

The Coinage of Kalynda

Ömer TATAR*

Abstract: This study discusses the coinage of Kalynda, the exact location of whose polis centre remains uncertain. Located near the Karian-Lycian border, Kalynda probably struck civic coins beginning in the 1st century BC. The coinage of the city includes three bronze series. The minting place of a series of silver coins previously attributed to Kalynda remains debated. The bronze coins predominantly depict Artemis and symbols associated with the goddess, indicating her importance in the city. The iconographic similarities between Kalynda's coins and those of other Karian and Lycian cities, particularly the Lycian League, suggest that Kalynda's coinage may have been influenced by regional trends. While the exact dating of these coins is still under discussion, Kalynda probably began striking civic coins in the first quarter of the 1st century BC. The absence of Kalyndan coins in archaeological finds from Şerefli/Asar Tepe, which is thought to have remained on the territory of Kalynda, raises questions about the location and numismatic history of the city.

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Introduction

Although Kalynda is frequently mentioned in many ancient sources and inscriptions, the location of the city center has not yet been identified. Şerefli/Asar Tepe, which was previously proposed as the location of Kalynda, is located on the border of Karia-Lycia, approximately 3 km from Dalaman district of Muğla province (Fig. 1).¹ The archaeological remains of the settlement, which is located on a hilly area, such as fortification walls, building foundations and tombs, indicate that the settlement dates back to the Archaic period.² This must have been an important area within the Kalynda territorium. Due to its location on the border, Kalynda sometimes appears as a Karian city and sometimes as a Lycian city.³ A similar situation is evident in numismatic catalogues.⁴ However, both ancient sources and coin iconography, discussed below, suggest that Kalynda was a Karian city. With the developments that took place as a result of the Roman intervention in Asia Minor, we see that it was included in Lycia in terms of borders.

Since the 19th century, Şerefli/Asar Tepe has been visited by many travelers and researchers.⁵ Since 2022, rescue excavations have been carried out in Şerefli/Asar Tepe under the direction of

* **Assist. Prof. Dr. Ömer Tatar**, Akdeniz University, Faculty of Letters, Department of History, Campus, Antalya, Türkiye (omertatar@akdeniz.edu.tr |  0000-0002-5644-2188).

¹ For detailed information, current views and previous literature on the subject, see Onur 2023, 185-186; 198-206.

² Onur 2023, 185. For the identified remains, see Roos 1969, 72-74.

³ Strabo (14.3) states that the region of Lycia began after Daedala, east of Kalynda, while Livius (37.16) and Pomponius Mela (1.82) give Telmessos as the western border of Lycia. In this context, they place Kalynda in the Karia region. Pliny the Elder (*HN* 5.103) and Stephanos of Byzantion (350) also identify Kalynda as a Karian city. According to the geographer Ptolemaios (*Geog.* 5.3.2), it was a Lycian city. What is certain is that in the context of the geopolitical boundaries of the period, Kalynda was included in Lycia by 43 AD. On the Karia-Lycia border and the location of Kalynda, see also Arkwright 1895; Hellenkemper – Hild 2004, 594; Roos 2013; Schürr 2016, 106-108; Onur 2022.

⁴ For example, Head (1887) lists Kalynda as a Lycian city in his *Historia Numorum*. The city is included in the British Museum's *Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia* (1897) volume. Again, given as a Lycian city in the catalogues of SNG v. Aulock (*SNG v. Aulock Lykien* (1964); *SNG v. Aulock Nachträge IV* (1968)). Also in *SNG Ashmolean Caria* (2013). However, Babelon (1898) lists Kalynda as a Karian city in *Waddington Coll.*

⁵ For further details, see Onur 2023, 185-186.

the Fethiye Museum Directorate and under the scientific supervision of Prof. Fatih Onur, following the preliminary studies carried out during the surveys covering the entire region between 2019-2021.⁶ No examples of coins attributed to Kalynda have yet been recovered during these studies.⁷



Fig. 1) Kalynda's location, source: Onur 2023, 184

The subject of this study is the civic coins of Kalynda, which began to be minted in the Hellenistic period. As they have not yet been extensively studied, the coins minted by the city are brought together and introduced, and brief evaluations are made of some problematic series and dating issues.

Coins Struck by Kalynda

Kalynda began minting civic coins bearing its name in the 1st century BC. Based on the available data, it appears that the city had a limited coinage production. As is discussed in detail below, a series of silver coinage from the Hellenistic period has been attributed to Kalynda in the numismatic literature, but there are differing opinions. As for the bronze coins attributed to the city, three bronze series of Kalynda are currently known. Specimens of the bronze issues of the city are very limited. We do not come across many examples in both general numismatic catalogues and auction records. An example found in archaeological excavations is not yet known. The other extant specimens are either in museum collections, private collections or sold at auctions.⁸

Silver Series?

Before going into detail regarding the Late Hellenistic period bronze coins firmly attributed to Kalynda, here it needs to be mentioned two series of silver coins, questionably attributed to the

⁶ For the studies carried out and their results, see Akyürek Şahin *et al.* 2017a, 398-401; 2017b, 205-212; Onur – Tekoğlu 2020, 10-13.

⁷ As of 2024, 12 coins were found. For the coin finds, see Tatar *forthcoming*.

⁸ All coins for which detailed information is available are included in the catalogue and discussed in the text. In this respect, L. Robert cites an example that we know of but cannot make use of here. Accordingly, there is a Kalynda coin in the collection of A. S. Diamandaras, which is preserved in the collection of Kastellorizo/Megisti island, which is located just across the Kaş district of Antalya today. Based on the brief information provided by Robert, we learn that the collection also includes specimens of Kaunos (2 coins) from Karia and Telmessos (3 coins) from Lycia, see Robert 1977, 32, fn. 119.

city. First, Kalynda has been suggested as a candidate as the mint of a group of 5th c. BC. silver coins ('winged Carians') placed in Karia.⁹ These coins, with six different denominations, bear female deity¹⁰ with wings on the obverse while the reverses depict rough rectangular or triangular incuse square or griffin.¹¹ Troxell (1979) lists Kalynda along with Kaunos, Kyra and Telandria among the cities that may have minted these coins but does not make a definite statement. Konuk (1998), on the other hand, strongly suggests Kaunos for the minting place of these coins.¹² Tietz (2003, 88-90) suggests that another group of these silvers with naked male deity with wings on the obverse holding kerykeion and incuse square or lion on the reverse¹³ might be coins of Kalynda.¹⁴ In a recent study, Müseler has re-examined these coins and while ruling out Kaunos, but accepting the connection with Kaunian issues, he also dismisses Telmessos and proposes Kalynda as the most plausible candidate.¹⁵

The second silver series, on the other hand, are dated to the Hellenistic period. The obverse of the coin depicts the head of Artemis facing right with a stephane, a quiver and a bow on her shoulder.¹⁶ On the reverse side, which bears no ethnic, there is a letter K in the left field and a stag lying down facing right with its head turned backwards. This coin, first introduced to the literature by Imhoof-Blumer in 1895, was attributed to Selge by him.¹⁷ Imhoof-Blumer considered it as a variant of another silver series similarly with the head of Artemis on the obverse and the forepart of a stag on the reverse, without any legends, letters or monograms, which he attributed to Selge¹⁸ and accordingly attributed the series to Selge. Moreover, he accepted the bronzes bearing the letter K on the reverse as a basis for this attribution.¹⁹ In the *BMC* (Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia) published shortly afterwards, this coin is listed as a Kalynda coin. There, two new examples were introduced.²⁰ Hill considers Imhoof-Blumer's attribution to Selge as a possibility, but attributes it to Kalynda since he thinks that the letter K on the coins stands for the ethnic of the city.²¹ These specimens are dated to the 2nd century BC in the *BMC* and the unit is given as *diobol* in the Rhodian weight standard. After these two works published in the last years of the 19th century and the three coins described, no new specimens appear under the title of Selge or Kalynda in any of the

⁹ For the earlier study which suggested Karian origin, without specifying any mint, see Robinson 1936.

