

Beyond the Xanthos Valley

Rulers and mints in Eastern and Central Lycia at the time of the “dynasty of Xanthos”*

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While the rather compact sequence of coin issues by members of the so-called “dynasty of Xanthos”, that is by Kheriga and his western successors, provides a more or less coherent image of developments in Western Lycia during the second half of the 5th century BC, our knowledge of contemporary events and political structures in the Centre and in the East of the Lycian peninsula is only fragmentary and far less definite.

After the death of Kuprlli sometime around 440 BC coins continued to be struck not only by the Xanthian rulers and their immediate neighbours but also by a number of lesser known dynasts at several mint places in Eastern and Central Lycia in direct succession to the issues in the name of Kuprlli, thus indicating the persistent presence of independent political units beyond the Xanthos valley. Key-figures for the history of these regions during the time in question are the dynasts Teththiweibi, Kheriga and Khinakha.

1. Khinakha in Eastern Lycia

Far to the east the town of Limyra near the mouth of the Arykandos, which had apparently been one of the first mint places for Kuprlli¹, maintained a considerable coin production also after the end of his rule. Over the years two distinct groups of issues in the name of Kuprlli had evolved at Limyra, one showing a walking or kneeling goat with different symbols in the field² and the other showing a flying Pegasus³, both types occasionally placed on raised rectangular squares or more often on round shields. The coins of the Pegasus-group seem to be the latest issue of Kuprlli at Limyra, since this motif was directly adopted by the coinage of a successor called Khinakha. The flying Pegasus is the only type of Khinakhas Limyrean coinage but there are numerous variants and the whole group is apparently much larger than the total of the respective issues in the name of Kuprlli:

I/1 **Fig. 1.** Stater (Limyra). Pegasus to l. on round shield / Triskeles in incuse square, in the field legend χ ina (last two letters ligated).

Müseler IV, 73* (9, 70 g)

I/2 **Fig. 2** Stater (Limyra). Pegasus to l. on round shield, in the field linear symbol \sqcap / Triskeles with 7 pearls in central ring in incuse square.

SNG v. Aulock 4087* (9, 79 g)

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¹ Müseler 2016, IV. 14.

² Müseler 2016, IV. 5-18.

³ Müseler 2016, IV. 10-13.

- I/3 Tetrobol (Limyra). Pegasus to l. on round shield, in the field linear symbol Γ / Triskeles in incuse square.
Müseler IV, 75 (2, 97 g)
- I/4 **Fig. 3** Stater (Limyra). Pegasus to l. on round shield, in the field linear symbol Γ / Triskeles with one pearl in central ring in incuse circle.
Müseler IV, 77* (10, 01 g)
- I/5 **Fig. 4** Stater (Limyra). Pegasus to l. on round shield, in the field uncertain linear symbol / Triskeles in incuse circle, in the field legend χin .
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 228* (9, 77 g)
- I/6 **Fig. 5** Stater (Limyra). Pegasus to l. on round shield / Triskeles in incuse circle, in the field pearl and linear symbol ☪ .
Müseler IV, 80* (9, 95 g)
- I/7 Diobol (Limyra). Pegasus to l. on round shield / Triskeles in incuse square, In the field uncertain linear symbol.
Müseler IV, 85 (1, 34 g)
- I/8 **Fig. 6** Stater (Limyra). Pegasus to right on round shield, in the field linear symbol ☪ / Triskeles in incuse circle, in the field linear symbol ☪ .
Müseler IV, 81* (9, 71 g)
- I/9 **Fig. 7** Stater (Limyra). Pegasus to right on round shield, in the field linear symbol ☪ , above shield legend χinaxa / Triskeles in incuse circle, in the field linear symbol ☪ (*different position of symbol*).⁴
Müseler IV, 84* (9, 82 g)
- I/10 **Fig. 8** Diobol (Limyra). Pegasus to l. on round shield / Frog in incuse square.
SNG Cop. Suppl. 380 (1, 41 g); Müseler IV, 86* (1, 30 g)
- I/11 **Fig. 9** Hemiobol (Limyra). Linear Symbol ☪ / Horses head to l. in incuse square
Müseler IV, 87* (0, 33 g)

The number of variants and of dies employed for this coinage points to a rather extended production period. Although we are not able to fix a final point in time, this period may well have lasted far into the twenties of the 5th century if not even longer.

The full name of the dynast, Khinakha, is only preserved on one of these issues and on his lighter coins from Central Lycia⁵. The Limyrean coinage, which is generally based on the heavy eastern standard with an average weight of 9, 80 g to the stater, makes use of his personal name only occasionally and in abbreviated form. Instead a distinct linear symbol (☪) is employed, which repeatedly appears also on Khinakhas issues from other mints, and obviously serves as a personal emblem,

⁴ Novella Vismara has discovered the rare obverse-legend on two of the coins from this pair of dies (SNG v. Aulock 4090 and SNG Berry 1172), which is invisible on most of the specimens extant (cfr. Vismara 1999, 369 ff.). Her considerations regarding the whole issue are mainly correct. They are, however, somewhat obscured by her belief in a confederation of some cities in Central Lycia under the name of **wedrēi** and her assumption of a Lycian mint at the town of Lagbe in the Milyas.

