

ÖMER TATAR

UDC: 737.1:[902:069(560.3)“-0305/-0030”

Akdeniz University, Department of History  
omertatar@akdeniz.edu.tr

## COINS OF THE PTOLEMAIC KINGDOM IN THE COLLECTION OF ALANYA ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM

*Abstract.* – Alanya Archaeological Museum is located in Alanya, in the province of Antalya, on the site of the ancient city of Korakesion. Situated in eastern Pamphylia, the museum's collection includes coins from both Cilicia and Pamphylia. As of 2021, the museum's inventory included 39 royal Ptolemaic coins. All of these coins are made of bronze. Coins of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III are the most numerous. The majority of the coins originate from Alexandria. The chronological distribution of the coins reflects the region's transition to Ptolemaic rule. Similarly, the absence of coins from the relevant period confirms that Ptolemaic rule in Asia Minor ended at the beginning of the 2nd century BC. Data from Side Museum and Antalya Archaeological Museum, the westernmost museum in Pamphylia, also show that no local mint produced royal bronze coins in the region. It seems that Cyprus met the demand in Pamphylia. In the coming years, the results obtained from the coins in the Alanya Museum will be expanded, as expected, and findings from excavations in the region will be published.

*Key words.* – Hellenistic Period, Ptolemaic Kingdom, Asia Minor, Pamphylia, coins

### Introduction

Situated in eastern Pamphylia, Korakesion was founded in a territory located near the border of Cilicia. The site lies beneath the modern city center of Alanya in the province of Antalya. Alanya Archaeological Museum exercises authority and responsibility over the districts of Alanya, Gazipaşa, and Gündoğmuş (fig. 1). In this context, artifacts from both Cilicia and Pamphylia are included in the museum collection. This distinguishes the museum's coin collection from others, rendering it both more significant and distinctive. Alanya Archaeological Museum houses an extensive collection of numismatic artifacts, comprising nearly fifteen thousand coins. Through rigorous research conducted at the museum, a significant number of Ptolemaic Kingdom coins have been identified, amoun-

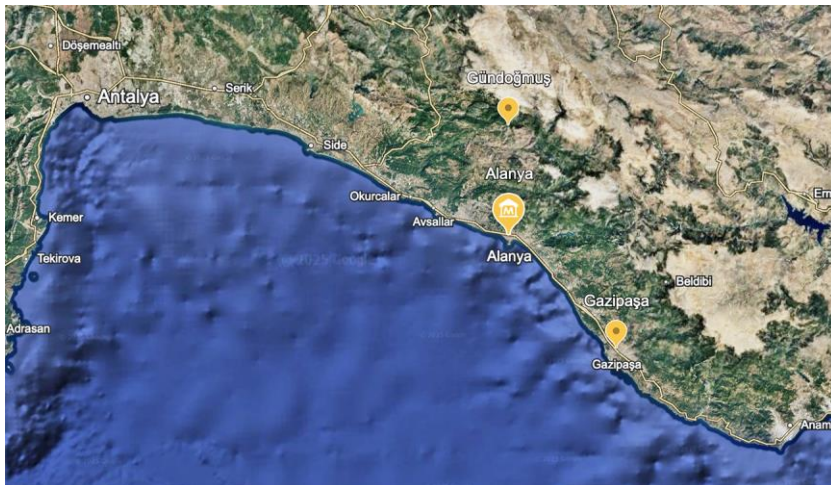


Fig. 1. Location of Alanya Archaeological Museum and its area of responsibility

ting to 39 as of 2021.<sup>1</sup> All of the coins are bronze, and no gold or silver coins could be identified. The majority of these coins entered the collection through acquisitions and confiscation, a practice commonly observed in most museums in Turkey. On the other hand, according to the statements provided by the individuals who delivered or sold the coins to the museum, the provenance of certain specimens was recorded. Of the 39 coins, only one has been recovered through archaeological excavation. The coin was unearthed during archaeological excavations at Alanya Castle in 2004.

The coins in the collection of the Alanya Archaeological Museum provide insight into the circulation of Ptolemaic coins in the region and the monetary policy of the kingdom. Furthermore, a comparative analysis of the material from other museums in Pamphylia and Cilicia allows for a more comprehensive understanding of the coin circulation pattern.

### Statistics of the material

The majority of specimens in the museum collection are legible and in good condition, allowing for the identification and classification of 37 specimens. Conversely, two coins could not be attributed to any mint due to their illegible letter/monogram. However, it was possible to ascertain their probable issuing authority.

The Ptolemaic coins in the collection are from six different reigns. The collection includes coins from the reigns of Ptolemy I Soter (6 coins),

<sup>1</sup> The Ptolemaic coins in the museum were listed in the author's PhD as supplementary material, see. Tatar 2022, 784-790 (appendix).

Ptolemy II Philadelphos (13 coins), Ptolemy III Euergetes (14 coins), Ptolemy IV Philopator (1 coin), Kleopatra III – Ptolemy IX Soter II (1 coin) and Kleopatra III – Ptolemy IX, Ptolemy X (Cyprus) or Ptolemy IX (2 coins) (fig. 2). A substantial part of the coins are from Ptolemy II & Ptolemy III's reigns, making c. 70% of the whole. While the number of coins struck during the reign of Ptolemy I is considerable, coins from the remaining kings are limited to sporadic specimens. As is discussed in detail below, the presence and the overall dispersion are in alignment with the Ptolemaic hegemony in the region.

