ulu Burun wreck: see Bass et al. 1984; 1989; and the Gelidonya wreck: see Bass 1964; Bass et al. 1967; Gelsdorf 1994: 751–58; Arnaud 2005: 215–16; Tammuz 2005: 145–62; Davis 2009: 79, 220), through the early Archaic period (e.g. the Kekova Island wreck; see Pulak 1998: 313–14; Greene et al. 2011: 60–65). The rugged Lycian terrain made seafaring an attractive means of travel and transportation (Pseudo Scylax [*Periplous* 99–101] lists 25 naval stands on a route from Kaunos in eastern Karia to Syedra in Pamphylia in the fourth century BC) rather than overland transportation. Within Lycia, the city of Patara held significant importance as one of the

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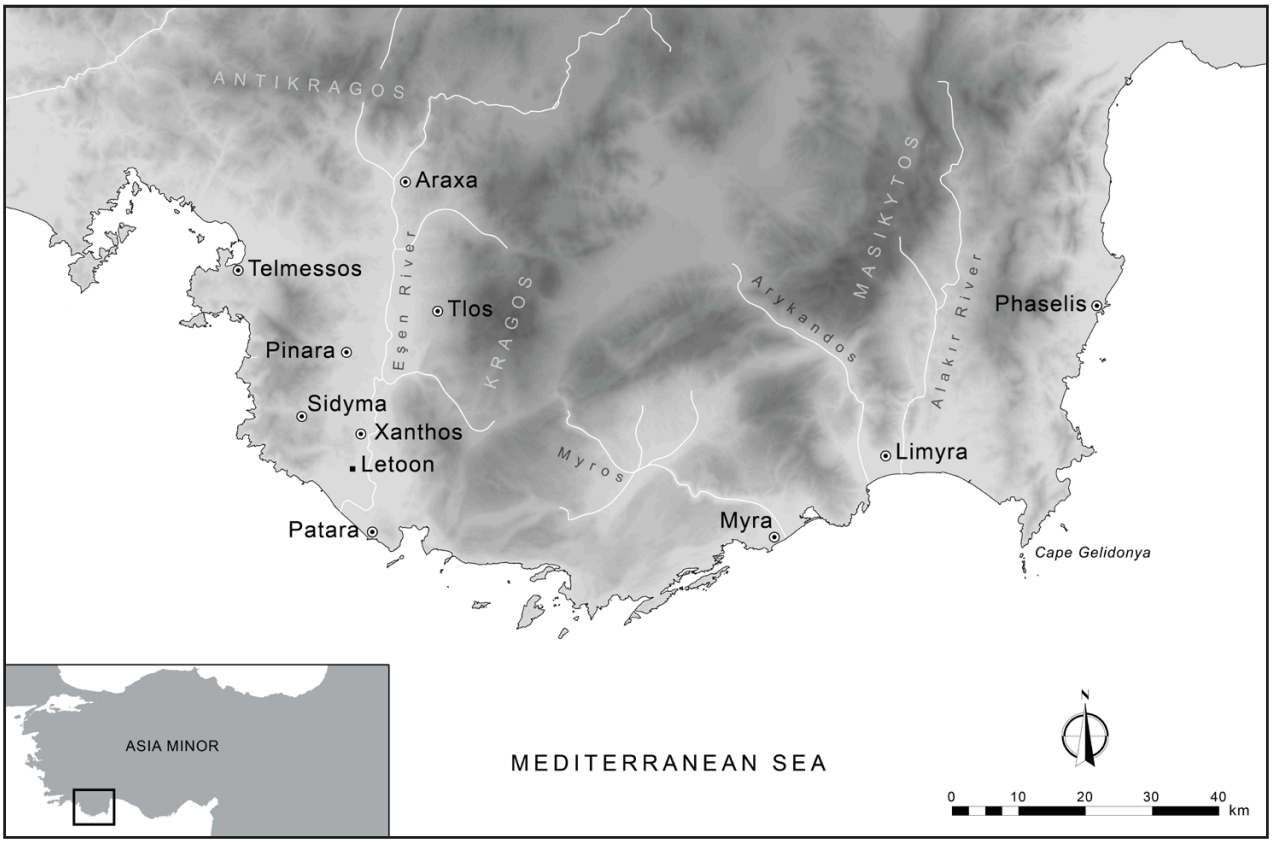


Figure 1. Lycian region (map by authors).

most prominent cities of the region (Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* 19.64.5–8, 20.93; Keen 1993). With its strategic location, the city boasted one of the largest harbours in Lycia, serving the Xanthos Valley as a gateway to inland networks (for Lycian inland networks in the Roman period, see Onur 2016; 2017; 2019). We know, then, that Patara was well connected by both sea and land routes (Fig. 1).

In antiquity, however, as today, networks of trade and communication were never singular. Instead, they were comprised of many overlapping networks (Arnaud 2005: 7–14; Leidwanger, Knappett 2018: 1–21). By examining the evidence of bronze coinage on the one hand, and transport amphorae on the other, we can shed light on two very different networks operating simultaneously at Patara.

Bronze coins of small denominations offer us insight into the movements of individual travellers. It has been established that bronze coins do not usually circulate far from where they were minted (Robert 1951: 77–78, n. 8; Psoma et al. 2008: 243, n. 1; Callataÿ 2016: 259–60) and are not often found in distant sites (Frey-Kupper, Stannard 2019: 154–55). These coins had a limited validity and use, and were not used for trade or transactions at a large commercial or economic scale. Their presence in cities beyond that of their minting, therefore, is primarily related to the mobility of individuals (on the circulation of bronze coins found in excavations, see Amandry 2011: 485–86). Such coins would have been the personal property of mobile individuals of various sorts, not only traders but potentially also ambassadors, pilgrims, artists, mercenaries and athletes (Callataÿ 2016: 258–60; Lenger 2022: 73–75). While coins do not necessarily indicate trade and communication routes per se, they do have the potential to give us a sense of the wider network. By identifying the range of such coins minted by foreign cities in Patara, we can better understand the small-scale and individual human networks of maritime mobility that connected the city to others. In contrast, transport amphorae give us insight into maritime networks of both a qualitatively and quantitatively different sort, indicating large-scale economic exchange in bulk commodities (Peacock, Williams 1986; Lawall 2016; Arthur et al. 2018).

The transition from the Late Classical to the Early Hellenistic period, particularly during the fourth and third centuries BC, marked a time of significant change for the city. Patara became increasingly integrated into the broader Hellenistic world. The city, along with its sheltered harbour, played a pivotal role in the power struggles among the Macedonian successors following the death of Alexander the Great. Initially, Patara fell under the control of Antigonos Monophthalmos and his son, Demetrios

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Poliorcetes, until the Battle of Ipsos in 301 BC, which resulted in Antigonos's death (Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* 21.1.4b; Billows 1990: 184–85). However, recent archaeological excavations in Patara suggest that, despite this defeat, Demetrios Poliorcetes continued to rule the city until the early 280s BC. Shortly before Demetrios surrendered to Seleucus I Nicator in Cilicia in 285 BC (Plutarch, *Life of Demetrius* 49.5–50.6), Patara, along with the rest of Lycia, appears to have come under the rule of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Hölbl 2001: 23; cf. Wörrle 2012: 368). During the nearly century-long rule of the Ptolemaic dynasty, the city was renamed 'Arsinoë' in honour of Arsinoe II, the sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Strabon *Geographika* 14.3.6).

In the following sections, we examine the evidence for simultaneous and overlapping maritime networks before considering their significance within the changing historical context. First, however, we establish the archaeological context of the finds.

The archaeological context – the Tepecik hill

Approximately 80% of the materials to be evaluated in this study originate from the Tepecik hill. Located north of the city centre and the inner harbour of Patara, and east of the ancient harbour bay, the Tepecik hill is a natural promontory 30m high and approximately 280 x 300m wide at its base (Fig. 2). Due to its central location, it dominated both land and sea routes to the city and provided strategic defence. Its habitable environment has attracted settlers since prehistoric times. Recent studies conducted at Tepecik have revealed the existence of a fortified settlement dating back to the sixth century BC (Işın 2010). Initially, the settlement operated under dynastic rule, but, due to its strategic importance, it evolved into a fortified garrison settlement by the mid-fourth century BC under the Hecatomnids (Dündar, Rauh 2017; Dündar 2019).

Archaeological excavations in Patara have further clarified the importance of the Tepecik hill in the Hellenistic period. These excavations show that a large number of

