

**Zeitschrift:** Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau = Revue suisse de numismatique = Rivista svizzera di numismatica  
**Herausgeber:** Schweizerische Numismatische Gesellschaft  
**Band:** 98 (2020)  
  
**Artikel:** Kheriga and Kheri in central Lycia and the Xanthos Valley : the rise of a migrant dynasty  
**Autor:** Müseler, Wilhelm  
**DOI:** <https://doi.org/10.5169/seals-919540>

### **Nutzungsbedingungen**

Die ETH-Bibliothek ist die Anbieterin der digitalisierten Zeitschriften auf E-Periodica. Sie besitzt keine Urheberrechte an den Zeitschriften und ist nicht verantwortlich für deren Inhalte. Die Rechte liegen in der Regel bei den Herausgebern beziehungsweise den externen Rechteinhabern. Das Veröffentlichen von Bildern in Print- und Online-Publikationen sowie auf Social Media-Kanälen oder Webseiten ist nur mit vorheriger Genehmigung der Rechteinhaber erlaubt. [Mehr erfahren](#)

### **Conditions d'utilisation**

L'ETH Library est le fournisseur des revues numérisées. Elle ne détient aucun droit d'auteur sur les revues et n'est pas responsable de leur contenu. En règle générale, les droits sont détenus par les éditeurs ou les détenteurs de droits externes. La reproduction d'images dans des publications imprimées ou en ligne ainsi que sur des canaux de médias sociaux ou des sites web n'est autorisée qu'avec l'accord préalable des détenteurs des droits. [En savoir plus](#)

### **Terms of use**

The ETH Library is the provider of the digitised journals. It does not own any copyrights to the journals and is not responsible for their content. The rights usually lie with the publishers or the external rights holders. Publishing images in print and online publications, as well as on social media channels or websites, is only permitted with the prior consent of the rights holders. [Find out more](#)

**Download PDF:** 05.08.2025

**ETH-Bibliothek Zürich, E-Periodica, <https://www.e-periodica.ch>**

KHERIGA AND KHERËI IN CENTRAL LYCIA AND THE  
XANTHOS VALLEY: THE RISE OF A MIGRANT DYNASTY

PLATES 10–12

*1. Early dynastic coinages in the western part of Central Lycia*

The extent and the duration of Kuprlli's rule over most of Lycia during the earlier part of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC is attested by the many coin issues in his name from different mints and of different regional standards, but apparently it was far from absolute and had hardly any enduring effect. There are numerous series in the name of other dynasts, that were produced more or less during the same period, sometimes possibly even alternating with the issues of Kuprlli,<sup>1</sup> and several of these dynasts simply continued with the striking of their own coinages after his presumed death in the late forties.<sup>2</sup> Kuprlli's reign rather gives the impression of quite a complex system of fealty relations between various local rulers more than a compact monarchic structure in the strict sense of the word. Therefore the alleged «realm» fell quickly apart after the end of Kuprlli's regency and became once again a multitude of unconnected smaller territories under the rule of competing dynastic clans.

One of these territories was the area around the town of Phellos in the western hills of Central Lycia. By the middle of the century it included the town of Kandyba in the Kasaba Valley to the North, the harbour of Antiphellos at the southern shore and the fort of Tymnessos above the mountain pass leading into the Xanthos Valley to the West,<sup>3</sup> while its extension to the East is not so easy to define: It has almost certainly included Isinda but possibly reached no further than the western foothills of the Yavu Highlands.<sup>4</sup> The members of its ruling clan, who issued their own coins, Sppñtaza und Teththiweibi, were apparently more or less contemporaneous with the later part of Kuprlli's reign. Teththiweibi is also recorded for his extensive building activities within the area by the inscription

<sup>1</sup> This concerns mainly the coinages of the elder Wekhssere and Wakhssseblimi in the West, the ones of Teththiweibi and Sppñtaza in the Center and the early series of Khinakha in the East of Lycia. See MÜSELER 2018 and MÜSELER 2019a and b.

<sup>2</sup> For the presumptive duration of Kuprlli's reign see MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1972, 75 sqq and KEEN 1998, 112 sqq

<sup>3</sup> For the location of Tymnessos and the role of its mint see ZAHLE 1998 and KOLB 2018, 257 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The town of Isinda was apparently ruled by dynasts belonging to the clan of Phellos, but whether Aperlai and the Yavu highlands still belonged to their sphere of influence remains questionable: See below [10].

on the eastern side of the Xanthos-Stele, which also mentions the title *χῆτawati* (βασιλεύς) in the same context.<sup>5</sup> The coinage in the name of both Sppñtaza and Teththiweibi is rather varied and adjusted to two different weight standards: The coins from Phellos follow the norm in force east of the Kragos Mountains with a stater of about 9,8 g, while there are issues from yet another mint, unnamed but probably to be located at Kandyba, struck according to the lighter standard, which was mainly used in the Xanthos Valley further to the west, with an average weight of only 8,5 g to the stater, – thus underlining the importance of the region as a bridge between Eastern and Western Lycia. Several of the motifs chosen by Sppñtaza and by Teththiweibi for their coins have remained just proper to those two dynasts, but others have directly served as models for the Central Lycian coinages of Kheriga and of Kherēi as their immediate successors and are therefore of major importance for an understanding of the development of the so-called «dynasty of Xanthos»:

### *Sppñtaza:*

#### *Mint of Phellos*

- 1.1.1. Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle I. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *sppñtaza*. 9,90 g. JAMESON COLL. 1584 = SNG v. Aulock 4163 = MÜSELER V/25.
- 1.1.2. Third stater (Tetrobol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle I. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *sppñ*. 3,14 g. BABELON II/2, 338; MÜSELER V/27.
- 1.1.3. Sixth stater (Diobol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle I. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *sppñ*. 1,60 g. BABELON II/2, 340; MÜSELER –.
- 1.1.4. Twelfth stater (Obol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle I. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *sppñ*. 0,80g. BABELON II/2, 341; MÜSELER V/28.
- 1.2.1. Sixth stater (Diobol), Phellos. Bearded head of Heracles with lion skin I. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *sppñtaza*. 1,37 g. BABELON II/2, 342; MÜSELER –.
- 1.2.2. Twelfth stater (Obol), Phellos. Bearded head of Heracles with lion skin I. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *sppñtaza*. 0,61 g. BABELON II/2 –; MÜSELER V/29.

<sup>5</sup> The syntactical connection between this title and the name of Teththiweibi is, however, not entirely clear: See SCHÜRR 2012, 133.

*Uncertain mint*

- 1.3.** Stater, uncertain mint. Cow r., suckling calf / Tetraskes in incuse square; (Fig. 2) in field legend *sppñtaza*. 8,56 g. BABELON II/2, 336; MÜSELER V/30.

***Teththiweibi:***

*Mint of Phellos*

- 2.1.1.** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 9,87 g. BMC Lycia 89; MÜSELER V/32.
- 2.1.2.** Sixth stater (Diobol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiwe*. 1,50 g. BABELON II/2, 331; MÜSELER V/34.
- 2.2.1.** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle r. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 9,90 g. Babelon II/2, 332; MÜSELER –.
- 2.2.2.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle r. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 2,99 g. BABELON II/2, 333; MÜSELER –.
- 2.2.3.** Twelfth stater (Obol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle r. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiw*. 0,77 g. BABELON II/2, 334; MÜSELER –.
- 2.3.** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l. / Owl standing l., (Fig. 4) head facing, in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 9,65 g. ROBINSON 1936, p. 194, 43 (BM).
- 2.4.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Phellos. Bearded head of Heracles with lion skin l. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 2,59 g. MÜSELER V/35.

*Mint of Kandyba*

- 2.5.1.** Stater, Kandyba (?). Forepart of boar l. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 8,14 g. BABELON II/2, 320; MÜSELER –.
- 2.5.2.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Kandyba (?). Forepart of boar l. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *tethiweibi* (sic!). 2,52 g. BABELON II/2, 321; MÜSELER –.
- 2.6.** Stater, Kandyba (?). Forepart of boar l. on round shield / Tetraskes in (Fig. 5) incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 8,40 g. BABELON II/2, 322; MÜSELER V/41.