¹⁰ Iris as suggested by Konuk (1998, 222-223).

¹¹ Plate I, n. 1-2. For the specimens, see Troxell 1979, 258-270; Konuk 1998, 198-205. See also *HNO*, n. 217-219; 431-436; 921-925; 1299-1300; 1583; 2105.

¹² Konuk basically grounds his attribution on the Karian letters some of these issues carry on their reverse sides, for further information and analysis see Konuk 1998, 217-220.

¹³ For the specimens, see Troxell 1979, 261-263. See also *HNO*, n. 221-222; 430; 441; 643; 930; 932-934; 1317; 1574; 1576; 1578; 1869; 2137; 2631. Cfr. Konuk 2007, M33-36

¹⁴ Troxell (1979) discusses all coins together, naming the first group as Mint A and the other group as Mint B. So, the four mints she suggested as possible also applies for the second group attributed to Kalynda by Tietz.

¹⁵ Müseler 2019.

¹⁶ Plate I, n. 3.

¹⁷ Imhoof-Blumer 1895, 287. Imhoof-Blumer repeated the attribution in another study in which he published the coin one more time, see Imhoof-Blumer 1902, 403, n. 10.

¹⁸ For the published specimens of this coin by the author, see Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 341, n. 100; 1902, 402, n. 7.

¹⁹ For these bronze coins, see Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 342, n. 102; 1902, 403, n. 8-11; *BMC Lycia*, n. 43-44; *SNG Cop. Pisidia*, n. 257.

²⁰ *BMC Lycia*, n. 1-2. Also Tek (2006, 4) proposes these coins as issues of Selge.

²¹ *BMC Lycia*, xlv.

common numismatic catalogues. It was an auction that brought us a new example a century later. Auctioned in 2020 and classified as “Unidentified Mint, Asia Minor”, this is the fourth known coin of this series.²²

In consideration of the available information and data, it is not possible to reach a definitive conclusion regarding the origin of these silver coins. The absence of a city name or ethnicon on the coin represents a major obstacle in determining its mint. From an iconographic point of view, the head of Artemis with stephane, quiver and bow on her shoulder on the obverse side was used by Kalynda on its bronze coins. In Pisidia, this depiction is particularly common in the late Hellenistic period, but was not used by Selge.²³ When we look at the stag depicted on the reverse side, facing to the right, with its head turned back, we see that although Kalynda used a similar right-facing forepart of stag or standing stag on its bronzes, Selge used a depiction very close to the example we are discussing here. On the reverse side of bronze coins dated to the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, Selge used stag with its head turned backwards, either facing right as foreparted or in full form facing right or left.²⁴ The inscription is either CEA or ΣEA. Some emissions bear K letter below stag.²⁵ With the available information and data, it is difficult to make a decisive attribution of these coins. A comprehensive study of museum collections, as well as possible examples to be found in archaeological excavations and surveys, will assist in clarifying this issue. At least to give an idea about the Selge attribution, it should be noted that there are currently no examples of this coin in the museums of Burdur and Isparta.²⁶ Finally, in an earlier catalogue, a series of silver coins attributed to Kalynda was identified. However, subsequent research revealed that the coins were originally from Kaunos and thus have been included in the literature as such.²⁷

Bronze Series

As mentioned, Kalynda minted bronze coins, which are currently divided into three series in the Hellenistic period. In all three of these series, the obverse depicts the head of Artemis facing right, with a quiver and bow on her shoulder. In contrast, the reverse type is different in all series: forepart of stag, stag standing and torch.

The first series struck by Kalynda depicts forepart of a stag facing right on the reverse. These coins do not bear any symbols, letters or monograms (Cat. No. Series 1: 1-3). The reverse legends of these coins are given differently in the sources. Specimens carry either KAAYN²⁸ or

²² Nomos, Obolos Web Auction 17 (20 December 2020), lot. 310, (3rd-2nd c. BC., Asia Minor, Uncertain Mint) = <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=7687931>

²³ For the Artemis on Pisidian coins, see Karayaka 2007, 103-104.

²⁴ *BMC Lycia*, n. 38-44; *SNG Cop. Pisidia*, n. 257-262; *SNG v. Aulock Pisidien*, n. 5286-5287; *SNG Turkey* 6, n. 2026-2442; See also Nollé 2000, 712.

²⁵ These coins are the ones mentioned above and the ones Imhoof-Blumer cites as the basis for his attribution to Selge, see Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 342, n. 102; 1902, 403, n. 8-11; *BMC Lycia*, n. 43-44; *SNG Cop. Pisidia*, n. 257.

²⁶ I would like to thank H. Köker for sharing the recent data with me.

²⁷ For the coin see *HNO*, n. 290-292; 587. The coin with the helmeted head of Athena on the obverse, the legend K-A, name of the officer FAROS and a sword in a scabbard on the reverse side was classified as a Kalynda coin in the catalogue published by Millingen, see Millingen 1837, 72. This is because the author has interpreted the letter A in the right blank as a monogram, which stands for ALY.

²⁸ *BMC Lycia*, Lev. X, n. 13.

ΚΑΛΥΝΔΕΩΝ on the reverse.²⁹ On the specimens where the legend is below the protome, the ethnic written in short form. The long legend is in oval form from the left space to the exergue. In this context, there are two different reverse dies, dividing the series into two different emissions. Regarding the metrology of the coins, available specimens are between 8-10 mm in diameter and 0.87-0.92 g in weight. This series is in the *khalkous* unit, which corresponds to the smallest bronze unit.

In 1846, Borrell published the first specimen of the series depicting the head of Artemis on the obverse and forepart of a stag on the reverse.³⁰ Later, a new example of this coin appeared in the *BMC* published in 1897.³¹ No additional examples are identified in the subsequent numismatic catalogues. Ultimately, a new specimen was identified within the online coin collection of the Bibliothèque nationale de France.³² Given the scarcity of specimens, it is clear that these mints are quite rare. On the other hand, we know that there are unpublished examples of these coins in the collection of the Fethiye Museum.³³

The reverse side of the second bronze series of features a standing stag facing right. Like the previous series, it bears no symbols, letters or monograms. Available specimens bear ΚΑΛΥΝ or ΚΑΛΥ (Cat. No. Series 2: 1-16). However, the difference should not be due to the different emissions, but to the fact that in some cases the last letter is outside the flan. The city ethnic is always below the exergue. Compared to the previous series, there are many more specimens of this series both in publications and auction catalogues. Based on the available specimens, this series has an average diameter of 10 mm and a weight of 1.10 g. This series, like the previous one, is in the *khalkous* unit.

Like the first series described above, the first specimen of this series was published by Borrell in 1846.³⁴ Then 4 other coins were listed in the *BMC*.³⁵ A new specimen is listed in the W. H. Waddington collection prepared by Babelon and published in 1898.³⁶ There are relatively more examples than in the first series, and apart from the 3 examples published in *SNG v. Aulock*,³⁷ there are

²⁹ There is no image or drawing of this specimen listed by Hirsch (1909, 212, n. 2591) and recorded by him as bearing the inscription ΚΑΛΥΝΔΕΩΝ. The specimen in the collection of Bibliothèque nationale de France (Inv. No. FRBNF41780438, <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85239175.r=calynda?rk=85837;2>) last two letters are illegible.

³⁰ Borrell 1846, 148, n. 2.

³¹ Borrell (1846, 148) noted that the example he published is in the collection of the British Museum. Moreover, the specimen in *BMC Lycia* catalogue is published with a note: "H. P. Borrell". Probably the two examples are identical. For the coin, see https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_HPBP124-4-B-C. Nevertheless, as Borrell did not publish an image of the coin, so we cannot be certain.

³² For the coin, see <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85239175.r=calynda?rk=85837;2>

³³ Tek 2006, 772.

³⁴ Borrell 1846, 148, n. 1.