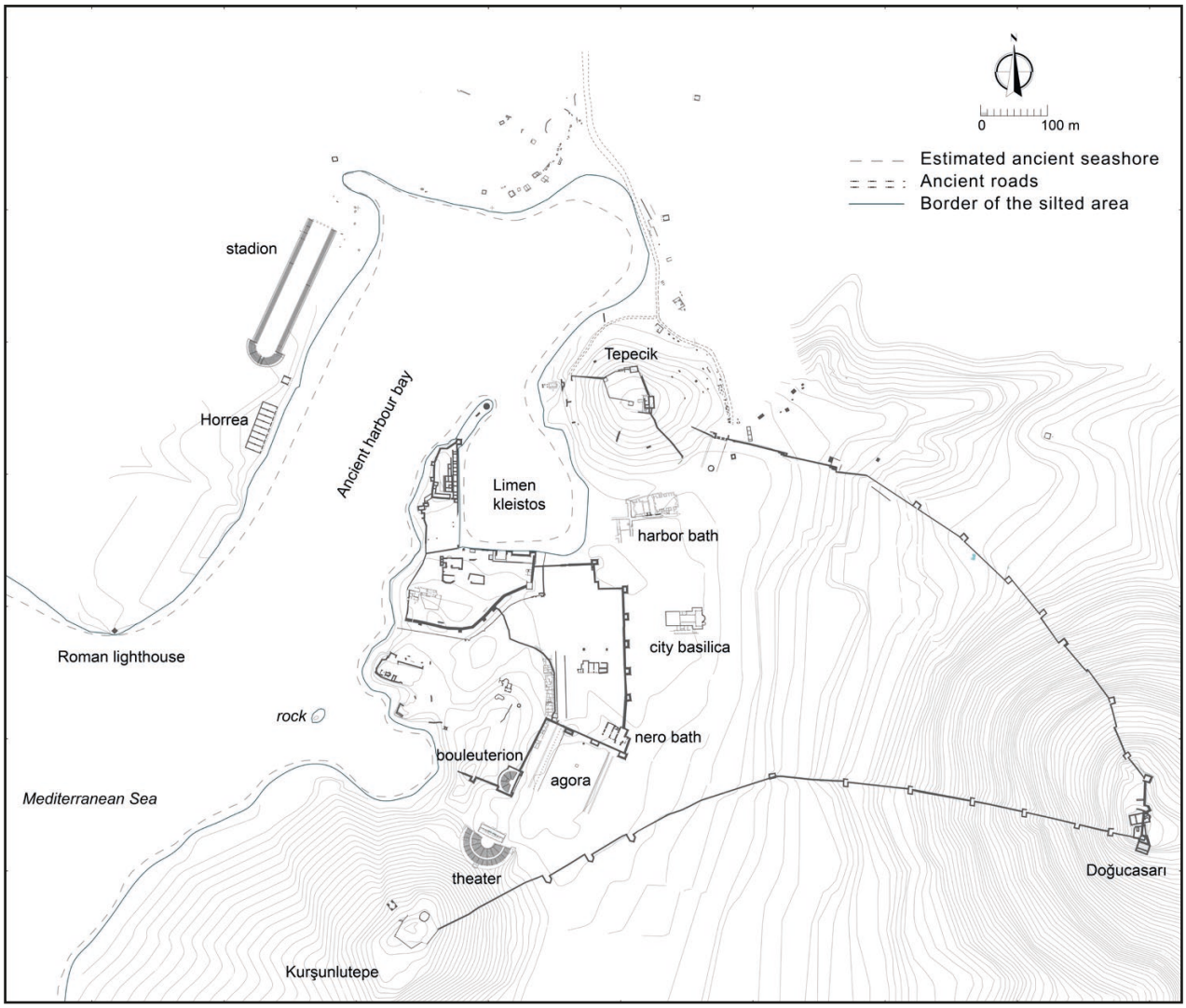


Figure 2. City plan of Patara, Lycia (The Patara Excavations Archive).

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commercial amphorae dating to the fourth and third centuries BC were concentrated in Tepecik. Approximately 90% of the commercial amphorae from these periods were recovered from this area. Additionally, a total of 1,732 amphora stamps dating to the Hellenistic period have been identified throughout the city. Among these, 380 out of 551 examples (68.96%) that were dated to the fourth and third centuries BC were also found in Tepecik, clearly highlighting the settlement's significant role during the Hellenistic period.

The Tepecik hill was a military garrison during the hegemony of the Hecatomnids, the Macedonians and then the Ptolemies. On the other hand, the main reason for the large number of coins from there is that the settlement of Tepecik was not extensively settled after the second century BC (Dündar 2019: 150). The rest of Patara, on the other hand, was continuously inhabited from the Roman era into the 12th century AD (İşkan 2016). This is the main reason for the small sample size. Among the 30 coins from other areas found in Patara, excluding Rhodian coins, only five are from other excavated parts of Patara. Since Tepecik was not settled in the late Hellenistic period and after, it is easier to reach Hellenistic materials. The discovery of this number of coins would not have been possible without Tepecik. This is evidenced in the landmark study by Özüdoğru, who published the coin finds from Patara between 1989 and 2001, a period during which Tepecik was not subject to systematic excavation. Out of 274 coins, only five are foreign coins from the Hellenistic period (Özüdoğru 2002: 60–61). The excavations in Tepecik represented a significant shift in this outcome. Despite the limited excavation area of just 2,500m^2, the site yielded an impressive 700+ coins, the vast majority of which are pre-Roman. Based on preliminary findings of the ongoing studies, the distribution of identifiable pre-Roman coins as of 2022 is as follows: sixth-to-fifth-century coins (35 examples), Hellenistic royal coins (228 examples), Lycian League coins (36 examples) and Rhodian coins (67 examples), as detailed below. Additionally, a total of 39 foreign civic coins have been discovered at Tepecik, three of which date to the late Hellenistic period.

Regarding the Hellenistic period coins, Side's material record reveals data analogous to that of Patara. Only a total of 49 coins were unearthed between the years 1947 and 2015, with the exclusion of Roman provincial coins (Tek 2016: 234). So, as the sites continued to be settled and major harbour cities like Patara grew tremendously during the Roman era, partly as a result of a variety of developments in public infrastructure, coin finds from the Hellenistic period tended to be less common.

In particular, the movement of troops/armies is the first that comes to mind, given that the Tepecik settlement was a military garrison. As early as the Hecatomnids' control, Tepecik functioned as a garrison, and it continued to exist during the hegemony of the Macedonians and then of the Ptolemies (Dündar, Rauh 2017; Lenger, Dündar 2021; Dündar, Lenger 2022; Dündar 2023).

Foreign bronze coins

Coins from many different cities have been unearthed during the excavations in Patara (Özüdoğru 2002; Lenger 2019). Among these are specimens from eastern Lycia, from neighbouring regions such as Karia and Pamphylia, and from more distant territories. Most of these coins unearthed during excavations are bronze issues. The number of specimens that can be identified and classified is quite low compared to the total; since a significant number are in poor condition, some specimens had to be given a wide date range. Nevertheless, the coins with a more uncertain date are also included in this study, the majority of which were found in the Tepecik settlement.

The total number of bronze civic issues unearthed and identified during the excavations at Patara that date from the fourth and third centuries BC and immediately thereafter

Region	**Settlements**
Pamphylia	Side (2 coins)
Lycia	Phaselis (6 coins)
Karia	Kaunos (6 coins) Bargylia (2 coins) Knidos (1 coin) Nisyros (1 coin) Kos (2 coins) Astypalaia (1 coin)
Ionia	Miletos (2 coins) Ephesos (3 coins) Smyrna-Eurydikeia (1 coin) Phokaia (1 coin) Phygela (1 coin) Samos (1 coin) Khios (2 coins)
Peloponnesos	Kephallenia (3 coins)
Pisidia	Selge (1 coin, AR)
TOTAL	**36 coins**

Table 1. Foreign civic coins found in Patara.

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is 36. So far, the coins of a total of 18 different cities have been found (Tab. 1). Almost all of these were minted by cities that had a port, which in turn determines the focus of this study and thus affects the results. Among the identified coins so far, the only specimen from an inland region is a silver coin minted by Selge, which might, of course, signal contact (it should not be forgotten, however, that silver was much more widely used and accepted due to its status as a precious metal). The Harbour of Patara, which was home to various military and commercial activities in antiquity, was one of the biggest ports of ancient Lycia, and it is no surprise to find various foreign civic coins in the city. The data clearly indicates that contact between Patara and other settlements was established by sea; it was advantageously positioned along the maritime routes between the Levant, Egypt and Cyprus – and from there to the western Mediterranean. In addition, its harbour led to a land route along which significant *poleis* were located (Blackman 1982: 186–87; on the harbour of Patara, see Işık, Koçak 2014; Koçak 2019; Dündar, Koçak 2021). This made Patara, unquestionably, a significant point of connection between Lycia and the rest of the Mediterranean throughout antiquity.

The coins unearthed in Patara also shed light on the identities of those who set foot in the city's port not only from nearby cities, but also from distant lands. The coins of many different cities such as Kephallenia, Smyrna, Khios, Samos, Kos, Kaunos, Knidos and Side were found in Patara, which was an important stop and shelter along the east-west and north-south routes in the Mediterranean basin. These coins would have been carried in the pockets of the people who reached Patara by sea, and remained in Patara for more than two millennia. It is known that in antiquity transportation by sea was much easier and cheaper than by land for medium- and long-distance journeys. The primary reason for this is that ships could carry heavy loads. Additionally, in suitable weather conditions, sea routes could reach the desired destination without obstacles. In this regard, these finds are solid evidence of those who reached the port of Patara. On the other hand, while we can safely assume that the vast majority of these journeys were commercial, as mentioned above, some coins could have been carried in the pocket of a soldier, an ordinary traveller, a pilgrim to the Temple of Apollo, a religious official, etc. (on travellers in antiquity, see Baslez 2008), as well as Patareans returning home. It is also important to note that for long-distance sea voyages, particularly those of a commercial nature, the ships in question must have reached Patara following the distribution points along the way, and we should therefore not limit our considerations to direct lines of travel between Patara and these other cities.

Six specimens from Phaselis, located in the easternmost part of Lycia, reached Patara (Fig. 3), and were found in Tepecik. These issues were dated between 250 and 190 BC (Heipp-Tamer 1993: B6; B26; B44). Four of them are specimens of the series struck between 250 and 220 BC, and two are from between 220 and 190 BC. The first group corresponds to a period when Patara – and also Phaselis until the 220s BC – was a Ptolemaic possession, between ca 280s and 197 BC (Meadows 2006; Tatar 2022). The minting date of the second group, however, is a period when Phaselis, unlike Patara, is thought to have been autonomous and not subject to Ptolemaic control, between approximately 221 and 188 BC (Tüner-Önen 2008: 125–29; Arslan, Tüner-Önen 2016: 301–02). The second group also corresponds to a period when the military garrison in Tepecik lost its function (Dündar 2019: 150). Since there was no convenient and safe land transportation between eastern and western Lycia even into the mid-20th century, the easiest way to connect these two territories was the maritime route (Kısa, Malhut 2020). Patara, on the other hand, also connected southeastern Lycia, as it must have been more convenient to set sail from almost any settlement on the southern coast to Patara, and then to move up the Xanthos Valley (Oreshko 2020: 18). Moreover, as Pseudo Scylax writes (*Periplous* 100), 'The direct coastal voyage along Lycia from Karia is a day and a night; because it is indented, the way along the land is double this.' Many other ancient sources also confirm that the preferred way to travel to or from eastern Lycia was by sea. For example, Athenian General Melesander, during the Peloponnesian War, fought battles in the Lycian Sea with the intention of preventing Peloponnesian privateers from interrupting the passage of merchants from Phaselis to further west (Thucydides 2.69). Also, Ptolemy I Soter, king of Egypt, during his campaign in approximately 309 BC, first reached Phaselis before sailing on to western Lycia and then to Kaunos in Karia (Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* 20.27.1–2). Phaselis, possessing three natural harbours, was a significant port city of eastern Lycia and, like Patara, it was a considerable commercial centre, beginning in the Classical period (Möller 2000: 79; Tüner-Önen 2008: 64–69).

