

# ADALYA



SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ  
SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

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SUNA-İNAN KIRAÇ AKDENİZ MEDENİYETLERİ ARAŞTIRMA ENSTİTÜSÜ YILLIĞI  
THE ANNUAL OF THE SUNA & İNAN KIRAÇ RESEARCH INSTITUTE ON MEDITERRANEAN CIVILIZATIONS

## ADALYA

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## Pttara and the Dynast Wakhsssepddimi (Wekhssere II)

Şükrü ÖZÜDOĞRU\*

The present study is based upon a coin<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1) from a 2004 auction catalogue. This coin establishes a connection between the Lycian dynast Wekhssere II and Patara<sup>2</sup>, a city that has not to date been directly and certainly related to any Lycian dynast. The coin in question carries a legend reading *pttara / [w]akhssepddimi* in Lycian script on the reverse. The Lycian dynast Wakhsssepddimi (Wekhssere II), the subject of this study, is known from the coins minted in his name<sup>3</sup> (Fig. 2) as well as its occurrence on the trilingual Inscribed Pillar<sup>4</sup>. This Lycian dynast is named Wekhssere II due to the fact that there was another

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<sup>1</sup> UBS Gold & Numismatics, Auction 59, January 27<sup>th</sup> 2004, 135 nr. 5790. Unfortunately many items belonging to the cultural heritage of Turkey are still being smuggled and sold abroad. In antiquity smuggling, coins have a leading position due to the large numbers of them and their easily transportable nature. With the looting and smuggling of coins, their historical context is also lost as is exemplified by this coin. It consequently becomes necessary to read the auction catalogues to find the evidence of such looted items. Another striking example is a Pataran city coin included in another auction catalogue (see Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 134, October 11<sup>th</sup> 2004 nr. 1485). This second coin has a triskeles and the Lycian script name of Patara (Ptta[ra]) on its reverse. To date it has been understood (for more information see Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 82; Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 61; S. Bulut, “Erken Dönem Lykia Sikkelerinde Triskeles Motifi”, Adalya VII, 2004, 48 fn. 305, 53) that the triskeles motif was not used on coins struck in western Lycia between 430-360 B.C. (see Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 63 Fig. 6 Group V). However, this coin with a triskeles on its reverse was struck at Patara in western Lycia in the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

<sup>2</sup> M.E. Babelon considered a single dynast named Wekhssere and proposed that he was the dynast of Patara based on his coin emissions of the Hermes type: Babelon 1893, 76 nr. 518-519.

In his important study on the coins of Wekhssere I, N. Vismara noted that this dynast ruled and struck coins in Patara (Vismara 1989a, 19-20). Vismara dates his coins to 460-435 B.C.; he states that he was a local lord under the influence of the Xanthian dynast Kuprili and further adds that his main mint was at Patara, but he also seems to have struck coins at Cadyanda, Tlos and even at Xanthos where he extended his territorial control after the death or weakening of Kuprili. In addition, he supported his thesis through establishing a relationship between Wekhssere I's coins with the Apollon type (Vismara 1989a, 79-85, Tipo IX-X) and Patara being an oracle centre, and thus presented numismatic evidence for the presence of Pataran Apollon's oracle centre in this period. This topic will be further elaborated below.

<sup>3</sup> There is no specific study dedicated to the coins of Wekhssere II. For the coins of Wekhssere II see Fellows 1855, Pl. XVII, no. 3; Babelon 1893, no. 518-520; Babelon 1910, no. 420-23, 429-30, 432, 442; Head 1911, 692. The five coins of Wekhssere II at BMC are dated to 430-400 B.C.. But G. F. Hill evaluated these coins altogether without differentiating between Wekhssere I and II: BMC Lycia, xxxviii (25), 26 nr. 114 (*Wekhssere II*) nr. 115-118 (*Wekhssere I*), Pl. VI, 15-16, Pl. VII, 1-3; SNG Lykien, nr. 4200-4201. These coins were examined under Group IV dated to 425-360 B.C. by H. von Aulock. Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 2, 26-7, Pl. I nr. 2-8 (*Wekhssere II*); Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, M 132-33, M 207-208, M 234-37. N. Vismara proposes the last years of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. (425-390 B.C.) for the rule of this dynast: Vismara 1989a, 34-39, 98-101; Carruba, Onomastica, 114, dn. 12; Vismara 1989b, 255-56. In addition, for a coin of Wekhssere II dated to 410-390 B.C. see Kat. Wien, 173 nr. 70.

<sup>4</sup> “...Trbbēnīmi tebetē terñ se milasāñtrā...(Trbbēnīmi defeated Melesandros and his army(?)...)” (TL 44 a44-45) “...Kberēi qastte terñ tlabñ...(Kberēi made the Tloan army to submit (?)...)” (TL 44 a47) and “...Kberēi tebetē



dynast having the same name whose coins are dated to an earlier period<sup>5</sup>. Some emissions of Wekhssere II have a die linkage with Tloan autonomous coins<sup>6</sup> (cf. Figs. 8-9 and 11-12). It was proposed that some of the coins from the Podalia Hoard (Figs. 13-15) carrying the name of the dynast were struck<sup>7</sup> at Antiphellos<sup>8</sup>. The scope of this study includes a thorough re-evaluation of the numismatic and linguistic data related to Wekhssere II, his direct connection to Patara in addition to his connection with Tlos, as well as his place and role in Lycian history around the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C.

Patara is located on the coast between Kaş and Fethiye. The ancient city of Patara is located on the western Lycian coast, to the southeast of Xanthos, to the east of the mouth of the River Xanthos where it flows into the sea (Çayağzı). It was an important Lycian town with a well-protected and large harbour. The access to the ancient harbour was gradually cut off from the sea due to alluvial silt carried by the River Xanthos (Eşen Çayı) and it became a swampy pond. The city is bounded by the sea to the south and by hills to the east and west. Land access to the city is from the north, through a narrow passage via the Kısık Mevkii. The Hellenistic and Roman Imperial city centre is located inside a natural valley bounded by the sea and the hills. The city was well-known in Antiquity for its oracle centre of Apollon, for being the centre of the Lycian League and for being the birth place of Saint Nicholas<sup>9</sup>. The harbour gave the city strategic importance and Patara became an important base for naval dominion and as a commercial centre.

The city's name is first mentioned in Hittite 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium B.C. sources as "(Mount) Patara" in connection with Tudhaliya IV's military campaign into the Lukka land<sup>10</sup>. In the

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*[t]erñ se wakssepddimi...[...Kherei defeated Wakssepddimi and his army...[?]]*" (TL 44 a48-49). This name on the Inscribed Pillar (TL 44 a49) was first read as *-waksse pddmi-* but later corrected as *-wakssepddimi-*. For this topic see Bryce, *Lycians*, 109, fn. 25; Carruba, *Onomastica*, 113-114, fn. 9, 11. On the coin which forms the subject of this study, the name of the dynast is spelled *-Wakssepddimi-*. If we consider correct the correction of the inscription on the Inscribed Pillar, then we need to read the name on the coin as *-Wakssepddimi-*. This will be further elaborated below.

<sup>5</sup> The presence of two dynasts with the name Wekhssere was first suggested by G. K. Jenkins who based his claim on the existence of two different styles of coins carrying the same name: G. K. Jenkins, "Recent Acquisitions of Greek Coins by the British Museum", *NumChron* 19, 1959, 33; Mørkholm 1964, 72, 75; Vismara 1989a, 15-20, 34-39; Carruba, *Onomastica*, 113-115.

<sup>6</sup> One series of Tloan civic coins has the Athena / Hermes type as do the coins of Patara and Wekhssere. A feature which is more distinguishing is the type characterized by two antithetic lions on the reverse, typical of Tloan civic coins, together with the name *Wakssepddimi* (see BMC Lycia, 31 nr. 135; SNG Lykien, nr. 4185-4190, 4200; Vismara 1989a, 108 Tipo C; Vismara 1989b, 257-259, Tav. XIX 187-189; Carruba, *Onomastica*, 115).

<sup>7</sup> Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 2, 26-7, Pl. I nr. 2-8.

