

The Coins of Gordianus III found at Arykanda. Evidence for an Earthquake Relief Fund in Lycia?

When Roman provincial coinage in the East is considered as a whole, the coinages of the Lycian cities strikes one as being peculiar with their intermittent nature. After the creation of the Roman province of Lycia in A.D. 43, the cities of the Lycian League ceased to mint their own coinage, and only resumed briefly during the reign of emperor Gordianus III². This is very strange, as other areas elsewhere in the east, especially in Asia Minor, have continuous coinages from Hellenistic autonomous issues, continuing well into the imperial times until the mid 3rd century AD. The ending of local minting in Lycia is closely paralleled by the situation in the western provinces, where local coinage was abandoned in favour of issues from the mint of Rome or other centralized mints.

To understand why the Lycians ended minting their own coins in the 1st century A.D., it is useful to look at how the area became part of the Roman Empire. Lycian federation was founded by Roman permission and encouragement in the early 2nd century B.C. and enjoyed a long-lasting freedom as a Roman ally thereafter. By A.D. 43 it was already almost completely surrounded by Roman provinces (Asia and Galatia-Pamphylia), with only the free state of Termessos Major, another Roman ally, as its north-eastern neighbour.

Suetonius gives the reason for the annexation of Lycia as being that it was because of “murderous quarrels amongst Lycians”³. Syme had commented on the nature of these quarrels, describing them as “rivalry between neighbour cities, the strife of factions, or an eruption of popular discontent”⁴. Cassius Dio adds to this the information that “the local quarrels resulted in the killing of Roman citizens”⁵. The recently published *Stadiasmus Provinciae Lyciae* inscription from Patara tells us that Lycians were saved by divine intervention of emperor Claudius from insurrection, unlawfulness and banditry⁶.

It seems that Lycian Federation had many problems, and the government system was seriously deteriorating just before Lycia was made into a province. It is even possible that some of the member cities were leaving the League; this may explain why some Lycian cities had started minting autonomous issues instead of federal ones. Oinoanda, Bubon and Balbura may have defected the Lycian League, or have been taken in the province of Asia prior to Roman annexation of Lycia, as they have minted Roman provincial coins with imperial portraits. These coins do not name Lycian League on them, and they do not employ traditional Lycian federal types⁷.

Obviously, the real reason of annexation may lie in the economic considerations and political expansion of the Roman Empire itself. Claudius followed an expansionist policy – Britain, Mauretania, Thrace and Judaea were other areas that have been annexed or conquered during his reign. In addition to completing the circuit of Roman political unity around the Mediterranean; Lycia (as with Judaea) carried special importance since it lay on Mediterranean maritime trade routes, and most especially on the *Annona* route between Alexandria and Rome that transported grain supplies

1. Assoc. Prof. at the Department of Archaeology, Edebiyat Faculty, Anadolu University, Eskişehir, Turkey.
e-Mail: attek@anadolu.edu.tr
2. Other possible minting periods between A.D. 67-69? and A.D. 95-99 are discussed in detail below.
3. Suetonius, *D. Clad.* 25,3
4. Syme, R., *Anatolica, Studies in Strabo*, Oxford, 1995, p. 270.
5. Dio, *LX.17,3-4*
6. The full text of this lengthy inscription is published in Işık, F., Işkan, H. and Çevik, N., *Miliarium Lyciae, Patara Yol Kılavuz Anıtı, Önrapor, Lykia 4*, 1999; The introduction of the inscription is discussed in Şahin, S., *Stadiasmus Provinciae Lyciae in Patara, Lykia 1*, 1994, pp. 131-132 and further references to disturbances in Lycia can be found in Jones, C.P., *The Claudian Monument at Patara, ZPE 137*, 2001, pp. 161-168.
7. For these autonomous issues see *RPC I: 3353-3361*; the coinage of Oinoanda is discussed in detail in Kosmetatou, E., *The Coinage of Termessos pros Oinoandais, NumAntCl XXVII*, 1998, pp. 161-183.

to the capital. Out of total grain production of the whole of Egypt, a handsome amount was sent to the city of Rome annually⁸. St. Paul's voyage to Rome was made by an Alexandrian grain ship, which he had boarded at Andriake (the port of Myra) in Lycia. The importance given to the constant transport of grain can be seen by Claudius' edicts declaring the minimum tonnage of ships that can enter Annona adjudications, and of course his large-scale port constructions at Cæsarea Maritime in Judæa and at Ostia in Italy. Even with such precautions, Tacitus reports a shortage of corn and famine due to bad weather that prevented the passage of grain ships in A.D. 50, and he adds that Rome's supply entirely depended on Egypt and Africa⁹.

The Lycian ports were the last ports before leaving the safety of the coastal route and entering the cross winds of the Aegean. Thus Lycia was important for the wintering and providing shelter, as well as having excellent timber sources for shipbuilding and the repairs. Hadrian's construction of huge granary buildings at the ports of Patara and Andriake were not built for the necessities of the Lycians, but as wintering stations of the grain fleet of Rome, where ships could be emptied and loaded¹⁰.

The first governor of Lycia was Quintus Veranius. After a four-year service in Lycia he was rewarded in A.D. 48 with "*ornamenta triumphalia*", and he became consul the following year¹¹. Veranius seems to have conducted some military operations in Lycia; these included the "destruction of some city walls"¹². One such site may be Oinoanda where some destroyed fortifications have been discovered¹³.

Veranius' other tasks in Lycia were to do with the organization of the province. An important task was to construct roads. The *Stadiasmus Provinciae Lyciae* inscription from Patara gives us information about the routes. Various honorific inscriptions and milestones from these routes are further evidence that enables us reconstruct the extant of these roads. Another aspect of the Romanization of Lycia was to establish the Imperial cult. Claudius is called "divine" in the *Stadiasmus*. He is "*Divus-Θεος*" in honorific inscriptions from Sidyma, Arneai, Gagai and Oinoanda. There are sebasteia dating to his reign at Sidyma, Letoon¹⁴ and possibly in Gagai and Arykanda¹⁵. It is interesting that Claudius refused such titles in Rome, but it seems things were different at the new provinces.

