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On Some New Lycian Coin Types

Abstract: This paper examines a number of Lycian coins dated to the second half of the fifth century BC which were either previously unknown, or inadequately published. Some attributions are discussed and in some cases new solutions are proposed. A stater from Patara attributed to Wekhssere II was actually struck by Ukhsssepddimi, a previously unknown dynast of the late fifth century BC. Links with the issues of Wakhsssepddimi are discussed and coins previously attributed to Wekhssere I are shown to have been actually struck by Wakhsssepddimi. Further new coins are discussed and attributed to a previously unknown dynast named Wakhssseblimi, minting c. 440–430 BC.

Keywords: Lycia; Coins; Numismatics; Dynasts; Wekhssere; Ukhsssepddimi; Wakhsssepddimi; Wakhssseblimi.

Thousands of Lycian coins have survived and provide a useful catalogue of personal and place names, many of which are only known from numismatic evidence. At least 50 names are recorded and some coins include both the name of the coin issuer (dynast) and the name of the mint. It is not always easy to distinguish the nature of these names and in the past a number of toponyms have been mistaken for anthroponyms (e.g. *Zemuri*, *Zagaba*, *Wedrêi*).¹ New names continue to appear with the discovery of unpublished coins (e.g. *gakhe* for *Gagai*);² and, in some cases, dynasts are taken out of the Lycian catalogue, like *Uvug* (*Uwug*) whose coinage is now more convincingly attributed to the Carian dynast named *Orou*.³

The first subject of this paper is a new Lycian coin which surfaced in trade in 2004 and provided evidence to Şükrü Özüdoğru to put forward an attribution to the dynast *Wakhsssepddimi* (*Wekhssere II*) minting in *Patara*. The author argued that the coin “established a connection between the Lycian dynast *Wekhssere II* and *Patara*”.⁴ Coins bearing the name of *Wekhssere* have been divided into two groups showing stylistic differences, and have been assigned to an elder *Wekhssere* (I) and a younger *Wekhssere* (II). The little we know about them comes from their respective coinages, which, unlike that of their contemporaries, did not include mint names. It is assumed that the elder *Wekhssere* was active c. 450–420 BC and the younger one c. 400–380 BC, with probably no continuity between the two reigns.⁵ The coin being the subject of this paper has been attributed to *Wekhssere II*, albeit coins with identical

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¹ See Kolb – Tietz 2001.

² Carruba – Vismara 2002.

³ Konuk 2007.

⁴ Özüdoğru 2007, 31.

⁵ Jenkins 1959, 33; Keen 1998, 51. Vismara 1989, 104 suggested c. 455–450 to 435–430 for *Wekhssere I*. Unless otherwise noted, all the coins discussed here are struck according to a weight standard that is called ‘light’ or Attic with a unit (stater) standing at 8.5–8.6 g.

types with the legend Wekhssere were given to Wekhssere I by Vismara.⁶



Fig. 1⁷

Based on the following reading:

ΓΤΤΑΡΑ [F]ΨΣΣΑΓΔΔΕΜΕ

pttara [w]akhsssepddimi

Özüdoğru proposes to identify the mint of Patara and the Lycian dynast Wakhsssepddimi that he equates with Wekhssere II. The reading of Patara does not represent any difficulty, however a closer look at the coin legend shows that the name of the dynast is misread. First, there is no missing letter [w] between the two words and the first letter of the second word is a Lycian *u*, not *a*. This is confirmed by a new specimen of the same type which clearly shows that the legend on the coin should be read as:

ΓΤΤΑ-ΡΑ ΟΥΣΣΑΓ-ΓΔΔΕΜΕ

pttara ukhssepddimi



Fig. 2⁸

These two staters reveal for the first time the name Ukhsssepddimi, even though a stater known since the late 19th century with the same name could not be deciphered as such owing to its poor condition. Preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, its reverse legend was deciphered by Babelon as “*Ddimiu...*”, hypothetically completed as *Ddimiuhé Vê(xèrè)*, and was linked to Wekhssere as “*Vêxerès, fils de Dimieus*”. Nonetheless Babelon preferred to list this coin under Dimeus minting at Patara. Vismara subsequently proposed to read *ddimiuwekh* linking the coin to Wekhssere I (460–435 BC).⁹ The legend has also been related to the Lycian *tideimi*, meaning “son of”.¹⁰ Accepting this proposal, Özüdoğru added that “The fact that two successive dynasts with the same name (Wekhssere I and II), who struck coins at the same centers (Patara and Tlos) supports this proposal”.¹¹ The Paris coin is actually obverse die-linked to the new stater of Ukhsssepddimi stater auctioned by Peus (Fig. 2). Its reverse is from a different die and, at the light of the two new coins, its legend can now easily be transcribed as Ukhsssepddimi. The initial letter of the legend starts at 3H, which ends at 1H. It differs from the previous two coins in not having a mint name.

⁶ Vismara 1989, 98–101.

⁷ UBS, 59 (2004), 5790 (8.00g).

⁸ Peus 407 (2012), 768. Attributed to Wekhssere II and dated to 400–390 BC in the catalogue.

⁹ Babelon 1910, 303–304, n°420 (*ddimiu*); Head 1911, 692 ($\Delta\Delta\text{EMEO}+\uparrow\text{F}\uparrow$); Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, M235 (*ddimiu...*); Vismara 1989, 100, n. 195.

¹⁰ Carruba 1989, 114.

¹¹ Özüdoğru 2007, 35.

ΟΥΣΣΑΓΓ-ΔΔΕ-Μ-Ε

u k h s s e p d d i m i



Fig. 3¹²

Özüdoğru's proposed *Wakhssepddimi* is known from the Inscribed Pillar (TL 44 a48–49) in Xanthos which states that he was defeated with his army by Kheriga and Kherei.¹³ Furthermore, there exists a series of staters of the same type as our coin (Athena-Malia/Hermes) with the legend *Wakhssepddimi*. Three specimens are known to me, but none was discussed by Özüdoğru, presumably because their respective legends were either misread as *Wekhssere* or not read at all (Okray specimen). All three specimens would appear to come from the same pair of dies, although one cannot be certain owing to the poor quality of the illustrations at our disposal. The legend starts at 7H and ends at 5H.

ΦΑΨΣ-ΣΑΓΓ-ΔΔΕΜΕ

w a k h s s e p d d i m i



Fig. 4¹⁴



Fig. 5¹⁵



Fig. 6¹⁶

There is a further series of staters of the same type but inscribed *wekhssere*.¹⁷ Of prime importance is an obverse die-sharing between *wekhssere* staters and the previous *wakhssepddimi* staters. This common obverse die appears quite worn on both series but it looks a little less damaged on the *Wekhssere* coins, which would suggest that his coins came first.¹⁸

ΦΑΨ-ΣΣ-Α-ΡΑ

w e k h s s e r e



Fig. 7¹⁹

¹² Babelon 1910, 303–304, n°420 (8.07g).

¹³ The name was later corrected as *Wakhssepddimi* by Carruba 1989, 113; a spelling accepted as *Wekhsserdimi* by Spier 1991, 233. However the numismatic evidence would point to the original spelling. For the event, see Keen 1998, 133. See also below, fn. 28.

¹⁴ Auctioned by Lanz, 42 (1987), 280 (8.36g). Included in Vismara 1989, 99, coin n° 75 as a coin of *Wekhssere I* with the legend *wekhssere*. Spier 1991, 133 rightly pointed out that the hoard evidence indicates a date of issue in the late fifth century BC. *Pace* Vismara, the die study of this series with the legend *wekhssere* has a mistake: coin n° 72 is from the same reverse die as coin n° 74, not n° 76.

¹⁵ Arslan 1999, pl. 66, 949 (7.98g; 23.5mm; 12H). Published as belonging to an unknown dynast or city of Lycia.

¹⁶ SNG Keckman II, 482 (8.30g ; 8H) Legend read as *wekhssere* and attributed to *Wekhssere I* or II.