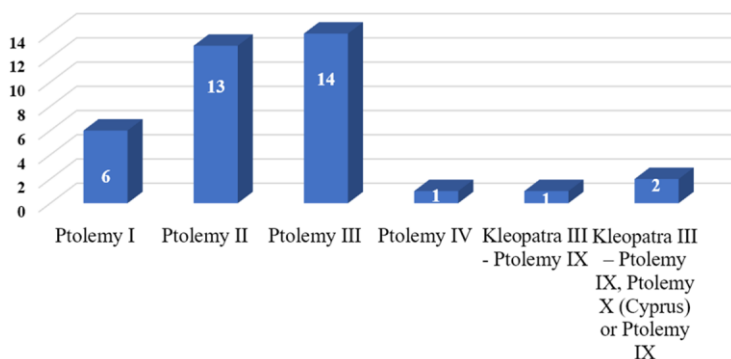


Fig. 2. Distribution of coins by ruler

With regard to the mints, the majority of the coins originate from Alexandria, with a total of 19 coins. This represents approximately 51% of the total. Paphos mint on Cyprus comes second with 11 coins (c. 29%). The remaining specimens are from Cyprus (in general, 2 coins), Tyros (1 coin) and Herakleia Syria or Seleukeia Pieria (4 coins) (fig. 3). Apparently, mints in Alexandria and Cyprus met the most of the need for bronze coinage in the region. This issue is addressed in more detail below.

### Analysis and Discussion

The majority of the coins housed in the Alanya Archaeological Museum date to the reigns of the first three Ptolemaic kings, with the issues of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III constituting the most prominent examples. This numismatic data is consistent with the 3rd c. BC history of the region. Despite not being an uninterrupted hegemony, Pamphylia and Cilicia were Ptolemaic territories for the majority of the third century BC, beginning in approximately 282/281 BC.

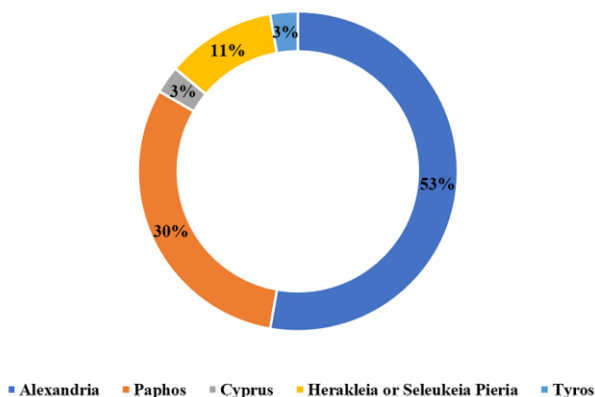


Fig. 3. Distribution of coins by mint

Pamphylia must have come under the rule of the Ptolemaic Kingdom during the early years of Ptolemy II's reign, as evidenced by the presence of a royal officer administering the region as early as 281 BC.<sup>2</sup> A similar analysis can be applied to the Cilicia region, the region was probably controlled by the Ptolemies as of 280/279 BC.<sup>3</sup> However, the western part of the region, known as Cilician Tracheia, was more effectively governed than Cilicia Pedias, which was situated along the border of the Seleucids.<sup>4</sup> During the Second Syrian War (261-253 BC), Antiochus II Theos successfully captured both Pamphylia and Cilicia but it was a short rule for Seleucids and during the Third Syrian War (246/245-241) these territories became Ptolemaic possessions again.<sup>5</sup> 6 coins from the reign of Ptolemy I are all dated from 294 BC. These bronzes must have arrived in the region during Ptolemy II's military activities in the late 280s BC.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Robert, 1966, 53-58; Bagnall, 1976, 217; Meadows, 2012; Meadows – Thonemann 2013.

<sup>3</sup> Hölbl, 2001, 38; 44; Grainger, 2010, 77; Meadows, 2012; Fischer-Bovet, 2023, 7. Also see Ma, 1999, 39 for a later date for the hegemony.

<sup>4</sup> For instance, Cilicia Pedias was under the control of the Seleucids when the Second Syrian War commenced in 261 BC. A brief period of Ptolemaic hegemony in the region is evidenced by the presence of royal coins minted in Tarsus. Nevertheless, by the middle of the 250s BC, it was conquered by Antiochus II and incorporated into the rest of Cilicia. See Davesne, 1999, 129-131; Hölbl, 2001, 48; Grainger, 2010, 121-123.

<sup>5</sup> Bagnall, 1976, 114-115; Ma, 1999, 41-45; Hölbl, 2001, 48; Huss, 2001, 281-287; 338-352; Marquaille, 2008, 48-49; Grainger, 2010, 122-136.

<sup>6</sup> Ptolemy II began striking coins of his own era c. 275 BC., for the coins see *CPE* I/2, n. B164-B201. Ptolemy II reformed the bronze coinage by the mid-260s BC, see Lorber, 2005, 138; Le Rider – Callataÿ, 2006, 158-159; Picard – Faucher, 2012, 35; Wolf, 2013, 83-84.

There are 4 specimens of the reformed bronzes of Ptolemy II dated from 275/274 BC. and the increased military mobility during the Second Syrian War (261-253 BC) resulted in a higher number of coins, amounting to 10. There are 14 specimens from the reign of Ptolemy III and this reflects the aggressive policy and military operations of Ptolemy III during the Third Syrian War (246/245-241 BC) and the reconquest of Pamphylia and Cilicia.

As evidenced in the catalogue, a trident-shaped punch mark appears on the reverse of several Ptolemaic bronze coins.<sup>7</sup> Recently it has been proposed that these coins, along with a multitude of others from Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, were punchmarked and reused during the Second Syrian War by Ptolemaic troops, thereby providing irrefutable evidence of the military activity in these regions.<sup>8</sup> Among these punchmarked coins are bronze issues of Ptolemy I, which likely arrived in Cilicia later than their unmarked counterparts. These coins were probably brought to the region during the early phase of Ptolemaic hegemony, around 280/279 BC. Thus, especially during the reign of Ptolemy II, there was an ongoing military conflict involving these two regions. Consequently, the presence and circulation of Ptolemaic bronze issues in the region are directly linked to military activities and a settled military presence.<sup>9</sup>

For the purpose of comparative analysis with materials from other museums in the vicinity of Alanya, only data currently obtained from the Side Museum, situated 65 km to the west of Alanya in Eastern Pamphylia, are available.<sup>10</sup> In this museum, out of 24 identified Ptolemaic coins, 22 are from the reign of the first three kings and none from Ptolemy IV.<sup>11</sup> The data correspond to what is presented by the coins in the collection of Alanya Archaeological Museum.