³⁵ Borrell (1846, 148) stated that this specimen is also in the collection of the British Museum. Also, the first of the 4 specimens in the *BMC Lycia* (n. 4) has a note: H. P. Borrell. These two examples may be the same. However, as in the case of the first series, as there is no image in Borrell's work, it is not possible to say for sure.

³⁶ Waddington Coll., n. 2286.

³⁷ *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, n. 4292; 4293; *SNG v. Aulock Nachträge IV*, n. 8487 (now in British Museum collection), Inv. No. 1979,0101.783).

2 new coins in the online catalogue of the Bibliothèque nationale de France³⁸ and 5 more in recent auction catalogues³⁹ in addition to two published specimens in private collections.⁴⁰ Two of the auction examples are recorded as struck by Amyzon⁴¹ in northern Karia, as the city struck a series of bronzes with very similar types.⁴² A specimen belonging to this series was found from the Emirtaşı/Beşiktaş site in a hilly area near Fethiye (Telmessos).⁴³ This coin is additionally important as it is the only known example of its provenance.

The reverse of Kalynda's third series of bronze coins depicts a torch. The reverse of Kalynda's third series of bronze coins depicts a torch. Reverse legend is KAAΥ positioned on either side of the torch (Cat. No. Series 3: 1-8). Like the other two bronze series of the city, there is no additional monogram, letter or symbol on the reverse. This bronze series is metrologically different from the first two. They have an average diameter of 13.6 mm and an average weight of 2.56 g. Accordingly, they are in higher unit of *khalkous*.

The first specimen of this series was published in 1816 by C. Ramus. In this context, it is the earliest published example of Kalynda coins. However, it was attributed to Kalydon, a city of Aetolia on the Greek mainland, by Ramus.⁴⁴ This attribution was repeated by Mionnet in his work published shortly afterwards.⁴⁵ Imhoof-Blumer was the first to attribute the coin to Kalynda. Based on the reverse legend and obverse iconography, the author proposed that this series must belong to Kalynda.⁴⁶ This attribution has been accepted and the relevant examples in numismatic catalogues are classified under the title Kalynda. There is one specimen each in *BMC*, *SNG v. Aulock Lykien* ve *SNG Ashomelan*.⁴⁷ The specimen in *SNG Cop. Lycia-Pamphylia*⁴⁸ is the one previously published by Imhoof-Blumer. Two other specimens have been found in the online numismatic catalogues. One of them is in the British Museum,⁴⁹ and the other one is in Bibliothèque nationale

³⁸ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b85239190.r=calynda?rk=21459;2> and <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41780439m>. The digital catalogue notes that the previous owner of the latter specimen was Waddington. This may be the example published by Babelon. However, Babelon's work does not include an image of the coin, making identification difficult.

³⁹ Auctiones AG, Auction 29 (12 June 2003), lot. 363 = Tek 2006, 17, n. 12; Savoca Numismatik, 99th Blue Auction (10 April 2021), lot. 531 = Savoca Numismatik, 93rd Silver Auction (17 January 2021), lot. 209; Savoca Numismatik, 123rd Blue Auction (15 January 2022), lot 318; Solidus Numismatik, Auction 100 (17 May 2022), lot. 220 = Solidus Numismatik, Auction 85 (21 September 2021), lot. 445 = HMGH, Auction 64 (20 November 2014), lot. 1187; Bucephalus Numismatic, Black Auction 14 (9 January 2023), lot. 332.

⁴⁰ Müseler 2016, 191-192, n. X, 9-10.

⁴¹ Savoca Numismatik, 123rd Blue Auction (15 January 2022, lot 318; Savoca Numismatik, 99th Blue Auction (10 April 2021), lot. 531 = Savoca Numismatik, 93rd Silver Auction (17 January 2021), lot. 209.

⁴² For these Amyzon coins with the head of Artemis on the obverse and stag on the reverse, see *HNO*, n. 453; 1937; 2074. Although the obverse and reverse types are almost identical, the coins of Amyzon and Kalynda can be distinguished by their metrology and the position of the reverse legend. For further information on Amyzon coins, see Robert 1983, 36ff.

⁴³ Roos 1969, 85.

⁴⁴ Ramus 1816, 150, n. 1.

⁴⁵ Mionnet 1824, 482, n. 51.

⁴⁶ Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 307.

⁴⁷ *BMC Lycia*, n. 8; *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, n. 4291; *SNG Ashmolean Caria*, n. 1073.

⁴⁸ *SNG Cop. Lycia-Pamphylia*, n. 57.

⁴⁹ https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1913-0713-2

de France⁵⁰ On the obverse of these two specimens, there is a star countermark.⁵¹ No new specimens have been observed in current auction catalogues. An example that we are aware of on the occasion of the auctions appears in an old catalogue published by Hirsh in 1905.⁵²

Apart from these bronze series attributed to Kalynda, there are four other bronze series; two Hellenistic and two Roman. However, some of them remain only as singular examples from early sources, while others have been found not to be Kalynda issues.

To begin with the Hellenistic bronzes, a bronze series with the head of Zeus with a laurel wreath facing right on the obverse and an eagle with open wings facing right on a lightning bolt on the reverse was first published by Sestini in 1821 and attributed to Kalynda. The coin is recorded with ΚΑΛΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ on its reverse side.⁵³ Later, in 1833, Mionnet republished the same coin with reference to Sestini. Mionnet listed it as Kalynda coin as well but with the inscription ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ.⁵⁴ It should be noted here that no coin image was presented in either work. Subsequently, in an article published in 1856, Scott rightly argued that a similar coin with Zeus head/eagle type, which Von Koehne had recorded in his notes as a Kalynda coin,⁵⁵ must in fact be a Blaundos coin, based on the reverse legend. Scott, who made this reference based on the coin in his own collection, also mentions the specimen published by Sestini in the same article. The author states that if the legend ΚΑΛΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ is correct, this may indeed be another coin. However, if there is a misspelling and the coin bears the legend ΚΑΛΙΝΔΕΩΝ as published by Mionnet, this example should also be a Blaundos coin.⁵⁶ The fact that no new specimens of the Zeus/eagle series in the works of Sestini and Mionnet have come to light to date makes the suspicion very strong indeed.⁵⁷ Perhaps a future example will show us that this “phantom” coin actually exists.⁵⁸

On the obverse of the second series from Hellenistic period, allegedly attributed to Kalynda, there is head of Artemis facing right, there is an eagle on the reverse and a scepter behind it along with ΚΑΛΥ inscription, as recorded by the author. The first and last appearance of this coin is on the book published by R. Ratto in 1909.⁵⁹ A similar problem here is the lack of an image of the coin. On the other hand, Ratto classified 2 more bronze coins as Kalynda coins in this study. According to Ratto’s work, first of these bear a Sphenx on the obverse and a bull and ΚΑΛΥ on the reverse side.⁶⁰ However, this must be a coin of Kaunos.⁶¹ The author must have misinterpreted the KA-Y

⁵⁰ <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8523916r.r=calynda?rk=64378;0>

⁵¹ We see a very similar countermark on the bronzes of Halikarnassos dating to the 2nd-1st century BC. There is a star countermark on the obverse of Apollon/kithara series. For the specimens, see *HNO*, n. 1114.

⁵² Hirsch 1905, 259, n. 4215.

⁵³ Sestini 1821, 87.

⁵⁴ Mionnet 1833, 478, n. 204.

⁵⁵ For the coin, see Scott 1856, 225.

⁵⁶ However, in the current state of knowledge, it is safe to say that Blaundos did not strike such bronzes. On the Hellenistic period coinage of see Tatar 2024.

⁵⁷ Mionnet’s work, one of the earliest numismatic catalogues, contains many coins of which no other specimens have been found.

⁵⁸ For a similar case regarding Thyessos in Lydia, see Lenger 2011; 2017.

⁵⁹ Ratto 1909, 263, n. 4057.