After a brief minting period for "*Lycia in genere*"¹⁶ under Claudius¹⁷, the coinage here ends. One of the consequences of making Lycia a province seems now to be the cessation of local minting, which had been a sign of civic pride and freedom. Thus, the ending of Lycian coinage may have some political implications to it.

How long did the separate province of Lycia last? Suetonius lists Lycia as one of the places deprived of its freedom by Vespasian¹⁸. Probably, the double province of Lycia-Pamphylia was created at this time. It is possible that Lycian cities enjoyed a small period of liberation by "*Jupiter Liberatus*, the emperor Nero". If so, some cities may have started minting again and, perhaps we can date a provincial looking autonomous coin of Myra¹⁹ to this period. There are also countermarks on the Claudius' Lycian coinage, which probably had been used at these years and seems to give initials of Lycian cities. All of these countermarks are

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8. Wallace, R. and Williams, W., *Tarsus'lu Paulos'un Üç Dünyası*, Istanbul, 1999, p. 22.
 9. Tacitus *Annales*, XII.40
 10. For the Lycian ports, see: Zimmermann, M., *Die lykischen Hafen und die Handelswege im östlichen Mittelmeer. Bemerkungen zu PMich I 10, ZPE 92, 1992, pp. 201-217.*
 11. Millner, N.P., *A Roman Bridge at Oinoanda, AS 48, 1998, pp. 117-124.*
 12. Syme, R., *op. cit.* p. 273.
 13. Millner, N.P., *op. cit.* p. 120.
 14. *TAM II*, no. 177; Rémy, B., *L'Activité des fonctionnaires Sénatoriaux dans la Province Lycie-Pamphylie au haut-empire d'après les Inscriptions, De Anatolia Antiqua 1, 1991, pp. 151-182.*
 15. Bayburtluoğlu, C., *Yüksek Kayalığın Yanındaki Yer Arykanda*, Istanbul, 2003, pp. 72-76, as discussed here, the sebasteion is older than the present structure, which was restored in the second century, but it is not certain whether it was originally constructed in the mid 1st cent A.D. or later. The restoration of the temple in Trajan's time is recorded by an inscription: Şahin, S., *Die Inschriften von Arykanda*, IK Band 42, Bonn, 1994, pp. 18-19, no. 16.
 16. The Lycian Federal coinage was always centralized; in its early phase the member cities minted (or the whole coinage minted at one central mint) similar types containing the ethnic ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, and the initials of member cities. Later, in the 1st cent BC and onwards, city initials were dropped for most members (rarely employed still for a few cities, mostly including new territories recently added to the league, like Telmessus), and two monetary and probably administrative districts of Kragus and Masikytus were created. Thus, it may be discussed that the awareness of the Lycians of their coinage would have been more of a national character than civic, which is also implied by stone inscriptions that name the persons mentioned first as "Lycian" and then "from X city", and in some cases city name is not mentioned at all.
 17. Troxell, H.A., *The Coinage of the Lycian League*, New York, 1982, pp. 244-251. These included silver denarii and bronze units. These coins are dated to the year A.D. 43, so the emission must have been very small.
 18. Suetonius, *D. Vesp.* 8,4.
 19. *SNG v. Aul.* 18, no. 8491.

round and contain a single letter: “P” may be Rhodiapolis²⁰, “A” Limyra²¹, “B” Balbura or Bubon²² and “M” Myra²³. A very similar countermark to this last, containing the same letter is found on Roman Imperial coins of Tiberius and Claudius²⁴.

Between 95-99 A.D., a group of silver provincial denarii with imperial portraits on the obverse and two lyres on the reverse were minted. Because of the reverse type, these coins are ascribed to Lycia in general reference works²⁵. However, as Sydenham cautioned, they do not name Lycia on them and “they show distinct resemblance to coins of Caesarea in style and in the form of reverse legend”²⁶. The suggestion of the imperial mint at “Caesarea minting these coins for circulation in the province of Lycia” can also be rejected. My objections to a Lycian connection of these coins are based on the following points:

- 1- As there was no longer a separate province of Lycia (it had already been incorporated with Pamphylia at this time) one would have to explain the minting of a separate issue for Lycia alone that did not include Pamphylia?
- 2- Why were there not any bronze issues to supplement the denarii, as had been the case with Claudius’ brief minting in Lycia?
- 3- If the denarii were minted specifically for circulation in Lycia, why are these coins not found only in Lycia or, at least, in considerable numbers there?²⁷

From A.D. 43 onwards, Roman imperial issues mainly from the mint of Rome were used as currency in Lycia, just like in the western provinces. This is not paralleled anywhere else in the east, where, for bronze denominations, Roman provincial issues were the main currency. It is especially peculiar when it is thought that Lycia and Pamphylia came to form a single province, and yet Pamphylian cities continued local minting.

On the other hand, the whole economy of this otherwise poor country depended on maritime trade. The mountains between Lycia and its inland neighbours would have made land transport of most goods extremely unpractical. The increasing numbers of merchant ships and the units of grain fleet were the main sources of coinage in the economic influx coming to Lycia apart from regular dispatches of money from

the central government to the province²⁸. It would be logical especially for ships and crews of the grain fleet to carry with them not local coinage made up of the Roman provincial issues (which would cause the inconvenience of changing money at every port), but the central issues of Rome that would have been acceptable everywhere.

If such was the case, it may be asked, why similar monetary zones were not created elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean along the route of the grain fleet. The various maritime routes of the eastern Mediterranean cross only in Lycia; for example, a ship could have followed the coast of Judaea or crossed over to Cyprus directly in clear weather, but either way it would have had to pass through Lycia. Also, the cross winds across Libya made the southern route unfavourable, thus many ships preferred the northern route²⁹. Also there is evidence to suggest that Roman Imperial money, especially asses, were used in considerable numbers throughout the coastline of the East. Actually at some sites like Seleuceia Pierra/Antioch these are found in very considerable numbers. But the vast numbers of provincial examples drown out the imperial issues, so they are not as noticeable as those in Lycia.