⁵ See below pp. 21-24.

similar to the use of the diskeles on the coinages of the two Wekhssere⁶. The series of pegasi from Limyra, however, ends with the issues of Khinakha and apparently, no later coins can be assigned to this mint before the introduction of a reformed coinage by the dynast Trbbenimi towards the end of the first decade of the 4th century BC⁷. Possibly the production of coins at this place has been temporarily suspended after the reign of Khinakha for reasons not yet explained⁸.

2. Teththiweibi in Central Lycia

In the center of Lycia, however, the situation appears far more complicated. Most relevant is the coinage of the dynast Teththiweibi. It was apparently struck at two or three different mints but no place-names are mentioned on the coins. The respective mints can only be identified by a comparison of their pictorial types with later coinages (namely coins of Kheriga), which bear such topographical indications. Two of the mints in question have been used earlier by other dynasts, by Kuprlli or by late contemporaries of his reign, and the respective coins have served as prototypes for the issues of Teththiweibi⁹. But for one important series in his name there are no apparent models to be found and it remains unclear, whether this was made at a separate place.

The rule of Teththiweibi, who apparently held the illustrious title *χῆτawati*, is also attested by the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos, the burial monument of the dynast Kherēi¹⁰. The text mentions him in connection with a number of building projects and religious dedications in the area of Kandyba and Tymnessos¹¹. It can therefore be safely assumed that Teththiweibi's domain enfolded the hills in the western part of Central Lycia with the various small streams that eventually feed the river Myros. The two mints that can be identified as working for Teththiweibi, Phellos and Kandyba, are both situated in this area. The coins in the name of Teththiweibi were struck on the basis of two different weight standards, a heavier one corresponding to the standard of Limyra with an average weight of 9, 80 g. to the stater and a lighter one corresponding to the standard of the Xanthos valley with an average weight of only 8, 40 g. to the stater, the so called intermediate standard with an average weight of 9, 20 g. to the stater once in force in Central Lycia having already become out of use during or soon after the reign of Kuprlli¹². The different weight standards were certainly employed by different mint places.

Some heavy issues of Teththiweibi were actually copied by subsequent coinages of Kheriga and Kherēi, which carry the name of Phellos. Several of the lighter ones show iconographical parallels with an issue of Kheriga bearing the name of Kandyba. One important series of light weight coins,

⁶ See W. Müsseler, The place of the two Wekhssere in the history of Lycia, in: *Atti del XV. Congresso Internazionale di Numismatica, Taormina 2015* (in preparation).

⁷ Müsseler 2016, VIII. 1-27.

⁸ A possible exception is the enigmatic issue of a dynast called Elmen = Müsseler 2016, III. 60.

⁹ For the coinages of the immediate predecessors of Teththiweibi see below p. 16.

¹⁰ For the discussion of the authorship of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos see Müsseler 2016, 54-59 with references to differing positions.

¹¹ TL 44, b. 48-61 and the interpretation of the respective passage by Schürr 2012, 124 ff.

¹² There are very few issues of the so called intermediate weight standard within the vast series in the name of Kuprlli (cfr. Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 62, 35-39) and just one issue in the name of Kheriga (cfr. Hunterian Coll. II, 497, 1), which is dielinked to one of Kuprlli. There is, however, one later issue based on the same weight standard in the name of the dynast Khinakha, which is to be treated below (pp. 23-24).

however, served as a model for issues in the name of Kherēi, but here both issues do not show any indication of a mint place and therefore the origin of both coinages remains undisclosed¹³. Moreover, a general sequence of the different issues can not be established in each case: The respective coinages in the name of Teththiweibi, of Kheriga and of Kherēi seem to have been almost contemporary and several of them are so closely related that certain chronological overlaps can not be excluded, in particular between series from different mint places.

Since there is yet no comprehensive publication of the coinage in the name of Teththiweibi in existence and the various specimens extant are widely scattered between different collections a listing of the principal issues known up to now is attempted here:

- I/1 **Fig. 10** Stater (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to l. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
BMC 89-90 (9, 79 und 9, 81 g); Müseler V, 31-32* (9, 86 und 9, 87 g)
- I/2 Stater (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to l. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
SNG v. Aulock 4161 (9, 84 g)
Like I/1 but of a completely different style.
- I/3 Diobol (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to l. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiwe**.
Babelon, Traité II/2, 334 (1, 41 g); Müseler V, 34 (1, 50 g)
- I/4 **Fig. 11** Stater (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to r. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
BMC 92 (9, 82 g); Babelon, Traité II/2, 332* (9, 87 g)
- I/5 Tetrobol (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to r. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
Babelon, Traité II/2, 333 (2, 99 g)
- I/6 Obol (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to r. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiwe**.
Babelon, Traité II/2, 334 (0, 77 g)
- I/7 **Fig. 12** Tetrobol (Phellos). Head of Heracles to l. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
SNG v. Aulock 4162 (2, 50 g); Müseler V, 35* (2, 59 g)
- II/1* **Fig. 13** Stater (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to l. / Standing owl to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
Robinson 1936, p. 194, 43 (9, 65 g)
- III/1 **Fig. 14** Stater (Kandyba). Protome of boar to l. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
BMC 85 (8, 09 g); Babelon, Traité II/2, 320* (8, 14 g)

¹³ Müseler 2016, V. 36-39 and Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 48, 18-21.