⁶⁰ Ratto 1909, 263, n. 4058.

⁶¹ For the Kaunian issue, see Konuk 1998, type C (pl. 50, C). See also *HNO*, n. 1017.

legend on the reverse of the that Kaunos coin. Ratto wrote that the obverse of the second series has the head of a young male, the reverse bear KAAIN and an eagle facing right in incuse square.⁶² This coin iconography, which is quite common in Karia, may have caused another misreading.⁶³ For this reason, Ratto's definitions and classifications, as seen in these two series, should be viewed with skepticism.

According to the available information, the coinage of Kalynda is limited to the Hellenistic period. Kalynda is not among the Karian and/or Lycian cities that minted provincial coins during the Roman period. Like these Hellenistic period coin attributions of dubious validity, two series of Roman period bronzes were suggested in early literature to be struck by Kalynda, but later studies have shown that both examples were erroneously attributed to Kalynda.⁶⁴

Denominations

The Attic weight system, which replaced the Aigina weight system in the Hellenistic period and is equivalent to 1 in 8 of the obolos, seems to have been used by Kalynda, as in the whole of Asia Minor.⁶⁵ In this context, we can identify the bronze coin units of the city as *khalkous*, *dikhalkon* and *hemiobol*, which are their equivalents in the Attic weight system. In more detail, two of the three series of bronze coins of Kalynda (Series 1 and Series 2) were minted in the smallest unit, *khalkous*. The first one has a diameter range of 8-10 mm and a weight range of 0.87-0.92 g. While the specimens of the second series have 9-11 mm diameter range and 0.89-1.28 g weight range. The average diameter and weight of these smallest unit bronzes used by Kalynda coincide with the "unit" and "quarter unit" coins of the Lycian League.⁶⁶ The last series (Series 3) are *dikhalkoi*. The specimens have a diameter of 13-14 mm and a weight range of 2.28-2.80 g. This metrology is consistent with the "double unit" bronzes used by the Lycian League until ca. 30 BC.⁶⁷

⁶² Ratto 1909, 263, n. 4059.

⁶³ The Karian cities of Stratonikeia (*HNO*, n. 331; 1372; 1780-1781; 2619) and Keramos (*HNO*, n. 591; 1048) are the only cities which struck coins with an eagle within a square incuse on the reverse during the Hellenistic period. On the other hand, Halikarnassos also struck coins with eagle on the reverse side but the female head on the obverse and eagle on the reverse are to left. Another series with the same obverse type, eagle is standing to right. For these coins, see *HNO*, n. 267; 457.

⁶⁴ For the specimen from the reign of Nero, later identified as a Blaundos coin, see Debiel – Fröhlich 1734, 4, n. III; Eckhel 1779, 191. Second specimen as well is an issue of Blaundos, for the wrong classification, see Brüder 1909, 32, n. 415. Brüder describes the coin accurately but reads the inscription wrong. For the coin of Blaundos, see *RPC I*, n. 3059.

⁶⁵ On the use of Attic weight bronzes, see Picard 1998, 8-10; Psoma 1998, 22-25. Among the bronze coins of the Lycian League, which probably influenced the coins of Kalynda, the smallest denomination is *khalkous*, with the others being twice and four times the size of it, respectively, until the last quarter of the 1st century BC. Troxell (1982) names them as unit, double unit and quadruple unit. According to Troxell's classification, the average weights of bronzes classified as Period I and Period III are as follows: unit: 1,15 g and 1,35 g; double unit: 2,15 g and 2,74 g; quadruple unit: 3,53 g and 4,71 g. As of the last quarter of the 1st century BC, heavier bronzes corresponding to large units began to be minted under the influence of the Roman system. See Troxell 1982, 185-189. Troxell named these new denominations as quarter unit, half unit, unit and double unit. The silver coins of the League, which were then lighter, were also based on the *quinarius*, under the influence of Rhodos, see Troxell 1982, 111-112. See also Meadows 2021. The change seen in the League's bronzes also applies to Asia Minor as a whole. Especially the bronzes minted from 40 BC onwards seem to be based on the Roman assarion unit. For detailed information, see Carbone 2021a; 2021b.

⁶⁶ See Troxell 1982, 17; 100; 189.

⁶⁷ See Troxell 1982, 17; 100.

Iconography

Looking at the iconography of Kalynda's civic coins, we see Artemis and the associated symbols like stag and torch. Considering her place in the coin iconography, Artemis must undoubtedly be the most important deity of the city. Moreover, we know from the Zenon papyri that a festival organized in the city may have been dedicated to Artemis.⁶⁸ There is a widespread worship of Artemis throughout Karia. The deity was attested as Artemis Astias at Iasos, Artemis Iakynthotrope at Knidos, Artemis Kindyas at Bargylia-India, Artemis Leukiane, Artemis Panamara and Artemis Peldekeitis at Stratonikeia, and Artemis Pergaia at Halikarnassos.⁶⁹ On the other hand, we know through inscriptions that the cities of Amyzon, Hydaei, Hyllarima, Kaunos, Kidramos, Mylasa and Olymos had worshipped Artemis.⁷⁰ A similar picture emerges in Lycia. While the goddess has been attested as Artemis Kombike and Artemis Kaukasis in Arykanda, Artemis Eleuthera in Myra, Artemis Kitaneurissa in Olympos, Artemis Sidymike in Sidyma and Artemis Kombike in Tlos, Patara and Xanthos, just like in Arykanda, the goddess is also referred to as Artemis Kynegetis throughout the region.⁷¹ Artemis worship at Xanthos-Letoon has also been identified in the light of inscriptions found.⁷²

All of Kalynda's civic bronzes depict Artemis facing right on the obverse, with a quiver and bow on her shoulder. Undoubtedly, the goddess is emphasized as a hunter. The reverse side of these coins also bear attributes related to the goddess, such as stag and torch. In two of the three series known for the moment, Artemis is accompanied by a stag. The stag, one of Artemis' main symbols, also caused the goddess to be called Ἐλαφιβόλος (stag hunter) in the Hellenic world.⁷³ Therefore, Artemis, depicted with her quiver and bow, iconographically completes her hunter epithet with the stag given on the reverse.⁷⁴ The last known series of the city has a torch depicted on the reverse. The torch also occupies an important place among the goddess' attributes.⁷⁵ For this reason, the goddess has epithets such as Ἀμφίπυρος, Φωσφόρος (torch-bearer, light-bearer).⁷⁶ This symbol is also related to Artemis' hunter quality.

It is also necessary to look at the use of the types found on the coins of Kalynda in nearby lands. As mentioned above, located on the Karian-Lycian border Kalynda appears in ancient sources as a Karian city most of the time, later as a Lycian city, and sometimes as a Karian city, and a similar situation is observed in numismatic catalogues. In this context, when analyzing the iconography

⁶⁸ Onur 2023, 189-191.

⁶⁹ Diehl – Cousin 1887, 147, no. 48; Deschamps – Cousin 1888, 269-280; Farnell 1896, 470; Robert 1949, 116; 1970, 459-460; Pack 1989, 483; Parker – Thonemann 2015; Maddoli 2020; Carbon 2023. See also Albayrak 2008, 9-10; 22-23; 25; 31-32; 42-44; 58-61; 63-68; 71-73; 76-81. Cf. Albayrak 2012.

⁷⁰ For such finds, see Laumonier 1934, 371, no. 41; Bean 1953, 10; Robert – Robert 1954, 365 no. 188; Laumonier 1958, 145; Crampa 1972, 140; Bean 2000, 34. For further info and commentary see Albayrak 2008, 57-58; 61; 64-65; 68-70; 73-76. Cfr. Albayrak 2012.

⁷¹ Şahin 1994, 92; Adak – Şahin 2004, 95; Adak – Tüner 2004, 54; Sancaktar 2019, 134. For a more detailed analysis with further archaeological evidence, see Albayrak 2008, 29; 54; 135-136; 138-143. Cf. Albayrak 2012. For the attestation of Artemis Kombike in Tlos, see Onur 2020, 138-140.