When it comes to Pamphylia, the eastern neighbour of Lycia, the only coins found in Patara for the period discussed here are those struck by Side (Fig. 4). There are two specimens found in Patara dated to the third–second century BC and both are from Tepecik (for the coin types found, see SNG Cop. Pamphylia, n. 381–83, 387). Side had two ports allowing it to host big ships, and was the most significant port of Pamphylia, particularly for Eastern Mediterranean commerce from as early as the Hellenistic period (Nollé 1993: 28; İznik 2014: 15), so it is not surprising to find a Sidean coin in Patara. Among the coin finds from Side published so far there are bronzes from Lycia as well (Atlan 1976: 36; Tek 2016: 234). Other coin finds, like those from Patara, confirm the existence of

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Figure 3. Bronze coin of Phaselis from Patara, ca 250–220 BC (PTR.22-099) (photo by author).



Figure 4. Bronze coin of Side from Patara (PTR.18-217), third–second century BC (photo by authors).



Figure 5. Bronze coin of Kaunos from Patara (PTR.19-286), 350–300 BC (photo by authors).



Figure 6. Bronze coin of Kranion, Kephallenia from Patara, fourth century BC (PTR.17-539) (photo by authors).

key travel and transportation routes by sea, although Sidean coins were transferred to other port cities as well, both in Asia Minor and beyond, including Perge in Pamphylia (Şen 2004: 29–30, n. H106–H107; Erol 2005: 9, n. 14; Köker 2007: 22, n. 41–42), Assos in Troad (Lenger 2009: 103), Delos (Hackens 1970: 404), Alexandria in Egypt (Marcellesi 2012: 189, n. 1342) and Ashkelon (CH IX. 548 = Gitler, Kahanov 2002: 389, n. 42; for the southern Levant, see Johananoff 2016; 2017).

Compared to Pamphylia, the coins of the Karian cities have survived in larger quantities, in terms of both the number of coins and the number of cities. Thirteen coins from a total of six Karian cities were unearthed in Tepecik, all of them coastal or island cities. As one would expect, the largest number of coins found were from Kaunos, which is located closest to Patara (Fig. 5). There are six coins; one is dated 390–370 BC while the other five date to 350–300 BC (HNO 475 [390–370 BC]; HNO 279 [350–300 BC]; cf. HNO 280, 1017, 1923). These all precede the Ptolemaic presence in Patara, and indeed most may have preceded Macedonian hegemony. In contrast to the coin issues from Phaselis and Side, these Kaunian bronzes are early period coins, and they are plausibly from the Hecatomnid and/or from the Macedonian period, during which both regions were under the same rule. Considering the distance between these two cities, the land route might have been preferred (Arrian *Anabasis* 1.28–29), but the sea route must have been faster and more economical. Strabon (*Geographika* 14.2.2), for instance, tells us about the convenience of the Calbis River near Kaunos, which allows merchant vessels to reach there, clearly indicating the preferred way of getting in and out of the city. Safer and faster naval communication, moreover, must have connected Lycia to southeastern Karia not only commercially but culturally (Oreshko 2020: 18–21). On the other hand, sometimes Patara served as a shelter for ships on that route. The incident recorded by Ptolemaic accountant Zenon in approximately 258/257 BC might be only one of many that was recorded (Zimmermann 1992; Tammuz 2005: 153–55). Zenon reports that during a sea voyage from Karia (probably Kaunos) to Arsinoe (in Cilicia or Pamphylia), a ship had to take shelter from stormy weather in Patara, and transfer passengers to another ship (respectively P. Cair. Zen. I 59029, 59052; P. Mich. Zen. 1.10).

Coins that reached Patara from the port cities of Knidos and Bargylia, located further west in Karia, as well as from islands such as Kos, Nisyros and Astypalaia, provide other concrete evidence for linking these islands with Patara/Lycia, as well as with related human mobility. Ancient sources give us clues about such a sea route. For instance, St Luke (Acts 21.1), from the first century AD, talks about his sea voyage from Kos to Rhodes and then to Patara. Pliny the Elder (*Naturalis Historia* 2.112.1), on the other hand, gives the route from Cyprus to Patara, and then from

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there to Astypalaia as the shortest sea route. As the distance is greater, the number of coins from these cities is not as high as those from neighbouring settlements like Phaselis and Kaunos. So far, one coin from Knidos, two coins from Bargylia, two coins from Kos, and one coin each from Nisyros and Astypalaia were found in Tepecik (for the series, see Knidos: HNO, n. 481, 725 [250–210 BC], 2525 [300–200 BC]; Baryglia: HNO, n. 1013 [200–30 BC]; Kos: HNO, n. 762, 1199–200, 1434, 2455–56 [280–210 BC]; Nisyros: cf. HNO, n. 539, 1916–17, 1919 [350–300 BC]; Astypalaia: HNO, n. 2486 [360–340 BC]). The bronze of Astypalaia (dated 360–340 BC) (HNO, n. 2486; see also BMC Caria, 61, n. 16–19) must have ended up in Patara during the Hecatomnid hegemony in the region, while the specimen from Nisyros (dated 350–300 BC, HNO, n. 539, 1916, 1917, 1919) could be from that period or potentially from the period of Macedonian rule. As shown above, some Kaunian issues are from that period as well, and such specimens from port cities tend to confirm the Hecatomnid policy to pay special attention to coastal settlements both in terms of military and commercial activities (Hornblower 1982: 52, 78, 288; Ruzicka 1992: 33; Dündar 2021: 139–43). Coins from Knidos and Kos, on the other hand, correspond to the era of Ptolemaic hegemony in Lycia. Bargylian coin issues are dated to an even later period; however, since a firm date has not been suggested for these coins and their approximate date range is quite broad (200–30 BC; see Weiser 1985: 183; HNO, n. 1013), it is difficult to comment on them in specific terms.

When it comes to the coins of the cities from Ionia, a total of ten bronze coins from seven different cities were unearthed in Patara. Five of these are port cities and two are island settlements. The port cities, such as Ephesos and Miletos, are represented by a total of five examples. Ephesian bronzes are only partially legible, and for this reason only one specimen could be identified and referenced (cf. SNG v. Aulock, Ionien, n. 1843). While this coin (Obv. Bee/Rev. Forepart of stag kneeling right, head left, quiver to left, name of the magistrate is illegible) is dated to approximately the mid-third century BC, a firm attribution could not be made for the other two coins. They are possibly specimens of third- and second-century BC Ephesos. Two bronze coins of Miletos are from the fourth century BC. Unfortunately, magistrate names on the reverse are illegible (cf. Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 324, 401–04). Lastly, there are coins struck by Smyrna from the period during which it was named Eurydikeia (one coin) (Milne 1923: n. 6), Phokaia (one coin) (Kinns 2002: 24–25, ca 261–246 BC) and Phygela (one coin) (SNG Cop. Ionia, n. 1074; SNG Kayhan, n. 585). The fourth-century BC issue of Phygela is the earliest coin among them. It is possible to date the bronze of Smyrna (288–281 BC), as it corresponds to the period during which it was named Eurydikeia (Milne 1923: 1–7). In light of current studies, the coin of Phokaia is dated to ca 261–246 BC, when the city was under Seleucid control (Kinns 2002). The Ionian islands represented with their civic bronzes are Samos (one coin) (SNG Cop., Ionia, n. 1695–96, ca 394–365 BC) and Khios (two coins) (cf. Mavrogordato 1916: 314–15, n. 65, 190–88 BC; 323–24, n. 68, 133–88 BC). The bronze of Samos, found in Tepecik, is dated to approximately 394–365 BC, and this dating makes this coin possibly the earliest foreign civic issue found in Patara. Coins from Khios, in fact, are beyond the scope of this work, as they are early second- and early first-century BC issues. However, these provide important numismatic evidence of ongoing contact between the Ionian islands and Lycia in a period of increasing Roman influence over the region.

For both islands and coastal settlements, the sea route was the easiest and most convenient way to travel from Ionia to Lycia. Livius (*Ab urbe condita libri* 27.45) describes the plan of Polyxenidas, a Rhodian admiral who served Antiochos III, to sail with his fleet from Ephesos to as far as Patara. Another incident confirms this passage and provides details about the route. Livius (*Ab urbe condita libri* 37.17) records that Aemilius, a Roman general from the third–second centuries BC, sailed with his fleet to Patara. He departed from Samos, passed Miletos and landed at Iasos. It should also be noted that Lycia and the Ionian region in general were in constant contact as early as the Archaic period, which is also reflected in the ethnolinguistic and literary context (Oreshko 2020: 28). Ephesos, Miletos and Samos, Ionian cities whose Hellenistic civic coins have been unearthed in various distant parts of both Asia Minor and the Mediterranean basin, all possessed prominent ports, like Side, so it is not surprising to find their coins. Finally, sometimes harbour towns were not only stopping points but also places of permanent settlement, as exemplified by the case of an Ephesian in Telmessos (TAM II/2; for an analysis concerning Pergamon, see Savalli-Lestrade, Chameroy 2016) and a Theraian in Patara (a mercenary, see Zimmermann 2021: 134–35, no. 3).