I am not claiming that all the imperial issues, especially asses came to the East with the expenditures of the grain fleet; military deployments, for example, would

20. 3 examples, Howgego, C. J. *Greek Imperial Countermarks, Studies in The Provincial Coinage of The Roman Empire*, London, 1985, p. 242, no. 684; *RPC I Supp.* no. 3341.

21. 1 example, found in Arykanda, Exc. Inv. No ARY 99-167.

22. 1 example, *RPC I Supp.* no. 3345.

23. 2 examples; Howgego, C.J., *op. cit.*, p. 240, no 674.

24. 2 examples, Howgego, C.J., *op. cit.*, p. 240, no 675, but these may have nothing to do with Lycian examples.

25. *B.M.C. Lycia*, p. 39, nos. 6-11; Head, B.V., *Historia Nummorum*, London, 1911, p. 694; Von Atlock, H., *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien*, Tübingen, 1974, p. 15.

26. Sydenham, E.A., *The Coinage of Caesarea in Cappadocia*, London, 1933, p.10.

27. While admitting that any denarii are rare as excavation finds, it is to be noted that none of the so-called Lycian denarii have been found as yet at Arykanda, Limyra, Phaselis, Xanthos or Patara. Also, none exist in the hoards of denarii from Lycia. In fact, the Antalya Archaeological Museum and Fethiye Archaeological Museum collections composed of single finds and hoards from Lycia and surroundings have no examples of this coinage at all!

28. And possible direct importation of the coinage under special circumstances by Lycians themselves, see a re-interpretation of the evidence in the Opramoas inscription: Katsari, C., Opramoas and the Importation of Bronze Coins in Roman Lycia, *EA* 35, 2003, pp. 141-145.

29. Zimmermann, M., *op. cit.* pp. 206-208.

equally have had considerable impact on circulation. But in the case of Lycia, the majority of the coinage probably arrived with marital trade, and the small numbers of provincials from elsewhere found in Lycia attest to more individual or private voyages (like coins of Kos found in Arykanda) and short-distance trade (like the coins of Pamphylian cities that are found all over Lycia).

So, why did the Lycians start minting again under Gordianus III? Von Aulock searched for an answer in his study of this coinage in "Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien" (pp. 20-22). However, since the survey and excavation reports of several Lycian sites were unavailable to him in 1974, he was unable to reach any definite answer. Thus he had come up with four proposals at that time, some of which are still valid:

His first proposal was that Gordianus III gave a general license to every city in Asia Minor to mint coins. This clearly was not so. Apart from Lycian cities, new comers to minting in Asia Minor are very few during this period and, in fact, the number of operating mints was much higher in other periods, notably during the time of the Severii³⁰.

His second proposal was that there was a connection between minting and an earthquake that may have affected Lycian cities. We shall discuss this question in detail below.

The third proposal was to do with minting in connection with military expenditures. This may even be connected to an effect carried by Lycian troops during Gordianus' Persian campaign. But, examples of Gordianus' Lycian coinage are extremely rare outside Lycia; as a military coin we would expect to see noticeable numbers of them from the excavation finds along the eastern frontier. Yet, to my knowledge, none is reported. In fact, we do not even know whether Gordianus had any Lycian auxiliaries in his army during his Persian campaign.

The fourth proposal was that the Lycian cities obtained the right to mint because of the influence of the emperor's advisor and father in law, the praetorian prefect Timotheus who may have had personal connections with Lycia. Without literary evidence this is hard to prove, but if it is the case, this may also be connected with the second proposal.

Johnston added a further proposal to these four³¹. The coinage of Gordianus III and Tranquillina in Lycia is usually placed to towards the end of the emperor's reign, to A.D. 242-244. The year A.D. 243 coincides with the 200th anniversary of the start of Roman rule in Lycia. We do not know what kind of era was being used in Lycia, as indications of a local era are not found on the coinage. Nor it is employed on inscriptions, but the creation of the "Province of Lycia" could well have been a date to remember and celebrate. On the other hand, we would expect coin types to reflect such a celebration by depicting games or Rome itself if this was the reason for the minting. Lycian coinage does not employ any of these. Nor is there any specific public inscription of a commemorative nature of such an occasion. So we have to go back to the earthquake theory.

Von Aulock's second proposal was that a disastrous earthquake occurred in Lycia, and the minting was connected with the relief efforts for the cities. Von Aulock also mentions that the Lycian coinage of Gordianus was first associated with an earthquake by Cavedoni in 1852³². It is thus not a new theory, but one that has been repeated by others since then.

Lycia has a long history of earthquakes. Plinius the Elder mentions seismic activity (possibly a big earthquake and aftershocks) that has lasted for 40 days in Lycia³³. Even though he does not say when this earthquake happened, it should be prior to A.D. 70's. It could be the earthquake that happened in A.D. 60, causing serious damage in Laodikeia, Hierapolis and Kolossai in Lykos Valley³⁴. It must have affected Lycia seriously as well, for an inscription from Xanthos, mentions the governor, S. Marcus Priscus, as restoring a building that had been damaged by earthquake³⁵.

30. Leschhorn, W., Le monnayage d'Asie Mineure et la statistique, in Carcassonne, C., and Hackens, T. (eds.), *Statistique et Numismatique*, PACT 5, Strasbourg, 1981, pp. 252-266; Johnston, A., Greek Imperial Statistics: A Commentary, *RN*, 6e série, XXVI, 1984, pp. 240-257; Leschhorn, W., Die Kaiserlichen Münzen Kleinasiens: zu den möglichkeiten und Schwierigkeiten ihrer Statistischen Erfassung, *RN*, 6e serie, XXVII, 1985, pp. 200-216.

31. Johnston, A., The Intermittent Imperials: the Coinages of Lycia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia, *NC* XX, 1980, p. 208.

