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A Ptolemaic context from Hellenistic Patara

Remarks on amphora stamps and coins

Abstract

Archaeological investigation at Patara, on the south-western coast of Türkiye, has generated new data concerning the city's status under Ptolemaic rule in the 3rd century BC. In this study, we focus on a Hellenistic context found at the Tepecik Settlement dating from the period of Ptolemaic hegemony. A Rhodian amphora bearing a stamp on each handle and four coins found *in situ* enable us to date this context to the first half of the 3rd century BC. The amphora, which was produced in the Rhodian Peraia, slightly further north-west along the Turkish coast, records the eponym Χρυσόστρατος (*c.* 266 BC) and fabricant Ἀστός. The pairing of these two persons is here clearly confirmed for the first time. The four coins found in the same context include a bronze Macedonian regal coin, two ancient counterfeit silver-plated bronze coins (one recording the name of Alexander the Great and the other recording the name of Ptolemy I Soter), and a genuine Rhodian silver coin carrying the name of the magistrate Ἀριστόβιος. The Rhodian amphora stamps lend further precision to the dating of this context and coins. Thus, we suggest the period *c.* 275–265/264 BC for the dating of the Rhodian silver coin and the tenure of the Rhodian magistrate Ἀριστόβιος.*

Keywords: amphora stamp, coin, Macedonian Kingdom, Patara, Ptolemaic Kingdom, Rhodes

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Introduction

Recent archaeological studies carried out in Patara, one of the significant harbour cities of ancient Lycia in the south-west of

Asia Minor, have provided new data on the city under Ptolemaic rule. The site is located near the village of Gelemiş, in the province of modern-day Antalya in south-western Türkiye. Excavations at the Tepecik Settlement, which is on a hill with a maximum height of 30 m above sea level and located to the north-east of the ancient harbour of Patara, show there was a Ptolemaic garrison in this settlement which was preceded by a Macedonian garrison at the same site (*Figs 1–2*).¹

During the excavations carried out in the Tepecik Settlement plan quadrant H-18 in 2018, a room dated to the first half of the 3rd century BC was found at the Ptolemaic building level. In this room, an amphora and four coins were discovered *in situ*. All were in close proximity in the same part of the room. These four items represent the primary focus of this study. Found in many pieces, the amphora was reconstructed during post-excavation analysis. It bears stamps on both handles. These stamps allow the pairing of the eponym Χρυσόστρατος and fabricant Ἀστός for the first time. The coin finds provide clues concerning coin circulation in the first half of the 3rd century BC in Lycia. Moreover, this undisturbed archaeological context allows us to make a more precise dating for Rhodian silver coins with the name of the magistrate Ἀριστόβιος.

This study aims to explain the relationship between the two names inscribed on the stamps of the amphora handles. It also aims to date the coins, which are Rhodian (*No. 4*), Macedonian royal (*No. 1*) and Ptolemaic issues (*Nos 2–3*), and accordingly to explain their circulation in the city of Patara and its region. The article also sets out to elucidate why these five items were found together in the same context. Before going into detail of the subject of this study, it is necessary to describe the context in which these finds were discovered.

* We are grateful to Catharine C. Lorber, Gonca Cankardeş-Şenol and Dinçer S. Lenger for their valuable comments and suggestions. We would like to thank T. Mikail P. Duggan for proofreading the paper. The opinions expressed in this paper remain our own.

¹ Dündar 2019, 146, 151; Lenger & Dündar 2020, 37–70; Dündar & Lenger 2022, 201–217; Tatar 2022, 379–380.



Fig. 1. Aerial view of the Tepecik Settlement in ancient Patara. Photograph: E. Dündar.

Excavation and stratigraphy

Three architectural phases were identified during the excavations carried out in quadrant H-18 at the north-west end of the Tepecik Settlement in 2018 (Fig. 2). The architectural remains, classified as Phase I, are spread throughout the trench. In this phase, we observe remains of east–west- and north–south-oriented foundations, built of rubble stones, *c.* 60 cm wide, preserved to a height of several rough courses. Rooms, doors and steps can also be easily distinguished (Fig. 3). The upper parts of the rubble-founded walls of these single-storey buildings were probably raised using mud bricks.² The fact that no roof tiles were found during excavation indicates that these rooms were covered with a mudbrick flat roof with wooden beams. An *in situ* context found on the lime mortared floor of Room 1 located in the centre-south of the trench provided important data for the period of use of this phase. The finds from this context include a single-handled jug (inv. H18-

25.01), a bag-shaped olpe (inv. H18-25.02), and a whetstone of sandstone (Inv. H18-25.06). The olpe has a bag body unlike other olpai recovered from the site in previous years.³ A similar single-handled jug was found in the Athenian Agora, dated between 350 and 290 BC.⁴ According to the finds, the last use of Phase I dates to the late 4th century BC. It is probable that this room is in an arrangement related to the north–south-aligned buildings lined up immediately to the south of the North Fortification Wall of the settlement (Fig. 2).⁵

The architectural remains classified as Phase II can be traced in the trench. In this phase, we observe that Room 1 was renovated and connected to a different space to the east. Room 2 lies in the north of the trench and was also built in

³ Cf. Dündar 2020b, 58, fig. 15, no. 4.

⁴ Rotroff 2006, 249, no. 39, fig. 7, pl. 7. For a close analogue from Patara dated to the late 4th century BC, cf. Dündar 2020b, 60, fig. 24, no. 13.

⁵ Five rooms lined up against the North Fortification Wall, which may have been related to this building identified in Phase I, were destroyed by fire in the late 4th century BC, see Dündar 2020b, 48–67.

² Dündar 2019, 146–149.

