Lycian **Wexssere**, **Waxssepddimi** and related forms

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**Abstract:** In this paper, I address the problem of the Lycian coin legends attributed to two dynasts of the same name – Wexssere I and Wexssere II – on the basis of some very recent re-readings and novelties published by Koray Konuk. Now we actually have different forms (*wexssere*, *waxseblli mi*, *waxssepddimi*, *uxssepddimi*), that seem to be chaotically distributed. The present paper proposes to consider *Waxseblli mi* to be older than *Waxssepddimi* and *Uxssepddimi*, and to analyze it as a foreign name, possibly Carian, later adapted to Lycian as *Waxssepddimi-Uxssepddimi*; thus, *contra* Konuk, I suggest that these names may refer to the same person. As for the relationship of *waxseblli mi-waxssepddimi-uxssepddimi* with *wexssere*, the existence of an apparent interchangeability between the two can be attributed either to a double denomination practice or to the fact that *wexssere* was a place name, not a personal name. By accepting either hypothesis, the alleged chaotic distribution disappears and much simpler models of dynastic sequence can be envisaged. Although the interpretation of *wexssere* as a place name seems much more attractive, it cannot be accepted definitively at present due to certain numismatic objections.

**Keywords:** Lycian, Carian, Lycian coins, Anatolian languages, *Wexssere* coins


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1. Recently, Koray Konuk published a paper entitled “On some new Lycian coin types” in which he offers some very novel information about an old and as yet unresolved problem of Lycian onomastics: the set of (real and alleged) names such as *wexssere*, *waxssepddimi* or *waxse rddimi*, *ddimiu*, *waxsebe*.1 Thanks to the emergence of new coin types and the re-reading of other previously known but erroneously interpreted ones, Konuk’s extremely valuable contribution helps to correct some earlier misreadings. However, his article also opens up some challenging new questions, and the aim of my paper is to deal with some of these problems.

To begin with, I will try to summarize the current state of the art. The history of the research is so complex and sinuous that it would merit a paper of its own, and I hope that my summary is not excessively confused or elliptical:

(1) In Mørkholm – Neumann 1977, which remains the principal reference work for coin epigraphy in Lycian, the following forms are presented:

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1 Konuk 2016.
a) wexssere (M 132a, M 133a, M 207a, M 236)
b) wex (M 207c)
c) wexs (M 132b)
d) wexss (M 207b)
e) waxsser ddimi (M 237)
f) waxsse (M 133b)
g) waxssebe (M 208)
h) ddimiu (M 235)

(2) In the Xanthos Stele, a name waxssepddimi is mentioned (TL 44a, 49). The context points to a Lycian dynast defeated by Kherẽi and Kheriga:

FIG. 1. Waxssepddimi (TL 44a, 49).

(3) In numismatic studies, the names appearing on coins have been treated as the avatars of a unique onomastic form: a proper name generally transcribed as Wekhssere (less often Vekhssere; henceforth transcribed Wexssere according to the standard transliteration of Lycian). Given that the name Wexssere appeared both in coins that were typologically similar to the coinage of the dynast Kuprlli (around the middle of the 5th century BC) and in coins of a more recent date (the first decades of the 4th century BC), Jenkins suggested the existence of two dynasts named Wexssere.2 This proposal has been accepted by numismatic scholars, the sole discrepancy being the precise attribution of the different coin types to Wexssere I or Wexssere II.3

(4) The appearance of a new coin type, published by Özüdoğru4 containing a name uxssepddimi (misread there as [wa]xssepddimi)5 is the starting point of Konuk’s study. Konuk also examines other coins, some entirely new, others already known but misinterpreted, and the picture changes dramatically:

a) waxsser ddimi must be read waxssepddimi. It is therefore exactly the same name as in TL 44a, 49.
b) waxssesebe must be read waxssesebl and it is in fact the abbreviation of a name that we can read completely in two new coin types: waxssesbllimi.
c) ddimiu does not exist: it is a misreading of uxssepddimi.

(5) In conclusion, we now have the following names:

a) wexssere, abbreviated as wex, wexs, wexss.
b) waxssesbllimi, abbreviated as waxssesebl.
c) waxssepddimi, possibly abbreviated as waxsse in M 133b.
d) uxssepddimi.