<sup>8</sup> None of the Wekhssere coins in the Podalia Hoard carry the name of a city. However, based on its die linkage with the coins of Zagaba, which carry the name of *Vahñltezēl* city, this city was proposed as the mint for the coins of Wekhssere. It is certain that the coins of Wekhssere within the Podalia Hoard were minted in central Lycia (see Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 26). *Vehñti* was identified as *Phellos* at the time of the publication of this hoard and this proposal is today widely accepted. For more information on this topic see Mørkholm 1964, 70, fn. 21; Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 4, fn. 1; Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 12 M 108, 13 M 119, 15 M 130; Kat. Wien, 232; Keen, *Dynastic Lycia*, xiii; J. Borchhardt, "Gedanken zur lykischen Gesellschaftsstruktur unter persischer und attischer Herrschaft", in Güven Arsebük et al. (eds.), *Karatepe'deki Işık. Halet Çambel'e Sunulan Yazılar* (1998) 158-59 fn. 46; A. Thomsen, *Die lykische Dynastensiedlung auf dem Avşar Tepesi* (2002) Abb. 1; F. Kolb – W. Tietz, "Zagaba: Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien", *Chiron* 31, 2001, 348, 351.

<sup>9</sup> For further information on Patara and the excavation works there see F. Işık, *Patara. The History and Ruins of the Capital City of Lycian League* (2000).

<sup>10</sup> L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (1984) Πάταρα; M. Poetto, *L'Iscrizione Luvio-Geroglifica di Yalburt Nuove Acquisizioni Relative alla Geografia dell'Anatolia Sud-Occidentale*, *Studia Mediterranea* VIII (1993) 80, 83; J. D. Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (SÜDBURG) With an Archaeological Introduction by P. Neve, StBoT Beiheft III* (1995) 66-85. "Patara" is mentioned as a mountain in the



local language the city was called *Pttara*, *Pttarazi* or *Ptterezē* which is found in Lycian inscriptions<sup>11</sup> and on coins dating from the Dynastic period<sup>12</sup>.

A limited number of Pataran coins from the Dynastic period have been included in general catalogues and in other publications on Lycian coins<sup>13</sup>; there is however, no specific work dedicated to the study of Pataran coins. Furthermore, excavations at Patara have discovered no city coins dating from the Dynastic period<sup>14</sup>. Pataran civic coins of the Classical period in the sources are all of the same type: the head of Malia/Athena wearing an Attic helmet on the obverse while on the reverse, the head of Hermes with petasos together with the nominative or genitive form of the Lycian name of the city<sup>15</sup> (*Ptt*, *Pttara*, *Ptterezē*, *Pttarezē*) (Figs. 3a-b). All the known city coins of Patara were struck in the “light standard”<sup>16</sup> commonly used in western Lycia from the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. and all are approximately dated to the last quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.<sup>17</sup>. The abovementioned coin with the *Wakhseppddimi/Pttara* legend is of the same type as the civic coins of Patara. This stater of the light standard weight 8.00 g. and has been dated to approximately 400 B.C. in the catalogue where it was published<sup>18</sup>. At this point, it is necessary to investigate the Malia/Athena and Hermes types depicted on the obverse and reverse of the coins of Wekhssere II and of Patara.

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abovementioned monument. The ancient writer Hesychius states that Patara was “a city and mountain in Lycia” (Hesychios, *Lex. S.v. παταρίς*). See also Bryce, *Lycians*, 220. Surveys in Patara have not clearly identified the localisation of Mount Patar; however, F. Işık proposes Doğucasarı Tepesi: see F. Işık, *op.cit.* 33.

<sup>11</sup> TL 44 a43 (The trilingual inscription from Xanthos tells about Zagaba, Tuminehi and Patara; Goddess Malia’s name is mentioned right after Patara; and the text goes on with the story of dynast Trbhenimi defeating Melesandros (TL 44 a44-45). See Bryce, *Lycians*, 107). TL 113 1 (This is a funerary inscription at Limyra; possibly a Pataran person or family was buried here). To date, no inscriptions in Lycian have been uncovered during the course of the Pataran excavations.

<sup>12</sup> Fellows 1855, Pl. XVIII nr. 1-2; BMC Lycia, li, 27, Pl. VII, 4-5 (The BMC coin (BMC Lycia, xxxvii [23] nr. 25, Pl. VI, 13) identified as a Pataran emission and dated to approximately 440 B.C. is not a Pataran emission. This coin must be one of the coins of the dynast Teththiweibi according to its weight and obverse-reverse types); Mørkholm 1964, 72; SNG Lykien, Taf. 138, 4195; Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 23, M 212, 29, M 241a, b; Vismara 1989b, 261 nr. 191, Tav. XX, 191.

<sup>13</sup> See above fn. 12.

<sup>14</sup> To date excavations at Patara have brought to light only a single coin dating from the Dynastic period. This unique example has a lion scalp on the obverse, and a triskeles with Lycian TPB letters on the reverse. It was struck in the name of the dynast Trbhenimi who is known to have been linked with Limyra. See S. Bulut – N. Çoşkun – Ş. Özüdoğru, “Tepecik Akropolü Batı Düz Set Duvarı”, KST XXII.II (2001) 82; Ş. Özüdoğru, *Patara Sikkeleri ve Patara Kazıları’ndan* (1989-2001) Ele Geçen Sikkeler (unpublished master’s thesis Antalya 2002) 56, Kat. Nr. 1, 109-110, Pl. VI. 1. A Lycian house-type rock-cut tomb uncovered in the 1993 campaign was dated to the 380s B.C. (see H. Işkan, “Zum Totenkult in Lykien I: Ein datierbares Felsgrab in Patara und Leichenspiele in Lykien”, *IstMitt* 52, 2002, 273-309). In addition, on a hill today called Tepecik, traces of early period structures and small finds were uncovered. For more information on the finds from here, thought to have been the Dynastic period acropolis of Patara see Işık, *Patara. The History and Ruins of the Capital City of Lycian League* (2000) 71-74; Bulut – Çoşkun – Özüdoğru 2001, 81-82; G. Işın, “An Achaemenid Stamp Seal from Patara” in: İ. Delemen et al. (eds.), *The Achaemenid Impact on Local Populations and Cultures in Anatolia*, May 20-21, 2005 Istanbul, *Colloquium Anatolicum IV*, 75-82.

<sup>15</sup> Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 23, M 212, 29, M 241a,b.

<sup>16</sup> Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 5 ff., where the relevant data and comments regarding the weight differences within the region and reasons for these are given: As of the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C., the light standard closer to the Athenian system was used in western Lycia, whereas the heavy standard closer to the Persian system was used in central and eastern Lycia. This conclusion is explained by the areas of influence of Athens and Persia within this region.

<sup>17</sup> BMC Lycia, 27 nr. 119-120.

<sup>18</sup> See above fn. 1.

From the mid-5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C., the head of Malia = Athena<sup>19</sup> with Attic helmet commonly used on many dynast and city coins of Lycia forms the obverse type of the Pataran civic coins. Conventionally it is believed that the head of Malia on Lycian coins was inspired by the obverse type of Athenian coins, which remained unchanged from 480 through to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C.<sup>20</sup>. O. Mørkholm and J. Zahle together studied the Xanthian dynasts Kheriga, Kherei and Erbbina examining in detail the parallels and differences between the head of Athena on Athenian coins and head of Malia on Lycian coins<sup>21</sup>. They concluded that the Malia type on Lycian coins developed a local style, despite its inspiration from Athenian coins. The Malia type, included within Group IV of Lycian coins, which also include the Pataran coins, was widely used by dynasts such as Kheriga, Kherei, Artumpara, Aruwatijesi, Ddeneweke, Krnna, Hêtruma, Wekhssere II and Erbbina and by cities such as Xanthos, Patara, Tlos, Cadyanda, Pınara and Telmessos. The examples with the head of Athena in this group are dated from 440-430 B.C.<sup>22</sup>. In addition, as the reverse type, many Lycian coins have the owl, the bird sacred to Athena<sup>23</sup>. It is known that in the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. Athenian coins spread over a wide area and were commonly circulated amongst regions, much more than the coins of other centres did. A coin find from central Lycia and dating from 440-430 B.C. shows Athenian coins had already reached Lycia by this date<sup>24</sup>. However, a question awaiting examination remains, as the head of Athena upon Lycian coins becomes really widespread after the 430's B.C. and yet, at this same time the Lycians were allied with the Persians and Spartans against Athens<sup>25</sup> and they resisted Melesandros, the Athenian commander<sup>26</sup>. Perhaps Lycia continued to use this type, which came into use during its membership in the Delian League, after Lycia had left the League. It certainly would also have been understood that the employment of this Athena type would bring advantages or prestige to Lycian coins in international circulation, as the Athenian coins were very common at that time.