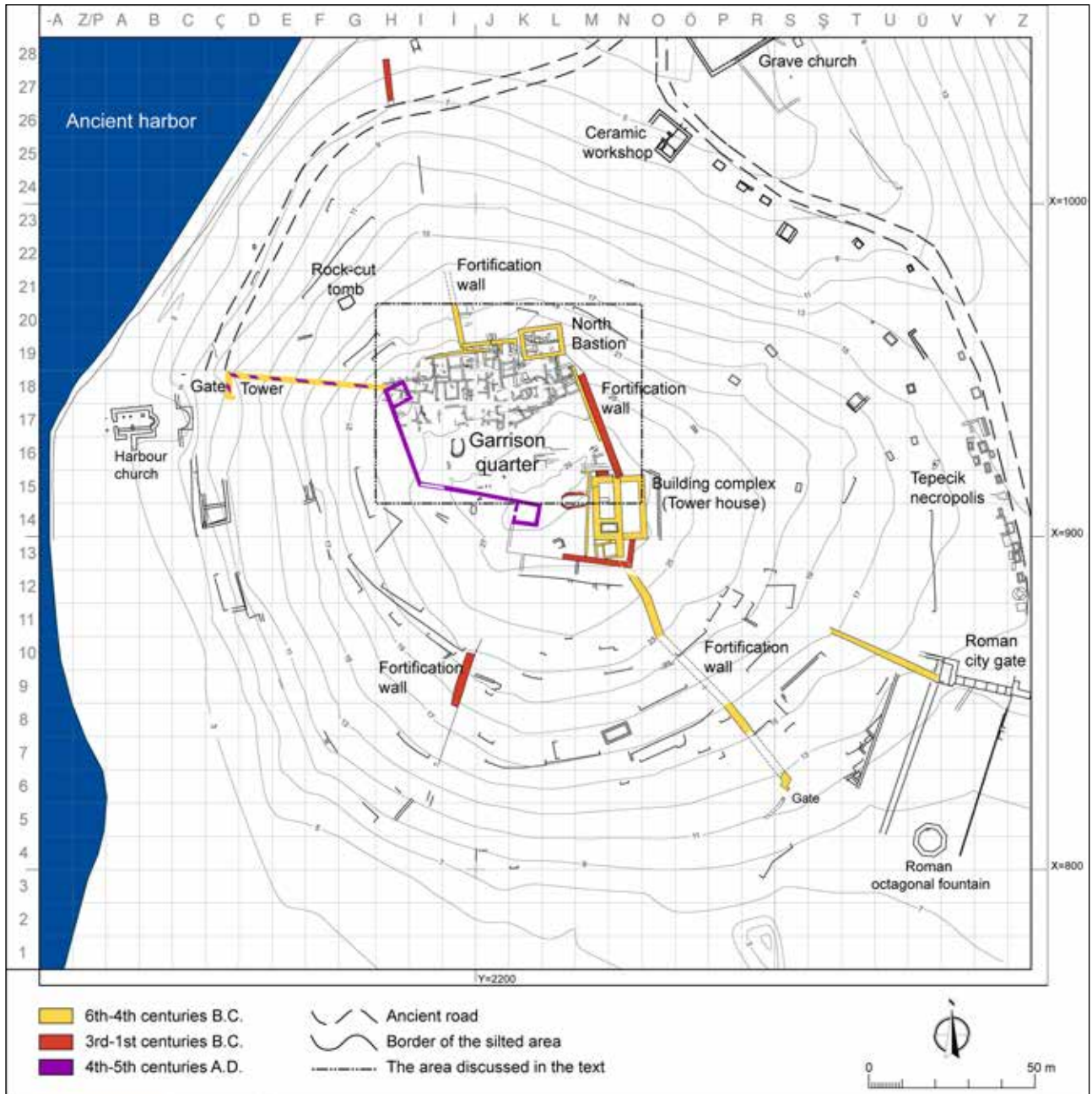


Fig. 2. Plan of the Tepecik Settlement in ancient Patara. Illustration: E. Dündar.

Phase II (Fig. 3). The stamped amphora and coins, the main subject of this study, were recovered in Room 2. There is a corridor between Rooms 1 and 2. In the light of the finds recovered from Room 2, we understand that the use of this room ended in the second quarter of the 3rd century BC. The foundations of Tower T15, which constitutes Phase III, rest on the walls of these rooms, and this makes it difficult to relate to each other exactly the layout of the buildings in Phase II.

In the latest layer of Phase III, the foundations of Tower T15 were found, measuring approximately 7×6.20 m with a wall thickness of 0.90 m. The tower is oriented north-west-south-east (Fig. 3).⁶ The outer faces of the walls of T15 were constructed using hammer-faced ashlar blocks and the inner

⁶ Dündar & Koçak 2021, 135, 143–144, fig. 24.