- 2.7.** Stater, Kandyba. Standing winged lion r. on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 8,61 g. BABELON II/2, 325; MÜSELER V/42.
- 2.8.1** (Fig. 7) Stater, Kandyba. Crouching winged lion l. on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. SNG Cop. Suppl. 427; MÜSELER –.
- 2.8.2.** Sixth stater (Diobol), Kandyba. Crouching winged lion l. on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiw*. 1,10 g. MÜSELER V,43.
- 2.9.** (Fig. 8) Stater, Kandyba(?). Seated griffon with raised paw l. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *[..]eththibew* (sic!) 8,29 g. BMC Lycia 87.
- Uncertain mint (Kandyba?)*
- 2.10.1.** (Fig. 9) Stater, uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 8,49 g. Auction Roma XVI, 2018, 309; MÜSELER V/38.
- 2.10.2.** Third stater (Tetrobol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 2,69 g. Auction Roma XIII, 2017, 344; MÜSELER –.
- 2.10.3.** Sixth stater (Diobol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Standing cockerel r. / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 1,14 g. BABELON II/2, 329; MÜSELER V/39.
- 2.10.4.** (Fig. 10) Stater, uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield, in the field monogram  $\Psi$  / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 8,41 g. Auction Roma XVI, 2018, 308; MÜSELER V/37.
- 2.10.5.** Third stater (Tetrobol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield; in field monogram  $\Psi$  / Tetraskes in incuse square, in field legend *teththiwei*. 2,50 g. BABELON II/2, 328; MÜSELER –.
- 2.10.6.** Sixth stater (Diobol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Standing cockerel r.; in field monogram  $\Psi$  / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 1,15 g. Auction Hirsch 289, 2013, 412; MÜSELER –.
- 2.10.7.** Twelfth stater (Obol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Standing cockerel r.; in field monogram  $\Psi$  / Tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend *teththiw*. 0,54 g MÜSELER V/40.

- 2.11. Third stater (Tetrobol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Facing head of (Fig. 11) Silenus / Tetraskeles in incuse square; in field legend *teththiweibi*. 2,53 g. BABELON II/2, 327; MÜSELER –.

Already in the first half of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC Phellos had been an important regional centre under the influence of the dynast Thibānuwa, who had struck coins in his name also at Aperlai/Apollonia and at Zagaba.<sup>6</sup> Kandyba, which was situated further to the north, had apparently been a separate political unit under the rule of the dynasts Tēnegure and Tīnēmi.<sup>7</sup> At Kandyba coins had also been struck for Kuprlli,<sup>8</sup> – possibly before the mint came under the control of Teththiweibi. But no issue in the name of Kuprlli can safely be attributed to Phellos, which was the principal mint of the heavier series in the name of Sppñtaza and Teththiweibi. Aperlai, on the other hand, had produced a number of issues for Kuprlli<sup>9</sup> but afterwards it had gradually lost its former position to nearby Zagaba on the Avşar Tepesi, which already belonged to the sphere of dynasts from Eastern Lycia.<sup>10</sup>

In the beginning the Tetraskeles, the sun wheel with four arms instead of the usual three, had been a hallmark of the coins in the name of Thibānuwa, which were mainly struck at Aperlai.<sup>11</sup> Coins made for the same dynast in Phellos have a classical Triskeles, a sunwheel with only three arms, on the reverse, which is, however, adorned with the heads of various animals; only occasionally these issues show a somewhat stylized little Tetraskeles (☼) as an additional symbol below the ubiquitous Lycian boar on the obverse.<sup>12</sup> Later, after the end of the minting activities at Aperlai and during the time of Sppñtaza and Teththiweibi, the Tetraskeles of Thibānuwa was apparently adopted as an emblem of the Phellos mint. Later it also got utilized on the main series of Kheriga struck at Phellos.

At the Central Lycian mint, that had started very early to strike coins adapted to the light standard of the Xanthos Valley and which must probably have been located at Kandyba,<sup>13</sup> the dynast Tīnēmi had begun to place the emblem chosen for the obverse of his coins, a griffin seated to the left, on a slightly elevated round shield. This feature was subsequently copied by the different light weight series in the name of Teththiweibi, showing either the forepart of a boar, a winged lion

<sup>6</sup> For the numerous issues of Thibānuwa from a variety of mints see primarily VISMARA 1996. However, the word Thibānuwa is not recognized as a personal name in this study and the attributions of the different series are somewhat chaotic.

<sup>7</sup> MÜSELER 2016, IV/88–93.

<sup>8</sup> See for example MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1972, nos. 133, 154–155 and 179a–184. See also *ibid.* nos. 59–62, the issues with the horned lion-griffin, which may have come from this place as well.

<sup>9</sup> MÜSELER 2016, IV/1–3.

<sup>10</sup> See KOLB – TIETZ 2001. The greatest merit of this article consists in the identification of Zagaba as the name of the large settlement on the Avşar Tepesi. But not all the numerous coin series attributed by the two authors to its mint actually belong there.

<sup>11</sup> MÜSELER 2016, III/42–44. The two antithetic dolphins swimming above an eye shaped object appear to be the emblem of that mint: Compare for example *ibid.* III/48.

<sup>12</sup> SNG Ashmolean 1167 and MÜSELER 2016, III/49.

<sup>13</sup> See MÜSELER 2018.

or two antithetic cockerels, that were presumably struck at the same place.<sup>14</sup> The crouching winged lion placed on a round shield has been employed likewise on an issue in the name of Kuprlli.<sup>15</sup> Later on also Kheriga made use of a similar image, but here the winged lion has been transferred to the incuse square on the reverse of the coins, where it appears together with an explicit mention of Kandyba as the mint location, and the round shield has been omitted. Kherēi apparently abandoned this motif and adopted instead the type with the two cockerels on a round shield, but on his coins the Tetraskeles of Teththiweibi is replaced either by a standing owl adopted from the heavier issues struck at Phellos or by a standing eagle, apparently copied from another series of Kuprlli.<sup>16</sup>

However, the main series of Teththiweibi and Sppñtaza from Phellos had an even stronger influence on the coinages of Kheriga and Kherēi from the same place: On one particular issue in the name of Teththiweibi with the head of the unnamed female deity on the obverse<sup>17</sup> the usual Tetraskeles had been replaced with the image of an owl standing to the left side with the head turned to the frontal position.<sup>18</sup> This type was faithfully copied both by Kheriga and Kherēi later on; besides Kheriga chose a combination of the Tetraskeles and this owl as the reverse type of his principal coinage from Phellos.

But a comparatively small detail added on some of the coins in the name of Teththiweibi would have the most enduring impact by far on the coinages of subsequent rulers: This was the introduction of the linear symbol or monogram  $\Psi$  as it appeared for the first time on Teththiweibi's issue with the two cockerels. Origin and meaning of this sign remain still to be disclosed, but it was similarly applied in quite a number of other coinages later on, not only for the series of Kheriga and Kherēi but also for the issues of Ddeneweale and of Erbbina from various locations: It can therefore hardly be seen as an individual attribute, nor can it be understood as the hallmark of a certain mint location. It appears rather to be used as the emblem of an entire dynastic clan like for instance the diskeles ( $\text{☉}$ ) employed with the same intent for the coinages of the two rulers named Wekhssere. Already in 1898 Jean-Paul Six had suggested a rather attractive (though

<sup>14</sup> For reasons unknown the seated griffin in the name of Teththiweibi, though otherwise close to the one of Tññēmi, has apparently not been placed on such a round shield (cf. BMC 87 = issue **2.9** above); the piece in Copenhagen (cf. SNG Cop. Suppl. 428) is possibly not genuine.

<sup>15</sup> BABELON II/2, 277 and SNG v. Aulock 8478.

<sup>16</sup> MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1972, no.34 (BM).

<sup>17</sup> In the attempt to connect these female heads with a deity known to have been particularly worshipped within Lycia Otto Mørkholm has pointed to the striking similarity of these images with the representations of sphinxes on two limestone gables from the Xanthian acropolis, that can be dated to the time of Kuprlli (cf. MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1976, 72). This observation is confirmed by a recently discovered new stater in the name of Kuprlli showing a seated sphinx with the same particular hairstyle (cf. Auction Obolos 13, 2019, 373). However, the deity is still not identified.

<sup>18</sup> For the type of the owl and its probable dating to the forties of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC see MATTINGLY 1970.

not entirely certain) solution for the interpretation of the symbol, which was later adopted by Otto Mørkholm and Jan Zahle.<sup>19</sup> Six thought that the sign  $\Psi$  should be read as a monogram of the Lycian letters for  $\chi$  and  $t$ , which would have been placed on the coins as an abbreviation of the title  $\chi\tilde{n}tawati$  apparently borne by Teththiweibi as well as his successors.<sup>20</sup> It would indicate a pretension of legitimacy to rule by all money issuers making use of that symbol and thereby claiming their descent from the same dynasty. However, this would connect the so-called «dynasty of Xanthos» directly with the clan of Teththiweibi, a link not immediately apparent from the genealogy of the brothers Kheriga and Kherēi given on the Xanthos-Stele.<sup>21</sup> It remains to be seen whether this presumed dynastic connection can be substantiated by further evidence.

## 2. The initial coinages of Kheriga and Kherēi from Central Lycia

Although Kheriga is considered to be one of the most prominent exponents of the ruling dynasty of Xanthos his coinage issued at this place is much smaller than the one from his mints in Central Lycia, whose production should be divided into two different phases. Kherēi, on the other hand, had most of his coins struck at various locations in the Xanthos Valley and at Telmessos, while only a few of his series in his name were still made in Phellos and Kandyba. The following list only contains the issues of Kheriga not related to his alleged campaign in the West, that led to his conquest of Xanthos, together with the scarce Central Lycian coinage of Kherēi, which was presumably all produced early in the latter's career.<sup>22</sup>

### *Kheriga:*

#### *Mint of Phellos*

**3.1.1.** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l., flower behind; on (Fig. 12) the neck letter  $\chi$  / Owl standing r., head facing, in incuse square; in field small globe and legend  $\chi\epsilon r i g a$ . 9,75 g. MÜSELER V/44.