¹⁷ Know specimens are recorded in Vismara 1989, 98–99.

¹⁸ The Oxford specimen (Vismara 1989, 99, coin n° 74) was struck with a much worn obverse die similar to the condition seen on the coins of *Wakhssepddimi*. However, the other *Wekhssere* specimens were struck with a less worn die; we may therefore suggest that the Oxford specimen was one of the last *Wekhssere* staters struck with that die before it was used to strike the coins of *Wakhssepddimi*.

¹⁹ British Museum, London. BMC Lycia, 26, 114 (8.30g).

The name Wakhssepddimi is also found on coins with an entirely different reverse type representing two seated lions facing each other with raised forepaws, which would suggest they were minted in Tlos as coins (Fig. 10) with the same type bear the legend Tlos in Lycian (Tlawa). The name Wakhssepddimi on the lion issues was long misread as two separate names: *wakhsser urwei*,²⁰ *vakhsser ddim*,²¹ *wakhsser ddimi* or *wakhsser pddimi*,²² *wekhss ddimi*.²³ A recently auctioned specimen allows us now to propose a definite reading.

𐌲𐌱-𐌶-𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌲-𐌳𐌳𐌶𐌶𐌰
w a k h s s e p d d i m i



Fig. 8²⁴

Half staters of the same type were issued and are known in two specimens. They share the same reverse die.

𐌲𐌱-𐌶-𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌲-𐌳𐌳𐌶𐌶𐌰
w a k h s s e p d d i m i



Fig. 9²⁵

[𐌲]𐌱-𐌶-𐌵𐌶𐌰𐌲-𐌳𐌳𐌶𐌶𐌰
w a k h s s e p d d i m i



Fig. 10²⁶

𐌲𐌱-𐌲𐌶𐌶
t l a w i



Fig. 11²⁷

²⁰ By O. Mørkholm on the specimen of the Hans von Aulock collection: SNG von Aulock, 4200 and attributed to Vekhssere II and Urvei with a question mark.

²¹ The name *ddimiu* goes back to Babelon 1910, 303–304 read as a separate name on a stater which is discussed above (Fig. 3). Hurter 1979, 100 publishing a stater from the Tissaphernes hoard which was later auctioned by Pesus, 407 (2012), 769 and described in the auction catalogue as belonging to the dynast Vekhssere II, c. 400–390 BC.

²² Mørkholm – Neumann 1978, M237. Carruba 1989, Zahle 1991, 160, Fig. 15.

²³ By Vismara 1989, 108. She also suggested two names: “Il tipo presenta numerosi problemi: ritengo che sia stato coniato nel momento di transizione tra l’autorità di Vekhssere I e quella del suo successore(?), Ddimiu(s)”.

²⁴ The New York sale (the Prospero collection of ancient Greek coins), 27 (2012), 575, catalogued as a stater of Vekhssere II; legend transcribed as “ddentimi”. Originally purchased from Spink & Son in London in 1988. Struck with the same dies as the Tissaphernes hoard specimen (Hurter 1979, 100, n° 4).

²⁵ Babelon 1910, 311–312, n°441, pl. 102, 14 (4.15g). Legend misread and catalogued under “Dynaste incertain à Tlos”. In the online catalogue entry, the mint name is listed as Patara with a question mark. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534848z.r=Vekhssere>.

²⁶ CNG, 61 (2002), 761 (4.19g). Attributed in the catalogue entry to the dynasts Vekhssere II and Urvei.

There is no reason to equate Wakhseppdimi in Tlos with the new Ukhseppdimi in Patara; these are two different names which belonged to two different dynasts ruling over two different places. All in all, three different names: Wekhssere, Wakhseppdimi and Ukhseppdimi appear on staters of the same type with a helmeted head of Malia/Athena on the obverse and a head of Hermes in winged petasos hat on the reverse. Wakhseppdimi is mentioned in the Inscribed Pillar in Xanthos with an event that can be dated to the early 420s or 412 BC, the latter date independently supported by hoard evidence.²⁸ An obverse die-link between the issues of Wekhssere and Wakhseppdimi would suggest that Wekhssere came first. However the possibility that these rulers were contemporary cannot be entirely ruled out, even if this looks less likely. Ukhseppdimi, identified for the first time here, struck staters with the name of a mint: Patara. The staters of Wakhseppdimi with the antithetic lions may have been struck in Tlos, but the mint name is not explicitly mentioned. There is unfortunately no hoard evidence to place Ukhseppdimi chronologically, but based on the style of the Malia/Athena and Hermes heads, I would prefer to see him as a successor of Wekhssere and Wakhseppdimi rather than a predecessor.