32. Cadevoni, M., Observations sur les anciennes monnaies de la Lycie, in *Mémoires présentés par divers savants à l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*. Première Série, Tome II, 1852.

33. Plinius, *Nat. Hist.* II, XC VII, 211.

34. Tacitus, *Ann.* XIV, 27.

35. Rémy, B., *op. cit.* p. 162, no. 54.

The earthquake of A.D. 141 that effected Lycia, Caria and the islands of Kos and Rhodes is well recorded in ancient literary and epigraphic sources. The emperor Antonius Pius was one of the benefactors; he donated money to the cities, amongst which Stratonikeia in Caria received 250.000 denarii³⁶; Lycian cities also seem to have received funds from the emperor³⁷. In Lycia, a number of local benefactors were active too, contributing to the Lycian cities after this incident. The deeds of the millionaire Opramoas of Rhodiapolis are well recorded by inscriptions in his honour at many places in Lycia and on the walls of his mausoleum. He had distributed to 28 different Lycian cities a large sum of money totalling more than 500.000 denarii; for example Arykanda received 10.000 denarii from him³⁸. Another benefactor restored two colonnades from the foundations; he may have restored a temple (which may be the sebasteion), possibly in the same years³⁹.

The earthquake of 365, which affected Egypt, Cyprus and Crete, may have been felt in Lycia as well⁴⁰. Medieval evidence for further earthquakes is scanty, but some have been noted. There is one in 529 A.D., which damaged cities of middle Lycia, especially Myra⁴¹. Another severe earthquake in eastern Lycia happened in the first half of the 9th century A.D.⁴²

Archaeological evidence from Arykanda shows that the city may have been effected by another earthquake around 430/440 A.D.⁴³; but such an earthquake in Lycia is not mentioned in ancient sources. This one was very devastating, for in the excavated buildings at Arykanda, one can see collapsed walls usually with important in-situ finds such as those discovered at the iron mason's workshop⁴⁴. The earthquake must have caused a fire as well, for it destroyed the mainly timber-based architecture of the city. For that reason the Arykandians decided to move the city from the slopes of the mountain where big rocks can fall (and still do!) to a more favourable site a few kilometres away⁴⁵.

One of the major earthquake fault-lines separating African plate from Asia passes directly under Lycia, and it is still active as shown by a major earthquake here in 1957⁴⁶ and other smaller ones since then. One can even notice a regular earthquake cycle in Lycia in antiquity; one major earthquake followed another separated approximately 80-120 years, a regular symptom for some fault lines to act like this.

We have earthquake dates for Lycia as, A.D. 60, A.D. 141; A.D. 240, A.D. 365, probably A.D. 430/40, A.D. 529, first half of the 9th century; and the cycle may have continued on, but did not get mentioned by medieval historians.

No definite records exist for an earthquake specifically in Lycia during the reign of Gordianus III, comparable to the one in A.D. 141. The *Historia Augusta* mentions a big earthquake during the reign of Gordianus III, though it does not give any specific information about the location⁴⁷. Sieberg, in his graph about the earthquakes of Asia Minor, dates this earthquake to 5 August A.D. 240, and gives its location as Pontus and Cappadocia, but unfortunately he does not say how he derived such a specific date and location⁴⁸.

36. Robert, L, Stèle funéraire de Nicomédie et séismes dans les inscriptions, *BCH*, 1978, pp. 401-402.

37. Scriptorum Historia Augusta, *Vit. Pii*, 9.I; Pausanias II 7.1; A. Aristides *Orat.*, XXIV 3 and 59; Maggie, D., *Roman Rule in Asia Minor*, Princeton, 1950, pp. 631-632 and note 6.

38. *TAM* II, no. 905; Kalinka, E., *Opramoas, Inschriften vom Heroon zu Rhodiapolis*, Wien, 1897; Kokkinia, C., Die Opramoas-Inschrift von Rhodiapolis, Bonn, 2000; D. Maggie, *op. cit.*, p. 536; Bayburtluoğlu, C., *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33.

39. S. Şahin, *Op. Cit. Arykanda*, p. 34-35, no. 29.

40. Zosimus, *Hist. Nova* IV.103, mentions only Crete and Greece as effected areas, but there is evidence from Curium and Alexandria that these areas were also affected and the epicenter may have been south of Cyprus, see F. Jacques and B. Boisquet, Le raz de marée du 21 Juillet 365: du catalysme local à la catastrophe cosmique, *MEFR* 96, 1984, pp. 423-461.

41. I. Malalas, *Kbr.* 18.40, 448 (*The Chronicle of John Malalas*, translated by Jeffreys, E., Jeffreys, M. and Scott, R., Melbourne, 1986.)

42. Grossman, P. and Severin, H.G., Forschungen im Südöstlichen Lykien, 1977, *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi* XXV-2, 1981, p. 109 and note 29.

43. The latest coins from the destruction layers at Arykanda includes a single example of Theodosius II, VT/XXXV (A.D. 435 A.D.) as *RIC* X, nos. 457-459; there are 43 examples of cross within wreath (A.D. c. 425-435), *RIC* X, no. 440-455 and surprisingly 4 examples of Valentinian III, VICTOR-IA AVGG (A.D. c. 425-435), from mint of Rome, *RIC* X, no. 2132. No monogram coins of Theodosius II have yet been found yet.

44. Bayburtluoğlu, C., 1984 Yılı Arykanda Kazısı Raporu, VII. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara, 1986, pp. 359-360; Bayburtluoğlu, C., 1985 Yılı Arykanda Kazısı Raporu, VIII. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, Ankara, 1987, pp. 93-94; the iron tools from here are published in Kuban, Z., Eisenfunde aus Arykanda, in *II. Internationale Lykien Symposium*, Wien, 1993, pp. 131-136.

45. For the description of the new Byzantine settlement of Arykanda/Arif see, Harrison, R.M., and Lawson, G.R., An Early Byzantine Town at Arif in Lycia, *Yayla* 2, 1979, pp. 13-17; Harrison, R.M., Town and Country in Late Roman Lycia, *IX. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, vol. 1, 1986, pp. 384-386.