⁷² Teixidor 1978, 181-185. See also Albayrak 2008, 136-137.

⁷³ For detailed information, see Watkiss 1847; Easterling 1985, 115; Poulsen 2009, 413-415.

⁷⁴ See *LIMC* II/1, 635-654, n. 124-403a for hunter Artemis.

⁷⁵ On the iconography of Artemis with torch, see *LIMC* II/1, 682-683, n. 811-813.

⁷⁶ Schmidt 1941, s.v. "Phosphores", 655; Vikela 2009, 74; Boutsikas 2017, 50.

of the coins used by the city, it is necessary to make a comparison taking into account both regions. To begin with the Karian region, the depiction of Artemis facing right on the obverse, with a quiver and/or quiver and bow on her shoulder, is quite common in the region from the mid-3rd century BC onwards. Knidos, Halikarnassos, Myndos, Amyzon, Kys and Herakleia Salbake are the Karian cities that used this coin type on the obverse of their coins.⁷⁷ In the case of bronze coins, this obverse type is present on coins minted by Knidos, Halikarnassos, Myndos, Amyzon, Kys and Herakleia Salbake (Fig. 2).⁷⁸

On the reverse side, forepart of stag or standing stag were used by fewer cities. From the 2nd century BC, Amyzon, Bargylia, Euromos and Tabai were the cities that featured this coin type on their issues (Fig. 3).⁷⁹ Finally, torch, the other type used on the reverse of Kalynda's bronze coins, is quite limited and only Stratonikeia and Amyzon used this depiction as a reverse type (Fig. 4).⁸⁰



Fig. 2) Other Karian cities using the depiction of Artemis with a quiver and/or quiver and bow on her shoulder

Among these cities that adopted similar coin iconography with Kalynda, Amyzon is the only city that struck the same series in terms of obverse and reverse types, which is remarkable in this context. The series of three bronzes of Amyzon, with the head of Artemis facing right with a quiver or quiver and bow on the obverse and the forepart of a stag and a stag or a torch on the reverse, are similar to those minted by Kalynda. So much so that in recent auction catalogues, some Kalynda coins were mistakenly classified under the title of Amyzon.⁸¹ These bronze coins of Amyzon are dated to two different time periods, 150-100 BC and 150-50 BC.⁸²

⁷⁷ Knidos: *HNO*, n. 71; 313-316; 482; 715-720; 1319-1322; 1324; 1061-1067; 1613-1616; 2038-2039; 2499; 2582 (silver); n. 318; 1327; 2501 (bronze); Halikarnassos: *HNO*, n. 573; 2095 (silver); Myndos: *HNO*, n. 1366; Amyzon: *HNO*, n. 255; 453; 1527; 1936-1941; 2074; 2154; 2280; 2403; 2745; Kys: *HNO*, n. 1648; Herakleia Salbake: *HNO*, n. 1680.

⁷⁸ Knidos: *HNO*, n. 318; 1327; 2501 (200-100 BC.); Myndos: *HNO*, n. 1366 (180-30 BC); Amyzon: *HNO*, n. 255; 453; 1527; 2280 (150-100 BC); n. 1936-1941; 2074; 2154; 2403; 2745 (150-50 BC); Kys: *HNO*, n. 1648 (100-30 BC); Herakleia Salbake: *HNO*, n. 1680 (100-30 BC).

⁷⁹ Amyzon: *HNO*, n. 2744 (200-100 BC); n. 453; 1527; 2280 (150-100 BC); n. 1937; 1940; 2074 (150-50 BC); Bargylia: *HNO*, n. 60; 261 (200-30 BC); n. 61-62; 454; 560; 1568; 1620; 1622-1623 (180-140 BC); (silver); n. 455; 1015; 1298; 1569; 1621; 1844 (200-30 BC) (bronze); Euromos: *HNO*, n. 568; Tabai: *HNO*, n. 1789.

⁸⁰ Stratonikeia: *HNO*, n. 333 (150-130 BC); 1154 (150-100 BC) (both obverse and reverse); Amyzon: *HNO*, n. 1938; 2154 (150-50 BC). Other than Karia and Lycia, the combination of Artemis and the torch is common in other regions of Hellenistic Asia Minor as well. Abydos, Apollonia, Ephesos and Komama are among the cities used these coin types, for the coins see Vacano 1986, 38-40. See also Anson 1911, n. 674; 1913; n. 978; n. 1028; (Abydos). Some cities (i.e. Selge and Perge) struck coins with the type of torch-bearer Artemis, see Vacano 1986, 49; 57-58.

⁸¹ See Savoca Numismatik, 99th Blue Auction (10 April 2021), lot. 531 = Savoca Numismatik, 93rd Silver Auction (17 January 2021), lot. 209; Savoca Numismatik, 123rd Blue Auction (15 January 2022), lot 318.

⁸² *HNO*, n. 453; 1527; 1937-1940; 2074; 2154; 2280; See also Robert 1983, 40.



Fig. 3) Other Karian cities using the forepart of a stag or standing stag as coin type



Fig. 4) Other Karian cities using torch as coin type

As for the Lycia region, as it is known, coins as a common currency in the name of the Lycian League started to be minted in the region from ca. 168 BC.⁸³ The bronze coins minted by the League use the head of Artemis, but unlike Kalynda's coins, they do not have the quiver and bow on the shoulder of the deity. These coins were minted between the early 1st century BC and mid-1st century AD.⁸⁴ In this context, the exact same obverse type as Kalynda is not found on the League's coins. Regarding the stag as a reverse type, it can be observed that this type was employed in the late bronzes of the Lycian League, which are dated to ca. 30 BC-23 BC.⁸⁵ In almost all coins depicting a standing stag facing right, the obverse is the head of Artemis facing right.⁸⁶

The iconographic and metrological discrepancies, in conjunction with the absence of any legend of the League or regional ethnics, serve as definitive evidence that the coins of Kalynda are not Lycian League issues. In this context, as is discussed below, they are thought to be modeled on the Lycian League coins, struck in the late 1st century BC.⁸⁷ Indeed, the iconography utilized by Kalynda has been interpreted within a political context as a representation of its transition to Lycia.⁸⁸ However, as is discussed in more detail below, it should be seriously considered that Kalynda's iconographic choice may have been independent of the Lycian League.

⁸³ For further information on Lycian League issues, see Troxell 1982. See also Ashton 1987.

⁸⁴ The League used the head of Artemis as the obverse or reverse type on Period I bronzes dating to ca. 168-1st century BC, Period III bronzes, minted between early-1st century BC and mid-1st century AD, and Period V bronzes, which date from ca. 30 BC-AD 43. For the coins, see Troxell 1982, 18, n. 3 (district); 100-104, n. 59 (Ksanthos); n. 61 (Pinara); n. 66 (Tlos); n. 69 (Patara); n. 73 (Antiphellos); n. 75 (Aperlai); n. 81 (Limyra); 189-190, n. 159-160; 163-164 (Kragos); 191-194, n. 166 (Tlos-Kragos); n. 169 (Masikytos); n. 171 (Masikytos); n. 173 (Kragos); n. 175 (Masikytos); n. 177 (Masikytos); 195-199, n. 181 (Telmessos-Kragos); n. 185-186 (Tlos-Kragos); n. 188 (Kyaneai); n. 192-193 (Masikytos), n. 194-195 (Myra-Masikytos); n. 196 (Masikytos or Myra-Masikytos); 200-202, n. 198-199 (Kragos); n. 201 (Ksanthos-Kragos); n. 203-204 (Masikytos); 202-204, n. 205 (Kragos); n. 207-208 (Tlos); 221, n. 223 (Kragos); n. 224 (Masikytos).