- III/2 Tetrobol (Kandyba). Protome of boar to l. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **tethiweibi** (sic!).
BMC 86 (2, 42 g); Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 321 (2, 52 g)
- III/3 **Fig. 15** Stater (Kandyba). Protome of boar to l. on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 322 (8, 41 g); Müseler V, 41* (8, 40 g)
- III/4 **Fig. 16** Stater (Kandyba). Seated griffon with raised paw to l. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
BMC 87 (8, 29 g)
- III/5 **Fig. 17** Stater (Kandyba). Standing winged lion to r. on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 325 (8, 48 g); Müseler V, 42* (8, 61 g)
- III/6 **Fig. 18** Stater (Kandyba). Crouching winged lion to l. on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 326 (8, 60 g); SNG Cop. Suppl. 427* (8, 21 g)
- III/7 Diobol (Kandyba). Crouching winged lion to l. on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiwe**.
Müseler V, 43 (1, 10 g)
- IV/1 **Fig. 19** Stater (unknown mint – Kandyba?). Two cocks facing one another on round shield, between them linear symbol ∇ / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
SNG v. Aulock 4158* (8, 47 g); Müseler V, 37 (8, 35 g)
- IV/2 Tetrobol (unknown mint – Kandyba?). Two cocks facing one another on round shield, between them linear symbol ∇ / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiwe**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 328 (2, 50 g)
- IV/3 **Fig. 20** Diobol (unknown mint- Kandyba?). Standing cock to r. / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 329 (1, 01 g); Müseler V, 39* (1, 14 g)
- IV/4 Obol (unknown mint – Kandyba?). Standing cock to r., in the field linear symbol ∇ / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiw**.
Müseler V, 40 (0, 54 g)
- V/1 **Fig. 21** Tetrobol (unknown mint). Facing head of Silenus / Tetraskes in incuse square, in the field legend **teththiweibi**.
BMC 88 (2, 58 g.); Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 327 (2, 53 g)* (2, 67 g)

The mint, which produced the coins of heavy standard in the name of Teththiweibi, had already been used by a late contemporary of Kuprilli with the name Sppñtaza¹⁴. The equally heavy coins of this dynast all show a female head with an ornate hairstyle (Mallia, Aphrodite?) and a *tetraskes*, a Lycian

¹⁴ That the coinage of the dynast Sppñtaza is more or less contemporary with the late years of Kuprillis reign is demonstrated by the composition of the Kaş hoard: Cfr. Müseler 2016, 47, note 300.

sun-wheel with four arms instead of the usual three¹⁵. These coin-types were faithfully copied by the later issues in the name of Teththiweibi. In addition to his main series adopted from the coinage of his predecessor Teththiweibi issued yet another type of heavy coins with a similar female head on the obverse but with a standing owl on the reverse¹⁶. This type was later on continued by heavy coins of the dynasts Kheriga and Kherēi, who added the mint-name of Phellos on their respective issues¹⁷. On other coins of Kheriga showing the name of Phellos the different reverse-motifs of Teththiweibis heavy coinage are combined by placing a little standing owl in the central ring of a *tetraskeles*¹⁸. Therefore, the localization of the mint for the heavy coinages of Sppñtaza and of Teththiweibi at Phellos is the obvious solution.

But the coins of the lighter western standard in the name of Sppñtaza and of Teththiweibi must have been struck somewhere else: The motif chosen for the issue of Sppñtaza, a cow and a suckling calf, does not permit any conclusion as to the origin of his respective coinage¹⁹. But the types employed for the lighter coins of Teththiweibi show close parallels with certain issues of Kuprlli and of two less important dynasts with the name Tēnegure and Tññēmi. The common feature of all those issues is the use of winged mythical creatures, namely of griffons or of winged lions, which are often depicted on round shields, as obverse motifs²⁰. Teththiweibi just places a *Tetraskeles* instead of the *Triskeles* used by the earlier dynasts on the reverse of the coins. Once more it is the subsequent coinage of Kheriga, which applies a mint name to this class of motifs²¹: Here the winged lions are connected explicitly to the town of Kandyba in the Kasaba valley, some 15 km north of Phellos. For Kheriga Kandyba was a mint place of considerable importance: While his earlier coins of the heavy standard were struck at Phellos, Kandyba became a center for the production of lighter coins in his name around the time of his conquest of Xanthos and the subsequent staging of his monetary reform there²². Therefore at least one of the mints, where the lighter issues in the name of Teththiweibi were struck, must be identified with Kandyba.