Among the new coins to surface over the past few years is a stater with a name that is related to Wakhseppdimi. On the basis of their style, a type connection with the issues of Kuprlli, and the use of the old triskeles symbol as a main type on their reverses, we may safely consider these new coins as earlier issues, probably of three or four decades, i.e. 440–430 BC. The obverse of the first coin, which appeared at auction in 2011, is similar to the reverse of the Hermes type coins, but in a late archaic, severe style. The head of Hermes, bearded this time, is wearing a winged petasos placed upon a two-stepped rounded surface, which may be described as a double shield, or a shield surrounded by a linear circle, it is unclear. On the reverse stands the most typical of types for Lycian coins: a triskeles, which is surrounded by a legend; all of which is within square incuse with a border of dots. In Fig. 12, the name starts on the upper right corner of the incuse and ends towards the upper middle part of the square incuse. A symbol in the shape of “Y” is added to the upper left side of the triskeles.²⁹ The legend can be read with confidence as Wakhseblimi.³⁰

ϜΑΨϚ↑-ΒΛΛ-ΕΜ-Ε

w a k h s e b l i m i



Fig. 12³¹

The other coin in question is a stater auctioned in 2012 with on the obverse a horse or a mule kneeling down to the right with its head reverted and a symbol “Y” similar to that found on the reverse of the previous stater. The reverse is again a triskeles surrounded by a legend within a square incuse with a border of dots. In Fig. 13, the name starts on the upper left corner of the incuse and ends towards the middle part of the left side of the incuse. One can read the same Wakhseblimi, but the part of the legend after the letter *kh* and *e* cannot be read owing to a flan defect. The lower part of a letter *s* can be

²⁷ CNG, 88 (2011), 387 (8.51g ; 22mm, 5H); previously auctioned by Leu, 20 (1978), 142 and LHS, 103 (2009), 142.

²⁸ The traditional date of 412 BC has been challenged by Schürr 1998, 151–155 and Thonemann 2009, 174–175.

²⁹ It looks more like a symbol than a letter in my opinion.

³⁰ A crescent shaped punch-mark can be seen between the letter *kh* and *s*. One wonders whether it did not obliterate another letter *s*, but the regular spacing between the letters does not seem to leave enough room for a second *s*. See below the discussion of Fig. 14 and 15).

³¹ Gemini, 7 (2011), 546 (8.65g; 6H). Described as a stater of an unknown dynast, possibly Silwrxgeplli whose ending is related to Kuprlli by the cataloguer.

seen and the following two fractions of the same series (Fig. 14 and 15) suggest that the presence of a second letter *s* should be entertained.

ϜϜϚ[Ϛ] - ↑ΒΛ-ΛΕΜΕ

w a k h s [s] e b l l i m i



Fig. 13³²

A fractional denomination (third stater) belonging to the same series is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and was published in the *Traité*.³³ Its legend was transcribed as “*Vakhssêbê*” which prompted Ernest Babelon to relate it to Wekhssere (I). However the legend clearly ends with *l*, not *e*. The legend starts at 1H and end at 11H.

ϜϜϚ-Ϛ-Ϛ↑-ΒΛ

w a k h s s e b l



Fig. 14

A smaller denomination (eight stater) of the same type has appeared in an online auction in 2014. Given the constrained space, it bears a shorter legend which starts at 1H and ends at 11H on Fig. 15.