2 Jenkins 1959, 33.
3 For further detailed information, see Vismara 1989a, 27–33.
4 Özüdoğru 2007.
5 Correct reading by Konuk apud Schürr 2012, 139 and now in Konuk 2016.
2. From an epigraphic and philological point of view, I have practically nothing to add to Konuk's important study. I would only like to add two marginal notes:

2.1. The first note is basically anecdotal, but it is surprising and not without interest. Prior to the publication of Konuk's article, I was also analyzing these coin types, and so I tried to trace the history of the research and to collect all the references on these coin legends. In the case of M 237 waxssepddimi, the erroneous reading of \( r \) instead of \( p \) appeared for the first time, to my knowledge, in Mørkholm's edition of von Aulock's collection of coins from Lycia,\(^6\) where the coin legend was read as \( \text{wexsser urwẽi [sic!]} \). The reading was improved in Mørkholm – Neumann 1977, but the misreading persisted: \( \text{wexsser ddimi} \). The previous work of reference for Lycian epigraphy on coins was Babelon's \( \text{Traité} \);\(^7\) but in publishing this coin (nº 442), Babelon gave no reading of the initial letters \( \text{waxssep} \), limiting himself to offering a drawing of the final part of the name:\(^8\)

\[
\text{ΕΕΕΕΠΟ (??)}
\]

\textbf{FIG. 2.} Babelon's drawing of the legend on the coin nº 442 (Babelon 1910, nº 442).

Of course, this drawing, which shows the letters inverted, is the starting point of the misreading \( \text{urwẽi} \) in SNG von Aulock 4200, corrected as \( \text{ddimi} \) in Mørkholm – Neumann 1977, as we have just seen.

The most surprising thing is that on a previous occasion Babelon seems to have read the coin much more accurately: an exemplar of his work \( \text{Les Perses achéménides, les satrapes et les dynastes tributaires de leur empire, Chypre et Phénicie} \);\(^9\) conserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) and available online, shows numerous handwritten pages inserted, with corrigenda and addenda, presumably written by Babelon himself. The book was published in 1893, seventeen years before the \( \text{Traité} \), and it did not include this coin. However, the coin does appear in one of the inserted pages, and there the author of the handwritten annotations copies all the seven letters preceding the five last ones correctly:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{𐊇𐊀𐊜𐊖𐊖𐊁𐊓}
\end{align*}
\]

\( \text{waxssep} \):

\textbf{FIG. 3.} Babelon's (?) handwritten notes \textit{ad pag.} 76 of the exemplar of \( \text{Les Perses achéménides} \) (Babelon 1893) conserved in BNF. Source: https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k399051b/f278 (last accessed 11 October 2021).

If the manuscript additions are by Babelon, and if they were made before the publication of his \( \text{Traité} \) (both reasonable assumptions), the only explanation is that Babelon overlooked this note when he was preparing the \( \text{Traité} \), and that we have had to wait more than a century for a definitive reading of this coin. In fact, an excellent photograph of this coin is available on the BNF site, which dispels any doubt about the reading \( \text{waxssepddimi} \):\(^{10}\)

\(^{6}\) SNG von Aulock 4200.
\(^{7}\) Babelon 1910.
\(^{8}\) In a note Babelon mentions Six 1886 and de Luynes 1852, but neither of these works gives a reading or drawing of the legend.
\(^{9}\) Babelon 1893.
\(^{10}\) \text{Cf.} Konuk 2016.
2.2. The other note is a further consequence of the newly attested form *uxssepddimi*. The symbol keypress appears in different Lycian coin types. We find it on a coin with the legend *wexssere*, on another with the legend *waxsse*, and also on coins minted in the city of Zagaba.

For the origin of this symbol, several hypotheses have been formulated: according to Vismara,\(^{11}\) it is the result of a combination of the diskeles – a symbol that she links to the dynast Wexssere II – with the letter keypress, initial of *xïtawata* ‘king, ruler’ [sic].\(^{12}\) For Kolb and Tietz\(^{13}\) it is rather a compromise between a symbol keypress found in Tlos (cf. the abovementioned coin of *Waxssepddimi*, Babelon 1910, n° 442, where it appears) and the Lycian letter keypress, which could be the initial of Xeriga, the name of the well-known Xanthian dynast, who for these authors may be an ancestor of the local dynast.

Now, it is tempting to see in the symbol the three initial letters of the name *uxssepddimi*, keypress (uxs). This is particularly visible on some coins minted in Zagaba, as the following images show:

![Image of coins from Zagaba](https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8534848z/last accessed 11 October 2021)

3. After these two marginal notes, it is time for a linguistic analysis of the forms *uxsepddimi*, *waxsepddimi* and *waxsebllimi* and their mutual connections. This question is not discussed in

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11 Vismara 1996, 10.
12 An idea based on Carruba’s proposal that the letter x represents the same word on other coin types (cf. Carruba *apud* Vismara 1996, 222). To be precise, *xïtawata* means ‘kingship, rulership’, the Lycian word for ‘king, ruler’ being *xïtawatt(i)-*, see Melchert 2004, ss.vv.
Konuk’s article. In fact, Konuk, assuming more or less explicitly the obvious formal connection between the three names, considers that each one must represent a different ruler because they are different names. In my opinion, this is not an inference that should be taken for granted.