¹⁵ Müseler 2016, V. 25-29.

¹⁶ Robinson 1936, 194, 43 = Mattingly 1970, 144.

¹⁷ Müseler 2016, V. 44 and VI. 1.

¹⁸ Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 47-48, 2-8.

¹⁹ Müseler 2016, V. 30.

²⁰ Winged mythical creatures on light weight coins of Kurprlli: Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 64, 59-67, 70-73 and 77-91, 66. 133-134, 68, 154-155, 173 and 179 a, 70, 180-190; – of Tēnegure: Müseler 2016, IV. 88-90 and Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 185-190; – of Tññēmi: Müseler 2016, IV. 91-93 and Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 212-213. The strange hybrid coin SNG Cop. Suppl. 428, which is of extremely low weight (6,71 g) and has an obverse-die of Tññēmi coupled with a reverse-die of Teththiweibi, is rather a contemporary imitation.

²¹ Müseler 2016, V. 47.

²² It is uncertain when Kheriga began with the production of his reformed issues at Xanthos (cfr. Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 50, 26-31). We only have a *terminus ante quem* with the expedition of the Athenian commander Melesandros to Lycia in the year 430/429 BC. However, the beginning of Kherigas Xanthian coinage does not necessarily imply that the striking of coins in his name at Central Lycian mints was abandoned. At least one of his series from Kandyba is of the same period if not even later than his issue from Xanthos (cfr. Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 50, 32-32a). On the other hand, a part of Teththiweibis coinage seems to precede immediately some corresponding issues in the name of Kherēi (see above note 12). The question is, therefore, whether a joint use of the mints in Central Lycia by Kheriga and by Teththiweibi has to be assumed, or whether the workshops of

This does, however, not necessarily apply to all the light issues of Teththiweibi. The series with the two cocks on a round shield, that is not continued by any coinage of Kheriga but by two issues of Kherēi may belong to Kandyba as well, but it may also have come from a third mint, that can not be named yet. The same is true for the enigmatic tetrobols with the facing head of a Silenus. But in any case, the mint in question should be located somewhere in Central Lycia; the compact sequence of issues from the mints in the Xanthos valley hardly leaves the space for any coinage of Teththiweibi.

3. The eastern coinages of Kheriga and Kherēi

In addition to their coin production at mints in the Xanthos valley both Kheriga and Kherēi had several series struck in their name at mints in Central Lycia. As pointed out above many of the types employed for these issues were clearly related to pictorial motifs used on the coins of Teththiweibi. But Kheriga and Kherēi occasionally added the name of a place to their own personal names on those coins, thus permitting a geographical attribution not only for their own coinages but also for earlier issues showing the same distinctive types²³.

Apparently Kherigas original realm extended over the same area as the one once under the control of Teththiweibi, that is from the hills around the harbour of Antiphellos to the Kasaba valley in the north and to the main pass leading into the Xanthos plain near the town of Tymnessos in the west, whereas his conquest of the city of Xanthos and the takeover of its mint from the elder Wekhssere probably belong to a later phase of his reign. As a consequence, the overall volume of Kherigas coinage from Phellos and from Kandyba appears to have been considerable and the number of issues extant outweighs the single series in his name from Xanthos by far. For Kherēi, however, the opposite is the case: The base of power for his long reign was the Xanthos valley and almost all his vast coin issues come from mints in that area, – that is from Xanthos, from Tlos, from Pinara and later on also from Telmessos. Compared to those large and varied series his coinage from Central Lycia appears quite small and can hardly have covered a long period.

Once more a list of the principal issues in the names of Kheriga and of Kherēi from mints in Central Lycia is inserted here²⁴:

Kheriga

I/1 **Fig. 22** Stater (unknown mint). Horned lion-griffin to l. / Triskeles in incuse square, in the field legend **χariga**.

Hunterian Coll. II , p. 497, 1* (9, 62 g.)

(dielinked to an issue in the name of Kuprlli: *Babelon, Traité II/2, 276*)

one place were employed by Kheriga while others at a different location continued to work for Teththiweibi during a certain period.

²³ The simultaneous use of mints in the Xanthos valley and in Central Lycia by Kheriga and by Kherēi may actually have been the original reason for the application of mint names on some of their coins.

²⁴ Kherigas issue with a head of Zeus-Ammon on the reverse (cfr. Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 48/50, 24-25) is like his main series from Xanthos omitted here: The denomination of these coins (attic hemidrachms) points to a Xanthian origin as well.