**3.1.2.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Phellos. Female head with hair in sakkos l. / Owl standing l., head facing, in incuse square; in field legend  $\chi\epsilon r i g a$ . 3,13 g. SNG v. Aulock 4167.

<sup>19</sup> SIX 1898, 202 and note 22 as well as MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1976, 66.

<sup>20</sup> In various Lycian inscriptions the title  $\chi\tilde{n}tawati$  or the derivative term  $\chi\tilde{n}tawata$  is also mentioned in connection with Arppakhu, the father of Kheriga (cf. TL 77.3. and NEUMANN 1979, N 310.4) as well as with Kheriga himself (cf. TL 43.2). See also SCHÜRR, forthcoming. In the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC the term is also used for the rule of Mithrapata (cf. NEUMANN 1979, N 315.2) and repeatedly for the one of Perikle (TL 67.2, 83.6., 132.2 and NEUMANN 1979, N 314a, 7). The sign  $\Psi$  is just occasionally added to the coins of Kheriga but very often to the ones of Kherēi and of Ddeneweale.

<sup>21</sup> TL 44 a 1–3 and 30–31.

<sup>22</sup> See also MÜSELER 2018, 17 sqq

- 3.1.3.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Phellos. Female head with hair in sakkos l., flower behind / Owl standing l., head facing, in incuse square; in field small globe and legend **χ<sub>er</sub>i**. 3,21g. SNG Cop. Suppl. 446.
- 3.1.4.** Sixth stater (Diobol), Phellos. Female head with hair in sakkos l., flower behind / Owl standing l., head facing, in incuse square; in field monogram **Υ** and legend **χ<sub>er</sub>ig**. 2,04 g. SNG Cop. 24.
- 3.2.1.** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l., on the neck letter **t** / (*Fig. 13*) Small owl standing r., head facing, in tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend **χ<sub>er</sub>iga wehñte**. 9,51 g. SNG Cop Suppl. 440.
- 3.2.2.** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l., on the neck letter **t** / (*Fig. 14*) Small owl standing r., head facing, in tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend **χ<sub>er</sub>iga wehñtezi**. 9,71 g. BABELON II/2, 367.
- 3.2.3.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l. / Small owl standing l., head facing, in tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend **χ<sub>er</sub>iga wehñt**. 2,66 g. MÜSELER V/45.
- 3.2.4.** Twelfth stater (Obol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l. / Small owl standing r., head facing, in tetraskes in incuse square; in field legend **χ<sub>er</sub>**[...]. 0,84 g. Auction Jacob Hirsch XXV, 1909 (Philipsen Coll.), 2578.
- 3.3.1.** Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle r., on the neck letter (*Fig. 15*) **t**<sup>23</sup> / Small owl standing l., head facin, in tetraskes in incuse square, in field linear symbol **Υ** and legend **χ<sub>er</sub>iga wehñtezē** (retrograde). 9,64 g. Weber Coll. 7232 (BM).
- 3.3.2.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle r.; in field linear symbol **Υ** / Small owl standing r., head facing, in tetraskes in incuse square; in field linear symbol **Υ**. 3,08 g. MÜSELER V/46.
- 3.3.3.** Twelfth stater (Obol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle r.; in field linear symbol **Υ** / Small owl standing l., head facing, in teraskes in incuse square; in field linear symbol **Υ**. 0,71 g. SNG Ashmolean 1162.

*Uncertain mint*

- 3.4.** Stater, uncertain mint<sup>24</sup>. Horned lion-griffin walking l. / Triskeles in (*Fig. 16*) incuse square; in field in field legend **χ<sub>ar</sub>iga** (sic!). 9,62 g. Hunterian Coll. II, p. 497,1.

<sup>23</sup> The additional letter **χ** on Winsemann Coll. 132 has been cut into the coin after the original strike.

<sup>24</sup> There is actually a die link between this coin of Kheriga and the stater of an issue in the name of Kuprlli (cf. BMC Lycia 63) suggesting a direct passage from Kuprlli to Kheriga



*Kherēi:*

*Mint of Phellos*

- 4.1.1. Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l., flower behind / (Fig. 17) Owl standing l., head facing, in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi wehñt*. 9,58 g. MÜSELER VI/1.
- 4.1.2. Stater, Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l., on the neck letter (Fig. 18) *χ*<sup>25</sup> / Owl standing l., head facing, in incuse square; in field monogram *Υ* and legend *χερēi wehñt*. 9,47 g. Winsemann Coll. 167.
- 4.1.3. Third stater (Tetrobol), Phellos. Female head with ornate hairstyle l., flower behind / Owl standing l., head facing, in incuse square; in field monogram *Υ* and legend *χερēi*. 3,22 g. SNG v. Aulock 4170.

*Uncertain mint (Kandyba?)*

- 4.2.1. Stater, uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield / Owl standing l., head facing, in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi*, 8,24 g. MÜSELER VI/2.
- 4.2.2. Sixth stater (Diobol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield / Owl standing l., head facing, in incuse square; in field legend *χερ*. 1,09 g. MÜSELER VI/3.
- 4.3.1. Stater, uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield; in field monogram *Υ* / Eagle standing l. in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi*. 8,42 g. SNG Ashmolean 1184.
- 4.3.2. Sixth stater (Diobol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield; in field monogram *Υ* / Eagle standing l. in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi*. 1,05 g. MÜSELER VI/4.
- 4.3.3. Stater, uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield; in field monogram *Υ* / Eagle standing l. in incuse square; in field monogram *Υ* and legend *χερēi*. 8,29 g. Auction Nomos 18, 2019, 186.

at the respective mint, which can, however, not be precisely identified yet. Given the heavy weight standard of the coins it must be located somewhere in Central Lycia. The type of the horned lion-griffin is very similar to the one on the series of Tēnegure from Kandyba, but those coins are all of a different weight standard. Compare also SNG v. Aulock 4135 (Kuprlli – heavy standard) and SNG Cop. Suppl. 439 (Tēnegure – light standard). On the other hand Khinakha adopted once again a similar motif on coins of lighter weight struck in his name at Kandyba (cf. Winsemann Coll. 176). It cannot be excluded that there was a temporary change of weight standards at this particular mint.

<sup>25</sup> The same obverse die has been used for the respective issue in the name of Kheriga (3.1.1.).

- 4.3.4. Third stater (Tetrobol), uncertain mint (Kandyba?). Two standing cockerels facing each other on round shield; in field monogram  $\Psi$  / Eagle standing l. in incuse square; in field monogram  $\Psi$  and legend *χερῆι*. 2,61 g. BABELON II/2, 359.

Both coinages are definitely derived from the previous issues of Teththiweibi. From the numismatic point of view a direct line of succession from this ruler to Kheriga and Kherῆi is by no means less evident than their connection with Kuprlli, even though there are yet no die links between the respective coinages known as in the case of Kheriga and Kuprlli. Although such a decisive piece of evidence for a direct connection to the coinage of Teththiweibi is still lacking, the typological dependency of Kheriga's and Kherῆi's Central Lycian series from the models presented above is far too close and too multifaceted to be dismissed as a mere assertive piece of political propaganda: It clearly points to a dynastic link between those two agents and the clan traditionally ruling the area between Phellos and Kandyba.

This actually matches the somewhat incomplete information about the genealogy of Kherῆi available from the Xanthos-Stele.<sup>26</sup> The long Lycian inscription on the south and east side of the stele informs us in two separate passages of the fact that Kherῆi and his brother Kheriga were the sons of a certain Arppakhu, nephews of a certain Kheziga, and grandsons on the maternal side of Kuprlli;<sup>27</sup> the grandfather from the paternal side, however, is not mentioned there. Diether Schürr's assumption that this must have been identical to the elder bearer of the name Erbbina, whose tomb is mentioned in line 25 of the southern side but who is otherwise unknown, relies on a substantial reconstruction of missing words in the respective passage and is not absolutely convincing.<sup>28</sup> In fact Teththiweibi, who is extensively referred to in a longer section of the text on the eastern side of the stele,<sup>29</sup> is a much more likely candidate for the position of the missing ancestor, since this is not suggested by the numismatic evidence alone: Both Arppakhu and Kheziga, within this model presumed descendants of Teththiweibi, are mentioned either as rulers or at least as agents of major political influence in inscriptions from Phellos and from Isinda in Central Lycia; there the role of Arppakhu is described with the word *χṇtawata*, a term derived from the title *χṇtawati*, that had apparently been held by Teththiweibi.<sup>30</sup> That Teththiweibi is not mentioned in the two passages dedicated to Kherῆi's lineage on the southern side of the

<sup>26</sup> For this discussion connected also to the authorship of the long Lycian text on the southern and eastern side of the Xantos Stele see in particular CHILDS 1979 and MÜSELER – SCHÜRR 2018.