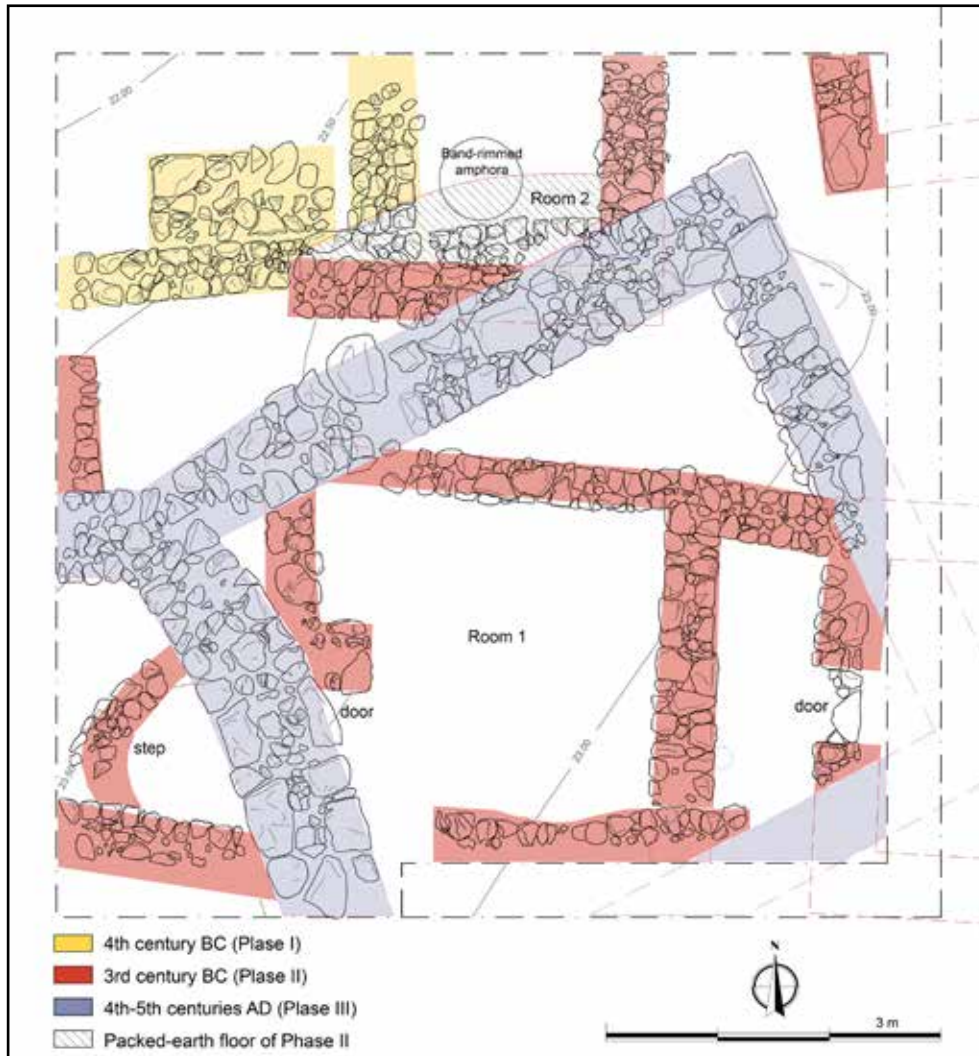


Fig. 3. Architectural phases of quadrant H-18 of the Tepecik Settlement, Patara. Illustration: E. Dündar.

face using small, irregular stones, quarry-faced and for the most part polygonal and arranged in irregular courses. The coins and the pottery found during the excavation show that the tower was built in the 4th–5th centuries AD.⁷ The hammer-faced ashlar blocks used in the tower's outer face exhibit similarities with the north wall and the blocks of the bastion located to the north of the upper plain of the Tepecik Settlement (Fig. 2).⁸ Probably, some of the blocks belonging to the North Fortification Wall and the North Bastion, which were no longer functioning in the 4th–5th centuries AD, were re-

used in the construction of Tower T15. Rubble stone collapse belonging to the tower was found in and around Tower T15, from just below the surface soil.

Material assemblage of Room 2

Room 2 belongs to Phase II in the north of quadrant H-18, and has walls with an average thickness of 0.60 m. This space was probably part of a residential building. The area is known to have functioned as a Ptolemaic garrison in the 3rd century BC.⁹ Detailed information on the stamped amphora

⁷ The latest datable ceramics include the grooved ceramic pieces and LR1 amphora handles dated to the 4th–5th centuries AD. The latest coin finds from this area are dated to the second half of the 4th century AD (Constantin II, Valentinian I, Valens, or Valentinian II). For the preliminary reports of this excavation see Dündar 2020a, 399–400.

⁸ Dündar & Rauh 2017, 513–520.

⁹ Excavations in the area have shown that after the Hecatomnid and Macedonian settlements, this area served as a Ptolemaic garrison in the 3rd century BC. The studies conducted at Patara also



Fig. 4. Stamped band-rimmed amphora. Photograph and illustration: E. DüNDAR.

and four coins found *in situ* on a packed-earth floor is given below (Fig. 3).

STAMPED AMPHORA

The long cylindrical neck of the amphora has vertical band-rimmed handles that connect to the vessel's shoulder. The body profile narrows down from the shoulders to the base and ends

provide important data on the material culture of the city and the Ptolemaic rule, which spanned a period of about 100 years. In addition to a unique hoard of 19 gold trichrysa found at the Tepecik Settlement (Lenger & DüNDAR 2020; DüNDAR & Lenger 2022), a unique stamped Ptolemaic amphora (DüNDAR 2023) demonstrate that Patara played an important political and military role in the Ptolemaic administration of the Eastern Mediterranean during this period.

with a handle-shaped toe with a plastic ring attachment around it. The two vertical handles start slightly below the rim. Then, they rise with a gentle turn from the neck and turn down running parallel to the neck to connect with the shoulder (Fig. 4). One rectangular-shaped stamp was impressed on each handle.

Amphorae of a similar form are called “band-rimmed”, and were used by manufacturers in the Rhodian Peraia from the beginning of the 3rd century BC until the last quarter of that century.¹⁰ It is known that this form was produced by many workshops on the Marmaris peninsula.¹¹ What distinguishes

¹⁰ Grace 1963, 323–324, no. 5; 1966, 287; Empereur & Tuna 1989, 277–299; Doğer 1994, 197, nos 1–5; Şenol 1995, 2; Doğer & Şenol 1996, 63; Şenol & Aşkın 2007, 270; Şenol & Waltz 2010, 186.

¹¹ Hisarönü: Empereur & Tuna 1989, 280. Limanbaşı: Şenol 2015, 196.



Table 1. Amphora stamps.

Inv. no.	PTR-MK-1351
Find-spot	Tepecik, H-18 (SU 02)
Origin	Rhodian Peraia
Matrix shape & dimension	(a–b) rectangular, (a) 2.3 × 0.9 cm; (b) 2.3 × 0.9 cm
Inscription mode & direction	(a–b) retrograde, (a) abbreviation, (a–b) lunate sigma
Eponym	Chrysostratos
Fabricant	Astos
Date	c. 266 BC
Matrix	(a) RE-ΧΡΥΣΩΣΤΡΑΤΟΣ-001 ^I
	(b) RF-ΑΣΤΟΣ-001 ^{II}
Inscriptions	(a) Χρυσόστρ(retrograde
	(b) Αστοῦ retrograde

^I Cankardeş-Şenol 2015a, 181.

^{II} Cankardeş-Şenol forthcoming.



Figs 5a–c. Amphora with stamps on the handles. Stamps: above, stamp “a”; below, stamp “b”. Photographs: E. Dündar.

the Pataran band-rimmed amphora discussed here from its counterparts are the stamps it carries on its handles (Fig. 5a–c).

On the stamp “a” the Rhodian eponym *Χρυσόστρατος* is written in abbreviated, retrograde form. On the stamp “b” the name of the fabricant *Ἀστός* is written in retrograde, genitive form.¹² In both stamps, sigma letters are lunate. These two matrices, which give different names, have the same pattern, and letter characters. It is possible to say after a detailed examination that the matrices of both stamps were made by the same craftsman.¹³ Virginia R. Grace, who studied finds from the Ptolemaic military camp on the Koroni peninsula, which forms the south side of the entrance to the bay of Porto Raphiti on the east coast of Attica, drew attention to the possible relationship between these two stamps, as both were found on material from that site, but never combined on the same vessel.¹⁴ The stamps on the amphora found in Patara give the first concrete evidence of the connection between the eponym *Χρυσόστρατος* and the fabricant *Ἀστός*, which was first suggested by Grace based solely on pattern similarities.