⁸⁵ According to Troxell's classification, it was used in Series A and B of the Period V bronzes dating from ca. 30 BC-AD 43, which are referred to as district bronzes. For the coins, see Troxell 1982, 189, n. 159-160 (Kragos); 191, n. 166 (Tlos-Kragos); n. 169 (Masikytos); 195-197, n. 181 (Telmessos-Kragos); n. 185 (Tlos-Kragos); n. 188 (Kyaneai); 198, n. 192-193 (Masikytos); n. 194-195 (Myra-Masikytos); 203, n. 207 (Tlos); 222, n. 225 (Kragos); n. 226 (Masikytos). See also *RPC I*, n. 3314a-c; 3319a-f.

⁸⁶ On a series of bronze, obverse bears stag and reverse bears kithara, see Troxell 1982, 166, n. 225-226.

⁸⁷ Troxell 1982, 238.

⁸⁸ Tietz's (2003, 221-221) proposition would become valid on the basis of the idea that the Kalynda coins imitated the coins of the Lycian League, which date to 30 BC and later. Accordingly, Tietz considers Kalynda's minting

Boubon, a city of Kabalia (northern Lycia) outside the Lycian League, minted coins with similar iconography to the coins of Kalynda.⁸⁹ Four bronze series of the city, the first one with their obverse and the other three with both their obverse and reverse, are very similar those of Kalynda. The obverse of the first series depicts the head of Artemis facing right with a quiver on her shoulder and quiver and bow along with BOY ethnic on the reverse.⁹⁰ The coin iconography of the second series, like that of Kalynda, is the head of Artemis/standing stag. The obverse of these coins depicts the head of Artemis facing right with a quiver and bow on her shoulder, while the reverse, bearing the BOY legend, depicts a standing stag facing right.⁹¹ Due to this similarity, the specimen, which was previously auctioned as an Amyzon coin, was recently auctioned as a Boubon coin.⁹² The third series bears the same obverse type. On the reverse with the same ethnic, the stag is again depicted facing right, but the head of the stag is turned backwards, and a bee is depicted just below it.⁹³ The last series bears the same obverse type as the previous one, while the reverse bears a torch very similar to that seen on Kalynda's.⁹⁴

As a result, the civic coins of the Karian cities, the Lycian League and the northern Lycian city of Boubon show that similar iconography was used in both regions. In this context, the validity of the view that Kalynda modeled its coinage on the Lycian Union⁹⁵ comes to mind. As shown above, head of Artemis and stag used by the Lycian League on their bronze coins were also used in Karia. Knidos, Halikarnassos, Myndos, Amyzon, Kys and Herakleia Salbake used the head of Artemis facing right with a quiver and/or bow on her shoulder on the obverse of their bronze coins. Amyzon, Bargylia, Euromos and Tabai are the Karian cities that used stag on the obverse and/or reverse of their coins. Moreover, as noted, Amyzon minted three series with the same obverse and reverse iconography as the bronzes of Kalynda. In light of the evidence presented, it is reasonable to conclude that Kalynda may have minted coins with this iconography independently of the Lycian League.

Dating

Kalynda's bronze coins are dated to the 2nd century BC and later.⁹⁶ Although there is no comprehensive study on the subject, there are various opinions on the dating of the coins. Head (1887, 577) dates the Artemis/forepart of stag and Artemis/torch series to the 2nd-1st century BC.⁹⁷ In

of its own coins and its use of the union's iconography as indicators of the city's liberation from Rhodian influence and its political rapprochement with Lycia.

⁸⁹ Troxell (1982, 238) argued that these coins, like those of Kalynda, were modeled on the coins of the Lycian League.

⁹⁰ *BMC Lycia*, n. 1; *SNG Ashmolean Caria*, n. 1072.

⁹¹ *Waddington Coll.*, n. 3032-3033; *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, n. 4286.

⁹² Savoca Numismatik, 149th Blue Auction (26 November 2022), lot. 489.

⁹³ *SNG Cop. Lycia-Pamphylia*, n. 55.

⁹⁴ *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, n. 4285.

⁹⁵ Troxell 1982, 238; Tietz 2003, 220-221.

⁹⁶ Imhoof-Blumer (1895, 287; 1902, 403, n. 10) did not propose a dating for the Hellenistic silver attributed to the city, but the attribution is far from certain at present. On the other hand, *BMC Lycia* (n. 1-2) dates this series to 2nd c. BC. A new specimen of these rare issues was recently auctioned (Nomos, Obolos Web Auction 17 (20 December 2020), lot. 310) and it is dated in this catalogue to the 3rd-2nd century BC. At this stage, it makes sense to consider the dates of the coins in the light of possible new specimens.

⁹⁷ Head 1887, 577.

numismatic catalogues of later years, the entire series is typically dated to the 1st century BC.⁹⁸ Tek, on the basis of the fact that Telmessos, which, like Kalynda, was located on the Karian-Lycian border, became a member of the Lycian League in 46 BC, states that if Kalynda went through a similar process, its civic coins should be dated before 46 BC.⁹⁹ Based on the iconographic connection mentioned above, which will be discussed again below, Tietz dates the coin strike to after 30 BC.¹⁰⁰

At this point, the first thing that comes to mind in direct relation to the minting date of the coins is the political situation of Kalynda in the relevant period. We know that the city came under the rule of Rhodes in 188 BC, and while it was under the rule of Kaunos as of 164/163 BC, it soon came under Rhodian rule again.¹⁰¹ The administrative status of the city in the following period is not certain for the time being. There are two main views that it was under the control of Kaunos again by the 1st century BC, or that it was dependent on Rhodes.¹⁰²

Kalynda's status as an independent polis has been re-examined in light of the coins, leading to a direct correlation between the city's existence and the dating of the mints. A relationship between the coins of the Lycian League and the bronze coins of Kalynda has been proposed. As detailed in the iconography section above, it is suggested that Kalynda's coin iconography is modelled on that of the Lycian League coins.¹⁰³ It is therefore proposed that Kalynda struck coins as an independent city in the final quarter of the 1st century BC. Furthermore, it is suggested that the event which affected Kalynda's status may have been the loss of power experienced by Rhodes during the Roman civil war, which had an impact on the Karia-Lycia coast in 43/42 BC.¹⁰⁴

If we accept the iconographic interaction as proposed by Tietz, we should date Kalynda's Artemis head/forepart of stag and standing stag series beyond the late Hellenistic period and well into the Roman period. Because the coins of the Lycian League with the head of Artemis on the obverse and a standing stag facing right on the reverse are dated between ca. 30 BC and 23 BC (Period V, Series A-B).¹⁰⁵ If Kalynda modelled its own coins on these, it would have struck his own bronzes at an even later date. This would correspond to the period when the coins of the Lycian League were already in circulation in the region and Roman provincial coins were beginning to appear. Moreover, there was no civic coin production in Lycia during this period.¹⁰⁶ In Lycia it was the Lycian League coins that circulated, while in Karia it was Roman provincial coins, including those

⁹⁸ *BMC Lycia*, n. 3-8; *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, n. 4292-4293; *SNG v. Aulock Nachträge IV*, n. 8487; *SNG Cop. Lycia-Pamphylia*, n. 57. Only the *SNG Ashmolean* catalogue gives a different dating. Artemis head/torch (n. 1073) specimen is dated to the 2nd-1st century BC.

⁹⁹ Tek 2006, 772. Onur (2023, 196) states that the reason for the absence of Kalynda's name in the related inscription, in which we learn that Telmessos and Lissai were given to Lycia, cannot be explained at this stage. Nevertheless, he suggests that the Rhodian rule that began in the region following Sulla's reforms in 85 BC may have included Kalynda.

¹⁰⁰ Tietz 2003, 220.

¹⁰¹ On the status of Rhodes, see Onur 2023, 193-194. For Karia in general, see Bresson 2003, 183-188.

¹⁰² For a detailed analysis in the light of existing studies, see Onur 2023, 194-196.

¹⁰³ Troxell 1982, 238; Tietz 2003, 220.

¹⁰⁴ For further details, see Tietz 2003, 221.