As mentioned above, most of the coins are from two mints; Alexandria (19 coins) and Paphos (11 coins). The data clearly shows the currency policy of Ptolemies. First, during the reign of the first two kings, the need for small changes was met by the Alexandrian mint.<sup>12</sup> The same

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<sup>7</sup> Cat. No. 1-2; 10-11; 38.

<sup>8</sup> For a detailed analysis and discussion see Tatar 2023.

<sup>9</sup> It is known that Nagidos, located in Cilician Tracheia, hosted a Ptolemaic garrison, see Bagnall, 1976, 114-116; Durugönül, 2001, 436; 2007a, 7; 2007b, 13. For the Ptolemaic coins found there, see Tekin, 2007, 379-381; 437-438.

<sup>10</sup> A research project, aiming to study Ptolemaic coins in Cilician museums—including those in Mersin, Tarsus, Silifke, Anamur, and Adana—is scheduled for completion in 2026 by D. S. Lenger and Ö. Tatar.

<sup>11</sup> I would like to thank A. T. Tek once again for sharing the current findings with me. For the coins, see Tatar, 2022, 779-783, n. 1-30.

<sup>12</sup> In Lycia, for example, c. 90% of the whole Alexandrian coins belong to the reigns of first two rulers. In Caria, similarly, this rate is c. 70%, for detailed statistics, see Tatar, 2022, 367-368. See also Tatar 2026 (*forthcoming*).

is true for what is shown by the Alanya material, as out of 19 Alexandrian bronzes, 16 are from the reigns of the first two rulers (fig. 4). What emerges from the current data is the evident Ptolemaic policy of distributing bronze coins from Alexandria. This policy changed when Ptolemy III ascended the throne, as the number of coins from Alexandria decreased significantly. Apparently, Cyprus became the base mint to supply bronze coins for the region.<sup>13</sup> The material from the Alanya Archaeological Museum clearly confirms this. Among the coins from the reign of Ptolemy III in the museum, out of 14 coins, 8 are from the mint of Paphos, which is about 60%. Side Museum presents a similar and even sharper picture. While there are 7 coins struck during the reign of Ptolemy III in the museum, there is no specimen from Alexandria mint and the number of coins from Cyprus is 4.<sup>14</sup>

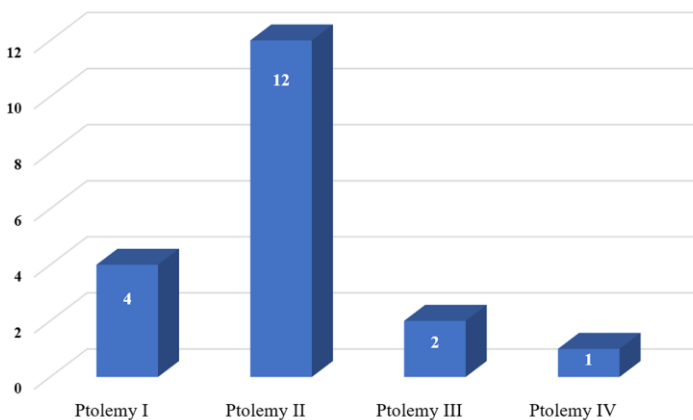


Fig. 4. Number of coins from the Alexandrian mint by rulers

This policy of supplying coinage to Pamphylia from external mints differs from the practices observed by the kingdom in other regions. For example, bronzes from Alexandria were used only in Egypt while those

<sup>13</sup> In Cilicia, in the light of available data which is not very extensive at the moment, there is a more balanced pattern. From Nagidos, for example, out of 16 coins belonging to the reign of Ptolemy III, 7 are from Alexandria and 7 are from Cyprus. For the coins, see Tekin, 2007, n. 182-190; 193-198; cfr. Tatar, 2022, 636-638, n. 26-41. When it comes to Lycia, a similar policy was applied but through a different way as local mints, Patara and Telmessos, were opened and struck royal bronzes. For a detailed analysis, see Tatar, 2022, 367-368. For the re-attribution of Ptolemaic bronzes from Kaunos to Patara, see Lenger – Tatar 2023.

<sup>14</sup> Tatar, 2022, 781-782, n. 16-22. From the excavations in Side, only a single specimen has been recovered thus far; it dates to the reign of Ptolemy III and was minted in Paphos.

struck in Tyre circulated in Syria and Phoenicia and Cyprus did not receive bronzes from outside mints. The main and most important reason for the opposite circumstance in Pamphylia is the lack of a royal mint in the region. For instance, the Lycian region, which housed two Ptolemaic mints during the reign of Ptolemy III, received very few bronze coins from external mints; instead, there circulated the coins struck by these two mints.<sup>15</sup>



Fig. 5. Mints of Ptolemaic coins from the museum's collection

Apart from this result, the overall picture clearly shows the importance of geographical proximity for the circulation of Ptolemaic bronzes (fig. 5). Among the 37 specimens identified, apart from those struck in Alexandria and Cyprus, the remaining 5 coins are from Tyros (1 coin) and from Herakleia (Syria) or Seleukeia Pieria (4 coins). Moreover, the coins of two prolific local mints, Patara and Telmessos<sup>16</sup>, did not circulate in Pamphylia and Cilicia, although the distance between these regions is not so great. While there are no specimens in the collection of Alanya Archaeological Museum, the total number in Side Museum is only 2.<sup>17</sup> It is evident that, whereas the first two kings maintained Alexandria as the principal mint for coin production intended for circulation in southern Asia Mi-

<sup>15</sup> Of the 67 bronze coins minted in Alexandria and found in Lycia, 13 belong to Ptolemy I and 44 to Ptolemy II. The number of Alexandrian coins from the reign of Ptolemy III is only 8, see Tatar, 2022, 367-368.