- II/1 **Fig. 23** Stater (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to l., in the field uncertain linear symbol, on neck letter χ (or linear symbol Ψ) / Standing owl to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χ eriga**.
Müseler V, 44* (9, 75 g)
- II/2 Tetrobol (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to l., in the field flower / Standing owl to l. in incuse square, in the field ball and legend **χ eri**.
SNG Cop. Suppl. 446 (3, 21 g)
- II/3 Diobol (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to l., in the field flower / Standing owl to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χ erig**.
Babelon, *Traité II/2*, 371 (1, 59 g)
- III/1 **Fig. 24** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle to l., on the neck letter **t** / Tetraskeles with standing owl to r. in the central ring in incuse square, in the field legend **χ eriga wehñte**.
SNG Cop. Suppl. 440* (9, 51 g)
- III/2 **Fig. 25** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle to l., on the neck letter **t** / Tetraskeles with standing owl to r. in central ring in incuse square, in the field legend **χ eriga wehñtezi** (sic!).
Babelon, *Traité II/2*, 367* (9, 71 g)
- III/3 Tetrobol, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle to l., on the neck letter **t** / Tetraskeles with standing owl to l. in central ring in incuse square, in the field legend **χ eriga wehñt**.
Babelon, *Traité II/2*, 369 (3, 21 g)
- III/4* **Fig. 26** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle to r., on the neck letter **t** / Tetraskeles with standing owl to l. in central ring in incuse square, in the field legend **χ eriga wehñteze** and linear symbol Ψ .
Weber Coll. 7232* (9, 64 g)
- III/5 Tetrobol (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to r., on the neck letter **t**, in the field linear symbol Ψ / Tetraskeles with standing owl to r. and linear symbol Ψ in central ring in incuse square.
Müseler V, 46 (3, 08 g)
- III/6 Obol (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to r., in the field linear symbol Ψ / Tetraskeles with standing owl to l., in the field linear symbol Ψ .
SNG Ashmolean 1162 (0, 71 g)
- IV/1 **Fig. 27** Stater, Kandyba. Head of Athena with attic helmet to r. / Crouching winged lion to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χ eriga χ ãkbiñ**.
Müseler V, 47* (8, 42 g)
- IV/2 Obol (Kandyba). Head of Athena with attic helmet to r. / Crouching winged lion to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χ eriga**.
Müseler V, 48 (0, 63 g)

- V/1 **Fig. 28** Stater (Kandyba). Head of Athena with attic helmet to r. / Protome of winged lion to r. in incuse square, in the field legend **[χe]rig[a]**.
Müseler V, 49* (8, 28 g)
- VI/1 **Fig. 29** Stater (Kandyba). Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. / Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χeriga**.
SNG Cop. Suppl. 443* (8, 31 g)
- VI/2 Tetrobol (Kandyba). Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. / Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χeriga**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 364 (2, 37 g)
- VI/3 **Fig. 30** Tetrobol, Kandyba. Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. / Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χãkbih**
SNG Cop. Suppl. 444* (2, 52 g)
(dielinked to the previous issue)
- VII/1 **Fig. 31** Stater, Tymnessos. Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. / Helmeted bearded male head to r. in incuse square, in the field legend **χeriga [t]uminehi**.
SNG Cop. Suppl. 441* (8, 48 g)
- VII/2 **Fig. 32** Stater (Tymnessos?). Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. / Helmeted bearded male head to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χerig[a]**.
SNG Cop. Suppl. 442* (8, 12 g)

Kherēi

- I/1 **Fig. 33** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle to l., behind flower / Standing owl to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χerēi wehñt**.
Müseler VI, 1* (9, 58 g)
(occasionally with additional linear symbol √ in reverse field = Vismara 1989, 167)
- I/2 Tetrobol (Phellos). Female head with ornate hairstyle to l., behind flower / Standing owl to l. incuse square, in the field linear symbol √ and legend **χerēi**.
SNG v. Aulock 4170 (3, 22 g)
- II/1 **Fig. 34** Stater (unknown mint – Kandyba?). Two cocks facing one another on round shield / Standing owl to r. incuse square, in the field legend **χerēi**.
Müseler VI, 2* (8, 24 g)
- II/2 Diobol (unknown mint – Kandyba?). Two cocks facing one another on round shield / Standing owl to r. in incuse square, in the field legend **χer**.
Müseler VI, 3 (1, 09 g)
- III/1 **Fig. 35** Stater (unknown mint – Kandyba?). Two cocks facing one another on round shield, in the field linear symbol √ / Standing eagle to l. in incuse square, in the field legend **χerēi**.
SNG Ashmolean 1184* (8, 42 g)

- III/2 Tetrobol (unknown mint – Kandyba?). Two cocks facing one another on round shield, in the field linear symbol Ψ / Standing eagle to l. in incuse square, in the field linear symbol Ψ and legend $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 359 (2, 61 g)
- III/3 Diobol (unknown mint – Kandyba?). Two cocks facing one another on round shield, in the field linear symbol Ψ / Standing eagle to l. in incuse square, in the field legend $\chi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$.
Müseler VI, 4 (1, 05 g)

After one initial issue in the name of Kherēi, which adopted a coin type introduced by Teththiweibi and continued by Kheriga, the activity of the mint at Phellos seems to have stopped altogether for the rest of the 5th century BC. There is no sequel to this specific coinage, neither anonymous nor in the name of another dynast; furthermore, there are no other coins of the heavier weight standard, that can be attributed with any certainty to this place or to any other mint in Central Lycia before the beginning of the coinage in the name of the younger Wekhssere at Zagaba sometime around 395 BC.