Among the most interesting coins are three specimens from the island of Kephallenia, the only point of origin far outside the eastern Aegean Region (Fig. 6). Kephallenia, the largest island of western Greece, is located across Elis, to the west of the Corinthian Gulf. Lying in the Central Ionian Sea, the strategic significance of the island due to its location is evident (Mataranga 2021: 542). A total of three coins dating from the fourth century BC (see Randsborg 2002: Vol. II, 49 for his specific dating ca 400–350 BC) were brought to Patara, two of Kranion (BMC Peloponnesos, n. 49) and one of Same (BMC Peloponnesos, n. 43). These bronzes are significant evidence of foreign visitors from such a distant territory in Patara in the fourth century BC. While it is easy to say how they ended up in the region, it

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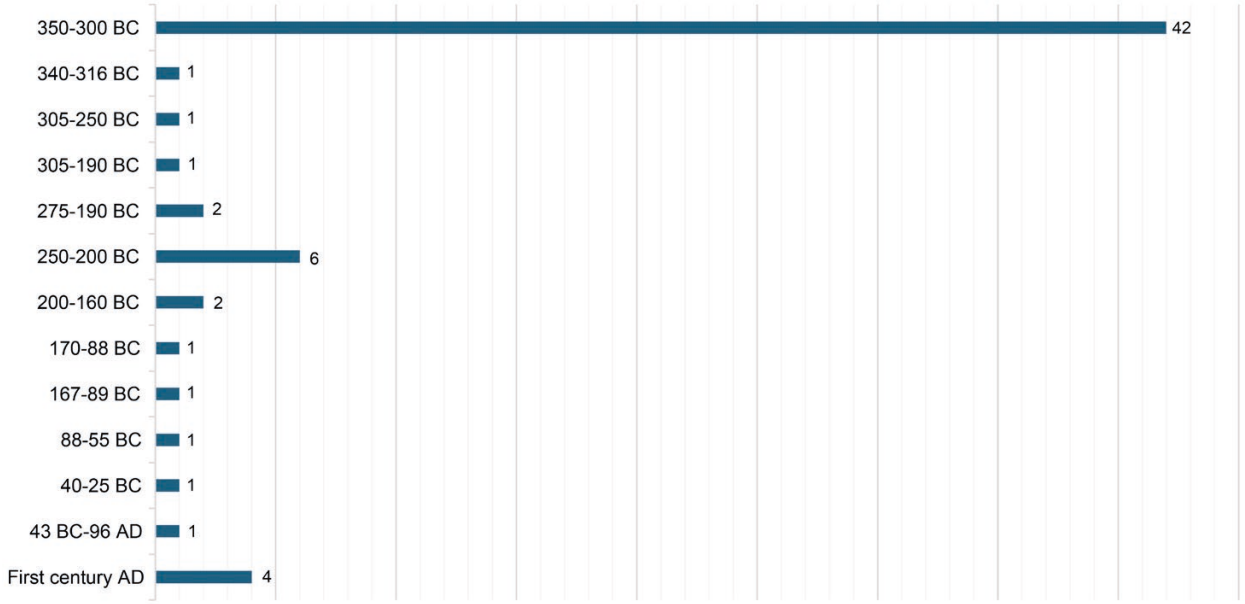


Figure 7. Periodic distribution of Rhodian coins found in Patara.

is quite hard at this stage to answer the question of why. Although there are various possible explanations, these bronzes may have ended up in Patara in the pockets of one or more mercenaries who sailed from Cephallenia in 334 BC to take part in Alexander's eastern campaigns (Randsborg 2002: Vol. II, 252). As a side note, based on published material, not only excavations in Lycia but also in Asia Minor more broadly did not yield any other specimen (for excavation data, see Çizmeli-Öğün, Marcellesi 2011).

When it comes to Rhodes, the most influential authority over the Lycian region from the second century BC, there are 64 identifiable Rhodian coins from the fourth and third centuries BC at Patara as of 2022. Of these 64 coins, 7 are silver and 57 are bronze; 65% (42 coins) of them are dated to between 350 and 300 BC (Ashton 2001: 90). All of these are bronze coins. Bronzes dated between 250 and 200 BC (six coins = 9%) come second. The remaining 16 coins, 7 of which are silver, are represented in groups of at most two samples, spanning from the fourth century BC to the first century AD (Fig. 7). This large quantity of bronze coins, dated between 350 and 300 BC, is of great significance in terms of revealing the process of coin circulation in the city in the relevant period when Patara did not strike its own civic coins. Aside from the periodic density, no foreign city's coins from outside Lycia have ever been transferred to Patara. Currently, the city with the most coins after Rhodes is Kaunos, and although it is a very close neighbouring city, there are only six coins from there, a vastly lower quantity than from Rhodes.

The high volume of Rhodian coins with the relevant date is, first of all, related to the region coming under Hecatomnid rule and Karian influence after the death of Pericles at the end of 360 BC (for the political transition and early Hecatomnid hegemony in Lycia, see Hornblower 1982: 119–23; Keen 1998: 171–74). A similar result was obtained during the excavations at neighbouring Kaunos. Of the 72 coins (Late Classical and Hellenistic) recovered during the excavations at Kaunos and identified as belonging to the city of Rhodes, 23 coins (ca 32%) – 5 of which are silver – belong to the period between 350 and 300 BC (Gülen-Çelik 2021: 15–23). This overlapping data confirms Hecatomnid influence and the circulation of Rhodian coins in that period.

Patara remained under Hecatomnid influence until 334/333 BC, when Alexander established Macedonian dominance in Lycia with his campaign in Asia Minor (Plutarch *Alexander* 17.3–4; Arrian *Anabasis* 1.24.4–5). This fact is clearly confirmed by the coins. In Patara, which did not strike its own coins during the relevant period, Rhodian bronzes must have been used in small-scale daily transactions, at least until the Macedonian domination of the region. Another result that emerges from the data is that 38 of the 42 coins were found in the Tepecik settlement. Considering that Tepecik was established as a garrison settlement during the Hecatomnid period (Dündar, Rauh 2017), it is highly probable that these coins were used by the soldiers stationed there. This is a known phenomenon; for instance, excavations at Mount Nif (Olympos), which served as a garrison in the late fourth century BC, yielded many bronzes from different cities of the Ionian region (Lenger 2016a; 2016b; 2016c).

As an additional point of analysis, it is worth mentioning that thanks to the ceramics, amphora stamps and oil lamps unearthed in the same layer, it is possible to compare and

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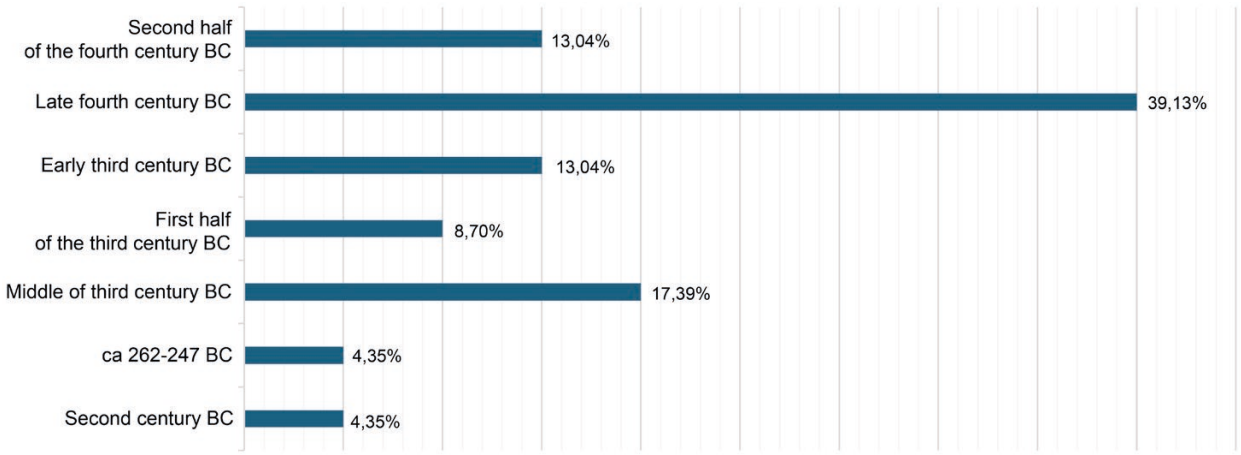


Figure 8. Periodic distribution of the other archaeological finds (pottery, amphora stamps and lamps) unearthed along with Rhodian coins dated to 350–300 BC.

contrast the dating of the coins unearthed in the Tepecik settlement. First of all, the grand scheme seen here confirms the proposed dating for 42 bronze coins, between 350 and 300 BC. Ten coins (53%) of the 26 Rhodian coins unearthed in Tepecik were found together with ceramics dated to the second half of the fourth century BC and the beginning of the third century BC (Fig. 8). What is interesting here is the circulation of Rhodian coins in Patara, which was first under the rule of the Macedonian kingdom and then under the rule of Antigonos and his son Demetrios for a long period in the last quarter of the fourth century BC. This indicates that these royal issues and Rhodian bronzes were in circulation together in Patara, where many Macedonian royal coins were also recovered (Lenger 2019: 395). More specifically, this data from the Tepecik site shows that, as the settlement was a military garrison (Lenger, Dündar 2021; Dündar, Lenger 2022; for the military equipment, see Şahin 2023), the Rhodian bronzes were used by soldiers, just as they were during the Hecatomnid period. This conclusion also seems valid for the period between approximately 283/282 BC and 197 BC, when the region was under Ptolemaic rule (Lenger, Dündar 2021; Tatar 2022: 604–24). However, it is notable that the circulation of Rhodian bronzes decreased dramatically during the Ptolemaic hegemony, as the Ptolemies used their own bronzes in the region. These were imported from Alexandria until the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes and then, around the 240s BC, Patara began to strike royal Ptolemaic bronzes, and these coins dominated the region along with those struck by Telmessos (Lenger, Tatar 2023).

Four of the five Rhodian coins found in Tepecik were found together with ceramics dated to the first half of the third century BC and the middle of the third century BC. Another coin was found in the same layer as an amphora stamp, which provides a much clearer date of approximately 262–247 BC. On the other hand, six Rhodian bronze coins dated between 250 and 200 BC provide other confirming data in this regard.

Therefore, although the city was first dominated by the Hecatomnids and later by the Macedonians and Ptolemies, the economic connection with Rhodes continued to exist. The high number of Rhodian bronzes led us to think that they might have been widely adopted and circulated for almost a century in the settlement under the royal authority of the Ptolemaic kingdom. This is therefore one of the most important concrete pieces of evidence pointing to this network. Especially from the late fourth century BC, Rhodian amphorae are among the most common finds from Patara, in addition to coins. These materials complete the picture that began to emerge in light of the coin finds.

Imported amphorae

In addition to numismatic evidence, amphorae also provide data to determine the sea route, which was Patara's most important means of communication with the outside world. At the end of the fifth and the beginning of the fourth century BC, there was an increase in the number and variety of amphorae unearthed in the city compared to previous centuries. This period coincides with the political realignment of Lycia following its departure from the Delian League and its closer ties with the Peloponnesian-Persian alliance (for details on the killing of the Athenian commander Melesander, who came to Lycia in 430/29 or 415/14 BC, see Thucydides *The Peloponnesian War* 2.69; Pausanias *Description of Greece* 1.29.7; for comments, see also Childs 1981: 64, 68–69; Bryce 1986: 107–10; Keen 1993: 75–76). In the fourth century BC, the wide-scale importing of amphorae at Patara demonstrates the active involvement of the region in Aegean trade networks, with a notable prevalence of vessels originating from the northern and southeastern Aegean regions. This period

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coincides with Lycia's complex political situation, which was marked by shifting alliances and the influence of regional powers such as the Hecatomnids (Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* 15.90.1–3). In the fourth century BC, amphorae of northern Aegean origin, such as those from Thasos and Mende, as well as amphorae of south-eastern Aegean origin such as Kos, Miletos, Samos, etc., began to find buyers in the city. In the fourth century BC in Patara, mushroom-rimmed amphorae were also found in abundance. This amphora type played an important role in the formation of a common cultural and trade network, known as the koine, in southwestern Asia Minor and the southeastern Aegean islands (Empereur, Picon 1986: 112; Dündar 2021: 127–31) (Fig. 9).