<sup>16</sup> For the coins, see Svoronos n. 791; 793; 839-840; *CPE* I/2, n. B434-B437.

<sup>17</sup> Excavations in Side did not yield any specimen yet. Same applies for Nagidos.

nor, this practice underwent a notable transformation during the reign of Ptolemy III. It is clear that the administrators of the period adjusted the geographical distribution of coin production: coins struck in Cyprus were circulated throughout Pamphylia and Cilicia, whereas those minted in Patara and Telmessos were distributed in western Lycia and southern Caria.<sup>18</sup> The numismatic data from Alanya Archaeological Museum confirms this.

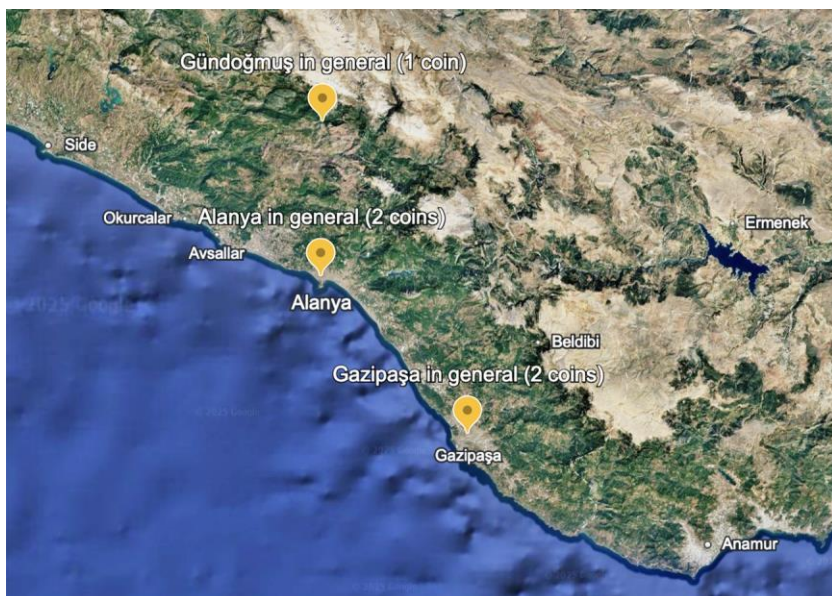


Fig. 6. Provenanced finds without any specification

The provenance of 13 coins was documented in the museum's inventory registers. However, these records reflect the information provided by the individuals who brought the coins to the museum. In most cases, this information is either inaccurate or altered for various reasons. Moreover, some individuals engage in the regular sale of coins to museums.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, such statements have the potential to be useful and

<sup>18</sup> This assertion is supported by numismatic data from Western Asia Minor. For instance, while there is a paucity of specimens struck by two Lycian mints found in Pamphylia and Cilicia, among those circulating in Lycia and Caria, the rate is notably low for Cypriot bronzes. In Lycia, for instance, royal bronzes from Cyprus recovered during excavations and surveys constitute only approximately 13% of the total finds. See Tatar, 2022, 365.

<sup>19</sup> For instance, during the author's doctoral research conducted in museums such as Marmaris, Bodrum, Muğla, Fethiye, and Antalya, it was observed that certain names appeared repeatedly in the inventory records. Therefore, drawing definitive conclusions or

should be given due consideration. In the present discussion of Ptolemaic bronzes, all are identified as having been discovered in or in the vicinity of Alanya. Some coins have been accompanied by more detailed provenance information, while others have not (fig. 6-7). Among these specified finds, two (cat. no. 23; 32) were declared to have been found in coastal regions (Okurcalar and Yukarı). The remaining six (cat. no. 11-12; 14; 18; 29; 37) were declared to have originated from the interior of the region.

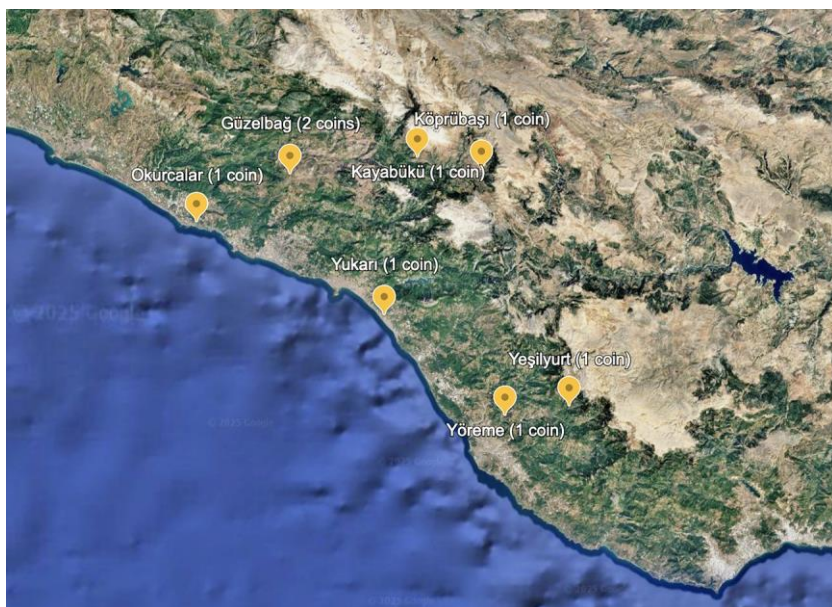


Fig. 7. Provenanced finds with detailed description

Given the unreliability of this information, it is difficult to provide a definitive commentary on the provenanced finds and their relationship to coin circulation. Furthermore, the specified locations, including Güzelbağ, Köprübaşı, Kayabükü, Yeşilyurt, and Mahmutlar, lack recorded archaeological significance within their immediate vicinity, except Mahmutlar where ancient Nauloi has been located.<sup>20</sup> In the vicinity of Okurcalar, there is Alara stream, also known as Ulugüney stream. Historically, this

attributions based solely on museum material would be speculative. Such material is more appropriately employed as supplementary evidence.