However, coins of the lighter weight standard apparently continued to be struck in Central Lycia, – at least for some time. But their places of origin can no longer be exactly located. Teththiweibis and Kherigas main issues from Kandyba were not continued by Kherēi; the name of Kandyba is nowhere mentioned and there appear no winged lions or griffons on Kherēis coins. Instead the production of another coin type introduced by Teththiweibi but not adopted by the coinage of Kheriga was at least partly revived under Kherēi: The obverse-motif with the two standing cocks facing each other placed on a round shield got once more employed, while Teththiweibis distinctive *tetraskeles* was replaced by a standing owl or by a standing eagle on the reverse of the coins in the name of Kherēi. But as on the respective coins of Teththiweibi there is no topographical indication attached to this particular motif and a place of origin for all these issues can not be determined. Of course, the assumption that those series were struck at Kandyba as well is not to be excluded and has even some probability in its favour, but such an identification of the mint in question remains nevertheless uncertain.

A special case is the production of coins at Tymnessos, a small town near the mountain-pass between Phellos and the Xanthos valley. Although one of the most relevant innovations in the history of coinage in general, the application of symbolic personal portraits on coins as an expression of political authority, was eventually invented here²⁵, this mint-place seems to have been used only on certain occasions and its output was comparatively small. The activity of the mint at Tymnessos is mainly attested at times, when an invasion from Central Lycia into the Xanthos valley was in progress, – that is under Kheriga, under the younger Wekhssere and once more under Mithrapata²⁶. Kherēi apparently did no longer use this mint and had the production of coins with his portrait transferred to places in the Xanthos valley. None of his own issues or of the coins of his immediate successors can

²⁵ If the assumption of most scholars holds true that the helmeted or later on the kyrbasia-clad male heads on Lycian coins were in fact meant as portraits of the respective issuers, Lycia (if not even the small town of Tymnessos) has to be seen as the cradle of one of the most important inventions in monetary history, that is the introduction of (however symbolic) depictions of living people on coins. See Schwabacher 1968, Cahn 1975, Zahle 1982 and Müseler 2016, 18 sqq.






²⁶ However, coins from Tymnessos, which carry a “dynastic portrait”, remain limited to the issues of Kheriga listed above. Neither the issue in the name of Wekhssere II. (cfr. SNG Cop. Suppl. 437) nor the one in the name of Mithrapata (cfr. SNG Keckman II, 492) from this place show that particular feature.

be attributed to Tymnessos. Coinage seems to have been resumed there only at about 390 BC with an issue of the younger Wekhssere, whose coins from that place neither made use of his personal name and nor of any personal portrait²⁷.

At any rate Kherēis eastern coinage comprises just a very small number of issues and has probably not outlasted the early years of his reign. Typologically the different series in his name were continued neither by himself nor by any other dynast, thus leaving an obvious gap in the coin production of Central Lycia following his issues.

4. Khinakha in Central Lycia

But the production of lighter coins in Central Lycia did evidently not cease altogether during the last quarter of the 5th century BC. Actually, there are a number of coins based on the Xanthian standard in the name of the Limyrean dynast Khinakha, which can hardly have been struck in the Xanthos valley. However, the specimens extant of the coinage in question are extremely rare. We therefore add a comprehensive catalogue of all the respective issues yet known:

- I/1 **Fig. 36** Stater. Protome of winged stag to l. / Protome of winged stag to l. in incuse square, in the field linear symbol  and legend **χίναχα**.
Müseler 2016, IV, 67*-68. (8, 52 and 7, 58 g)
- I/2 **Fig. 37** Tetrobol. Protome of winged stag to l. on round shield / Liongriffon walking to l. in incuse square, in the field uncertain linear symbol, linear symbol  and legend **χίνα**.
Vismara 1989, 176*. (2, 61 g)
- I/3 **Fig. 38** Tetrobol. Protome of winged stag to l. / Triskeles with heads of geese in incuse circle, no symbol or legend.
Vismara 1989, 82*. (2, 43 g)
- I/4 Tetrobol. Protome of winged stag to l. / Linear symbol  in incuse circle, in the field legend **χίναχ**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 231. (2, 29 g)
- I/5 Tetrobol. Protome of winged stag to l. on round shield / Linear symbol  in incuse square, in the field legend **χίναχα**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 232. (2, 50 g)
- I/6 **Fig. 39** Diobol. Protome of winged stag to l. / Linear symbol  in incuse square, in the field legend **χίναχα**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 233*. (1, 12 g)
- II/1 **Fig. 40** Stater. Seated lion with right paw raised to l., head turned front / Seated lion with left paw raised to r., head turned front, in incuse square, in left field legend **[χ]ίναχ**, in right field legend illegible.
Müseler 2016, IV, 71*; SNG Cop. Suppl. 400. (8, 72 g and 9, 12 g)

²⁷ The coin, that was struck under Wekhssere II. at Tymnessos carries beside the abbreviated and retrograde place name only the personal symbol used by this ruler on his early coinage from Zagaba: SNG Cop. Suppl. 437 ("Mutuse") and Müseler 2016, 8 and 34. Coins bearing a dynasts head, which can be assigned to Wekhssere II., were only issued from mints in the Xanthos valley: See Müseler 2016, VII.6-10 for Tlos and VII.42 for Xanthos.