In the fourth century BC, the densest amphora group in the city were Lycian amphorae, which were the regional production of Lycia (39%; Fig. 10) (Dündar 2012: 47–50; 2017: 51–60). Lycian amphorae are also found at Ephesos, Kelenderis, Side and Perge in Asia Minor, Alexandria,[1] Karnak and Tell el-Herr in Egypt (Dündar 2017: 53, fig. 46; for references, see also 53–54), and in the cargo of the Mazatos shipwreck located in the south of Cyprus (Demesticha 2022: 46, fig. 3c). This type of amphora circulated widely in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Fourth-century BC Lycian amphorae are followed in frequency by the products of island or harbour settlements such as Khios (17%), Mende (16%), Kos (10%), Korinthian Type B (10%) (more likely from Korkyra, Leukas or Kephallenia), Thasos (6%) and Samos (2%). Among the amphorae found in the city during that century, examples of Korinthian Type B are noteworthy (Fig. 11). In the studies conducted up to now, we see that the presence of amphorae from these settlements in Lycia is very limited (cf. Mader 1996: 96, fig. 38, no. 130).

We observe that there has been an increase in the number of datable and identifiable amphorae in Patara since the end of the fourth century BC. In the third century BC, Rhodes and its Peraia had the largest group of amphorae in the city (Fig. 12). The noteworthy increase in the number of Cypriot amphorae found seems to be related to the changing political climate in the city and the region (Fig. 13) (see below).

Among other reasons for the increase in Patara-Rhodes-Cyprus relations in the third century BC, we suggest that

1 An unpublished example is currently on display at the Alexandria Museum.



Figure 9. Mushroom-rimmed amphora from Patara (second half of the fourth century BC) (PTR.13/L-19-SU-089/05) (by authors).

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Figure 10. Lycian amphora from Patara (second half of the fourth century BC) (PTR.17-680) (by authors).

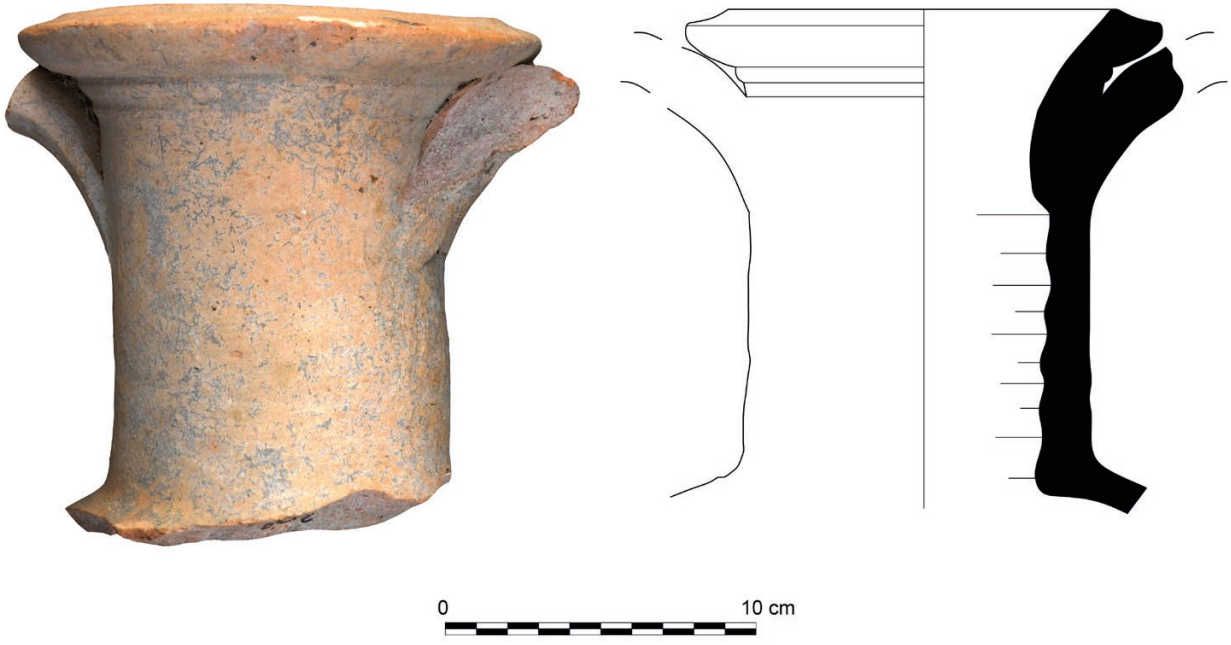


Figure 11. Corinthian Type B amphora from Patara (second half of the fourth century BC) (PTR.04-TDS/208) (by authors).

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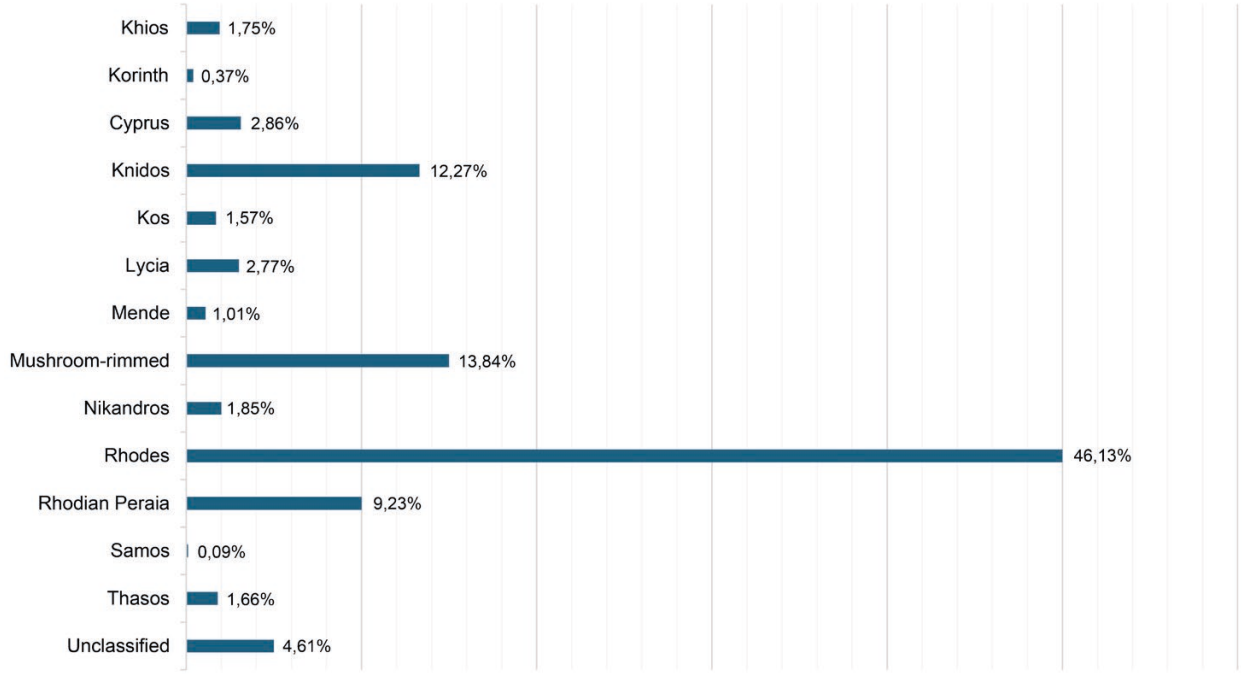


Figure 12. Distribution of the amphorae found at Patara by form in the fourth and third centuries BC.



Figure 13. Cypriot amphora from Patara (end of fourth – beginning of third century BC) (PTR.04-TDS/102) (by authors).

the port of Patara became the centre of attention for the Ptolemies due to its geopolitical importance (Lenger, Tatar 2023). These relations increased especially with the Lycian region coming under the rule of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the late 280s BC (Meadows 2006; 2012; Meadows, Thonemann 2013; Capdetrey 2022: 147–52; Tatar 2022: 368. For the proposal of 309 BC, see Wörrle 1977: 47–65; 2012: 363, 366–67, n. 26–34; 2021: 120; 2022: 227, n. 52). Based on the data obtained from the amphorae, we propose that one particular reason for the increase in the city's need for wine in this period was simply that Patara was a key node in the Rhodes/Alexandria trading zone. In addition, the Ptolemies converted Patara into a military port and established a garrison there (Lenger, Dündar 2021). There was also a trade triangle between Patara, Rhodes and Cyprus.

Of the 1,715 Hellenistic stamped handles found, 74% are from Rhodes and its Peraia, 17% from Knidos, 4% of unidentified origin, 3% from Cyprus, and 2% from Khios, Kos and Thasos (Fig. 14). The fact that Rhodian stamps constitute the most significant group in Patara from the end of the fourth century BC and throughout the third century BC can be explained by the proximity of the island of Rhodes to the city and the commercial trade policies that the island followed in the Hellenistic period (Plyb. 5, 88–90; Kobes 1993).