<sup>27</sup> According to some scholars the word *χahba* (grandchild) used for example in TL44 a. 3 stands for a descent from the maternal line. See NEUMANN 2007, 100 sq.

<sup>28</sup> TL 44a. 25–26. For the reconstruction of the line see SCHÜRR 2001, 114 and SCHÜRR 2008, 184.

<sup>29</sup> TL 44 b, 40–64 and SCHÜRR 2012, 130 sqq.

<sup>30</sup> For Arppakhu and Kheriga as bearers of this title see above note 20. The syntactical connection between Teththiweibi mentioned in TL 44b. 61 and the repeated appearance of the term *χṇtawati* is, however, not entirely clear: See SCHÜRR 2012, 133.

Xanthos-Stele may simply be due to the fact that the text is mainly concerned with the legitimacy of his rule in Xanthos. For this the blood relationship with Kuprlli, whose monumental tomb was just nearby,<sup>31</sup> was much more important than the one with Teththiweibi. However, in Kheriga's original claim to power apparently both his grandfathers, be it from the paternal or from the maternal side, had a decisive part: In the poetical text on the western side of the Xanthos-Stele, which is apparently dedicated to the memory of Kheriga, his legitimation through both ancestors (without naming them) is clearly emphasized.<sup>32</sup>

It seems that Kheriga's and KherĒi's rule had its origin in Central Lycia in the succession of Teththiweibi. From there Kheriga, probably the elder of the two brothers, made his claim as the blood relative and heir of Kuprlli for sovereignty over the lower Xanthos Valley from the clan of Wekhssere, the original successors to Kuprllis regency in the West.<sup>33</sup> In the course of the resulting conflict both sides apparently appealed to Athens as the dominant power and leader of the large naval confederation in the Aegean, whose sphere of influence even reached the western shore of the Lycian peninsula, for support of their respective causes.<sup>34</sup> However, with the emerging war in Greece by the end of the thirties of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC the Athenians had a lot of other and more important affairs to take care of, and therefore Kheriga eventually prevailed by his own means.

### 3. *Kheriga and the conquest of Xanthos*

As demonstrated by various scholars elsewhere the elder of the two dynasts called Wekhssere had probably been a contemporary of Kuprlli and had succeeded the latter in the rule over the Xanthos Valley and Telmessos.<sup>35</sup> Although the legends on his coins never mention any place names several of the respective mint locations can be deduced from the pictorial motifs chosen for the different series. Some of the images employed followed certain issues in the name of his predecessor, whose geographical provenance can be identified, while others were later on adopted by subsequent rulers, who used to set the respective mint names on their coins. On a number of series, that can thus be attributed to the mints of Xanthos and of Tlos, Wekhssere had introduced a helmeted head of Athena,

<sup>31</sup> See KEEN 1992 and SCHÜRR 2009, 170–173 and DRAYCOTT 2015.

<sup>32</sup> TL 44d. 65–67 and SCHÜRR 2019, 99.

<sup>33</sup> See MÜSELER 2016, 53 sq. In most earlier studies on the coinage of Kheriga the fact that the Xanthos Valley had apparently been occupied by the clan of the Wekhssere in direct succession of Kuprlli and before the accession of Kheriga at Xanthos has widely been disregarded. See also MÜSELER 2019b, 32 sqq.

<sup>34</sup> For the relationship between the Lycians and the Athenian naval confederation before the Peloponnesian war see KEEN 1998, 118 sqq.

<sup>35</sup> See VISMARA 1989 and MÜSELER 2019a and b. Although no die-links have been discovered yet, some very close typological connections between a number of light weight issues of Kuprlli, and series of the elder Wekhssere and/or of Wakhseblimi are evident.



a feature rather uncommon up to that point in Lycia, as a new obverse motif.<sup>36</sup> This is clearly to be seen as an attempt, to ingratiate himself with Athens and to seek the support of its naval confederation for his rule over Western Lycia in the succession of Kuprlli.

When Kheriga challenged this position from his ancestral seats at Phellos and Kandyba and tried to gain a foothold in the lower Xanthos Valley for himself, he took over the same motif, first on his coinage from Central Lycia and later on, after his successful seizure of power at Xanthos, also on the series in his name struck at this place. The motivation for this step is obvious: Kheriga mainly sought to cover his rear against any interference by the distant but mighty *hegemon* while changing the internal balance of power in Lycia in his own favour.

### *Kheriga:*

#### *Mint of Kandyba*

- 5.1.1.** Stater, Kandyba. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Crouching (Fig. 21) winged lion l. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga χākbiḥ*. 8,42 g. MÜSELER V/47.
- 5.1.2.** Twelfth stater (Obol), Kandyba. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Crouching winged lion in incuse square to l; in field legend *χeriga*. 0,63 g. MÜSELER V/48.
- 5.2.** Stater, Kandyba.<sup>37</sup> Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Forepart of (Fig. 22) winged lion r. in incuse square; in field legend *[χe]rig[a]*. 8,28 g. MÜSELER V/49.
- 5.3.1.** Stater, Kandyba. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Head of Athena. (Fig. 23) wearing Attic helmet l. in incuse square; in field legend *χ[e]riga*. 8,31 g. SNG Cop. Suppl. 443.
- 5.3.2.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Kandyba. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga*. 2,37 g. BABELON II/2, 364.

<sup>36</sup> The archaizing heads of Athena on the series, that appears to be Wekhsseres main issue from Xanthos, are directly copied from the contemporaneous coinage of Athens (cf. MÜSELER 2016, V/6–11). The Athena heads from another issue in his name possibly coming from the mint of Tlos seem rather inspired by Corinthian coins (cf. MÜSELER 2016, V/12–18 and Auction Roma XVI, 2018, 314).

<sup>37</sup> The same type is used for the obverses of lightweight staters in the name of Kuprlli (cf. SNG Cop. Suppl. 406) as well as in the name of Wekhssere (MÜSELER V/3) without any indication of the mint location.

- 5.3.3. Third stater (Tetrobol), Kandyba. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet (Fig. 24) l. / Head of Athena with Attic helmet l. in incuse square; in field legend *χākbihe*. 2,40 g. BABELON II/2, 375.

*Mint of Tymnessos*

- 5.4. Stater, Tymnessos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Bearded (Fig. 25) male head wearing Thracian helmet (portrait of dynast?) r. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga [t]uminehih*. 8,48 g. SNG Cop. Suppl. 441.
- 5.5. Stater, Tymnessos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Bearded (Fig. 26) male head wearing Thracian helmet (portrait of dynast?) l. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga*. 8,12 g. SNG Cop. Suppl. 442.

*Mint of Xanthos*

- 5.6.1. Stater, Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet adorned with a (Fig. 27) grain of barley r. in olive wreath / Athena seated r. on a rock in incuse square, holding spear pointing downwards in right hand and small owl on extended left, on her knee bow; in field small kerykeion and legend *χeriga arñnahe*. 8,25 g. Boston MFA 2088.
- 5.6.2. Stater, Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Athena seated (Fig. 28) on a rock in incuse square, holding spear pointing downwards in right hand and small owl on extended left, in front of her round shield; in field legend *χeriga arñnahe*. 8,17 g. MÜSELER V/50.
- 5.6.3. Half stater (Drachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Athena seated r. on a rock in incuse square, holding spear pointing downwards in right hand, left hand resting on round shield; in field legend *χ[erig]a arñnahe*. 3,98 g. SNG Cop. Suppl. 445.
- 5.6.4. Half Stater (Drachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet (Fig. 29) adorned with grain of barley l. / Athena seated r. on a rock in incuse square, holding spear pointing downwards in righthand, left hand resting on round shield; in field ivy-leaf, single letter Q and legend *χeriga arñnahe*. 3,63 g. SNG Ashmolean 1183.
- 5.6.5. Half stater (Drachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet adorned with grain of barley l. / Athena seated r. on a rock in incuse square, holding spear pointing downwards in right hand, left hand resting on round shield; in field single letter *χ* and legend *χeriga arñnahe*. 3,79 g. BABELON II/2, 365.
- 5.7.1. Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of Athena with attic helmet r. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga arñna*. 2,10 g. Auction Peus 422, 2018, 89.

**5.7.2.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Head of Athena with attic helmet r. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga arñna*. 1,96 g. MÜSELER V/52.

**5.7.3.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of Athena with attic helmet r. in incuse square; in field legend *arñnahe*. 1,94 g. SNG Cop. Suppl. 496 a.

**5.7.4.** Eighth stater (Trihemionbol), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet to r. / Head of Athena with attic helmet r. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga*. 0,93 g. MÜSELER V/53.

*Uncertain mint (Xanthos?)*<sup>38</sup>

**5.8.1.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), uncertain mint. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of Zeus-Ammon with ram's horn r. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga*. 2,10 g. BABELON II/2, 362.