¹² There are some considerations that the names of “fabricants” read on the Rhodian stamps may belong to the wine merchants. For discussions on this hypothesis, see Rauh *et al.* 2013, 151; Dündar 2017, 386–387.

¹³ Specimens of *Χρυσόστρατος* and *Ἀστός*, impressed using the same matrices as the Pataran stamps, are found in Alexandria. For matrices, *Χρυσόστρατος* see Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 181–183, *Ἀστός*, see AmphorAlex.

¹⁴ V.R. Grace (1963, 319, 333, no. 5) says, “... slightly abbreviated, has lettering closely similar to that of Koroni 109, hence handles with this type probably came from jars of *Ἀστός* ...”; see also Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 239.



Fig. 6. The four coins found at Patara. The upper photographs show the obverse sides, the lower show the reverse. Photographs: E. DüNDAR.

Gerald Finkielsztein created a detailed chronology of Rhodian eponyms. According to his chronology Χρυσόστρατος, whose name is inscribed on stamp “a” of the Pataran amphora, was in office *c.* 266 BC (Finkielsztein’s Period Ib).¹⁵ The finds which allowed detailed studies on the eponym Χρυσόστρατος were found in the above-mentioned Ptolemaic military camp on the Koroni peninsula, also studied by Grace. The name of the eponym was used in abbreviated form on five stamps excavated at that camp.¹⁶ Χρυσόστρατος has only two name stamps that indicate his connection with the fabricant Εὐφρών.¹⁷ In addition, stamps of the eponym with the title ἱερεὺς and the preposition ἐπὶ are also known.¹⁸

It is known that Ἀστός, whose name we read on stamp “b” on the amphora from Patara, was active as a fabricant in the Marmaris-Hisarönü workshops, located on the mainland just north of Rhodes,¹⁹ and possibly in Period Ib according to Finkielsztein’s chronology mentioned above.²⁰ In addition to Χρυσόστρατος, eponyms such as Ἄγριος and Ἀντιλέων help us date the name of the fabricant Ἀστός as well.²¹ In recent years, based on the matrix resemblance, Ἀθανο(,Βουλαφόρας,

Ἀριστίων and Φωκίων have been added to the eponyms that date him.²² The data we have show that Ἀστός was active between 270/268–264 BC. The precise dating of the amphora found in quadrant H-18 of the Tepecik Settlement at Patara is of importance for the interpretation of the four coins found in the same context.

COINS

Four coins were found in the same context as the stamped amphora. Of the four coins, one is silver (No. 4), two are silver-plated bronzes (Nos 2–3), and the fourth is bronze (No. 1). When we classify them according to the issuing authority, one belongs to the Macedonian Kingdom (No. 1), two belong to the Ptolemaic Kingdom (Nos 2–3), and the last coin is a civic coin minted by Rhodes (No. 4).

Among the specimens found, the earliest is the Macedonian regal coin (No. 1, Fig. 6:1). This is a bronze coin, and it is the only proper bronze item found in the context. On the obverse side, there is the head of Herakles wearing a lion’s skin and facing right. On the reverse side is a quiver placed on a bow, and a club, but the emission of the coin could not be determined due to the coin’s poor condition. The legend on the reverse side is illegible. Its denomination is hemiobol (unit/AE). As the minting of this series began *c.* 336 BC,²³ we can give the minting date of this coin from the context as “ca. 336 BC and later” in all probability. The latest date we can suggest in the light of the current literature is 310 BC, because the latest examples of this series are dated to between

¹⁵ Finkielsztein 2001, 188. For the discussion of the chronology of Rhodian amphora stamps, see Badoud 2015; on the eponym Χρυσόστρατος, see 192, 254. M. Lawall (2015, 208) notes that the amphorae with Χρυσόστρατος stamps found at Koroni can be placed at the time of the actual occupation of the camp, hence later than either Ἀντιλέων or Ἄγριος, perhaps 267 or 266 BC or later. For the Koroni settlement and further comments, see Godsay 2017, 13.

¹⁶ Vanderpool *et al.* 1962, 33, pls 18:5a–b, 19:5

¹⁷ Anderson-Stojanović 1997, 16–17, pl. 9:2; Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 183.

¹⁸ Cankardeş-Şenol 2017, 181–183.

¹⁹ Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 234.

²⁰ Finkielsztein 2001, 188.

²¹ Grace 1963, 319.

²² Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 238, 240; 2015a, 97, 345; 2017, 169.

²³ Price 1991, 117–122, 126–128. For a detailed review of the series, also see Tatar 2016, 62–66.

c. 325 and 310 BC.²⁴ As noted above, the coin found in the Tepecik Settlement is a very worn specimen. Thus, it is understood that had circulated for a long time. The fact that it was found in the Tepecik Settlement, which is attested to have been a military garrison in both Macedonian and Ptolemaic times, coincides with its function:²⁵ it is well known that regal bronze coins were mainly used by mercenaries for their daily expenses.²⁶ Moreover, the total number of Macedonian Herakles/club-quiver and bow series coins found in the military garrison at the Tepecik Settlement is 21.²⁷

The other 4th-century BC coin is a silver-plated coin that copies a silver tetradrachm minted by the Ptolemaic Kingdom (No. 2, Fig. 6:2). We know that the production of counterfeit coins by alloying or silver plating continued from the Classical period into Late Antiquity. Studies on the subject provide detailed information on the method of their production, based on visual inspection and metallurgical analysis of such counterfeit coins.²⁸ In the case of Ptolemaic coins, it is known that counterfeit coins were produced from the beginning of the 3rd century BC, especially bronze coins, since the Ptolemaic Kingdom had a bronze-centred internal market system. The method of manufacture attested in the archaeological evidence is the lost-wax method of moulding the original coins. It has been determined that counterfeit coins produced in this way are of lower quality and easy to distinguish from genuine silver coins.²⁹ The specimen found in the Tepecik Settlement bears the head of Alexander III wearing an elephant skin on the obverse side and Athena Promachos advancing, brandishing shield and spear on the reverse side. It carries the inscription ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, and in the right field; Π and helmet, and eagle in the right field. The original issue, which this counterfeit copied, belongs to the period of Ptolemy I Soter and was struck in Alexandria, and is dated to c. 305/304–

300 BC.³⁰ Its denomination is tetradrachm.³¹ However, it is not a regal Ptolemaic issue as it does not carry the name of the Ptolemaic king; it is a posthumous issue bearing the name of the deceased Macedonian king Alexander the Great.³² Nevertheless, as it was struck not during his satrapy but after the declaration of the kingdom—it is a Ptolemaic issue.