3.1. The relationship between waxssepddimi and uxssepddimi is easy to explain. Here we find the typical alternation (u)wa-/u-, clearly attested in Lycian and in other Anatolian dialects, cf. particularly Lycian wawa- / uwa- ‘cow’ and Cuneiform Luwian unattiš beside wanattiš ‘woman’,14 which show the alternation in absolute initial position, as waxssepddimi / uxssepddimi. This alternation is a ubiquitous phenomenon in Anatolian dialects, and has still not been satisfactorily explained in its entirety; perhaps it conceals different phonological processes that should be analyzed separately. In any case, it accounts perfectly for the pairing waxssepddimi-uxssepddimi.

3.2. More complex is the relationship between waxssepddimi and waxseblimi. It is clear that we must look for a unified explanation, as they are phonologically very close; the only differences are b vs. p and ll vs. dd.

If we accept the chronology established by Vismara,15 waxseblimi is older than waxssepddimi. This chronological ordering may be linked to the fact that a spelling waxseblimi is less usual than waxssepddimi in Lycian. Whereas -pddimi shows a group -pdd- that is well attested in Lycian in the stem pdde/pdda- ‘place’, -bl- appears only in this name.

A possible explanation for the existence of two variants – an older one with an unusual consonantal group and a more recent one with a group that coincides with the initial cluster of a well-known Lycian stem – goes as follows: we are dealing with a foreign name that underwent a process of adaptation. Thus, we have a very attractive possible connection: the name could be Carian. Let us develop this hypothesis:

waxseblimi/waxssepddimi gives the impression of being a compound name, as are many Anatolian indigenous personal names.16 It can be segmented as waxe/- -blimi/pddimi. According to Neumann,17 waxe- can be compared with the Milyan stem waxsa-/waxssa- of unknown meaning, and with a series of personal names attested in Greek sources, such as Ουαξαις (Isauria),18 Ουαξαμοας, Ουαξαμως (Isauria-Cilicia).19 The stem appears in Carian names as well: note particularly uksmu/wksmu, uksi, uansi. Carian Εξαμυης may also belong here.
Of greater interest in the present discussion is the second element. The use in Lycian of *ll* and later *dd* could be an attempt to reflect the known Carian sound λ, which appears in Greek as -λδ- or -λλ-. As I have suggested elsewhere, I am now convinced that Carian λ was biphonemic, representing two sounds, a sequence of /ll/ or /ld/ – but, in any case, a sequence of lateral-dental sounds which in Greek and Lycian tended to be interpreted as somewhere between /d/ and /l/. Possibly this type of articulation was not just present in Carian geminate λ, but in the simple Carian sound l as well. This would explain the case of the name which appears in the Letoon trilingual as Κεσινδηλις in Greek and xesñtedi in Lycian. Instead of the resort to a graphic mistake, perhaps xesñtedi-, Κεσινδηλις represents a Carian name, comparable to the Carian name Πισινδηλις, and the vacillation -d/-l- is a consequence of its Carian origin.

If Lycian -ll/-dd- represents Carian λ (= Greek -λδ-/-λλ-), -bllimi/-pddimi must be directly compared with the Carian name in Greek sources Πελδεμις, for which we could quite safely reconstruct a Carian *pλmi- as the original form. If, as in other cases, initial *p comes from a voiced labial *b (cf. *piks- vs. *biks-), a Carian *uks+bλmi may be behind Lycian waxsebllimi.

The form waxsseppdimi, attested later than waxxsebllimi, may be a further adaptation of the name, where the existence in Lycian of a pdde- stem could favor a sort of paretymological approach.

If this Carian interpretation of the name is accepted, we can go further, although in a very speculative way, regarding a particular feature of coins with the name waxsebllimi: in all these coins, a symbol appears. This can hardly be a Lycian letter, but it could very well be the Carian letter for u, the possible initial of the original Carian name (cf. uksmu, uksi, uqsi, mentioned above).