The depictions of Hermes appear for the first time on the coins of Kuprlli in Lycia<sup>27</sup>. These examples depict a Hermes dressed and standing and sometimes carrying a calf upon his shoulder. The coins of Tlos (Figs. 4-5) and Cadyanda (Fig. 7) in addition to Patara and the coins of the dynasts Wekhssere II (Fig. 2) and Hêtruma<sup>28</sup> (Figs. 6a-b) carry

<sup>19</sup> For data on the Malia = Athena identification see G. Neumann, "Beiträge zum Lykischen III", *Die Sprache* 13, 1967, 34; R. D. Barnett, "A Silver-Head Vase with Lycian Inscriptions", in *Mélanges Mansel II* (1974) 893-903; Bryce, *Lycians*, 117 ff; Kat. Wien, 120. For Malia in Lycian inscriptions see TL, 102.

<sup>20</sup> Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 75.

<sup>21</sup> Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 75-76.

<sup>22</sup> In relation to our topic, for various groupings and chronologies of Lycian coins see Zahle 1991, 154 Fig. 1, 155 Fig. 2.

<sup>23</sup> BMC Lycia, Pl. VI nr. 6; SNG Lykien, Taf. 137, 4166-71; Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, Pl. 1, C nr. 2-17.

<sup>24</sup> Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 75, fn. 44.

<sup>25</sup> Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 76; Childs 1981, 64 ff.

<sup>26</sup> TL 44 a44-45; Akşit 1967, 117 fn. 4; Childs 1981, 64; Bryce, *Lycians*, 107-108; Keen, *Dynastic Lycia*, 125 ff. For opinions regarding the identification of the Melesandros mentioned on the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos as not being the Athenian commander mentioned by Thucydides (II. 69) but rather another commander who took part in the Battle of Deceleia, see W. E. Thompson, "Two Athenian Strategoi", *Hesperia* 36, No. 1, 1967, 105-107. For the identity of the Melesandros of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos and a discussion of historical events mentioned there, see Childs 1981.

<sup>27</sup> Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, Pl. V nr. 159-161.

<sup>28</sup> Previously considered as a dynast of Patara by G. F. Hill (BMC Lycia, 25 nr. 113), dynast Hêtruma has been associated with Cadyanda in western Lycia, based on a coin with an inscription reading Hêtruma-Khadavâti (Cadyanda) published (See Bank Leu Auktion 18, 5 Mai 1977 no. 225; Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 23 M 233b). For Cadyanda



the head of Hermes as a type<sup>29</sup>. In addition, some series of Mithrapata coins also carry the head of Hermes as a symbol<sup>30</sup>. The head of Hermes seems to have been a local Pataran type despite its use by these dynasts and cities<sup>31</sup>. Taking into consideration the fame of Patara with her Apollon oracle centre, it is worth noting that Hermes, not Apollon, is the main type found on Pataran coins. Indeed, the dynast Wekhssere I, who ruled and minted coins in Patara, had preferred Apollon in some emissions<sup>32</sup>. Apart from the numismatic evidence, there is no other data available regarding the presence of the cult of Hermes or any other local deity corresponding to him in Lycia. In the *Iliad*, Apollon took on the duty of taking back the body of the dead Sarpedon to Lycia<sup>33</sup>. The fact that Hermes is especially characteristic of Pataran coins may be related to his being the patron divinity presiding over commerce and merchants and Patara must have been an important commercial centre with its important harbour in earlier periods, as she was in the later periods. Yet, in this case, it is difficult to explain the presence of the head of Hermes on Tloan coins. The head of Hermes is the obverse type on the “half-units” of the Massicytus and the Kragus emissions of Series E of Group V of the Lycian League coins<sup>34</sup>. In addition, the reverse of Pataran silver drachmae minted during the Lycian League period carries the kerykeion as the symbol<sup>35</sup>. However, Hermes does not appear on Lycian coins from the reign of Gordianus III<sup>36</sup>.

As mentioned above, our information about the dynast Wekhssere II comes from numismatic and epigraphic (TL 44) evidence. The stylistic analysis of numismatic data has revealed that there were two dynasts with the name Wekhssere<sup>37</sup>. In his study on the coins of Wekhssere I, N. Vismara concludes that Wekhssere I ruled between 460-435 B.C. (though 450-430/25 seems more likely) and Patara was his main mint; Vismara also adds that Wekhssere I was a lord under the influence of Kuprlli, the Xanthian dynast, but he extended his area of influence when Kuprlli weakened or died and that he seems to have struck coins in Tlos and even at Xanthos<sup>38</sup>.

in Lycian inscriptions see TL 26. 2, 45. 3. For the coin which has only the name of Cadyanda see Babelon 1910 nr. 415; Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 30, M 245 (*Kbadaitibe*).

<sup>29</sup> BMC Lycia, Pl. VI nr. 14 (Hepruma) nr. 15 (Wekhssere II), Pl. VII nr. 4 (Patara); SNG Lykien, Taf. 138, 194 (Tlos), 195 (Patara); Vismara 1989a, 98 nr. 72-76 (Wekhssere II); Vismara 1989b, Tav. 20 nr. 191 (Patara).

<sup>30</sup> SNG Lykien, Taf. 139 nr. 4243; Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, Pl. 3 nr. 106, 110-11. All known coins of Mithrapata were struck in the heavy standard known to have been used in central and eastern Lycia. In addition, some of his coins carry the head of Herakles, which is a type peculiar to Telmessos. Based on this evidence, it is plausible to suggest that Mithrapata struck coins in western Lycia (Patara and Telmessos) and used the heads of Hermes and Herakles as symbols upon them.

<sup>31</sup> Mørkholm 1964, 72.

<sup>32</sup> See above fn. 2. For other types of Apollon found on Lycian coins see Fellows 1855, Pl. VIII nr. 6-7; BMC Lycia, 31 nr. 134 Pl. VIII nr. 2; SNG Lykien, Taf. 138 nr. 4191-93, 4197.

<sup>33</sup> Ilyada, XVI. 670-675. A. Erhat – A. Kadir (trans.). This topic is depicted on the calyx crater of Euphronios: Hermes stands by the corpse between Hypnos and Thanatos (see Kat. Wien, 160 nr. 50).

<sup>34</sup> H. A. Troxell, *The Coinage of the Lycian League* (1982) 214, 217 fn. 326 Pl. 39 nr. 211, 218.

<sup>35</sup> op. cit. 50 nr. 16, Pl. 3 nr. 16.1.

<sup>36</sup> H. v. Aulock, *Die Münzprägung des Gordian III und der Tranquillina in Lykien*, *IstMitt-BH* 11, 1974.

<sup>37</sup> See above fn. 5.

<sup>38</sup> Vismara 1989a, 19-20. The characteristic feature of the coins of Wekhssere I is the use of a disceles on the reverse. There is no known coin carrying the name of the dynast together with name of a city. Tloan civic coins have two antithetic lions, which is peculiar to Tlos, and these always have a disceles as a symbol (SNG Lykien, Taf. 138 nr. 4185-88). In addition, a Xanthian coin also has a disceles symbol and a head of Apollon on the reverse (SNG Lykien, Taf. 138 nr. 4197). Yet, there is not enough evidence to claim that Wekhssere I struck coins in Tlos or

The following is a summary of the data regarding the dynast Wekhssere II and the linguists' comments regarding the origin and meaning of his name:

- Wekhssere II is only known from the coins carrying his name:

The first group of these coins were struck in the weight standard (light standard) used in western Lycia and carry the Malia / Hermes types and the name of the dynast (*Wekhssere*, *Wekhsse*, *Wekb*)<sup>39</sup> (Fig. 2). On one coin his name was deciphered as *ddimiu* but N. Vismara completed this decipherment as *wekb* for the missing three letters<sup>40</sup>. The same type and weight system are also found on the coins of Patara<sup>41</sup> (Figs. 3a-b), Tlos<sup>42</sup> (Figs. 4-5) and Cadyanda<sup>43</sup> (Fig. 7) as well as on the coins of the dynast Hêtruma<sup>44</sup> (Figs. 6a-b). The coin forming the focus of the present study is a proof that Wekhssere II struck coins in Patara. This is the first known example carrying the name of the dynast Wekhssere II together with the name of a city (*pttara[w]akhssepddimi*)<sup>45</sup> (Fig. 1).