As noted above, the specimen found in the Tepecik Settlement is a silver-plated bronze, so a counterfeit coin. However, the die compatibility between this counterfeit and the original coins is remarkable. In this case, it comes to mind that this counterfeit coin may have been minted using the official regal silver coin die. The coin discussed here does not display the flaws that one would expect to find in a counterfeit coin produced using the lost-wax technique. Such flaws include having a flatter surface than genuine silver coins and showing traces of casting on their edges.³³ It is clear that this ancient counterfeit circulated for a long time, judging by its worn state.³⁴ At some point, however, someone must have suspected the coin of being counterfeit, perhaps because the silver coating of the coin had come off; the control marks and cuts on the obverse suggest this. Once it was understood that the coin was a silver-plated counterfeit, it was invalidated by further scratches on the obverse. The coin seems to have been withdrawn from circulation. The weight of the coin found in the Tepecik Settlement is 13.56 g, while the official weight of this series, which is dated to approximately 306–300 BC and has a standing Athena depicted on the reverse, is approximately 15.70 g.³⁵ This is a c. 15% difference. Silver-plated counterfeit issues are

²⁴ See Price 1991, nos 375–393. There is another similar issue (Price 1991, no. 3493) dated to c. 333–305 BC, which is attributed to Sidon, but it is a quarter unit (1/4 AE) issue, so it is a different coin from that which is discussed here.

²⁵ Lenger & Dündar 2020, 47–49. For a Ptolemaic hoard made up of 19 gold coins (trichrysa) found in Patara, see also Dündar & Lenger 2022, 201–117.

²⁶ Psoma 2009.

²⁷ This is the data to 2019. Only emissions of five coins out of 21 could be determined due to their poor condition, see Price 1991, no. 268, no. 2545, no. 374 or no. 396, nos. 2799–2800. Two are dated between 336–323 BC, two others between 325–310 BC, and the last one between 323–310 BC.

²⁸ See Campbell 1933; La Niece 1993; Keyser 1995–1996.

²⁹ See Faucher 2017, 76–77.

³⁰ For the coin, see Svoronos 1904–1908, no. 170; Zervos 1974, issue 26; *CPE*, no. 65. For the dating see *CPE*, 263–264.

³¹ The standard weight of the denomination is c. 15.70 g. On the other hand, this coin weighs 13.56 g, reinforcing the suspicion that it is a counterfeit issue. This matter is addressed later in the article.

³² Circulation of coins carrying the name of Ptolemy I Soter and his regal title begins with the introduction of bronze issues, which are dated to c. 306/305 BC (see Picard & Faucher 2012, 25–27; *CPE*, nos B17–B22). The minting of gold coins began in c. 299 BC (see Le Rider & De Callatay 2006, 136–138; *CPE*, nos 91–106). On the other hand, the introduction of the silver coins bearing the name of Ptolemy I Soter occurred in 294 BC. For detailed information on the subject, see Le Rider & De Callatay 2006, 131; *CPE*, 22–32.

³³ Faucher 2017, 76.

³⁴ Based on many specimens in hoards, it is understood that even the coins produced using the lost-wax method could circulate for a long time, see Faucher 2017, 76. During excavations in Alexandria, forgeries, especially bronze ones, were found from the earliest series, which were minted in 306/305 BC, see Picard & Faucher 2012, 27, no. 42, nos 46–47, 52.

³⁵ In the first phase, posthumous coins were struck in the Attic weight system in which a silver tetradrachm has an average weight of c. 17.20 g. After c. 306 BC this weight system was abandoned, and regal mints began minting tetradrachms of c. 15.70 g. On the reform and its date, see

usually much lighter than the original mints. On the other hand, this counterfeit coin was put into circulation precisely at a transitional stage when the weight standard of the coinage was changed, and lighter tetradrachms were introduced by the Ptolemaic Kingdom. In this context, it must have been much easier to put counterfeit coins into circulation, given the possibility that the common user did not have any knowledge of the required weight of the new tetradrachms.³⁶

Just like the previous coin, the third coin discussed here is a silver-plated bronze Ptolemaic issue (*No. 3, Fig. 6:3*). The obverse depicts the head of Ptolemy I Soter and the reverse an eagle with closed wings standing left on a thunderbolt. P is inscribed above Γ on the reverse side and the legend is ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. The original silver coins, which our specimen from Tepecik Settlement copied, were struck during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter in Alexandria and are dated to c. 294 BC.³⁷ It is the tetradrachm of a new system that was introduced with the reform of 294 BC through which integrity and continuity was ensured in iconography, weight standard, and denominations for gold, silver, and bronze coins.³⁸ Again, like the previous silver-plated coin, this coin is very compatible with the original mint pattern, and must have been struck using the official pattern. The silver coating on the coin has almost completely come off. The weight of *No. 3* is 12.30 g, while the average weight of the original tetradrachms of the series is 14.26 g. Just like the silver-plated coin discussed above, *No. 2*, there is a difference of about 15% from what it should be, had the material been silver. Unlike the other counterfeit specimen mentioned above, *No. 2*, this silver-plated coin does not bear any indications/marks/control cuts on its obverse to suggest that it was cancelled and demonetized.

The fourth and last coin from this context at Tepecik Settlement is the Rhodian silver coin (*No. 4, Fig. 6:4*). It bears the head of Helios in three-quarter profile looking right on the obverse side and on the reverse the letters P-O, a rose with bud and a wreath. The reverse also gives the name of the magistrate: Ἀριστόβιος. It is a didrachm and dated between 275–250 BC according to recent studies.³⁹ This is therefore

the most recently minted coin in this study. The coin in question is one of the first series in which the name of this magistrate appears on the reverse of the Rhodian silver coins.⁴⁰ These pioneer coins were minted in didrachm, drachm and hemidrachm units, and seven different magistrate names have been identified on the reverse side of them.⁴¹ From this date, throughout the Hellenistic era, all larger units, with the exception of the diobol, begin to bear the magistrate's name on the reverse side. For the time being, no definite conclusion has been reached regarding the annual or semi-annual duties of these magistrates, and therefore a definite chronology cannot be arranged.⁴²

Discussion and historical context

First of all, it is significant that four coins—three out of circulation and one in circulation at the time of deposition—were found together with an amphora that can be dated thanks to the stamps it bears. The eponym Χρυσόστρατος, given on one of the amphora stamps, can be dated to about 266 BC, and the fabricant Ἀστός, whose name is identified on the other handle, can be dated to 270/268–264 BC. It is the Rhodian silver coin (*No. 4, Fig. 6:4*) that seems to be the most contemporary with the amphora.⁴³ Similar emissions of this coin, also carrying the name of the magistrate Ἀριστόβιος on the reverse

Robinson 1941; Emmons 1954; Jenkins 1960; Zervos 1967; Mørholm 1980, 158; 2000; Lorber 2005, 47–56; 2012; *CPE*, 27–29.