4. Now, it may be interesting to assess briefly the implications of the emergence of these three forms – waxsebllimi, waxsepddimi, uxsepddimi – in the world of the Lycian coin legends. In my view, it is nothing less than an earthquake. Previously, numismatics scholars had drawn a very simple and placid picture: there was a unique name form, Wexssere, which was borne by two different dynasts (Wexssere I and Wexssere II).

The author who has worked on the Wexsseres in the greatest detail is Novella Vismara. This Italian scholar devoted a monograph to all the coinages that she attributed to Wexssere I and in other studies, she has also uncovered important information on Wexssere II. For Vismara, most of the (real or alleged) wexssere coin types must be assigned to Wexssere I. In Vismara 1989a, she establishes 13 different types of Wexssere I coinages on formal grounds and also fixes a certain chronological evolution:

a) Types I–VI, characterized by the presence of an animal on the obverse and a triskeles on the reverse, and showing clear affinities to Kuprlli and Teθθiweibi coinages, belong to the first phase of the reign of Wexssere I, to be dated between 455/50-440 BC.

b) Types VII–XIII, bearing various divine figures, are attributed by Vismara to a “second stage” of Wexssere I’s reign, between 440-435/30 BC.

c) As for the coin type “Obv. Athena / Rev. two facing lions” (cf. §2.1. above), Vismara has some doubts and confines it to an Appendix (“type C”). She misreads waxseppdimi as wexs

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20 Adiego 2019.
24 Vismara 1989a.
25 Vismara 1989b; 1996.
and suggests a transitional stage between Wexssere I and his successor, a certain Ddimiu(s) (who, as we have seen above, never existed).

To sum up, according to Vismara, all these coins were minted in the name of a dynast Wexssere I, particularly active in Patara and probably present also in Tlos, who ruled from 455/50 to 435/30 BC and whose reign could be divided in two parts. In the first part, until 440 BC, he seems to have been under the shadow of Kuprlli, but in the second he seems to have been independent, and perhaps showed pro-Athenian inclinations and expansionist ambitions. Vismara situates the end of his rule, and possibly also of his life, immediately after the defeat of the Athenian general Melesander’s military campaign in Lycia (430/429 BC).

As for Wexssere II, he appears to be represented in some late types, such as “Obv. lion’s head / Rev. head of Athena”, or “Obv. lion’s scalp / Rev. triskeles”, with the legends wexssere (abbreviated wexs, wex) and waxsse. The symbol [u-x-s], here identified as u-x-s, was also considered by Vismara as an emblem of Wexssere II; therefore, some highly characteristic coins from Zagaba would also have been minted under this dynast.

4.1. Now, the picture is enormously more complex: if we accept that the abbreviated forms in wex/wexs/wexss always represent wexssere, and that the few examples of waxsse must represent a name waxsebllimi or waxsepddimi; and if we accept, as Konuk does, that waxsepddimi, waxsebllimi and uxssepddimi cannot be variants of the name of the same person, after applying these premises to the entire corpus of the “Wexssere I and II coinages”, and following Vismara’s typological classification, we arrive at the following panorama:

(1) Among the coin types of the alleged first stage of Wexssere I’s rule (types I–VI, with animal representations plus triskeles, similar to Kuprlli’s coinages), dated between 455/50–440 BC, we have:

1A. A ruler Waxssebllimi, responsible for Vismara’s type II (“Obv. a mule / Rev. triskeles”).
1B. A ruler Wexssere, whose name appears complete in coins of types III and VI, and incomplete in types I, IV, V.

(2) As for the coin types of the second stage of Wexssere I’s reign (types VII–XIII, and possibly also type C), characterized by the presence of divine figures and dated 440–430 BC, we have:

2A. A ruler Wexssere, whose name appears complete in types VII–VIII, XI, XIII and incomplete in types IX–X.
2B. A ruler Waxsebllimi, who appears in the new coin type “Bearded Hermes / triskeles”.
2C. A ruler Waxsepddimi, who appears in type XIII.
2D. A ruler Uxssepddimi, who appears in type XIII.

(3) The type “Obv. Athena / Rev. two facing lions” presents a ruler Waxsepddimi.

(4) On the coin types attributed to Wexssere II, dated around 380 BC, we find:

4A. A ruler Wexssere.
4B. A ruler Waxse( ), a probably abbreviated form of Waxsepddimi (or Waxsebllimi?).
4C. The use of the symbol u-x-s, interpretable as the abbreviation of a ruler’s name Uxssepddimi.