The second group of coins carrying the name of the dynast comprises coins of the light standard again carrying the head of Malia on the obverse, while on the reverse two antithetic lions with the name of the dynast (*Wakhsserddimi*) and the monogram  $\forall$ <sup>46</sup> (Figs. 8-9). This series has a reverse type peculiar to Tlos and this is the monogram  $\forall$  on the reverse which sets it apart from the civic coins<sup>47</sup>. The Tloian autonomous coins of the same type always have a disceles as a symbol on their reverse (Figs. 11-12). The coins of this type minted by this dynast must have been struck in Tlos<sup>48</sup>. Some coins with the same type and monogram read *ddēntmi*<sup>49</sup> (Fig. 10). However, it is not known whether or not this name identifies *Wakhssepddimi* (Wekhssere II) as does *ddimiu*<sup>50</sup>.

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Xanthos. Moreover, Kheriga, the successor of Kuprili of Xanthos, was contemporaneous with Wekhssere I, and he was the most powerful dynast of Lycia as is understood from the distribution of his coins.

<sup>39</sup> Fellows 1855, Pl. XVIII nr. 3; Head 1911, 692; BMC Lycia, Pl. VI nr. 15; Vismara 1989a, 98 nr. 72-76; Kat. Wien, 173 nr. 70.

<sup>40</sup> Babelon 1910, 420 (*ddimiu*); Head 1911, 692 ( $\Delta\Delta\text{EMEO}+\uparrow\text{F}\uparrow$ ); Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, M 235 (*ddimiu*...): there are three letters at the end of the name that could not be read. N. Vismara completed this name as *ddimiuwekb*: Vismara 1989a, 100 fn. 195. The name *Ddimiu* will be further elaborated below.

<sup>41</sup> Fellows 1855, Pl. XVIII, 1-2; SNG Lykien, Taf. 138, 4195-96; BMC Lycia, 27 nr. 119-20, Pl. VII, 4-5; Mørkholm 1964, 72, fn.; Vismara 1989b, 261 nr. 191 Tav. XX.

<sup>42</sup> SNG Lykien, Taf. 138, 4194; Vismara 1989a, 107; Vismara 1989b, 260 nr. 190, Tav. XX.

<sup>43</sup> Babelon 1910, nr. 15; Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 30 M 245 (*Khadaitibe*).

<sup>44</sup> BMC Lycia, 25 nr. 113 Pl. VI, 14. For the dynast Hêtruma striking coins in Cadyanda and his relation with the city see above fn. 28; Bank Leu Auktion 18, 5 Mai 1977 nr. 225; Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 23, M 233b (*Hêtruma / Khadavitibe*); Babelon 1910, nr. 414-15; Head 1911, 692; Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 30, M 245 (*Khadaitibe*); Dr. Busso Peus Nachf., Auktion 378-79 nr. 273 (*Hêtruma*) nr. 276 (*Cadyanda*).

<sup>45</sup> This conclusion is also very important for Patara: Patara has been known for coins carrying only its name. This is the first time that Patara is associated with a dynast.

<sup>46</sup> See above fn. 6.

<sup>47</sup> For the monogram  $\forall$  and its use on Lycian coins see Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 63 Fig. 6, 64-5 nr. 31. Although the meaning of this monogram on coins is not exactly known, for its use as a numeral on a Lycian funerary inscription at Tlos see R. Tekoğlu, "Three New Lycian Inscriptions from Tlos and Asartaş", *Die Sprache* 43.1, 2003, 105 Fig. 1-3.

<sup>48</sup> Mørkholm 1964, 72; Vismara 1989a, 106-8; Carruba, *Onomastica*, 113.

<sup>49</sup> Babelon 1910, 421 (*ddēntmi*); Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, M 234a (*ddēntmi*), 234b (*ddēntim*), 234c (*ddēnt*).

<sup>50</sup> This is further discussed below.



The third group of coins of Wekhssere II are of two different types. The first series has on the obverse, a lion head in profile, sometimes together with its paws and some examples have the inscription N↑ the meaning of which is not known (Fig. 13); on the reverse is the head of Athena copied from the work of Eucleidas<sup>51</sup>, the name of the dynast (*Wekhssere*, *Wekhs*), and some examples have the monogram ✱ (Fig. 14)<sup>52</sup>. The second series has the lion scalp in frontal view on the obverse and a triskeles and the name of the dynast (*Wakhssse*) on the reverse, while some examples have the monogram ✱ (Fig. 15)<sup>53</sup>. The coins of this series were struck in the “heavy standard” used in central and eastern Lycia and their mint-place has been proposed as Phellos (*Vehñtezē*) in the publication of Podalia Hoard<sup>54</sup>. In all cases, this last group of coins of the dynast were struck in central Lycia and at a later date (approximately 390-380 B.C.) than the first two groups mentioned above; further, they are linked in type with the coins of Zagaba (Figs. 16-17), Mithrapata (Fig. 18) and Perikle<sup>55</sup>.

- Only the trilingual Inscribed Pillar at Xanthos among all inscriptions recorded in Lycian records the name of the dynast Wekhssere (TL 44 a49)<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 19). The translation of the relevant part of the inscription from the pillar is proposed as follows: “...*Kherēi tebete [t]erñ se wakhseppddimi*...=...*Kherei defeated Wakhsserddimi and his army(?)*...” (TL 44 a48-49)<sup>57</sup>.
- There are different opinions concerning the origin and the meaning of this name<sup>58</sup>. Importantly, the name of the dynast is encountered in two forms as Wekhssere and Wakhseppddimi and their spellings contain differences. These differences can be exemplified as follows:
  - a. On the coins of the Malia / Hermes type (Fig. 2): *wekhssere*, *wekhsse*, *wekh*
  - b. On the coins of the Malia / Hermes type (Fig. 1): *[w]akhsseppddimi*
  - c. On the coins of the Malia / Hermes type<sup>59</sup>: *ddimiuheve*; *ddimiu[wekh]*
  - d. On the coins of the Malia / Hermes type<sup>60</sup>: *ddēñtimi* or *ddēñtim*
  - e. On the coins depicting the head of Malia / Goddess (?)<sup>61</sup>: *ddēñtimi*
  - f. On the coins of the Malia / two antithetic lions type (Fig. 8): *wakhseppddimi* (✱)
  - g. On the coins of the Malia / two antithetic lions type (Fig. 10): *ddēñtimi* (✱)
  - h. On the coins with the lion head in profile (together with forelimbs) (N↑) / Athena head (Fig. 13): *wekhssere*

<sup>51</sup> Mørkholm 1964, 74.

<sup>52</sup> Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 2 nr. 1-7 Pl. I nr. 2,4; Vismara 1989b, 255 nr. 186 Tav. XIX.

<sup>53</sup> Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 2 nr. 8-10 Pl. I nr. 8.

<sup>54</sup> When this hoard was published Vehñti was identified as Antiphellos. Today Vehñti = Phellos is generally accepted: Also see above fn. 8.

<sup>55</sup> Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 3, 7, 26.

<sup>56</sup> The words *Wakhsa* (c50, 59), *Wakhsadi* (c44, 48), *Wakhse* (c42), *Wakhssa* (d56), *Wakhssadi* (d30, 31) on sides c and d of the trilingual inscription of Xanthos known as “Lycian B or Milyas Language” are not certainly known to be related to the name Wekhssere: see Carruba, *Onomastica*, 114.

<sup>57</sup> Bryce, *Lycians*, 109 fn. 25; Carruba, *Onomastica*, 113-114 fn. 9, 11; Keen, *Dynastic Lycia*, 131-32 fn. 46.

<sup>58</sup> Carruba, *Onomastica*, 111-115: also mentions and briefly discusses the various opinions regarding the name of the dynast.

<sup>59</sup> Head 1911, 692; Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, M 235.

<sup>60</sup> Head 1911, 691.

<sup>61</sup> op.cit.



- i. On the coins with the lion head in profile / Athena head (Fig. 14): *wekhs* (✱)
- j. On the coins with the lion scalp / trisceles type (Fig. 15): *wakhsse* (✱)
- k. On the trilingual Inscribed Pillar in Xanthos (TL 44 a49, Fig. 19): *wakhssepddimi*

In the nominative form of the name there are two basic differences: (*wekhsser*-, *wakhssep*-)<sup>62</sup>. In spite of the lack of certain comments by linguists regarding the type or meaning of *ddimiu*, the proposal<sup>63</sup> that it is a title or nickname complementing the name of the dynast and thus it is a compound word, seems to conform to this numismatic data. However, if we consider the differences in spelling of the dynast's name when used together with *ddimi* as spelling mistakes as proposed<sup>64</sup>, then we will have to admit the repetition of spelling mistakes also on the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos, on which the full name of the dynast is clearly legible, and on the dies of two different coin types (b and f above).