46. Bean, G.E., *Lycian Turkey*, 1978, London, p. 38 describes author's observations at Fethiye (ancient Telmessus) after this earthquake.

47. Scriptorum Historia Augusta, *vit. Gord.* 26.1-3.

48. Sieberg, A., *Erdbebengeographie*, Gutenberg's Handbuch der Geophysik, Band 4, Berlin, 1932, p. 806, table 154.

An imperial letter of Gordianus III found at Aphrodisias may provide us more information on the catastrophe. The emperor is responding in his letter to a protest made by Aphrodisians against liabilities under a decree of the Council of Asia. The decree concerned “victims of misfortunate” and “erection of houses for those in need”. The letter ends with “the above is the divine reply in the matter of the Laodikeans”⁴⁹. Reynolds, in her commentary, points out that “the misfortune” mentioned in the letter may be the earthquake, and comments that the last sentence of “the matter of Laodikeans” may give the location of the earthquake at this city, the Laodikeia on the Lycus. Indeed, another explanation of this last sentence could possibly be that Laodikeans were also protesting against the decree of Asia and emperor simply told his scribe to give the same answer to Aphrodisians.

Whatever the reality is in the case of Laodikeia, this document brings geographical location of a large-scale earthquake closer to Lycia. Laodikeia and Aphrodisias are not that distant from Lycian borders in Elmali Plain, and the similar A.D. 60 earthquake had also affected parts of inner Caria and southern Phrygia, possibly the same areas with this later one.

The submerged coastline of middle Lycia, at sites like Aperlai, Theimiussa, Simena and Kekova Island shows the effects of various tectonic events here. At these sites, several public buildings, dwellings and harbour works are submerged almost 2 meters under the water. Some of these buildings are clearly late Roman-early Byzantine, such as the churches at Kekova and Aperlai⁵⁰.

Let us now turn to the archaeological evidence from Arykanda⁵¹. Excavations at Arykanda have shown that a large number of public buildings were destroyed and abandoned in the A.D. 240s. Several large boulders that could only have been displaced by major earthquakes were found in these buildings during excavations. A recently identified area on the acropolis of the city probably served as emergency dwellings after the earthquake. There has been excavated here, quite a number of closely placed, hastily constructed houses. These usually made use of Hellenistic or earlier rock-cut areas as rooms and foundations⁵². The coin find sequence here, after a gap from earlier issues start from A.D. 220s onwards (Table 1)⁵³. Furthermore, coin finds from several buildings in the lower city show that they have been abandoned in A.D. 240s until the mid 4th century A.D. In some buildings not

reused during the Late Roman period, several large boulders, which have destroyed the buildings, have been excavated still remaining in-situ since the earthquake. All of this evidence clearly shows that Arykanda has suffered from an earthquake in A.D. 240s.

An examination of the Roman imperial coin finds from Arykanda and those examined at Fethiye Museum, which usually collects its material from local sources, may help us determine the imperial response to the catastrophe⁵⁴.

The Roman coin finds from Arykanda, presented here in table 2, show that the influx of coins that arrived at the city clearly increased from A.D. 235 onwards. It reached its peak in the reign of Gordianus III. It is very noticeable that almost half of these are provincial issues, which shows the impact of resumed provincial minting at Lycian cities on circulation. The number of other provincial coins from elsewhere also increased at this time. The influx of coins continued during the reign of Philip I and II, being higher than normal, yet lacking provincials since the Lycian cities stopped minting.

A slight increase, though not that much apparent, exists for the coins of Antoninus Pius too. We may presume that most of the coins that arrived to Arykanda as relief effort of the A.D. 141 earthquake, were removed from circulation at later times with taxation and other means.

49. Reynolds, J., *Aphrodisias and Rome*, London, 1982, pp. 133-135, document 21.

50. Carter, R.S., The submerged seaport of Aperlae, Turkey, *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 7.3, 1978, pp. 177-185.

51. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. C. Bayburtluoglu for allowing me to study the coin finds from his excavations at Arykanda and again for allowing me to use other archaeological evidence, including some hitherto unpublished results. Many ideas presented in this paper have been shaped under his guidance during the preparation of my doctoral thesis and certainly have benefited from his long experience in Lycia.

52. C. Bayburtluoglu, 2003, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-154.

53. Two Antonine examples were rather worn and were presumably still in circulation since they were found in the same contexts with 3rd century examples. The date of the habitation period of the hastily constructed houses here can thus be placed between A.D. 240s-270s. This is confirmed by other finds such as pottery, lamps, glassware etc.

54. The coin collection of Fethiye Archaeological Museum was studied in 1992 and 1993, and a corpus of the collection is being prepared for publication by M. Arslan, R.H.J. Ashton, P.J. Casey and myself. The data of the Roman coinage in Fethiye Museum comes from a draft catalogue prepared by Mr. P.J. Casey and used here with his kind permission.

When we compared the coin finds at Arykanda with the other published sites in Asia Minor, we found that, the number of the coins of Gordianus III we were getting were considerably higher than anywhere else. A closer look at the 3rd century A.D. finds in table 3 show this more clearly.

The fourth graph is calculated with the data compiled from 252 examples of Gordianus III from Fethiye Museum and 28 examples found in Arykanda from the mint of Rome. The periods are determined by those in the *RIC*⁵⁵.

As can be seen, during issue period I, a considerable number of coins of Gordianus arrived in Lycia, not very surprising with a new emperor on the throne. Issue period II is represented with very little material. Then the number of coins increases in issue period III, reaching a peak in issue period IV, diminishing again in issue period V and disappearing altogether in period VI. Almost half of these coins are silver issues. Even though there is danger of contamination of dispersed hoards in Fethiye Museum, at Arykanda, silver issues still compromise one fourth of the total from Rome.