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26 Type XII is ambiguous, as it only has a letter w.
So, the combination of *wexssere* and the new forms offers a very puzzling picture. If we assume with Konuk\(^{27}\) that Waxssebllimi, Waxssepddimi and Uxssepddimi cannot represent the same individual, if we accept that for chronological reasons Wexssere 1B, Wexssere 2A and Wexssere 4A must represent more than one dynast, and if we make the assumption that 4B is representing a name Waxssepddimi (or Waxsseblimi) that for chronological reasons cannot be the same as one of the individuals bearing this name in groups 1, 2 and 3, we must conclude that the following dynasts existed:

a) at least one Waxssebllimi,

b) at least two Wexssere,

c) one or two Waxssepddimi,

d) one Uxssepddimi,

e) one Waxsse( ),

i.e., at least six or seven different dynasts with similar or identical alternating names in a time span of around seventy years. It is theoretically possible, but this amount of identical and similar names borne by different rulers in a short chronological period is rather unlikely.

4.2. Of course, we can try to reduce this inflation of Lycian dynasts with names beginning with *waxss-, wexss-, uxss-. Perhaps the most convincing option is to accept the possibility that forms such as Waxsseblimi, Waxssepddimi and Uxsseppddimi could represent one and the same person on some coinages. *Pace* Konuk, the formal variant does not necessarily mean that we are dealing with different individuals. We know other examples of different spellings of the same name for the same person, such as M 217a *tênegure* / M 217b *tênagure*. Above I defended the possibility that Waxsseblimi was of foreign origin (Carian?) and that Waxssepddimi was a “lycianized” form of the name, adopted by a dynast during his rule for political or other reasons. I will come back to this point below (§4.6).

Another option that seems less convincing to me would be to imagine that in some cases the abbreviation *wexs/wexs/wex* may represent a metaphonic variant *wexsseblimi* or *wexssepddimi*, and/or that in others, *waxs* could abbreviate the metaphonic variant *waxssere*. Note the above-mentioned example of *tênegure/tênagure*. However, this is an *ad hoc* explanation that contrasts with the systematic spellings of *wexssere* (and *wex/wexs/wexss* on the types of coins on which we have both the incomplete and complete form) and also of *waxssepddimi*, *waxsseblimi* (abbreviated *waxssebl*). Moreover, the effects of this assumption would be very limited, as it would only properly affect the case of 4A (*wexssere*)-4B (*waxsse*). For the rest of possibly different dynasts, there is evidence based on complete forms of the names.

4.3. But despite this open possibility of reducing the number of different dynasts, there is a more serious problem with the picture resulting from the new readings: the problem of the exact relationship between *waxssepddimi-waxsseblimi-uxssepddimi* on the one hand, and *wexssere* on the other. We find four different situations where *wexssere* seems to coexist with one (or two) of the other names:

(I) Vismara points out that her type I is very close to type II. Both coin types not only share the presence of a symbol $\mathcal{C}$, but are also very similar from the point of view of their weight and their typology. But on the coins of type I, we have the legend *wexs*, which suggests *Wexssere*, whereas the coins of type II bear the name *waxsseblimi*\(^{28}\)

\(^{27}\) Konuk 2016.

\(^{28}\) There may even be an alternation inside the coinage of type II. Vismara 1989a offers two exemplars: (3) a 1/3 of stater with the legend *wexssebe* (sic!) and (4) a 1/12(?) of stater with the legend *wex*. Exemplar 3 is Babelon 1910 nº 442 and it is now read *waxssebl* (*cf.* above). This misreading by Vismara casts doubt on the correct reading of 4. The photograph is of poor quality and I have not been able to obtain a better image or check the original.
The new coin published by Konuk, a bearded Hermes with winged petasos on the obverse and a triskeles on the reverse, belongs typologically to Vismara’s types VII–XIII, the “second phase” of the rule of Wexssere I (440–430 BC), more precisely to the types with divine figure and triskeles (VII–VIII, X). Significantly, Konuk notes that the aspect of Hermes is more archaic here than in type XIII, which situates this coinage closer to the early days of this “second phase”, i.e., around 440 BC, and it reaffirms the use of triskeles as a characteristic of this early second phase, soon to be replaced by the use of two divine figures (type XIII). However, once again, the new coin shows a name waxssebllimi, while types VII and VIII are coined in the name of wexssere, and X in the name of wexss.

Type XIII (Athena-Hermes) is particularly puzzling: we have four different legend types:

a) wexssere,

b) waxssepd dimi,

c) uxssepd dimi,

d) uxssepd dimi – pttara.