There have been proposals for *ddimi* or *ddimiu* to be related to the Lycian *tideimi* meaning “son of”<sup>65</sup>. The fact that two successive<sup>66</sup> dynasts with the same name (Wekhssere I and II), who struck coins at the same centres (Patara and Tlos) supports this proposal. On condition that they have been correctly read on the coins, *ddēntimi* or *ddēntmi*<sup>67</sup> have not received any proposed definitions. Two of the coins carrying this name (d and g above) have the same type as those of Wekhssere II and were also struck in the light standard. Further, the coin with the *ddēntmi* legend is a copy of Wekhssere II's Tloan emissions in respect to both its type and weight and the monogram √ on the reverse (Fig. 10). Only the presence of coins with the head of Malia on the obverse and a young woman (goddess, perhaps Pedrita?) on the reverse together with the *ddēntmi* legend (e above) mentioned by B.V. Head<sup>68</sup> are contrary to the links established with Wekhssere II as no emission of Wekhssere II of this type is known. In conclusion, it is not yet possible to reach a definitive result, in spite of the possibilities for the identification of *ddēntimi* or *ddēntmi* as Wekhssere II; however, it is certain that *Wakhssepddimi* is to be identified as Wekhssere II.

It is possible to summarise the opinions on the origin and meaning of the name Wakhsere as follows: the name may have been derived from *vasha* = “lord” in Luwian, which is identified as a relative language of Lycian<sup>69</sup>. Moreover, it is also thought that it may be related to *Yuva Yaros* of Phrygian origin<sup>70</sup>. In addition, some scholars relate it to *Uwakhs[al]a[ra]* in Persian = *Κυαξάρης* in Greek<sup>71</sup>; however, its meaning is still obscure. None of these proposals has yet received general acceptance.

There are criticisms of the identification as “dynast = local feudal lords” for the coin-minting authorities of Lycia during the Dynastic period (approximately 6<sup>th</sup> c. - 360 B.C.).

<sup>62</sup> For the spelling *wakhssebe* on a coin of the dynast see Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 23, M 208. For a comment regarding it as a spelling mistake see Carruba, *Onomastica*, 114.

<sup>63</sup> Carruba, *Onomastica*, 113 fn. 10, 114 fn. 11.

<sup>64</sup> Carruba, *Onomastica*, 113.

<sup>65</sup> Carruba, *Onomastica*, 114.

<sup>66</sup> The chronologies and the familial relationship of both dynasts will be further elaborated below.

<sup>67</sup> Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, M 234a.

<sup>68</sup> Head 1911, 691 (*ddēntimi*).

<sup>69</sup> Carruba, *Onomastica*, 112 fn. 7.

<sup>70</sup> Carruba, *Onomastica*, 112 fn. 6.

<sup>71</sup> Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, 16, M 133; Carruba, *Onomastica*, 112 fn. 5.

H. A. Cahn considers the presence of approximately 30 dynast names and 15 city names on Lycian coins too large for such a short period of time, from 480-360 B.C. and calls for care in employing the word “dynast”<sup>72</sup>. According to Cahn, most of the names identified as dynasts may represent the officials in charge of minting money (magistrates) with the permission of the Persians, and the word “dynast” should be employed for personages identified clearly by archaeological and philological evidence<sup>73</sup>. Again, from a similar point of view, J. Borchhardt prefers considering the Xanthian dynast Kuprlli as an official representing the whole of Lycia and minting coins both in western and eastern Lycia<sup>74</sup>. These proposals seem to be quite controversial. The fact that Cahn’s proposal is based only upon numerical magnitude may be examined. There are four dynasts identified as having struck coins at Xanthos and to have kept power in the hands of their family for at least a century. In addition, this number seems not too large when dynastic centres such as Xanthos, Tlos, Patara, Pinara, Cadyanda, Telmessos, Phellos, Antiphellos, Isinda, Tüse, Trysa, Avşar Tepesi, Hoyran, Apollonia, Kyaneai, Myra, Limyra are taken into consideration. There is no historical, archaeological or epigraphic evidence implying that the dynast might be an official authorised by the Persians to mint coins in Lycia. The fact that there is a large number of Lycian coin minters (cities and dynasts) contemporaneous with and later than Kuprlli as well as their distribution over the region makes it even more difficult to arrive at such a conclusion. The presence of monuments decorated in relief dating to as early as the 7<sup>th</sup> century B.C., in the light of the latest discoveries at Xanthos<sup>75</sup>, and the presence of pillars with reliefs considered to be the tombs of local Lycian lords and dating to earlier than the Persian occupation<sup>76</sup> show the existence of a lordship system in Lycia prior to the Persian occupation. In addition, as Herodotos recorded (I.28)<sup>77</sup>, Lycians were one of the two peoples whom the Lydian King Kroisos could not take under his sovereignty and this fact indicates that the Lycians had both a strong administration and military organisation. In the Iliad (II.876-877), earlier than Herodotos, Homeros says that the Lycians went to Troia under the leadership of two lords<sup>78</sup>. The local lords generally called “dynasts” or their families (who were also great land-owners) must have represented political power in Lycia prior to the Persian occupation.

<sup>72</sup> Cahn 1975, 84-85.

<sup>73</sup> op. cit.

<sup>74</sup> J. Borchhardt, *op. cit.* 157 (see above fn. 8).

<sup>75</sup> J. des Courtis, “Ksanthos’ta Yeni Bulgular”, in K. Dörtlülük –B. Varkıvaç – T. Kahya et al. (eds.), *The III<sup>rd</sup> Symposium on Lykia. Proceedings* (2006) 32; idem, “La Campagne 2005 a Xanthos”, *Anatolia Antiqua* XIV, 2006, 278-80; idem, “Ksanthos Kazı ve Araştırmaları 2005”, *ANMED* 4, 2006, 31-36.

<sup>76</sup> A. H. Smith, *A Catalogue of Sculptures in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, British Museum I (1892) 46 ff nr. 80; E. Akurgal, *Griechische Reliefs des VI. Jahrhunderts aus Lykien* (1941) 3-51; P. Demargne, *Les piliers funéraires. Fouilles de Xanthos I* (1958) 32; Y. Boysal, *Arkaik Devir Heykeltıraşlığı* (1979) 50; F. Işık, “Zur Entstehung der tönernen Verkleidungsplatten in Anatolien”, *AnatSt* 41, 1991, 78-80, fn. 106; idem, “Zur Entstehung der Pfeilergräber in Lykien”, in C. Özgünel et al. (eds.), *Günüştğinde Anadolu. Cevdet Bayburtluoğlu için Yazılar* (2001) 123-131; T. Marksteiner, *Trysa - Eine Zentrallykische Niederlassung im Wandel der Zeit* (2002) 220; M. Özhanlı, “İsinda Dikme Anıtı”, *Adalya* V, 2002, 91-95.

<sup>77</sup> Herodotos, *Herodot Tarihi* (1991) M. Ökmen (trans.) I. 28: “...all the peoples on this side of the River Halys, except those of Cilicia and Lycia, had already submitted and recognised the sovereignty of Kroisos”.

<sup>78</sup> Homeros, *İlyada* (1984) A. Erhat – A. Kadir (trans.) II. 876-77: “...The Lycians were commanded by Sarpedon and the perfect Glaukos, they have come from Lycian lands far away”.



Numismatic evidence shows the dynast Wekhssere II struck coins at two centres in western Lycia, namely Patara and Tlos, and at Phellos<sup>79</sup> (or Antiphellos<sup>80</sup>) in central Lycia. The coin forming the scope of the present study (Fig. 1) proves the main mint and thus the administrative centre of Wekhssere II was Patara and there are no other known examples carrying the name of this dynast together with the name of a city. Therefore, Vismara's identification of the main mint of Wekhssere I as Patara is also supported<sup>81</sup>. Considering a parallel with the continuity of the Xanthian dynast family<sup>82</sup>, it is plausible to similarly suggest such a continuity between Wekhssere I and II. In this case, Wekhssere I struck coins at Patara from 460 to 435 B.C.<sup>83</sup> (or more likely from 450 to 430 B.C.<sup>84</sup>) and directly after him, Wekhssere II did so from 430/425 to 410/400, thus they must be related, possibly as father and son. This conclusion carries great significance for the city of Patara because with this, two dynasts of the same family are identified as having ruled and struck coins at Patara from about the mid-5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. to the end of the century.