We can see that a considerable number of coins minted between 240-243 entered Lycia. These are probably fresh coins sent in to help the re-construction efforts here. Also some types of coins are not represented at all, whereas some are represented with considerable number of examples. The numbers are still too low to calculate which types entered Lycia with this consignment. There may have been older coins in the consignment and probably some of the Gordianus issues arrived to Lycia at later dates.

The antoninianii of Gordianus III recorded in Lycia, are all amongst the commonest types of Gordianus III that are found anywhere. The same can be said also for most of the aes, though, 2 types here are (*RIC* IV-3, no. 294a and *RIC* IV-3, no 332a) recorded as scarce in the *RIC*.

When we look at coins of Gordianus III at Arykanda together with the provincials, the provincials, especially those of Lycia consist of more than 40 percent of the total. These coins are dated to A.D. 242-244. So we may presume, their minting fills the gap created by less coins coming from Rome from issue period 4. The mint of Antioch also makes its first appearance here with coins dated to A.D. 242-244. Among Lycian provincials of Gordianus III and Tranquillina at Arykanda, almost all of the Lycian mints are represented, but naturally majority of these issues are from the city itself.

It seems, Rome responded to the news of the earthquake by sending here more coins than usual to help the victims and to pay for repairs of vital public works such as waterways, roads, harbour facilities, etc. But local minting could offset the inconvenience of sending heavy loads of imperial coinage. Hence we have the cities producing their own coins. These constitute almost half of the coins of Gordianus III found at Arykanda.

Under the Philips, Lycians stop minting. This may have to do with the new emperor being opposed to his predecessor's policies, but the influx of coins entering Lycia still remained higher than other areas, even though much less than the previous period.

55. Mattingly, H. and Sutherland, C.H.V., *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, Vol. IV, part III, *Gordian III-Uranus Antoninus*, London, 1968.

Appendix: List of coins of Gordianus III from the mint of Rome found at Arykanda⁵⁶

N°	Find Place	Date	Denom.	Type	Reference number in RIC IV-3
1 (ARY 89-30)	Upper Agora Room 5	3 rd Issue A.D. 240	Ant	<i>Æquitas Avg</i>	no. 34
2 (ARY 79-135)	Acropolis	3 rd Issue A.D. 240	Ant	<i>Virtus Avg</i>	no. 71
3 (ARY 89-66)	Upper Agora Room 6	3 rd Issue A.D. 240	Sest.	P.M.TR.PII COS.PP	no. 280
4 (ARY 89-206)	Helios Temple East House 3/2	3 rd Issue A.D. 240	Sest.	P.M.TR.PII COS.PP	no. 280
5 (ARY 97-53)	Cistern in acropolis baths	3 rd Issue A.D. 240	Sest.	<i>Æquitas Avg</i>	no. 267a
6 (ARY 88-116)	Cistern in acropolis baths	3 rd Issue, A.D. 240	Sest.	<i>Virtus Avg</i>	no. 293a
7 (ARY 79-137)	Acropolis	4 th Issue, A.D. 241/2	Ant	P.M.TR.PIIII COS.II.PP	no. 88
8 (ARY 99-172)	Helios Temple East trench 99-III	4 th Issue, A.D. 242/3	Ant.	P.M.TR.PV COS.II.PP	no. 93
9 (ARY 87-23)	Stray from acropolis	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243	Ant.	<i>Virtuti Augusti</i>	no. 95
10 (ARY 88-45)	Upper Agora Room 6	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243	Ant.	<i>Virtuti Augusti</i>	no. 95
11 (ARY 99-221)	Helios Temple East	4 th Issue, A.D. 241	Den.	P.M.TR.PIIII COS.II.PP	no. 114
12 (ARY 88-103)	Cistern in Acropolis Baths trench 99-V	4 th Issue, A.D. 241/2	Sest.	P.M.TR.PIIII COS.II.PP	no. 306a
13 (ARY 2000-65)	Helios Temple East trench 2000-VI	4 th Issue, A.D. 241/2	Sest.	P.M.TR.PIIII COS.II.PP	no. 306a
14 (ARY 90-84)	Helios Temple	4 th Issue, A.D. 242/3	Sest.	P.M.TR.PV COS.II.PP	no. 307a
15 (ARY 88-121)	Cistern in Acropolis Baths	4 th Issue, A.D. 243	Sest.	P.M.TR.PVI COS.II.PP	no. 304a
16 (ARY 89-68)	Upper Agora Room 6	4 th Issue, A.D. 243	Sest.	P.M.TR.PVI COS.II.PP	no. 304a
17 (ARY 79-10)	Acropolis	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243	Sest.	<i>Æternitati Avg</i>	no. 297a
18 (ARY 88-118)	Cistern in acropolis baths	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243	Sest.	<i>Iovi Statori</i>	no. 298a
19 (ARY 93-260)	Sebasteion, Room 7	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243	Sest.	<i>Latitia Avg N</i>	no. 300a
20 (ARY 91-43)	Helios Temple	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243, perhaps marriage issue of A.D. 241	Sest.	<i>Felicitas Aug</i>	no. 310a
21 (ARY 88-122)	Cistern in Acropolis Baths	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243, perhaps marriage issue of A.D. 241	Sest.	<i>Securitas Aug</i>	no.311a
22 (ARY 79-134)	Acropolis	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243	As	<i>Iovi Statori</i>	no. 298b
23 (ARY 86-134)	Eastern Necropolis, Tomb II	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243	As	<i>Latitia Avg N</i>	no. 300b
24 (ARY 92-216)	Stadium	4 th Issue, A.D. 241-243, perhaps marriage issue of A.D. 241	As	<i>Securitas Aug</i>	no.311b
25 (ARY 91-39)	Helios Temple	5 th Issue, A.D. 243-244	Ant.	<i>Mars Propug</i>	no.145
26 (ARY 94-138)	Stray from Terrace Houses	5 th Issue, A.D. 243-244	Sest.	<i>Fortuna Redux</i>	no. 331a
27 (ARY 91-43)	Sebasteion	5 th Issue, A.D. 243-244	Sest.	<i>Fortuna Redux</i>	no. 331a
28 (ARY 94-72)	Sebasteion	5 th Issue, A.D. 243-244	Sest.	<i>Fortuna Redux</i>	no. 331a
29 (ARY 83-13)	Basilica	5 th Issue, A.D. 243-244	Sest.	<i>Mars Propugnat</i>	no.332a
30 (ARY 86-87)	Helios Temple East house 3/2	5 th Issue, A.D. 243-244	Sest.	<i>Securitas Perpetua</i>	no.336
31 (ARY 88-61)	Upper Agora Room 3	--	Sest.	Worn figure standing r.	
32 (ARY 88-123)	Cistern in Acropolis Baths	--	Sest.	Worn figure standing r.	