<sup>20</sup> Nauloi is suggested to be the port city of Syedra, Hellenkemper-Hild 2004, 261; 291. Also a prehistoric cave has been officially registered in Okurcalar quarter, see [http://www.tayproject.org/TAYmaster.fm\\$Retrieve?YerlesmeNo=11696&html=masterengdetail.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYmaster.fm$Retrieve?YerlesmeNo=11696&html=masterengdetail.html&layout=web). To date, no archaeological study or research has been conducted on the site.

waterway served to connect the coastal regions with the interior, ultimately discharging into the sea near the Okurcalar district.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, this quarter encompasses a medieval caravanserai (Alâra Han), situated in close proximity to Alara Stream. This structure was erected along a commercial route that facilitated communication between the southern and northern regions of the Taurus Mountains.<sup>22</sup> Unfortunately, modern settlements overlay Okurcalar and its close vicinity. Nevertheless, these Ptolemaic coins must have been found not far from Alanya, because in the east there are museums such as Anamur, Silifke, Mersin and Tarsus, where people could take what they had found.

What is interesting but common in the southern coastal possessions of the Ptolemies is the lack of bronze coins from the reigns of Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy V, when territories from Caria to Cilicia were still part of the Ptolemaic kingdom, until 197 BC. In the collection of Alanya Archaeological Museum there is only one specimen from the reign of Ptolemy IV and there is no specimen from the reigns of his successors. This is a common phenomenon and in the light of available data, the number of coins from the reign of these two rulers is only 5 all over southern Asia Minor, one of which is from Alanya Archaeological Museum.<sup>23</sup> For a definitive and detailed explanation of this situation, each region should be examined individually.<sup>24</sup> However, the most plausible and comprehensive explanation for the absence of bronzes of Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy V is the extended use of the coins of previous rulers, in this case those of Ptolemy III. Specific to Pamphylia, on the other hand, such a practice might have been the result of a decrease in the Ptolemaic influence over the

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<sup>21</sup> Interestingly, Beaufort (1817, 159ff.) during his journey in the region, describes the small peninsula between Karaburun (near Okurcalar) and Alanya as Ptolemais. Heberdey and Wilhelm (1896, 135), who visited Pamphylia and Cilician coasts in the late 19th century, write that on the road from Okurcalar to Şarapsa han (today in Payallar quarter, c. 15 km away from Okurcalar), they observed ancient remains located at the foot of the hills. They state their consensus with Beaufort who had described these ruins as Ptolemais almost a century ago. However, as they only saw these ruins from a far and we are not sure about what they observed is the same with what Beaufort recorded. Later, Keil and Wilhelm (1915) visit the same area and record that they passed through Kibyra (minor) and Ptolemais near the coast. However, today, the small peninsula near Okurcalar is identified as Kibyra Minor, while the other peninsula, Fidan Burnu, located near Alanya (approximately 10 km from Okurcalar), is believed to correspond to the site of ancient Ptolemais. For a detailed analysis and previous literature, see Tigrel, 1975, 613–620. For the remains in and around the settlement thought to be Ptolemais see Tigrel, 1975, 620ff.

<sup>22</sup> Eskikurt, 2014, 23.

<sup>23</sup> No specimens were discovered in the course of excavations or field surveys conducted in the regions of Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia. In Cilicia, however, 2 coins were found in Nagidos excavations, see Tekin, 2007, n. 152; 199. Cfr. Tatar, 2022, p. 638–639, n. 42; 44. When it comes to museums, there is one specimen in Antalya and another in Side museum. For these coins, see Tatar, 2022, 328, n. 435; 782, n. 23.

<sup>24</sup> For a detailed analysis regarding Lycia region, see Tatar, 2022, 362–363; 385–387.

region as we know, for example, that tax revenues from the region during the reign of Ptolemy IV was very low compared to previous years.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, some scholars have suggested that c. 223/222 BC Pamphylian cities gained their autonomy.<sup>26</sup> Given the paucity of Ptolemaic bronzes from the reigns of Ptolemy IV and Ptolemy V, not only in Pamphylia and Cilicia<sup>27</sup> but also in Lycia and Caria, it is challenging to formulate a definitive assessment that would either corroborate or refute the proposed date. Furthermore, Alanya is situated at the border between Pamphylia and Rough Cilicia, which was under the control of the Ptolemies at least until 197 BC.

Coins from the late 2nd century BC, on the other hand, are not uncommon in southern Asia Minor. While there are 3 specimens in Alanya Archaeological Museum, there are 2 coins in the collection of Antalya Archaeology Museum.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, their circulation is not limited to Pamphylia and Cilicia. There is one specimen each in the museums of Aydın<sup>29</sup> in southern Lydia, and Denizli<sup>30</sup> located in inner Caria. In the collection of the Ödemiş Museum in ancient Ionia, there are 5 specimens.<sup>31</sup> A total of 12 coins is noteworthy. In 103-101 BC, a dynastic conflict took place in Syria and Palestine. Ptolemy IX, who had assumed control of Cyprus in 106 BC, advanced against King Alexander Jannaeus of the Hasmonean dynasty. The co-rulers of the Ptolemaic Kingdom, Kleopatra III and Ptolemy X, were concerned about the possibility of an invasion of Egypt by Ptolemy IX and initiated an incursion into Judea,

<sup>25</sup> Fischer-Bovet, 2014, 69, fn. 75.