- II/2 **Fig. 41** Diobol. Seated lion with right paw raised to l., head turned front / Winged stag (or goat) to l. in incuse circle, in the field uncertain symbol.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 242* (1, 39 g)
- III/1 **Fig. 42** Stater. Walking mule (or donkey) to r. / Triskeles in incuse circle, in the field legend **χίναχα**.
Müseler 2016, IV, 72*. (8, 25 g)
- IV/1 **Fig. 43** Stater. Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. / Triskeles in incuse circle, in the field legend **χίη**.
Babelon, *Traité* II/2, 230*. (8, 32 g)
- IV/2 Diobol. Head of Athena with attic helmet to l. / Triskeles in incuse circle, in the field legend **χίη**.
SNG v. Aulock 4127. (1, 50 g)
- IV/3 **Fig. 44** Diobol. Head of Athena with attic helmet to r. / Triskeles in incuse circle, in the field legend **χίη**.
Müseler 2016, IV, 70* (1, 43 g)
- V/1 **Fig. 45** Tetrobol. Head of Athena with attic helmet to r. / Flying eagle with open wings front in incuse circle, in the field legend **χίη**.
Müseler 2016, IV, 69* (2, 66 g)
- V/2 **Fig. 46** Diobol. Head of Athena with attic helmet to r. / Standing owl with open wings front in incuse square, in the field 2 olive branches²⁸.
Auction CNG 93, 2013, 583*. (1, 34 g)

Like on his better known Limyrian coinage most of the lighter coins of Khinakha bear his (often abbreviated) name and/or his personal linear symbol $\chi\eta$. On the main series winged mythical creatures make their reappearance, while the reverse motifs are sometimes adopted from earlier Central Lycian issues of the so-called intermediate weight standard, either anonymous or in the name of Kuprilli and Kheriga²⁹. The protome of a winged stag on the obverse, which is often also placed on a round shield, corresponds to the issues of Teththiweibi and of Kheriga with the griffons or the winged lions. Hence there appears to be sufficient reason to attribute the whole series to the mint of Kandyba. Likewise the larger issue with the Athena head on the obverse shows some close parallels to the coinage from Kandyba in the name of Kheriga: The helmeted head of the goddess on the stater of Khinakha with the Triskeles on the reverse and the one on the stater of Kheriga with the winged lion-protome in the back are designed and executed in such a similar way that the same workshop if not the hand of the same die-cutter might be suspected. The other issue of Khinakha with a much coarser head of Athena on the obverse, of which only small denominations are known, eventually carries an allusion to Kherëis coinage from a yet unlocated mint in Central Lycia: Here the head of

²⁸ Mainly because of its peculiar style the coin was listed in the catalogue of the auction as a philisto-arabian issue and tentatively assigned to the mint of Ashkelon. However, the cataloguer was aware of the fact that the piece does not exactly fit into that series. Actually, the coin shares its obverse-die with an issue of Khinakha from the mint at Kandyba (Müseler 2016, IV, 70).

²⁹ Liongriffon: Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 62, 38 (Kuprilli) and Hunterian Coll. II, 497, 1 (Kheriga); Triskeles with geese heads: SNG v. Aulock 4115 (anonymous from Zagaba).

the goddess has replaced the two opposing cocks on the obverse, but on the reverses appear a standing eagle and a standing owl, though turned into a facing position³⁰. If this latter issue – mainly because of the head of Athena employed here – is likewise to be attributed to Kandyba it may even form a bridge between the enigmatic series with the two cocks and the coinage from this town.

The other issues listed above may however have been struck somewhere else. The mint of the issue with the walking mule or donkey can not be identified, although there is a coinage with a similar motif and based on the same weight standard in the name of Kuprlli³¹. Those coins could have come from any place in the western part of Central Lycia including Kandyba. But the issue showing a seated lion with a raised paw is of a different weight standard. Those coins are still based on the so-called intermediate standard with an average weight of 9,20 g to the stater that was no longer in use at all the mint places discussed hitherto. There is a model for this type among the coinages from Central Lycia that can roughly be dated to the time of Kuprlli³². The respective coins are all of the intermediate standard and are either anonymous or signed with the legend **amm**, which might be the abbreviation of a personal name or of a place name yet unknown. They show a seated lion with a raised paw on the obverse and a pegasus-protome placed in an incuse square or in an incuse circle on the reverse. Later on, during the eighties of the 4th century BC, a similar but somewhat altered motif with two such lions facing each other is employed for the light coinage of the younger Wekhssere from the reopened mint at Tlos after his conquest of Western Lycia³³. Since there is no predecessor to this particular coin type among the issues of the Xantos valley and since Wekhssere originally came from Zagaba in the eastern part of Central Lycia, he may well have brought the iconographic subject of the lion with the raised paw with him to Tlos. Although this is one of the few issues not claimed for Zagaba by Frank Kolb and Werner Tietz³⁴ an attribution of Khinakhas single issue on the intermediate weight standard to this mint appears in fact tempting³⁵.