There is no numismatic or epigraphic evidence to hand to establish a connection between this dynast and the city of Tlos, as there is no known coin carrying his name and the city's name together. Yet the coin types of Malia / Hermes (cf. Fig. 2 and Fig. 4) and Malia / two antithetic lions (cf. Fig. 8 and Fig. 11) were used both on the coins of Tlos and on the coins of Wekhssere II. In particular, the coins with two antithetic lions on the obverse, a characteristic type for Tlos<sup>85</sup>, and the name of the dynast as *wakhssepddimi* on the reverse must have been struck at Tlos<sup>86</sup>. At this point, we need to ask the following questions, is it enough to relate a dynast with a city only with a die linkage available at hand? Could any artisan have prepared the same die for different personages or cities? This may be valid for common types such as those carrying the head of Athena = Malia or the lion scalp; however, it may not be true for our type at all. Despite the fact that we do not know the exact meaning of this composition<sup>87</sup>, it is clear that this type is a local one peculiar to Tlos. Tloan emissions of Wekhssere II have generally been included within Group

<sup>79</sup> Other dynasts known to have struck coins at Phellos and the minting place of Wekhssere II in central Lycia is discussed below.

<sup>80</sup> See above fn. 8, 54.

<sup>81</sup> See above fn. 2.

<sup>82</sup> For the Xanthian dynast family and their internal relations see Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 87; Keen, *Dynastic Lycia*, 221.

<sup>83</sup> Vismara 1989a, 19-20.

<sup>84</sup> Carruba, *Onomastica*, 114.

<sup>85</sup> This type is found only on the emissions of Tlos and Wekhssere II among Lycian coins. However, an example from Gaza has almost the same composition, see Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 94-95 Fig. 13 fn. 283; Bank Leu AG Zürich, Auktion 2, 25 April 1972, Pl. XVI nr. 297. This example also has two antithetic lions on the reverse, again framed by a dotted border within a quadratum incusum, but these lions are looking at each other, not facing the viewer. This coin is dated to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.

<sup>86</sup> As mentioned above, the only difference between the Tloan civic coins and the coins of Wekhssere II of the same type is the use of symbols on the reverse whose meanings are not known. Disceles are employed as the symbol on the Tloan civic coins whereas the emissions of the dynast have the monogram √ instead. As a matter of fact O. Mørkholm – J. Zahle and N. Vismara claimed these were struck in Tlos: Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 64 nr. 31; Vismara 1989a, 108-109.

<sup>87</sup> As a hypothesis, when the Hittite city gates with sphinxes in Anatolia, the Anatolian Mother Goddess depicted between two lions, the lions depicted on the pediment of the city gate of Mykenai, or the lion reliefs on Phrygian rock monuments (especially such as Göynüş Aslantaş) are considered, this composition may indicate a local cult protecting the city (see F. Işık, Doğa Ana Kubaba. Tanrıçaların Ege'de Buluşması [1999] 28 Figs. 30-38). The dual narration, and the lions raising one forelimb to join the other's, may symbolise the alliance of the dynast and the city or a treaty.



IV of Lycian coins dated to 430/25-360 B.C.<sup>88</sup>. Nonetheless, we have a strong argument at hand which may provide us with data to identify the possible date of these emissions. As is known, the Xanthian dynast Kherei also struck coins at Tlos<sup>89</sup> and it is proposed that Kherei ruled from 430/20 to 390/80 B.C.<sup>90</sup>. In this case, the Pataran dynast Wekhssere II and the Xanthian dynast Kherei must be contemporaneous, which further suggests that both struck coins at Tlos at the same time; however, this cannot be true<sup>91</sup>. The trilingual Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos states that Kherei “took control of the Tloan army” and right after that Kherei “defeated Wakhseppdimi and his army<sup>92</sup>”. On condition that the translation of these lines from the Xanthian Inscribed Pillar<sup>93</sup> are correct, Kherei must have ruled the city and thus struck coins there only after he had defeated the Tloan army and Wakhseppdimi. In this case, not discussing the identity of the author of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos as Kheriga or Kherei<sup>94</sup> and just admitting the proposals for the date of the pillar as approximately 400 B.C.<sup>95</sup> and that the events described in this inscription should cover the Battle of Dekelea (413-404 B.C.) or the period very close to it<sup>96</sup>, we may conjecture that the coins of Kherei-Tlos must have been struck between 410-400 B.C.. Thus, the Tloan emissions of Wekhssere II can be safely dated to 430/425-410 B.C.. By and large, the rule of Wekhssere II over Patara and Tlos<sup>97</sup> in western Lycia and his right to mint coins there must have ended when he was defeated by Kherei. As a matter of fact, the heavy standard coins of Wekhssere II struck in central Lycia, examples of which are found within the Podalia Hoard, are dated to 390-380 B.C.<sup>98</sup>. Thus, it also becomes clear why Wekhssere II struck coins in a central Lycian town<sup>99</sup> that are of a later date than those struck in western Lycia. If we consider the proposal by O. Mørkholm and J. Zahle that Kherei struck coins at Phellos to be true, then we have to look for another site for Wekhssere II’s

<sup>88</sup> For various groupings of Lycian coins from the first quarter of the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C. see J. Zahle, “Achaemenid Influences in Lycia (Coinage, Sculpture, Architecture). Evidence for Political Changes during the 5<sup>th</sup> century B.C.” *Achaemenid History VI*, 1991, 154 Fig. 1, 155 Fig. 2.

<sup>89</sup> Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, Pl. 3, 47–50.

<sup>90</sup> Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 59.

<sup>91</sup> TL 44 a48-49: “...*Kherēi tebeste [t]lerñ se wakhseppdimi... (Kherei, defeated Wakhseppdimi and his army (?)...)*”. This narrative states that two dynasts had a struggle in between.

<sup>92</sup> The narrative of Kherei taking the Tloan army under his control and the narrative of his defeat of Wakhseppdimi and his army are given independently from each other. This may point to an indirect connection between Wakhseppdimi and Tlos as mentioned above. That is, Wekhssere II may not have ruled directly over Tlos, although he struck coins there and used the same die as Tlos.

<sup>93</sup> See above fn. 4.

<sup>94</sup> W. A. P. Childs, “The Authorship of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos”, *AnatSt* 29, 1979, 97-102. Childs, despite his previous claims for Kheriga, presents the evidence for Kherei as the author of the Inscribed Pillar of Xanthos. Later Bryce, states Kherei is the author of the monument: see Bryce, *Lycians* 109.

<sup>95</sup> As stated by Childs, the death date of Tissapharnes (395 B.C.) sets a *terminus ante quem* for the monument. See Childs 1981, 66-7.

<sup>96</sup> W. A. P. Childs, *op. cit.* 102; Childs 1981, 63 ff.; Bryce, *Lycians*, 107 ff.

<sup>97</sup> See above fn. 91.

<sup>98</sup> Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 2 nr. 1-7, 3, 7, 26 Pl. I nr. 2,4; Vismara 1989b, 255 nr. 186 Tav. XIX.

<sup>99</sup> Indeed there exist no city names on these coins of Wekhssere II. Due to the die linkage with the coins of Zagaba with the city name Vehñ[teze] on them, Phellos has been proposed as the mint city of these Wekhssere coins (see above fn. 7). But O. Mørkholm and J. Zahle have mentioned that dynast Kherei, just as his predecessor Kheriga, struck coins at Phellos (Mørkholm – Zahle 1976, 59) and their study contains one coin that supports this proposal (*op. cit.* 48 nr. 17).

mint in central Lycia<sup>100</sup>. Another alternative would be to propose the existence of a third Wekhssere who struck coins in central Lycia in the first quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. considering that Wekhssere II disappeared with his defeat by Kherei; however, for the time being we do not have any evidence to hand to imply any such interpretation.

Consequently, the coin forming the focus of this study was struck by Wekhssere II between 430/420-410/400 at Patara, his administrative and mint centre, before he was defeated by Kherei and as a consequence of this defeat he lost his control over western Lycia and he then minted coins in central Lycia (390/380 B.C.).