**5.8.2.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), uncertain mint. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Head of Zeus-Ammon with ram's horn r. in incuse square; in field legend *χeriga*. 2,05 g. BM.

The adoption of representations of the goddess Athena on the issues of Wekhssere and Kheriga eventually brought about a fundamental change to the coinage of Western Lycia: Henceforth the traditional pattern consisting of various local or dynastic emblems as obverse types paired with the pan Lycian triskeles on the other side was abandoned. Instead a helmeted head of Athena, executed in high classical style similar to Kheriga's series from Kandyba and from Tymnessos, was shown mostly at the front and combined with various other images at the back. The image of Athena actually replaced the triskeles as the principal type on all later coinages issued by members of Kheriga's clan, even after the sharp rupture of friendly relations between the Xanthians and Athens. Kheriga's coins from Kandyba and Tymnessos, which are probably somewhat later than his initial issues from Phellos,<sup>39</sup> became the prototypes for the entire Western Lycian coinages until the demise of Kuprlli's and Kheriga's dynasty as lords of the Xanthos Valley at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

An innovation of even greater impact was the application of an image (however symbolic) of the issuing dynast himself on the coins as introduced on the reverses

<sup>38</sup> A head of Zeus Ammon is also known from a series in the name of Kuprlli (cf. MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1972, nos. 141–148), but also on those coins no mint location is mentioned.

<sup>39</sup> At least the female heads on one of Kheriga's series from Phellos (4.1.) still kept the archaic design of the large almond shaped eyes seen from a frontal perspective similar to the earlier issues of Sppñtaza and Teththiweiibi.

of the two series in the name of Kheriga from Tymnessos.<sup>40</sup> Apparently the fort guarding the mountain pass from Central Lycia into the Xanthos Valley had not been used as a place to mint coins on a regular scale but rather on occasions of armed conflict between the two regions. The only other issues, that can be assigned to this place with any certainty, are related to invasions of the younger Wekhssere and of Mithrapata into the Lycian West.<sup>41</sup> Corresponding with their presumed role as war issues the reverse images of Kherigas coins from Tymnessos show a distinct martial connotation: Next to the name of the issuer and of the mint the head of a bearded man wearing a Thracian helmet with an upfolded vizor is depicted, most likely a representation of the dynast himself as a successful military commander and warlord. Since these coins can hardly be later than the thirties of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC they belong to the first representations of an actual living human being, i. e. not of a god or of a figure from myth, on a coin in history.

But the most remarkable series in the entire coinage of Kheriga is certainly the issue celebrating his capture of Xanthos. The scene on the reverse is unparalleled by any previous Lycian coinage: The goddess Athena with all her characteristic attributes is shown resting on a rock (symbolizing Lycia?) as the protectress of the dynast and supporter of his political ambition to succeed his ancestor in the rule over Western Lycia. The endeavour is proudly expressed by the legends, which state the name of the dynast, occasionally together with the single letter *χ*, possibly denoting his rank as *χῆτawati*, and the name of the city just occupied. This imagery would not only impress his subjects and fellow Lycians; it was certainly meant to send a message to the Athenians as well. It underlined Kheriga's allegiance towards the hegemonial power implicitly asserting that his seizure of power in the Xanthos Valley was in the well understood interest of Athens itself. As it turned out a little later, he would have better done to request the consent of the Athenians beforehand.

In contrast to the approach at the time of Kuprlli Kheriga sought to harmonize the coinage circulating in the different regions of his realm after the conquest of Xanthos. In Central Lycia the traditional duodecimal system with stater, third and sixth was kept, while the denominational sequence of the series produced in the Xanthos Valley was adapted to the Attic standard with stater, drachm and hemidrachm, – evidently in order to make the trade with the West easier, i.e. with Athens and other members of its league in the Aegean. However, a unified iconographical pattern, a head of Athena on the front side as well as on the back, was gradually applied to the issues from both regions under Kheriga's control.

<sup>40</sup> There is also a heavyweight series in the name of Kuprlli with a bearded head wearing a Thracian helmet from an uncertain mint (cf. MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1972, nos. 31–33 and MÜSELER 2016, IV/22–23), which has been interpreted as a symbolic image of Kuprlli by some scholars. However, since the name of the dynast is not placed beside the helmeted head like in the case of Kheriga's issues but only shown in the triskeles on the reverse similar to all the other coins of Kuprlli, there is not sufficient proof for this assumption.

<sup>41</sup> SNG Cop. Suppl. 437 and SNG Keckman 492.

Henceforth coins of this type were struck in Xanthos as well as in Kandyba. In order to make the different series easier to distinguish from each other the addition of the respective mint name, that had only occasionally been added to the legends of earlier coins, became a general requirement afterwards.<sup>42</sup> In particular his successor Kherēi would habitually add the name of the respective mint place on his mainly uniform issues showing his own likeness wearing Persian garb apparel in later years.

It is difficult to determine the date of Kheriga's death. The comparatively long reign assigned to this dynast by a number of scholars was based upon an erroneous attribution of the long Lycian text on the southern and eastern side of the Xanthos-Stele and is therefore probably unjustified.<sup>43</sup> To the contrary: The numismatic evidence suggests that he did not survive a long time after his initial coin issues following the capture of Xanthos. The rupture in the relationship with Athens after the events of 429 BC, which is so clearly reflected in the coinage of Kherēi, has left no trace in the various series in Kheriga's name. His coins should therefore entirely predate the Athenian invasion under the command of Melesandros and his reign had probably ended already during that period.

#### *4. Kherēi and the conquest of Tlos*

The early coinage of Kherēi from Central Lycian mints as well as his initial issue from Xanthos were so closely related to corresponding series in the name of Kheriga that even some kind of coregency of the two brothers may be assumed, – at least for a part of the time. But with the onset of Kherēi's main coinage from various mints in the Xanthos Valley, which followed his victory over the army of Wakhsepddimi at Tlos and probably marking the beginning of his sole reign, the iconography of the coins struck in his name acquired an independent and completely different quality.

For the present argument only the series in the name of Kherēi from the mints of Xanthos and of Tlos are relevant. The coins from uncertain mints, which may be located at either one of the two places or (at least in the beginning) even at Kandyba in Central Lycia, as well as the somewhat smaller issues from Pinara and

<sup>42</sup> Only a very few of the numerous and varied series in the name of Kuprlli carry an explicit mention of the mint location beside the name of the issuing dynast: This is true for MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1972, nos. 22–23 (Limyra) and 162–168 (Xanthos). A particular case is MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1972, nos. 1–2, two staters of the heavy Persian weight standard not applicable in Lycia. Above a walking boar l. the obverses show an additional legend in an unidentified, non-Lycian script, which may or may not be a toponym.

<sup>43</sup> Inspired by the new discovery of the Erbbina Inscriptions at the Letoon near Xanthos LAROCHE 1974, 145–146 and BOUSQUET 1975, 139–142 had suggested to insert the name Kheriga into the gap in TL 44a. 2. Although this view has already been clearly rejected by CHILDS 1979 and once more by LOTZ 2017 and MÜSELER – SCHÜRR 2018, it has led to a number of misconceptions among students of Lycian history.

from Telmessos are of lesser concern here and will therefore not be included in the following list. If necessary they may be easily found in the central article of Otto Mørkholm and Jan Zahle on the coinage of Kherēi and in the book of the present author on Lycian coinage in general.<sup>44</sup>

***Kherēi:***

*Mint of Xanthos*

- 6.1.** Stater, Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Athena seated (Fig. 33) r. on the back of a dolphin in incuse circle, holding spear pointing downwards in right hand and small owl on extended left, in front of her round shield; in field legend *χερēi*. 8,62 g. MÜSELER VI/5.
- 6.2.** Stater, Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Almost (Fig. 34) frontal bust of dynast wearing Persian tiara l. in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi arñna[he]*. 8,48 g. MÜSELER VI/38.
- 6.3.1.** Stater, Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r., above small (Fig. 35) owl facing with open wings / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi arñnahe*. 8,42 g. MÜSELER VI/25.
- 6.3.2.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r., above small owl facing with open wings / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field monogram  $\Psi$  and legend *χερēi arñnahe*. 2,11 g. MÜSELER VI/26.
- 6.4.1.** Stater, Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of (Fig. 36) dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi arñnahe*. 8,64 g. MÜSELER VI/28.
- 6.4.2.** Half stater (Drachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi arñnahe*. 4,20 g. MÜSELER VI/30.
- 6.4.3.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara to. R. in incuse square; in field legend *χερēi arñ*. 2,00 g. MÜSELER VI/ 32.

<sup>44</sup> See MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1976 and MÜSELER 2016, 131 sqq.



- 6.4.4.** Third stater (Tetrobol), Xanthos.<sup>45</sup> Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field legend *χερῆι αρῆ*[...]. 2,93 g. MÜSELER VI/ 33.
- 6.4.5.** Sixth stater (Diobol), Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field legend *χερῆ[ι] αρῆ*[...] 1,53 g. MÜSELER VI/34.
- 6.4.6.** Twentyfourth stater (Hemiobol)?, Xanthos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field legend *χερῆι αρῆνα*. 0,49 g. MÜSELER VI/36.