³⁶ We would like to thank Catharine C. Lorber for sharing her comments on the subject.

³⁷ Svoronos 1904–1908, no. 256; *CPE*, no. 154.

³⁸ The reform, which had an ideological aim in the iconographic context and a financial aim in the context of the weight system, led the coins that circulated in the Egyptian economy until the end of the reign of Ptolemy I Soter in 282 BC to become uniform. For a detailed analysis of the reform, see Lorber 2018.

³⁹ *SNG Keckman*, no. 493; Ashton 2001, no. 183; *HNO*, no. 832; for the use of this magistrate's name also see Münsterberg 1985, 62; *LAGM II*, 357.

⁴⁰ Among the ones bearing the name of a magistrate and whose minting date was between c. 275–250 BC, only one example is known from the archaeological excavations in Lycia, and it was found in Patara. In addition, two Rhodian silver coins, which are likely to be included in this series, were recovered here, but their emission could not be determined. For the published example, see Özüdoğru 2002, no. 15. Rhodian silver coins circulated mainly within the island of Rhodes and on the coasts of Caria and Lycia. However, considering the island's enormous commercial network and influence, this circulation is more restricted than one would expect. On the other hand, we can explain this situation with the fact that the Rhodian coins were melted and used as raw materials due to the Ptolemaic Kingdom's closed economic system—that is, not allowing the circulation of foreign coins of precious metals within the Ptolemaic Kingdom—implemented by the Ptolemies, the most important commercial partner of Rhodes. Moreover, from the last quarter of the 4th century to the 3rd century BC in the Eastern Mediterranean, posthumous tetradrachms of the Alexander type became the dominant currency. It is possible that Rhodian merchants used foreign coins in foreign trade, especially those minted in the Attic weight system, just like the posthumous Alexander the Great silvers, see Ashton 2001, 95.

⁴¹ For the coins, see Ashton 2001, 105, nos 180–198.

⁴² Ashton 2001, 86–87, 111.

⁴³ In regard to his probable association with the eponym Ἀθανο(, the activity of the fabricant might have started before c. 270 BC, see Cankardeş-Şenol 2015b, 240; 2017, 224, 235.

side, are dated to *c.* 275–250 BC.⁴⁴ Therefore, the fact that the amphora in the context is dated to *c.* 266 BC makes it possible for us to suggest a date of around 275–265/264 BC for the silver coin of the Rhodian magistrate Ἀριστόβιος.

Another comment should be made regarding this Rhodian silver coin (*No.* 4), the only genuine silver coin found in this context. As mentioned above, it has been determined that the date of the stamp cannot be later than 265/264 BC. It follows that the magistrate Ἀριστόβιος, whose name is seen on this Rhodian coin, must have served during or before *c.* 265/264 BC. Considering the earliest possible date given for the coin—275 BC—, we can suggest the date of about 275–265/264 BC for the issues carrying the name of Ἀριστόβιος. As mentioned above, it is not possible to date other individual coin issues bearing this name for now, though some issues are die-linked, and a consecutive order is apparent. On the other hand, when we take into consideration the wear seen on the coin found at Tepecik Settlement, this specimen must have circulated for a long time. Based on the time of use expected for the stamped amphora, *c.* 265/264 BC is proposed as *terminus ante quem* for the minting of this silver coin. However, as mentioned above, the wear of the coin indicates an early date. Nevertheless, it would be speculative to suggest a firm date at this stage. Finding a Rhodian silver coin in Lycia, on the other hand, is not surprising. First of all, there was continuous interaction between the island of Rhodes and Lycia during the Ptolemaic period. While Rhodes was never a subject of the Ptolemies, amicable relations were maintained between Rhodes and the Ptolemaic Kingdom,⁴⁵ and also between Lycia and Rhodes as neighbouring areas.⁴⁶ Rhodes had a strategic importance in commanding the Mediterranean, and with Rhodes as an ally the Ptolemaic Kingdom could feel more secure about its possessions on the southern shores of Asia Minor. Commercial relations seem to have continued more or less without interruption.⁴⁷ Moreover, as of 2022,

more than 60 Rhodian coins have been found in Patara and among identifiable specimens there are 11 coins dating from the 3rd century BC.⁴⁸ These are definitely not sporadic or random finds: they clearly show the circulation of Rhodian coins along with Ptolemaic issues, the direct result of the close ties between Rhodes and the Ptolemaic Kingdom.

Another coin that well matches the political context outlined above is the regal Ptolemaic coinage from the Alexandria mint, although it is a plated counterfeit (*No.* 3, *Fig.* 6:3). There is no control cut/mark on coin *No.* 3, but the silver coating has completely come off. The coin belongs to a series which started to be minted with the reform of 294 BC. Emissions with the same obverse but with the letter Σ as standard on the reverse were introduced during the reign of Ptolemy II, in *c.* 282 BC. After a short time, approximately 275/274 BC, the minting of coins carrying Σ and shield as standard on the reverse side began, and the production of this emission continued until *c.* 272 BC, that is, until the end of the First Syrian War (274–271 BC).⁴⁹ At the beginning of 260 BC, a new series with Arsinoe on the obverse and a double cornucopia on the reverse was introduced and they became the main silver coins of the Ptolemaic market. However, the first series, which began to be minted with the reform of 294 BC, remained in circulation for a long time despite the introduction of new issues.⁵⁰

As stated above, following the Ptolemaic annexation of Lycia, the Tepecik Settlement at Patara was used as a military garrison by the Ptolemies, as recently proved by numismatic data.⁵¹ This accounts for the many Ptolemaic coin finds. Even so, this silver-plated specimen is without equal for Patara. On the

⁴⁴ Ashton 2001.