<sup>100</sup> See above fn. 99. The die linkage established between the coins of Wekhssere II and Zagaba makes the following question important: What does the name Zagaba define? A dynast or a city? On two examples from the Podalia Hoard (Olçay – Mørholm 1971, 2 nr. 11-12 Pl. 1) the city name Vahñ[tezē]=Phellos is deciphered (Mørholm – Neumann 1978, M 134a). There are proposals that Zagaba is not a personal proper name but the Lycian name of a settlement on modern Avşar Tepesi. Zagaba is mentioned before the city names Tuminehi (Tymnessos) and Patara on the trilingual Xanthian inscription (TL44 a42-43). On condition that Zagaba defines a settlement, then the names of two cities of central Lycia are found on the same coin; that is, Vehñ[tezē] and Zagaba minted together (*sympoliteia?*). For more information on these proposals and on the coins of Zagaba see F. Kolb – W. Tietz, “Zagaba: Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien”, *Chiron* 31, 2001, 348 ff. Alongside the coin type links; the ✱ symbol found on the reverse of the coins of Wekhssere II, is also used on a few examples that carry the name Zagaba (see fig. 16). These connections may point to Zagaba as the central Lycian mint centre of Wekhssere II.

## Abbreviations

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- Olçay – Mørkholm 1971 N. Olçay – O. Mørkholm, “The Coin Hoard from Podalia”, *NumChron* 11, 1971, 1-29.
- SNG Lykien H. von Aulock, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, Heft 10, Lykien (1964).
- TL E. Kalinka, *Tituli Lyciae Lingua Lycia conscripti*, TAM I (1901).
- Vismara 1989a N. Vismara, *Monetazione arcaica della Lycia, I. Il dynasta Wekhssere I (Glaux 2)* (1989).
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## Özet

### Pttara ve Dynast Vakhsssepddimi II. Vekhssere

Çalışma daha önce, herhangi bir Likya beyi ile doğrudan ve kesin olarak ilişkilendirilemeyen Patara kentinin, 2004 yılı bir müzayede kataloğunda yer alan ve satışa çıkarılan sikke temelinde (Res. 1), Likya beylerinden II. Vekhssere ile bağlantısı üzerine yapılmıştır. Söz konusu sikke; ön yüzünde, Malia/Athena başı, arka yüzünde Hermes başı ve Likçe karakterlerle *pttara* / *[v]akhsssepddimi* lejantı taşıyan 8.00 gr. ağırlığında staterdir. Çalışmanın odağı olan II. Vekhssere, kendi adına bastırdığı sikkelerden (Res. 2) ve Ksanthos Üç Dilli Yazıtı'ndan (TL 44 a49) bilinmekteydi. Bu Likya beyi, sikkeleri daha erkene tarihlenen aynı isimde bir başka dynastın varlığından dolayı, II. Vekhssere olarak adlandırılmıştır. II. Vekhssere'ye ait bazı sikke serilerinin Tlos kent baskılarıyla kalıp bağlantıları vardır ve Podalia Defines'i'nde üzerinde dynastın adı okunan birkaç sikkenin, Orta Likya'da (Phellos) basıldığı öngörülmüştür. Burada, II. Vekhssere'ye ilişkin tüm nümizmatik ve dilbilim verileri çalışma konusu sikke ışığında tekrar değerlendirilerek; Patara ile doğrudan ilişkisi yanında Tlos kentiyle bağlantısı, Batı Likya baskılarından daha geç bir tarihte Orta Likya'da sikke bastırmasının nedenleri ve İ.Ö. 5. yy. sonlarıyla erken 4. yy. Likya tarihindeki yeri ve rolü tartışılmıştır.

Patara kazılarında, şu ana kadar Dynastik Dönem'e ait kent sikkesi ele geçmemiştir. Kaynakçalarda yer almış çok az sayıdaki Klasik Dönem Patara kent sikkelerinin hepsinde aynı tip kullanılmıştır; ön yüzde: Attik miğferli Malia/Athena başı, arka yüzde: petasolu Hermes başı ve kent adının nominativ veya genetiv olarak Likçe formu (*Ptt*, *Pttara*, *Ptterezē*, *Pttarazē*) (Res. 3a-b). Bilinen Patara kent sikkelerinin hepsi, İ.Ö. 5. yy.'ın ortalarından itibaren Batı Likya'da yaygın kullanılan "hafif standart"da basılmışlardır ve yaklaşık İ.Ö. 5. yy.'ın son çeyreği içinde tarihlenmişlerdir. Çalışmaya konu olan *Vakhsssepddimi*/*Pttara* baskısı sikke, Patara kent baskıları ile aynı tipi taşır, yine hafif standartta basılmıştır ve yer aldığı katalogda yaklaşık İ.Ö. 400 yılına tarihlenmiştir.

Nümizmatik verilerin stilistik analizlerine göre, Vekhssere isminde iki farklı dynast vardır. N. Vismara'nın I. Vekhssere sikkelerini incelediği çalışması sonucunda; İ.Ö. 460-435 (İ.Ö. 450-430/25 daha olası görünmektedir) yılları arasında hüküm sürdüğünü öngördüğü I. Vekhssere'nin asıl darphanesinin Patara olduğunu Tlos ve belki de Ksanthos'ta sikke bastırmış görüldüğünü belirtir. Yukarıda değindiğimiz üzere dynast II. Vekhssere hakkındaki bilgilerimiz nümizmatik ve epigrafik verilere dayanır. Dynastın bastırdığı sikkeler, basım yerlerine göre üç grupta toplanabilir: İlk grup; Malia / Hermes tiplerini ve dynastın ismini (*Vekhssere*, *Vekhssse*, *Vekh*) taşırlar, Batı Likya'da kullanılan ağırlık sisteminde (hafif standart) basılmışlardır (Res. 2). Likya sikkeleri içinde aynı tip ve ağırlık sistemi, kentlerden Patara (Res. 3a-b), Tlos (Res. 4-5) ve Kadyanda (Res. 7), dynastlardan Hētruma (Res. 6a-b)

sikkelerinde kullanılmıştır. Dynastın adının okunduğu ikinci grup; ön yüzde Malia başı, arka yüzde antitethik duran iki aslan, dynastın ismi (*Vakhsepddimi*) ve  $\nabla$  monogramı yer alan yine hafif standartta basılmış sikkelerdir (Res. 8-9). Bu seri, arka yüzünde Tlos'a özgü bir tip taşımaktadır ve kent sikkelerinden farkı arka yüzde sembol olarak kullanılan  $\nabla$  monogramıdır. Dynastın bu tipteki sikkeleri Tlos'ta basılmış olmalıdır. Aynı tipi ve monogramı taşıyan birkaç sikke üzerinde *ddēntmi* okunmuştur (Res. 10). Bu ismin, *ddimiu* gibi, Vakhsepddimi'yi tanımlayıp tanımlamadığı henüz belirsizdir. II. Vekhssere'ye ait üçüncü grup sikkeler iki farklı tipte basılmışlardır. İlk serinin ön yüzünde, bazen ön ayakları görülen, profilden aslan başı ve bazı örneklerde anlamı henüz bilinemeyen N↑ yazısı (Res. 13); arka yüzünde, Eukleidas'ın eserinden kopyalanmış Athena başı, dynastın ismi (*Vekhssere*, *Vekhs*) ve bazı örneklerde  $\nabla$  monogramı yer alır (Res. 14). İkinci serinin; ön yüzünde cep-heden aslan başı postu, arka yüzünde triskeles ve dynastın adı (*Vakhssere*) ve bazı örneklerde  $\nabla$  monogramı bulunur (Res. 15). Bu grubun sikkeleri "Orta ve Doğu Likya'da kullanılan "ağır standart" sisteminde basılmışlardır. Her durumda, dynastın bu son grup sikkeleri Orta Likya'da ve yukarıda bahsettiğimiz ilk iki grup sikkelerinden daha geç tarihte basılmıştır (yak. İ.Ö. 390-380) ve Zagaba (Res. 16-17), Mithrapata (Res. 18), Perikle sikkeleriyle tip bağlantıları vardır.