The imported amphorae found in Patara provide important clues to the economic dynamics and trade networks of the city. Unlike the foreign coins found in the city, these amphorae can be considered a direct indicator of the mobility of goods. However, as in the case of the geographic mobility of coins, it should be kept in mind that these imported amphorae may not have arrived in Patara directly from the cities that produced them. The cargoes of the shipwrecks discovered in the Mediterranean provide important data that will help us to assess this situation more

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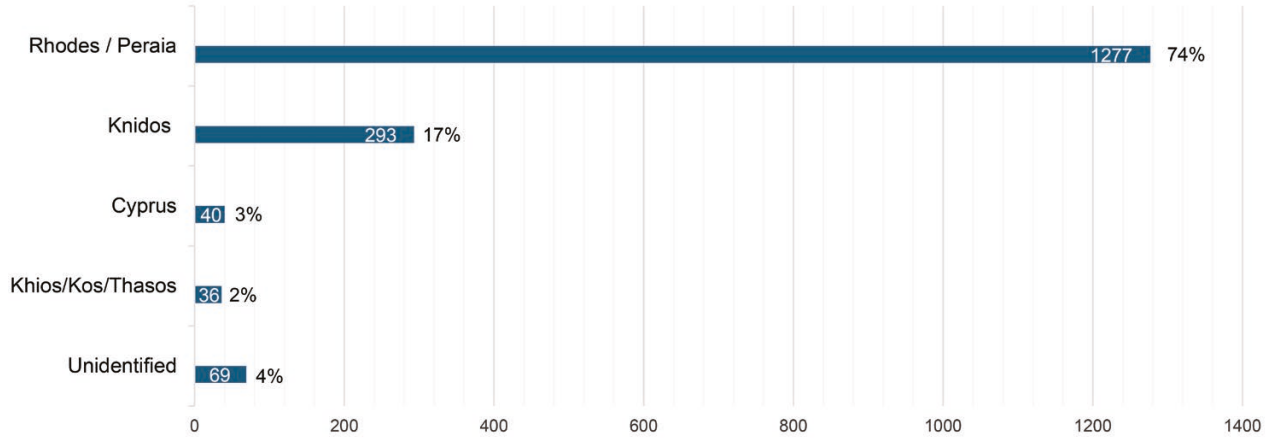


Figure 14. Distribution of Hellenistic amphora stamps found in Patara based on their origin

accurately. Although the cargo of the Mazatos shipwreck, dated to the fourth century BC, consists mainly of amphorae from Khios, the presence of Lycian amphorae in the shipwreck (Demesticha 2022: 43–58) suggests that the ship, after leaving Khios, visited the Lycian coasts, and received and possibly left products. Similarly, the presence of Rhodian, Knidian, Samian, Koan, Palestinian and Egyptian amphorae in the cargo of the Kyrenia shipwreck – dated to the early third century BC (Lawall 2023: 135–212) – shows that ships on long-distance voyages followed distribution or collection points along the way.

Maritime networks

As can be seen, the coins and amphorae unearthed in Patara reveal voyages made to the city by sea, demonstrating inter-regional contact. The correlation between amphorae and coinage is remarkable. The coins and amphorae found in Patara reveal the city's trade network with Karia, Ionia, the Peloponnese and the northern Aegean; they concretely demonstrate the movement of goods and people between these regions, as proven by the archaeological evidence presented here.

In fourth-century BC Patara, among the extensively found amphorae, the mushroom-rimmed amphora type is noteworthy, which is significant in the context of the coins found in the city. The fact that Karian cities represented with their coins in Patara are among the production places of mushroom-rimmed amphorae allows the human mobility created by Patara's commercial relations with Karia to be interpreted on a wide scale. Furthermore, as previously stated, the presence of coins from Side in Lycia, and the occurrence of Lycian amphorae in Side indicate that there was a mutual relationship between the two regions. The same applies to other, more distant, regions. Samian coinage found in Patara dating to the beginning of the fourth century BC also supports these conclusions in terms of its periodic correspondence with amphorae. As noted, there are considerable amphorae from Knidos, Rhodian Peraea, Cyprus, Nikandros group (Ephesos), Khios, Kos and Samos. Imports of this nature clearly coincide with the large number of third-century BC bronze coins from different mints – such as Knidos, Kos and Ephesos – that were unearthed in the city. Especially from the late fourth century BC onward, Rhodian amphorae are among the most common finds from Patara, in addition to coins. These materials complete the picture that emerged in light of the coin finds. The presence of Kephallenian coins from the same region where Korinthian Type B amphorae came indicates the existence of a relationship between Patara and that region. While individual coins from this region indicate personal circulation, the amphorae that were found indicate the existence of a non-intensive commercial activity. As a result of these interrelations, a trade route emerges, and not only do the coins and amphorae show the commercial connections of the ancient period, as well as human mobility showing us who and from where they came, they also enable us to understand the route that these individuals followed (cf. Lenger 2022).

These finds, unearthed in an important coastal settlement like Patara, clearly reveal the route followed by vessels on the coastline extending from Lycia to Kephallenia (Fig. 15). As detailed above, the coins unearthed in Patara vary in origin, from Side and Phaselis in the east, to neighbouring cities such as Kaunos in the west, from Kos to the island of Astypalaia, and from Ephesos to Samos and even to the Hellenic mainland in the north. On the other hand, the amphora data of the city reveal a route along the southern coast of Asia Minor, from Cyprus in the east to the Ionian Islands in the west, and to Ionian cities such as Samos and Khios and Northern Aegean cities such as Thasos in the north. In addition to Patara being a significant stopping point on many of these trade routes, the area between Patara

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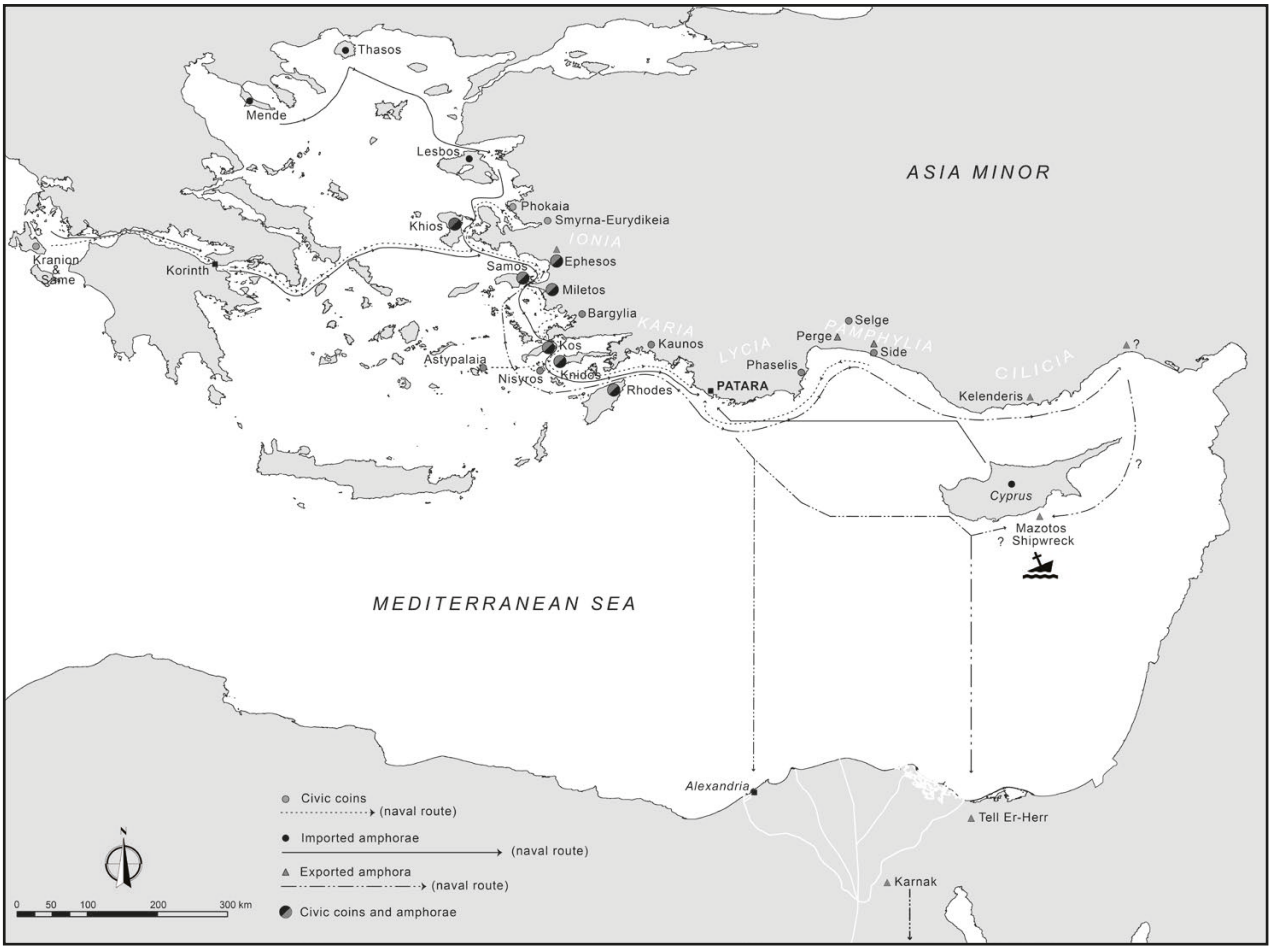


Figure 15. Maritime networks of Patara during the fourth and third centuries BC (map by authors).

to the west and the Chelidonian Islands to the east 'marks a fairly clear meteorological border' (Arnaud 2005: 208–10). These attributes must have enhanced the number of Patara's foreign visitors.

When we compare the route revealed by coins and amphorae from Patara, as well as naval routes in the ancient Mediterranean, the significance of numismatic and amphora evidence for ancient seafaring is further reinforced. These finds allow a map to be made, and this map confirms the Lycian sea network proposed here for the case of Patara (Fig. 15). Ancient *periploi* provide us with sufficient information. For instance, the Periplous of the Pseudo Scylax, dating from the fourth century BC, describes the sea-lane from northern Ionia to the Lycian coast. Accordingly, the coastal voyage from Mysian shores to Maiandros, which took two days and one night, passed the cities of Phokaia, Klazomenai, Erythrai, Khios, Teos, Notion, Ephesos, Samos, Priene and Miletos in Ionia (recorded by the author as a Karian city; Pseudo Scylax, *Periplous* 98). From there, he lists the harbour cities of Karia on the route including Herakleia, Myndos, Halikarnassos, Kalymna, Karyanda, Kos, Nisyros, Knidos, Rhodes and Kaunos (Pseudo Scylax *Periplous* 99). After this two-day voyage by sea, travellers would take the route from Karia to Lycia, comprising Telmessos, Xanthos (by river), Patara, Phellos, Megiste, Limyra (by river), Gagai and Phaselis (Pseudo Scylax Periplous 100) (Fig. 1). As demonstrated above, a significant number of the cities on this route given by Pseudo Scylax are represented with their coins and amphorae in Patara (Fig. 15). Modern studies on ancient sea routes provide us with even more detailed information and specific conclusions (Arnaud 2005). Concerning the routes from Patara to the rest of the Mediterranean, Myra, Phaselis and Side are the major ports to connect it to the east. On the other hand, for a ship setting sail from Patara to the western Mediterranean, the ports of Rhodes, Knidos and Kos are the first stops reached (Arnaud 2005: 56–57). These relatively close settlements are all represented in Patara with their bronze coin issues. Further west, the route that connects Patara to mainland Greece passes through Rhodes, Nisyros and Astypalaia. As shown, these are the island settlements whose coins were found in Patara. We must also keep in mind that various factors must have affected the routes

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of different voyages, even to and from the same port. It is therefore difficult to draw conclusions about a specific pattern for the process of circulation of these coins.