¹⁰⁵ Troxell 1982, 185-199. For the coins, see also *RPC I*, n. 3314a-c; 3319a-f.

¹⁰⁶ For the more detailed information, see Tek 2006.

of Rhodos. There is therefore no plausible reason to think that Kalynda struck bronze coins in two separate series at the end of the 1st century BC.

With its Artemis/stag series, Boubon also provides clues to the dating of the Kalynda coins. While this bronze series of Boubon is generally dated as “2nd-1st century BC” in the common numismatic catalogues, it has been suggested that the city, just like Kalynda, struck these coins under the influence of the Lycian League’s coins.¹⁰⁷ Accordingly, Boubon must have imitated the union bronzes dating from ca. 30 BC-23 BC. However, this is not convincing either. For it appears that the city struck Roman Provincial coins with imperial portrait on the obverse during the reign of Augustus (27 BC-14 AD).¹⁰⁸ Likewise, Balbura, which was located in Lycia but did not strike any Lycian League issue and struck civic bronzes in the late Hellenistic period, started to strike provincial coins in the Augustan period.¹⁰⁹ Tek suggests a date between ca. early 2nd century BC and 82 BC for the coins of these two cities, and rightly does not suggest a later date. Since these two cities became members of the Lycian League as of that date¹¹⁰, they must have started to use the Leagues’s issues.¹¹¹ Therefore, the idea of iconographic interaction proposed for Boubon does not seem to be valid.

It is also noteworthy that this iconography was employed in Karia and Lycia, as previously discussed. In particular, the western Karian city of Amyzon, like Kalynda, struck two different coin series with the head of Artemis on the obverse and forepart of a stag or standing stag on the reverse. In the light of the available dating, it is possible that the city used this iconography before the Lycian League. Because these bronze coins of Amyzon are dated between 150-50 BC.¹¹²

In order to gain a better understanding of the chronology of these issues pertaining to the city, it is also useful to examine the situation in Karia and Lycia in general.¹¹³ First of all, as far as the southern Karian cities not far from Kalynda are concerned, Rhodos (ca. 200-25 BC), Kaunos (ca. 166-30 BC), Keramos (ca. 167-31 BC), Knidos (ca. 200-30 BC) and Halikarnassos (ca. 200-50 BC) were among the cities that struck civic bronzes in the 2nd century BC.¹¹⁴ In contrast to Kalynda, all of these cities commenced coin production as early as the Late Classic period.¹¹⁵ In this context, the 2nd century BC coins of these cities show a continuity. When we examine the cities like

¹⁰⁷ Troxell 1982, 238.

¹⁰⁸ *RPC* I, n. 3353.

¹⁰⁹ *RPC* I, n. 3354. For the Hellenistic period issues of the city, see *BMC Lycia*, n. 1-2; *SNG Cop. Lycia-Pamphylia*, n. 51-52; *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, n. 4280-4282.

¹¹⁰ Arslan 2010, 323-323; Blum 2016, 139. However, these two cities were not included in Lycia as of 46 BC. On this, see Mitchell 2005.

¹¹¹ Tek 2006, 773-774.

¹¹² Artemis/forepart of stag: *HNO*, n. 1527; 2280 (150-100 BC); n. 1940 (150-50 BC); Artemis/stag standing: *HNO*, n. 453 (150-100 BC.); 1937; 2074 (150-50 BC.).

¹¹³ We have a more detailed knowledge of the regularly minted coins by Lycian cities within the League. The fact that Karia remained under the influence of multiple factors, both politically and financially, from the 2nd century BC to the end of the Hellenistic period makes it difficult to place the coins of the region in a specific chronology. Nevertheless, coins minted in precious metals are better known in the region than bronze coins. For a comprehensive analysis of silver coins minted in Karia in the 2nd and 1st centuries BC, see Delrieux 2021.

¹¹⁴ For the Rhodian issues, see Ashton 2001, 90-91; For Keramos, see Türkoğlu 2019, 173-176; For Knidos, see Nordbø 1972.

¹¹⁵ These cities are also among the settlements that struck the first bronze coins of Karia. On the beginning of bronze coinage in Karia, see Ashton 2006, 1-11.

Kalynda, which started to strike bronze coins in their own name after the 2nd century BC, it is necessary to look at Karia in general. Although there are over twenty cities in the region that fit this description, almost all of them are located in the northwest and east of Karia.¹¹⁶ Accordingly, it does not provide an opportunity to make a comparison of the late Hellenistic period civic coinage of Kalynda.¹¹⁷

In Lycia, where civic coins had always been limited, from ca. 168/167 BC onwards, the Lycian League's coins began to circulate throughout the region.¹¹⁸ Some settlements, usually border cities of the region, that did not join the union or joined it later, struck civic coins for a short period of time.¹¹⁹ Among these, one of the two cities in western Lycia is Kalynda and the other is Telmessos. Telmessos started to mint its own bronze coins at the beginning of the 2nd century BC, but after joining the Lycian League in 46 BC, such autonomous minting probably ceased.¹²⁰ As for North-Western Lycia, the civilian bronzes of Balbura, Boubon and Termessos Minor-Oinoanda date from before their accession to the Lycian League in ca. 82/81 BC.¹²¹

At the present time, it is not possible to propose a precise chronology for the bronze coins of Kalynda. As can be seen, Kaunos, a city close to the Karian-Lycian border like Kalynda, continued to mint both silver and bronze coins throughout the 2nd and 1st centuries BC¹²² with its independent and powerful position, while in western Lycia, Telmessos struck coins in certain periods from the 2nd century BC to the mid-1st century BC. However, it should not be forgotten that Kalynda did not emerge as an independent polis in this process. As mentioned above, the city came under Rhodian control as of 188 BC and the control of the territory was intermittently transferred between Rhodes and Kaunos until the end of the 2nd century BC.

In light of the available evidence, it seems reasonable to conclude that Kalynda began striking civic coins in the first quarter of the 1st century BC. After the Mithridatic Wars, Rhodes became the ruler of Kaunos and its vicinity in Karia, undoubtedly under the control of Rome, within the scope of Sulla's reforms after 85 BC. Following, Kalynda must have attained a status dependent on Rhodes but outside the sphere of influence of Kaunos.¹²³ The city must have struck the civic coins discussed here due to the changing status of the region after 85 BC. Tietz's proposed date (30s BC and later) is too late for the obvious reasons mentioned above.

¹¹⁶ Amyzon, Antiokheia ad Maeandrum, Bargasa, Euromos, Harpasa and Herakleia Salbake are some of these cities.

¹¹⁷ An examination of the proposed dates for coin minting in Karia reveals inconsistencies and discrepancies, as well as a lack of precision. These observations pertain to the current suggestions, which are, understandably, still evolving. The absence of comprehensive research is the primary factor contributing to this 'incoherent' situation.

¹¹⁸ On these issues, see Troxell 1982. Except for Xanthos, there were no civic coin strikes in the region in the 4th century BC, and production was limited to Dynastic issues. For a more detailed analysis, see Ashton 2006, 11-13.

¹¹⁹ On these, see Tek 2006.

¹²⁰ Tek 2006, 772-773.

¹²¹ Tek 2006, 772-775.

¹²² For these coins, Ashton 1999. See also Ashton – Kinns 2003, 36-40.

¹²³ Onur 2023, 196. Tietz (2003, 219-221) has also mentioned it, but he dismissed this possibility on the basis of the iconographic connection between the coins of the city and the League's coins.