The most striking thing is that the issue with the legend waxssepd dimi shows the same obverse die as some different issues with the legend wexssere (see the two tables at the end of this chapter). The obverse die is more damaged in the waxssepd dimi exemplar than in the wexssere ones, indicating that the wexssere-issues were coined previously. The coins with uxssepd dimi and uxssepd dimi – pttara apparently do not share dies with the other types, but they are typologically identical to the others (Obverse: Head of Athena with Attic helmet looking right with a dotted circular border / Reverse: Head of (unbearded) Hermes with winged petasos looking right). So these issues are closely interrelated, and should be assigned to a similar authority inside narrow chronological limits.

In the case of 4A and 4B, once again we find an identical type of coin (Obverse: lion’s scalp / Reverse: triskeles); but in one case the legend is wexssere, and in the other waxsse. In the center of the triskeles, in both cases, the symbol is present.

These four situations, taken together, give an impression of interchangeability between wexssere and the other three dynast names. It is true that in the first and the last cases we could resort to metaphony, because one of the two contrasting forms appears in an abbreviated form; but as I have pointed out above, this seems an excessively easy and ad hoc solution, not supported by clear evidence.

If we are speaking of interchangeability, I can imagine two possible explanations:

(1) The first is to assume a sort of “double denomination”, so that wexssere would be an alternative name for dynasts named Waxssebllimi-Waxssepd dimi-Uxssepd dimi. The possible Carian origin of this later name – as suggested above – could explain the need for the use of a name wexssere which – we ought to envisage – would be more genuinely Lycian. This solution would greatly simplify the picture: we could make the two Wexsseres of Vismara with a Waxssebllimi-Waxssepd dimi and a Uxssepd dimi-Waxssepd dimi roughly coincide, or assume three or even four dynasts, but not six or seven, as the picture traced above suggested. But this solution is not totally persuasive: why would these different dynasts use a double denomination? How can we explain why one or another form was used on identical or very similar coins? If waxssepd dimi is an approach to a Lycian interpretation of the name, as I have proposed, the case for a double
denomination seems even weaker. Finally, the Xanthos stele guarantees that the Lycian name of the dynast was Waxssepddimi.

(2) The second solution simplifies matters much as the first one does, but it is much more attractive, although not without its difficulties. The ubiquitous name wexssere, attested from the times of Kuprlli to the late coinages of the first decades of the 4th century BC, was not a personal name but a place name. Thus, the alleged dynasts named Wexssere disappear and we must deal only with the group Waxssebllimi, Waxssepddimi, Uxssepddimi. The three different situations traced above, where these later names alternate with Wexssere, could be easily explained if we assume that we are dealing with dynasts of a city named Wexssere, and that, as with other coin types, some coins show the name of the dynast and others the name of the city.

I am not able to propose a clear identification of this possible Lycian place name with the Lycian cities known in classical sources. I had envisaged the idea of identifying this supposed Wexssere with Lycian Araxa due to their (rather distant) similarity, but this is only a very speculative possibility.

4.5. The existence of a place name Wexssere provides a more logical and consistent picture:

a) Types I and II, and the new type of bearded Hermes, would be the coinage of a dynast Waxssebllimi from Wexssere.

b) Types III to XII, where the legend Wexssere appears (either complete or abbreviated) would have been minted in this city, probably (but not necessarily) by Waxssebllimi.

c) We could also give a consistent explanation of the complex type XIII (Athena/Hermes), where we find Waxssere, Waxssepddimi and Uxssepddimi (the latter also accompanied by the place name Patara in one issue), and extend this explanation to the waxssepddimi type C (Athena/Facing lions, most probably coined in Tlos) and to the waxssepddimi of TL 44, 49. In my opinion, he could be one and the same dynast, who minted coins in the cities of Wexssere, Patara and Tlos.

There is no chronological reason why this dynast Waxssepddimi-Uxssepddimi should not also be the one attested earlier as Waxssebllimi. In fact, I wonder if the modifications of the name can be related to the extension of his power: Wexssepddimi could be a deliberate lycianization adopted when he extended his power from Wexssere to Tlos, and Uxssepddimi the local form the name adopted in Patara.