56. All of the coin finds from the excavations at Arykanda are being housed in Antalya Archaeological Museum. I would like give my warmest thanks to the staff of the Museum, and especially to Ms. Azize Yener (keeper of the coin cabinet), for cleaning and conserving excavation coins of Arykanda and for helping me during my various study visits there.

List of Gordianus III Coins from the mint of Antioch found at Arykanda

N°	Find Place	Date	Denomination	Type	Reference number in RIC IV-3
33 (ARY 88-10)	Upper Agora, Room 7	A.D. 242-244	Ant.	<i>Pax Augusti</i>	no. 214
34 (ARY 79-131)	Upper Agora	A.D. 242-244	Ant.	<i>Saeculi Felicitas</i>	no. 216
35 (ARY 99-108)	HTD 99-IV	A.D. 242-244	Ant.	<i>Saeculi Felicitas</i>	no. 216

Roman provincial issues of Gordianus III and Tranquillina found at Arykanda

Mint	Gordianus III	Tranquillina	Total
Arneai	1		1
Arykanda	10	2	12
Gagai	1		1
Kandyba		1	1
Khoma	1		1
Korydalla		1	1
Kyaneai		1	1
Limyra	1		1
Myra	4		4
Patara	2		2
Phaselis	2		2
Rhodiapolis	1	1	2
Tlos	2		2
Unidentified Lycian	1		1
Koinon of Macedonia	1		1
Perge in Pamphylia	1		1
Termessos Major ⁵⁷ in Pisidia	-	-	9

Table 1:

Coin finds (up to the excavation season of 2000) from houses at sector Acropolis, Helios Temple East at Arykanda

Period	Number of coins excavated
Hellenistic and earlier	51
27 B.C. - A.D. 43	14
43-138	0
138-161	2
161-193	0
193-222	2
222-244	12
244-275 (last coins are pre-reform Aurelianus issues)	15
273-350	0
350-430	4

57. Quasi-autonomous issues of Termessos Major are loosely dated to between A.D. 220s-270s. The contexts at Arykanda suggest that these should be contemporaneous with the coins of Gordianus III.

Table 2:

Roman Imperial coin finds from Arykanda calculated by the formula: “coin finds per period / length of period x 1000 / total finds”

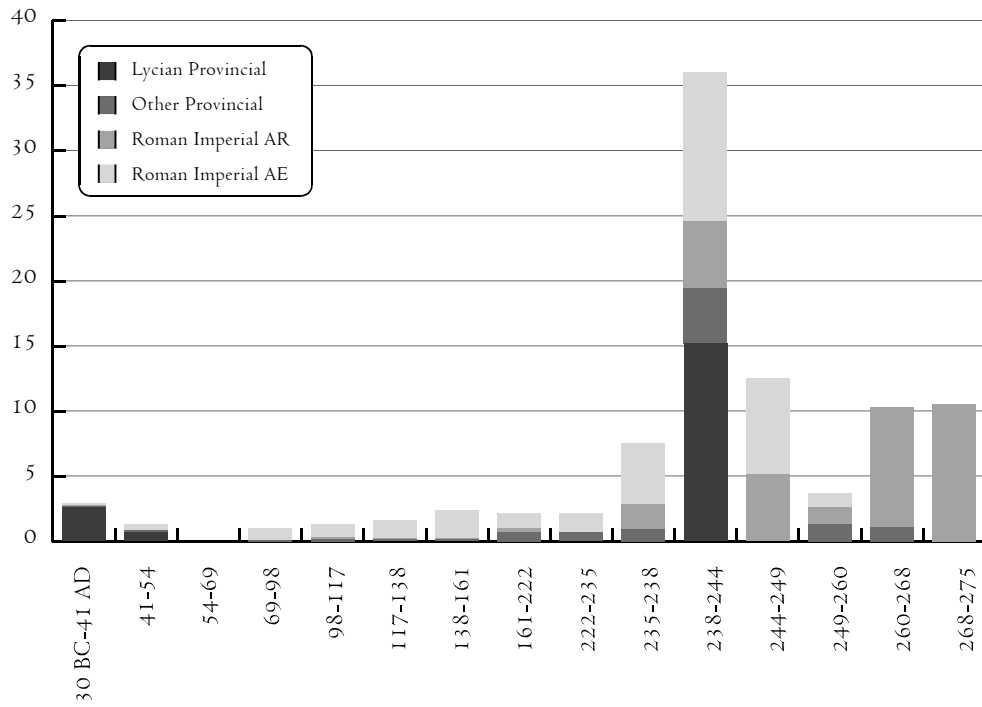


Table 3:

3rd century AD. coin finds from various sites in Asia Minor calculated by the formula: coin finds per period / length of period x 1000 / total finds⁵⁸