⁴⁵ Rhodes was able to survive the siege of Demetrios Poliorcetes in 305/304 BC due to aid from Ptolemy I and this support led Rhodes to honour Ptolemy and establish strong ties with his new kingdom, see Hölbl 2001, 22; Grainger 2022, 72–74. This was the initial move of King Ptolemy I to secure control in Lycia and beyond. For the brief conflict between the Ptolemaic Kingdom and Rhodes that occurred during the events following the Chremonidean War of 267–261 BC, see Seibert 1976.

⁴⁶ In a decree from Araxa, a *polis* in north-western Lycia, dated to the reign of Ptolemy II or Ptolemy III, a man from Rhodes is honoured for helping Araxians in Rhodes, see Maiuri 1925–1926, 315.

⁴⁷ During the studies carried out in Patara to date, a total of 1,732 amphora stamps have been recorded. Of these, Rhodian stamps are the most prevalent, comprising 73.72%. This indicates that Patara's trade with Rhodes saw a significant increase, particularly during the

3rd and 2nd centuries BC. On this subject, also see Dündar 2017, 367–376. The Patara commercial amphora corpus is being studied by E. Dündar.

⁴⁸ Seven of these finds are bronze coins. Five are dated to 250–200 BC, one to 300–275 BC, and one to 200–160 BC. The remaining four coins are silver issues, similar to the one discussed in the present article. Two coins are dated to 275–250 BC (contemporary with the specimen in the context discussed here), while others are dated to 305–275 BC and 230–205 BC.

⁴⁹ See *CH* IX, 495; *EH* I, 84 (before *c.* 260 BC); *IGCH*, 1685; *EH* I, 159 (*c.* 275–270 BC).

⁵⁰ The emission, the counterfeit of which we discuss here, has been included in various hoards and almost all of them are dated to the mid-3rd century BC and later, see *IGCH*, 175 (235 BC); *IGCH*, 187 (215 BC); *IGCH*, 1473 (240 BC); *IGCH*, 1474 (160 BC); *IGCH*, 1586 (246–200 BC); *IGCH*, 1677 (285 BC); *IGCH*, 1678 (283 BC); *IGCH*, 1688 (242 BC); *CH* V, 33; *CH* VII, 85 = *CH* VIII, 307 = *CH* IX, 498; *CH* VII, 90 = *CH* VIII, 339 = *EH* I, 105 (200 BC); *CH* VIII, 245; *CH* VII, 308 = *Meydancikkale*, 3234–3291; *CH* IX, 493; *CH* IX, 497 = *CH* X, 268 = *EH* I, 196 (before 205 BC); *CH* X, 447; *EH* I, 85 (*c.* 260 BC).

⁵¹ Lenger & Dündar 2020; Dündar & Lenger 2022.

other hand, there are two other such specimens from the region: two silver-plated bronzes which imitate the tetradrachm of Ptolemy II, struck in Alexandria *c.* 275/274–272 BC.⁵² The silver coating of these bronzes has completely come off as well and just like the specimen found in the Tepecik Settlement the coins seem to have had a relatively long circulation period.

The other two coins, on the other hand, are incompatible with the archaeological context in which they were found, i.e., considering the date of the context. The first of these, the silver-plated bronze coin *No. 2* (*Fig. 6:2*), bearing the name of Alexander the Great, must have been out of official circulation before 260s BC, just like coin *No. 3* (*Fig. 6:3*). This because the minting date of the silver coin, which was copied, is between *c.* 305/304–300 BC. As of 294 BC, the silver and gold Ptolemaic coins underwent a major reform in terms of both their iconography and weight system. As a result, coins in the old system bearing the name of Alexandros were demonetized. Although it is obvious that the silver coin may have been kept and continued to be used in the market due to the preciousness of the metal, it is a counterfeit coin that is discussed here. As commented above, it was found to be a fake issue after a while in circulation, as is revealed by control cuts on the obverse, which confirmed that the coin was counterfeit. Coin *No. 2* seems to have been out of circulation, following a similar fate as coin *No. 3*. This can be understood more clearly when we consider the fact that counterfeits of this kind are almost never found in hoards buried after about 300 BC.⁵³

As stated above, from the current data the date of the minting of the Macedonian regal coin (*No. 1*, *Fig. 6:1*) dates from *c.* 336–310 BC. This is approximately 50 years before the date of the amphora stamps, made in the 260s BC. However, the point that should not be ignored is that the Tepecik Settlement was used as a garrison by the Macedonians before the Ptolemies.⁵⁴ The most recent data (up to 2022) records more than 50 Macedonian regal bronzes from the Tepecik Settlement and these coins firmly prove the existence of a Macedonian military garrison established at Tepecik, probably in 334/333 BC.⁵⁵ So the bronze issue found in this context is just another mark and independent memory of the Macedonian hegemony in Patara. On the other hand, considering that Lycia came under the rule of the Ptolemies at the end of 280 BC, and that after this date, the regal Ptolemaic coins began to be

used in the market, the only possible scenario for the discovery of this coin, dated to the end of the 4th century BC in a context dated to 266 BC, is the fact that bronze coins continued to be locally accepted as currency in the local domestic market, if the diameter conformed with contemporary bronze issues. The coin in question may have been used along with the Ptolemaic regal bronzes with an average diameter of about 20–22 mm, which were in circulation in Lycia and Patara around 260 BC. Its worn condition can be seen as the compelling evidence for such a hypothesis. In the Tepecik Settlement, there are other such coins from different contexts which tend to show that they remained in circulation for much longer than previously thought. This question merits a monographic study of its own.

Conclusion

The amphora of the Rhodian Peraia with stamps on both handles, found in Room 2 in quadrant H-18 of the Tepecik Settlement, provides significant data for the dating of the archaeological context. The eponym Χρυσόστρατος, whose name is read on stamp “a” and is thought to have been in office in *c.* 266 BC (in Period Ib, according to Finkielsztejn’s chronology), forms the *terminus post quem* for the context.⁵⁶ On the other hand, the pairings of the eponym Χρυσόστρατος and fabricant Ἀστός, whose names are inscribed on the stamps, were suggested by Grace in previous years in the light of the Koroni finds. However, Grace made the pairing based on the similarities between the letter characters used in the stamps Χρυσόστρατος and Ἀστός.⁵⁷ This match, which Grace put forward as a result of careful observation, is now securely confirmed by the Pataran amphora with its stamps.