Other than *periploi*, the main sources for ancient seafaring, some other ancient texts give us valuable clues about such voyages and the identities of those who set out on such journeys. For instance, Livius (*Ab urbe condita libri* 37.17) records that Aemilius, a Roman general who lived in the third–second centuries BC, following Livius' departure from Lycia, decided to sail with his fleet to Patara; he set sail from Samos, and before arriving in Lycia his route followed Miletos and then landed in Iasos, passing by Bargylia. Once again, Livius (*Ab urbe condita libri* 37.16) gives us information about the journey of G. Livius, the Roman praetor who was sent to Asia Minor in ca 190 BC, and who commanded the Roman fleet in the Aegean. The author records that G. Livius was sent to Lycia, and that ships from Smyrna joined him during his voyage; he passed Miletos, Myndos, Halicarnassos, Knidos and Kos before arriving in Rhodes.

As discussed above, a considerable portion of the cities on the route from north to south, and to the east from Lycia, is represented in Patara by their bronze coins and amphorae – some with a single specimen and others with multiple specimens, generally depending on geographical proximity. On the other hand, coins and amphorae from Lycia are also found in distant territories such as Egypt, the southern Levant, Ionia, the Black Sea and mainland Greece, allowing us to consider similar voyages, but in the opposite direction. Such a picture of international trade networks is also supported by evidence from amphorae. Lycian amphorae have been found at Ephesos in Ionia, Side in Pamphylia and Kelenderis in Cilicia, as well as Alexandria, Tell-Er Herr and Karnak in Egypt (Dündar 2017: 51–60) (Fig. 15). Regarding the Levant, in the Ashkelon hoard of 1998, for example, there are five bronzes of the Lycian League while the Phanagorian hoard of 2007 yielded one bronze of the league (Gitler, Kahanov 2008: n. 37–41; cf. Ariel 2022: 423–24. For the whole hoard see Abramzon 2018: 57–59, 66; for analysis, see also Lenger 2022: 76–77). Excavations in Corinth also yielded a bronze issue of Patara from the early second century BC (Harris 1941: 151). Also on Delos, a specimen of the same series was found (Hackens 1970: 403).

Moreover, Patara is not the only example that exhibits such a correlation in Asia Minor. Coins unearthed in Side are predominantly the issues of settlements situated on the coast of Asia Minor. Among many, there are bronzes from Pontos (e.g. Amisos), Paphlagonia (e.g. Sinope), Mysia (e.g. Lampsacus), Aeolis (e.g. Kyme), Ionia (e.g. Samos), Karia (Rhodes) and Lycia (e.g. Phaselis) to represent mints located on the shores of Asia Minor (Tek 2016: 234). Just like Patara, bronzes of foreign mints indicate 'routes of personal travel for various reasons (economic, military, etc.)' (Tek 2016: 233–36; Lenger 2022: 75). Numismatic finds out of Asia Minor also confirm that ancient seafaring followed certain routes comprising the harbours of Asia Minor such as Ephesos, Teos, Samos, Kos, Iasos, Rhodes and Patara (Gitler, Kahanov 2002; 2008; Abramzon, Kuznetsov 2014). Such data is significant in confirming the directions of sea voyages.

Change over time

The networks of Patara underwent a series of transformations over time. The Rhodian influence was considerable in terms of commercial networks during the third century BC, preceding the political influence that emerged in the early second century BC. The influence of this region is evident when considering the amphorae; however, it is much less discernible when examining coin circulation, as discussed below.

Archaeological evidence indicates that the Lycian amphora was in use during Hecatomnid rule in the fourth century BC and the short-lived Macedonian rule at the end of the century (Dündar 2020; 2021). However, this particular type of amphora has not been found at Patara in the same quantities as those dating to the early third century BC, suggesting that this particular local form was abandoned with the transition from Macedonian to Ptolemaic rule. Several hypotheses can be proposed regarding the disappearance of the Lycian amphora from the third century BC onwards.

The initial hypothesis posits that local production methods and materials usage in Lycia may have undergone a transformation as a consequence of Ptolemaic governance, which in turn altered the regional administrative and economic structure. In this context, local amphorae, and thus the products they contained, may have been supplanted by alternative products supplied from centres that were supported or favoured by the Ptolemies (e.g. Rhodes). The second hypothesis posits that Ptolemaic control of the regional trade routes had an impact on Lycia's foreign trade relations, which could have resulted in the loss of local amphora in international trade. The third hypothesis posits that the Ptolemaic rule may have precipitated a shift in local production methods and demands in Lycia during the third century BC. This transition may have resulted in a decline in, or even disapearance of, the production and utilisation of local amphorae. To test these hypotheses, it is imperative to obtain a more comprehensive and detailed data set pertaining to the production and distribution of the Lycian amphora.

In the third century BC, the dominance of Rhodian amphora in Patara would reflect the city's strategic alignment with the Ptolemaic kingdom, especially after Lycia came under Ptolemaic control (ca late 280s BC). The commercial network between Rhodes, a prominent

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commercial centre, and the Ptolemies, a formidable naval power in the Mediterranean, was substantial (Gabrielsen 2013). Accordingly, a strong commercial link was established between Alexandria and Rhodes (for detailed analysis, see Rostovtzeff 1973). It is likely that Patara was the most significant coastal settlement in Lycia, serving to reinforce this network. The interest of the Ptolemaic kingdom in Patara probably stemmed from its advantageous location on the main sea routes between Rhodes and Alexandria, making it an important hub for their trade and military operations. The increase in Cypriot amphorae during this period further suggests a triangular trade relationship between Patara, Rhodes and Cyprus, driven by the geopolitical and economic interests of the Ptolemies. P. Cairo Zen. 59012–14 provides information regarding the navigation of commercial ships that sailed between Alexandria and Rhodes in 259 BC. Based on its cargoes, it is likely that these ships also visited ports in Cyprus, Cilicia and Pamphylia (Rostovzeff 1973: 75–76). This evolution in amphora use at Patara not only marks a shift in regional trade patterns but also reflects the broader political and cultural transformations that were occurring under Ptolemaic influence.

During the Ptolemaic hegemony, the flow of Rhodian amphorae to the region increased, while the number of coins decreased. Commercial relations between Patara and Rhodes did not decline – in fact, they increased; however, there was a notable centralisation in terms of coin supply. This was typical in the Ptolemaic kingdom. Even the royal coins did not enter official circulation outside the region where they were minted. For instance, bronze coins were struck in Alexandria to be used only in Egypt, while those struck in Tyre circulated in Syria, Phoenicia and Cyprus did not receive bronzes from outside mints. Although early in the hegemony there was a different policy in Lycia and the necessity for coins in the region was fulfilled from Alexandria, the usual policy of the kingdom, if there was no mint to supply a region, until the reign of Ptolemy III (Tatar 2022: 367–68), the activation of the Telmessos and Patara mints during the rule of Ptolemy III led to the circulation of coins from these two mints (Lenger, Tatar 2023).

It is of course impossible to evaluate the commercial relations established between Patara and Rhodes independently of the political situation. Rhodes was never formally incorporated into the Ptolemaic kingdom, but the city maintained a cordial relationship with the kingdom, which was the preeminent naval power in the Mediterranean. As soon as the Ptolemies initiated activity in the region, they attached great importance to this island: its independence was of great commercial importance, and it was also an important asset for defence against pirates. Indeed, the Ptolemies provided military assistance to Rhodes during its confrontation with Demetrios (Hölbl 2001: 29, 93; Grainger 2010: 32). Rhodes, in turn, wanted to establish good relations with the Ptolemies, considering its own interests, since the important ports in Karia and Lycia were in Ptolemaic hands. The smooth continuation of trade in the Mediterranean was essential for these two great powers. One notable exception was during the Second Syrian War (260–253 BC), when Rhodes sided with Antiochus II (Hölbl 2001: 43–45; Grainger 2010: 125–27), probably because of the growing strength of the kingdom (Berthold 1984: 91–92). The amphora data from Patara shows that Rhodes did not experience a major change in its economic relations despite the political policies of the period. It has been determined that 20% of the approximately 400 stamped Rhodian amphora handles found at the Tepecik settlement reached the city during the Second Syrian War (Period Ib-c [ca 270–235 BC] according to the Rhodian stamp chronology, see Finkielsztejn 2001: 188). This information suggests that the impact of the war on economic networks was limited, and that Rhodes was able to maintain its trade relations.

The political crisis must have been overcome during the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes, seeing as the king provided great aid to the island, which was devastated by a major earthquake (Polybius *Histories* 5.88; Diodorus Siculus *Bibliotheca Historica* 26.8.1; Strabon *Geographika* 14.2.5). Diplomatic relations also existed near the end of Ptolemaic rule in the region; when Antiochus III advanced into Karia in 197 BC, Rhodes sent military support for the defence of Myndos and undertook the defence of Kaunos (Livius *Ab urbe condita libri* 33.20). Rhodes' interest in and support of Karia was of course intended to prevent the loss of its sphere of influence. What made this sphere of influence available was the fact that critical commercial relations were nourished by the cordial political relations with the Ptolemies.

The political intimacy and closeness established between the Ptolemies and Rhodes from the end of the fourth century BC onwards was based entirely on commercial considerations. The independence and well-being of Rhodes enabled the Ptolemies to maintain control over Mediterranean trade. By maintaining a favourable relationship with the Ptolemies, who held the most significant ports along the Karian and Lycian coasts, Rhodes was able to safeguard its commercial activities. The amphora finds, which reveal that Rhodian influence increased rather than decreased despite the change of political authority in Patara since the mid-280s BC, are compelling indications of this commercial exchange.

Conclusion

The study of numismatic and amphora evidence exposes the intricate network of maritime trade and transportation of the ancient city of Patara during the fourth and third centuries

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BC. Patara was strategically located between the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean, and served as a central hub in the region's maritime routes, facilitating trade, cultural exchange and connectivity throughout the Mediterranean basin. Such studies which compare and contrast numismatic data and amphorae will surely increase in the near future and enable us to better understand late Classical and early Hellenistic Asia Minor. This is what is required for the numismatic studies of Asia Minor to follow the current trend of micro-level numismatic studies, which focuses on the question 'why' instead of 'what' (Krmnicek 2023).