*Mint of Tlos*

- 6.5.1.** Stater, Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast (Fig. 37) wearing Persian tiara l. in incuse square; in field monogram and legend *χερῆι [t]lawi*. 8,48 g. MÜSELER VI/41.
- 6.5.2.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara l. in incuse square; in field legend *χερῆι tlawi*. 2,03 g. Auction Künker 94, 2004, 1259.
- 6.6.1.** Stater, Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of Dynast (Fig. 38) wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field legend *χερῆι tlawi*. 8, 34 g. CNG E-sale 228, 2010, 124.
- 6.6.2.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field legend *χερῆ[ι] tl*. 1,95 g. MÜSELER VI/47.
- 6.7.1.** Stater, Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast (Fig. 39) wearing Persian tiara l. in incuse square; in field grain of barley, legend *[χ]ερῆ[ι]* and single letter *t*. 8,28 g. SNG v. Aulock 4172 (BM).
- 6.7.2.** Half stater (Drachm), Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / (Fig. 40) Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara l. in incuse square, in field grain of barley, monogram  $\Psi$  and legend *χερῆι*. 4,14 g. MÜSELER VI/42.
- 6.7.3.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara r. in incuse square; in field grain of barley, monogram  $\Psi$  and legend *χερῆι*. 2,03 g. Auction Gorny & Mosch 138, 2005, 1441.

<sup>45</sup> The denominational sequence of this and the following two numbers is not aligned to the Attic system generally applied to Kherēi's Western Lycian coinage. This may be due to the loss of the mint at Kandyba, that had struck coins in accordance with the traditional Lycian system for the circulation in Central Lycia, to Khinakha. This small series from the mint of Xanthos has possibly replaced coins previously issued for Kherēi at Kandyba.

- 6.7.4.** Twelfth stater (Obol), Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing Persian tiara l. in incuse square; in field grain of barley (?), monogram  $\Psi$  and legend  $\chi\epsilon r[.] tlawi$ . 0,70 g. MÜSELER VI/43.
- 6.8.1.**<sup>46</sup> Stater, Tlos (?). Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l.<sup>47</sup> / Head of dynast (Fig. 41) wearing wreathed Persian tiara l. in incuse square; in field monogram  $\Psi$  and legend  $\chi\epsilon r\tilde{e}i$ . 8,61 g. MÜSELER VI/44.
- 6.8.2.** Half stater (Drachm), Tlos (?). Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet (Fig. 42) r. / Head of dynast wearing wreathed Persian tiara l. in incuse square; in field monogram  $\Psi$  and legend  $\chi\epsilon r\tilde{e}i$ . 4,22 g. MÜSELER VI/46.
- 6.8.3.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Tlos (?). Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Head of dynast wearing wreathed Persian tiara l. in incuse square; in field monogram  $\Psi$  and legend  $\chi\epsilon r\tilde{e}i$ . 1,88 g. SNG v. Aulock 4174.
- 6.8.4.** Stater, Tlos (?). Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet l. / Head of dynast (Fig. 43) wearing wreathed Persian r. in incuse square; in field monogram  $\Psi$  and legend  $\chi\epsilon r\tilde{e}i$ . 8,53 g. MÜSELER VI/45.
- 6.9.1.** Stater, Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r.; behind legend  $\chi\epsilon$  / (Fig. 44) Large monogram  $\Psi$  in incuse square. 8,04 g. SNG v. Aulock 4179.
- 6.9.2.** Quarter stater (Hemidrachm), Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic (Fig. 45) helmet r. / Large monogram  $\Psi$  in incuse square; in field legend  $tlawi$ . 1,83 g. BABELON II/2, 358.
- 6.9.3.** Sixteenth stater (Tritemorion), Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic (Fig. 46) helmet l. / Large monogram  $\Psi$  in incuse square; in field legend  $[\chi\epsilon]r\tilde{e}i tlawi$ . 0,47 g. Savoca Auction 21, 2018, 193.
- 6.10.** Stater, Tlos. Head of Athena wearing Attic helmet r. / Facing Gorgoneion (Fig. 47) in incuse circle; in field monogram  $\Psi$  and legend  $[\chi\epsilon r\tilde{e}i] tlawi$ .<sup>48</sup> 8,50 g. Nomos Auction 18, 2019, 188.

<sup>46</sup> The meaning of the wreath worn by the dynast over the tiara on the coins of this series is still unknown and the attribution of this particular issue to the mint of Tlos somewhat conjectural. But the wreath, which appears on no other known issue with the dynastic portrait, may well be seen as the mark of a particular series struck to celebrate the capture of Tlos analogous to **5.6.1.** struck for Kheriga after his occupation of Xanthos. The outstanding quality of the dies employed appears to support such a hypothesis.

<sup>47</sup> After showing some wear this die was repaired and made fit for further utilization. Thereby a large monogram  $\Psi$  was added to the crest of Athenas helmet: Cf. CNG E-sale 418, 2018, 313.

<sup>48</sup> Another specimen struck from the same pair of dies but showing the right side with the legend  $\chi\epsilon r\tilde{e}i$  is Jameson Coll. III, 2321 (MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1976, no. 50).



One of the most significant events in the history of Lycia during the 5 century BC was the attempted meddling of the Athenians with an internal Lycian affair and their aggressive patronage of the ultimately defeated party, which resulted in a military and diplomatic disaster. Contrary to Kheriga's hopes and regardless of his manifest soliciting the Athenians had decided by the end of the thirties to lend their support to the cause of his opponent Wekhssere (Wakhssepddimi), who had been driven out of Xanthos by the forces of the contender from the central highlands and had been forced to retreat from the coastal plain further up the river. As Thucydides reports Athens sent a small force of six war galleys under the command of a certain Melesandros to Lycia in 429 BC.<sup>49</sup> The official purpose of the expedition was the collection of outstanding contributions to the Athenian naval confederation and at the same time the suppression of «Peloponnesian» piracy off the Lycian shores. However, upon closer examination both explanations appear quite odd: As Antony Keen has calculated a squadron of six war galleys appears quite large for a routine operation to collect undisputed debts from friendly allies.<sup>50</sup> On the other hand the force appears far too small for an effective campaign against pirates, not to speak of a major military operation on land. Therefore Keen has proposed that the detachment must have been just a small unit of experienced elite fighters sent out to support a campaign within Lycia, which was to be conducted mainly by forces of local origin. As a matter of fact Thucydides relates that the small Athenian corps was met and reinforced by unspecified local troops upon its disembarkation somewhere at the Lycian shore. However, on the march inland it was soon intercepted and completely rooted by an opposing force. Also Melesandros was killed in the course of this battle.

This is the entire information conveyed by the cursory reference to the whole affair by Thucydides. But fortunately we dispose of an additional report of the events from a Lycian perspective by the account of Kherēis deeds from the southern flank of the Xanthos-Stele,<sup>51</sup> which provides us with a number of important additional details. Apparently Melesandros had landed somewhere at the coast of Central Lycia, since his squad was defeated and destroyed by troops under the command of a certain Trbbenimi near the town of Kyaneai.<sup>52</sup> In the very same passage and syntactically linked to the preceding line Kherēi is reported as having defeated an army at Tlos and having killed Wekhssere, who is referred to as Wakhssepddimi by the inscription.<sup>53</sup> This piece of information illuminates the context and the underlying causes of the conflict: Wekhssere had, possibly following the death of Kheriga, attempted to regain his former position as the sole

<sup>49</sup> Thuk. II, 69, 1–2.

<sup>50</sup> KEEN 1998, 129 sq.

<sup>51</sup> TL 44a. 44–55.

<sup>52</sup> Probably the Trbbenimi mentioned by the inscription is not identical with the person, that issued a reformed Lycian coinage at Limyra at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC. He may, however, have been a member of the same dynastic clan residing in Eastern Lycia and have come from there to the aid of Kherēi in repulsing the foreign invasion.