The relative precision of the amphora stamps in dating in an archaeological context made it possible for us to make some numismatic interpretations and inferences regarding the coins that were found in the context of quadrant H-18. We put forward the years *c.* 275–265/264 BC as a new proposal regarding the date of the official duty of the magistrate Ἀριστόβιος, whose name is seen on the Rhodian silver coin (*No. 4*), and the date of minting of the coin as well. This firmly dated specimen, as supported by other similar finds from Patara, shows the active interaction between Rhodes and Lycia. The quality and the quantity of the coin finds prove not only commercial relations but also human circulation between the two areas.

⁵² Tatar 2022, nn. 473–474.

⁵³ For the hoards which include the lighter tetradrachms (struck between *c.* 306–300 BC) bearing the head of Alexander the Great on the obverse and Athena Promachos on the reverse side, see *IGCH*, 85 (306 BC); *IGCH*, 1667 (311–310 BC); *IGCH*, 1670 (310–305 BC); *IGCH*, 1671 (305 BC); *IGCH*, 1675 (300 BC); *IGCH*, 1676 (300 BC); *IGCH*, 1678 (283 BC).

⁵⁴ Dündar 2019, 151.

⁵⁵ For the data as of 2019, see Lenger & Dündar 2020, 39–40.

⁵⁶ For the comments on the eponym Χρυσόστρατος and dating suggestions, see Finkielsztejn 2001, 188; Badoud 2015, 192, 254; Lawall 2015, 208; Godsay 2017, 13.

⁵⁷ Grace 1963, 319, 333, no. 5.

As the amphora in question does not indicate a second and longer use (due to its stamps it could not be used for commercial purposes more than once and it might have been used for individual purposes only for a short period of time), we think it must have been introduced to the context in the late 260s BC, at the latest. This gives us the *terminus ante quem* for the Rhodian silver coin, *No. 4*. However, as mentioned above, this coin shows some circulation wear, and it was probably struck before 260 BC.

The long-term use and circulation of the other three coins, which are certain to have been minted long before the official date of the eponym Χρυσόστρατος, named in one of the amphora stamps, were thus confirmed. What makes the context more interesting are the two silver-plated coins, one struck in the name of Alexandros (*No. 2*) and the other in the name of Ptolemy (*No. 3*). When we look at the control cuts on *No. 2*, it is apparent that it was discovered to be a counterfeit. The fact that the counterfeit regal Ptolemaic issue *No. 3* was not subjected to such an intervention suggests that it may have circulated until the silver coating wore off. These two specimens could not have been in official circulation in the 260s BC, the date we suggest for the archaeological context in which they were found. However, we should not forget that sometimes the decisive factor in the function of the coin as money is mutual consent. Finally, a similar inference comes to mind regarding the presence of one regal Macedonian bronze coin (*No. 1*), belonging to a type of which the latest examples were struck about 310 BC, in the Ptolemaic context of the Tepecik Settlement at Patara. The most plausible explanation at present is that bronze coins continued to be accepted in the domestic market.

The Ptolemaic context discovered in quadrant H-18 of the Tepecik Settlement contributes to the research on Rhodian stamped amphoras, while also introducing novel insights into the coin circulation in Hellenistic garrison settlements and the chronology of Rhodian coins. This group of finds presents evidence of the successive powers that controlled Lycia in the late 4th and 3rd centuries BC. In addition, the context provides significant archaeological evidence for the presence of the Ptolemies in Lycia in the early 3rd century BC, a presence otherwise known largely from inscriptions, with the exception of the Ptolemaion at Limyra.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ The most striking architectural remnants of the Egyptian domination in Lycia is undoubtedly the Ptolemaion in Limyra. This temple structure, dedicated to Ptolemy II, is thought to date to the first half of the 3rd century BC. For further information, see Stanzl 2015; 2017.

Catalogue

AMPHORA

PTR'18/427, H-18 (SU 02-19), *Fig. 4*

Diam. rim 11.50 cm, base 3.80 cm; H. 70 cm; Th. 0.30 cm
Fabric hard fired; fine texture with fine-grained components, and quartz components. Body 7.5 YR 7/4 pink, slip 7.5 YR 7/4 pink, bands 5 YR 5/4 reddish brown to 7.5 YR 2.5/1 black

Inscriptions on the stamps:

a) Χρυσόστρ(retrograde

b) Ἀστοῦ retrograde

Date: c. 266 BC

COINS

Macedonian Kingdom

Macedonia

c. 336–310 BC

Obv. Head of Herakles, facing right, wearing lion skin headdress
Rev. Legend illegible. Quiver and bow, club, illegible symbol/monogram below

No. 1, Fig. 6:1. AE hemiobol, 19 mm, 6.26 g, 4h, *Patara 2018 (Tepecik H-18) inv. no. 239

Ptolemaic Kingdom

Alexandreia

c. 305/304–300 BC

Obv. Head of Alexander III facing right, wearing elephant headdress

Rev. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Athena Promachos advancing right, holding spear in right hand and shield in left hand, Π, helmet and eagle in right field

Ref.: Svoronos 1904–1908, no. 170; *CPE*, no. 65

No. 2, Fig. 6:2. AR tetradrachm (silver-plated) 28 mm, 13.56 g, 11h *Patara 2018 (Tepecik H-18) inv. no. 230 = Lenger & Dündar 2020, no. 1; Tatar 2022, no. 13

From 294 BC or shortly after

Obv. Diademed head of Ptolemy I facing right

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed, P above Π in left field

Ref.: Svoronos 1904–1908, no. 256; *CPE*, no. 154

No. 3, Fig. 6:3. AR tetradrachm (silver-plated) 26 mm, 12.30 g, 12h *Patara 2018 (Tepecik H-18) inv. no. 233 = Lenger & Dündar 2020, no. 2; Tatar 2022, no. 21

Rhodes

c. 275–265/264 BC

Obv. Head of Helios, three-quarter facing right

Rev. P–O. Rose, bud to right, wreath in left field;

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΙΟΣ

Ref.: *SNG Keckman*, no. 493 (c. 275–250 BC); Ashton

2001, no. 183 (c. 275–250 BC)

No. 4, Fig. 6:4. AR, 21 mm, 6.99 g, 12h, *Patara 2018

(Tepecik H.18) inv. no. 234

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