The discovery of civic coins from various cities, particularly those with ports, highlights the significant role of maritime transportation in connecting Patara with distant settlements. These coins offer concrete evidence of human mobility, indicating the presence of merchants, mercenaries, ambassadors, pilgrims and others who travelled by sea to reach Patara. Foreign coins found in Patara, which possess no purchase value outside the city where they were minted, tend to indicate individual mobility rather than a commercial relationship. To illustrate, the de Kronion coin, which is a particularly intriguing find in Patara, did not arrive there directly but rather via Ephesos. It is not possible to determine if this is accurate. Nevertheless, the commercial connections of these coins can be established with the help of data derived from the analysis of amphorae. When it comes to bronzes from Hecatomnid Karia from the fourth century BC, the overlap of the amphora and coin data indicates the economic policies of the Hecatomnid dynasty in terms of trade. On the other hand, the late fourth- and third-century BC bronzes found in the Tepecik settlement, which functioned as a military garrison for the Macedonian kingdom and then the Ptolemies until the late 200s BC, might suggest that they were used as legal tender in Patara. However, it is hard to answer how they ended up in Tepecik without epigraphic evidence – either in the pocket or purse of a merchant or a mercenary. Despite being hypothetical at this point without textual evidence, such coins might be related to the ethnicity of the mercenaries (not only from Karia but also from farther regions); namely, they might have been linked to the movement of the troops, as these bronzes were found in Tepecik, which served as a military garrison. However, for now, we need to consider such bronze coins simply as casual losses or deliberately discarded currencies by extraneous individuals.

The analysis of Rhodian coins discovered in Patara offers valuable insights into economic patterns and cultural connections during the fourth and third centuries BC. The prevalence of Rhodian coins in Patara, particularly between 350 and 300 BC, points to lasting economic ties with Rhodes despite the changes in regional powers. This dominance coincides with the Hecatomnids' rule and subsequent Macedonian dominance until the beginning of Ptolemaic rule. The concentration of coins in Tepecik, a military garrison, suggests their usage among soldiers, like their role during the Hecatomnid period. Additionally, the correlation between coin finds and ceramic dating offers insights into the circulation of Rhodian coins alongside royal Macedonian issues, highlighting their enduring presence in Patara's daily economy. However, the decrease in Rhodian coin circulation during Ptolemaic rule highlights the influence of changing financial and political affiliations on the economic context. Despite political turmoil, Rhodian coins still seem to have been accepted and circulated for almost a century, demonstrating the resilience of economic and commercial ties with Rhodes. This is supported by the prevalence of Rhodian amphorae found alongside these coins.

The analysis of imported amphorae indicates the existence of extensive maritime trade networks during this period. The discovery of amphorae from various regions such as the Ionian Islands, the northern Aegean and Karia, as well as Cyprus, highlights the extent of Patara's commercial relationships and its significance as a thriving port city. The third century BC saw an increased presence of Rhodian and Cypriot amphorae, indicating evolving political relationships and increased trade. The presence of stamped handles among the archaeological remains further confirms these connections and offers valuable insights into the city's commercial activities and trade routes.

Ancient texts and historical accounts complement the archaeological evidence, offering additional perspectives on maritime travel and the people who traversed these routes. Patara has welcomed a wide variety of visitors, from merchants, mercenaries, artists, pilgrims, saints and travellers to Roman generals, all of whom have enriched its cultural landscape and reinforced its status as a vibrant maritime centre.

A comprehensive study of numismatic and amphora evidence reveals a clear maritime route linking Patara to various destinations across the Mediterranean. Patara served as a vital hub in the exchange of goods, ideas and cultures, connecting Phaselis in the east to Kaunos in the west, and Khios to Cyprus and beyond. Sea routes were favoured for their efficiency and economic viability, shaping the interconnectedness of ancient civilisations.

The lack of detailed publication of the coins from the excavations in the coastal cities of Lycia, such as Andriake, Limyra and Phaselis, currently precludes the possibility of undertaking a comparative study of Patara's network. To date, only preliminary publications on the coins recovered during the Andriake excavations have been made available (Bulut, Şengül 2010; 2014). In addition to two Aspendos coins dated to the end of the fourth century BC and the beginning of the third century BC, a Phaselis coin dated between 250 and 210 BC was found in the city. The coins of

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Alinda (one coin), Kos (one coin) and Rhodes (two coins), which the authors date to 166–88 BC, are significant in terms of illustrating Andriake's ties with Ionia and Karia (Bulut, Şengül 2014: 81). Undoubtedly, when the coins are published in greater detail, the network of this important port city with other regions in the fourth and third centuries BC will be better understood. A similar conclusion can be drawn regarding amphorae. The available data on amphorae from the region dating to the pre-Roman era are limited. Nevertheless, the initial available data indicate that specific amphora types – including Corinthian Type B, Thasos, Mende, Lesbos, Khios, Knidos, mushroom-rimmed, Rhodes and Cyprus – were in circulation in Lycia during the fourth and third centuries BC (Dündar 2020: 41, with references, also 44, fig. 22; cf. Dündar 2017). The data from Lycia in general shows a parallel course with the data from Patara during the relevant period.

The study of numismatic and amphora evidence from Patara offers valuable insights into the dynamics of ancient maritime trade and transportation. By piecing together these archaeological fragments, we gain a deeper understanding of the interconnectedness of ancient societies and the pivotal role that port cities such as Patara played in shaping the Mediterranean world.

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Appendix: A detailed list of the foreign civic coins found in Patara (excluding Lycian coins)

	Mint	**Region**	**Material**	**Date**	**See**	**Inv. No.**
1	Kranion	Elis	AE	fourth century BC	BMC Peloponnesus, n. 49	PTR.17-539 Tepecik İ-19 SU24-24
2	Kranion	Elis	AE	fourth century BC	BMC Peloponnesus, n. 49	PTR.97.CT-34 Find No. 164
3	Same	Elis	AE	fourth century BC	BMC Peloponnesus, n. 43	PTR.09.KC Sounding 1/09, surface
4	Ephesos	Ionia	AE	ca mid-third century BC	cfr. SNG v. Aulock, Ionien, n. 1843	PTR.17-116 Tepecik İ-19 SU03-35
5	Ephesos	Ionia	AE	third century BC	–	PTR.18-214 Tepecik H-18 SU06-02
6	Ephesos	Ionia	AE	third century BC	–	PTR.12-37 MTA Trench M4
7	Khios	Ionia	AE	190–88 BC	cf. Mavrogordato 1916: 314-15, n. 65	PTR.18-143 Tepecik I-17 SU12-02
8	Khios	Ionia	AE	133–88 BC	cf. Mavrogordato 1916: 323–24, n. 68	PTR.16-10 Kurşunlutepe
9	Miletos	Ionia	AE	350–325 BC	cf. Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 324	PTR.17-176 Tepecik İ-19 SU11-165
10	Miletos	Ionia	AE	313–290 BC	cf. Deppert-Lippitz 1984: 401–04	PTR.19-742 Tepecik Surface
11	Phokaia	Ionia	AE	ca 261–246 BC	Kinns 2002: 24–25	PTR.19-311 Tepecik İ-18 SU09-11
12	Phygela	Ionia	AE	fourth century BC	SNG Cop. Ionia, n. 1074; see also SNG Kayhan, n. 585	PTR.21-310 Tepecik I-18/I-19 SU27-07

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	Mint	Region	Material	Date	See	Inv. No.
13	Samos	Ionia	AE	fourth century BC	BMC Ionia, n. 151–59	PTR.17-213 Tepecik İ-18 SU01-01 Surface
14	Smyrna-Eurydikeia	Ionia	AE	288–281 BC	Milne 1923: n. 6	PTR.09-118 Waterway Sondage 6
15	Astypalaia	Karia	AE	360–340 BC	HNO, n. 2486	PTR.18-23 Tepecik I-18 SU02-19
16	Bargylia	Karia	AE	200–30 BC	HNO, n. 1013	PTR.17-117 Tepecik İ-19 SU03-33
17	Bargylia	Karia	AE	200–30 BC	HNO, n. 1013	PTR.21-67 Tepecik I-18/İ-18 SU05-03
18	Kaunos	Karia	AE	390–370 BC	HNO, n. 475	PTR.18-118 Tepecik I-17 SU08-03
19	Kaunos	Karia	AE	350–300 BC	cf. HNO 280; 1017; 1923	PTR.17-548 Tepecik İ-19 SU25
20	Kaunos	Karia	AE	350–300 BC	cf. HNO 280; 1017; 1923	PTR.19-336 Tepecik İ-18 SU10-16
21	Kaunos	Karia	AE	350–300 BC	cf. HNO 280; 1017; 1923	PTR.19-286 Tepecik İ-18 SU10-01
22	Kaunos	Karia	AE	350–300 BC	cf. HNO 280; 1017; 1923	PTR.19-424 Tepecik J-18 SU02-03
23	Kaunos	Karia	AE	350–300 BC	HNO, n. 279	PTR.19-313 Tepecik İ-18 SU09-12
24	Knidos	Karia	AE	–	cf. HNO, n. 481; 725 [250-210 BC]; 2525 [300-200 BC]	PTR.18-66 Tepecik I-18 SU03-04

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	Mint	Region	Material	Date	See	Inv. No.
25	Kos	Karia	AE	280–210 BC	cf. HNO, n. 762; 1199–1200; 1434; 2455–56	PTR.19-533 Tepecik K-19/a SU03-02
26	Kos	Karia	AE	280–210 BC	cf. HNO, n. 539; 1916–17; 1919	PTR.18-26 Tepecik I-18 SU02-18
27	Nisyros	Karia	AE	350–300 BC	cf. HNO, n. 539; 1916–17; 1919	PTR.18-26 Tepecik I-18 SU02-18
28	Side	Pamphylia	AE	third–second century BC	cf. SNG Cop. Pamphylia, n. 381–83	PTR.09-108 Tepecik
29	Side	Pamphylia	AE	third–second century BC	cf. SNG Cop. Pamphylia, n. 387	PTR.18-217 Tepecik I-17 SU21-05
30	Selge	Pisidia	AR	third century BC	SNG v. Aulock Pisidia, n. 5278; see also Callatay-Doyen 1987, n. 20–31	PTR.92-9 Necropolis 8/-60

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