<sup>53</sup> See MÜSELER – SCHÜRR 2018, 388–392; for the hypothesis of a basic equivalence of the names Wekhssere and Wakhssepddimi see MÜSELER 2019b, 67.

ruler in the Xanthos Valley with the backing of Athens, but the coup had failed and made the descendants of Kuprilli the undisputed masters of Western Lycia. In the very same context a third military encounter is mentioned, in which a direct Lycian involvement is not clearly apparent: It is the defeat of yet another and larger Athenian expedition into the adjacent territory of Caria under the command of Lysikles in the year 428 BC.<sup>54</sup> By the order of a Persian governor, who seems to have been residing in Kaunos at the time,<sup>55</sup> an army under the command of Amorges was sent out to the North, which intercepted and repulsed the Athenian contingent near Mount Thorax at the upper flow of the Maiandros.<sup>56</sup> Since the event is listed together with deeds of Kherēi or with military achievements to his benefit, it seems well possible that the Persian authorities were assisted by the Lycians in this venture or that even an auxiliary force from Lycia took part in the expedition, but this cannot be proved. However, the central aspect expressed in these lines is the definite anti Athenian stance taken by the Lycians under Kherēis rule. As Peter Thonemann has put it: «For the Lycians, beating Athens mattered».<sup>57</sup>

In fact, the Melesandros affair obviously resulted in a fundamental change in the foreign policy of Western Lycia and the political attachment of all its subsequent rulers. After this event the Xanthian dynasts no longer sought to ingratiate themselves with Athens but explicitly sided with the representatives of the Achaemenid empire in Anatolia, who opposed the power of the Athenian naval confederation and rather backed the Spartan side in the Peloponnesian war. In a later passage of the inscription praising Kherēi the role (possibly somewhat exaggerated) of the Xanthian ruler in facilitating the treaty between the satrap Tissaphernes and the Spartans in 412 BC is emphasized.<sup>58</sup> The special relationship between Tissaphernes and the «dynasty of Xanthos» is further underlined by a coin issue struck in his name under Ddeneweke, the successor of Kherēi.<sup>59</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Thuk. III, 19.

<sup>55</sup> Apparently, the control of the important harbour of Kaunos on the southern shore of Caria was a matter of dispute between the Persians and the Athenian naval confederation and changed hands several times: See SCHÜRR 1998 and THONEMANN 2009, 171 sq.

<sup>56</sup> For the geographical setting of this event see SCHÜRR 1998, 152 sq, SCHÜRR 2009, 168 sq and THONEMANN 2009, 175 sqq.

<sup>57</sup> THONEMANN 2009, 181.

<sup>58</sup> TL 44b. 64 – c. 9. The respective negotiations between Persians and Spartans are also reported by Thuk. VIII, 58. It is remarkable that the text of the account changes to direct speech in this passage (TL 44c. 4): *emu axagā maraza* (I became judge/mediator). The speaking person may well be somebody else than Kherēi, who has been referred to in the third person throughout the long preceding account. It could actually be the sponsor of the stele, who commissioned the inscription after the death of the tombs owner. This would be Ddeneweke, who is possibly mentioned at the end of the long text (cf. MÜSELER – SCHÜRR 2018, 393 sq) and whose close relationship with the satrap Tissaphernes is attested by the numismatic record as well (see below).

<sup>59</sup> SNG Cop. Suppl. 460. The famous Xanthian stater bearing the name of Tissaphernes is clearly parallel to the issues of Ddeneweke from the same mint. See HURTER 1979 and MÜSELER 2017, 22 sq.

The coinages of Kherēi and of all his successors in the Xanthos Valley with the exception of Erbbina unequivocally reflect this basic change of allegiance by the rulers in the Lycian West. From that point onwards an image of the respective dynast wearing the tiara of a Persian official was not only set on the vast majority of the coins of Kherēi and of Ddenewe, but the type was also kept for a substantial part of the subsequent coinages in the names of the younger Wekhssere and of Artumpara, although those two dynasts were no longer descendants of Kuprlli but came from the rival clan of the elder Wekhssere.<sup>60</sup> Apparently this image had become a cypher for the general political alignment of all Xanthian dynasts proclaiming in a clearly visible way the enduring loyalty of the rulers towards the Great King and his representatives, until Perikle of Limyra conquered the Xanthos Valley and attempted to shake off the Persian dominance by the mid-seventies of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.

With the conquest of Tlos the strategical key position for the control of the entire upper flow of the Xanthos river had fallen into the hands of Kherēi. At the time the possession of the town and of its mint proved to be vital, – in particular since Kherēi appears to have lost his sovereignty over the territories in Central Lycia to the advancing forces of the dynast Khinakha rather early in his reign.<sup>61</sup> It is possible that Tlos in due course even rivalled the city of Xanthos as the political and administrative centre of the Lycian West. The overall output from the mint of Tlos reached at least the volume of the one from its counterpart at Xanthos, which is demonstrated by the greater variety of Tloan coin series and by the large number of different dies employed in their production. Moreover, Tlos was apparently the only stronghold in the Xanthos Valley, that the usurper Erbbina did not succeed in taking from Ddenewe by force.<sup>62</sup> As attested by the numismatic record the importance of the town must have been considerable, at least for the rest of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC but probably also later on: The control of Tlos remained vital for any successful attempt to seize power in the Xanthos Valley by all future invaders from the East.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>60</sup> See MÜSELER 2019b, in particular issues VIII.1.1., IX.3.1. and XX.3.3.–XX.4.1.

<sup>61</sup> See MÜSELER 2018, 21 sqq.

<sup>62</sup> See MÜSELER 2017, 20 sq.

<sup>63</sup> Not only the younger Wekhssere (Wakhssepddimi) but also Mithrapata and possibly even Perikle made use of the mint at Tlos, at least for the production of small change: Cf. MÜSELER 2016, VII/93–94 and VIII/41.

### *Zusammenfassung*

Eine Untersuchung der gesamten bisher bekannten numismatischen Hinterlassenschaft der lykischen Regenten Kheriga und Kherēi, der wichtigsten Vertreter der so genannten «Dynastie von Xanthos», zeigt, dass deren ursprünglicher Herrschaftsbereich nicht etwa im Xanthos-Tal sondern im Bergland Mittel-Lykiens um die Ortschaften Phellos und Kandyba herum angesiedelt war. Von ihrer Abstammung her waren die beiden Brüder daher wohl nicht bloss Enkel des Kuprlli sondern sie dürften auch mit dem Clan von Sppñtaza und Teththiweibi eng verwandt gewesen sein. Von seinem Stammsitz in Phellos aus hat Kheriga wohl in den späten dreissiger Jahren des 5. Jahrhunderts zunächst die Stadt Xanthos im Westen Lykiens besetzt. In dem Versuch, die Unterstützung der Athener für diesen Schritt zu gewinnen, unterzog er in der Folge die Gepräge in seinem Namen sowohl hinsichtlich des Münzbildes als auch hinsichtlich der Nominalsystems einer umfassenden Reform. Die Unterwerfung des oberen Xanthos-Tals erfolgte aber erst nach der Eroberung der Festung Tlos durch seinen Nachfolger Kherēi im Zuge der Melesandros-Affäre des Jahres 429 v. Chr. Der Konflikt zog den grundlegenden Wechsel in der aussenpolitischen Orientierung der neuen Herren von Xanthos von der athenischen auf die persische Seite nach sich und konsolidierte zugleich deren Herrschaft im Westen der Halbinsel. Die Gebiete in Mittel-Lyken gingen hingegen bald darauf verloren.

### *Abstract*

As demonstrated by an analysis of the numismatic evidence with regard to the Lycian regents Kheriga and Kherēi, the principal representatives of the so-called «dynasty of Xanthos», the original territory ruled by the two brothers was not located in the Xanthos Valley at all but in the western highlands of Central-Lycia around the settlements of Phellos and of Kandyba. In all probability both were not only the grandsons of Kuprlli but also closely related to the clan of Sppñtaza and Teththiweibi. From his initial residence at Phellos Kheriga invaded the Lycian West and occupied the town of Xanthos sometime in the late thirties of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC. In the attempt to gain Athenian support for this step he subsequently changed the imagery as well as the denominational sequence of the coinage in his name. But control of the upper Xanthos Valley was only achieved after the conquest of the stronghold of Tlos by his successor Kherēi during the Melesandros affair of 429 BC. This conflict would lead to a change in the political allegiance of the new lords of Xanthos from the Athenian to the Persian side and consolidated at the same time their rule in the western part of the peninsula. However, the former territories in Central Lycia were lost soon thereafter.