It is not difficult to link Wexssepddimi’s expansion to other Lycian cities to the fact that, according to TL 44, 49, he was defeated by the Xanthian ruler Xerēi: either he attempted to extend his political power to Xanthos, or the rulers of this city perceived him as a danger. Given that the defeat of Wexssepddimi is apparently explained in the context of the failed military campaign of the Athenian general Melesander,31 it is an attractive hypothesis to imagine that Wexssepddimi acted as an ally of Melesander and shared his fate.32

d) Finally, the coins attributed by Vismara to Wexssere II seem to point to another dynast, a Waxsse(ppddimi?), attested only in an abbreviated form and also by means of his apparent symbol, u-x-s (cf. above) in coinages dated at the beginning of the 4th century BC. This dynast seems to be attested in Wexssere and also in Zagaba; he is unlikely to have been the Wexssepddimi who ruled Tlos and Patara and was defeated by Xerēi. The name appears in an issue with a lion’s scalp in the obverse, and issues of this sort, according to Vismara, must be dated after 382 BC, ca. fifty years after Wexssepddimi’s defeat. It is true that we could

31 Melesander’s campaign as narrated in the Xanthos stele (see Cau 1999).
32 Vismara 1989a seems to assume this implicitly for ‘her’ Wexssere I, who then would coincide chronologically and politically with ‘our’ Waxssebllimi-Waxssepddimi-Uxssepddimi.
lower the date of Waxssepddimi’s defeat by assuming that it did not take place immediately after Melesander’s, but we have a clear terminus ante quem in the following exploit narrated in TL 44, the mention of the Ionian war of 412–404 BC, and the chronological gap would continue to be considerable. Note also that for this ruler we do not have a complete version of the name: both waxesse and u-x-s could, in theory, be the initial sounds of a different name.

The zone of influence of this ruler depends on the exact localization not only of Wexssere but also of Zagaba – a very controversial question. It is also surprising to find a coin\(^{33}\) on which the symbol $\mathcal{G}$ u-x-s appears together with the name perikle. How should this be interpreted? Joint rule by a dynast Uxs(  )/Waxsse( ) and Perikle? The survival of a symbol without any actual value? A third possibility is more attractive but enormously speculative: following Keen’s suggestion\(^{34}\) that Perikle could have had a Lycian name and that he adopted his Greek name in the latter phase, might the joint use of u-x-s and perikle on a coin indicate that Uxs(sepddimi?) was his Lycian name?

4.6. To sum up, by assuming that Wexssere was a place name, not a personal name, we obtain two dynasts, who would coincide chronologically with the ones previously known as Wexssere I and Wexssere II:

a) A ruler of the city of Wexssere, originally called Waxssebllimi, who began to issue coins around 450 BC, and who, towards the end of his reign, coinciding with the extension of his power to Tlos and Patara, lycianized his name as Waxssepddimi (Uxssepddimi in Patara). He was defeated by Xerẽi around 430 BC or at a later date, but in any case during the last decades of the 5th century BC.

b) A ruler of Wexssere called Waxsse( ), probably Waxssepddimi, known also for his symbol $\mathcal{G}$ u-x-s, who also issued coins in the city of Zagaba; he is unlikely to have been the same individual as the preceding one since his activity must be dated around 380 BC.

Of course, this is only one of the possible models resulting from the assumption that wexssere was a place name, not a personal name. It is the model that seems the simplest to me, but other different distributions of the coin types between two (or even three) dynasts are equally feasible. In any case, the hypothesis that wexssere was a place name allows us to avoid the chaotic picture traced above in §4.1.

4.7. However, this solution, apparently more suitable than previous proposals, poses serious difficulties from the point of view of the orthodoxy of Lycian numismatics. Since Mørkholm,\(^{35}\) it has been widely accepted that the existence of two different weight standards (one light, other heavy) in Lycian coins has a clear, undisputable geographical distribution: the light standard (8.10-8.60 g for the stater\(^{36}\)), also known as the “Attic standard”, was used in the western part of Lycia (Telmessos, Kadyanda, and the cities in the valley of the Xanthos river); the heavy standard (9.50-10.00 g), also called “Lycian standard”, was used in the eastern part. For instance, the coins of Xanthos follow the light standard; the coins of Antiphellos or Limyra the heavy one. If we assume that wexssere is a place name, this dogma is clearly violated. We have wexssere-coins with both standards: the light standard is used in the wexssere-coins of our Waxssebllimi-Waxssepddimi-Uxssepddimi (Vismara’s Wexssere I), and the heavy one in the coin with the legend wexssere of our Waxsse(  ) (Vismara’s Wexssere II). Given that, according to Mørkholm, there is a clear-cut

\(^{33}\) Vismara 1989b, n. 213.

\(^{34}\) Keen 1998, 155.

\(^{35}\) Mørkholm 1964.

\(^{36}\) According to Mørkholm 1964.
geographical distribution of classes of weight, wexssere could not be a geographical name referring to a place where both weight standards were used.