Conclusion

As was the case with numerous other cities in Asia Minor, Kalynda was affected by the political transformation that commenced in the first quarter of the 2nd century BC. It was subjected to intermittent control by Kaunos and experienced a significant degree of influence from Rhodos. The evidence provided by the epigraphic documents allow us to conclude that, under the two administrations in question, it is unlikely that Kalynda would have minted coins independently. Following the conclusion of the Mithridatic Wars, a further change in the political order of Asia Minor took place. The city probably minted bronze coins bearing its name in the 1st century BC, most likely as a sign of its independence gained in the course of changes following these wars. In the light of the available evidence, the most plausible dating for these coins falls between 84 and 30 BC. It is highly probable that in this process, following the political situation that changed after the Mithridatic Wars, Kalynda was out of the influence of Kaunos, which was punished by Rome for its position in the wars. From an iconographic point of view, the constant presence of Artemis and related iconography on the city's mints is an important concrete indicator of the importance of the goddess in the city. As for the silver series attributed to Selge as well as Kalynda in the literature, no definitive judgment should be made at this time.

On the other hand, the fact that no coins belonging to Kalynda were recovered from Asar Tepe, where the city was localized - or at least thought to be included in its territorium - makes this localization doubtful from a numismatic point of view. The coins discovered thus far, which are chronologically continuous, are significant in demonstrating the interaction between the settlement and its surroundings from the 4th century BC to the Byzantine period.¹²⁴ New numismatic data that could emerge in the coming years will make it possible to make an analysis in this regard.

Catalogue

1st c. BC

Series 1

Obv. Head of Artemis right, wearing stephane, bow and quiver at shoulder

Rev. ΚΑΛΥΝΔΕΩΝ or ΚΑΛΥΝ. Forepart of stag right

1) AE 10 mm 0.87 g 12h *BMC Lycia*, 3 = Borrell 1846, 148, n. 2 = https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_HPB-p124-2-C, Rev. ΚΑΛΥΝ = **Plate I, n. 4**

2) AE 8 mm - - Hirsch 1909, 212, n. 2591

3) AE 9 mm 0.92 g - BnF, Inv. No. 41780438 = <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb417804388>, Rev. ΚΑΛΥΝΔΕ[ΩΝ] = **Plate I, n. 5**

Series 2

Obv. Head of Artemis right, wearing stephane, bow and quiver at shoulder

Rev. ΚΑΛΥΝ. Stag standing right

1) AE 9 mm 1.27 g 12h *BMC Lycia*, 4 = Cfr. Borrell 1846, 148, n. 1 = https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_HPB-p124-4-B-C = **Plate I, n. 6**

¹²⁴ A similar picture emerges when we examine the amphora stamps recovered, see Dündar 2023.

- 2) AE 10 mm 0.89 g 12h *BMC Lycia*, 5 (H. P. Borrell) = https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_HPBP124-4-A-C = **Plate I, n. 7**
- 3) AE 10 mm 0.95 g 12h *BMC Lycia*, 6 (H. P. Borrell) = https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_HPBP124-3-C = **Plate I, n. 8**
- 4) AE 10 mm 1.17 g 12h *BMC Lycia*, 7 = https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1848-1230-11, Rev. KAAY = **Plate I, n. 9**
- 5) AE 10 mm - - *Waddington Coll.*, 2286
- 6) AE - 1.28 g - *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, 4292, Rev. KAAY
- 7) AE - 1.00 g - *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, 4293, Rev. KAAY
- 8) AE 11 mm 1.33 g 12h *SNG v. Aulock* Nachträge IV, 8487 = British Museum Collection, Inv. No. 1979,0101.783 = https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1979-0101-783, Rev. KAAYN = **Plate I, n. 10**
- 9) AE - - - Roos 1969, 85
- 10) AE 10 mm 1.20 g - BnF, Inv. No. 41780439 = <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41780439m> = **Plate I, n. 11**
- 11) AE 10.5 mm 1.12 g - BnF, Inv. No. 41780440 = <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41780440t> = **Plate I, n. 12**
- 12) AE 10 mm 1.13 g - Auctiones AG, Auction 29 (12 June 2003), lot. 363 = <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=136130>, Rev. KAAY[N] = **Plate I, n. 13**
- 13) AE 10 mm 1.04 g - Savoca Numismatik, 149th Blue Auction (26 November 2022), lot. 489, (Bubon) = Savoca Numismatik, 99th Blue Auction (10 April 2021), lot. 531 = Savoca Numismatik, 93rd Silver Auction (17 January 2021), lot. 209, (Amyzon) = <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=10243784>, Rev. [K]AA[YN] = **Plate I, n. 14**
- 14) AE 10 mm 0.96 g - Savoca Numismatik, 123rd Blue Auction (15 January 2022, lot 318, (Amyzon) = <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=8990307>, Rev. Legend illegible = **Plate I, n. 15**
- 15) AE 10 mm 1.05 g - Solidus Numismatik, Auction 100 (17 May 2022), lot. 220 = Solidus Numismatik, Auction 85 (21 September 2021), lot. 445 = HMGH, Auction 64 (20 November 2014), lot. 1187 = <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=9478854>, Rev. KAAY[N] = **Plate I, n. 16**
- 16) AE 10 mm 1.03 g - Bucephalus Numismatic, Black Auction 14 (9 January 2023), lot. 332 = <https://www.acsearch.info/search.html?id=10386558>, Rev. KAAY[N] = **Plate I, n. 17**
- 17) AE - 1.12 g - Müsseler 2016, 191-192, n. X,9
- 18) AE - 1.20 g - Müsseler 2016, 192, n. X,10

Series 3

Obv. Head of Artemis right, wearing stephane, bow and quiver at shoulder

Rev. KAAY. Torch

- 1) AE - - Ramus 1816, 150, n. 1 = Mionnet 1824, 482, n. 51 (Kalydon)
- 2) AE - 2.73 g - Imhoof-Blumer 1883, 307, n. 30 = *SNG Cop. Lycia-Pamphylia*, 57
- 3) AE 14 mm 2.49 g 11h *BMC Lycia*, 8 = https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1895-0603-1 = **Plate I, n. 18**
- 4) AE 13 mm - - Hirsch 1905, 259, n. 4215
- 5) AE - 2.28 g - *SNG v. Aulock Lykien*, 4291
- 6) AE - 2.80 g - *SNG Ashmolean Caria*, 1073
- 7) AE 14 mm 2.37 g 11h British Museum Collection, Inv. No. 1913,0713.2 = https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1913-0713-2, Obv. countermark: star = **Plate I, n. 19**
- 8) AE 14 mm 2.74 g - BnF, Inv. No. 41780437 = <https://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb41780437x>, Obv. countermark: star = **Plate I, n. 20**

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Kalinda Sikkeleri

Özet

Bu çalışmada, şu an için kent merkezinin tam olarak nerede olduğu bilinmeyen Kalinda'nın sikkeleri ele alınmaktadır. Karia-Lykia sınırına yakın bir konumda yer aldığını bildiğimiz Kalinda, Hellenistik dönem içerisinde MÖ 1. yüzyıldan itibaren kendi adını taşıyan sikkeler basmıştır. Kentin sikkeleri arasında üç bronz seri bulunmaktadır. Daha önce Kalinda'ya atfedilen bir gümüş sikke serisinin ise darp yeri tartışmalıdır. Kentin darplarında ağırlıklı olarak Artemis ve bu tanrıçayla ilişkili semboller betimlenmiştir ve bu da tanrıçanın kentteki önemine işaret eder. Kalinda sikkeleri ile başta Lykia Birliği olmak üzere diğer Karia ve Lykia kentlerinin sikkeleri arasındaki ikonografik benzerlikler, kentin sikke basımının bölgesel eğilimlerden etkilenmiş olabileceğini düşündürmektedir. Kalinda'nın Hellenistik dönem darplarının tarihlendirmesi hâlâ tartışma konusu olmakla birlikte, kent muhtemelen MÖ 1. yüzyılın ilk çeyreğinde sivil sikke darbına başlamıştır. Kalinda egemenlik alanında kaldığı düşünülen Şerefler/Asar Tepe'de yürütülen çalışmalarda ele geçen arkeolojik buluntular arasında Kalinda sikkelerine rastlanmaması, kentin konumu ve aynı zamanda numismatiği hakkında soru işaretleri yaratmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kalinda; sikke; Karia; Lykia.

Plate I



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