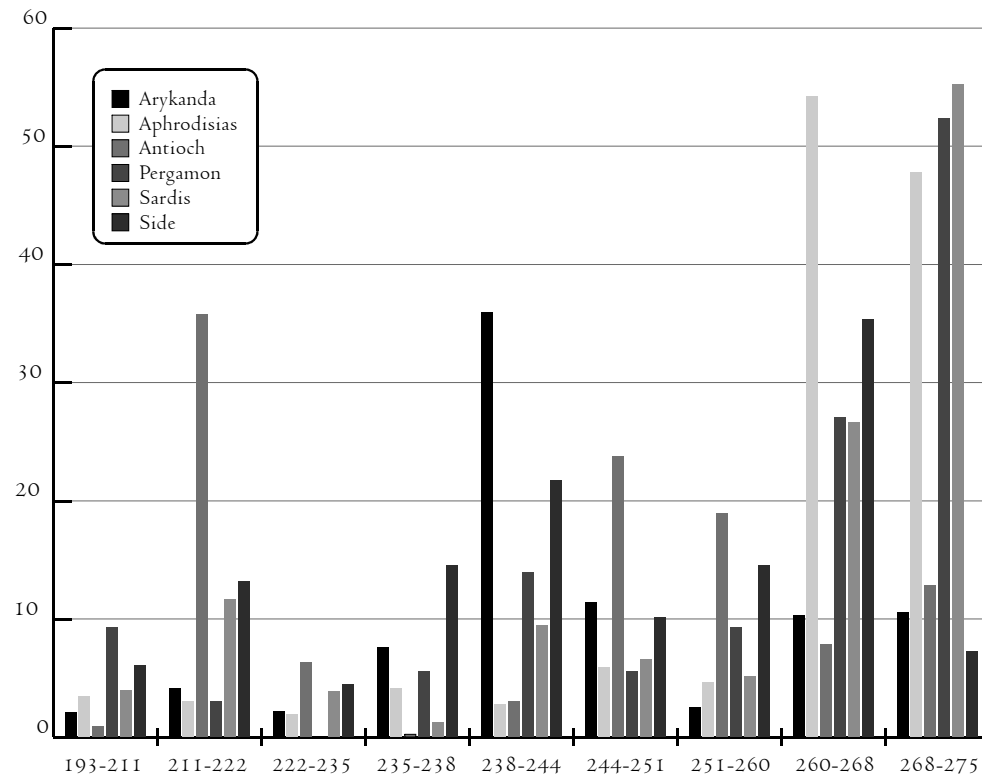


Table 4:

Coins of Gordianus III from the mint of Rome found from Arykanda and in Fethiye Museum

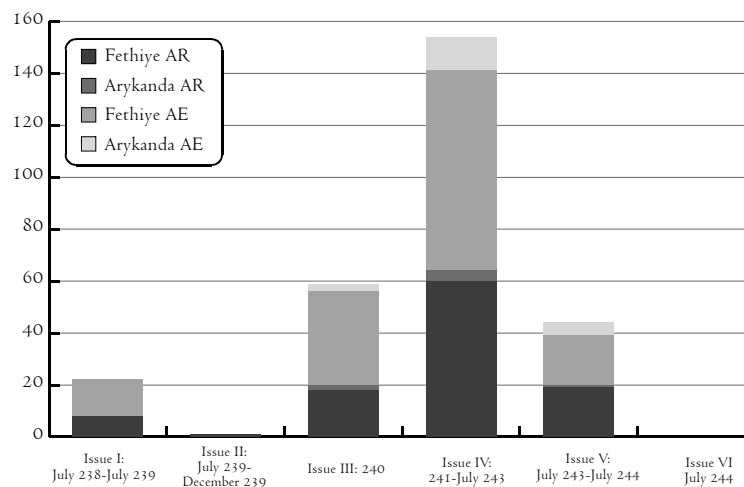


Table 5:

The commonest types in the assemblage of 113 silver (antoninianii and denarii) examples at Arykanda and Fethiye Museum

Issue	Type	Number of Recorded Examples
Issue IV	<i>Æternitati Aug</i> (RIC no. 83)	10 examples = % 21 of total finds of this issue
Issue IV	<i>Virtuti Aug</i> (RIC no. 95)	9 examples = % 19 of total finds of this issue
Issue IV	<i>Iovi Statori</i> (RIC no. 84)	6 examples = % 13 of total finds of this issue
Issue IV	<i>Letitia Aug N</i> (RIC no. 86)	6 examples = % 13 of total finds of this issue
Issue V	<i>Fortuna Redux</i> (RIC no. 144)	7 examples = %35 of total finds of this issue
Issue V	<i>Mars Propug</i> (RIC no. 145)	4 examples = % 20 of total finds of this issue

Table 6:

The commonest types in the assemblage of 167 aes examples (sestertii and as, no dupondii recorded) at Arykanda and Fethiye Museum.

Issue	Type	Number of Recorded Examples
Issue I	<i>Pax Augusti</i> (RIC no. 256a)	6 examples = % 27 of total finds of this issue
Issue III	PMTRPIICOSPP (RIC no. 294a)	6 examples = % 15 of total finds of this issue
Issue III	<i>Æquitas Aug</i> (RIC no. 286a)	5 examples = % 13 of total finds of this issue
Issue IV	<i>Iovi Statori</i> (RIC 298a)	18 examples = % 20 of total finds of this issue
Issue IV	<i>Letitia Aug N</i> (RIC 300a)	12 examples = % 13 of total finds of this issue
Issue IV	<i>Æternitati Aug</i> (RIC 297a)	10 examples = % 11 of total finds of this issue
Issue V	<i>Fortuna Redux</i> (RIC no. 331a)	10 examples = %41 of total finds of this issue
Issue V	<i>Mars Propugn</i> (RIC 332a)	6 examples = %25 of total finds of this issue

58. The data for this graph has been compiled from the following publications: MacDonald, D.J., *Greek and Roman Coins from Aphrodisias*, Oxford, 1976; Waage, D.B., *Antioch on-the-Orontes IV, part 2, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins*, Princeton, 1952; Vögtli, H., *Die Fundmünzen aus der Stadtgrabung von Pergamon*, Berlin, 1993; Buttrey, T.V., Johnston, A., MacKenzie, K.M., and Bates, M.L., *Greek, Roman, and Islamic Coins from Sardis*, London, 1981; Atlan, S., *1947-1967 Yılları Side Kazıları Sirasında Elde Edilen Sikkeler*, Ankara, 1976.