Wilhelm Mueseler  
Wettsteinallee 83  
CH-4058 Basel  
wilhelmmueseler@gmail.com

*Bibliography*

- |                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                |
|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| BABELON II/2      | E. BABELON, <i>Traité des monnaies Grecques et Romaines</i> , 2 <sup>ème</sup> partie, tome II (Paris 1910).                                                                                   |
| Boston MFA        | A. BALDWIN-BRETT, <i>Museum of Fine Arts Boston, Catalogue of Greek Coins</i> (Boston 1955).                                                                                                   |
| BOUSQUET 1975     | J. BOUSQUET, Arbinas, fils de Gergis, <i>Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> 119/1 1975, p. 138–148.                                               |
| CHILDS 1979       | W. CHILDS, The authorship of the Inscribed Pillar, <i>Anatolian Studies</i> 29, 1979, p. 97–102.                                                                                               |
| DRAYCOTT 2015     | C. DRAYCOTT, «Heroa» and the City: Kuprlli's new architecture and the Making of the «Lycian acropolis» of Xanthos in the early Classical Period, <i>Anatolian Studies</i> 65, 2015, p. 97–142. |
| Hunterian Coll.   | G. MCDONALD, <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins in the Hunterian Collection</i> , University of Glasgow, vol. I–III (Glasgow 1899–1905).                                                              |
| HURTER 1979       | S. HURTER, Der Tissaphernes-Fund, in: O. MØRKHOLM – N. WAGGONER (eds.), <i>Greek Numismatics and Archaeology – Essays presented to Margaret Thompson</i> (Wetteren 1979), p. 97–108.           |
| Jameson Coll.     | R. JAMESON, <i>Collection R. Jameson</i> , tome I–IV (Paris 1913–1932).                                                                                                                        |
| KEEN 1992         | A. G. KEEN, The dynastic tombs of Xanthos – Who was buried where?, <i>Anatolian Studies</i> 42, 1992, p. 53–63.                                                                                |
| KEEN 1998         | A. G. KEEN, <i>Dynastic Lycia – A Political History of the Lycians and their Relations with Foreign Powers</i> , c. 545–362 BC (Leyden 1998).                                                  |
| KOLB 2018         | F. KOLB, <i>Lykien – Geschichte einer antiken Landschaft</i> (Darmstadt 2018).                                                                                                                 |
| KOLB – TIETZ 2001 | F. KOLB – W. TIETZ, Zagaba: Münzprägung und politische Geographie in Zentrallykien, <i>Chiron</i> 31, 2001, p. 347–416.                                                                        |
| LAROCHE 1974      | E. LAROCHE, Les épitaphes lyciennes, in: P. DEMARGNE (ed.), <i>Fouilles de Xanthos V: tombes maisons, tombes rupestres et sarcophages</i> (Paris 1974), p. 123–148.                            |

- LOTZ 2017 H. LOTZ, Xerēi, der Errichter des Inschriftenpfeilers von Xanthos, *Kadmos* 56, 2017, p. 139–172.
- MATTINGLY 1970 H. B. MATTINGLY, «Epigraphically the Twenties are too late.», in: *Annual of the British school at Athens* 65, 1970, p. 129–149.
- MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1972 O. MØRKHOLM – J. ZAHLE, The coinage of Kuprlli, *Acta Archaeologica* 43, 1972, p. 57–113.
- MØRKHOLM – ZAHLE 1976 O. MØRKHOLM – J. ZAHLE, The coinages of the Lycian dynasts Kheriga, Kherēi and Erbbina, *Acta Archaeologica* 47, 1976, p. 47–90.
- MÜSELER 2016\* W. MÜSELER, *Lykische Münzen in europäischen Privatsammlungen* (Istanbul 2016). \*Quoted as MÜSELER NN/nn in the catalog.
- MÜSELER 2017 W. MÜSELER, Ddenewe. Der vergessene Dynast vom Xanthos-Tal und das Nereiden-Monument, *JNG* 67, 2017, p. 13–30.
- MÜSELER 2018 W. MÜSELER, Beyond the Xanthos Valley: Rulers and mints in Eastern and Central Lycia at the time of the «dynasty of Xanthos» *Gephyra* 15, 2018, p. 11–28.
- MÜSELER 2019a W. MÜSELER, Beyond the Xanthos Valley II: Lycian rulers at Telmessos and in the Carian borderlands around the middle of the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, in: M. NOLLÉ *et al.* (eds.), *Panegyrikoï logoi – Festschrift für Johannes Nollé zum 65. Geburtstag* (Bonn 2019), p. 361–370.
- MÜSELER 2019b W. MÜSELER, Opponents and successors of the Xanthian dynasty in Western Lycia – The Wexssere questions reconsidered, *Gephyra* 17, 2019, p. 29–81.
- MÜSELER – SCHÜRR 2018 W. MÜSELER – D. SCHÜRR, Zur Chronologie in den Inschriften auf dem Agora-Pfeiler von Xanthos (TL 44), den betroffenen Dynasten und ihren Münzen, *Klio* 100/2, 2018, p. 381–406.
- NEUMANN 1979 G. NEUMANN, *Neufunde lykischer Inschriften seit 1901* (Wien 1979).
- NEUMANN 2007 G. NEUMANN (ed. J. TISCHLER), *Glossar des Lykischen* (Wiesbaden 2007).



- ROBINSON 1936 E. S. G. ROBINSON, British Museum Numismatic Acquisitions for 1933–1934, NC 1936, p. 169–201.
- SCHÜRR 1998 D. SCHÜRR, Kaunos in lykischen Inschriften, in: Kadmos 37, 1998, p. 143–162.
- SCHÜRR 2001 D. SCHÜRR, Karische und lykische Sibilanten, Indogermanische Forschungen 106, 2001, p. 94–121.
- SCHÜRR 2008 D. SCHÜRR, Lykisch *θurtta-* und *\*señnaha-*, in: Indogermanische Forschungen 113, 2008, p. 176–186.
- SCHÜRR 2009 D. SCHÜRR, Zum Agora-Pfeiler von Xanthos II: Selbstlob auf Perserart und Ordnung des Raumes, Kadmos 48, 2009, p. 157–176.
- SCHÜRR 2012 D. SCHÜRR, Zum Agora-Pfeiler von Xanthos III: Vom Wettergott und dem Dynasten Teththiweibi, Kadmos 51, 2012, p. 114–142.
- SCHÜRR 2019 D. SCHÜRR, Zum Agora-Pfeiler von Xanthos IV: Das Westgedicht auf Cheriga und Muni (TL 44d), Kadmos 57, 2019, p. 55–105.
- SCHÜRR, forthcoming D. SCHÜRR, Die lykischen Inschriften von Phellos (forthcoming).
- SNG Ashmolean SNG Britain, Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Part XI, Asia Minor, Caria to Commagene (except Cyprus), publ. by R. ASHTON – S. IRELAND (Oxford 2013).
- SNG v. Aulock SNG Deutschland, Die Sammlung Hans von Aulock, Heft 10, Lykien, bearbeitet von O. Mørkholm (Berlin 1964), sowie Heft 18, Nachträge IV, bearbeitet von P. R. FRANKE (Berlin 1968).
- SNG Cop. SNG Danmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, vol. 31, Lycia-Pamphylia, publ. by O. MØRKHOLM (Copenhagen 1955).
- SNG Cop. Suppl. SNG Danmark, The Royal Collection of Coins and Medals, Danish National Museum, Supplement Acquisitions 1942–1996, publ. by S. SCHULTZ – J. ZAHLE (Copenhagen 2002).
- SNG Keckman SNG Finland, The Erkki Keckman Collection in the Skopbank, Helsinki, Part II, Asia Minor except Karia, publ. by R. ASHTON (Helsinki 1999).

THONEMANN 2009	P. THONEMANN, <i>Lycia, Athens and Amorges</i> , in: J. MA <i>et al.</i> (eds.), <i>Interpreting the Athenian Empire</i> , London 2009, p. 167–194.
TL	E. KALINKA, <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris I: Tituli Lyciae</i> (Wien 1901).
VISMARA 1989	N. VISMARA, <i>Monetazione arcaica della Lycia I: Il dinasta Wekhssere I</i> (Milano 1989).
VISMARA 1996	N. VISMARA, <i>Monetazione arcaica della Lycia III: Le prime emissioni del Wedri</i> (Milano 1996).
Weber Coll.	L. FORRER, <i>The Weber Collection of Greek Coins</i> , vol. I–III (London 1922–1929).
Winsemann Coll.	N. VISMARA, <i>Monetazione arcaica della Lycia II: La collezione Winsemann-Falghera</i> (Milano 1989).
ZAHLE 1998	J. ZAHLE, <i>Den lykiske by Tuminehi</i> , <i>Nordisk Numismatisk Unions Medlemsblad</i> 1998, p. 98–104.

#### *Auctioneers*

CNG	Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster PA and London.
Gorny & Mosch	Giessener Münzhandlung Gorny & Mosch, München.
Jacob Hirsch	Dr. Jacob Hirsch, München.
Hirsch	Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, München.
Künker	Münzenhandlung Fritz Rudolf Künker, Osnabrück.
Nomos (+ Obolos)	Nomos AG, Zürich.
Peus	Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Frankfurt / M.
Roma	Roma Numismatics Ltd., London.
Savoca	Savoca Numismatik, München.

#### *Photograph Credits*

*Figs. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 12, 17, 19, 21, 22, 28, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 40, 41, 42 and 43:* Archiv Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Frankfurt / Wilhelm Müseler.  
*Figs. 4, 8, 15 and 39:* The trustees of the British Museum, London.  
*Figs. 7, 13, 23, 25 and 26:* Dansk Nationalmuseet, København.  
*Figs. 9, 10 and 31:* Archiv Roma Numismatics, London.  
*Figs. 11, 14, 24, 32 and 45:* Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.  
*Fig. 16:* University of Glasgow (Hunterian Museum).  
*Fig. 18:* Heinrich-Heine-Universität, Düsseldorf.  
*Figs. 20 and 47:* Archiv Nomos AG, Zürich.



*Fig. 27:* Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

*Fig. 29:* University of Oxford (Ashmolean Museum).

*Fig. 38:* Archiv Classical Numismatic Group, Lancaster PA & London.

*Fig. 44:* Archiv Hertha Schwarz.

*Fig. 46:* Archiv Numismatik Savoca, München.