Nümizmatik verilerin değerlendirilmesi sonucunda II. Vekhssere'nin, Batı Likya'da Patara ve Tlos olmak üzere iki merkezde ve Orta Likya'da sikke bastırdığı anlaşılmaktadır. Konumuz olan sikke, II. Vekhssere'nin ana darphanesinin ve dolayısıyla yönetim merkezinin Patara olduğunu belgelemiştir ve henüz üzerinde dynastın adıyla birlikte bir kent isminin yer aldığı başka örnek yoktur. Ksanthos'taki bey ailesinin devamlılığı dikkate alındığında, I. ve II. Vekhssere için de aynı devamlılık öngörülebilir. Bu durumda I. Vekhssere İ.Ö. 460-435 (veya daha büyük bir olasılıkla İ.Ö. 450-430) ve hemen sonra II. Vekhssere İ.Ö. 430/25-410/400 yılları arasında Patara'da sikke bastırmıştır ve aralarında baba-oğul gibi bir akrabalık ilişkisi olmalıdır. Bu sonuç Patara kenti için aynı önemi taşımaktadır; çünkü bununla, yaklaşık İ.Ö. 5. yy.'ın ortalarından itibaren yüzyılın sonlarına kadar kentte hüküm sürmüş ve sikke bastırmış olan, büyük olasılıkla aynı ailenin mensubu, iki dynast belirlenmiş olmaktadır.

Dynastın, Tlos kentiyle doğrudan ilişkisi belgeleyecek ne epigrafik ne de nümizmatik bir veri vardır çünkü üzerinde dynastın ve Tlos kent isminin birlikte yer aldığı bir sikke henüz bilinmemektedir. Buna rağmen, Malia/Hermes (krş: Res. 2 ve Res. 4) ve Malia/karşılıklı duran iki aslan tipleri (krş. Res. 8 ve Res. 11) hem Tlos kenti hem de II. Vekhssere'nin bastırdığı sikkelerde kullanılmıştır. Özellikle, Tlos'a özgü bir tip olarak karşımıza çıkan, karşılıklı duran iki aslan betimlemesini taşıyan ve arka yüzlerinde dynastın adının *vakhsepddimi* biçiminde okunduğu sikkeler Tlos'ta basılmış olmalıdır. Kompozisyonun anlamını kesin olarak bilemesek de, bu tipin Tlos'a özgü yerel bir anlatım olduğu açıktır. II. Vekhssere'nin Tlos baskıları, ilgili kaynaklarda genellikle İ.Ö. 430/25-360 yılları arasına tarihlenen IV. Grup Likya sikkeleri içinde incelenmişlerdir. Bu baskıların olası tarihini belirleme konusunda ipucu sağlayabilecek önemli bir argümana sahip durumdayız. Bilindiği üzere Ksanthos dynastı Kherei de Tlos'ta sikke bastırmıştır ve Kherei'nin İ.Ö. 430/20-390/80 yılları arasında hüküm sürdüğü önerilir. Bu durumda Patara dynastı II. Vekhssere ve Ksanthos dynastı Kherei çağdaşlardır ve her ikisi de Tlos'ta sikke bastırmıştır. İki dynastın, Tlos'ta aynı zamanda sikke bastırmış olmaları mümkün değildir. Ksanthos Yazıtlı Dikmesi'nde, Kherei'nin "Tlos ordusunu kontrol altına aldığı" ve hemen devamında "Vakhsepddimi ve ordusunu



yendiđi” aktarılmaktadır. Şayet, Ksanthos Üç Dilli Yazıtı’ndaki ilgili satırların çevirisi dođru ise; Kherei, Tlos ordusunu ve Vakhsepddimi’yi yendikten sonra, kente egemen olmuş ve sikke bastırmıştır. Bu durumda, Ksanthos Yazıtlı Dikmesi’nin sahibi Kheriga mı yoksa Kherei mi tartışmasına değinmeden, anıt için genel kabul gören yaklaşık İ.Ö. 400 tarihine ve yazıtta anlatılan olayların Dekelea Savaşı (İ.Ö. 413-404) veya bu olaya çok yakın dönemleri kapsaması gerektiđi önerilerine dayanarak, Kherei - Tlos sikkelerinin İ.Ö. 410-400 tarihleri arasında basıldığını düşünebiliriz. Böylece, II. Vekhssere’nin Tlos baskıları, İ.Ö. 430/425-410 yılları arasında tarihlenebilir. Nitekim, Podalia Definesi’nde örnekleri bulunan, II. Vekhssere’nin Orta Likya’da “ađır standart”ta basılmış sikkeleri İ.Ö. 390-380 yıllarına tarihlenmiştir. Böylece II. Vekhssere’nin, neden Orta Likya’da bir kentte, Batı Likya’daki sikkelerinden daha geç bir tarihte baskı yaptıđı da anlaşılabilir.

Sonuç olarak: çalışma konusu sikke; II. Vekhssere’nin Kherei ile yaptıđı bir mücadelede yenilmesi sonucunda Batı Likya’daki hakimiyetini kaybederek Orta Likya’da sikke bastırdıđı tarihten (İ.Ö. 390/380) önce, dynastın yönetim merkezi ve ana darphanesi olan Patara’da İ.Ö. 430/20-410/400 yılları arasında basılmıştır.





Fig. 1 Wekhssere II. Stater. 8.00 g. UBS Gold & Numismatics, Auction 59, Jan. 27<sup>th</sup>, 2004, nr. 5790.



Fig. 3a Patara. Stater. 8.37 g. Image: BMC Lycia, Pl. VII, 4. Dwg: Fellows 1855, Pl. XVIII, 1.



Fig. 2 Wekhssere II. Stater. 8.36 g. Image: Kat. Wien, 173, nr. 70. Dwg: Fellows 1855, Pl. XVIII, 3.



Fig. 3b Patara. Stater. 7.71 g. Image: BMC Lycia, Pl. VII, 5. Dwg: Fellows 1855, Pl. XVIII, 2.



Fig. 4 Tlos. Stater. 8.15 g. SNG Lykien, Taf. 138, nr. 4194.



Fig. 5 Tlos. 1/6 Stater. 1.11 g. Classical Numismatic Group, 60, May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2002, nr. 838.



Fig. 6a Hêtruma. 1/2 Stater. 4.00 g. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 73, May 17<sup>th</sup>, 2004, nr. 311



Fig. 7 Cadyanda. Stater. 8.04 g. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction 378-379, nr. 276.



Fig. 6b Hêtruma. 1/2 Stater. 4.08 g. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction 378-379, nr. 273.



Fig. 8 Wekhssere II.  
1/2 Stater. 4.19 g.  
Classical Numismatic Group, 61,  
Sept. 25<sup>th</sup>, 2002, nr. 761.



Fig. 9 Wekhssere II.  
1/6 Stater. 1.35 g.  
Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger,  
Auction 368, April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2001, nr. 229.



Fig. 10 Wekhssere II? (*ddentmi?*),  
Stater, 8.21 g. Gorny & Mosch Giessener  
Münzhandlung, Auction 122,  
March 10<sup>th</sup>, 2003, nr. 1461.



Fig. 11 Tlos. Stater. 8.04 g.  
SNG Lykien,  
Taf. 138, nr. 4185.



Fig. 12 Tlos. Stater. 8.50 g.  
Fritz Rudolf Künker Münzenhandlung,  
Auction 94, Sept. 27<sup>th</sup>, 2004, nr. 1281.



Fig. 13 Wekhssere II. Stater. 9.89 g.  
Leu Numismatik AG, Auction 81,  
May 16<sup>th</sup>, 2001, nr. 311;  
Olçay – Mørkholm 1971, 2, nr. 1.



Fig. 14 Wekhssere II.  
1/3 Stater. 2.79 g.  
Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger,  
Auction 372, Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>, 2002, nr. 368.



Fig. 15 Wekhssere II. 1/3  
Stater. 3.19 g. SNG Lykien,  
Taf. 138, 4201.



Fig. 16 Zagaba. 1/3 Stater. 3.03 g.  
Classical Numismatic Group, 73,  
Sept. 13<sup>th</sup>, 2006, nr. 383.



Fig. 17 Zagaba. Stater. 9.87 g.  
Classical Numismatic Group, Triton VIII,  
Jan. 11<sup>th</sup>, 2005, nr. 499.



Fig. 18 Mithrapata. Stater. 9.82 g.  
LHS Numismatik AG, Auction 95,  
Oct. 25<sup>th</sup>, 2005, nr. 692.

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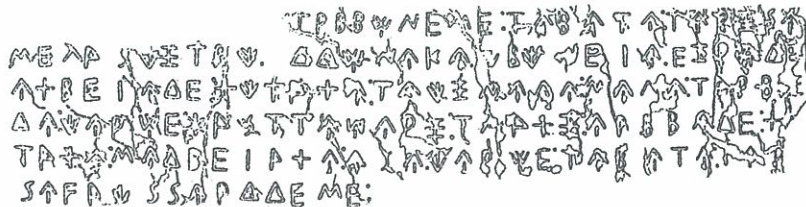


Fig. 19 TL 44 a44-49.