<sup>26</sup> Hölbl, 2001, 50-51; Grainger, 2009, 64; 78-83; 2010, 267; Grabowski, 2019, 36. For the numismatic commentary, see Bagnall, 1976, 197. For a more comprehensive analysis see Meadows, 2009. Cfr. Fischer-Bovet, 2023, 7; 22, suggesting c. 197 BC for the loss of Pamphylia.

<sup>27</sup> Nagidos excavations yielded no coins belonging to Ptolemy IV. One coin minted during the reign of Ptolemy V was found (*CPE* II/3, n. B583; Weiser, 1995, n. 136). For the find see Tekin, 2007, 381, n. 199; Cfr. Tatar, 2022, 639, n. 44. Unfortunately, with the exception of Nagidos, numismatic data from Cilicia is very scarce. Based on what is available, excavations in Kelenderis, Meydancikkale (Gülнар), Olba, Elaiussa Sebaste and Soloi-Pompeiopolis did not yield any Ptolemaic coins from the reigns of Ptolemy IV or Ptolemy V. See Zoroğlu – Arslan – Tekocak, 2001, 314 for Kelenderis; Davesne, 1988, 301; Davesne – Le Rider, 1989, 346; Davesne, 2004 for Meydancikkale (Gülнар); Akçay, 2017, 82, n. 4-5; Aksoy, 2019, n. 7 for Olba; Tekin, 1999, 319, n. 1 for Elaiussa Sebaste; Yağcı – Yiğitpaşa, 2018, 378 for Soloi-Pompeiopolis, cfr. Cavagna, 2015, 224, n. 15.6.9; 229, n. 15.6.11/2; Tatar, 2022, 641-643.

<sup>28</sup> See Tatar, 2022, 329, n. 438; 441. Excavations also yield such specimens, see Aksoy, 2019, n. 7 for Olba.

<sup>29</sup> See Tatar, 2022, 675, n. 76.

<sup>30</sup> Inv. No. 19110.

<sup>31</sup> Inv. Nos. 1297; 1299; 1301-1302; 1304. The coins were previously held in the Izmir Archaeology Museum collection and subsequently transferred to the Ödemiş Museum in 1986.

managing to make Ptolemy IX retreat.<sup>32</sup> The conflict was limited to Syria-Phoenicia but coins from that period are found in Asia Minor. The Ptolemaic Kingdom continued to recruit mercenaries from Asia Minor in the 2nd century BC, maintaining strong ties with the region.<sup>33</sup> Thus, even if hypothetical, the most plausible explanation for the circulation of those coins in Asia Minor is the hiring of mercenaries.<sup>34</sup> A considerable number of mercenaries must have been employed by either of these two sides. According to Josephus, Ptolemy IX invaded Ptolemais-Akko in Phoenicia with an army of 30,000 soldiers in 103 BC.<sup>35</sup> As the Ptolemy IX sailed from Cyprus, which was also the base for the royal fleet, he might have employed mercenaries from southern Asia Minor for his campaign. It is also possible, of course, that Ptolemy IX employed mercenaries originally from Asia Minor who had already settled in Cyprus. Based on Hellenistic inscriptions found on the island, we know that the large Ptolemaic garrison of Cyprus included many foreign soldiers.<sup>36</sup>

### Conclusion

As proved by the Ptolemaic bronze coins, predominantly from the reigns of Ptolemy I, II, and III (appr. 70% of the total), the Ptolemaic dynasty exercised considerable influence over eastern Pamphylia during the 3rd c. BC. Ptolemaic Kingdom supplied bronze coins from external mints such as Alexandria and Paphos to Pamphylia and also to Cilicia. The policy of locally minting and utilizing bronze coinage, adopted in western Lycia and eastern Caria during the reign of Ptolemy III, does not appear to have been implemented in Pamphylia. At this stage, numismatic data not only from Alanya Archaeological Museum but also from the whole region does not let us make a decisive comment on the end of the Ptolemaic rule in Pamphylia. Finally, the dynastic conflict between 103 and 101 BC, in conjunction with the employment of mercenaries from Asia Minor, may provide a rationale for the anomalous distribution of late 2nd-century BC bronzes from Alexandria.

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<sup>32</sup> Hölbl, 2001, 208-209; Huss, 2001, 647-651; Grainger, 2024, 73-88. For a detailed analysis of this conflict in the light of written sources, see Dack, 1989.

<sup>33</sup> Fischer-Bovet, 2023, 22-23. The previous king, Ptolemy VIII – Cleopatra III's uncle and Ptolemy IX's father – also recruited soldiers from Asia Minor for the army he assembled during his power struggles with Cleopatra II, particularly in the period when he lost power and was forced to settle in Cyprus, see. Grainger, 2024, 23.

<sup>34</sup> In fact, this is not an unusual case. For instance, the circulation of Hellenistic bronze coins from Side in the southern Levant is thought to be linked to the activities of the Seleucid army. Johananoff (2017) proposed that these coins were primarily employed for military payments during the Seleucid era, commencing around 198 BC.

<sup>35</sup> Josephus, *AJ* 13.12.3.

<sup>36</sup> Among soldiers from 2nd c. BC, there were mercenaries from Tarsus, Antioch, Ephesos and Hypaipa. For the full list of mercenaries see Bagnall, 1976, 263-266.



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## CATALOGUE

**Ptolemy I Soter****Alexandria, from 294 BC.**

Obv. Head of Alexander III right, in elephant headdress.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, X in left field.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 235; *CPE I/2*, n. B43

1. AE 21mm, 7.05g, 12h. Inv. No. 10244<sup>37</sup> = Tatar 2022, 784, n. 1; 2023, 411, n. 1, Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ], trident punchmark.