ϜϜ-ϚϚ-Ϛ↑

w a k h s s e



Fig. 15³⁴

These fractions of *Wakhssellimi* can be linked to a stater of *Kuprlli* of the same type and style. The symbol “*Y*” is here replaced by a triskeles. Two specimens are known to me, one in Paris, the other auctioned in 2011.³⁵ They are reverse die-linked.

Κ-ΟΓ-ΡΛΛ-Ε

k u p r l l i



Fig. 16³⁶

³² Gorny & Mosch, 196 (2012), 1806 (7.88g).

³³ Babelon 1910, 307–308, 432. 2.31g The coin is pierced and was described as a triobol, but it would be better to call it a third stater. In the current online catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale it is described as a coin of “*Vekhssere*”: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534854p>.

³⁴ Pecunem, 14 (2014), 363 (1.00g ; 11mm). Attributed to “*Whakhssere* (sic) I (c. 450–430 BC)”.

³⁵ Heritage, 3012 (2011), 24484 (8.28g).

³⁶ Not in Babelon 1910. The accession number of the coin would suggest an acquisition in the 1970s or 1980s. The

This link with an issue of Kuprilli provides a useful chronological indication as his last coin issues are dated to c. 440–430 BC.³⁷ Most of the coins of Kuprilli without a mint name are attributed to Xanthos, the seat of Lycian power, where these fractions of Wakhseblimi may also belong. As for the spelling of the name, fractions suggest a transcription with a double *s*: Wakhseblimi, a name that is very similar to Wakhseppdimi. Given a chronological gap of about 30 to 40 years between the coins struck under these respective names, I would prefer to regard these names as belonging to two separate dynasts. On the other hand, the Wakhseblimi on the Hermes stater (with a single *s*) and the Wakhseblimi on the horse/mule fractions are a small variant of the name of the same dynast. The presence of the same symbol “Y” on all coins further confirms that they all belong to the same Wakhseblimi.

Abbreviated Literature

Arslan 1999	M. Arslan – C. Lightfoot, <i>Greek Coin Hoards in Turkey, The Antalya Archaeological Museum and the C.S. Okray Collection with additional material from the Burdur, Fethiye and Sinop Museums</i> , Ankara 1999.
Babelon 1910	E. Babelon, <i>Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines II: description historique II</i> , Paris 1910.
BMC Lycia	G. F. Hill, <i>Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum, Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia</i> , London 1897.
Bryce 1986	T. R. Bryce, <i>The Lycians in Literary and Epigraphic Sources</i> , Copenhagen 1986.
Carruba 1989	O. Carruba, <i>Appendice Onomastica</i> , in: N. Vismara, <i>Monetazione arcaica della Lycia. I. Il dinasta Wekhssere I</i> , Milan 1989, 111–115.
Carruba – Vismara 2002	O. Carruba – N. Vismara, <i>Una emissione arcaica della città de Gagae</i> , <i>Athenaeum</i> 90, 2002, 75–88.
CNG	Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster, Pa (USA) / London (UK).
Gemini	Gemini Numismatic Auctions, LLC.
Gorny & Mosch	Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung GmbH, Munich.
Head 1911	B. V. Head, <i>Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics</i> , Oxford, 1911.
Heritage	Heritage World Coin Auctions, New York.
Hurter 1979	S. Hurter, <i>Der Tissaphernes-Fund</i> , in: O. Mørkholm – N. Waggoner (edd.), <i>Greek Numismatics and Archaeology. Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson</i> , Wetteren 1979, 97–108.
Jenkins 1959	G. K. Jenkins, <i>Recent Acquisitions of Greek Coins by the British Museum</i> , <i>NC ser. VI</i> , 19, 1959, 23–45.
Keen 1998	A. G. Keen, <i>Dynastic Lycia, A Political History of the Lycians and their Relations with Foreign Powers c. 545–362 B.C.</i> , Leiden – Boston – Köln 1998.
Kolb – Tietz 2001	F. Kolb – W. Tietz, <i>Zagaba: Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien</i> , <i>Chiron</i> 31, 2001, 347–416.
Konuk 2007	K. Konuk, <i>Orou, dynaste de Carie</i> , in: P. Brun (ed.), <i>Scripta Anatolica, Mélanges en l'honneur de Pierre Debord</i> , Bordeaux 2007, 103–111.
Lanz	H. Lanz Numismatik, Munich.
Leu	Bank Leu, Zurich.
LHS	LHS Numismatik AG, Zurich.
MMAG	Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel.

type is not recorded in Mørkholm – Zahle 1972 either. <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534737t.r=Kybernis>. Its weight is 8.41g.