It is true that Mørkholm's model of rigid geographical distribution of weight standards has been challenged by some authors like Spier\textsuperscript{37} and more recently Vismara,\textsuperscript{38} who points out that there are no “physical” (i.e., orographic, climatic, and so on) reasons for the presence of one or another standard. The reason must be basically political. In fact, the light standard was clearly copied from the Attic model: its presence in western Lycia was therefore a consequence of the relationships of cities of the valley of Xanthos, and their zone of influence, with Athens during a part of the 5th century BC. Vismara even affirms that we must admit that some mints issued coins of both weights, so we cannot state a one-to-one relationship between cities and weights. She offers some examples to support this statement, in a clear challenge to Mørkholm’s geographical model of the distribution of weights.

If we assume this less rigid vision of the facts, we could imagine that a city called Wexssere, possibly situated in the zone of influence of the extension of the Atticized lighter standard, adopted this weight in its coin issues of the 5th century BC, but also issued its later coinages of the 4th century BC in the heavier, typically Lycian standard. Nevertheless, the interpretation of wexssere as a place name, however attractive and illuminating it may be, must be left open as it depends decisively on the judgement of numismatic scholars.

5. In conclusion, the new and renewed materials in Konuk 2016 has challenged the standard vision of the coinages traditionally attributed to dynasts bearing the name Wexssere. Now we must deal with different forms (wexssere, waxssebllimi, waxssepdidi, uxssepdidi), which seem to be chaotically distributed along the period between the first issues (around 450 BC) and the last ones (around 380 BC). My aim was to propose a simpler and more consistent picture. Firstly, I formulated the hypothesis that waxssebllimi was a foreign name, perhaps of Carian origin, and waxssepdidi (with its rather banal variant uxssepdidi) an attempt at a better adaptation to Lycian. I have also assumed that the formal variation of the name does not necessarily imply that each form must correspond to a different individual: one and the same dynast could bear one or another form at different points in his career, particularly given that there seems to exist a chronological evolution from waxssebllimi to waxssepdidi. Finally, I stated that there are clear examples of interchangeability between wexssere on the one hand and waxssebllimi-waxssepdidi-uxssepdidi on the other, which in my opinion must be due to one of two reasons: either (1) there was a practice of double denomination, so that wexssere was an alternative name to the waxssepdidi group; or (2) wexssere was actually a place name, and it alternates with the other forms because the latter designated dynast(s) of this place name. Either of these explanations would allow us to clarify the picture, and, combined with other assumptions, they can lead to a model identical to Vismara’s two dynasts. However, it is not clear which of the two reasons is correct. A double denomination of this type is not supported by further evidence and does not appear to be justified. The interpretation of wexssere as a place name is much more attractive, and it identifies interchangeability as the common practice of issuing coins either in the name of the city or in the name of the dynast. However, the use of two different weight standards by the same city violates the standard vision of coinage in Lycia, which rigidly links the differences of weight to the geographical location of the minting city. Consequently, it is preferable to leave the question open for further enquiries.

\textsuperscript{37} Spier 1987.
\textsuperscript{38} Vismara 2005.
Afterthought: A further note on \textit{bllimi-/pddimi-}

An intriguing consequence of the alternation \textit{-bll-/pdd-} in the (possibly Carian) name \textit{waxssebllimi/waxsseppddimi}, is that if one does a simple exercise of transcribing the sequences in question in Carian alphabet, one obtains the following picture:

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<td>-ΒΛΛ-</td>
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<td>-bll-</td>
<td>*-pdd-</td>
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<td>-ΓΔΔ-</td>
<td>*-ΓΔΔ-</td>
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<tr>
<td>-pdd-</td>
<td>*-bll-</td>
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This strange crossing relation can be merely a matter of chance, but if not, it opens the way to further research, as it would call for a graphic or phonological explanation.

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The pillared sarcophagus and the Harpy Tomb, Xanthos
Photo: Diether Schürr.
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Vorwort
Zsolt Simon*

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Die Erforschung der altanatolischen Sprachen findet an der Schnittstelle zwischen Altorientalistik und Indogermanistik statt und in beiden Disziplinen gehört dieser Sprachzweig zweifellos zu den Bereichen, in denen die Forschung besonders intensiv voranschreitet.

Dies zeigen auch die Entwicklungen der letzten Jahrzehnte, innerhalb derer sich die luwische Philologie von einem Nischenthema der Hethitologie zu einer der wichtigsten Teildisziplinen der Altanatolistik entwickelt hat.


Erfreulicherweise traf unsere Einladung auf positive Resonanz und der Workshop wurde durch viele interessante Beiträge von führenden Expertinnen und Experten des Lykischen und auch aus der jüngeren Generation der Wissenschaft bereichert.