5. Conclusion

Kandyba seems to have been the most important mint place in Central Lycia during the period in question. Almost all the successors of Kuprlli in the East struck coins there, which were adapted to the Xanthian standard, for the trade with the settlements in Western Lycia. A significant number of issues belonging to Teththiweibi, to Kheriga and finally to Khinakha can be attributed to this place. Apparently at some time in the twenties Khinakha had expanded his area of influence from Limyra deep into Central Lycia spreading it as far as to the mountains on the eastern border of the Xanthos valley. In the course of this process he had taken the control over the territory around Kandyba and

³⁰ The apparent models for the motif of the frontal owl with open wings employed on this tiny issue, the famous decadrachms from Athens, must have been quite well known in Central Lycia, given the massive appearance of those coins in the Elmalı hoard.

³¹ Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 64, 75-76.

³² Müseler 2016, III. 25-26 and III. 27-28.

³³ Müseler 2016, VII. 11-16.

³⁴ Kolb – Tietz 2001, in particular p. 361 ff.

³⁵ There have been several attempts to decipher the legend on the stater of the issue that was once in Berlin and is now in Copenhagen, – all with no comprehensible results. The specimen from the Reuter Collection (Müseler 2016, IV. 71) allowed a reading of the legend on the left side of the reverse as a fragment of the name Khinakha but the part on the right side, which may have contained a mint name, remained completely illegible on that piece as well.

Phellos from Kherēi, presumably not very long after the accession of the latter. Thus he had become the eastern counterpart of the powerful Xanthian rulers and the activity of the mint at Kandyba under his rule may well have lasted into the final two decades of the 5th century BC.. There remains, however, still a certain gap between his coinage and the one, which the younger Wekhssere initiated at Zagaba soon after the beginning of the 4th century BC. But the intermittent period can be considered as rather limited after all.

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Ksanthos Vadisi'nin Ötesi

“Ksanthos Dinastlığı” Dönemi'nde Doğu ve Merkezi Lykia'daki yöneticiler ve sikke basımları

Özet

Batı Lykia'da İ. Ö. 530'larda “Ksanthos Dinastlığı”nın kurulmasının ardından, iddia edildiği üzere Doğu ve Merkezi Lykia'nın sikke basımında yaşadığı duraklama Teththiweibi sikke darısı, Kheriga ve Kherēi'in doğu baskıları ve nihayetinde, aynı yüzyılın sonuncudan bir önceki 10 yılı içlerine kadar girmiş olması gayet olağan olan Khinakha sikke basım süreci ile doldurulmalıdır. Böylelikle bu sikke basım süreçleri ile Zagaba'daki genç Wekhssere tarafından yak. İ. Ö. 395 civarında başlatılan süreç arasında bir boşluk kalmaktadır, fakat bu kesinti süreci aslında görüldüğünden çok daha kısadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Lykia, dinastik sikke basımı, politik coğrafya.

Beyond the Xanthos Valley

Rulers and mints in Eastern and Central Lycia at the time of the “dynasty of Xanthos”

Abstract

The alleged intermission in the coin production of Eastern and Central Lycia after the establishment of the so-called “dynasty of Xanthos” in Western Lycia during the thirties of the 5th century BC is to be filled with the coinage of Teththiweibi, the eastern series of Kheriga and Kherēi and, finally, with the coinage of Khinakha, which may well have lasted deep into the penultimate decade of that century. There remains a certain gap between those coinages and the one initiated by the younger Wekhssere at Zagaba around ca. 395 BC, but the intermittent period is much shorter than it originally appeared.

Keywords: Lycia, dynastic coinage, political geography.



Fig. 1



Fig. 2



Fig. 3



Fig. 4



Fig. 5



Fig. 6



Fig. 7



Fig. 8



Fig. 9



Fig. 10



Fig. 11



Fig. 12



Fig. 13



Fig. 14



Fig. 15



Fig. 16



Fig. 17



Fig. 18



Fig. 19



Fig. 20



Fig. 21



Fig. 22



Fig. 23



Fig. 24



Fig. 25



Fig. 26



Fig. 27



Fig. 28



Fig. 29



Fig. 30



Fig. 31



Fig. 32



Fig. 33



Fig. 34



Fig. 35



Fig. 36



Fig. 37



Fig. 38



Fig. 39



Fig. 40



Fig. 41



Fig. 42



Fig. 43



Fig. 44



Fig. 45



Fig. 46

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