2. AE 21mm, 6.05g, 10h. Inv. No. 954 = Tatar 2022, 784, n. 2; 2023, 411, n. 2, Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] [ΒΑΣ]ΙΛΕ[ΩΣ], trident punchmark.

3. AE 20mm, 7.45g, 12h. Inv. No. 2474 = Tatar 2022, 784, n. 3, Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ].

**Alexandria, from 294 BC.**

Obv. Head of Zeus right.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, illegible letter/monogram in left field.

4. AE 26mm, 15.05g, 12h. Inv. No. 2354 = Tatar 2022, 787, n. 19.

**Palai Paphos, from 294 BC.**

Obv. Head of Aphrodite right, wearing polos.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ]. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed, wreath in left field?

Ref.: Cfr. Svoronos, n. 78; *CPE I/2*, n. B122

5. AE 21mm, 8.50g, 12h. Inv. No. 2002/50<sup>38</sup> = Tatar 2022, 784, n. 4.

Obv. Head of Aphrodite right, wearing polos.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ]. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed, star in left field.

Ref.: *CPE I/2*, n. B126

6. AE 21mm, 8.30g, 12h. Inv. No. 1563 = Tatar 2022, 784, n. 5.

**Ptolemy II Philadelphos****Alexandria, from 275/274 BC.**

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, o between legs, shield in left field, Σ above it.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 586; *CPE I/2*, n. B177

7. AE 28mm, 15.90g, 12h. Inv. No. 4391 = Tatar 2022, 784-785, n. 6.

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

<sup>37</sup> Its find spot is recorded as the area around Alanya.

<sup>38</sup> Its find spot is recorded as the area around Gazipaşa.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, Π between legs, shield in left field, Σ above it.

Ref.: *CPE* I/2, n. B177A

**8.** AE 27mm, 15.55g, 12h. Inv. No. 1331 = Tatar 2022, 784-785, n. 7.

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, Α between legs, shield in left field, Σ above it.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 553; *CPE*, n. B180

**9.** AE 27mm, 14.70g, 2h. Inv. No. 3657 = Tatar 2022, 784-785, n. 8.

### Alexandria, 260s BC.

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, Λ between legs, shield in left field, Σ above it, Χ below it, trident punchmark.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 581; *CPE* I/2, n. B190

**10.** AE 28mm, 15.75g, 12h. Inv. No. 2000 = Tatar 2022, 785, n. 9; 2023, 413, n. 37, Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ].

**11.** AE 26mm, 14.10g, 12h. Inv. No. 2007/139<sup>39</sup> = Tatar 2022, 785, n. 9, Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩ[Σ].

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜ[ΑΙΟΥ] [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, ο between legs, shield in left field, Σ above it, Χ below it.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 587; *CPE* I/2, n. B195

**12.** AE 28mm, 19.10g, 12h. Inv. No. 10633<sup>40</sup> = Tatar 2022, 785, n. 11.

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, Α between legs, shield in left field, Σ above it, Χ below it.

Ref.: *CPE*, n. B200

**13.** AE 27mm, 13.75g, 12h. Inv. No. 722 = Tatar 2022, 785, n. 12.

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, illegible letter/monogram between legs, shield in left field, Σ above it, Χ below it.

Ref.: Cfr. *CPE* I/2, n. B185; B187-B190; B192-B200

**14.** AE 26mm, 14.95g, 12h. Inv. No. 2013/17<sup>41</sup> = Tatar 2022, 786, n. 13.

### Alexandria, c. 265-260 BC.

<sup>39</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Güzelbağ village of Alanya.

<sup>40</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Yöreme quarter of Gazipaşa.

<sup>41</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Köprübaşı Plain of Alanya.

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ]. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 415; *CPE I/2*, n. B205

15. AE 31mm, 20.65g, 12h. Inv. No. 10243<sup>42</sup> = Tatar 2022, 786, n. 14.

Obv. Head of Alexander III right, in elephant headdress.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 416; *CPE I/2*, n. B206

16. AE 20mm, 7.70g, 12h. Inv. No. 6451 = Tatar 2022, 786, n. 15.

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜ[ΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, Θ between legs.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 469; *CPE I/2*, n. B239

17. AE 19mm, 6.45g, 12h. Inv. No. 6024 = Tatar 2022, 786, n. 16.

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. ΠΤΟ[ΛΕΜ]ΑΙΟ[Υ] ΒΑΣΙ[ΛΕΩΣ]. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, P between legs.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 501; *CPE I/2*, n. B265

18. AE 19mm, 4.65g, 12h. Inv. No. 10235<sup>43</sup> = Tatar 2022, 786, n. 17.

#### **Tyros, from middle to late 260s BC.**

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. [ΠΤΟΛ]ΕΜΑΙ[ΟΥ] [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]. Two eagles standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed, club in left field, cornucopiae over shoulder.


Ref.: Svoronos, n. 834; *CPE I/2*, n. B331

19. AE 41mm, 58.15g, 12h. Inv. No. 6242 = Tatar 2022, 786, n. 18.

#### **Ptolemy III Euergetes**

##### **Alexandria, 246-222 BC.**

Obv. Laureate head of Zeus right.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread,  between legs, cornucopiae in left field.

Ref.: *CPE I/2*, n. B372

20. AE 28mm, 12.15g, 12h. Inv. No. 4390 = Tatar 2022, 787, n. 20.

21. AE 27mm, 14.45g, 12h. Inv. No. 981 = Tatar 2022, 787, n. 21, Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ].

##### **Paphos, 246-222 BC.**

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Cult statue of Aphrodite.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 1005; *CPE I/2*, n. B447

22. AE 29mm, 16.85g, 12h. Inv. No. 2009/180<sup>44</sup> = Tatar 2022, 787, n. 22.

<sup>42</sup> Its find spot is recorded as the area around Alanya.