³⁷ Mørkholm – Zahle 1972, 77.

- Mørkholm – Neumann 1978 O. Mørkholm – G. Neumann, *Die lykische Münzlegenden*, Göttingen 1978.
- Mørkholm – Zahle 1972 O. Mørkholm – J. Zahle, *The Coinage of Kuprlli*, *Numismatic and Archaeological Study*, *Acta Archaeologica* 43, 1972, 57–113.
- Özüdoğru 2007 Ş. Özüdoğru, *Pttara and the Dynast Wakhssere II*, *Adalya* 10, 2007, 31–48.
- Pecunem Pecunem GmbH, Gitbud & Naumann.
- Peus Dr. Busso Peus Nachf., Münzhandlung, Frankfurt a. M.
- Schürr 1998 D. Schürr, *Kaunos in lykischen Inschriften*, *Kadmos* 37, 1998, 127–140.
- SNG Keckman II R. Ashton, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Finland. The Erkki Keckman Collection in the Skopbank, Helsinki. Part II, Asia Minor except Karia, Helsinki 1999.*
- SNG von Aulock O. Mørkholm, *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum, Deutschland. Sammlung v. Aulock, Lykien. 10. Heft, Berlin 1964.*
- Spier 1991 J. Spier, *Review of N. Vismara, Monetazione arcaica della Lycia. I. Il dinasta Wekhssere I*, *Milan 1989*, in: *NC* 151, 1991, 232–237.
- Thonemann 2009 P. Thonemann, *Lycia, Athens and Amorges*, in: J. Ma et al. (edd.), *Interpreting the Athenian Empire*, London 2009, 167–194.
- TL E. Kalinka, *Tituli Lyciae. Lingua Lycia conscripti, Tituli Asiae Minoris I, Vindobonae 1901.*
- Vismara 1989 N. Vismara, *Monetazione arcaica della Lycia. I. Il dinasta Wekhssere I, Milan 1989.*
- Zahle 1991 J. Zahle, *Achaemenid Influences in Lycia (Coinage, Sculpture, Architecture). Evidence for Political Changes during the 5th century B.C.*, in: H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg – A. Kuhrt (edd.), *Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire, Proceedings of the Groningen 1988 Achaemenid History Workshop, Leiden 1991*, 145–160.

Özet

Bazı Yeni Likya Sikkeleri Hakkında

Makalede ya eskiden bilinmeyen, ya da yetersiz bir şekilde yayımlanan M.Ö. beşinci yüzyılın ikinci yarısına tarihlenen bir dizi Likya sikkeleri incelenmektedir. Önceden yapılmış bazı atıflar tartışılmakta ve bazı örnekler için yeni çözümler önerilmektedir. II. Wekhssere'ye atfedilen Patara'da basılmış bir stater aslında M.Ö. beşinci yüzyılın sonlarına doğru Ukhssere adında daha önce bilinmeyen bir hükümdar (dynast) tarafından basılmıştır. Ukhssere'nin sikkeleri ile var olan bazı ilişkiler incelenmekte ve daha önce Wekhssere'ye atfedilen paralar aslında Ukhssere tarafından basılmış olduklarına gösterilmektedir. İlâveten daha önce bilinmeyen bazı yeni sikkeler ele alınmakta ve Ukhssere (440–430 M.Ö.) adında henüz belgelenmemiş bir hükümdar tarafından basıldıkları kanıtlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Lykia; Sikkeler; Dinastlar; Wekhssere; Ukhssere; Ukhssere; Ukhssere; Ukhssere; Ukhssere.