<sup>43</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Kayabükü village of Gündoğmuş.

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Cult statue of Aphrodite.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 1006; *CPE I/2*, n. B448

23. AE 25mm, 12.65g, 12h. Inv. No. 6081<sup>45</sup> = Tatar 2022, 787, n. 23.

24. AE 24mm, 16.40g, 12h. Inv. No. 6448 = Tatar 2022, 787, n. 24.

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Cult statue of Aphrodite.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 1007; *CPE I/2*, n. B449

25. AE 20mm, 5.70g, 12h. Inv. No. 2007/54 = Tatar 2022, 788, n. 25.

26. AE 20mm, 5.25g, 12h. Inv. No. 1330 = Tatar 2022, 788, n. 26.

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Cult statue of Aphrodite.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 1008; *CPE I/2*, n. B450

27. AE 16mm, 3.55g, 12h. Inv. No. 2004/1<sup>46</sup> = Tatar 2022, 788, n. 27.

28. AE 16mm, 2.55g, 12h. Inv. No. 1259 = Tatar 2022, 788, n. 28, Rev. ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛ[ΕΩΣ].

29. AE 15mm, 2.85g, 12h. Inv. No. 2002/107<sup>47</sup> = Tatar 2022, 788, n. 29.

### **Herakleia (Syria) or Seleukeia Pieria, 246-222 BC.**

Obv. Legend illegible. Bust of Berenike II right.

Rev. Legend illegible. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed.

Ref.: Cfr. Svoronos, n. 1055; *CPE I/2*, n. B460

30. AE 20mm, 7.10g, 12h. Inv. No. 2014/246 = Tatar 2022, 788, n. 30.

Obv. ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣ[ΣΕ]. Bust of Berenike II right.

Rev. Legend illegible. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, two countermarks in right field: grain cores & cornucopiae.

Ref.: Cfr. Svoronos, n. 1056; *CPE I/2*, n. B461-B462

31. AE 18mm, 4.30g, 12h. Inv. No. 2007/59 = Tatar 2022, 789, n. 31.

Obv. Legend illegible. Bust of Berenike II right.

Rev. Legend illegible. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, two countermarks: grain cores in right field & cornucopiae in left field.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 1056; *CPE I/2*, n. B462

32. AE 18,5mm, 2.80g, 6?h. Inv. No. 2008/5<sup>48</sup> = Tatar 2022, 789, n. 32.

33. AE 18mm, 3.45g, 12?h. Inv. No. 4478 = Tatar 2022, 789, n. 33.

### **Ptolemy IV Philopator Alexandria, 222-204 BC.**

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

<sup>44</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Gazipaşa.

<sup>45</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Okurcalar quarter of Alanya.

<sup>46</sup> Alanya Castle Excavation, 2004.

<sup>47</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Yeşilyurt village of Gazipaşa.

<sup>48</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Yukarı quarter of Mahmutlar.

Rev. ΠΙΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, head reverted, wings spread, ΣΕ between legs.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 1148; *CPE* I/2, n. B503

34. AE 36mm, 45.70g, 12h. Inv. No. 6446 = Tatar 2022, 789, n. 34.

### **Kleopatra III – Ptolemy IX**

#### **Paphos, Early in the reign (c. 116 BC. and later)**

Obv. Head of Zeus-Ammon right.

Rev. [ΠΙΤΟ]ΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Two eagles standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed, eagle in left field.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 1695; Weiser 1995, n. 176; *CPE* II/3, n. B754

35. AE 33mm, 22.05g, 12h. Inv. No. 8526<sup>49</sup> = Tatar 2022, 789, n. 35.

#### **Kleopatra III – Ptolemy IX, Ptolemy X (Cyprus) or Ptolemy IX as the ruler of Cyprus (before 103 BC.)**

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. [ΠΙΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ. Two eagles standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed, branch in left field.

Ref.: Cfr. Svoronos, n. 1699-1700 (Ptolemy X Soter II, Cyprus, 116/115-80 BC., rev. owl in left field = n. 1699; bee or fly in left field = n. 1700); Weiser 1995, n. 176 (Ptolemy X Soter II, Cyprus, 106/104 BC., rev. eagle in left field); *CPE* II/3, n. B762; B764

36. AE 32mm, 17.05g, 12h. Inv. No. 2006/124 = Tatar 2022, 789, n. 36.

Obv. Horned head of Zeus-Ammon right, with taenia.

Rev. ΠΙΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ [ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ]. Two eagles standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed.

Ref.: Svoronos, n. 1712; Weiser 1995, n. 181; *CPE* II/3, n. B756

37. AE 30mm, 15.35g, 12h. Inv. No. 2007/138<sup>50</sup> = Tatar 2022, 790, n. 37.

### **Illegible Coins**

#### **Ptolemy I Soter or Ptolemy II Philadelphos**

##### **294 BC. - Early 260s BC.**

Obv. Head of Zeus right.

Rev. Legend illegible. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings spread, trident punchmark.

Ref.: Cfr. *CPE* I/2, n. B43; B110; B115; B117; B184; B191; B318

38. AE 26.5mm, 9.95g, 12h. Inv. No. 945 = Tatar 2022, 790, n. 38; 2023, 415, n. 55.

#### **Ptolemy II Philadelphos, Ptolemy III Euergetes or Ptolemy IV Philopator 283/282-202 BC.**

Obv. Head of Zeus right.

Rev. Legend illegible. Eagle standing left on thunderbolt, wings closed.

39. AE 20mm, 7.75g, 3h. Inv. No. 4389 = Tatar 2022, 790, n. 39.

<sup>49</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Gündoğmuş.

<sup>50</sup> Its find spot is recorded as Güzelbağ village of Alanya.

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